A CRITIQUE OF HOUSING CLASSES APPROACH:
THE CASE OF ŞENTEPE - ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

PINAR ÖZCAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN POLICY PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

JANUARY 2005

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Science

————————————————————

Prof. Dr.Sencer AYATA
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

————————————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

————————————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Melih ERSOY   (METU, CP)   ——————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL   (METU, ADM) ——————————

Assist. Prof. Dr. RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ, Helga (METU, SOC) ——————————

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

Name, Last Name :   Pınar ÖZCAN

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

A CRITIQUE OF HOUSING CLASSES APPROACH:

THE CASE OF ŞENTEPE – ANKARA

Özcan, Pınar

M.S., Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül

January 2005, 198 pages

This thesis analyzes the validity of main assumptions of housing classes approach, which is a Weberian mode of analyses developed to explain the effects of spatial stratification on social structures of cities, in an empirical level through a case study. According to this approach, housing is a scarce resource which is subject to processes of competition between different social groups and struggles among these groups to get access to desirable housing types constitute the basis of urban social processes. In this context, it is suggested that housing type resided in has apparent effect on individuals' position in social stratification system and their life chances are restricted in the style and location of housing to which they could get access. It is seen that the way of analysis proposed by housing classes approach has certain effects on urban studies conducted in Turkey, as well. These studies suggest that differences in accessed housing types and in living spaces on a large scale affects life chances of social groups residing in there. By the same token, apartment and squatter (gecekondu) have been used as two concepts representing the relationships of different social sections with the city and they have been considered as two different social environments or neighborhoods. In this context, in addition to analyzing the main assumptions of housing classes approach in an empirical level, this study also questions the mode of analysis used in studies conducted in Turkey insofar as they share the main assumptions of this approach, within the frame of transformations experienced in gecekondu neighborhoods. In this study, in the light of the findings gathered through case study, it is concluded that spatial stratification arising from the housing ownership is parallel to the social divisions based on labor market. Moreover, it is found out that gecekondu and apartment being constructed during transformation processes in gecekondu areas do not indicate different social environments or living spaces which represent opposite forms of social relations and, therefore, which separate from each other through definite lines.

Keywords: Housing Classes, Spatial Stratification, Squatter.

ÖZ

KONUT SINIFLARI YAKLAŞIMININ ELEŞTİRİSİ:
ŞENTEPE – ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

Özcan, Pınar

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül

Bu çalışma, mekansal tabakalaşma olgusunun kentlerin toplumsal yapısı üzerindeki etkilerini açıklamak üzere geliştirilmiş Weberci bir analiz biçimi olan konut sınıfları yaklaşımının temel varsayımlarının geçerliliğini, bir alan çalışmasına dayanarak ampirik bir düzlemde incelemektedir. Bu yaklaşıma göre konut, toplumdaki farklı gruplar arasında rekabete konu olan kıt bir kaynaktır ve bu grupların arzu edilen konut türlerine erişebilmek için verdikleri mücadeleler, kentsel toplumsal süreçlerin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, oturulan konut tipinin, bireylerin toplumsal tabakalaşma sistemindeki konumları üzerinde gözle görünür bir etkide bulunduğu ve yaşam şanslarının da erişebildikleri konut tipi ve yeriyle sınırlı olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Konut sınıfları yaklaşımın önerdiği çözümleme biçiminin, Türkiye'de yapılan kent çalışmalarında da belli bir etkisinin olduğu görülmektedir. Bu çalışmalarda, erişilen konut tiplerindeki ve yaşama alanlarındaki farklılıkların, orada yaşayan toplumsal grupların yaşam şanslarını önemli ölçüde etkilediği varsayılmaktadır. Benzer biçimde, apartman ve gecekondu, farklı toplumsal kesimlerin kentle kurdukları ilişkileri temsil eden iki kavram olarak kullanılmakta ve bunların aynı zamanda iki farklı toplumsal çevre ya da yaşam çevresi oluşturdukları düşünülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, konut sınıfları yaklaşımının temel varsayımlarını ampirik bir düzlemde incelemenin yanı sıra, bu yaklaşımın temel varsayımlarıyla ortaklaştıkları ölçüde Türkiye'de yapılan çalışmalarda kullanılan analiz biçimlerini de, gecekondunun yaşadığı dönüşümler çerçevesinde sorgulama niteliği taşımaktadır. Bu araştırmada, alan çalışmasından elde edilen bulgular ışığında, konut sahipliliğinden kaynaklanan mekansal tabakalaşmanın, emek piyasası temelinde oluşan toplumsal bölünmelerle paralellik gösterdiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, gecekondunun ve gecekondu alanlarındaki dönüşüm süreci sonucunda ortaya çıktığı biçimiyle apartmanın, birbirine karşıt toplumsal ilişki biçimlerini temsil eden ve dolayısıyla birbirinden kesin çizgilerle ayrılan farklı toplumsal çevrelere ya da yaşam çevrelerine işaret etmediği belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekansal Tabakalaşma, Konut Sınıfları, Gecekondu.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül for his guidance, advice, criticism, encouragements and insight throughout the research. I also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy and Assist. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç for kindly accepting to take part on my jury and for their critical contributions, which enriched my thesis.

I have to acknowledge my debt to my friend, Assist. İlhan Mahir Kalaylıoğlu not only for his twenty four hours invaluable support in writing process but also always being my side during the last ten years. My sincere thanks are to my friend Assist. Demet Çalışkan whose company is unforgettable and has been indispensable.

Last but not least, my genuine thanks go to Şentepe people whose mastery in life has taught lot to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

FIGURES

MAPS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Housing classes approach is generally accepted as a theoretical instrument within the field of urban sociology studies. It is used in the sociological understanding of the way in which the social organization and the spatial structure of the city intersect. In this approach, housing is taken as an important resource in which individuals' life chances are determined. It is assumed that the groups who could get access to specific house resources would form a *community* that is composed of individuals who have the *same life chances* and *value systems*. Basing on this assumption, each community is defined as a housing class, in other words, housing classes are said to represent different groups that are differently placed on urban space with regard to the *possession of property*, become segregated from one another, and work out their own community style of life. In short, it is assumed that this conceptualization not only provides a useful guide to understand explicit roots of socio-spatial inequality but also can be taken as a unit of analysis in studying these inequalities.

Theory of housing classes was initially developed in Rex and Moore's leading study, namely *"Race, Community and Conflict"* (1967). Their attempt was to analyze the race and housing relations in Sparkbrook – Birmingham. Through this study, they observed that the type and location of housing is an important aspect of social stratification, and individuals' life chances are very restricted in the housing to which they could get access. More specifically, they demonstrated that white middle-class households could generally gain access to home-ownership in desirable suburbs and white working-class people could ordinarily secure access to council housing, a

1

marginalized sector of the population (including a high proportion of black immigrants) usually found themselves restricted to inner-city zones of transition. Thereby, according to Rex and Moore, the distribution of individuals to different housing classes depends on the *unequal relations of society*. Therefore, housing class can be regarded as one of the important aspects of social stratification that could be analyzed through a sociological understanding of competitive urban processes and social exclusion in housing system.

As Saunders states (1986), Rex and Moore's theoretical framework represents a fusion between Chicago School's 'zone of transition' and Weberian analyses of social stratification. According to Rex and Moore, the zoning approach of Chicago School is one of the most important contributions to the field of urban sociology, especially in understanding different housing areas and different sub-communities. Nonetheless, they assert that the relations among the sub-communities had not been analyzed adequately by Chicago School, since these sub-communities had been considered as self-sufficient and isolated from other communities in the city. For Rex and Moore, these sub-communities are not totally distinct from each other, and they all have aspirations for a middle class way of life. In that sense, they assert that 'housing classes' is explanatory for identifying subordinate/dominant groups, demonstrating the significance of exclusionary processes within the distribution of scarce housing resources and the workings of housing markets, and demonstrating the nature of class conflict within and between subordinated groups. Indeed, according to Rex and Moore, the housing system should be regarded as one of the most significant bases of urban studies. For them, the task for urban sociology are (a) to analyze the distribution of life chances consequent upon the differential power of different groups in the housing system and (b) to study the extent to which these groups come to recognize their common market situation and to mobilize politically themselves in order to defend or improve it (see Rex, 1968; Rex and Moore, 1967).

Theory of housing classes has been reevaluated and reformulated, and subjected to remarkable criticisms in many aspects since the original formulation introduced by Rex and Moore. Some of the criticisms point out that their (mis)interpretation of Weberian stratification model results with the confusion between the classes and the status groups. For example, according to some Marxist critiques, housing classes are in reality considered by Weber as status groups. In this view, they underline the fact that separate interests 'based on housing tenure are produced by the distributive relations of society and reflect consumption patterns rather than separate class distinctions' (Gottdiener, 1988, p.166-7). Besides, Rex and Moore are also criticized for applying spatial deterministic view in analyzing the social exclusion in housing system and, hence, for failing to understand complex interaction between the social and spatial aspects of social relations.

It is also discussed in this respect that they examine social and spatial structures merely in terms of constraints placed upon and conflicts between different people in competition for desirable but scarce resources. In other words, Rex and Moore assume that people's life chances are conditioned by the fundamental constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities. For them, while processes of allocation generate constraints, socio-spatial inequalities reflect power distribution in mechanisms of allocation. For this reason, the analysis of urban processes grounded on the concept of 'housing class' is said to ask questions only at the level of distribution. This means that this approach does not question the origins of resources or the significance of a social group's location within the relations of production (see Dunleavy, 1980). If this is the case, housing class analysis can represent spatial distribution of social classes and give the picture of a given situation but cannot explain the mechanisms of social change and cannot represent the relations between and within social classes.

On the other hand, there are also many studies that underline the validity of concept especially in analyzing the new forms of spatial inequality that do not correspond

3

with but cut across social stratification arising from the production domain. According to these evaluations, the importance of the concept lies in the fact that it provides a framework by which social exclusion in the housing system, new forms of social cleavages arising from consumption sphere rather than production, and political conflicts occurred within the urban geography can be understood.

In this thesis, the housing class approach is tried to be examined through a case study that aims to analyze the similarities and differences of two housing communities in Ankara; one of which is dominated by squatters (gecekondu) while the other is by apartment blocs. This will be done by looking at ownership relations, life chances of residents and their ways of life. In this way, it is aimed to find out the relevance in explaining the socio-spatial inequalities. The study is designed as five chapters. The following chapter is devoted to the evaluation of different approaches to social and spatial differentiation. Social stratification and class analysis, as is known, have been formulated under the impact of two traditions that represent different ways of analysis; that is, Marxist Class Analysis and Weberian Stratification Model. Grounding on these two models, there are significant attempts in urban studies field in terms of examining the space within the context of social inequality, one of which is Neo-Weberian approach while the other Marxist approach. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly review and highlight the way in which the social and spatial stratification is studied and analyzed within these dominant perspectives.

Third chapter will focus on Turkish gecekondu literature. A general review will be made in this chapter to determine common points shared both by housing classes theory and Turkish gecekondu studies. In this context, starting from 1950s, the studies in Turkish gecekondu literature will be reviewed by a periodization with the aim of underlining the themes and the points within these studies that are in range of the housing classes approach and regarded as to be in accordance with the basic hypotheses of this approach. Fourth chapter, on the other hand, will be an analysis of the case study conducted in a district of Ankara city – Burç District, Şentepe. In this

case study, as stated above, differences between housing groups in this neighborhood are tried to be explored in terms of life chances of the residents, community relations and their life styles. Thereby, the significance of housing classes conceptualization in the sociological understanding of the spatial stratification will try to be found out.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL STRATIFICATION

This chapter composes of four parts. First two parts aim to present an outline of basic features of Weberian and Marxist class analysis and evaluate significant theoretical differences between them without going into detail. As is known, social stratification and class analysis have been formulated under the impact of these two traditions and they represent different way of analysis in several respects. However, we will just focus on those aspects of these distinct modes of explanations that are central importance in analyzing neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist urban theoreticians in terms of their treatment of spatial inequalities, residential differentiation and consumption-based cleavages and of their relation with the social structure and class divisions. Weber's social stratification model is examined in first part by concentrating on the way he defines class and status groups as conceptually separate dimensions of social stratification and, additionally, the relation between standing in the class and in the status order. As we shall see, these tree themes have central importance in understanding neo-Weberian analysis of spatial stratification within the city. Second part looks at the central elements of Marx's theory of classes. Particularly, the way in which he defines classes, subjective dimensions of class formation as well as objective ones, sub-divisions within classes and his account of the relation between consumption and production are considered in this part. Correspondingly, all of them will play central role not only in understanding spatial analysis of neo-Marxist tradition but also that of Neo-Weberians since important figures in this tradition, as we shall see, try to adapt Marxist conceptual framework in specifying their analysis.

In third part, neo-Weberian approach to spatial stratification, particularly housing classes theory of John Rex and Robert Moore are analyzed. Their account is a significant attempt in urban studies in respect of examining the complex interaction between space and socio-economic relations. By revitalization of Weberian Methodology, they try to analyze the fundamental characteristics of city and the base of urban conflict. They attempt to relate urban issue with general societal processes via focusing on certain actors and processes that participate actively to the formation of spatial arrangements. This part also presents a brief evaluation of analysis of Raymond Pahl and Peter Saunders – two important figures in the housing classes debates. Their contributions to theory of housing classes and different modes of explanations which they develop to analyze spatial dimension of social inequalities are addressed. Last part concerns Marxist approach to residential differentiation by focusing on the theory of David Harvey. His political economic analyses of the space and residential differentiation are considered briefly in this part. First chapter will conclude with an explanative scheme on housing question.

2.1 Weber on Class and Status Groups

It is generally accepted that one of the distinguishing features of Weber's approach resides in his argument that social relations are grounded on the power relations. What Weber understands by power is 'the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action' (Weber, 1970, p.27). With regard to social context, namely, historical and structural conditions, the basis from which such power can be exercised may considerably vary and power can be in differing types. According to Weber, social inequality and social stratification necessarily involve power. That is to say, social stratification has multiple dimensions and different dimensions of social stratification are the different appearances of power and power relations. In his own words, '*classes*, *status groups*, and *parties* are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community' (p.28). Each phenomena structures a particular order in

community, while each order affects and is affected by the other. Classes make up the economic order, status groups the social order, and parties the legal/political order.[1]

Social Order

Status
Life Style

Legal/Political Order   /Party   *Life Chance* - Class\   Economic Order
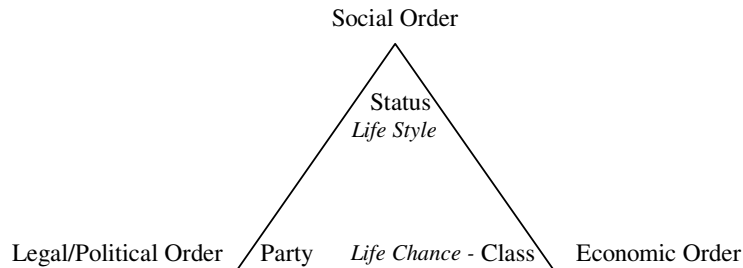
Figure 2. 1: Three Dimensions of Weber's stratification model

In this context, social class appears as one type of social inequality and constitutes one of the bases of social stratification in Weber's model. For him, the inequalities that create class divisions ground primarily on the inequalities of the market. He defines three main criteria to speak of class: 'We may speak of a *class* when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets' (Weber, 1970, p.28). In other words, 'class situation is specified in terms of the market situation of the individual' and, therefore, individuals are located within classes with regard to their market positions (Hindess, 1987, p.37).

---

[1] It is important to note here that some writers insist on not to take these aspects of social relations as the distinct and different dimensions of social stratification since all of these, in Weber own terms, are phenomena of the distribution of power. For example, Giddens stresses that the 'point of Weber's analysis is not that class and status constitute two *dimensions of stratification*, but that classes and status communities represent two possible, and competing, modes of group formation in relation to the distribution of power in society' (1973, p.44). However, it is obvious that behind the housing class thesis lays a Weberian assumption that there is no single and fundamental factor that explains social stratification and, therefore, in this part, without ignoring the Weber's insistence that modern societies are essentially class divided, more customary interpretations of his thought are followed.

However, it is useful to emphasis in the beginning that this does not mean Weber ignores the private property. In contrast, as far as its effect in creating different classes, especially the benefits gained from the wealth it creates are concerned, his theory of social classes recognizes the role of private property, and, in this respect, for him, the most basic differences in classes are based on who owns property and who does not. Indeed, according to Wright, Weber, similar to Marx, deploys property-centered concepts of class in which objectively definable material interests play a central role in explaining class action and class structure. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the market from occupying the central site in his analysis since fundamental causal mechanism is the market exchanges, for him, which constitutes the ways in which classes determine the life chances of people (Wright, 2000, pp.13-4). Moreover, that is the fundamental reason why he is said to locate class analysis in the sphere of distribution rather than production relations (Saunders, 1986, p.140). To sum up, although private property plays a undeniable role in his view, central causal mechanisms linked to class relations are primarily centered in the ways in which ownership of property affects life chances via exchanges in the market and this brings, sequentially, the turning of the Weberian account of classes completely around single issue, namely, market transaction (Wright, 2000, p.18).

For instance, from the Weberian point of view, those who own comparable objects of exchange, including both goods and services will have the same specific causal component of their life chances or in another case, people with the highest market capacity and with the highest skills will have the best life chances. These two examples indicate the same crucial point in that according to Weberian analysis of class; those who share the same market situation have in common material standards of existence (Giddens, 1971, p.164). Class can be defined, then, basically as a group of people who stand objectively in the same economic situation in market and share same market-determined life-chances. If this is the case, it would not be wrong to say that Weber's analysis of social class is primarily based on two significant and related

concepts: market position and life-chances.[2]

For Weber, 'the concept of class may usefully be applied to the analysis of any situation in which groups of individuals share roughly common life chances as a result of their economic power in labor or property markets. The relationship between employer and employee (i)s therefore only one among several different class situations in which individuals may find themselves' (Saunders, 1986, p.140). Moreover, since what individuals receive for their goods and services is determined by supply and demand in the market place, and since the rewards (the distribution and allocation of scarce resources) influence the life chances of groups, a person's class position is not fixed. It could change as the demand and supply situation fluctuate. In brief, there is a multiplicity of distinct class situations.

For example, in his work entitled 'Economy and Society', Weber made a crucial distinction between commercial classes, which consisted of groups of individuals who shared similar life chances as a result of their possession or non-possession of marketable skills, and property classes, which consisted of groups of individuals whose life chances were a function of the ownership or non-ownership of resources that could be used to generate income. By the same token, he identified over twenty classes on the basis of both positively privileged property and commercial classes and negatively privileged property and commercial ones, and plus middle classes, which included groups of individuals positioned in between both types of positively and negatively privileged classes (Crompton, 1993, p.29). Then, he identified *social classes* to resolve this plurality as such: '*social class* makes up the totality of those class situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical' (Weber, M., 1968, Economy and Society I, New York: Bedminster Press; in Edgell,

---

[2] By the way, it is important to note that according to some comments, since in some cases those who stand in the same market situation have not similar life-chances, it might be preferable to take market position as the major criteria in defining the classes in Weberian sense (see Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1989, p.15).

1993, p.13). With the term mobility, he meant the individuals' chances in moving within a common cluster of class situations without meeting any remarkable difficulty.

Therefore, for him, social classes are formed of the clusters of class situations that are 'linked together by virtue of the fact that they involve common mobility chances, either within the career of individuals or across the generations' (Giddens, 1973, p.48). Giddens also emphasis properly that Weber's notion of social class 'is important because it introduces a unifying theme into the diversity of cross-cutting relationships which may stem from (his) identification of *class situation* with *market position*' (p.48). Weber distinguishes four such major social classes in capitalist society. They are (a) the working class as a whole, (b) the petty bourgeoisie, (c) technicians, specialists and lower-level management and (d) the classes privileged through property and education (Crompton, 1993, pp.29-30).

Having evaluated the way in which Weber defines classes, now we can indicate briefly another significant aspect of his treatment of classes, namely, the issue whether or not he considers and analyzes classes as social forces. As is known, Weber's methodological approach is generally regarded as an example of probabilistic view. When taken in the context of classes, it means that for Weber, the existence of common class situations does not necessarily define classes as collective actors or social forces. Similar class position and economic interests may provide a basis for a collective action but this is not a necessity (Hindess, 1987, p.38-9). Correspondingly, according to him, differences between classes may cause conflict, but such conflict over resources is entirely normal in all societies. While at times classes conflict, at others their members may accept fairly stable patterns of subordination and superordination. Classes are not communities either and, in this respect, there may be groups of individuals while having similar class situation without being aware of it. Therefore, Weber recognizes that class may, in certain situations, become a meaningful concept for groups of individuals who may

organize themselves as a class and act on this basis (Saunders, 1986, p.140). However, put again, this is not a rule or necessity in Weber's view.

As stated already, Weber argues that class is not a primary source of differentiation in complex societies. In his view, every society is divided into groupings with distinctive life-styles and views of the world, just as it is divided into different classes. In this regard, status groups constitute the other essential dimension of Weber's social stratification model. Moreover, as we shall see, this underlying distinction between class and status represents one of the most important axis around which debates on the conceptualization of housing classes have developed. Social status is primarily related with the distribution or degree of honor or prestige, which is attached to social groups or occupations in society. The way in which social honor is distributed in the community is called the status order. For Weber, 'status stratification is determined according to the consumption forms that are represented by private life styles' and 'goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities' (Weber, 1996, p.286; 1970, p.35).

Therefore, it can be said that for Weber, the distinction between classes and status groups is one between production and consumption and, hence, unlike class divisions, social status stratification is generated predominantly by the consumption patterns of social groupings (Giddens, 1973, p.43). Moreover, status groups, in contrast to classes, are *consciousness communities*, which are held together by proper life-styles and by the social esteem and honor imputed to them by others (Crompton, 1993, p.31). The reason why status is constructed around communal groups sharing common sentiments and values is that they are more integrated and more consciously group in political aspect. Status group, then, can be defined basically as a social collective that has communal structure, which requires the reproduction of common life style through consumption.

An important feature of status groups is that they can exist only to the extent that

other people approve its members' prestige or degrading, which removes them from the rest of social actors and establishes the necessary social distance between them and us. Moreover, status groups apply social closure for monopolizing their privileges and, by this way; they prevent their rivals from accessing to these privileges. Therefore, more comprehensive definition of status group can be made as such: a status group is the set of individuals who apply social closure to protect given monopolized privilege while trying to extend their social privileges by means of different social mechanisms.

In Weberian approach, there are two further concepts used in specifying the term status: achievement and ascriptive status. Achievement status is defined on the basis of certain qualities that can be acquired by individuals through their personal abilities such as education level or social respect. To put in different words, it refers to the placement within which people are located because of the qualities that can be controlled by them. Ascriptive status, on the other hand, bases on certain characteristics which individuals have no ability to determine, such as ethnicity, gender or age. That is to say, when people are placed in positions due to qualities beyond their control, we can speak of this sort of status[3] (Turner, 2001, pp.14-5; Kerbo, 1983, p.12). In respect to these two classifications of status, the nature of exclusionary social closure can take two forms: a) individualist criteria by which individuals are excluded from access to rewards and opportunities by reference to their inability to meet certain standards or qualities − this leads to the formation of segmental status groups and b) collectivist criteria by which individuals are excluded

---

[3] It is worthy saying that some writers, following Weber, apply this distinction to the historical analysis of societal development. In this view, modern societies are generally regarded as characterized by transition from the social structure shaped by ascriptive norm and values to the one shaped by achievement values. Accordingly, feudal and caste societies are regarded as closed ones since in these societies a person's position was largely based on ascribed characteristics (such as family origin, gender or ethnic group). Although these ascribed characteristics are still socially significant in modern societies, these societies tend to place greater emphasis on achievement (see Turner, 2001).

by reference to their lack of certain necessary characteristics to be a member of a group such as race, religion, ethnicity – this leads to the formation of communal groups, on the other.

Social status is generally viewed in contemporary sociology in terms of the individuals' socio-political demands. For example, according to Turner, individuals gain profit and increase their privileges to a certain level thanks to their status and, by this way; they could represent a set of socio-politic demands against the rest of society. These demands concentrate on scarce sources, especially on the cultural and educational sources (Turner, 2001). The definition of social status on the basis of socio-political demands clarifies a crucial point; social status constitutes one of the important sources of social conflict in society. According to Weberian approach, status competition, which is essentially based on monopolizing of sources and social privileges, with the various possible forms of class conflicts, form the dynamic base of social development. To sum up, unlike classes, status groups do have a quality of groups, share a specific life style and reflect the distribution of social honor and prestige within society. On the other side, distribution of individuals into status groups is above all based on their consumption patterns rather than their position in the market or in the process of production and, consequently, in most cases, status situation is the apparent dimension of social stratification.

According to Weber, there are complex relations between standing in the class and in the status order. Status groups may at times be equal to class, sometimes be broader or restrictive, and sometimes have no relation to class. Moreover, status may often come into conflict with the demands of the market and similar class position does not necessitate similar status groups. In other words, according to Weber, even though class and status group are closely associated and interlinked, 'it is also quite possible for them to cut across one another' (Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1989, p.14). In that case, people from different economic classes may be members of the same status group, if they share the same specific style of life. In this regard, theoretically,

propertied and propertyless people may belong to the same status group. Indeed, at certain times an economically weak social group may have significant influence and power because of its preeminent status.

Weber also underlines the fact that although class situation can take precedence over status situation, '(w)hen the bases of the acquisition and distribution of goods are relatively stable, stratification by status is favored… Every slowing down of the change in economic stratification leads, in due course, to the growth or status structures and makes for a resuscitation of the important role of social honor' (Weber, 1970, p.37). In other words, as Crompton states; 'in certain circumstances, status may be the predominant source which regulates entitlements to material rewards' (1993, p.31). On the other hand, Weber states that technological and economic changes threaten status stratification and 'push class situation to the foreground' (p.37). To be brief, according to him, class stratification and class conflict usually come to the fore during the periods of economic instability whereas social status is usually in the fore during periods of economic stability. However, it is also argued in this context that there are high correlations between standing in the class and in the status order since in the modern capitalist world quite often economic power is the predominant form.

2.2 Marx's Theory of Classes

Class is the foundational concept of Marx's theoretical structure and he describes the course of human history in terms of class struggle. The term social class is often used to refer to what might better be referred to as *social strata* – groupings of people who are similar to one another in occupation, education or other sociological variables.[4] In

---

[4] It is known that analyzing social stratification system in totally multidimensional terms and taking, in this respect, for example education or income as distinct or different dimension of social stratification are strongly influenced by Weber, although it is said that he does not intend to do this in defining the concepts of class, status and power. This approach aims to demonstrate that there is no underlying factor that explains social inequality against generally Marxist approach.

remarkable contrast to this over-simplified view, social classes in the classical Marxist sense are social forces which occupy different positions in economic production, which have different and antagonistic interests, and whose struggle is what determines the course of social history. More specifically, it can be said that Marx's treatment of social classes is grounded on two fundamental and interlinked premises. On the one hand, they 'are defined in terms of opposing positions specified in particular relations of production, and on the other, they are identified as social forces – as the major social forces in history' (Hindess, 1987, p.49).

According to Marx, the way in which a society organizes its economic production and the nature of the relationships established within production between social classes are fundamental structural features that determine others. In view of that, he regards power as well as other aspects of social relations as rooted in the social organization of economic production and that is why he is, in considerable opposition to Weber, said to think that any division in society has their bases in economic relations.[5] In Marx's usage, the term economic refers to 'the many and varied ways in which socially organized human labor is applied to the world so as to produce value', rather than to the market in particular (Milner, 1999, p.17). In this respect, class relations, according to Marx, are embedded in the social organization of economic production. To be more precise, for him, 'classes are an aspect of the relations of production' and, hence, they are 'constituted by the relationship of groupings of individuals to the ownership of private property in the means of production' (Giddens, 1971, p.37). As we shall see in next parts, this notion of classes forms the basis of Marxist objection against Weberian assertion that cleavages among different groups arising out of the ownership status of crucial means of consumption such as housing reflect separate class distinctions as well as those rooted in production relations.

---

[5] In other words, as Giddens emphasizes, since, for Marx, the division of society into antagonistic classes is a division not only of property but also of power, economic domination and political domination are not separable ones (1973, p. 28).

According to Marx, wherever there is a surplus of production over the simple survival needs of the society, there will basically be two main classes: productive class that produces the surplus value and non-productive class that appropriates that surplus value (Milner, 1999, p.18). That is to say, in Marx's view of social class, dominant class oppresses and takes the advantage of other since it has and controls the productive processes. In that case, the class that owns or controls the means of production is the class that extracts the surplus value at the expense of the other class. Therefore, in Marx's treatment of classes, there are two major or fundamental classes having different interests in each type of society and they are interdependent one to another and separated by their economic conditions of existence (Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1989, p.7).[6] Moreover, since, in Marxist view, it is the major structural features of mode of production that generate its characteristic forms of class inequality, social stratification in society should be regarded as being structured by the pattern of ownership and control of production as well (Turner, 2001, p.10; Crompton, 1993, p.23).

For Marx, since the interests of both classes are completely opposite, the relation between them is necessarily antagonistic one and this is one of the very assumptions that give the Marx's treatment of classes its distinctness. This notion of antagonism takes also its roots in Marx's definition of the relationship to the means of production. As stated above, Marx analyses class division in terms of relationship to the means of production and considers this relationship as a social one in the sense that '(t)o control the means of production is to stand in a particular relationship to those who are excluded from such control. If a person owns something this is not a relationship between that person and the thing owned but a relationship between the owner and others in respect of the thing, a relationship which defines the rights of the owner in

---

[6] As is known, many authors call this abstract class model of Marx as the *dichotomous* one in which all class societies are seen as constructed around the main axis of division between the dominant class and the subordinate one.

relation to others in respect of what is owned' (Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1989, p.6-7). That is why, for Marx, from its very beginning, the relation between two main classes is antagonist. As a result, in Marxist sense, there is an inevitable and inherent conflict between two main classes.

According to Marx, capitalism is essentially a system of commodity production and historically superior system of exploiting labor. Capitalist relations of production thus generate a particular class structure. For him, in capitalist mode of production, economic relations bases on private property. What determines social classes in capitalist mode of relations is the ownership of production means. In capitalist society, there are two basic and significant classes formed on the basis of economic conditions in the relation to the means of production - capitalist class who owns and controls the material means of production and working class who owns their labor power and forced to sell to bourgeoisie in order to survive (Crompton, 1993, p.23). To put it in a different direction, the class relationship on which capitalist mode of production depends is between a capitalist class which owns the means of production, and a working class who are obliged to sell their power to work to the capitalists, in exchange for a wage, in order to live. Their different relations to the means of production, for Marx, unavoidably create conflicting interests, and this is specified in terms of the concept of surplus value.

The bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat by appropriating the surplus value produced by the proletariat and capitalism, for Marx, is distinctive in creating surplus value (Edgell, 1993, p.2). The way to extract surplus was through threat or actuality of direct coercion in pre-capitalist class societies and some form of direct politico-juridical coercion had been effecting the exploitation of producers by non-producers. However, in capitalism, relations of production are contractual rather than imperative; that is to say, the exploited class in capitalism is a class of formally free laborers and their labor-power is sold to their employers in exchange for wages. This is simultaneously a relationship of formal equality and substantive inequality (Milner,

1999, p.19-20). According to Marx, as the wages of labor purchased by capitalist is subtracted from the total created value, there remains the surplus value, which is retained by capitalist. This means that labor creates more value than the amount he paid for and, by this way; he is exploited by capitalist (Crompton, 1993, p.24).

So far, objective conditions or, in other words, objective determination of class position that give way to the formation of classes are presented in terms of their fundamental characteristics. However, unlike from Weber for who class above all 'refers to market interests, which exist independently of whether men are aware of them' (Giddens, 1973, p.43), in Marx's view, class is not limited to these objective conditions. On the contrary, concept also indicates a subjective dimension that has central importance in Marx's analysis of classes as well as objective ones. This aspect of concept is primarily linked with the second feature of Marx's analysis which is already denoted as social classes as social forces and historical actors and will be also useful tool in expounding Weberian account of consumption-based cleavages since some variants of Weberian approach adapt this view to their analysis.

Marx emphasis at many places in his writings that a grouping composed of individuals sharing same relationship to the means of production can be treated as a class suitably when their common interest generate class consciousness and communal action. In terms of working class, this transformation is generally summarized under the expression of from *class in itself* to *class for it self*, and, for Marx, is generated both by the dynamics of the capitalist economy and by their own experiences of struggles against employers. As is known, this distinction is said to be alien to Weber's approach. As stressed by Weber, as stated formerly, the existence of common class situations does not inevitably define classes as social forces; neither there is necessity that similar class situations create common interests that may provide a basis for collective action (Hindess, 1987, p.38-9). According to Marx, however, once a class is created, it assumes an independent and separate existence over the individual members of that class to the extent that the individuals discover

that their lives and life chances are pre-determined by their membership of a particular class (Crompton, 1993, p.24).

Therefore, Marx believed that the working class through class struggle would develop class-consciousness and instead of being a class in itself, it would become in the long run a class for itself and would rise up to the capitalist system. This points another important concept, namely, the concept of class formation which is used by many Marxists in specifying this process and also for pointing out the contingent character of this process so as not to be treated as one that inevitably operates. This means that the economic conditions primarily transforms mass into class and this mass constitutes the class in itself. However, if this mass becomes united in a struggle for defending their class interests and struggle against to other antagonistic class, it transforms into class for itself. Thus, put again, class for itself is created by this struggle itself (Edgell, 1993, p.7). In this context, class-consciousness refers to awareness by members of the oppressed class of the reality of their oppression. However, it is necessary to underline the fact that the existence of classes does not require to be conscious of itself.

Marx provides a sophisticated account of the subjective dimension of class formation in 'The Eighteenth Brumaire', which also goes over the main points of our discussion. There, he puts forward a clear distinction between the objective determination of class position and the subjective units of collective social action. Discussing the French peasantry, he underlines the fact that '(i)n so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their cultural formation from those of the other classes and bring them into conflict with those classes, they form a class. In so far as these small peasant proprietors are merely connected on a local basis, and the identity of their interests fails to produce a feeling of community, national links, or a political organization, they do not form a class' (Marx, 1973, p.239; in Milner, 1999, p.27). What this passage suggests is that under certain conditions a group of similarly

20

situated individuals into the social organization of production changes (or not) into a collective social actor and only by this transformation such a group is called accurately a class.

Although in capitalist mode of production Marx attains a major historical role to bourgeoisie and proletariat, his treatment of social classes is not made up of two-class model. His usage of the concept of class is said to be both analytic and descriptive and, therefore, in his analysis of contemporary events, he indicates many more than the two classes (Crompton, 1993, p.23). In this respect, he recognizes, as well as other groupings that also complicate his abstract class model such as feudal classes which kept on having certain significance in nineteenth century capitalism (Giddens, 1973, p.30-1), other classes, one of which is middle class. This class consists of a diverse number of groups between the two fundamental classes. Although this group does not produce surplus, their role is to help the capitalist class in managing and realizing the surplus produced (Suchting, 1983, p.115). Moreover, with regard to our main concern in this thesis, it should be highlighted that Marx recognizes also sub-divisions of classes, in other words, possible differentiations and fractions within classes, including working class as well.

Particularly, in his analysis of mid-nineteenth century France developed in 'The Eight Brumaire', he examines other classes out of two major classes and some fractions within classes. He identifies class fractions such as landed, financial and industrial capital within capitalist class, and lumpen-proletariat and proletariat within labor class. Additionally, he distinguishes petty bourgeoisie and peasantry as transitional classes and also puts forward several middle classes such as the high dignitaries of the army and the university etc (Edgell, 1993, p.9). Therefore, it is vital to underline the fact that Marx's treatment of industrial capitalism as the one which increasingly simplified class system should be taken predominantly in two senses. In the first place, with the rising of the industrial capitalism, the class antagonism was simplified

and in the second place, the relationship between dominant and subordinate classes become more instrumental and impersonal than in the past (1993, p.3).

Let us now turn to another substantial issue in terms of our concern in this thesis, namely, the way in which Marx conceptualizes the relation between production and consumption especially with regard to class divisions. As stated above, class, for Marx, is not a matter of the distribution of income; neither can be defined in terms of occupation and, subsequently, class divisions in a society are explainable by neither income nor occupation. On the contrary, classes can be defined only in terms of the relationship to the means of production. As Giddens underlines, Marx's definitions on this subject are a particular aspect of his general view that 'the distribution of economic goods is not a sphere separate to and independent of production, but is determined by the mode of production' (1971, 37).

In other words, mode of consumption, according to Marx, is determined by mode of production and, hence, they cannot be taken into consideration independently as if constituting distinct entities. In view of that, it is possible to think two individuals while having same incomes and even the same occupation, belonging to different classes, since their position in the social organization of production are different. Accordingly, in Marx's view, 'class position does underly and determine differences in standards of living, life-style and so on' and different classes will have not only different interests but also, in turn, different way of life etc (Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1989, p.6,8). This case have led some authors to state that '(i)n marxist theory, consumption has always been analyzed as secondary to and derivative of production' (Saunders, 1984, p.216). According to Saunders, this is the case when Marxists regard divisions and interests generated by consumption process as 'merely phenomenal expressions of deeper and more fundamental (because logically prior) divisions between those who own and control the means of production and those who do not' (p.216).

This way of analysis, Saunders argues, leads them to conclude in a way that struggles over access to or control of resources such as housing are displaced class struggles. However, according to him, the logical primacy of production in the sense that consuming something presupposes it's having been produced does not tell something about the social determinancy of production over consumption. Thus, there is no necessity to correspond production with consumption and the divisions arising out of the latter may have more significant and independent effects concerning both life chances and political mobilizations as compared to first one. Similar arguments about this subject have risen against Marxism by many authors, which will be presented more clearly in terms of spatial differentiation in next part. However, it is worthy saying that, as denoted already, Marx recognizes that there may be sub-divisions within classes which complicate relations within them and this is one of the most important impediments of class formation (Edgell, 1993, p.8).

2.3 Neo-Weberian Approach to Spatial Stratification

2.3.1 Housing Classes Theory of John Rex and Robert Moore

As we have examined, for Weber, class is basically defined by the common market position to the extent that it leads shared life chances. This has enabled sociologists to talk about spatial inequalities, which arise out of consumption processes operating through the market mechanism such as housing market as in the theory of housing classes. The concept of housing classes was developed by John Rex and Robert Moore in their pioneering work entitled '*Race, Community and Conflict*' (1967) as a key concept in the analysis of spatial inequalities and it had further elaborated by Rex in his following studies.[7] In these studies, Rex and Moore tried to relate housing to

---

[7] British sociologist John Rex, Professor Emeritus at the University of Warwick, is one of the most important figures in the studies of race and ethnic relations. In his long and distinguished career, his involvement to urban issue is the consequence of his interest in race problems. In the leading study, *Race, Community and Conflict* (1967), John Rex with Robert Moore aim to 'show how

individuals' life chances and, by this way, they linked urban sociology with the sociological concerns of sources of inequality and class conflict. They accepted the struggle between capital and labour, but emphasized that urban space produced a different struggle which required different conceptual tools to analyze. Their study was welcomed among the urban scholars because after Second World War there have been significant attempts to draw new directions to the urban studies that would go beyond the traditional Chicago School of urban ecology. In other words, sociological perspective of Rex and Moore based on the revitalization of Weberian Methodology provided urban sociology a new perspective.

Specifically speaking, they asserted that the type and location of housing constituted an important aspect of spatial stratification since it was a scarce resource to which market situation rendered differential access (Rex, 1968, p.216). Accordingly, individuals' life chances were very restricted in the style and location of housing to which they could get access. Moreover, Rex and Moore emphasized that there were various factors that defined the ability to access to housing; while in most places it was mainly income, in others the race relations had significant role. For instance, they argued that in Birmingham, survey area of their analysis carried out in 1960s, the underlying factor was the latter one since, in that place, black people were restricted due to their low incomes, poor borrowing potential, prejudice and hostility by white landlords, agents and vendors, and limited rights in terms of access to council housing. Consequently, a combination of these factors brought about the black

---

factors in urban environment serve to exacerbate racial tension' (Rex, 1973, p.xvi). However, in many places in his writings, Rex insistently underlines that their analysis of urban social structure in the mentioned study should not be regarded as total explanation of racial conflict since it is an area of interdisciplinary study. In other words, complex concepts of racist conflict cannot be explained by simplistic and sub-disciplinary survey methods. They suggest that urban spatial structure gives new meaning to pre-existing racial tension and, in this respect, they tried to explore this phase of rising racial tension at a crucial time and in place – Birmingham, England, in the 1960s (Rex, 1973, p.32, 42).

concentration in particular types of poor housing in particular location, which also determined their life chances.

Before expounding their approach in detail, the way in which they distinguish themselves from other alternative schools of urban analysis and the important aspects of their methodological standing should be explained briefly. To begin with, their approach stands in opposition to the structural-functionalist school (Lambert, Paris and Blackaby, 1978, p.5). Rex and Moore view urban society as a social system and in questioning the nature of urban social system, they criticize and differentiate their approach from functionalism. Functionalist approach, according to Rex and Moore, 'consists in explaining any recurrent aspect of human behavior in terms of the contribution which it makes to the maintenance of a social system [and, therefore, it] allows too little scope for human agency and appears affirm that what is, must necessarily be' (p.3).[8] Yet, Rex and Moore also admit that there are some functionalist insights in their sociological perspective. To put it in a different direction, while recognizing the unintended consequences of actions and the existence of conflicting social pressures on the one hand, on the other they adopt 'the existence of some overall social system, consisting of those *institutions of the truce* or those organizational means through which conflicts and tensions are managed' (pp.6-7). In short, they set two extreme methodological stands; one is the conservative teleology of old fashioned functionalism and the other is that positing limitless conflict, and they arrive at a perspective that avoids sticking in these two extreme methodologies (p.7).[9] They write with regard to their methodological preferences as such:

> What we have assumed is that the determinants of an ongoing social system are to be found in the varied and sometimes conflicting interests of the typical actors in

---

[8] All page references, unless otherwise indicated, are to Rex and Moore (1967) *Race, Community and Conflict* London: Oxford University Press.
[9] It is worthy saying in this respect that for them, just like Weber, 'social phenomena can be investigated from many points of view according to their relevance for value (i.e., their relevance for achieving various desire states of social affairs)' (p.5). Additionally, for the influence of Karl Mannheim and Gunnar Myrdal in Rex and Moore's approach see Rex and Moore, 1967, pp.5-6.

that system. For the achievement of their goals each of these actors ideally requires certain forms of behavior of those around him, that is to say he requires the existence of certain structures of social relations (p.4).

The second point to be explained here is the way they specify this viewpoint in terms of urban social interaction. It is no doubt that this specifying is one of the significant aspects of their methodological standing, which can be entitled as the importance of the action of individuals in understanding urban social interaction. According to Rex and Moore, in analyzing the urban social interaction, what is needed is 'an account in terms of the action frame of reference which explains particular kinds of land-use and building use in terms of the action-orientation of typical residents' (Rex, 1968, p.212). This view enables them to concern the way actors define their situation with their beliefs, understanding of the social world, action based on this understanding and their capacity to change institutions. Therefore, since there is variety of interactions and relationships which bases on variety of interests and beliefs in society, disagreements and conflicts of interests are considered as continuous and real. As a result, 'the action frame of reference depicts a world where interest groups collide, collude and cohere in the control of institutions, where privilege and status are negotiated, where, in short, power becomes the crucial variable' (Lambert *et al*, 1978, p.6).

Another important point needs to be clarified in elaborating their way of analysis is the way they approach ecological school of urban studies. Put briefly, in Rex and Moore's model, the present housing situation includes power variable that becomes manifest through both market and non-market relationships. This is one of the significant features which distinguishes them not only from the ecological approach but also from the other previous urban studies. Nonetheless, their study maintains partly drawing upon ecological approach and, in their attempt to place it in a more rigorous theoretical framework, Rex and Moore take Ernest W. Burgess' theory of

Concentric Ring Model as their starting point while it was finishing point for many earlier studies (Lambert *et al*, 1978, p.3; Rex, 1968, p.211).[10] In terms of differential distribution of housing opportunity, they follow the zoning approach that divides city into different ecologically and sociologically related sub-communities sketched by Burgess. However, they argue that the relations among the sub-communities were not adequately analyzed in Burgess' formulation. Unlike Burgess, Rex and Moore think that these sub-communities are not totally distinct from each other as in his model and all have aspirations for a middle class way of life. This is an aspiration in view of the fact that suburban housing is not widely available. Basing on this observation, Rex and Moore develop their central assumption that housing is a scarce resource and therefore is to be the subject to processes of competition.

In that context, they criticize the Chicago School in terms of competition for lacking theoretical bite. Instead of holding an abstract process of competition, they broaden the concept to the point where not only land but also scarce resources can be considered as subject to competition. They identify three forms of such competition; for sites, for the use of existing buildings, and for welfare payments (as in the case of subsidized council housing). In this respect, they argue that the basic process underlying urban social interaction is competition for scarce and desired types of

---

[10] Ernest W. Burgess, one of the leading scholars of Chicago University, asserts that the city as a modern industrial mechanism segregates and isolates divergent economic groups. Burgess's ideal type of the city structure, the concentric ring model, expresses exactly what ecologists try to assert on the effect of spatial pattern on social relations and the cultural life formed by urban way of life and traditions. Burgess states that the distinctive characteristics of urban populations indicate the changes in the social organization of the community, which inform us about the processes of growth and expansion of the city. Burgess describes urban expansion in context of extension, succession, and concentration. The typical process of expansion is characterized by a series of concentric circles. These circles are designated to explain both the successive zones of urban extension and the different types of urban areas. Each inner zone tends to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone. This aspect of expansion is land-use succession and the succession process results in the spatial segregation of different groups. Therefore, the expansion of the city distributes individuals and groups by residence and occupation; that is, a place and a role for the individuals who compose the group in the organization of the city. The resultant differentiation is the concentric circle model (See Burgess, E.W., 'The Growth of City: An Introduction to a Research Project' in Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R.D. (1925) *The city*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).

housing. Accordingly, for them, '(i)n this process people are distinguished from one another by their strength in the housing market or, more generally, in the system of housing allocations' (Rex, 1968, p.214).

To sum up, it can be said that there are two crucial characteristics of Rex and Moore's way of analysis which can be drawn from our discussion carried out so far. Initially, although accepting the existence of some organizational means in society by which conflicts among different groups can be managed, they assume that the determinants of social system are to be found in different and conflicting interests of social actors. By the same token, they underline the fact that the analysis of urban social interaction requires the consideration of the action of individuals based on these different interests and understandings. And secondly, they try to combine these sights with their central assumption that housing is a scarce resource and should be considered as subject to competition by which people are distinguished in the system of housing allocations. As stated already, to achieve this, Rex and Moore attempt to adapt the general theory of class developed by Max Weber to the analysis of spatial stratification:

> Max Weber ... relativized Marx's theory of nature of social classes by suggesting that any market situation, and not only the labour market, led to the emergence of groups with a common market position and common market interests which could be called *classes*. We need only qualify this slightly to include groups differentially placed with regard to system of bureaucratic allocation to arrive at a notion of *housing classes* which is extremely useful in analysing urban structure and processes (Rex, 1968, p.214).

Rex and Moore recognize that the relations between and within communities are obviously affected by the 'specific pattern of social relations of production, and a resulting pattern of class conflict and stratification' (Rex, 1973, p.34). However, for them, this does not require to view all other conflicts as eventually explicable in terms of conflict between capital and labor as in Marxism. Rather, they insist that more questions to be posed and the way towards a more precise delineation of the social structure and conflicts of city should be pointed. Seen in this way, it is obvious that the significance of their concept of housing classes lies at this point. Moreover,

with developing the concept of housing classes, they do not merely aim to provide a description of who belongs to which class. Instead, as all class analysis in general attempt to do, goals of their analysis are to locate the fundamental source of conflict, to delineate the major cleavages, and to understand the pattern of class struggles in the city. In this respect, they explain the fundamental principle of their approach as such:

> There is a class struggle over the use of houses and … this class struggle is the central process of the city as a social unit. In saying this we follow Max Weber who saw that class struggle was to apt to emerge wherever people in a market situation enjoyed differential access to property, and that such class struggles might therefore arise not merely around the use of the means of industrial production, but around the control of domestic property … There will therefore be as many potential housing classes in the city as there are kinds of access to the use of housing (p.273-4).

According to Rex and Moore, this class struggle between groups differentially placed with regard to the means of housing is separable form industrially defined class relations and may at local level be as acute as the class struggle in industry. Correspondingly, for them even though power in the labor market is clearly an important factor in determining individual's power in the housing market, and, therefore, 'there is some correlation between the two' (Rex, 1968, p.214), the distribution of housing even creates a different situation in opposition to the power to command a wage. That is to say, those with the same position in labor market may come to have differential degrees of access to housing (p.214; 1967, p.273).

Moreover, with regard to the conflicting interests of and, hence, the class struggle among different housing groups, they underline the fact that the existence of such group interests does not necessarily require a perpetual war of class against class. Quite the opposite, what happens is that, Rex and Moore stress, 'various groups mobilize what power they can to enforce compliance with their wishes, but that a point is reached in the power struggle where a realistic adjustment of interests is arrived at, at least temporarily, or organizational means are established for peaceful bargaining about which aims of which group shall be realized' (p.6).

As we have indicated above, for Rex and Moore, different groups are allocated within housing hierarchy not only through market but also through bureaucratic means (Pritchard, 1976, p11). In their study, they also concern with the influence of bureaucratic non-market processes, in particular local councils, on the social distribution of housing opportunities and, hence, individuals' life chances (Lambert *et al*, 1978, p.3). Therefore, according to them, both economic and bureaucratic/political factors have significant role in structuring housing classes:

> Houses in a modern city are not allocated simply by a process of competition in the market, a substantial part of house building is today carried out by local governments. It seems to us that participation in this public estate is a considerable prize in a society where housing is a scarce resource and that such a public estate can bring into being a group whose *market situation* in the housing market is an especially privileged one (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.273).

What can be inferred from the passage is that, in some way, the competing demands of different power groups are balanced and arbitrated by the activities of city council. That is to say, city council has the significant role in determination of housing hierarchy as in the distribution of privileged positions by control over public estate and in the treatment of lodging house tenures as pariah groups in legal terms of housing and public health law (Lambert *et al,* 1978, p.8). Before turning to these positions, it should be noted here that this aspect of Rex and Moore's formulation has significance in exhibiting the effect of the structure of local political processes upon the opportunities and life chances of urban residents (Thorns, 1981, p.705).

Rex, in his following studies, further elaborates their analysis of spatial stratification. Particularly by virtue of Marxist conceptual framework, he tries to specify their concept of housing classes and the class conflicts occurred between them. Expressing in his own terms, he posits 'a variety of relationships to the *means of residence* and a tendency to conflict, analogous to the *relationships to the means of production* and consequent industrial conflicts of Marxist sociology' (Rex, 1973, p.35). There are three fundamental characteristics of his later studies in terms of our main concern and some of them are based on the repetition of familiar Weberian arguments, presented

also in the first part, in terms of the housing matter. First of all, he underlines the fact that the relationships to the means of housing cannot be reduced to or explicable in terms of the relationships to the means of production:

> I believe that there is some relationship between a man's relationship to the means of housing and his relationship to the means of production, the former does also have a degree of independence from the latter; that the labour force tends to scatter for residential and community purposes after working hours; and that there are significant divisions opened up within the various classes, as a result of the conflicting interests which arise from their different housing situations (p.4).

In the second place, he addresses the notion of class formation, which has as we have seen central importance in Marxist class analysis. According to him, the theory of housing classes must further specify the ways in which those with a common market position whether or not organize to take action in pursuit of their interests (Rex, 1968, p.216-7). In his own words, '(a)s in Marxist sociology, the notion of housing class leads one to ask whether class-interests or *objective class position* lead or do not lead to the formation of classes for themselves' (Rex, 1973, p.35). The way he answers this fundamental question reflects his commitment to Weberian methodology. As we have examined, for Weber, the existence of common class situations does not necessarily define classes as collective actors or social forces. By the same token, Rex emphasizes the fact that although the theory of housing class draws attention to the potential bases of conflict, it does not necessarily require assuming the formation of organized and class-conscious groups as a natural outcome. Indeed, with regard to this, he asserts that '(t)he business of organization … may in any particular case lead to a blurring of the lines of conflict' (Rex, 1968, p.217).

The last considerable point in Rex's analysis to be explained here concerns the issue of mobility within housing classes and it is worthy saying that through his evaluations once again Weber's definitions strongly echo. According to him, there is some possibility of moving from one housing class to another at all times. Nonetheless, if this possibility is considered by individual as credible, 'the system of class conflict tends to be transformed into a status system' since in such a case the present housing

situation is viewed as legitimate by disadvantaged housing classes. And this, Rex argues, would bring about the blurring of class-conscious attitudes among housing classes (Rex, 1968, p.216).

2.3.2 Housing Distribution and Class Struggle in the case of Birmingham

When taken in the context of urban sociology, it is obvious that there can be drawn to interrelated tasks from their discussion of housing classes system: (a) to analyze the distribution of life chances on the ground of the differential power of different groups in the housing system and (b) to study the extent to which these groups come to recognize their common market situation and to mobilize themselves politically in order to defend or improve it. Additionally, Rex and Moore state that the system of housing classes and the pattern of housing class conflict may vary in different industrial countries according to their differences in economic, political and cultural situation (Rex, 1968, p.216), and the features of Birmingham are particular in this sense. In spite of this, they underline the fact that these features also reflect some universal characteristics since Birmingham is a special case that characterizes many other cities which came to maturity in the 19th century Industrial Revolution like it (Rex, 1973, p.4) and, for that reason, the housing class system in Birmingham may in part be generalizable. However, as stated, they do not refrain to denote that other models may have to be developed in other cities if there are some important variables formed historically in a different way (Rex, 1968, p.212).

The main concern of Rex and Moore as stated previously was the way in which the urban environment exacerbated racial tension in terms of the process of housing access. To achieve this, they carried out a very detailed analysis about the different aspects of social relations of immigrant groups within themselves and with others, including not only religious and organizational but also educational and political ones. They conducted their case study in the period of 1962 and 1970 and observed through this study that the spatial dimension of ethnic discrimination also fostered

with the social state policies as in the case of the emergence of the lodging-houses. As Dunleavy clarifies, their one of the most significant findings was that:

> As a result of immigration, colored people were excluded from access to public housing by restrictive eligibility rules, and from home ownership by a lack of capital and various forms of racial discrimination. They consequently tended to locate in the decaying private rental areas of Birmingham's middle ring wards (as tenants, lodgers or home owners forced to rent part of their houses), and many forms of racial disadvantage could be understood as corollaries of this pattern of residential location (1980, p.40).

Rex and Moore begin their case study with identifying different phases of housing development in Birmingham and these phases also explain the Birmingham's system of housing class conflict. That is to say, different housing classes in the current system defined by them have their roots in different steps of this housing development. Moreover, for Rex and Moore, each housing class constitutes separate social sub-system which has its own way of life and, therefore, in their study, examination of phases includes both housing classes and the related life-styles typically associated with these classes. The initial phase concerns the emergence of the industrial community. According to Rex and Moore, the first segregation of residential areas took place in the industrial settlements of England in 19th century. In the first place, two housing classes emerged in these primary industrial settlements. On the one hand, the owners of new industries, or in Rex's term 'captains of industry'[11], built their large family houses. They located their houses on the better sites of the city with the facility of good access to important civic facilities. On the other, the working class lived in the gridiron rows of cottages which were built for rent-paying hands and located on physically segregated cheapest lands.

---

[11] Rex uses this term in order to indicate the differences between the above-mentioned class and what is called middle-class in today's society since in the industrial community of 19th century the differentiation between that class and the remainder of society was more remarkable (Rex, 1973, p.5).

As formerly stated, such spatial segregation also referred to the emerging of two polar cultural types of the modern city. On the one hand, upper-middle class way of life that was based upon the independence of the family, secure in the possession of property and not on the neighborhood, and on the other working class way of life that supported a strong extra-familial communal culture and depended on mutually aid rather than property gave security. Furthermore, gradually and particularly during the period of 1880-1914, between those two cultural types, a third one began to emerge. Growing number of professional and white-collar workers, together with shopkeepers, minor professionals and privileged employees in industry constituted a different way of life, which was oriented to the upper middle class who were residing in the houses that they had rented or bought within the city's inner ring (Rex, 1968, pp.212-3; 1973, pp.4-5).

With the rapid expansion of industry, population and urban space, these three types of houses began to pass to other residential and commercial uses in the 20th century. Rex explains this process as 'the great urban game of leapfrog', and Giddens as the disappearance of the direct class differences (Rex, 1968, p.13; Giddens, 1982, p…). As a consequence of this, there emerged both desirable and less desirable ways of lives and of housing. One of the desirable ones was the captains of industry and successful professionals with their larger houses in classy inner suburbs further from the center. The other was the white-collar people who were aided by mortgages and moved to further cheaper lands. Final desirable way of life and of housing was that of the working classes who resided in their own suburbs built for them and paid rent to Council. Therefore, in Rex and Moore's analysis, who settled in the inner city are considered as in a less desirable situation. These are groups 'who have bought their own houses, some who occupy houses bought by the Council pending demolition, some who have bought larger old houses but must take tenants to pay their way and some who aspire to nothing more than the tenancy of a room or two' (Rex, 1968, p.214). As a result, they distinguish the following housing classes in Birmingham:

desirable ↑ (I) that of the outright owner of a whole house;
(2) that of the owner of a mortgaged whole house;
(3) that of the council tenant –
      (a) in a house with a long life;
      (b) in a house awaiting demolition;
(4) that of the tenant of a whole house owned by a private landlord;
(5) that of the owner of a house bought with short-term loans who is compelled
to let rooms in order to meet his repayment obligations;
less desirable ↓ (6) that of the tenant of rooms in a lodging-house (p.274).

According to Rex and Moore, since the tenants of lodging houses were forced to live in these houses and there was no apparent alternative way of accommodation for them, it was not possible to close down these houses. This was accompanied by the fact that local authorities of Birmingham tried to implement policies trying to prevent other areas of the city to become lodging-house areas. But, these policies did not offer a solution for the existing situation apart from the sharpening the divisions within the city. In this respect, they indicated the possibility of the turning of the lodging-house areas into ghettos as a result of the spatial segregation strengthened with the above-mentioned factors. In spite of this, they did not renounce to indicate that since governmental authorities were important actors during the emergence of housing problem, they would also have an important role in the solution of the problem.

Therefore, the inner zones of Birmingham – Sparkbrook or, in particular, the zone of transition was considered by Rex and Moore as characterized by undesirable and illegitimate housing situations. Rex, to exhibit the complex structure of groups and conflicts in this zone, tried to develop set of ideal types. When his ideal type of housing class model is considered, this zone come to be seen as having a particular type of housing situation which is united in common position in the sense that all disadvantage groups reside there. Sparkbrook, in that concern, was a significant case where many lodging-houses and different race groups concentrated and, therefore, Rex and Moore carried out their field study in Sparkbrook. They questioned the relations between the host community and immigrants, and the different accessibility options of these groups to different housing classes. The community structure of this zone can be better understood with the interaction of housing classes involved in.

These classes are; (i) the lodging-house proprietors, (ii) the lodging-house tenants, (iii) the slum dwellers and (iv) the *respectable* tenants of private houses (Rex, 1968, p.217). The fundamental lines of conflict among these housing classes can be schematized simply as follow:
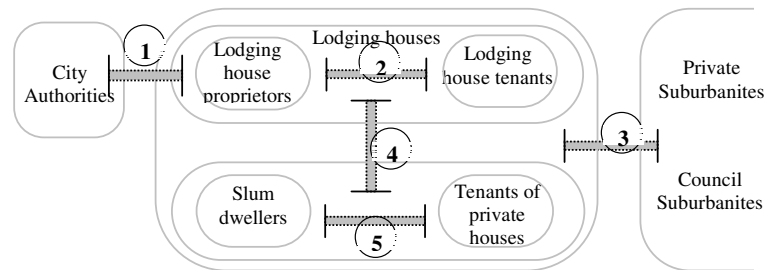
Figure 2.2: Conflicts among Housing Classes in Sparkbrook
(derived from *Race, Community and Conflict*, Rex and Moore, 1967)

As indicated in the scheme, two of the important conflicts –for Rex the most important ones– take place on the one hand between the lodging house tenures and the ward neighbors (4) and on the other between the lodging house tenures and the city authorities (1). Lodging house is viewed as illegitimate both by the neighbors and the authorities and while from the view of authorities it is undesirable for public health and planning, it is the deterioration of neighborhood for the slum dwellers and the tenants of private houses. In short, when considered at a more global scale, it is possible to expect potential alliances between the lodging house landlords and the tenants and between the slum dwellers and the tenants of private houses. However, as Rex argues, these potential alliances are prevented by the conflicts within them; namely 2 and 5. To illustrate, for the lodging house tenants, this type of house provides them a shelter whereas for the lodging house proprietors, it is necessary to overcrowd them and in this way gain as much rent as possible in order to pay short term loans they have to. Or as in the case of 5, similar fear of the deterioration with that of the above-mentioned one constitutes the basis of conflict between the private tenants and the slum dwellers. Furthermore, Rex and Moore observe that there are some crosscutting variables in housing which form different patterns of alliances even

between conflicting classes. Those variables stem from immigrant situations and from the degree to which an individual has been fully socialized into the urban value system. In this respect, Rex underlines the importance of immigrant situation as an independent variable in blurring conflict lines.

2.3.3 Raymond E. Pahl and Peter Saunders – Weberian Analysis Changing Direction

The works of Rex and Moore addressed the problem of how a definitely urban analysis could be developed. Through their studies of urban spatial differentiation, they tried to construct a perspective that would focus on particular spatial level and concentrate on the consumption processes expressed by the phrase scarce urban resources. Basing on the concept of housing class, they focused on how groups differentially placed in relation to means of housing would organize themselves in pursuit of their interests. They viewed, in this respect, the city as the arena for class struggles. Another important figure in the housing class studies is Raymond Pahl. Pahl especially focuses on the determining effects of the role of urban managers over the distribution of urban scarce resources. Before pointing out his housing classes model briefly, we first present an outline of the basic features of his urban thought.

According to Pahl, the task of urban sociology is to study the distributional pattern of the inequalities within and across urban system (Saunders, 1986, p.119). For him, city is above all a source of inequalities and urban inequalities are primarily rooted in the urban resources such as housing, health care and transportation, which are distributed on a non-random basis. What determines the ability to access to these urban resources and, thereby, the life chance of individuals is power. He states that power, together with wealth and prestige, is necessary to benefit in obtaining the scarce and desirable resources in a given socio-economic system and this is why he asserts that spatial structure of city would reflect 'the distribution of power in society' (Pahl, 1970, p.147). Moreover, according to him, spatial differentiation is partly non-social since it

is inherently unequal in the sense that two people can not occupy the same location and, therefore, it can not be reduced to social relations (p.147). For that reason, he especially focuses on the interplay between spatial and social constraints that determine the patterns of access to scarce urban resources and facilities such as housing and transportation (Pahl, 1968).

Pahl claims that a person's life is determined not only by his or her relationship to the means of production but also by their spatial location in the urban system, which creates its own set of classes and conflicts. He also argues that inequality in the distribution of goods is not purely a function of the free market (1975, p.203). Rather, all societies intervene to redress the unequal distribution in someway by means of the specific ideologies and the historical experiences of society. Additionally, there are numerous institutional arrangements with respect to the use of land in every society (p.147, 150). In distribution and redistribution of spatial resources, for example, city planning together with other instruments of social policy play a crucial role in a mixed economy. In this respect, planning decisions may reinforce the power position of a minority in some cases; while in other cases, it may redress the balance to the disadvantage of the more privileged minority (p.148). He assumes, therefore, that unequal distribution of resources is a social result of certain social actors that make key decisions which affect the urban environment and the life chances of individuals. In this regard, Pahl considers urban managers as one of the most significant actors and conscious social forces who molding the urban environment.

The central assumption of Pahl with regard to relation between urban system and urban managers is that while the social and spatial constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities are dependent variables, the managers or controllers of the urban system constitute independent variable and, then, urban sociology should primarily focuses on them (Pahl, 1970, p.224). The managers of the urban system have remarkable effects on the allocation of scarce urban resources and facilities which may reinforce, reflect or reduce the inequalities engendered by the

differentially rewarded occupational structure. For this reason, the values and ideologies of these distributing, organizing and care taking professions or the relations between the formal and informal patterns of social relationships are of central concern to urban sociology (Pahl, 1975, p.206).

Pahl, in his later work, reconsiders his original position and reformulates his early assumptions in terms of the way urban managers are to be treated. For example, he argues that they could not be considered to have full autonomy. More importantly, he comes to recognize that individual or even by some collective exercise of power can not enforce the control over urban resources. Specifically speaking, he introduces two significant refinements on his account of urban managerialism. First, he distinguishes between managers in the private sector and managers in the local states sector and confines his definition of urban managers to the latter category. Second, he assumes that actions of local state bureaucrats considerably depend not only on private sector but also on central government. In other words, according to Pahl, they have to operate 'under the constraints imposed by their relations with the private sector and central government' (Saunders, 1986, p.125).

Saunders points out that in this way he moves from an analysis of urban managers as independent variables to 'one that conceptualizes them as intervening variables mediating between, on the one hand, the contradictory pressures of private sectors profitability and social needs, and on the other the demands of central government and the local population' (p.125). He, surely, continues to regard the analysis of actions of local state employees as a useful area of research because urban managers function as allocators of resources. However, he also states that such an analysis should also regard the central government and the capitalist economy as the key variables since the availability of these resources depends heavily on decisions made by the state and the actors of private sector. He explains the role of urban managers as intervening variable as such:

It seems to me that one set of urban managers and technical experts must play crucial *mediating roles* both between the state and the private sector and between central state authority and the local population. Another set of private managers control access to capital and other resources (Pahl, 'Managers, technical experts and the state', 1977, p.55., in Saunders, p.125).

In his housing classes model, Pahl, rather than the categorization of housing classes in terms of the current housing situation as Rex and Moore did, gives primacy to access. Consequently, his identification turns primarily around the question of ownership and non-ownership and, in this regard, possession of capital comes to the fore as the central differentiating variable. He identifies following housing classes:

(1) large property owners, public or private;
(2) smaller landlords (e.g. charitable trusts);
(3a) owners of capital sufficient to own their own houses and owning;
(3b) owners of capital sufficient to own their own homes and renting;
(4) those who *must* rent (Pahl, 1976, p.245; in Lambert *et al*, 1978, p.7).

Nonetheless, his attempt has been found confusing and incapable of analyzing housing classes in terms of the access to housing. Moreover, he is criticized to have identified redundant housing classes. For instance, Lambert argues that as far as means of access to housing are considered, categories 1 and 2 redundant because 'they merely specify a means of obtaining capital for consumption of housing while indicating forms of control over other people's access to rented housing (categories 3b and 4).' In this sense, he underlines the fact that they are likely to be owners of capital sufficient to have their own houses and owning (Lambert *et* al., 1978, p.7). As a matter of fact, Pahl, in his further elaborations, acknowledges the inadequacy of his model in some respects.

A similar endeavor to develop an analysis of housing classes in terms of the question of ownership rather than the present housing tenure have been undertaken by Peter Saunders. Saunders, in his earlier works, adopted Weberian view that homeownership

was to be considered as a determinant of class structuration.[12] The acknowledgment that domestic property ownership was a separate means of acquiring wealth under capitalism formed the basis of his approach. He asserted that, in postwar era, in a number of western countries, particularly in Britain, ownership of housing has increasingly provided access to a significant means of wealth accumulation. The importance of domestic property ownership as a separate source of wealth accumulation, according to him, lay in the fact that the division between owners and non-owners gave rise to the distinct pattern of political alignments at the both local and national levels. While in local level taking the form of conflict over land use, in national level it was over the questions of housing policy and housing finance (Saunders, 1984, p.203). Therefore, since housing tenure provided the basis of political mobilization as real as the one provided by the class divisions rooted in the sphere of production, divisions resulted from domestic property, he argued, should not be dismissed as the source of merely ideological ones as Marxist standing generally did.

In view of that, Saunders identified three housing classes by basing on tenure distinctions, which in Weberian terms constituted three distinct class situations and it is only in the last case that housing appears as a pure means of consumption: landlords who used housing as capital, owner occupier who both derived use value from his/her house and were able to gain capital from his/her ownership and tenants who were unable to take any advantage from his/her housing situation[13] (Saunders, 1986, p.147; Thorns, 1981, p.707). Before turning to his later formulations, it should be noted one more that in Saunders classification there was a remarkable opposition

---

[12] Saunders, P. (1978) 'Domestic property and social classes', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, V.2., pp.233-51; (1979) *Urban Politics: a sociological interpretation*. London: Hutchinson.

[13] As it can be understood, these three classes correspond to property classes defined by Weber in terms of the property ownership by which people generate income, namely, the positively privileged property classes, the negatively privileged property classes and the middle classes.

to Rex and Moore's analysis in the sense that while they focused on the forms of tenure, his analysis was based on the taking of property ownership as the fundamental criteria in defining different housing classes.

In his later works, while saving some prominent assumptions, especially those on the opportunity provided by house ownership for wealth accumulation, Saunders abandons the viewing housing tenure as the basis for a housing classes system. In this respect, he puts emphasis not on the possible forms of contribution of domestic property ownership to a restructuring of class relations any more but on its contribution to a process of restratification in advanced capitalist societies. He explains his new position as such:

> (S)ocial and economic divisions arising out of ownership of key means of consumption such as housing are now coming to represent a new major fault line in British society (and perhaps in others too), that privatization of welfare provisitions is intensifying this cleavage to the point where sectoral alignments in regard to consumption may come to outweigh class alignments in respect of production, and that housing tenure remains the most important single aspect of such alignments because of the accumulative potential of house ownership and the significance of private housing as an expression of personal identity and as a source of ontological security (1984, p.203).

Saunders states that the fundamental faultiness of his previous attempt to take housing tenure into consideration as the basis of a distinct housing class system lies in two interrelated points. In the first place, it fails to recognize, he says in Marxist fashion, that classes are constituted only through the social organization of production and, hence, to treat consumption-based divisions as a source of class divisions is not acceptable one. Second point concerns the way in which he conceptualizes the relation between production and consumption. According to him, they constitute distinct spheres and the latter is constrained but not determined by the former. Therefore, since this is the case, it is flawed to integrate housing tenure divisions, constituted through the consumption processes, into the class analysis, which necessarily brings, he says in non-Marxist fashion this time, the over-extension of class analysis. Moreover, another significant implication of his analysis is that the consumption sphere should not be treated simply in terms of reproduction as in the

case of Marxist analysis. In sum, the sphere of consumption has the independent significance and, therefore, the different conceptual tools should be used in analyzing consumption-centered divisions with regard to production-centered ones (p.206, 217).

These definitions enable him to clarify his main argument that 'divisions in the sphere of consumption do not restructure class relations but do crosscut them' (p.214) and to specify these divisions he uses the term *consumption sectors*. According to Saunders, in view of the fact that the fundamental classes are made up of those who own the means of production and those who do not, the fundamental division in the consumption sectors is that between owners of the crucial means of consumption and non-owners. In other words, for him, the major consumption sectors are constituted according to ownership situation of individuals in consumption resources. There are tree further fundamental aspects of this thesis. In the first place, he assumes that class divisions do not constitute the fundamental axis of social cleavages in contemporary capitalism any longer. Quite the opposite, consumption sectors 'represent an increasingly significant form of social cleavage which may in certain circumstances come to outweigh class membership in their economic and political effects.' And in the second place, consumption-based sectoral cleavages should not be regarded as ideological or status divisions since they reflect divisions of material interest as real as the class-based ones. And as a final point, consumption-based interests can neither be viewed as secondary to class interests nor as the foundation for sectoral divisions which is necessarily corresponding to class divisions (p.208, 206-7).

However, one may argue that there is no substantial difference between his earlier and later formulations since in both of them housing tenure remains to be treated separately from production-based class relations; while in the first formulation it is in the form of housing classes different from production-based ones, in the second case it takes the shape of analytically separate consumption sector cleavages. As a matter of fact, although recognizing the faultiness of defining consumption-based divisions in terms of class formation, Saunders still speaks of the life chances in analyzing

the objective conditions of material existence provided by the crucial means of consumption such as housing. He argues that one of the important features of contemporary capitalism is the increasing significance of individual ownership in the means of consumption as a determinant of life-chances. That is to say, ownership of consumption resources enables individual to access to key determinants of life chances such as mobility or cultural capital (p.209). With regard to housing, one of the crucial means of consumption, he concludes in a way that:

> Housing tenure … is analytically distinct from the question of class; it is neither the basis of class formations (as in the neo-weberian tradition) nor the expression of them (as in the neo-marxist tradition), but is rather the single most pertinent factor in the determination of consumption sector cleavages. Because such cleavages are in principle no less important than class divisions in understanding contemporary social stratification, and because housing plays such a key role in effecting life chances, in expressing social identity and (by virtue of the capital gains accruing to owner occupiers) in modifying patterns of resource distribution and economic inequality, it follows that the question of home ownership must remain as central to the analysis of social divisions and political conflicts (p.207).

Saunders develops his critiques of Rex and Moore in this conceptual framework. His first critique is regarding their commitment to Weberian class analysis. As stated in the first part, one of the unavoidable results of Weber's specifying class position in terms of the market position is that there are plural class situations. In Saunders' own words, since there are no two individuals who share exactly the same market situation, the number of potential classes is *almost infinite*. However, according to him, Weber's attempt to bring these different class situations together by virtue of the term social classes which refers to clusters of similar class situations in terms of common mobility chances does not solve the problem entirely. He asserts that the same problem reappears in Rex and Moore in the sense that the way in which they identify different housing classes is far from being clear. While at the beginning of *Race, Community and Conflict* suggesting five housing classes, at the end of the book and also in other studies they add new ones to their housing classes list. Rex and Moore's usage of the concept of housing class is, therefore, problematic (Saunders, 1986, p.140-2).

Moreover, according to Saunders, one may argues that 'their theoretical concern lies not with *housing* classes, but with different groupings within *social* classes (for instance, blacks, women, one-parent families, etc.) who, because of their peculiar *status* characteristics, experience greater difficulty in achieving access to certain types of housing than do other people who are in a similar market position with regard to the distribution of other types of resources in society' (1986, p.143). The significance of this point lies in the fact that if this is the case, it can not be said any longer that there is something specifically belonging to urban sociology in their work. Rather, it might be preferable to say that their analysis of inequalities in access to housing system involves the analysis of the sources of inequality in society.

Saunders' another significant critique of their approach is concerning their interpretation of Weber. According to Saunders, the conceptualization of housing classes is grounded on a misinterpretation of Weberian class analysis. As mentioned in previous section, while the class position of individuals, for Weber, is specified in terms of the market position of them, status stratification, on the other hand, is constituted according to the consumption forms that are represented by private life styles. To put it in a different way, the distinction between classes and status groups is one between the life-chances of individuals distributed through the market and the life-styles of individuals distributed through the consumption of goods and services. In this respect, Saunders underlines the fact that in contrary to their statements, Rex and Moore's housing classes actually correspond to status groups in Weberian view:

> Different types of housing tenure are simply different modes of consumption of housing which may be differently evaluated according to the life-styles associated with them (p.147).

According to Saunders, another major problem of not only Rex and Moore but also other similar attempts arises from their failure in explaining the relations of the housing class system to the general class structure of society. Correspondingly, they also fail to demonstrate why in analyzing spatial inequalities housing should be focused as if people's life chance can be reduced or explicable with only reference

to housing system. Rather, given that people's life chances are influenced by different essential means of consumption, the essential task is to develop a mode of analysis taking into account all crucial consumption resources which may create considerably effect on material conditions of people's life. As stated formerly, according to Saunders, to achieve this task is only possible by developing a mode of analysis at the center of which lies the concept of consumption sectors (p.147-8).

2.4 Marxist Approach to Residential Differentiation – the case of David Harvey

The works of neo-Marxist urban theoreticians are based on the large-scale characterization that relates urban phenomena to the dominant structures of the advanced capitalist society. They aim to analyze the way 'cities reinforce, mediate, and articulate the contradictions of particular modes of production, most particularly those of the capitalist mode of production' (Zukin, 1980, p.583). For achieving this, urban Marxists try to examine the deep-level relation between societal development and spatial change by applying political economic analysis to the themes of modern geography. They underline the necessity of raising the urban sociology to the level of a scientific endeavor and this brings about the urban studies to be a more interdisciplinary enterprise with a historical perspective. Moreover, historical analyses enable them to focus on the hegemony of urban forms within social formations rather than documenting the successive emergence of urban forms (p.579).

David Harvey, one of the most important dedicated Marxist scholars, draws upon historical materialist method in an attempt to reformulate the concept of urban in a relational way, so that spatial organization is no longer a subject of study *per se*, but is regarded as determined with the social and economic system. He points out that the two aspects of the city, namely, (i) the built form of the city and (ii) its social structure should be appreciated as complementary. For him, 'spatial form and social processes are different ways of thinking about the same thing' (Harvey, 'Social processes, spatial form and the redistribution of real income in an urban system',

1970, in Pritchard, 1976, p.3). The central theme organizing Harvey's work is that capitalist society 'must of necessity create a physical landscape - a mass of humanly constructed physical resources - in its own image, broadly appropriate to the purposes of production and reproduction. But … this process of creating space is full of contradictions and tensions and that the class relations in capitalist society inevitably spawn strong cross-currents of conflict' (Harvey, 1982, p.137). He thus regards the urbanization to be actively connected to the dynamics of control over nature, accumulation process, competition and social control and conceives the urban space as 'the locus of the accumulated contradictions and therefore the likely birthplace of a new mode of production' (Harvey, 1973, p.203).

In Harvey's model, the process of capital accumulation is the key explanatory factor in analyzing urban processes under capitalism. He approaches the question of urban processes through 'an analysis of capital accumulation in which the switching from primary to secondary circuits is seen as crucial in determining patterns of investment in the built environment' (Saunders, 1986, p.225). In other words, for Harvey, the capital invested in urban property, construction and financing is created by overaccumulation in the primary circuit of capital. The unoccupied capital produced by overaccumulation searches for investment opportunities and finds them in the secondary circuit of capital, the built environment. With the term built environment he means the totality of physical structures – houses, roads, factories, offices, sewage systems, parks, cultural institutions, educational facilities, etc. As it can be observed, this includes both fixed capital items to be used in production and consumption fund items to be used in consumption (Harvey, 1982, p.138). Furthermore, because 'the built environment both expands and expends capital, it is by definition a fluid and necessary part of the modern world system' (Zukin, 1980, p.587-8), in other words, since it is organically related to the cyclical and secular crises of the capitalist economy, it provides the historical perspective that urban studies require.

Although Harvey primarily sees urban processes as dependent on the possibilities for productive investment in the primary circuit, his dialectical and thus relational approach enables him to recognize the effect of urban processes themselves on the primary circuit. For him, there are two fundamental dimensions of these effects. On the one hand, urbanization processes serves capital to find new areas of productive investment operating as the means for avoiding a potential crisis of over-accumulation in the primary circuit. On the other hand, urbanization process stimulates new demand for the products of this new industrial investment. In other words, the specificity of urbanization arises from its effect on the increase in demand for the products of industrial capital (Harvey, 1973, p.240). Then, the built environment functions as a tool in overcoming the problems encountered by industrial capital in respect of the creation and realization of surplus value. However, Harvey also denotes the fact that this does not solve the problems emanated from the contradictory structure of capital accumulation completely (Saunders, 1986, pp.222-6). In this respect, he emphasizes that:

> Spatial structures are created which themselves act as barriers to further accumulation. … Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time (Harvey, 'The urban process under capitalism', 1978, in Saunders, 1986, p.226).

For Harvey, space is the basic condition not only of the production for capital but also of living for labor. According to Harvey, the relation between labor and the built environment can be understood in terms of domination of capital over labor. He discusses that this domination do not simply occur in the work process, but in consumption sphere as well since production produces both consumption and mode of consumption (1982, p.141). Through the reorganization of the work process and the advent of factory system in industrial capitalism, place of work and place of reproduction and consumption has been separated. According to Harvey, although 'the dichotomy between *living* and *working* is itself an artificial division that the capitalist system imposes', this brings about the separation of the struggle of labor

into two seemingly independent struggles – struggle in the work place and struggle in the place of residence (p.138). While the first form of struggle is over the wage rate and the conditions of work, the second is over the costs and conditions of existence in the living place. Labor takes part in a series of battle in the living space concerning creation, management and use of the built environment to protect and enhance its standard of living. He considers the second form of struggle as the one that both reflects and somehow conceals the first one:

> [Although] conflicts in the living place are … mere reflections of the underlying tension between capital and labor … they stand between capital and labor and thereby shield the real source of tension from view. The surface appearance of conflicts around the built environment … conceals a hidden essence that is nothing more than the struggle between capital and labor (Harvey; in Katznelson, 1992, p.127).[14]

To sum up, while analyzing the relation between labor and the built environment, and the residential differentiation, he puts emphasis especially on the concept of reproduction. For him, (i) labor needs built environment 'as a means of consumption and as a means for its own reproduction' and similarly (ii) residential differentiation is 'to be interpreted in terms of the reproduction of the social relations within capitalist society' (Harvey, 1982, p.137; Harvey, 1985, p.118).

Harvey argues that residential differentiation is 'produced, in its broad lineaments at least, by forces emanating from the capitalist production process' and, therefore, it would be wrong to suppose that it is the product of the unexpectedly arising preferences of people (Harvey, 1985, p.123). With respect to this, he suggests that the development of residential differentiation should be regarded as a pattern that has conflicting character and reflects many of the contradictions in capitalist society. He distinguishes certain peculiar characteristics of conflicts that occur in the built

---

[14] Ira Katznelson criticizes this way of analysis which she entitles as reflectionist strategy of correspondence and asserts that there is no reason to give a privileged position to the workplace in the analysis of class formation (1992). See especially p.129-130.

environment and views the structure of struggle around the consumption fund for labor as a struggle seemingly arising 'out of the inevitable tensions between appropriators seeking rent, builders seeking profit, financiers seeking interest, and labor seeking to counter the secondary forms of exploitation that occur in the living place' (Harvey, 1982, p.149).

Initially, there is a direct struggle between laborers and landlords over the cost and quality of housing. While landlords develop strategies and use whatever power in order to appropriate as much rent as they can from their capital – the housing stock they own, the labor, on the other hand, will try to limit appropriation and ensure a reasonable quality of shelter by a variety of strategies such as moving to cheaper sites or rent controls. Moreover, as another dimension of this struggle, Harvey emphasizes the capacity of construction interest, which can limit the ability of appropriators of rent via entering to the market and creating new houses at a lower cost. This can lead to certain kind of struggles, solution of which will vary in respect of the economic and political power of laborers and landlords. Furthermore, the structure of conflict, according to Harvey, get more complex with the 'natural monopoly' inherent in space. In that context, he talks of developments in transportation system that can affect the rate of monopoly rents, hence, the capacity of landlords to appropriate rents because this will enable labor to escape from the geographical entrapment, etc (p.140).

Harvey recognizes a division of interests within the bourgeoisie as well as within the working class. Indeed, he points out that '(i)nternecine conflicts within a class and faction are … just as common as conflict between classes and factions' (p.139). According to him, 'certain sections of the capitalist class may often ally themselves with working class struggles over the consumption fund, and that the working class itself may be split internally in respect of urban questions. Alliances between capital and labour are made possible because the consumption demands of the working class may often be consistent with the economic or political interests of the capitalist

class as a whole, or of certain sections of it' (Saunders, 1986, p.227). Moreover, he argues that the fragmentation of large sections of population into distinctive communities runs as an obstacle to the working class movement since it serves to fragment class-consciousness (Harvey, 1985, p.118). In spite of such considerable factors splitting social classes in respect of urban issues, he, as indicated already, nevertheless seems to insist upon that urban struggles should be viewed as an (mediated) expression of the fundamental class struggle between capital and labor on which the capitalist mode of production is founded:

> (T)he overt struggles between landlord-appropriators, builders, and labor … are to be seen as mediated manifestations of the deep underlying conflict between capital and labor. … From this standpoint it must surely be plain that the separation between working and living is at best a superficial estrangement, an apparent breaking asunder of what can never be kept apart. And it is at this deeper level, too, that we can more clearly see the underlying unity between work-based and *community*-based conflicts (Harvey, 1982, p.149).[15]

---

[15] Harvey, in his another article called 'Class Structure and the Theory of Residential Differentiation', which we also use in analyzing his approach, concludes in a little different way with respect to residential differentiation. He considers residential differentiation, there, 'as an integral mediating influence in the processes whereby class relationships and social differentiations are produced and sustained' (1985, pp.123-4).

Table 2.1: Social Classes and Spatial Stratification

	Definition of Classes	Residential Differentiation	Housing Question
Weberian Analysis			
Rex and Moore	With regard to social relations of exchange Specified in terms of the market situation	Class struggle over the use of houses as the central process of the city as a social unit	Housing classes as the basis of the articulation of the spatial structure of the city with its social organization
Pahl	Identical	Unequal distribution of urban scarce resources including housing by power relations	Primacy of access to housing in defining housing classes
Saunders			
Saunders	Following Marxist way of analysis as regards the definition of classes	Sectoral cleavages arising out of property rights in means of consumption as real divisions of material interest	Home ownership as the most pertinent factor in the determination of consumption sector cleavages
Marxist Analysis			
Marxist view	With regard to social relations of production Specified in terms of the relations of production	Struggle in the place of residence as an mediated expression of the fundamental class struggle	Home ownership as a source of subdivisions within class rather than a that of separate class distinctions

Source: Author of thesis.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL SURVEY IN TURKISH GECEKONDU LITERATURE: CHANGING WAYS OF STUDYING GECEKONDU SETTLEMENTS

In this chapter, a general review will be made on Turkish gecekondu literature. The aim of this review is to try to determine the common points that are shared both by the housing classes theory and its main assumptions on the one hand and the type of approaches constituting the base of gecekondu studies in Turkey on the other. In other words, in this chapter, those points in the gecekondu literature supposed as being corporate with the basic propositions of housing classes theory are tried to be elaborated. For that reason, it should be noted that the content of evaluations in this chapter is limited with the themes and subjects that could be related with that theory.

Gecekondu studies performed in Turkey start in 1950s when these areas were mainly handled around integration problem and were considered as homogeneous areas and the period reaches an end with the 2000s when the division of *gecekondu people* and *those who are not* gradually becomes non-functional in reading the complex social stratification and inequalities emerging in the urban geography and also when a common view that the concept of gecekondu should be deconstructed was strikingly apparent. From this point on, it is said that the concepts of gecekondu and gecekondu people do not have any meaning in the analytical sense, although they may still have meanings in the sociological sense. Indeed, according to some comments, '[y]et the word is so overused that it has all but lost its relevance, conceptual accuracy and explanatory power… One can even say that this word has become (from the scientific point of view) counter-productive' (Pérouse, 2004).

The gecekondu studies conducted in the course of period of these fifty years are examined by classifying them into three periods. In the first part, the earliest gecekondu studies conducted in 1950s and 1960s when the modernization theory was prevailing paradigm are examined. The gecekondu studies of 1970s when the dependence theory was prevailing paradigm constitute the subject of second part. As we shall see, the gecekondu studies of these two periods can be studied within continuity as well. In the last part, on the other hand, the urban researches studied from 80s up to now are investigated and the basic characteristics of these studies are tried to be illustrated through the important studies of this period. Conclusion part aims to determine the themes and the points within gecekondu studies that are in range of the housing classes approach and regarded as to be in accordance with the basic hypothesis of this approach.

5.1 1950s and 1960s: Gecekondu Settlements as the Undifferentiated Districts

As is known, the migration from villages to big cities became rapid in the 1950's. Two growth models or development strategies had characterized the capitalist development that formed the basis of migration and urbanization processes in this period: 1950-60 agriculture-based export oriented growth period and 1960-80 import substitution industrialization period. Put it briefly, structural changes carried out during 1950s to modernize agricultural sector and to integrate it into market relations, and supported by the Marshall Plan, created an excessive population in rural areas more than the need. This population started to increasingly migrate to big cities dating from 1950s and the most important result of this process in cities was the striking appearance of gecekondus and gecekondu population in urban scene. On the other hand in the period of import substitution industrialization that followed agriculture-based growth model, an economy politics was held which aimed to increase purchasing power of the wide social sections and throughout this period relations between the classes in society were stabilized on the ground of extensive-based class alliances. During these years where the introvert development model was prevailing, gecekondu poor population that had

54

been increasing rapidly in number in cities as a result of the still intensively continuing migration process fulfilled important functions as the source of cheap labor and consumer (Erman, 2001; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001).

Throughout this period, the relation between urban poors living in the gecekondu settlements and the state had continuously changed due to economic, social and politic reasons and at the end state was forced to turn towards more positively relation to the squatters. The occupation of urban areas by the migrants for the sake of use was met negatively by state at the beginning. However, the state during these years could not develop a clear vision and had maintained a tensional relation with gecekondu people. Meanwhile, the populist policies implemented by governments of that period vis-à-vis migration process were among the important reasons that prevented taking a definite position with regard to gecekondu construction. On the other hand, in accordance with the dominant paradigm of 1950s – modernization theory and the developmental state understanding, no measures were taken towards unbalanced urbanization as well and the rapid urbanization process was considered as a tool or way of social and economic development (Şengül, 2001; Özler, 2000).

In the 1960s, however, it was begun to talk in the frame of inner market-based growth model that building gecekondu to be seen as a positive development since it contributed to the reproduction of labor-power required by industrialization without drawing sources from state or capital. As a result, although gecekondu building did not become an official policy, 1960s were the times when the excluding relation between state and gecekondu people was replaced by a relation based on compromise. This, on the one hand, resulted with the provision of urban services to these areas and made it possible for gecekondu people to demand for property rights on the other. The first law act through which the existence of gecekondus was recognized by the state was passed during this period (No.755, 1966). The gecekondu was first defined by the government as 'dwellings erected on land and lots which do not belong to the builder, without the consent of the owner, and without observing the laws and regulations concerning

constructions and building.' In other words, gecekondu, which literally means *landed at night*, 'refers to houses built overnight where migrants settled' (Özler, p.40).

It is possible to observe that the academic definitions developed in this period have similar features as well and underline the different aspects of gecekondu phenomenon. For instance, Fehmi Yavuz, in one of his study dated a previous period (1953) as compared to official definition, defined the gecekondu matter as such: 'The *gecekondu* are hastily erected buildings, lacking most of the times elementary comfort conditions, not conforming to construction regulations and being developed regardless the land owner's rights'. On the other hand, M. Gençay made a definition emphasizing the illegal status of gecekondus. According to this definition, gecekondu is 'hastily built housing, on a land that do not belong to the builder breaking construction laws and regulations, regardless sanitary and technical requirements and norms' (in Pérouse, 2004)[1].

In these years when the modernization paradigm was dominant in social sciences, academicians basically viewed gecekondu as a temporary fact that appeared in the process of transition from traditional society to modern one and a phenomenon that would be wasted away as a result of the social development and the adaptation of immigrants to urban way of life. The gecekondu people were viewed as individuals who could not discard their rural culture and traditional relations yet and unable to adopt urban values and modern life style and, therefore, neither peasants nor citizens. In spite of this, it was assumed within the framework of teleological and linear development understanding of modernization theory that the gecekondu area would

---

[1] It should be noted that in gecekondu literature there are also more comprehensive definitions that do not neglect the social and economic dimensions of the gecekondu phenomenon. For example, according to Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu, the main characteristic of this period in respect of the state-city relations was the drawback of state from the regulation of urbanization and its leaving this field to spontaneously occurred formal and informal processes; the appearance of gecekondu settlements should be viewed in this context as well. For authors, gecekondu appeared as the outside-market solution developed by the immigrant population excluded by the state and formal housing market to overcome their accommodation problems (p.111-2).

sooner or later disappear and this social section would finally integrate to city (Erman, 2001; 2004). For example, İbrahim Yasa, in his study conducted between 1963-1965 on the gecekondus of Ankara, asserted that:

> The *gecekondu* family, having one end in the village and the other end in the city, displays the characteristics of a transitional family … The *gecekondu* person, while on the one hand tries to grow vegetables and trees in his garden like in the village, on the other hand, hopes to become a worker in factory in the city…When we talk about the *'gecekondu* family', we understand an 'unhappy' family which emerged under the social structural conditions of a particular period and **which is expected to disappear after a while**, thus its presence will be short-lived compared to the long history of society (Yasa, 1970, 'Gecekondu ailesi: geçiş halinde bir aile tipolojisi', AÜSBF Journal, no 25, p.10,15,17; in Erman, 2001, p.989) (bold emphasis are added).

Another important theme frequently encountered in the gecekondu studies held within this period is that although gecekondu families easily adopted the urban material cultural elements, their values did not change in the same speed. In other words, it had been stated that the integration of gecekondu population to urban life was more difficult in terms of cultural values and therefore it would take more time. On the other hand, the residents of gecekondu were defined not only as different from the rest of urban population, but also as inferior in hierarchy because of their rural tastes and ways of life. Within the one-way development model from the traditional rural society towards modern urban one, gecekondu people were defined as the rural and underdeveloped other. As a result, in the studies of this period, gecekondu population was studied as a homogeneous group and it was assumed that the main difference separating this group from other people in the city was their still displaying the rural values (Erman, 2001; 2004).

5.2 1970s: Gecekondu Settlements as the Disadvantaged Districts

In 1970s dominant paradigm of the social sciences was changed and in explaining the social phenomenon economy-politic oriented approaches gained importance instead of the evolutionist modernization theory. In this period, dependence theory, which was consisting of a series of approaches developed against the modernization theory and attempting to explain the social development on the basis of exploitation and

inequality on which the capitalist social relations were based on, became effective (Şengül, 2001a). Consequently, gecekondu became to be seen as a permanent product of the urbanization phenomenon experienced in the peripheral countries of the capitalist system, instead of a temporary phenomenon encountered during the transition period from traditional to modern. Defining of the gecekondu people was also changed as a consequence; the gecekondu people were started to be considered as the victims of conditions instead of the source of problems, and imaged as the exploited and the disadvantaged section of society. Gecekondu people for scholars were from now on individuals who were unable to integrate city due to their position created by the unbalanced development arising out of the capitalist system and who were unable to receive the urban services and opportunities. It was stated that the gecekondu people desired to integrate to city; however the structural conditions and the state policies did not allow it (Erman, 2001; 2004).

On the other hand, political divisions and clashes experienced throughout 1970s and particularly became more intense in late 1970s showed that the gecekondu people was not a homogeneous body united around rural culture, rather, it embraced many different cultures and political views conflicting with each other. In spite of this, studies of this period, in continuance with the previous period, also considered the population living in gecekondu as a homogeneous social group migrated to city from rural areas. Another important continuity line is the handling of gecekondu phenomenon around the problematic of ability/inability of integrating with the city. However, in contrary to the studies of the previous period which stressed the traditional culture reproduced in the city by the gecekondu people as the main obstacle to the integration with the city, henceforth economic structure based on the inequality and exploitation on which capitalist social relations leaning were come to the fore as the major cause of this (Erman, 2001; 2004).

However, it must be noted that although this difference points out a general trend in the studies performed during those years, it is not a rule. There are many studies

stressing that cultural and social integration still a significant problem although substantial distance had been covered in economic integration. In other words, it had been noted that when seen in terms of economy although a rather advanced integration had been realized between the gecekondu areas on the one hand and the city and national economies on the other, it could not be mentioned same intensity in terms of the social relations and the cultural values (Ayata, 1989, p.104). While in some studies the community structure in gecekondu areas and the dominance of traditional values were still considered as the main obstacles to the cultural integration, the notion that the gecekondu people were being excluded by the urban population had gained importance as a mode of explanation within the frame of dominant paradigm of that period. For example, Tansı Şenyapılı stated that marginal position of the gecekondu population observed at the first appearance of gecekondus changed in time, gecekondu people economically integrated with the society through their participation to the production and consumption; however, they were not accepted by the urban population in socio-cultural dimension. The author had also denoted that the economic integration of the gecekondu people with the city was through the cheap labor power they supplied and the consumption goods they bought (Şenyapılı, 1982).

Those studies explaining the problem of integration with the dominance of traditional values in gecekondu areas stressed the social and cultural differences between the gecekondu population and the rest of city. According to this, the gecekondu community, displaying the characteristics of an introverted environment in which face-to-face and close relations were dominate in opposition to atomizing effects and anonymous relations of the city, was living within a restricted and closed space in terms of their relationships with the rest of city. Forming a closed and segregated space of gecekondu neighborhood was regarded as one of the basic causes behind the having different value frame of gecekondu population from that of the other sections of society. As a matter of fact, according to some studies performed in this period, the problem of cultural and social integration found its most clear expression in the considering of gecekondu people themselves as separated from the other social

sections living in the city, which in turn brought about the emerging and continuing of the division of *we* and *they* in the sense map of gecekondu people. For example, İbrahim Yasa expressed this emotional structure, which was assumed to be effective among gecekondu people and to be based on regarding self as separated from others, with the concept of *consciousness of kind* (Yasa, 1983, Internal Migration and the Turkish Gecekondu Family, Ankara: AÜSBF Publications, p.168; in Ayata, 1989, p.104).

As noted above, in the urban studies of this period, gecekondu people were also considered as a homogenous group, and the assumptions of modernization theory, even though their influence was reduced, were continued to be used in analyzing the dynamics of the social differentiation and social change in gecekondu areas. Evaluation of Kemal Karpat that considered the trends of conflict and tension arising in the gecekondu areas as a development stemming from the spreading of modern culture and individualism by basing on the duality of traditional / modern culture can be taken as an example of this approach:

> Gecekondu people are being torn between the culture of traditional community on one side and the individualism and innovativeness of the city on the other. While the close relationships established in issues like mutual helping, migration and settling in the city coming from the traditional culture, the individualist character of self-confidence and pursuing the success appears as responses to the stimulations of the urban environment (1976, p.115).

We see in the studies of this period on the urbanization processes in Turkey and gecekondus as an important aspect of this that apartment and gecekondu housings were used as two concepts representing the relationships of different social sections with the city or the different types of social relationships experienced within the city. Sencer Ayata's study entitled as the 'Apartment and Gecekondu as Social Environment' in which he analyzed the gecekondu and apartment housings as two different social environments or neighborhoods is a typical example of this approach. His study deserves more detailed examination since it is closely related with the problematic of this study. Moreover, we believe that Ayata's approach also illustrates the basic

assumptions that dominate the studies of both periods (such as gecekondu population as a homogeneous social section and the problem of integration). Ayata, moving from a set of factor such as the neighborhood relations, solidarity and social control, views the gecekondu social environment around the concept of community and compares it with the apartment social environment. According to him, the most fundamental aspect separating the gecekondu environment from the apartment social environment is the coincidence of citizenship-based traditional relations with neighborhood relations in the gecekondu community. In other words, 'relatives and citizens of the gecekondu family live within the same neighborhood environment, therefore, relatives and citizens become their neighbors as well' (1989, p.106). The social environment in gecekondu areas created by the small community units shapes a restricted, closed, and segregated social space. In addition to the coincidence of traditional relations with neighborhood, other elements that characterize this social space are determined as such: a feeling of solidarity nourished by the dominance of face-to-face relations and taking place of social relations openly, open or covered competitions and quarrels carrying off the neighborhood relations from solidarity to conflict or, to put it in a different way, the status competition occurred within the families and last of all, traditional control mechanisms and authority relationships maintained by the coincidence of citizen / kin / neighbor and running through them.

On the other hand, the apartment, in the dualist model dominating the analysis of Ayata, appears as a social environment in which the values and forms of relations that represents the opposite of the basic characteristics defining the gecekondu are crystallized. Put it briefly, apartment is a social environment of freedom where community restraint and traditional social control are diminished and less coercive interference on the acts of the individual is prevailing, a neighborhood allowing the privacy of human relations, a culture that social relations and life do not take place openly, and in the last place, a social environment where restricted and one-way neighborhood relations are experienced. This change, revealed itself when turn from gecekondu to apartment housing, shows that the difference between these two living

spaces is above all a cultural difference accompanying the spatial change, beyond a spatial difference. According to Ayata, when the forms of social relationships emerging in these two separate neighborhoods and experienced on the basis of a cultural difference are compared in respect of the community relations and individual, it is seen that:

> Gecekondu is community: it is solidarity, unity, personal relationships, closeness, warmth, sincerity, face-to-face relationships, being missed and protected, a hand for help, sharing. Gecekondu is community: it is interference, nosiness, control, pressure, torture, gossip, envy, hierarchy, being restricted, and dependence. Apartment is loneliness, indifference, not caring who is doing what, differentiating, being different, being not similar, coldness, formality, being avoided, being humiliated, it is new, alien, and self-making. Apartment is freedom, privacy, individualism and decreasing traditional control (p.123).[2]

5.3 1980s and 1990s: Gecekondu Areas as the Differentiated Districts and Gecekondu People as the Urban Poor

The studies considering the gecekondu people as a homogeneous social section were replaced in 1980s and 1990s by studies that underlined the ethnic and sectarian differentiating within the gecekondu areas. In gecekondu studies, it was started to be

---

[2] In the studies performed in later periods, the concepts of gecekondu and apartment were also used in a similar context. For example, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, in their study named 'Poverty in Turns' which we analyze below, examine the relations of urban poors and middle classes with the city in the period before 1980 under the titles of gecekonduzation and apartmentalisation, respectively. According to the authors, the apartmentalisation phenomenon in Turkey 'can be considered as a union of power, a kind of *solidarity relationship* developed by the middle classes in order to cope with the problems created by the process of urbanization' (p.104). Middle classes were able to find the possibility of playing an important role on the formation of the city and urban processes thanks to this unique solidarity relationship. In addition, the apartmentalisation phenomenon had also played a fundamental role on these sections' joining to the class alliances that had emerged during the import substitution period. In other words, apartmentalisation is a very fundamental phenomenon in terms of both its role on the increasing of welfare of the urban middle classes, and its importance in the ways of participating of these sections in the political equations of that period (p.102-4). However, it should be noted again at that point that Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, unlike Ayata, consider the gecekondu and the apartment as different forms of relations of different social sections with the city and they make this in a different way from those approaches that are based on considering a set of double concepts like traditional/modern or community/individual as the opposite of each other and that also evaluate the distinction of gecekondu/apartment in this context. Secondly, although the study of Ayata dates to a later period from the period we study under this part, it is still suitable to classify in this part in regard of the approach dominating his analysis.

recognized that gecekondu neighborhoods consisted of different groups from different regions of the country, having different cultures and beliefs, and different political views, being in conflict within themselves, and the identities such as Alevi/Sunni, Kurdish/Turkish, or Islamic started to be used in this context (Erman, 2001; 2004). This development can be evaluated as the reflection of the division of network relations, which were conspicuous with the characteristics of solidarity before 1980, on the basis of certain factors such as ethnic origin and language through 1980s and 1990s and spreading of the more hierarchic relations among the urban poors. For example, Ayşe Güneş-Ayata in her study performed on the identity problem in gecekondus stated that citizenship should be evaluated not only as a solidarity network operating in finding a job or meeting the requirements of accommodation, but also as a mechanism of obtaining an identity in the city, dominated by the anonymous relations and a heterogeneous cultural structure. She also stated that citizenship represented the identity developed on the basis of unity of religion and origin, and that the differences like Alevi/Sunni were of definitive importance in the formation of citizen groups. In addition, she noted that gecekondu neighborhoods were fragmented totality by citizen groups and this fragmentation could sometimes bring about the disagreements and political divisions that could reach the level of hostility. According to Ayata:

> Citizenship … becomes for women and especially for men a tool regulating the relationships and classifying the heterogeneous urban culture in the universe of city involving irregular and amorphous relations. Therefore, they obtain an *identity* and a tool for regulating their relationships with strangers. Citizenship divides the unknown world into parts that can be regulated and by this way acts as a mediator between an amorphous and irregular external world and the migrating population. While one aspect of this is the features stemming from the origin like religion and language, another very important one is an obtained identity (1990/91, p.98).

In this period, another development accompanying the emphasizing of heterogeneity and differences in gecekondu areas instead of the common origins and homogeneity was the emerging of the concept of *urban poors* in defining the gecekondu population. In this context, in the studies of those years, arguments about the socio-economic differences within migrated population and about the emergence of stratifications trends in which solidarity and network relations had effective roles began to gain

importance. For example, Sema Erder, in her study performed to examine the articulation forms of the groups migrating to big cities and settling the new zones of the city to the job and housing markets, stated that some migration groups succeeded in job and housing markets and some of those who were unsuccessful either went back to their own lands or formed the new poors of the city.

Erder, in addition, developed a triple classification by virtue of the network relations and types of mobility of the households. According to this, the establisher and first migrants that had obtained an active position in job and housing markets through using all kinds of networks constitute the rising households. Those households having sufficient possibilities to make a livelihood for themselves and their families and keeping on introvert living constitute the second group. The last group, on the other hand, is the households that are either poor already or that gradually become poorer. According to Erder, 'the difference of this group from the previous one is that they have been left to isolation outside their own wishes and will. In this difficult environment where the line separating the poverty from richness is very thin, some households can remain outside the network relations even if they have citizens. In this group, there are the *poors* who had recently migrated; who had migrated in an adult age without any skills; heads of household who had suffered workplace accidents and left crippled; widows; households who did not succeed in job or isolated from citizenship relations' (1995, p.118).

Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu, in their book named 'Poverty in Turns', in which they analyzed the poverty in the section living in the peripheries of the city and articulating to the city with illegal constructions, reached similar findings. One of the main theses of the authors is that the poor section in the cities should not be considered as a homogeneous group[3]; on the contrary, there is segregation potential among urban poors

---

[3] There is no need to say that similar results were obtained in numerous studies performed in this period. For example, Oğuz Işık and Murat Güvenç, in their empiric study 'Reading İstanbul: An

especially since 80s. Authors stated that the type of poverty in Turkey consisted of the former poors trying to hold within the system, and developed the concept of *poverty in turns* to analyze the differentiating dynamics in this section and unequal power relationships that constitute the basis of this. Poverty in turns is a partnership system developed by the urban poors after 80s and based on the unequal power relations. This system defines a cyclic process in which the poverty is hand over to the generations coming to the city later. In this frame, poverty in turns is a network of relations that enables for one group within the urban poors to increase its wealth through others and become richer, and to hand their poverty over to these unprivileged groups. In other words, it is the '*unequal power relationships* established by particularly the informal sections of the society between themselves and that provides the possibility of becoming richer through each other' (2001, p.37).

The point where the poverty in turns strategy is fired is the increasing urban rants and the process of obtaining the urban rants. The important aspect of this process is the overlapping of the culture and class, and the interaction between them. Poverty in turns is a class-based process in the sense of being a strategy attempted by the urban poors in order to exist within the city life. However, this classing is being effective within a dynamic process nourished by the cultural bases, and complex types of relationships where economical positions overlap with cultural identities are taken place during this process (2002, p.81). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu in a paragraph containing all these dimensions, define the poverty in turn as follows:

> … what we mean with *poverty in turns* is the creation of survival strategies by the urban poors thanks to the network relations nourished by all kinds of local resources, implementation of these strategies through the groups coming after them, and handing over the poverty to them in some way or other. When some of the gecekondu people finds another section to whom they can hand their poverty, they can get rid of their poverty and even get rich; and sections that the poverty is handed over can reach a

attempt of Analysis With Regard to the Status-Housing Differentiation', in which they analyzed the urban social geography of İstanbul, reached results supporting the evaluations that gecekondu areas were not homogeneous areas.

certain living standard even if lower and carry the hopes of participating in a new land invasion tour on which they could hand their poverty to. The *success* in this process is provided through the network relations that ensure the dynamism on cultural basis. That is to say, economic activity increases its activity on cultural basis but at the same time, the degree of the economic success affects the cultural formations in the basis of networks (p. 49).

Although the network relations on which the poverty in turn strategy depends is an extension of the solidarity relations established between the urban poors before 1980, these relations turned into a hierarchical configuration after 1980 and in this framework differentiation tendencies based on unequal power relations came to the fore among urban poors. According to authors, poverty in turns in this sense must be considered as an expression of the degree that differentiation and segregation in the informal sections and among urban poors had reached in 1980s and 90s (p. 158). Similar to the study of Ayata examined above, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu stressed the cultural role of ethnic origin and religious sects in this segregation:

> [Poverty in Turns] is a strategy that uses the local actives like fellow citizenship, Islam, Alevism, or ethnic origin in establishing the solidarity networks, and that allows the participators to earn money through each other (2001, p.41).

5.4 Conclusion and Evaluation

In the studies performed before 1980, we see that gecekondu areas are conspicuous through their unifying features, and that they are treated as homogenous urban areas. The image of the gecekondu people standing in a position between rural and urban dwellers as transitional social type, and belonging to neither of them in 1950s and 60s, was replaced in 70s by disadvantaged people trying to survive in the city life structured around capitalist social relations. However, as mentioned in previous parts, there are also symptoms that allow considering the studies of both periods in continuity. The apparent weight of the notion of inability of integration with the city is one of the most important aspects of these symptoms. However, the problem of integration had become visible in the studies of these periods with partially different dimensions as parallel to the paradigm changes in social sciences. In spite of this, as indicated by the concept of integration, the idea that the population unable to integrate with the city constitutes a

homogeneous and undifferentiated social section dominated by the rural characteristic maintained its central importance in these years, as well. In this context, the concepts such as solidarity networks, consciousness of kind, community structure, traditional values and gecekondu neighborhood had played a privileged role in the set of concepts used by these studies. Again in this context, the concepts such as urban values, modern way of life and apartment culture were used to define those relationships and values that are assumed to constitute the opposite side of gecekondu. Within this frame, it is possible to postulate that the studies conducted in this period are in accordance with one of the main assumptions of housing classes approach that the people residing in specific housing type would form a *community* and have in common a *way of life* (see above Karpat, Yasa, Ayata).

One of the important characteristics of urbanization dynamics in Turkey especially after 1980 is that the poors living in gecekondu areas were included in urban rants. This development both accelerated the urban transformation processes in the gecekondu areas, which is still an on going process of today's cities, and made it difficult to consider gecekondu areas as the homogeneous urban districts. Differentiation and segregation dynamics arising within the gecekondu areas themselves in this period brought about the fact that the relations between gecekondu and urban poverty gained a new dimension. Commercialization of the gecekondus and the social mobility opportunity provided by this phenomenon to certain groups together with other factors created highly dynamic urban areas. In this context, as mentioned above, the urban scholars of this period underlined the differentiation and segregation dynamics within the urban poors themselves. Those criterions such as ownership of durable consumption goods and status differences arising from the housing or land ownership were extensively used in order to analyze the stratification trends within urban poors themselves, and the distribution of wealth indicators were examined by virtue of them. In this regard, it is possible to state that the other crucial assumption of housing classes approach that individuals' *life chances* are very restricted to their positions in the *means*

of residence appears implicitly or explicitly in the studies of this period as well (see above Erder and, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu).

CHAPTER IV

HOUSING GROUPS IN A DISTRICT OF ANKARA CITY:
BURÇ DISTRICT – ŞENTEPE

4.1 Conceptual Framework and Design of the Case Study

As we have seen the housing classes theory, which we have examined in Chapter I and tried to trace the impacts on the way of analyses dominating Turkish gecekondu literature in Chapter II, puts forward the hypothesis that different groups with regard to the possession of housing property and the housing type they reside in become segregated from one another and work out their own community style of life. This case study is structured from the point of view of housing classes approach and conducted in a district of Ankara City that composes both gecekondu and apartment types of housing and, by this way, it is aimed to examine the relevance of this approach in understanding the way in which residential differentiation has an effect on social structure of city. In view of that, during this case study, two fundamental questions related with each other are tried to be answered. The first one is whether the picture arising from the private housing property, which is regarded as social consumption domain, is parallel to the social stratification; in other words, whether it causes residential inequalities which cut across traditional forms of social stratification as housing classes theories argue. The second question is whether gecekondu and apartment as different housing types constitute the base of different social environments beyond their physical differences. As it can be understood, these two questions are derived from two basic assumptions of housing classes theory. First one is derived from the assumption that individuals' life chances are very restricted in the housing to which they could get access whereas

second one is from the one that the groups who could get access to specific house resources would form a community.

In this chapter, the term life chances will be referred to the opportunities of an individual in realizing his/her goal in social action. As it has been discussed in chapter one, in Weberian approach, these opportunities reflect the outcomes of the distribution of power in society and the ownership of property with the disposal over goods and services in the marketplace constitute the two basic causal component of life chances. The concept of life chances covers many aspects of social life such as chances for educational attainment, health, material reward, status mobility etc. and in this study it is taken as to refer following variables: education, income, health, employment status, social security, leisure activities and consumption pattern (Marshall, 1998, p.368). On the other side, the concept of community concerns a particularly constituted set of social relationships based on what the participants have in common. Community may be characterized by self-sufficiency, kinship, consciousness of kind, common life-styles and various intensive types of social interaction (Marshall, p.97). As stated above, the second question of this study –whether there are outstanding characteristics of life styles of individuals who have same housing situation and if so whether these embody the base of different communities– is regarding community. In order to find out answer of this, formal and informal networks, migration pattern and residential mobility of households are analyzed under the 'Community Relations and Way of Life' title.

In this context, similarities and differences of housing groups defined on the basis of housing possession (owner-occupiers and tenants) and diverse housing types (gecekondu and apartment) are analyzed in this chapter. Therefore, following two variables has been taken as independent: (i) ownership of housing property and (ii) housing type. Dependent variables, on the other hand, are developed as two sets and while first set is designed to be able to measure life-chances, the other is devoted to investigate the community relations of different housing groups. If we sketch these

variables, it could be as follow:

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	
	Life Chance	Way of Life
Ownership of Housing Property	*Education*	*Migration Pattern*
	Health	*Residential Mobility*
Housing Type	*Income*	*Formal and*
	Employment	*Informal Networks*
	Social Security	
	Leisure	
	Consumption pattern	

4.2 Selecting Survey Area

Selecting a survey area consistent with the research subject of this case study was the fundamental phase of the design of the study and it is useful to state that this procedure was much more difficult and complex than first plans. As required by the conceptual framework that directs the study and the basic propositions of research, survey area should be in the process of the urban transformation. In other words, it should have the dynamic structure for housing situations as compared to the more settled and established areas of the city. The most important reason for this was that in an urban area having such characteristics, it could be possible to observe the way ownership of housing property affects the life chances of those people living in this place. In other words, such an area may facilitate the understanding and evaluation of the relations and interactions between the spatial and social stratifications.

Another point considered in the selection of survey area was that gecekondu and apartment should not be spatially separated and both of them should constitute a particular urban environment. Because, in such an area, the differences between diverse residential communities, one of which was dominated by gecekondu while other by apartment, and the conflict arising from these differences could be observed. As a result, it was considered that the survey area should have heterogeneous characteristics in terms of social stratification and should have dynamic structure with which urban

transformation process could be observed.

In the frames of these criteria, it was decided that Şentepe quarter in Yenimahalle was a consistent area for such a study. In the process of deciding, Güvenç's study on the spatial differentiation of Ankara City with regard to status-income was also used. Şentepe is both an old quarter of Yenimahalle and constitutes an urban area that enables to observe the new dynamics of urban developments. Basing on our researches concerning Şentepe quarter, three possible districts were distinguished: (i) Yükseltepe district, (ii) Barıştepe district and (iii) Burç district. However, by means of the information gathered from mukhtar (the elected head of a neighborhood) and from other data sources, we came to point that carrying out a research in Burç district would be more appropriate for the basic themes of the research and for answering the fundamental questions directing the study.

Map 4.1: Survey Area
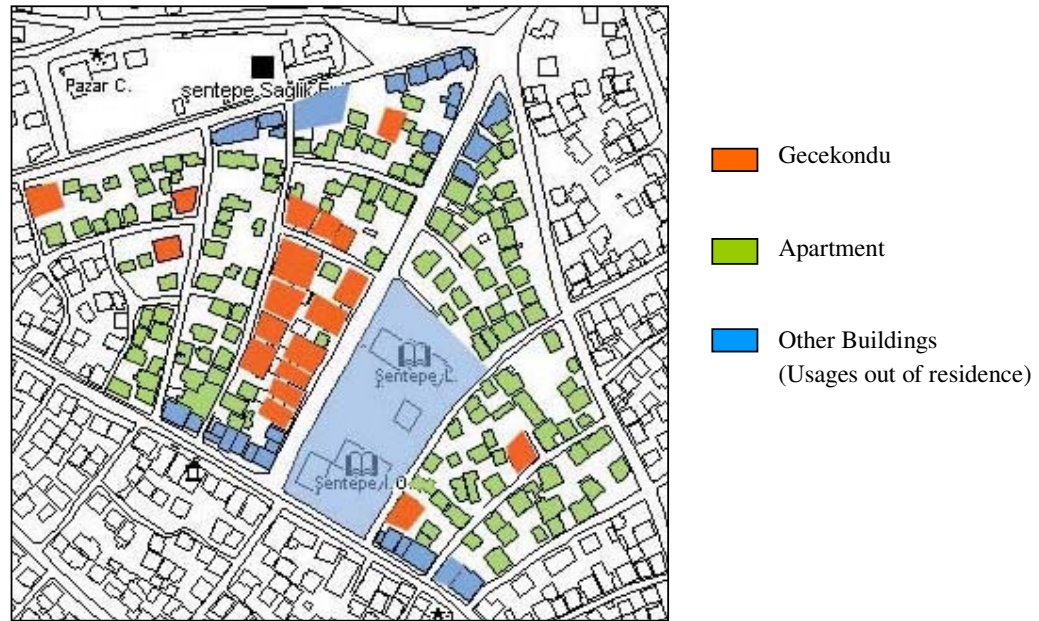
Map 4.2: Housing Types in Survey Area

4.3 Methodology of the Case Study

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed. The main data of the case study has chiefly gathered from questionnaires and also deep interviews held between July 2004 and October 2004. Questionnaire is composed of five parts; (A) *General Information on Members of Household*: demographic data, household structure, employment, education and social security status of household members are questioned in this section; (B) *The Socio-Economic Structure of Household*: this part issues the employment and occupational structure, and working conditions of head of household. Moreover, there are sets of questions to measure income level and consumption pattern of household; (C) *Head of Household*: in this part, birthplace, native land, migration experiences and patterns, formal and informal networks, political preferences and reproduction activities of head of household are questioned; (D) *Housing and District*: this part questions especially the position in the housing market, the basic characteristics of the living space and the social relations in the neighborhood; (E) *Gender*: in this part, the position of women in labor market, the role of women in

household and in survival strategies, and gender relations in neighborhood and, in general, in living space are questioned. Questionnaires has been interviewed with the heads of household except for Part E which is interviewed with the wives of head of households and female head of households.

Besides, in Part D, different questions were designed for apartment and gecekondu tenures. In other words, different questions were utilized for tenures of different housing types in terms of physical quality of houses, neighboring and community relations of tenures and their perception of their social position on the basis of housing type they occupied (See Appendix A for questionnaire designed for gecekondu tenures and Appendix B for Part D of questionnaire of apartment tenures). Questionnaire includes both closed and open-ended questions. Cluster sampling technique was used for questionnaire study. The number of questionnaires per sample housing groups was distributed homogeneously to be able to compare the similarities and differences between housing groups. In total, 64 households were chosen to be interviewed and this ratio represents the 1.7 percent of total household number in Burç district (3670 households – information taken from mukhtar/2004 records). Below is the number of questionnaires per housing groups:

Table 4.1: Number of Questionnaires by Housing Groups

	Gecekondu	Apartment	Total
Owner Occupier	16	16	32
Tenant	16	16	32
Total	**32**	**32**	**64**

In-depth interviews have provided the other sets of data, which could not have been reached by questionnaires. From each housing type, two interviewees (a man and a woman) have been selected for in-depth interviews. Nevertheless, we could implement only three of them because, in spite of visiting again and again, no man residing in apartment housing accepted our interview demand. Interviewees were questioned in detail in terms of social mobility and social networks, the way they perceived their social position, their everyday experiences with their next-door neighboring in their

living place, etc. The interviews of gecekondu residents were made by camera, nonetheless, woman residing in apartment housing did not permit to interview by any picture or sound recording device and, therefore, her interview was recorded by note taking method. In addition to the material collected from the questionnaire and in-depth interview, to get further information about other characteristics of district such as population and ethnic structure, mukhtar was also interviewed. Castings of these in-depth interviews are presented in Appendices C.

4.4 Problems Encountered in the Field Research and Limitations of the Findings

We faced certain difficulties during the field research. It was observed that many of the households in the studied district had spent their summer times in their native country and this brought about difficulties in performing study. Therefore, it had been necessitated to expand the survey field. Another difficulty was related to the timing of the study. The study should be performed out of the working hours since questionnaire was made up of the questions designed both for the heads of the households and their wives. However, in some cases, heads of household and their wives were interviewed in different hours or even in different days in order to perform the study in time. And finally, it is also necessary to state that getting information about ethnic origin and religious denomination of households was much more difficult as compared to other topics. We learned in the subsequent days of the study process that our eagerness about these topics had caused disquiet in the district and we realized that some gossips had started, concerning our looking for certain people belonging to definite ethnic origin or religious denomination.

4.5 Findings

4.5.1 Housing Groups

As formerly stated, aim of this study is to evaluate whether housing is a resource that affects individuals' life chances and whether it is possible to speak of a stratification where housing is a defining variable. For the sake of this study, housing situation is taken as independent variable and four groups have been determined on the basis of housing type and housing possession: gecekondu tenants, gecekondu owner-occupiers, apartment owner-occupiers and apartment tenants. Nonetheless, housing possession structure is more complex than the picture these basic distinctions draw. In this regard, table 4.2 is designed to exhibit the housing possession structure in detail.

It is obvious that there is variety of positions in housing market with respect to housing possession. The indicators in the table also enable us to put formerly that the studied housing groups are not homogenous and undifferentiated in themselves. In spite of this, there is a clear distinction between being owner and non-owner and it is possible to state that the line of distinction passes between the owner-occupiers and tenants. Housing is an expensive commodity and the average housing prices (51.25 billion TL) in Burç District is approximately six times of average annually income of households (8.28 billion TL). This ratio demonstrates that there is a big gap between non-owners and owners, and owners have a remarkable advantaged position in the housing market in regard of the ability to access housing possession. On the other hand, the way owners acquired their houses deserves to spend some words on. Among gecekondu owners, only 31.3 percent of tenures acquired their houses through housing market. 50.0 percent of gecekondu housings had been built by tenures themselves and rest of them (18.8 %) were inherited. On the other hand, 68.8 percent of apartment housings were bought by occupiers and the rest were acquired by landownership. In other words, 31.3 percent of apartment tenures had been the owner-occupiers of gecekondu in Burç District. The apartment housings were built on the gecekondu lands either by contractors in return of

certain number of flat to landowners (12.5 percent of apartment owner occupiers) or by landowners themselves (18.8 percent of apartment owner occupiers). This also explains why 31.3 percent of apartment owner-occupiers posses more than one houses.

Table 4.2: Position of Households in the Housing Market by Housing Groups

| Housing Possession Status | *Home Ownership* | | | |
| | *Gecekondu* | | *Apartment* | |
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Non-Owner	81.3 % (13)	---	---	62.3 % (10)
Non-Owner + Having Attempts/Plans to Own a House	6.3 % (1)	---	---	31.3 % (5)
Non-Owner + Having Attempts/Plans to Own Two Houses	6.3 % (1)	---	---	---
Non-Owner + Having Attempts/Plans to Own Three Houses	6.3 % (1)	---	---	---
Owning Share of a House, paying rent	---	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Owning Share of a House, not paying rent	---	6.3 % (1)	---	---
Owning Share of a House, not paying rent + Having Attempts/Plans to Own a House	---	18.8 % (3)	---	---
Owning a House	---	31.3 % (5)	56.3 % (9)	---
Owning a House + Having Attempts/Plans to Own One Other	---	25.0 % (4)	12.5 % (2)	---
Owning a House + Having Attempts/Plans to Own Two Other	---	6.3 % (1)	---	---
Owning Two Houses	---	6.3 % (1)	12.5 % (2)	---
Owning Two Houses + Having Attempts/Plans to Own One Other	---	6.3 % (1)	---	---
Owning Two Houses and Share of a House + Having Attempts/Plans to Own One Other	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Owning Three Houses	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Owning Eight Houses + Having Attempts/Plans to Own One Other	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

Total population of households in our sample is 263 – 47.5 percent is apartment tenants (125 persons) and 52.5 percent is gecekondu tenants (138 persons). Average household size of total sample is 4.0 persons per household. When it is evaluated on the basis of housing types, it is observed that there is slight difference between apartment and gecekondu types of housing, respectively 3.9 persons and 4.3 persons. When taken in respect of home ownership status, alternatively, tenants with 4.4 persons per household have remarkable differences from the owner-occupiers (3.8). Furthermore, as it is

figured out in table below, among four housing groups, the highest average size of household is that of gecekondu tenants.

Table 4.3: Main Demographic Indicators by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Average Household Size	4.8	3.9	3.9	3.9
Household Size				
1	---	18.8 % (3)	---	---
2	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	---
3	6.3 % (1)	25.0 % (4)	31.3 % (5)	37.5 % (6)
4	31.3 % (5)	25.0 % (4)	31.3 % (5)	37.5 % (6)
5	25.0 % (4)	6.3 % (1)	25.0 % (4)	25.0 % (4)
6 +	31.3 % (5)	18.8 % (3)	6.3 % (1)	---
Number of Families per Household	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0
Average Age of Population	24.6	34.1	30.0	22.3
Main Age Distributions				
0-14	33.3 %	20.6 %	23.8 %	37.1 %
15-64	64.1 %	73.0 %	73.0 %	62.9 %
65 +	2.6 %	6.3 %	3.2 %	0 %
Family Type				
Nuclear Family[*]	81.3 %	62.5 %	93.8 %	100 %
Extended Family[†]	6.3 %	12.5 %	6.3 %	---
Broken Nuclear Family[‡]	6.3 %	18.8 %	---	---
Broken N. F. + Relative(s)	6.3 %	6.3 %	---	---

[*] Husband-Wife / Husband-Wife and Single Child(ren).
[†] Nuclear Family and Married Child(ren)
[‡] Husband or Wife / Husband or Wife and Single Child(ren)
Source: Field Research

Following table illustrates the demographic data about heads of household. Among the 64 interviewed head of households, seven are female. It is interesting to observe that all female heads of household are living in gecekondu and majority of them (6) is gecekondu owner-occupiers. Furthermore, while six of them are widowed, one is married and she was introduced herself as head of household probably due to her husband's health problems (paralysis). The existence of female heads of household explains the reason why the indicators of sex and marital status of heads of household and family type exhibited in Table 4.4 has certain differences when the gecekondu housing type is compared with the apartment.

Table 4.4: Age, Marital Status and Sex of Heads of Household by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Average Age of Hade of Household	41.1	52.8	46.9	36.1
Marital Status of Head of Household				
Married	87.5 %	68.8 %	100 %	100 %
Widowed	6.3 %	31.3 %	---	---
Separate	6.3 %	---	---	---
Sex of Head of Household				
Male	93.8 %	62.5 %	100 %	100 %
Female	6.3 %	37.5 %	---	---

Source: Field Research

4.5.2 Life Chance

4.5.2.1   Education Level

In defining the life chances of individuals, education is an important variable. In this context, from the point of view of housing classes approach, which argues that individuals' life chance is restricted to the housing to which they could get access, it is expected that the education level of tenures of same housing situation would present a similar pattern and would be different with respect to others. In that context, in the case of Burç District, when the average education duration of tenures above 15 years old are considered, there observed certain differences between the gecekondu and apartment dwellers as indicated in Table 4.5. Also it is the case with respect to education level of heads of households. There are significant differences especially between tenants of gecekondu and apartments. For example, there is no university or higher education graduated within head of households of gecekondu tenants whereas no illiterate has recorded among the head of households of tenants of apartments.

Table 4.5: Average Education Duration of Household Population over Fifteen Years Old, Education Level of Heads of Household and of Partners of Heads of Household by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Average Education Duration (years)	5.2	6.7	8.1	8.6
Education Level of Head of Households				
Illiterate	6.3 %	18.8 %	6.3 %	---
Literate	---	6.3 %	6.3 %	---
Primary School	75.0 %	37.5 %	37.5 %	43.8 %
Secondary School	12.5 %	6.3 %	18.8 %	31.3 %
High School	6.3 %	18.8 %	18.8 %	12.5 %
Occupational High School	---	6.3 %	---	6.3 %
University	---	6.3 %	12.5 %	6.3 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Education Level of Partners of Head of Households				
Illiterate	37.5 %	18.2 %	18.8 %	---
Literate	---	18.2 %	---	---
Primary School	64.3 %	54.5 %	31.3 %	56.3 %
Secondary School	---	9.1 %	18.8 %	18.8 %
High School	---	---	25.0 %	25.0 %
University	---	---	6.3 %	---
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Field Research

Moreover, table above explicitly demonstrates that there are also certain differences between the education levels of partners of head of households with regard to different housing groups. In parallel to that of head of households, the partners who reside in apartments have higher education level. As a result, it is obvious that apartment tenures have advantaged position in terms of education among the interviewees. Nonetheless, on the basis of housing possession, it is not possible to construe that either tenants or owner-occupiers are privileged with respect to other in the education level they had acquired.
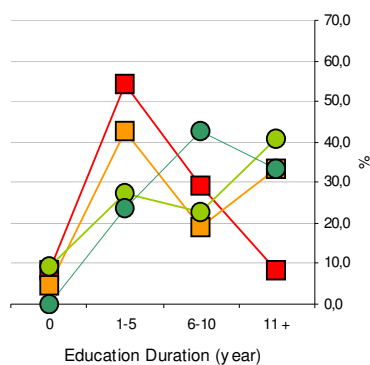
Figure 4.1 The Education Duration of Men by Housing Groups (%)
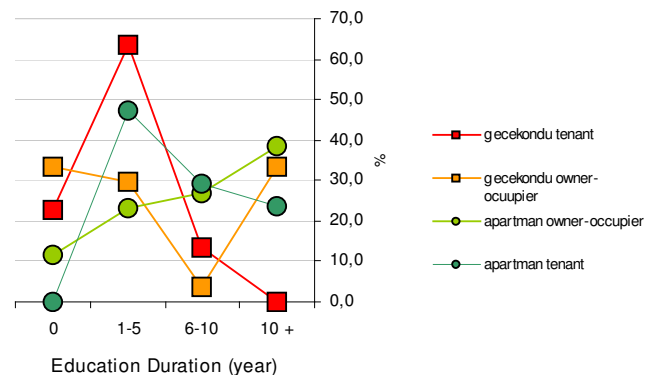
Figure 4.2 The Education Duration of Women by Housing Groups (%)

To be able to make more wide-ranging evaluation on this matter, it is also necessary to look at the relation between age distribution and education level. Table 4.6 exhibits this relation via housing type. According to this, as the age of heads of household increases, the education level of head of households decreases with some exceptions. As we have examined, the population reside in apartments are younger than that of gecekondu. At that point, the assumption that younger population; namely, second generation have more chance to reach education opportunities seems to be valid in our case as well. To illustrate, heads of household of apartment tenures have higher education especially the ones between the age of 30-59 than that of gecekondu.

Table 4.6: The Relation Between Age Distributions of Heads of Household and Education Level by Housing Types

Gecekondu %	Age Distributions					Total
	20-29	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60+**	
Illiterate	---	---	---	3.1	9.4	12.5
Literate	---	---	---	---	3.1	3.1
Primary School	3.1	18.8	18.8	9.4	6.3	56.3
Secondary School	---	3.1	6.3	---	---	9.4
High School	---	3.1	6.3	3.1	---	12.5
Occupational High School	---	3.1	---	---	---	3.1
University	---	---	---	---	3.1	3.1
Total	**3.1**	**28.1**	**31.3**	**15.6**	**21.9**	**100**
Apartment %	**20-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60+**	**Total**
Illiterate	---	---	---	---	3.1	3.1
Literate	---	---	---	3.1	---	3.1
Primary School	6.3	15.6	9.4	3.1	6.3	40.6
Secondary School	6.3	6.3	9.4	3.1	---	25.0
High School	---	9.4	3.1	3.1	---	15.6
Occupational High School	---	---	3.1	---	---	3.3
University	---	3.1	3.1	3.1	---	9.4
Total	**12.5**	**34.4**	**28.1**	**15.6**	**9.4**	**100**

Source: Field Research

The interesting point here is that the age group who has the lowest average education level is that of 20-29 when compared to older ones. It can be postulated that this is emanated from the moving of the tenures having adequate marketable skills to the more desirable sites of the city, which results in sustaining of the class structure of that site. In other words, increase in education level results in social mobility, which is usually accompanied by geographic mobility (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.230). On the other hand, the tenures both residing in gecekondu and apartment with higher education level are mostly owner-occupiers (66.7 % of high school and university graduates are owner-

occupiers). Below is the table demonstrating the generational differences of education level of tenures.

Table 4.7: Education Level of Heads of Household, of Fathers of Heads of Household and Schooling Ratio of Children by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Education Level of Fathers' of Head of Households				
Illiterate	56.3 %	50.0 %	37.5 %	6.3 %
Literate	6.3 %	18.8 %	6.3 %	25.0 %
Primary School	37.5 %	25.0 %	50.0 %	68.8 %
Secondary School	---	6.3 %	6.3 %	---
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Education Level of Head of Households				
Illiterate	6.3 %	18.8 %	6.3 %	---
Literate	---	6.3 %	6.3 %	---
Primary School	75.0 %	37.5 %	37.5 %	43.8 %
Secondary School	12.5 %	6.3 %	18.8 %	31.3 %
High School	6.3 %	18.8 %	18.8 %	12.5 %
Occupational High School	---	6.3 %	---	6.3 %
University	---	6.3 %	12.5 %	6.3 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Schooling Ratio of Children Between the Ages of 6 and 17.	81.1 %	93.3 %	100 %	92.3 %

Source: Field Research

When the education level of fathers of heads of household is considered, it is possible to say that there is a considerable relation between the education level of head of households and their parents. The ratios obviously demonstrate that all head of households, in accordance with their parents' educational level, more or less exceeds their parents in respect to the education facilities they have accessed. Table 4.7 also exhibits the schooling ratio of children and it is possible to observe similar pattern. At that point it should be reminded that unlike the analysis of the educational level of households or their partners which can present the index of achieved life chances, it is that of children which renders possible to observe possible effect of housing situation on the individual's life-chances. Totally speaking, in survey area, ten children are recorded, who do not attend to school. Seven of them are the children of households residing in the gecekondu as tenant. Among them there is one girl who is not allowed by her parents by basing on traditional justifications. In the case of others, the main

reason is said to be economic. It is remarkable that while they are economic reasons that prevent children of gecekondu tenants from attending to school, in the case of children of gecekondu owner-occupier and that of apartment tenants it is said to be their own choice to leave the school, apart from one boy who could not attend to school due to his health problem.

The final and significant aspect of education to be discussed here in this context is that, as Rex and Moore argues, school is the only one institution which each family, by law, must become part of. This compulsory contact and uniform treatment of all groups within the schools is important since schools are agent of socialization in terms of teaching certain values and attitudes (Rex and Moore, p.230). Erder (2001) agrees with this argument and takes school as the one of the over-local institutions that is important for public life. Beside, the point Erder's and Rex and Moore's studies interestingly underline is that the schools in that sort of areas do not become agents of change except for a very small minority. The evaluations and words of the residents in survey area can be taken as a view that verifies those definitions. Moreover, one of the most important points underlined by many of them during the interviews is related with the problem of social exclusion. For example, Mrs. A., one of the interviewees, stresses the fact that the residents of gecekondu areas are discriminated in terms of education because of their disadvantaged positions in social stratification. According to her:

> a child in a gecekondu who is having education can't be registered to [a school in] Yenimahalle or Etlik … Can't go to a good school. [Because the district resided in is known as gecekondu settlement.] We are not stupid, we of course can understand. They don't register the child of gecekondu. … To make this children be able to have better education, [I would want to be staying] in a better district.[1]

---

[1] Bir gecekonduda okuyan bir çocuk bi Yenimahalle'ye bi Etlik'e kayıt olamıyor, … güzel bir okula gidemiyor. [Mahallenin gecekondu mahallesi diye bilinmesinden dolayı] Eşşek değiliz anlıyoruz tabii. Gecekondunun çocuğunu almıyor. … bu çocukların daha iyi okuyabilmesi için, daha iyi bir semtte [oturmak isterdim].

Mrs. A. is an owner-occupier of apartment housing. The examination on education level made so far shows that the housing group that she is part of is in privileged position as compared to that of gecekondu tenants and owner-occupiers. Nonetheless, what her words make explicit is that all groups residing in survey area are in disadvantaged position, independent of they live in gecekondu or apartment housing and be located in one of the less desirable sites of the city.

When same way of analysis is carried out by taken income group as independent variable in place of housing situation, it can be seen that although there are positive relations between the education levels of heads of households and that of partners of them and their income levels on the one hand, and between the average education duration of residents and their income levels on the other, this is not the case for schooling ratio of children. Moreover, as it can be recognized this relation becomes more elaborate and clear as regards average education duration of tenures.

Table 4.8: Education Level of Heads of Household by Income

	Income Groups			
	1. Income Group	*2. Income Group*	*3. Income Group*	*4. Income Group*
Average Education Duration (years)	5.4	6.4	7.9	9.0
Education Level of Head of Households				
Illiterate	12.5 % (2)	13.3 % (2)	---	6.3 % (1)
Literate	6.3 % (1)	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Primary School	68.8 % (11)	46.7 % (7)	50.0 % (8)	25.0 % (4)
Secondary School	12.5 % (2)	20.0 % (3)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
High School	---	20.0 % (3)	25.0 % (4)	12.5 % (2)
Occupational High School	---	---	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)
University	---	---	---	25.0 % (4)
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (15)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)
Education Level of Partners of Head of Households				
Illiterate	33.3 % (4)	13.3 % (2)	7.7 % (1)	18.8 % (3)
Literate	8.3 % (1)	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Primary School	41.7 % (5)	53.3 % (8)	61.8 % (8)	43.8 % (7)
Secondary School	8.3 % (1)	26.7 % (4)	15.4 % (2)	---
High School	8.3 % (1)	6.7 % (1)	15.4 % (2)	25.0 % (4)
University	---	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Total	100 % (12)	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (16)
Schooling Ratio of Children Between the Ages of 6 and 17.	84.8 %	96.0 %	95.7 %	85.7 %

Source: Field Research

In other words, when education levels of heads of households and that of partners of them are considered, although there are no strict ties, all the same it can be said that higher income levels bring about higher education levels, and average duration of tenures represents the case in which this positive relation becomes visible. However, drawing similar conclusion seems to be not possible for children's schooling. By the way it should be noted that although there are no obvious and apparent relations between the duration of staying of residents in Ankara and their educational level, which is also true in the case of average education duration and of schooling of children as well, residents who were born in Ankara are apparently in more advantaged position as compared to immigrants. For example, there is no illiterate among them and the schooling ratio of their children is 100 percentages.

To sum up, it is figured out that there are certain differences between the residents of gecekondu and that of apartments in terms of the education level and apartment tenures have more advantaged position. On the other hand, the higher educated residents are owner-occupiers in both gecekondu and apartment settlements. However, as we have indicated above, the essential point to be considered in our subject is the case of children. But, the picture we come across in here is not very different. It seems that the gecekondu tenants be the most disadvantaged group. There are not only more children who do not attend to school in these families but also main factors bringing about this outcome are the economic ones as well. There are similar kind of positive relations between the income levels of residents and education levels; higher education levels seem to be associated with higher income levels. In that case it can be concluded in a way that the residents being in the most disadvantaged position are gecekondu tenants and those who have the lowest income level.

4.5.2.2 Occupation Structure and Employment Status

When we look at the general distribution of labor supply among women and men and between different housing groups, what is striking at first glance is the remarkable

unequal distribution of unemployment status between gecekondu and apartment housing types, including both men's and women's situation. While there is no unemployed in apartment owner-occupier housing group and only minor proportion of apartment tenants is in this situation, the other housing type represent a different picture in respect of being without a work. Especially the gecekondu owner-occupiers present the greatest unemployed ratio. In short, the basic differentiation line seems to be between different housing types –gecekondu and apartment housing– in terms of unemployment situation.

Table 4.9: Labor Supply of Total Population Over 15 Years Old by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
Labor Supply	*Tenant*	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Women Labor Supply				
Working	26.1 %	21.4 %	15.4 %	0.6 %
Retired	---	3.6 %	3.8 %	---
Unemployed	4.3 %	3.6 %	---	---
Housewife	60.9 %	64.3 %	65.4 %	88.2 %
Student	8.7 %	7.1 %	15.4 %	0.6 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Men Labor Supply				
Working	79.2 %	50.0 %	59.1 %	90.5 %
Retired	12.5 %	18.2 %	31.8 %	4.8 %
Unemployed	---	22.7 %	---	4.8 %
Student	8.3 %	9.1 %	9.1 %	---
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Total Labor Supply				
Working	53.2 %	34.0 %	35.4 %	52.6 %
Retired	6.4 %	10.0 %	16.7 %	2.6 %
Unemployed	2.1 %	12.0 %	---	2.6 %
Housewife	29.8 %	36.0 %	35.4 %	39.5 %
Student	8.5 %	8.0 %	12.5 %	2.6 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Number of Employee per Household	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.3

Source: Field Research

Different picture is stemming from the situation of working members of households. As it can be understood, tenants of both gecekondu and apartment housings have the highest ratio of working members of household among these four groups. This is the case when both men and total are considered. When turn to the women's situation, on the other side, it is seen that the apartment tenant housing group is the one in which the participation of women in labor force is the lowest one while it reaches highest point among gecekondu tenants. Furthermore, gecekondu tenant housing group again is the

one that has the households in which the number of employee per household reach highest point as compared to others. In brief, different from the employment situation, the basic line of distinction with respect to the distribution of working population among different groups is between the owners and the tenants.

Below table demonstrates how occupations are distributed among different housing groups. The term occupation here refers to both those occupations gained through formal education and those by traditional ways such as apprenticeship. Besides these categories, table also includes another category made up of those persons who could not attend any education process and did not gain any occupational skills.

Table 4.10: Occupation of Heads of Household by Housing Groups

Occupational Structure	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Skilled Manual Worker	56.3 % (9)	31.3 % (5)	31.3 % (5)	37.5% (6)
Semi-Skilled Manual Worker	31.3 % (5)	---	12.5 % (2)	25.0 % (4)
Office Worker	6.3 % (1)	31.3 % (5)	37.5 % (6)	25.0 % (4)
Petty Dealer	---	12.5 % (2)	12.5 % (2)	6.3 % (1)
Catering and Domestic Works	6.3 % (1)	---	---	---
Engineer/Teacher	---	---	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)
No occupation	---	25.0 % (4)	---	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

Occupational skills of most of the gecekondu tenants consist of skilled manual worker and semi-skilled manual worker respectively whereas those of gecekondu owner-occupiers seem to be distributed heavily between skilled manual worker and office worker. Furthermore, it is seen that those who have not any occupational skills are only among gecekondu owner-occupiers. On the other side, similar with that of the gecekondu owner-occupiers, distribution of the occupational skills of the apartment owner-occupiers intensifies especially on skilled manual worker and office worker. Last of all, occupational skills of those tenures living in apartment as tenant consist of mostly and respectively skilled manual worker, semi-skilled manual worker and office worker. There are two further points to be noted here. First, there is no engineer or teacher among gecekondu tenures. And secondly, proportion of the office workers

increases by passing toward from gecekondu to apartment housing type and from tenant to owner-occupier resident type. As is known, since the occupational skills of people may not correspond to their present employment situations, later is preferred in many times in order to measure social stratification and the positions they held in it. However, even if this is the case, there are many other impacts of occupation on the individual's life, which cannot be ignored. For example, during the case study it is observed that occupation is an important source of reference applied by people both in giving a meaning to their situation, to other people's situation and especially in comparing them. To illustrate, according to Mrs. A., resident in our survey area, there are both qualitative and quantitative differences between the urban services supplied by local government to their district and to other districts and she thinks they are in an apparent disadvantaged position in this respect. To explain these differences she compares Burç district with neighbor districts and she say that in such districts urban services are better and 'it is so because of that they are much more better district; all residents of them are engineer, doctor'.

As we have seen in second chapter, what is at stake here is the distribution of honor or prestige attached and attributed to some social groups or occupations by other people in society. In this regard, it seems to be possible to state that occupational structure contributes to the distribution of the status positions or honor and it is important factor in understanding the differentiation dynamics not only between different social environments but also within each one. On the other hand, in Burç District heads of household who acquired occupational skills through formal education are only 9.4 percent of the total households population. For others, semi-skilled or unskilled workers, it seems to be not likely to expect having employment status corresponding to their occupational skills as well. Therefore, it is more suitable to take into consideration working situation of the residents by means of focusing on their employment status. It is important to note further that in this study, employment status is determined on the basis of the quality, regularity and continuity of and position in the present working

situation.

Table 4.11: Employment Status of Heads of Household by Housing Groups

| Employment Status | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Salaried-Waged in Public Sector	---	25.0 % (4)	25.0 % (4)	31.3 % (5)
Salaried-Waged in Private Sector	43.8 % (7)	12.5 % (2)	---	37.5 % (6)
Self-employed – Formal	6.3 % (1)	---	25.0 % (4)	12.5 % (2)
Self-employed – Informal	37.5 % (6)	18.8 % (3)	---	12.5 % (2)
Retired	12.5 % (2)	31.3 % (5)	50.0 % (8)	6.3 % (1)
Housewife	---	12.5 % (2)	---	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

The first remarkable point in table above is the ratio of retired heads of household that corresponds to the quarter of total population. Moreover, when the distribution of these heads of household to the housing groups examined, it is obvious that there are much more retired heads of household among owner-occupiers with respect to tenants. As we have figured out previously, owner-occupiers relatively consist of older population as compared to tenants. Therefore, this disproportion in the distribution of the retirement among different groups is in a sense an expected outcome. Additionally, retirement date of owner-occupiers is ranging between 1983 and 2003, whereas it is 1992 to 2004 for tenants. However, all retired heads of household were not economically inactive in the period when we held our interviews. Five were working as salaried skilled manual workers and one was self-employed contractor. Also, one had worked after his retirement till his health problems avoided him and three declared their desire to work if they could find a work. Besides, the motive forcing these heads of household searching work after their retirement was mostly economical problems, with the exception of three persons for whom it was personal satisfaction.

As indicated in the table, there is no unemployed recorded among the heads of household. However, the number of heads of household who are dealing with informal works, thus working without any job security, constitutes 17.8 percent of heads of household. Gecekondu tenants constitute more than half of them. Moreover, among all heads of household dealing with self-employed informal works, four was not having

any work to do during the field study being conducted and within rest of them there was only a pedlar who has regular informal work. This demonstrates that in informal sector it could be possible to find only temporarily work without any contract or social security in general. Additionally, it is also understood that informal networks are all the same important factor for them to be able to succeed in finding a work, especially for women. Two female heads of household in our sample deal with domestic and catering works and have crucial connections through their close social environment, especially through networks in the neighborhood. However, as we have stated, they have chance to make some money on condition that there is any demand; otherwise they do not. Similarly, men reach to works through enformel networks but they do not depend just to their close social environment or to their neighborhoods to find a work to do. They have also relations with previously worked firms and companies or they have special places where they wait to maintain a contact such as café or industry sites. More than half of these heads of household that are self-employed and dealing with informal works are gecekondu tenures and majority of them (81.8 percent.) are gecekondu tenants. Also, as indicated in the table, there is no head of household among apartment owner-occupiers who deals with informal works.

On the other hand, apartment owner-occupiers have the highest ratio among both retired heads of household and self-employed heads of household dealing with formal works. Actually, only one out of seven heads of household who is self-employed dealing with formal works is gecekondu tenure, rest is apartment tenures. By the same token, there are more heads of household who are waged-salaried employees of public sector in apartment housing type. Moreover, unlike gecekondu owner-occupiers, among gecekondu tenants there is no head of household who is working in this kind of employment. In short, in respect of self-employed informal works, respectively gecekondu tenants and gecekondu owner-occupiers come to the fore. The other impressive data is that there is no head of household among gecekondu tenants working in public sector. And last of all, most of the retired are owner-occupiers. It is interesting to note here that in contrary to the arguments that suggest the existence of strong link

between the duration of staying in city and the articulation to formal system in terms of transition from informal works to formal ones, we could not observe such a correlation between them, with the exception of those born in Ankara.

Table 4.12: Employment Status of Heads of Household by Duration of Staying in Ankara

| | *Duration of Staying in Ankara* | | | | |
	0-15 years	*16-25 years*	*26-35 years*	*36 years and more*	*Born in Şentepe*
Salaried-Waged in Public Sector	13.3 % (2)	38.5 % (5)	15.4 % (2)	13.3 % (2)	25.0 % (2)
Salaried-Waged in Private Sector	26.7 % (4)	23.1 % (3)	7.7 % (1)	26.7 % (4)	37.5 % (3)
Self-employed – Formal Works	20.0 % (2)	15.4 % (2)	---	---	25.0 % (2)
Self-employed – Informal Works	26.7 % (4)	7.7 % (1)	46.2 % (6)	---	---
Retired	13.3 % (2)	15.4 % (2)	23.1 % (3)	53.3 % (8)	12.5 % (1)
Housewife	---	---	7.7 % (1)	6.7 % (1)	---
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (13)	100 % (15)	100 % (8)

Source: Field Research

We can go beyond the given condition and consider the present employment situation in respect of migration process by undertaken same way of analysis in terms of focusing on the alterations within the employment status of heads of household. Below table demonstrates these shifts within the employment status of immigrant heads of household.

Table 4.13: Immigrant Heads of Household's Employment Status Before Migration, First Employment in Ankara and Present Employment Situation by Housing Groups

| | *Home Ownership* | | | |
| | *Gecekondu* | | *Apartment* | |
Employment Status	*Tenant*	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Employment Status Before Migration				
Agriculture	40.0 % (6)	46.7 % (7)	46.2 % (6)	15.4 % (2)
Salaried-Waged in Public Sector	---	6.7 % (1)	---	7.7 % (1)
Salaried-Waged in Private Sector	---	---	7.7 % (1)	7.7 % (1)
Self-employed – Formal Works	6.7 % (1)	6.7 % (1)	7.7 % (1)	---
Self-employed – Informal Works	13.3 % (2)	---	---	---
Retired	---	---	---	---
Housewife	---	6.7 % (1)	---	---
Unemployed/Under age	40.0 % (6)	33.3 % (5)	38.5 % (5)	69.2 % (9)
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (13)
Employment Status After Migration				
Salaried-Waged in Public Sector	---	13.3 % (2)	15.4 % (2)	23.1 % (3)
Salaried-Waged in Private Sector	26.7 % (4)	20.0 % (3)	15.4 % (2)	46.2 % (6)
Self-employed – Formal Works	---	20.0 % (3)	15.4 % (2)	15.4 % (2)
Self-employed – Informal Works	60.0 % (9)	20.0 % (3)	53.8 % (7)	15.4 % (2)
Retired	---	---	---	---
Housewife	---	13.3 % (2)	---	---
Unemployed/Under age	13.3 % (2)	13.3 % (2)	---	---
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (13)

Table 4.13: (continued)

| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
| | Home Ownership | | | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Recent Employment Status				
Salaried-Waged in Public Sector	---	20.0 % (3)	23.1 % (3)	38.5 % (5)
Salaried-Waged in Private Sector	40.0 % (6)	13.3 % (2)	---	30.8 % (4)
Self-employed – Formal Works	6.7 % (1)	---	23.1 % (3)	7.7 % (1)
Self-employed – Informal Works	40.0 % (6)	20.0 % (3)	---	15.4 % (2)
Retired	13.3 % (2)	33.3 % (5)	53.8 % (7)	7.7 % (1)
Housewife	---	13.3 % (2)	---	---
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (13)

Source: Field Research

It is seen that ratio of agricultural activities presents naturally the leading one for all housing groups before migration and that of unemployment goes together with it. This picture undergoes considerable shift after the process of migration. While self-employed informal works come to the fore in the case of gecekondu tenants, private sector works with formal and informal works start to hold the biggest place in the distribution of the employment status within gecekondu owner-occupiers. On the other side, majority of the apartment owner-occupiers are employed through self-employed informal works by the same token gecekondu tenants while the distribution of the employment status of apartment tenants are intensified especially on public and private sectors. When turn to the present situation, this picture does not undergo considerable change in respect of gecekondu tenants. They are still employed for the most part through informal works and private sector. Similarly, in the case of gecekondu owner-occupiers, while the proportion of informal works remains the same, a part of them becomes retired. It is interesting to note that ratio of those heads of household working in informal works among apartment owner-occupiers seems to be replaced by the proportion of retired heads of household. And last of all, there seems to be no considerable change in the situation of apartment tenants.

4.5.2.3   Income Level

Income is a significant variable that largely affects the life experiences and opportunities of individuals and their children. Income levels of individuals provide

them different kinds of economic opportunities or disadvantages which shape their material interests. Additionally, as is known, in many researches, income level is taken as a misleading category since it is not possible to reach exact amounts of income of households and this is one of the most important limitations of case studies in which income level has central importance. All the same, in this study, income level is taken as a valid category and determined on the basis of the responses interviewees gave. Besides, to be able to overcome such limitations, the questionnaire is designed in a way that replies of interviewees can be testified through the interview by means of more than one question that addresses income issue. Above all, what was tried to be basically found out through the case study was level of income rather than exact numbers of it and the study is implemented by means of such techniques without meeting serious difficulties. The income level of households is evaluated on the basis of income per capita since it is misleading to take the household as a unit. It is important to note here that during the period when interviews were conducted, the net minimum monthly wage for 16 years old and older was 318.233.475 Turkish Liras[2], which is determined by Establishing Commission of Minimum Wage and calculated with reference to the minimum necessary spending of a worker such as nourishment, residence, clothing, health, transportation and culture etc.[3] The average household size of 64 households is 4.1. Therefore, while considering the income per capita 80 million TL that is quarter of the minimum wage is taken as criterion. Below is the approximate monthly household income per capita.

---

[2] See http://www.calisma.gov.tr/istatistik/cgm/yillar_brut_asgari_ucret.htm, visited at October 2004.
[3] Minimum Wage Regulation, 1972; in Ersoy and Şengül, 2000, p.22.

Table 4.14: Monthly Household Income Distribution per capita by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Average Income per capita (million TL)	116.4	163.7	299.7	183.0
Average Real Income per capita (million TL)*	90.1	163.7	299.7	133.1
Income per person (Million Turkish Liras)				
80 and below	37.5 %	31.3 %	---	---
81-160	43.8 %	31.3 %	37.5 %	37.5 %
161-240	18.8 %	12.5 %	12.5 %	37.5 %
241-320	---	12.5 %	18.8 %	25.0 %
321 and above	---	12.5 %	25.0 %	---
Refused to say	---	---	6.3 %	---
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

* Average Real Income per capita = (total income of household – housing rent) / household population.
Source: Field Research

The amount of income per capita is ranging between 39 million TL to 900 million TL among the households. However as Table 4.14 indicates, income levels present a pattern with respect to housing groups. Moreover, table also gives the average real income of housing groups and, without no doubt, rent expenditures of tenant housing groups bring about the considerable decreases in their monthly income. According to table, owner-occupiers of apartment have distinctively highest average income per capita. On the other hand, tenants of gecekondu represent once more the most disadvantage group among others. This is explicit when the income groups considered. The monthly income of the majority of gecekondu tenants (71.3 %) is under 160 million TL per capita. This ratio slowly decreases in the case of the gecekondu owner-occupiers (62.6 %). Quite the opposite, only 37.5 percentages of apartment tenures' income levels are between 81 million and 160 million TL. Moreover, in these groups, as indicated in Figure 4.3, there are no households that have income per capita under the minimum monthly wage declared by government. What is striking is that all households having over 320 million TL monthly incomes per capita are only owner-occupiers.
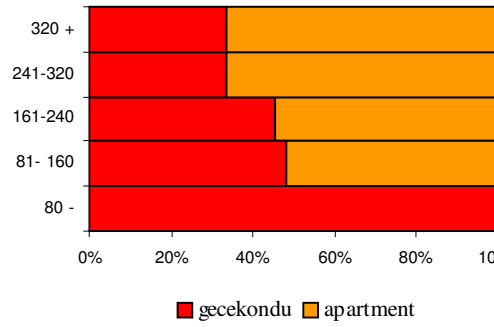
Figure 4.3: Income Groups by Housing Type
Source: Field Research
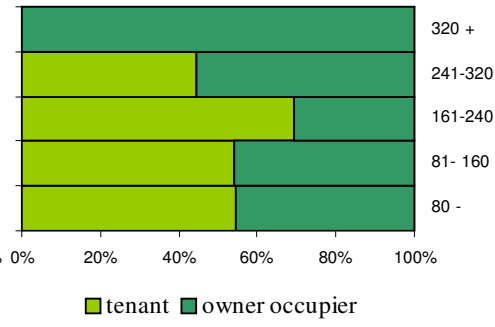
Figure 4.4: Income Groups by Housing Ownership
Source: Field Research

Nonetheless, it is observed through the study that evaluation of the income distribution alone does not provide a sufficient criterion in determining interviewees' market capacity. As an instance, in a case, 78 years old woman residing alone in a gecekondu as an owner-occupier with 55 million TL monthly income states that this amount is sufficient since her other necessary expenses is covered by her children. There are also cases in which households while having relatively higher prices states that their incomes are insufficient. In that concern, Table 4.15 demonstrates both the ratio of expenses to monthly household income and the ratio of ideal income required for good living conditions with respect to present income.

Table 4.15: The Ratio of Monthly Expenses and Ideal Income with respect to Present Income by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Monthly Expenses / Present Income	95.1 %	90.9 %	90.3 %	91.6 %
Ideal Income / Income				
Same as present income	18.8 %	6.3 %	18.8 %	6.3 %
One and half times more	12.5 %	44.1 %	44.1 %	50.0 %
Two times more	56.3 %	12.5 %	12.5 %	18.8 %
Two and half times more	6.3 %	12.5 %	6.3 %	6.3 %
Three times more and over	6.3 %	18.8 %	12.5 %	18.8 %
Refused to say	---	---	6.3 %	---
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Field Research

As it can be observed from table above, there are slight differences between the ratios of total monthly expenses of different types of households representing different housing groups to their monthly-acquired income. Even so, this does not mean that

amount of their monthly expenses are similar, neither their consumption patterns. This is clear with the responses given by interviewees to the question of amount of ideal income to live in good conditions. Significantly, majority of the gecekondu tenants need at least two times more amount of income than they can get at present, whereas at least half of the tenures of other housing groups state that their present income or one and half times of it is sufficient to live in better conditions. When expenditures of different housing groups are considered, it is possible to suggest that there are certain continuities between findings representing different aspects of the life conditions of these groups. Before turning to interpret, it should be noted that in below figure totality of the each particular kind of expenditure of housing groups gives the total monthly income of them. In other words, distribution of the different kinds of expenditure of each housing group reflects the proportion of those expenditures in their monthly income. According to this, there is a significant difference between tenants and owner-occupiers in terms of the constant household expenditures independently of whether they reside in gecekondu or apartment.
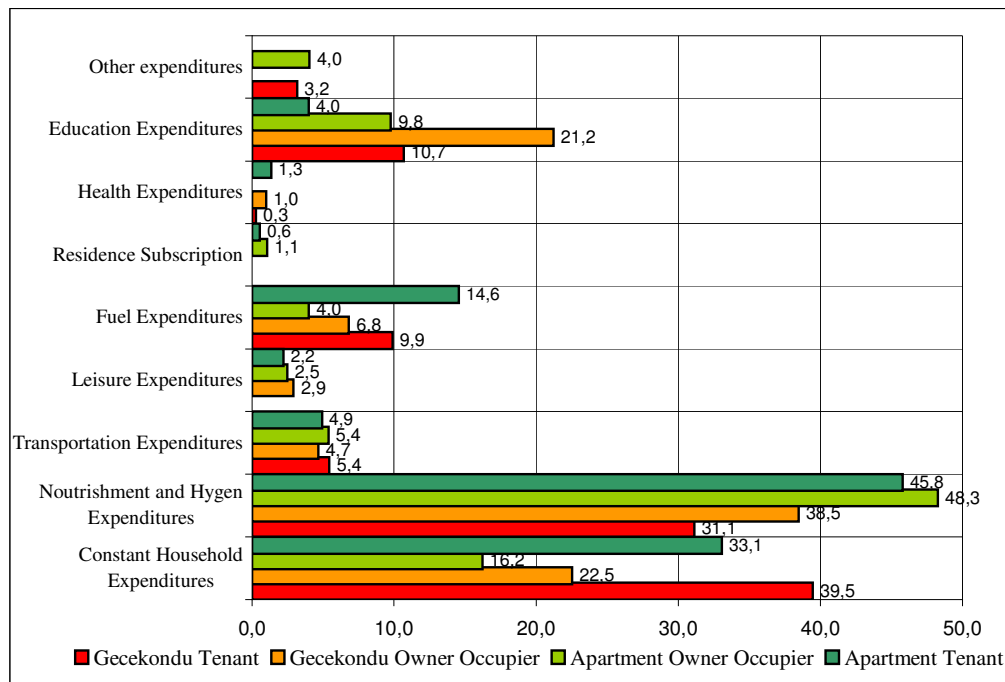
Figure 4.5: Expenditures of Households by Housing Groups
Source: Field Research

While the amount of the constant household expenditures (including housing rent, monthly expenditures of electricity, water, telephone, etc.) of gecekondu tenants is nearly two times of that of gecekondu owner occupiers, this ratio is more than three times in the case of apartment tenants and apartment owner occupiers. Surely, the most important factor is rents, which create this substantial difference. As a matter of fact, proportionally speaking, while the average rent price in the gecekondu housings (115 million TL) is 25.7 percentages of the average total income in this housing group, it is 29.5 in the case of apartments (184 million TL). Moreover, if it is assumed that owner-occupiers in both gecekondu and apartment utilize their savings in different kinds of expenditure; especially the education category can be considered as one of the important utilization domains.

It is significant to note in here that when average income per capita is considered in the context of residents' duration of staying, it is observed that there is positive correlation between them. In other words, the higher duration of staying is associated with the higher average income. For example, they are the first comers, who are in the most advantaged position in respect of average income per capita. Similarly, residents who have income levels over 240 millions are mostly consisted of households living in Ankara more than 25 years.

Table 4.16: Monthly Household Income Distribution per capita by Duration of Staying in Ankara

	Duration of Staying in Ankara				
	0-15 years	*16-25 years*	*26-35 years*	*36 years and more*	*Born in Şentepe*
Average Income per capita (million TL)	151.1	163.3	161.1	277.7	175.8
Income per person (Million Turkish Liras)					
80 and below	26.7 % (4)	7.7 % (1)	30.8 % (4)	6.7 % (1)	12.5 % (1)
81-160	20.0 % (3)	38.5 % (5)	30.8 % (4)	53.3 % (8)	50.0 % (4)
161-240	40.0 % (6)	46.2 % (6)	7.7 % (1)	---	---
241-320	---	7.7 % (1)	15.4 % (2)	20.0 % (3)	37.5 % (3)
321 and above	6.7 % (1)	---	15.4 % (2)	20.0 % (3)	---
Refused to say	6.7 % (1)	---	---	---	---
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (11)	100 % (13)	100 % (15)	100 % (8)

Source: Field Research

In short, with respect to income, it seems that the main line of differentiation is not

between different housing types but between tenants and owner-occupiers. Especially in the case of gecekondu tenants, we have seen that they are the most disadvantaged groups in many respects and this is the result of their disadvantaged position in the social stratification. On the other hand, when the contribution of spatial relations to the social stratification is considered, it is possible to suggest that home ownership plays an important role. It enables owner-occupiers the opportunity of saving certain amount of income to utilize them in other kinds of expenditures or in other places.

4.5.2.4 Consumption Pattern

Consumption pattern is a variable both demonstrating the income level and status of the household. Also consumption is an activity that all households necessarily join and, thus, consumption pattern is one of the most important indicator that is associated with the life chance of individual. However, depending on individuals' market capacity the level or degree of this activity may vary. If it is assumed that individuals' life chances are very restricted to the housing they reside in, it could be expected that the consumption pattern of household would be in accordance with their housing position. To evaluate the consumption pattern of households in our study, initially, the changes in consumption capacity of households in recent years should be questioned. It should be stated formerly that the questions on consumption structure of household had asked to the women. According to the responses of women as demonstrated in table below, there are no significant differences in terms of changes in consumption capacity of households by different housing groups. Approximately half of the households in each group have experienced no change in their consumption pattern in past few years. The proportion of the households that have decrease in their consumption capacity also indicates that there is no considerable difference between the housing groups in respect of consumption.

Table 4.17: The Change in Consumption Capacity of Households by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
No change	46.7 % (7)	43.8 % (7)	50.0 % (8)	50.0 % (8)
Decrease in quantity	13.3 % (2)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)	6.3 % (1)
Decrease in consuming food	26.7 % (4)	31.3 % (5)	12.5 % (2)	25.0 % (4)
Decrease in others (clothing, cosmetics, etc.)	13.3 % (2)	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

Moreover, we know that such a limited number of cases is sufficient neither to examine in particular the consumption pattern by housing groups nor to compare them. However, it can be said by bearing these limitations in mind that for all housing groups except for apartment owner-occupiers; consumption of what is quantitatively and qualitatively decreased in recent years is food. The important point is that eleven households among those whose food consumption has decreased stated in particular that this decrease was occurred in the consumption of meat and meat products. For two owner-occupier households it is in the consumption of fruits and vegetables, while for two gecekondu tenant households it is in the basic foods for breakfast such as cheese, olive, etc. As is known, consumption of such basic foods is treated generally as the main indicator of minimum economic sufficiency. For example, Mr. O., tenant of gecekondu, mentioned about such foods during detailed interview while explaining how he economized to make his livelihood with 350 million TL monthly income:

> One third [of my income] goes to electricity, water [bills]. I mean, after paying electricity, water, rent, telephone [bills] only eighty five million [TL] money remain in our hands. Leave buying olive, cheese aside, leave it aside, we even can't see. Which color it has, we don't know in real truth. I mean, while saying don't known, to say, I mean we can't buy that much, that is, every month. If we can, we buy one kilogram olive and one kilogram cheese once in a blue moon. As we bought them, whether you believe or not, there remains fifteen or twenty million in our hands. Let's make a month with this [money], how would you do.[4]

---

[4] Elektriğinle su, üçte biri gidiyo. Yani temiz elimize elektriği, suyu, kirayı, telefonu verdiğimiz zaman elimizde seksenbeşmilyon para kalıyo. Zeytin, peynir almayı bırak bi kenara, onu şöyle bi kenara koy, gördüğümüz yok. Nassı bi rengi var, bilmiyoz işin aslına bakarsan. Yani bilmiyoz derkene yani o kadar yani her ay alamıyoz yani. Ayda yılda bi alabilirsek alıyoz bi kilo zeytinle bi kilo peynir. Onları da aldığımız zaman elimizde ya ister inan ya onbeşmilyon kalıyo ya yirmimilyon kalıyo. Onla ay başını getir bakayım nası getireceksen.

While it was olive and cheese which Mr. O. forgot the colors of, for others in great deal it was meat and meat products. For that reason, we consider meat and meat products as the other indicator of households' consumption capacity. We asked respondents the amount of monthly consumption of meat and meat products and the changes in consumption of these foodstuffs in recent years. Strikingly, the amount of meat consumed by gecekondu tenants is much more less than that of other housing groups consume. Although one household in this group said that this was their preference, this is not a fact that would affect the averages and there are still noticeable differences when compared to other housing groups. As indicated in table below, members of households in apartment owner-occupiers housing group consume over three times more meat than that of gecekondu tenants. Moreover, the changes in the amount of meat and meat products consumption demonstrate that the great deal of households in each housing groups does not have the consumption capacity which they had only few years ago.

Table 4.18: The Amount of Monthly Consumed Meat and Meat Products per capita and Change in Consumption of Meat and Meat Products by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
The average amount of meat consumed per capita (kg.)	0.4	0.9	1.4	1.0
Change in the amount of meat consumption in recent years				
Increased	6.7 % (1)	12.5 % (2)	31.3 % (5)	6.3 % (1)
No change	40.0 % (6)	25.0 % (4)	25.0 % (4)	50.0 % (8)
Decreased	53.3 % (8)	62.5 % (10)	43.8 % (7)	43.8 % (7)
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

To evaluate the differences between the consumption patterns of households, consumption goods are considered as another indicator as well. It is because possessing such consumption goods that facilitates living associates strictly with the market position, thus life chances, of the individuals. Moreover, such goods provide to a certain extent prestige to its owners. As McEven denotes, one of the basic reasons that conveys the neighborly relations from solidarity to conflict and tension is status

competition and pretentiously exhibition of favorite status symbols (McEven, A.M., 1974, 'Differentiation among the urban poor', p.222; in Ayata, 1989, p.113). Nonetheless, this is not the fact for widely consumed goods but for ones owned by limited number of persons. In this respect, in evaluating the consumption pattern of housing groups, we select the goods that enable us to observe differences in their consumption patterns. That is to say, some goods that are owned by all households such as telephone and refrigerator have been omitted. Moreover, there are also goods that majority of households have but in different number or type. Such goods have taken in consideration as indicators demonstrating the consumption capacity of the housing groups.

Table 4.19: Consumption Patterns of Households by Housing Groups

Consumption Goods	Home Ownership						
	Gecekondu				Apartment		
	Tenant		Owner Occupier		Owner Occupier		Tenant	
Vacuum Cleaner	62.5 %		93.8 %		100 %		100 %	
Television	93.7 %		100 %		100 %		93.8 %	
1		81.3 %		75.0 %		75.0 %		56.3 %
2		6.3 %		18.8 %		18.8 %		37.5 %
3		6.3 %		6.3 %		6.3 %		---
Vcd / Dvd Player	25.0 %		37.5 %		56.3 %		50.0 %	
Washing Machine	81.3 %		87.6 %		93.8 %		100 %	
Normal		25.0 %		6.3 %		---		---
Automatic		56.3 %		81.3 %		93.8 %		100 %
Dishwasher	12.5 %		25.0 %		50.0 %		37.5 %	
Music Set	18.8 %		37.5 %		37.5 %		50.0 %	
Mobile Phone	81.3 %		81.3 %		87.5 %		100 %	
1		75.0 %		50.0 %		25.0 %		68.8 %
2		---		18.8 %		43.8 %		31.3 %
3		6.3 %		12.5 %		12.5 %		---
4 and more		---		---		6.3 %		---
PC	---		12.5 %		31.3 %		---	
Car	25.0 %		31.3 %		62.5 %		25.0 %	
2001-2004		---		6.3 %		6.3 %		---
1991-2000		12.5 %		18.8 %		56.3 %		18.8 %
1990 and older		12.5 %		6.3 %		6.3 %		6.3 %

Source: Field Research

As exhibited in the table, vacuum cleaner, television, washing machine and mobile phone are goods that the majority of households have. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that tenants of gecekondu are again in the most disadvantaged position in terms of possession of these goods, or the type or number of them. As we have stated above, the goods that are not widely consumed could reflect the differences of consumption

pattern between housing groups; also, may contribute to the prestige of households in the community. Vcd or Dvd Players can be treated as one of such goods and is owned by at least half of the households residing in apartment. Again among such goods there are dishwasher which is available at most in owner-occupiers and music set owned at the greatest amount by apartment tenures with 50 percent. Moreover, most significantly, households that have computers are only the owner-occupiers. Owner-occupiers' privileged position is also valid in the case of car ownership. Car is separable from other consumption goods with its being the most expensive one as compared to others. Therefore, it can be viewed as the one that explicitly indicates the market capacity of households in terms of consumption. In that sense, the ratio of 62.5 percent for car ownership apparently demonstrates that being owner-occupier of apartment hosing represents more privileged position in property market as compared to other ones.

Table 4.20: Consumption by Installment and Credit Card Ownership by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Consumption by installment	43.8 % (7)	50.0 % (8)	50.0 % (8)	50.0 % (8)
Credit Card Ownership of Heads of Households	**31.3 % (5)**	**31.3 % (5)**	**50.0 % (8)**	**56.3 % (9)**
Own and using	31.3 % (5)	25.0 % (4)	37.5 % (6)	43.8 % (7)
Own but not using	---	6.3 % (1)	12.5 % (2)	12.5 % (2)

Source: Field Research

Joining to consumption activity, or ability to access to consumption goods, is very restricted to the market position of individuals. However, it is argued that there are ways that facilitates consumption activity. One is consumption by installment. Among the interviewees, half of the households pay off monthly installment and this is the fact for all housing groups. The other is credit card which enables to consume by installment and also without having cashes. However, credit card also explicitly exposes the connection between consumption pattern and status positions. Most of the banks provide their consumers credit cards but to ones who have at least specific amount of income or have guarantor. In other words, those who are unemployed or

doing irregular or informal works, or who have income under the required amount cannot have credit cards. The required amount of income are not declared principally by banks but it is known that who have income at the level of minimum wage cannot have credit cards[5]. To note, it is not surprising that the credit cards of some banks have names referring to privileged position of credit card owners such as 'prestige card'. In this context, among the heads of household, at least half of those residing in apartment have credit cards whereas it is only 31.3 percent for heads of household of gecekondu. It is clear that having credit cards have significant effects on the consumption capacity of households. The majority of the households that have credit cards use them. As a result, in terms of consumption patterns, as other variables have already demonstrated, apartment owner-occupiers can be considered in the positively privileged position while the tenants of gecekondu is the most disadvantaged housing group in respect of consumption pattern.

Table 4.21: Consumption Patterns of Households by Income

	Income Groups							
	1. Income Group		2. Income Group		3. Income Group		4. Income Group	
Vacuum Cleaner	**81.3 %**		**86.7 %**		**87.5 %**		**100 %**	
Television	**100 %**		**86.7 %**		**100 %**		**100 %**	
1		100 %		66.7 %		68.8 %		50.0 %
2		---		13.3 %		31.3 %		37.5 %
3		---		6.7 %		---		12.5 %
Vcd / Dvd Player	**12.5 %**		**33.3 %**		**50.0 %**		**68.8 %**	
Washing Machine	**81.3 %**		**100 %**		**87.5 %**		**93.8 %**	
Normal		25.0 %		6.7 %		---		---
Automatic		56.3 %		93.3 %		87.5 %		93.8 %
Dishwasher	**6.3 %**		**33.3 %**		**31.3 %**		**56.3 %**	
Music Set	**6.3 %**		**26.7 %**		**62.5 %**		**50.0 %**	
Mobile Phone	**81.3 %**		**93.3 %**		**87.5 %**		**93.8 %**	
1		81.3 %		53.3 %		43.8 %		37.5 %
2		---		20.0 %		25.0 %		50.0 %
3		---		13.3 %		18.8 %		---
4 and more		---		---		---		6.3 %
PC	**---**		**6.7 %**		**6.3 %**		**31.3 %**	
Car	**18.8 %**		**26.7 %**		**43.8 %**		**62.5 %**	
2001-2004		---		---		---		12.5 %
1991-2000		6.3 %		20.0 %		37.5 %		43.8 %
1990 and older		12.5 %		6.7 %		6.3 %		6.3 %

Source: Field Research

---

[5] http://www.isbank.com.tr/bireysel/b-kart-basvuru.html and http://www.akbank.com/axess/axess.asp?chap=359&page=349&mcat=348.

4.5.2.5 Leisure Activities

In Weberian sense, as we have discussed so far, where one lives, which facilities he/she is able to access, his/her manner of speech, his/her schooling, what sort of habits he/she has adopted, these and many other factors reflect the life-chances of individuals. Leisure habits, in that sense, appear as one of such factors. More specifically, wasting time in café (kahve) or spending time with cultural activities such as cinema, theater, etc. are accepted as the leisure habits of different social stratums. To begin with, as we have pointed out in Figure 4.5, leisure expenditures of households constitute only 1.9 percent of total monthly expenditures of households in our sample. What is remarkable is that gecekondu tenants spend no money for leisure activities whereas gecekondu owner-occupiers spend 2.9 percent, apartment owner-occupier 2.5 percent and apartment tenants 2.2 percent of their monthly expenditures. Table below demonstrates the free time activities of both men and women.

Table 4.22: Free Time Activities of Men and Women by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership							
	Gecekondu				Apartment			
Free Time Activities	Tenant		Owner Occupier		Owner Occupier		Tenant	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
At home	**66.8%**	**86.7%**	**60.0%**	**81.3%**	**56.3%**	**81.3%**	**62.5%**	**87.5%**
Restoring House	6.7%	---	10.0%	---	6.3%	---	---	---
Reading (books, paper)	6.7%	6.7%	---	---	6.3%	18.8%	12.5%	---
Watching TV	---	---	20.0%	---	6.3%	---	---	12.5%
Having rest, sleeping	46.7%	20.0%	30.0%	31.3%	25.0%	12.5%	43.8%	6.3%
Pets / Poultry	6.7%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Worshipping	---	---	---	12.5%	6.3%	---	6.3%	---
Computer / internet	---	---	---	---	6.3%	---	---	---
Handiworks (lacework, knitting, etc)	---	60.0%	---	31.3%	---	50.0%	---	68.8%
Outside home	**20.0%**	**13.3%**	**40.0%**	**18.8%**	**43.8%**	**18.8%**	**37.5%**	**6.3%**
Stroll in the District	6.7%	---	20.0%	---	12.5%	6.3%	---	---
Stroll in the City Center	6.7%	---	---	---	6.3%	---	6.3%	---
Taking children out	---	---	10.0%	6.3%	6.3%	12.5%	6.3%	---
Going to café (kahve)	6.7%	---	---	---	---	---	18.8%	---
Sport	---	---	10.0%	---	6.3%	---	---	---
Visiting neighbors/friends	---	13.3%	---	12.5%	---	---	6.3%	6.3%
Involvement in club, society etc. activities	---	---	---	---	12.5%	---	---	---
No free time	**13,3%**	**---**	**---**	**6.3%**	**---**	**---**	**---**	**6.3%**
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Research

Among 57 men and 64 women respondents' activities, what is remarkable at first glance is the ratio of activities held at home. Majority of respondents spends their free time at home. Other significant point is the higher ratio of women's activities held at home as compared to that of men. One of the activities majority of women do is handiwork. This finding is consistent with but more than the number of women doing informal works at home. On the other hand, men mostly prefer to have a rest at home in their free times. When their outside activities are considered, it is possible to say that in great deal the activities men do outside home do not have a specific and defined characteristics. This is true in the case of women's activities although minority of them participates outside activities and though these activities are held with their family or husbands such as visiting neighbors, friends or relatives, or taking children out.

As it can be understood, the evaluation of free time activities above has been carried out regardless of the housing groups of respondents since there is no significant differences between the housing groups in terms of the way residents spend their free times. All the same, there are still certain specific activities particular to different housing groups. As an instance, only two men among 121 respondents (total of 63 women and 58 men respondents) involve in activities of clubs or societies in their free times and they are apartment owner-occupiers. Moreover, only one man counts computer and internet among his free times activities and he is residing in apartment as owner-occupier. Two other men who are owner-occupiers do sport in their free times. Among women, only four spend their free time with reading, three of which are in the housing group of apartment owner-occupiers. Such activities –reading, computer or club/society ones– seem to come to the fore as activities of relatively privileged groups when compared to that of others. Conversely, the activities such as visiting neighbors, spending time in café (kahve) or strolling in district are the ones that take place within neighborhood and not surprisingly, tenants come to the fore when these types of activities are considered. Among tenant groups, the only outside activity of women is visiting neighbors, friends or relatives. Similarly, those men who spend their spare time

in café (kahve) in district are only among tenants.

Of course, such activities do not reflect and not enable us to observe in particular the status divisions of residents and surely size of the sample do not provide sufficient material to make generalizations. However, basing on responses, some activities peculiar to certain housing groups have been tried to be distinguished already. Moving from this point, it can be argued that the cultural activities of residents and their frequency present important characteristics about life chances of them. In this regard, table below exhibits the last time when residents attend to the cultural activities.[6]

Table 4.23: The Last Time Tenures Attend to the Cultural Activities by Housing Groups

The last time tenures attend to the cultural activities	Home Ownership							
	Gecekondu				*Apartment*			
	Tenant		*Owner Occupier*		*Owner Occupier*		*Tenant*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Cinema								
In last week	6.7%	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
In last month	---	---	10.0%	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%	12.5%	6.3%
In last year	---	---	---	6.3%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%
In last ten years	13.3%	---	10.0%	---	18.8%	18.8%	25.0%	12.5%
More than ten years	33.3%	20.0%	50.0%	50.0%	18.8%	37.5%	---	6.3%
Not Remember	6.7%	6.7%	20.0%	---	12.5%	---	18.8%	---
Never	40.0%	73.3%	10.0%	37.5%	31.3%	25.0%	31.3%	62.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Theater								
In last month	---	---	---	6.3%	---	---	---	---
In last year	---	---	---	6.3%	18.8%	6.3%	---	---
In last ten years	6.7%	13.3%	10.0%	6.3%	12.5%	18.8%	12.5%	---
More than ten years	6.7%	---	20.0%	12.5%	6.3%	6.3%	---	6.3%
Not Remember	6.7%	---	10.0%	---	6.3%	12.5%	12.5%	---
Never	80.0%	86.7%	60.0%	68.8%	56.3%	56.3%	75.0%	93.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Concert								
In last week	13.3%	---	10.0%	12.5%	6.3%	12.5%	12.5%	25.0%
In last month	---	13.3%	10.0%	---	6.3%	6.3%	---	---
In last year	6.7%	---	---	6.3%	25.0%	25.0%	18.8%	18.8%
In last ten years	20.0%	---	---	6.3%	---	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%
More than ten years	---	---	---	6.3%	6.3%	6.3%	---	---
Not Remember	13.3%	---	---	---	---	---	6.3%	---
Never	46.7%	86.7%	80.0%	68.8%	56.3%	43.8%	56.3%	50.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

---

[6] It is important to note that by this kind of questions it is not aimed either to judge residents as being culturally backward or to judge their cultural manners. Quite the opposite, by questioning these issues our aim is to find out whether there are differences arising out of the variety of the positions occupied in housing situation as we have emphasized many times so far. We write this down because such questions generally fulfill in this direction in gecekondu literature.

In table above, first significant point to be discussed is the ratio of never. It is obvious that majority of the women in tenant housing groups has never gone to the cinema whereas more than half of the other tenures have gone in any time in their life. Moreover, for each activity, gecekondu tenant housing group takes the lead all over again in terms of the ratios of women who have never involved in them with the exception of theater in which the highest ratio is that of apartment tenant housing group. On the other hand, if data gathered from the questionnaires is evaluated specifically on the basis of the types of activities, it is possible to state that among residents most well-known and accessible one is cinema as compared to others whereas theatre constitutes the least preferred one. Most of the respondents who have went theater said that it was while they were student and organized by their school, there was no one who attends this type of activity by paying for ticket but through some specific organizations by political parties, municipality or certain associations. Table 4.23 also indicates that concert constitutes a more common and widespread type of activity in recent period. However, it is worthy saying that in the days case study was being conducted, Yenimahalle Municipality organized feast of circumcision in the district including a concert program. It was when more than half of the interviews had been completed and following one and half months rest had been completed. Therefore, most of *last week* and *last month* responses are resulted from this coincidence. Although it may be misguiding in some senses, this information is still important since it demonstrates at least how residents enthusiastic about such activity.

It is obvious that to treat or to take any type of activity as peculiar to certain groups is not possible. However, as we have stated, if we focus just on the participation of housing groups to the cultural activities, in general apartment tenures seem likely to be in advantageous position when compared to gecekondu tenures. For further elaboration, respondents were asked also about other activities they attend. The responses of nearly half of the households stated that there were also other types of activities they participated in aside from cinema, theater or concert. 10 households, for example, affirmed that they had participated in some festivals or organizations of their native

lands every year. Distribution of the attendance to these activities among housing groups has similar ratio. What's more, some festivals or exhibitions (including the above-mentioned feast of circumcision) organized by Municipalities in Ankara were given as responses to this question by considerable (11) households. There was only one respondent who involved in a lecture as a cultural activity and he was an engineer working in a public institution and tenant in apartment.

Table 4.24: The Last Time Tenures Go on Holiday by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
Free Time Activities	**Gecekondu**		**Apartment**	
	Tenant	**Owner Occupier**	**Owner Occupier**	**Tenant**
The last time of going holiday				
In last month	---	12.5 % (2)	---	18.8 % (3)
In last year	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)	37.5 % (6)	12.5 % (2)
In last ten years	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	25.0 % (4)	12.5 % (2)
More than ten years	---	6.3 % (1)	---	12.5 % (2)
Not Remember	18.8 % (3)	6.3 % (1)	---	6.3 % (1)
Never	68.8 % (11)	50.0 % (8)	37.5 % (6)	37.5 % (6)
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Field Research

Another leisure activity taken into consideration is holiday activities. Respondents were asked the last time they went on a holiday apart from the visiting of native land. As indicated in table above, once more apartment tenures seem to be in more advantaged position in respect of going on holiday when compared to gecekondu tenures. By the same token, strikingly 68.8 % of the households in gecekondu tenant housing group have never gone to holiday in their lives. Their disadvantageous position is affirmed when the ratios of holidays went in last year (including last month) are considered. While at least 31.3 percent of the households in other housing groups had holiday in last year, only one household among gecekondu tenants had.

4.5.2.6 Social Security and Health

Social security system intends both to minimize income losses from specific events and to provide a specific amount of accumulation to individuals depending on the duration they join to the system. In fact, certain benefits that are entitled to individuals in the security system of Turkey are retirement pension, job disability pension, disability

pension, survivor's pension, retirement bonus, death grant, marriage bonus, lump-sum payment, repayment of contribution, health insurance, etc. However, not everyone is eligible to receive such social security benefits in Turkey. In Turkey, there are three major organizations; namely, Social Insurance Institution, the Pension Fund for Civil Servants and Bag-Kur. The Pension Fund provides social benefits to public employees, while persons who are employed by a contract of service benefit from Social Insurance Institution. On the other hand, the insurance services of Bag-Kur cover the self-employed individuals (outside the craftsmen, artisans and small businessmen). When an individual has a social insurance from one of these organizations, his wife/her husband, children and parents can also benefit from it on the condition that they have no social security from any organization.

Moreover, one other social security service is unemployment insurance. This type of insurance has begun to be implemented in Turkey since 2000. However, to note that, it does not cover every unemployed. For example, it excludes those unemployed people who were contracted personnel working at the Public Economic Enterprises or civil servants. However, it is not possible to say that this type of security service has had wide implementation up to day; correspondingly, we did not encounter with anyone among our respondents who benefited from unemployment insurance. Last of all, there is also green card implementation that gives rights of benefiting from health services free of charge to the persons who are poor and who do not take part in the health insurance of social security organizations. Unlike other social security services, individuals must make personal applications to have green card and this card does not entitle their close relatives to benefit. Also, applications should be updated every year with official approval of their being needy. Green card has also importance in respect of our concern in the sense that in many researches especially on urban poverty or gecekondu, it is accepted as an indicator of poverty.

Among 64 households of Burç District there are only five heads of household who have green cards – four are gecekondu tenures while one is apartment tenant. This

differentiation between gecekondu and apartment tenures can be also be observed through the distribution of heads of household who do not have any social insurance. There are 6 heads of household who have no social insurance and all are gecekondu tenures. The distribution of these households on the basis of housing possession seems also confirming the disadvantaged position of gecekondu tenants. 5 out of 6 households with no social insurance are gecekondu tenants. What is more, 3 of these gecekondu tenant heads of household do not have social insurance though they are working. Not surprisingly, these three heads of household are dealing with informal works. On the other hand, there is no other head of household in other housing groups in the same position, that is to say, working but do not have social insurance. Also, among apartment tenures all heads of household have social insurance.

Table 4.25: Social Security of Heads of Household by Housing Groups

| Social Security | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Social Insurance Institution (SSK)	62.5 % (10)	43.8 % (7)	50.0 % (8)	43.8 % (7)
Pension Fund	---	25.0 % (4)	31.3 % (5)	37.5 % (6)
Bağ-Kur	---	12.5 % (2)	18.8 % (3)	12.5 % (2)
Green Card	12.5 % (2)	12.5 % (2)	---	6.3 % (1)
Working but have no Social Insurance	18.8 % (3)	---	---	---
No Social Insurance	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	---	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

As indicated in table, majority of heads of household benefits from Social Insurance Institution. There are 32 heads of household out of 64 that have social security from Social Insurance Institution but this does not mean that all are actually employed through contract of service. There are five heads of household who are self-employed and who could benefit form Bag-Kur, however, they present themselves as employers to benefit from social security services provided by Social Insurance Institution. The reason for that is, according to Erder, the unsuccessful implementation of Bag-Kur (2001, p.209). Put it in a different way, there are 17 working (not retired) heads of household who are self-employed and in addition to those five taking part in Social Security Institution, only 5 of them have social security from Bag-Kur. The rest either do not have social insurance or green cards. Moreover, another finding is that there

is no head of household who benefits from Pension Fund or Bag-Kur among gecekondu tenants. As is known, Bag-Kur and especially Pension Fund can be regarded as institutions of employees or employers who have more or less regular works. In that sense, it can be said that among housing groups gecekondu tenants hosing group covers heads of household majority of who do not have regular works. Actually, we have examined this fact above but in addition to this it should be noted most of the irregular works accompanies with the working without social security. When we compare work duration and social security duration of heads of household, it is observed that all employee and employer heads of household in gecekondu tenant housing group has worked longer than their duration of social security. This is fact also for majority of heads of household in other housing groups but, for example, the ratio is 60.0 percent for heads of household in apartment tenants housing group.

Additionally, it should be noted that there are also other social security services that we also came across in the field study. One is old age pension that is given to people who are over 65 years old and not taking part in the insurance of any social security organizations. There is 78 years old woman living alone in a gecekondu as owner-occupier and she benefits from this pension. The other is the welfare service of The Social Welfare Society. It gives assistance to needy families in cash and in kind. There is only one head of household among 64 heads of households that benefits from this assistance, although mukhtar said that there were great number of families in Burç District who applied and registered their names to The Social Welfare Society. Besides, there are also charitable organizations, societies and local governments rendering welfare services alongside the general social security system. Again only one head of household takes assistance in kind from one of charitable organizations (Deniz Feneri). However, basing on our findings and muhktar's explanations it is possible to say that in Burç District majority of households benefits from the assistance of Ankara Municipality and Yenimahalle Municipality. 56.3 percent of the households of gecekondu tenant housing group has benefited from this assistance, whereas 37.5

percent of gecekondu owner-occupiers, 25.0 percent of apartment tenants and 6.3 percent of apartment owner-occupiers took assistance from Municipalities.

In Weberian sense, as we have discussed so far, health is among the important variables that indicate life chances of people. Table below shows the number of patients who have serious or chronic diseases by housing groups. In table the diseases of adults and children are demonstrated separately. According to table, the number of patient is the highest in households of gecekondu owner-occupiers. In particular there are eleven adults in this housing group who have serious or chronic diseases. Interestingly, following housing group with the high number of patients is that of apartment owner-occupiers with six patients. Actually, it would be expected that owner-occupiers be in advantageous position and less number of patients when compared to tenants. However, apartment tenants with four patients and gecekondu tenants with only two patients have the least numbers of patients in housing groups. Nonetheless, there is a relation between the sort of diseases and age. The diseases such as rheumatism, hypertension, diabetes and heart diseases are more likely to be observed in old ages. As we can remember, the age distribution pattern by housing groups has demonstrated that the oldest housing groups are respectively gecekondu owner-occupiers and apartment-owner-occupiers. Accordingly, when the numbers of patients who have above-mentioned old age diseases considered, it is seen that great deal of the patients among owner-occupiers (eleven patients) have such diseases while there is only one patient who suffer from such diseases among tenants.

As we have underlined many times until now, in certain variables reminiscent of health the genuine place where we should focus on to be capable of exploring the effects of advantage or disadvantage stemming from the positions occupied in the means of housing is the case of children since in such variables the conditions of adults represent to a large extent the achieved life chances. When below table considered in respect of children, it is obvious that inequality in the distribution of diseases through housing groups shifts in the sense that while the ratio of owner-occupiers in both housing

type is higher than that of tenants in the case of adults, it turns into tenants in the case of children and not surprisingly the highest ratio is that of gecekondu tenants once again.

Table 4.26: Number of Patients who have Serious or Chronic Diseases and Average Number of Patient per Household by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Diseases of Adults				
Kidney Problems	---	1	---	1
Hernia	1	1	1	1
Rheumatism, Hypertension, Diabetes	1	7	2	---
Physical Problems	---	1	---	---
Heart Diseases	---	---	2	---
Cerebral Problems	---	---	1	---
Asthma	---	---	---	2
Paralysis	---	1	---	---
Diseases of Children				
Hormonal Diseases	1	---	1	---
Epilepsy	---	---	1	1
Mental Diseases	1	1	1	---
Kidney Problems	1	1	---	---
Physical Problems	1	---	---	1
Paralysis	1	---	---	2
Average Number of Patient per Household	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.5

Source: Field Research

By the way unlike other groups, the proportion of those who apply health clinics of municipality in gecekondu tenants is more while it is highly less for public and university hospitals.[7] In the case of other health institutions (hospitals of Social Insurance Institution, military and private ones) there is no apparent difference between them. We met similar conclusion with regard to access to hospital. Access to hospital can also be taken as an indicator of the level of socialization process and when seen in this view it is important to notice that there are certain differences between housing groups in terms of women's attitude when they got sick. For example, 33.3 percent of women in gecekondu tenant housing group initial seeks help from their near

---

[7] The hospital or health institutions they apply and other findings in this paragraph base on the responses of women.

environment in solving their health problems unless it gets serious. These helps are taken from neighbors who have similar symptoms and also these are not simply composed of taking advices but also including sharing the medicines used by neighbors. On the other hand, women in the apartment owner-occupiers and tenants housing group visit doctor whenever they get sick.

4.5.3 Community Relations and Way of Life

4.5.3.1   Migration Pattern

Şentepe has been one of the prominent resorts of Ankara City for immigrants approximately since 1960s. In view of this, it can be said that one of the unifying or combining characteristic of residents living in Şentepe is that their life chances and ways of life have been structured and affected more or less by immigration they experienced in their life span or experienced by their ancestors. To put it in a different way, immigration process constituted the 'first strategic step' that conveyed them to the position they could recently have (Kalaycıoğlu *et al.*, 1998, p.132). In that case, to study community structure, it is necessary to further elaborate immigration pattern in terms of the origins of immigrants and with reference to when, why and how migration has been experienced. It should be noted in the beginning that first generation who experienced migration and the second one after migration have considerably different ways of life. We have tried to figure out these differences to a certain extent by analyzing certain variables that contribute to the life chances of individuals or households in previous parts. For instance, we have denoted already that there is no illiterate or no one without any diploma among the parents of both households born in Ankara and of the second generation. Likewise, it has been emphasized that there is no one who deals with the informal works and who do not have any social security among the second-generation heads of household. What's more, there are of course further differences between the social relations and connections of first generation and the second one and these differences constitute the subject of this part.

Table 4.27: Migration Period of Households by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
No Migration	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
2000 – 2004	26.7 % (4)	---	---	---
1990 – 1999	13.3 % (2)	13.3 % (2)	23.1 % (3)	26.7 % (4)
1980 – 1989	26.7 % (4)	13.3 % (2)	15.4 % (2)	38.5 % (5)
1970 – 1979	6.7 % (1)	40.0 % (6)	26.7 % (4)	15.4 % (2)
1960 – 1969	26.7 % (4)	33.3 % (5)	26.7 % (4)	15.4 % (2)
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

Above table demonstrates migration period of heads of household and as we have stated, migration process started in the 1960s and continues up to date. According to the indicators, there seems no specific period when a mass migration of population experienced. While there are 56 migrated heads of household, half of them had migrated before 1980. However, there are some differences with respect to housing groups. As an instance, those heads of household who have migrated in last four years are only gecekondu tenants; namely, there are no newcomers in other housing groups. On the other hand, majority of the owner-occupiers (73.3 percent of gecekondu owner-occupiers and 53.4 percent of apartment owner-occupiers) settled in Ankara more than 24 years ago. Among apartment tenants, however, great deal of heads of household (65.2 per cent) settled in Ankara between 1980 and 1999. In a word, it is possible to draw a picture that though not true for one by one owner-occupiers are still relatively old comers of Ankara. Most of the newcomers are tenants and among them those who have migrated very recently reside in gecekondu without any exceptions. It is known that each immigrant has different story but what we seek is essentially whether there are similar migration patterns or factors within housing groups. For that, now we should turn to examine the native lands of heads of household.

Table 4.28: Heads of Household' Birth Places, Native Lands and the Place Where They Came From by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Native Lands of Head of Households				
Ankara (Center County)	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Counties of Ankara[*]	56.3 % (9)	62.5 % (10)	25.0 % (4)	31.3 % (5)
Central Anatolia[†]	31.3 % (5)	18.8 % (3)	43.8 % (7)	43.8 % (7)
Black Sea[‡]	12.5 % (2)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)	25.0 % (4)
East Anatolia[§]	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)
Birth Places of Head of Households				
Ankara (Center County)	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
Counties of Ankara	50.0 % (8)	62.5 % (10)	18.8 % (3)	25.0 % (4)
Central Anatolia	31.3 % (5)	18.8 % (3)	37.5 % (6)	43.8 % (7)
Black Sea	12.5 % (2)	12.5 % (2)	18.8 % (3)	12.5 % (2)
East Anatolia	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)
Where they came from.				
No Migration	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
Counties of Ankara	50.0 % (8)	62.5 % (10)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
Central Anatolia	25.0 % (4)	12.5 % (2)	37.5 % (6)	43.8 % (7)
Black Sea	12.5 % (2)	12.5 % (2)	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)
East Anatolia	---	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Marmara[**]	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	---	---
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

[*] Şereflikoçhisar, Çamlıdere, Beypazarı, Kızılcahamam, Kazan, Evren
[†] Çankırı, Kayseri, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Niğde, Sivas, Yozgat
[‡] Bolu, Çorum, Ordu, Samsun, Sinop, Zonguldak
[§] Erzurum
[**] İstanbul, Bursa
Source: Field Research

As indicated in table above, great deal of heads of household's native lands are the Counties of Ankara (28 out of 64 heads of household, 43.8 percent in total). Besides, the heads of household who are from the cities of Central Anatolia constitute 32.8 percent of total sample. 12.5 percent of heads of household were born in Ankara and are second generation after migration.[8] However, when we asked their native places, no

---

[8] However, not all of them born in Ankara are second generation. There is a head of household whose native land is center county of Ankara. Nonetheless, this person's origins goes back to a settlement (a village of Gölbaşı County) which was two generation before a rural settlement of Ankara and with the expansion of city it has been included by urban settlement of Ankara city; and his ancestors' migration to Şentepe has been occurred when this settlement was a rural site. Since what we primarily concern is the differentiation between the ones who have experienced migration in their life cycle and who did not, this head of household whose native land is Ankara Central County is treated as a member of second generation.

one except one viewed Ankara as their native land among these heads of household born in Ankara. Erder, basing on findings in her research on Ümraniye –a gecekondu settlement in İstanbul, found that owner-occupiers tend to feel themselves as the citizen of the place they live while tenants do not due to their mobile position in housing market (Erder, 2001, pp.181-2). However, in our sample, it is not possible to put it so since there is no difference between housing groups with respect to responses given to native lands.

Map 4.3: Native Lands of Heads of Household

Source: Field Research
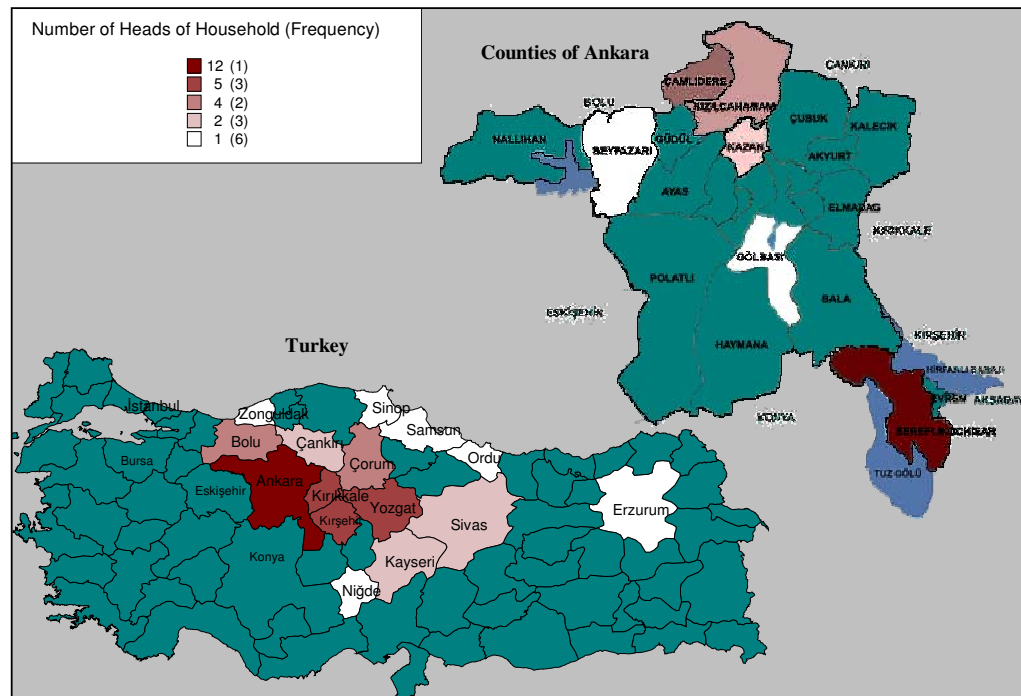
When the native lands and birthplaces of respondents are examined, the domination of heads of household from counties of Ankara and from countries in Central Anatolia can be explicitly observed from the table above. Our findings on immigration pattern in respect of birthplace are consistent with the findings of the research of METU Urban Policies and Local Government Department held in three gecekondu settlements of Ankara including Şentepe in 1999. According to this research, 75 percent of 287 immigrant respondents migrated from counties of Ankara and Central Anatolia Region,

117

while it is in our case 67.2 percent.

It seems that common type of migration in our sample is successive one. As Erder explains, in this migration process, immigrants do not decide on migration individually and autonomously, rather, it is taken by regarding the decisions of group to which they belong such as household, kinship group etc. This type of migration enables immigrants to learn about place where they are going to migrate from their migrated relatives and in the same way make possible for immigrants to take support during this process from them (1995, p.110-1). For example, Mrs. H., one of the interviewees, said that her family was one of the first settlers of Burç District. They migrated in 1970 from a village of Çamlıdere. She told that some relatives migrated after them and settled nearby. Besides, she also told about a tradition: 'They were leaving someone near the new bride, brother in-law, among brothers in-law, they would find a job near you, as they finished primary school, coming and leaving them here and go'.[9] She also had looked after two-brother in-law after her marriage.

Another characteristic of type of migration in our sample is regarding their being direct. In other words, rather than migrating first to a secondary center, then to Ankara, heads of household migrated directly to Ankara Center County with the exception of two ones. Migration process of these two heads of household includes two steps. They first migrated to other big cities (one to İstanbul and other to Bursa) and then to Ankara. It is also observed that for most heads of household migration has started as the migration of men and continued as the migration of family. Of course, there are also women among heads of household but as we examine the main reason behind migration we see that for these women heads of household it was either related to their husbands' work or they migrated while they were child. Moreover, this is true also in the case of many other immigrants such as Mrs. H. She told her migration story as such:

---

[9] Yeni gelinin yanında illaki birini bırakırlardı, kayın, kayınlardan, onlar senin yanında işe girsin, ilkokulu bitirdi mi gelip bırakır giderlerdi.

I was born in Peçenek village in Çamlıdere. We had lived in the village till third class [in primary school]. After that, we migrated here in turn. My father had built a house in here, built a house in here, he came and made us a surprise. What we see, one night my father had came, we had built a house in Ankara, We said how it could be, we couldn't leave our village, we couldn't go. My father said it is that good such good, he was trying to encourage us to here. We said not in our lives, we love our village, he built a new house in a village and such. As we came to here, my god, he persuaded us but … after months, school closed for holiday, we migrate here. In the day when the school reports distributed we came to Ankara… We came and saw what, mud, no house around, desolate, deserted, just a house, no stairs from outside, you enter by stepping on the stones he put, my father had made in a night … My father was selling things, selling sheets. In Çankaya, bundle on his shoulders, he was working night and day. He built a house in here, a house in village. After he did his military service and returned, while he was working in Çankaya again selling sheets, they said here, here was a empty area, everyone occupied a place, occupied a land, go there and make a house, his friend persuaded him, they were building and were being demolished, build and being demolished, they had demolished fro seven times at last he said I would build in any way, he decided, my father built, I mean at last he made this house, built …[10]

While it was her father who first migrated and prepared what was necessary for his family in Ankara, then took them, Mr. O. had migrated by himself and got married in Ankara:

I get out from primary school and came to Ankara … first I, before I moved my home, I myself was staying in my elder sisters home as single. Then, we found a empty flat in my elder sister's building, there was a building in next. I rented there, I made paint, whitewash. Then, I telephoned, rented a lorry, took my home and moved here ... I was engaged … my first home after my marriage was there.[11]

---

[10] 1963'te Çamlıdere Peçenek köyünde doğdum. Üçüncü sınıfa kadar köyde yaşadık. Ondan sonra tekrar buraya göç ettik. Babam ev yapmış buraya, ev yapmış buraya, gelip bize sürpriz yaptı. Bi baktık ki bi gece babam gelmiş, biz Ankara'ya bi ev yaptım. Nasıl olur biz köyümüzden ayrılamayız, gidemeyiz dedik. Babam dedi işte şöyle güzel böyle güzel, bizi artık özendiriyor ya buraya. Biz dedik olmaz hayatta, köyü çok seviyoruz, köye de daha yeni ev yaptı falan. Bi buraya geldik ki Allahh, bizi ikna etti ama … aylar sonra, okul tatil oldu buraya göç ettik. Hadi karne günü geldik Ankara'ya…bi geldik ki çamurr, hiç buralarda ev yok, ıssız, tenha, bi ev, dıştan merdiveni yok, basıp gidiyosun taşları goymuş, babam yapmış bi gecede … Babam işte şey satıyodu, çarşafçılık yaparmıştı, Çankaya'da omzunda böyle bohçayla, gece gündüz çalışırmıştı. Bi buraya yapmış ev, köye yaptı ev. Tekrar işte askerden geldikten sonra tekrar işte Çankaya'da bohçacılık yaparken yaparken burayı diyolar, bura boş bi alan, herkes yer kapıyo, arsa kapıyo, git oraya ev yapalım, arkadaşı ikna ediyo, yapıyorlar yıkıyolar, yapıyolar yıkıyolar. Yedi defa yıkmışlar sonunda yapacam illaki demiş kararını vermiş, yapmış babam, yani sonunda yapmış evi, dikmiş...

[11] İlkokuldan çıktım Ankara'ya geldim … ben önce, evi getirmeden önce, ablamın yanında ben kendim bekar kalıyordum. Ondan sonra, ablamın binadan bi boş yer bulduk, yanında bina vardı. Ben orayı tuttum, boya badana yaptım. Ondan sonra, telefon ettim, kamyon tuttum, evi aldım buraya getirdim ... Nişanlıydım … evlendikten sonra ilk evim oraydı.

Mr. O's words affirm what we previously said; that is, one's migration to city also gives rise to others. This is especially fact for who have relatives in city. To sum up, one of the main characteristics of the migration process of heads of household we analyzed is their being direct migration to city and they were started by initially men's migration and followed by their families, and also kinship ties significantly effected the migrations. However, it is also important to question what made these people to leave their places and move to the city. In Turkish literature, it is generally accepted that migration process is caused by the fact that people have no other choice. That is why they could not make a living in the place they are living, and could not benefit from their ties at home. According to Kalaycıoğlu *et al.*, behind the typical type of migration – immigration from rural to urban, there is a big bunch of privations (1998). Moreover, many researches refer to pulling and pushing factors and it is generally argued that as Turkish cities lack the facilities and other advantages that constitute the pulling factors of city life, to a large extent it is disadvantages of the rural life, or pushing factors that predominate reasons behind migration. Lack of land and mechanization of agriculture are the main impulses behind the pushing factors. It seems that picture arising out of the following table that illustrates the reasons behind migration process is not inconsistent to an important extent with these definitions.

When we asked why they migrated to our respondents who were first generation immigrants, frequently repeated responses was *getting work* (21.4 percent) or *expecting to get work* (25 percent) or *parents decision* (25 percent). However, there were some variations between housing groups. For example, the majority of gecekondu tenants migrated Ankara to work and while four of these heads of household got or arranged their works through their networks or appointment before migration process, other four heads of household migrated with the expectation of finding a work. However, reasons regarding working are not peculiar to gecekondu tenants, in opposition, it is true in the case of apartment tenures and apartment owner-occupiers as well. Especially in the case of apartment tenants, there is no reason different from getting work or expecting to get work with the exception of parents' decision. Similarly, in the case of apartment

owner-occupiers work issue constitutes the main reason for majority as well but differently from apartment tenures, 61.5 percent of them migrated only with the expectation to find a work.

Table 4.29: Reasons to Migrate to Ankara by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Getting work / Appointment	26.7 % (4)	---	7.7 % (1)	53.8 % (7)
To get work	26.7 % (4)	6.7 % (1)	61.5 % (8)	7.7 % (1)
To live in better conditions	6.7 % (1)	13.3 % (2)	---	---
Not having any opportunity to subsist in the place where he/she came from	---	---	7.7 % (1)	---
To join relatives in Ankara	6.7 % (1)	20.0 % (3)	7.7 % (1)	---
To escape from vendetta	---	6.7 % (1)	---	---
To treat the health problems of member(s) of family	6.7 % (1)	---	---	---
For education	---	13.3 % (2)	7.7 % (1)	---
Husband's getting work	---	13.3 % (2)	---	---
His/her parents' decision	26.7 % (4)	26.7 (4)	7.7 % (1)	38.5 % (5)
Total	100 % (15)	100 % (15)	100 % (13)	100 % (13)

Source: Field Research

What is striking is that only one head of household in gecekondu owner-occupier housing group uttered that his reason to migrate Ankara was to get work. This group represents, as we have put formerly, the relatively old one in respect of living in Ankara and the majority of them had migrated before 1980. Moreover, five heads of household in this group are women. Therefore, it can be expected to observe different patterns in this group's way of migration. As a matter of fact, in the responses of them there is variety of reasons as indicated in the table. For example, different from other housing groups, the reason of migration of nearly half of the heads of household in this group are not under their saving in the sense that it is either their parent's decision or husbands' work or vendetta. In addition, those who migrated to have education are only in this group.

In order to be capable of finding out to what extent respondents intended to settle permanently, we also asked our interviewees if they had any plan to move from Ankara. The answers showed that the majority of households (82.8 per cent) have settled in Ankara permanently. On the other hand, eleven households had plans to move outside Ankara. Five of these households were gecekondu tenants and they intended to return to their native lands permanently. The reason behind this was economic for three and psychological for two. Moreover, it should be noted that those households who are planning to return for economic reasons are all newcomers. To be illustrating, Mr. K., one of our respondents living in gecekondu housing as tenant, and his family migrated to Ankara in 2002 to make the medical treatment of her daughter in the hospitals of Ankara. Girl has kidney disease, undergoes to dialysis weekly, and waiting for transplantation. Mr. K. and his two sons deal with informal works to make their living and girl's treatment, and they are planning to return to their native lands as soon as she regain her health. Another gecekondu tenant household planning to return is from Ordu. When we interviewed with them, it was only two months they had come to Ankara. They were planning to return as they collected adequate money to buy a land in Ordu.

Economic indicators represent the significant factors that differentiate gecekondu tenant housing group from others since there is no household in these groups intending to return his/her native lands due to not being able to make their living in Ankara. Besides, the number of households who intend to return is far less from that of gecekondu tenant households. There are only two households in gecekondu owner-occupiers group and one in both apartment owner-occupier and apartment tenant-housing groups. The main motive behind their intentions is entitled as psychological; this term is chosen so as to be capable of referring to respondents' emotional preferences such as spending their rest of life in their hometowns or aspiration to rural living, etc. In addition to those planning to return their native lands, there are also households who plan to settle other cities. For example, a gecekondu owner-occupier household intends to move to a seaside town due to head of household's health problem and an apartment tenant household has a plan to move due to head of household's appointment. As a result,

122

for majority Ankara seems to be final resort, all the same, it is possible to distinguish gecekondu tenant housing group by considering the remarkable ratio of households in this group planning to leave from Ankara (31.3 percent) with the dissociated reasoning when compared to other housing groups. The last important point to be noted here is that apartment owner-occupiers are more attached with the city and hardly any of them (93.8 percent of household) do have intention to leave Ankara.

4.5.3.2   Residential Mobility and Desire to Move

For Rex and Moore, 'the ability to move … to more desirable areas is a mark of social and economic success which cannot be achieved without some effort' (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.74). In similar words, mobility in the housing hierarchy is mark of economic and social success. Besides, it also enables us to consider whether housing position of households supplies enough durability to have similar way of life. In our sample, owner-occupiers of gecekondu are obviously long term tenures of district. As indicated in the table below the majority of this group has bought or made their houses before 1980. Corollary, the owner-occupiers in gecekondu housing group are considerably less mobile than other groups in terms of moving to other houses. 43.8 percent of tenures of this group have been residing in the houses that they first resided when they got married or migrated to Ankara. Actually, in terms of the duration, certain part of owner-occupiers of apartment is long-term residents of Şentepe as well. This part constitutes the 31.3 percent of this group and similar to owner-occupiers of gecekondu, their average duration of residing in Şentepe is 26.4 years. This part is composed of the tenures who were the landowners of the apartments they reside in and were residing in the gecekondu erected on these lands. That is the reason for the great difference of durations of living in Şentepe and residing in present housing for this housing group. The process of transformation to apartments dates (at most) ten years back in the district on the other side and this explains why the residents of this housing group experienced residential mobility at least for one time as well.

Table 4.30: Residential Mobility by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
The Average Duration of Living in Ankara (years)	18.9	27.3	27.5	20.7
The Average Duration of Living in Şentepe (years)	10.8	24.1	13.3	13.9
The Period Moved in Şentepe				
2001 +	25.0 %	---	37.5 %	31.3 %
1991 – 2000	18.8 %	18.8 %	18.8 %	25.0 %
1981 – 1990	18.8 %	25.0 %	25.0 %	18.8 %
1980 –	18.8 %	56.3 %	18.8 %	25.0 %
The Average Duration of Residing in Present Housing (years)	2.2	23.0	3.1	3.8
Number of Houses Changed				
No change	18.8 %	43.8 %	---	18.8 %
2 houses	25.0 %	43.8 %	50.0 %	50.0 %
3 houses	31.3 %	12.5 %	43.8 %	12.5 %
4 and more houses	25.0 %	---	6.3 %	18.8 %

Source: Field Research

Majority of the apartment owner-occupiers are relatively new residents of the housing they reside in. These newcomers are composed of both young married children of the landowners and the ones who have bought houses in recent years with different reasons that led them to prefer Burç district. On the other side, tenants are more mobile than owner-occupiers in terms of the number of houses they have changed after their marriage or migration to Ankara. By the same token, for the majority of tenants it is possible to talk about residential mobility within Şentepe. However, no significant difference can be observed with respect to the average duration of living in Şentepe when they are compared to owner-occupiers of apartment.

Before turning to examine the geographical dimension of the residential mobility, for the purposes of our study, the steps taken by households in the housing hierarchy will be evaluated first. This is also important in understanding whether apartment and gecekondu housing type represent different social environments and whether housing possession structure constitutes the base of formation of different strata cutting across the traditional lines of social stratification. Before evaluation, it should be noted that those households whose first accommodation after marriage or migration to Ankara

is the present house they continue to reside are not demonstrated in the figure; and, although figure is designed to exhibit each households' mobility, thus, has complex and confusing demonstration, what is aimed with this figure is to exhibit general tendencies.
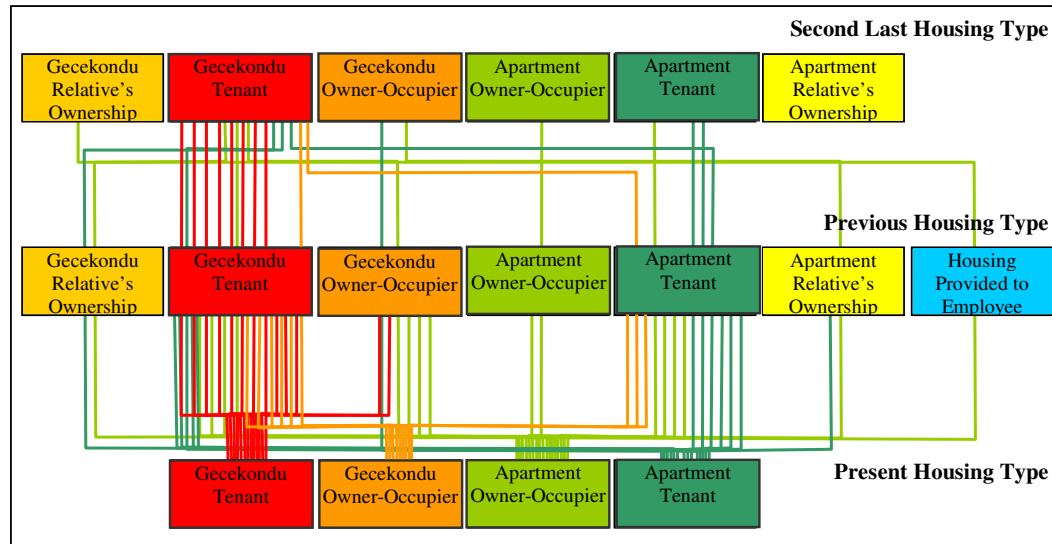
Figure 4.6: Previous Housing Types of Households by Housing Groups
Source: Field Research

As it can be seen through the figure, there is an apparent continuity in the case of gecekondu tenants in terms of the housing possession structure and housing type they previously resided in. In respect of housing type, with the exception of a few, nearly all of the gecekondu tenants changing houses are in the same situation with that of past. To put it in a different way, there are a small number of households in this group who were in the different housing position in the past. It is not possible to see similar kind of continuity in the case of other housing groups, at least not with the same density. For example, there is no household in the gecekondu owner-occupier housing group whose previous housing group was again gecekondu owner-occupier. In this group majority was previously gecekondu tenants. Similarly, when we consider the residential mobility of apartment owner-occupiers housing group we see that only two households were in the same housing position. It is reasonable to expect that majority of them were gecekondu owner-occupiers in the past since gecekondu land ownership is very common way of being owner-occupier of apartment housing especially in our field

area. However, we observe that previous housing positions of them were not intensified on any housing group. On the other hand, similar with the gecekondu tenants, most of the apartment tenants' previous positions were tenant again either in gecekondu or apartment housing. Therefore, it is possible to say that there is no downward mobility in housing hierarchy in our sample.
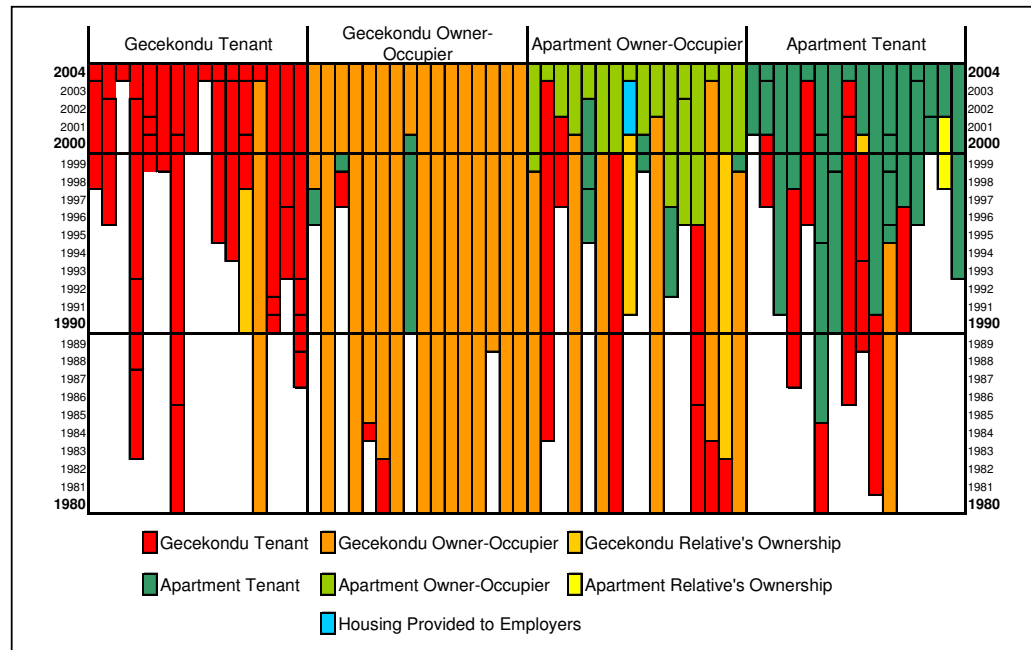
Figure 4.7: Residential Mobility of Households from 1980 to 2004 by Housing Groups
Source: Field Research

Different from previous figure, figure above demonstrates the residential mobility pattern of households within time scale. What is striking here is that the most durable housing group is gecekondu owner-occupiers housing group. This is also true in the case of tenants housing groups to a certain extent. On the other hand, there are much more transitions in apartment owner-occupiers housing group and it represent a more complex one resulted from these transitions and shifts. Doubtless, to understand these durability patterns more clearly, it should be considered their intentions of changing house.

126

Table 4.31: Intention of Changing House and Reason for this by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Will Change	**37.5 % (6)**	**31.3 % (5)**	**18.8 % (3)**	**50.0 % (8)**
Move to owned house	---	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Problems with landlord	---	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Physical problems of house	25.0 % (4)	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)
Social problems with environment	6.3 % (1)	---	6.3 % (1)	---
Landlord is evicting	6.3 % (1)	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Will demolish to rebuilt apartment	---	25.0 % (4)	---	---
High rent prices	---	---	---	6.3 % (1)
Need of a larger house	---	---	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)
Will not Change	**62.5 % (10)**	**68.8 % (11)**	**81.3 % (13)**	**50.0 % (8)**

Source: Field Research

Above table demonstrates the answers given to if and why residents have intention of changing the house they reside in. According to responses, majority of the households have no thought of changing their houses. When the households who will change their houses considered, one can expect less loyalty from tenants to their houses. They are likely to be more mobile since they do not have ties with their houses as owner-occupiers, who are likely to have. As a matter of fact, among twenty-two households who will change their houses the number of tenants constitutes the majority with fourteen households. Nonetheless, numbers of owner-occupier households who have the intention of changing their houses are remarkable as well. Eight households are going to move other houses and five out of these eight households are gecekondu owner-occupiers. Four of them will move to apartment housing that will be built on the place of their gecekondu housing. Therefore, they are still loyal to the district thanks to their ties of property. Other one in this group who intend changing house, however, gives responses concerning the dissatisfaction with housing and district. In particular physical problems of houses constitute the base of seven tenant households' desire to change their houses. On the other side, three out of fourteen tenant households will move due to their problems with landlords and arising from landlords. As it is seen, problems with landlord and especially the physical problems of house constitute the main reason of tenants in both housing types to intend changing their houses.

Table 4.32: Previous Districts that Households Resided by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Salaried Nonowners + Other Owner-Occupiers and Nonowners İskitler-Kazıkiçi, Gülveren, Kurtini, Çinçin, Yenidoğan.	25.0 %(4)	18.8 %(3)	---	6.3 %(1)
Salaried Owner-Occupiers + Self-Employed Owner-Occupiers and Nonowners Keçiören, Çiğdemtepte, İncirli, Sincan, Batıkent, Avcılar	12.5 %(2)	6.3 %(1)	31.3 %(5)	31.3 %(5)
Salaried Homeowner Tenants + Self-Employed Owner-Occupiers and Nonowners. Dikmen, Yenimahalle, Bahçelievler, Demetevler	6.3 %(1)	18.8 %(3)	12.5 %(2)	18.8 %(3)
Wealthy Employers Öveçler	6.3 %(1)	---	---	---
Wealthy Others Esat	---	---	6.3 %(1)	---
No domination of any status-income groups Siteler-Önder	6.3 %(1)	6.3 %(1)	6.3 %(1)	---
No mobility	43.8 %(7)	50.0 %(8)	37.5 %(6)	43.8 %(7)

Source: Field Research

Table above demonstrates the previous districts of households. It is important to note here that our classification of those districts represents the residential differentiation on the basis of status-income and it is derived from Murat Güvenç's study that we have mentioned previously. According to this classification, Şentepe represents the place where salaried owner-occupiers, self-employed owner-occupiers and non-owners reside in – second category from above. To note that, table does not demonstrate the mobility within Şentepe. According to this, nearly half of the households experienced either no mobility at all or mobility within Şentepe quarter after their marriage or migration to Ankara. On the other hand, among the households who have changed their districts, it is possible to observe that considerable part have resided in those districts which are categorized in the same group with Şentepe.

Table 4.33: The Reasons of Residing in Şentepe by Housing Groups[*]

Reasons of Residing in Şentepe	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Acquaintance with social environment	31.3 %	18.8 %	37.5 %	43.8 %
Good neighborly relations	12.5 %	6.3 %	18.8 %	6.3 %
Contented with the social structure of district	12.5 %	12.5 %	6.3 %	---
Having relatives in district	31.3 %	6.3 %	25.0 %	6.3 %
Security	---	6.3 %	---	---
Being far from relatives	---	---	6.3 %	---
/ Physical and geographical opportunities of the district[**]	6.3 %	---	---	6.3 %
/ Economically reasonable	37.5 %	---	---	25.0 %
/ Content with the urban services served to district	6.3 %	---	---	---
/ Being owner-occupier	---	75.0 %	43.8 %	---
/ Nearness to working place	---	---	---	12.5 %

[*] Respondents could give more than one answer. All answers are counted.
[**] Climate, neutral sources such as soil, water etc., topology etc.
Source: Field Research

Of course, there are certain reasons that explain why they prefer to reside in Şentepe. Table 4.37 illustrates these reasons. It is possible to distinguish the set of community related indicators from others (which is demonstrated by left alignment in table). According to responses given by tenants, it is heavily the community-based motivations such as being acquainted with social environment or kinship relations that constitute the base of their preference to reside in Şentepe. For the majority of owner-occupiers, however, the most important reason to reside in Şentepe is their possession of housing property. Moreover, we also asked our respondents 'what are the advantages of living in Burç District'. According to responses, the advantageous aspects of living in Burç District for owner-occupiers are composed of mostly social or psychological factors such as neighborly relations, kinship relations, loyalty to area, good morality, etc. However, in the case of tenants material factors come to the fore and join them. For example, for Mr. O. there are of course economically more reasonable places but there are some differences when Burç District compared to other ones. With respect to this he says that:

> First, I can't find a house like this, there are, there are houses, starting from 135 million 125 miilion, plus men requires 500 million deposit. Since I am not in a position to give this 500 million deposit, I am compelled to reside in such a house. Here, rent fits to me as well. If it doesn't fit me I wouldn't stay I mean. Yes, there are, there are houses for 60 million [monthly rent TL]. But, when I sit in here, mouse are greeting over there. We became friends, we know each other well, I mean … Since I

came to Ankara, except for one or one and half years, I mean it's been fifteen years, give up one year of it, I have been here for fourteen years. I mean around Şentepe. I prefer here around because places where I know.[12]

To sum up, when the reasons of residing in Şentepe are considered with the advantageous aspects of living in this place, it seems that although the community-based reasons occupy the considerable place in the responses of both tenants and owner-occupiers, there is still an apparent dissimilarity arising out of the differences of housing situation. In this regard, it seems possible to say that while most of the owner-occupiers continue to live in this place because of their property ties in addition to other pulling factors, tenants prefer to live in Şentepe since it is also economically reasonable from certain aspects.

Table 4.34: Housing Type Preferences by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Gecekondu	56.3 % (9)	62.5 % (10)	56.3 % (9)	56.3 % (9)
Apartment	37.5 % (6)	37.5 % (6)	43.8 % (7)	31.3 % (5)
No matter; if it is mine	6.3 % (1)	---	---	12.5 % (2)
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

When we focus on the preferences of housing type we see that more than half of the residents in all housing groups prefers to live in gecekondu. However as we shall see a little later, this should not be taken as the indicator of that all of residents consider the living in gecekondu and apartment as the same. On the other side, both gecekondu tenures and apartment ones who prefer living in gecekondu think that it is the advantageous of residing in house in garden that renders gecekondu-housing type attractive for them. It follows from this with small proportion that it is possible to

---

[12] Böyle yer bulamadım bir; var, yer var, 135 milyon 125 milyondan başlıyo, artı adam 500 milyon depozit istiyo. O 500 milyon depoziti verecek durumda olmadığım için, mecbur böyle yerde oturuyom. Buranın kirası da uygun geliyo. Uygun gelmese oturmam yani. Ha, var, 60 milyona da var ev. Ama ben burda otururkene fareler ordan selam verip selam geçiyo. Arkadaş olduk, birbirimizi iyice tanıdık yani… Ben, hemen hemen Ankara'ya geldim geleli bibuçuk sene hariç, yani onbeş sene oldu, bi senesini boş ver, ondört senedir ben buradayım. Şentepe civarındayım yani. Bildiğim tanıdığım yer olduğu için ben buraları seçiyom.

maintain good neighborhood relations and traditional life style around gecekondu social environment and that is why they prefer it. On the other side, as it can be expecting the most important reason of those who prefer living in apartment is the comfort opportunities it has.

Table 4.35: The Reasons for Housing Type Preferences

Gecekondu	Gecekondu	Advantages of residing in house in garden (89.5 %), good neighborhood relations (21.4 %), traditional life style (5.3 %), economic reasons (5.3 %)
	Apartment	Comfort opportunities (75.0 %), social reasons (25.0 %)
Apartment	Gecekondu	Advantages of residing in house in garden (83.3 %), traditional life style (16.7 %), good neighborhood relations (11.1 %)
	Apartment	Comfort opportunities (76.9 %), social reasons (16.7 %), security (8.3 %)

Source: Field Research

Table below table demonstrates the perception of persons residing in different housing types about what residents of other housing type think about them. According to responses, considerable part of the gecekondu residents thinks that those residents living in apartment look them down upon. When we turn to the apartment residents we encounter similar picture in the sense that nearly half of the persons believes that gecekondu tenures imitate them and this type of response seems to be asymmetric reply of looking down upon. At that point, it is useful to give ear Erman. With respect to moving to apartment housing which is considered the improvement of social positions, she emphasizes that rest of them who could not move apartment feels insufficiency and unpleasant. Those people living in gecekondu might desire to live in gecekondu, prefer gecekondu living but still they feel themselves discontent and anxious when they encounter their old neighbors who moved to apartment (Erman, 1998, p.322).

Table 4.36: Gecekondu residents' perception of the way apartment tenures consider them

Gecekondu

	Valid Percentage
They do not disparage since they are from gecekondu as well	15.6 % (5)
They are imitating	12.5 % (4)
We can not know	28.1 % (9)
They are looking down upon	34.4 % (11)
They are helping us	3.1 % (1)
There are ones both imitating and disparaging	6.3 (2)
Total	100 % (32)

Source: Field Research

Table 4.37: Apartment residents' perception of the way gecekondu tenures consider them

Apartment

	Valid Percentage
We were living in gecekondu as well	34.4 % (11)
They are imitating	40.6 % (13)
We can not know	6.3 % (2)
They say you are looking down upon	6.3 % (2)
They say you are in better conditions	6.2 % (2)
They are sorry about us since we do not have their opportunities	6.2 % (2)
Total	100 % (32)

Source: Field Research

As we illustrated above, our findings are consistent with what Erman puts. On the other hand, as it can be seen from the table, there are also different kinds of responses. For example, a part of gecekondu residents believes that since they were living in the gecekondu in near past as well apartment tenures do not disparage them. By the same token, remarkable number of the apartment residents underlines the fact that they were living in gecekondus too. To be illustrate, according to Mrs. A.:

> Apartment and gecekondu are poles apart. Initially, neighborliness… Gecekondu and here are not the same. It was better in terms of communication, neighborliness. Still there is not much difference since they are my old neighbors. All living in here now was actually the residents of gecekondu. All had houses, gave it to contractor, their houses were made.

4.5.3.3   Formal and Informal Networks

As it is seen previously, for the purposes of this study it is assumed that each housing groups has similar way of lives. This also implies that each housing group has homogeneity and undifferentiated characteristic to a certain degree within itself. In this framework, since the aim of this part is to examine community relations and ways of life of residents, to address possible type of network relations that residents may have developed constitutes the important ground for our analysis. In constructing our

examination we follow Rex and Moore's assumption regarding adaptation problem to city life and socialization process in the sense that we assume that the degree of path taken in adaptation process is reflected in the degree of participation to formal and informal network relations. To put it in a different way, what we assumed here from the point of housing classes approach is that passing from informal processes to formal ones is the indicator over the success in adaptation to urban environment. However, it is no doubt that these arguments are not peculiar to certain approaches; rather, they are widely accepted, including Turkish gecekondu literature as well. To illustrate, as Kongar underlines, in gecekondu studies performed in Turkey, '(a)s the Turkish rural family is always thought to rely heavily on its kin, the process of adaptation as well as the independence from the kin means that the *gecekondu* family has undergone a rapid and drastic change' (1976)[13].

One of the important aspects of our examination is the community structure that typically occurs in the early stages of migration. As is known, contacts and helps with accommodation and employment are necessary in the early stages of the migration. We asked our respondents if they received any help or support in Ankara in the early stages of their migration. Majority (64.1 percent) of heads of household said that they did not. There are also heads of household who migrated when they were child and could not remember how they migrate and if they got any help. As a result, there remain only 20 heads of household who got help in the early stage of their migration. 18 out of 20 heads of household received aid from their relatives in Ankara and other two from their neighbors.

It is possible to state that in each housing group there are such households who more or less received help in their early stage of migration. However, what is striking is that apartment owner-occupiers have the greatest number in ratio with 43.8 percent when

---

[13] http://www.kongar.org/aen_ge.php

compared to other groups while only 25.0 percent of heads of household in apartment tenants and gecekondu owner-occupiers mentioned about the help they took. With the exception of gecekondu tenants, all housing groups took these supports especially from their relatives. However, among gecekondu tenants 31.3 percent of heads of household received help in their early stages from not only their relatives but also neighbors. The responses given to the kind of help have also certain differences on the basis of housing groups. Among the apartment tenures the helps taken by relatives are mostly the staying in their houses for a time. However, gecekondu owner-occupiers in our sample had been supported only for finding a work and accommodation by relatives. Gecekondu tenants, on the other hand, were mostly supported with food, financial aid and even with furniture not only by relatives but also by neighbors who did not have any kinship tie. It seems that, in accordance with the fact that the migration process gecekondu tenants experienced has different dimensions when compared to other housing groups, types and sources of help they took display different features as well.

Table 4.38: Having Relatives in Şentepe by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Ratio of Having Relatives in Şentepe	81.3 % (13)	75.0 % (12)	87.5 % (14)	68.8 % (11)

Source: Field Research

Above table exhibits the relation of residents with their relatives. It should be noted before interpreting that these findings represent only half of the story and they need to be further elaborated to examine the problem of communal structure since their networks including kinship relations may not be restricted with Şentepe. (For example it is more likely that those born in Ankara have relatives and friends in Ankara beyond Şentepe and their primary community life may be structured around these relatives.) Keeping in this mind, indicators show that the majority of residents in each housing group have relatives in Şentepe and there is no considerable difference among housing groups in respect of having relatives in their neighborhood. We encountered only fourteen respondents who had no kin in Şentepe outside their immediate household.

When we turn to evaluate their relations with native land we come across a different picture to an important extent. Proportion of the continuity of apartment tenants' relations with their native land is the highest one. What is more, gecekondu owner-occupier housing group neither gets help from nor supplies to their relatives in native land. Although the lowest proportion is that of gecekondu tenant in respect of the continuity of native land relations, both tenant housing groups have in common the highest ratio of getting help from native land. On the other hand, the housing group that supplies more help to its relatives in native land is the apartment owner-occupier one although it represents the lowest ratio in respect of getting help. In spite of these differences, it should be noted that the proportion of the getting help from and supplying help to native land is not much more for all housing groups.

Table 4.39: Continuity of Relations with Native Land by Housing Groups

| | Home Ownership | | | |
| | Gecekondu | | Apartment | |
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Continuity of Native Land Relations	62.5 % (10)	68.8 % (11)	87.5 % (14)	93.8 % (15)
Getting Help from Native Land	18.8 % (3)	---	6.3 % (1)	18.8 % (3)
Doing Helps to relatives in Native Land	6.3 % (1)	---	37.5 % (6)	18.8 % (3)
Frequency of Visiting Native Land				
Two times or more in a year	37.5 % (6)	18.8 % (3)	6.3 % (1)	31.3 % (5)
Once in a year	18.8 % (3)	43.8 % (7)	56.3 % (9)	50.0 % (8)
Once in two years	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)	6.3 % (1)
Once in three-five years	---	---	12.5 % (2)	---
Not visiting	37.5 % (6)	31.3 % (5)	18.8 % (3)	12.5 % (2)
Total	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)	100 % (16)

Source: Field Research

Furthermore, except for gecekondu tenant housing group, nearly half of the all groups visit their native land once in a year. A considerable part of the both tenant housing groups makes this visit two times or more in a year. However, when above table seen in general, it is obvious that apartment tenant housing group has more close relations with their native land in respect of the frequency of visits. It can be said on the basis of both frequency of visiting native land and getting help from there that tenants still keep on relationships with their native land or, to be more precise, even though not much

more in number, tenants' relationships with their native land are still stronger than that of other housing groups. The reason of that situation can be related with migration time in terms of gecekondu tenants, because they are relatively new comers as compared to others. Another reason of this, on the other hand, may be related with economic difficulties, since they are in more disadvantaged position.

Below table demonstrates help seeking in the time of crises by households. It shows that the majority of all housing groups demand helps first of all from their relatives. However, this is the case for especially tenant housing groups. Moreover, the households demanding help from their neighbors are composed of mostly gecekondu tenures. This can be interpreted in a way that neighborhood relations are closer among gecekondu tenures than apartment tenures.

Table 4.40: Source and Types of Helps that Households Receive by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		*Apartment*	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Relatives	62.5 % (10) Borrowing / going guarantor (7), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (5), Financial aid (3), Helps in finding job (1), Helps in repairments and restoring (1), Helps in housework (1), Household production (1), Leaving relatives as guard to keep house when it is needed (1), Childcare (1), Fuel or food aid (1).	43.8 % (7) Financial aid (5), Borrowing / going guarantor (4), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (3), Staying in relatives houses (1), Helps in repairments and restoring (1), Childcare (1), Fuel or food aid (1).	50.0 % (8) Borrowing / going guarantor (7), Helps in finding job (3), Financial aid (3), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (3), Staying in relatives houses (2), Helps in housework (1).	75.0 % (12) Borrowing / going guarantor (9), Financial aid (8), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (5), Staying in relatives houses (3), Childcare (3), Helps in repairments and restoring (2), Leaving relatives as guard to keep house when it is needed (2), Helps in finding job (1), Helps in learning occupational skills (1), Household production (1).
Neighbors	18.8 % (3) Borrowing / going guarantor (2), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (2), Financial aid (1),	25.0 % (4) Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (2), Helps in learning occupational skills (1), Financial aid (1), Borrowing / going guarantor (1), Helps in repairments and restoring (1), Helps in housework (1), Household production (1), Childcare (1).	6.3 % (1) Borrowing / going guarantor (1).	6.3 % (1) Financial aid (1), Borrowing / going guarantor (1).

Table 4.40: (continued)

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
Fellow Countrymen	6.3 % (1) Financial aid (1), Borrowing / going guarantor (1), Helps in marriage / death / illness (1).	---	---	---
Friends	---	12.5 % (2) Financial aid (2).	---	6.3 % (1) Borrowing / going guarantor (1).
Public Organizations[*]	12.5 % (2) Fuel or food aid (2).	---	---	---
Nobody	18.8 % (3)	18.8 % (3)	43.8 % (7)	18.8 % (3)

[*] Municipality, Head Office of District, Mukhtar
Source: Field Research

Moreover, another important result is that even though near to the ground in proportion they are only gecekondu tenants who demand help from their fellow countrymen in the crises time. As it can be seen through table again only gecekondu tenants seek help from public organizations, such as municipality, Head Office of District and mukhtar. Moreover, last indicator of the table denotes that there is a significant difference between the apartment owner-occupiers and the other housing groups in respect of not seeking any help. Nearly half of the apartment owner-occupiers do not need to seek help. To sum up, it is possible to say that there are more self-sufficient households among apartment owner-occupiers and there are no substantial differences between housing groups in respect of social networks.

Table 4.41: Types of Help that Households Give by Housing Groups

Home Ownership			
Gecekondu		Apartment	
Tenant	Owner Occupier	Owner Occupier	Tenant
56.3 % (9) Helps in housework (6), Lending / going guarantor (5), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (5), Helps in learning occupational skills (3), Household production (3), Childcare (3), Financial aid (2), Host in home for stay (2), Helps in repairments and restoring (2), Guarding, keeping house when it is needed (2), Helps in finding job (1),	68.8 % (11) Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (6), Financial aid (4), Lending / going guarantor (4), Helps in housework (3), Host in home for stay (2), Household production (2), Helps in finding job (1), Helps in repairments and restoring (1), Guarding, keeping house when it is needed (1), Childcare (1),	75.0 % (12) Lending / going guarantor (7), Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (7), Financial aid (5), Helps in housework (3), Helps in finding job (1), Helps in repairments and restoring (1), Household production (1), Guarding, keeping house when it is needed (1), Childcare (1),	75.0 % (12) Helps in times of marriage / death / illness (10), Host in home for stay (7), Lending / going guarantor (5), Financial aid (4), Helps in repairments and restoring (4), Helps in housework (4), Household production (3), Helps in finding job (2), Guarding, keeping house when it is needed (2), Helps in learning occupational skills (1), Childcare (1),

Source: Field Research

It is generally assumed that the basic distinction between gecekondu and apartment social environments is the coincidence of kinship relations with neighborhood relations in the gecekondu community. Additionally, face-to-face relations and sense of solidarity are said to be stronger in the gecekondu environment (see third chapter). However, above table suggests that there are no significant differences between different housing groups in respect of solidarity relations.

Table 4.42: Help Sought in Time of Crisis by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership							
	Gecekondu				Apartment			
	Tenant		Owner Occupier		Owner Occupier		Tenant	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Households Who do not seek any help	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**7**	**4**	**9**	**4**
People or Institutions help sought from	**35**	**44**	**28**	**51**	**29**	**35**	**16**	**32**
Workfellowsip	5	---	1	---	---	---	3	5
Friends in Neighborhood	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	3
Relatives	27	31	13	29	16	21	10	9
Neighbors	---	7	12	18	9	12	---	15
Public Organizations[*] / Officials[*]	1	4	---	1	1	1	1	
Solidarity Associations	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
Political Parties	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---
Finance Organizations	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---
Living area resided by people help sought from								
Within Şentepe	48.6 %	59.1 %	92.9 %	62.7 %	79.3 %	91.4 %	25.0%	56.3 %
Outside Şentepe	48.6 %	27.3 %	7.1 %	31.4 %	17.2 %	5.7 %	37.5 %	34.4 %
Outside Ankara	---	---	---	2.0 %	---	---	25.0 %	6.3 %
Other[**]	2.9 %	13.6 %	---	3.9 %	3.4 %	2.9 %	12.5 %	3.1 %
Housing type resided by people help sought from								
Gecekondu	62.9 %	61.4 %	78.6 %	52.9 %	27.6 %	8.6 %	31.3 %	37.5 %
Apartment	34.3 %	25.0 %	21.4 %	43.1 %	70.0 %	88.6 %	43.8 %	59.4 %
Other[***]	2.9 %	13.6 %	---	3.9 %	3.4 %	2.9 %	12.5 %	3.1 %

[*] Municipality, Head Office of District, Mukhtar
[**] Public and Other Organizations
[***] Rural Housing or Public and Other Organizations
Source: Field Research

When above table considered in terms of people or institutions help sought from, it is seen that there is no significant difference between housing groups in most cases. It is only in the case of relatives that there is an apparent differentiation between housing groups. Relations of the gecekondu tenures with their relatives are stronger than that of apartment ones in terms of helping each other. However, it seems not possible to observe similar types of closeness through other relations. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that there is a significant difference between the owner-occupiers

and the tenants in terms of the residence area of those people from whom they demand help in that most of the people whom owner-occupiers demand helps from reside within Şentepe whereas people residing outside Şentepe constitute a considerable part of them in the case of tenants. In addition to this, housing types of who help demanded from are consistent with that of who demand it. Put differently, gecekondu tenures mostly demand help from gecekondu people while apartment tenures from apartment people.

Table 4.43: Close Friends Help Sought In Time of Crisis by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership							
	Gecekondu				**Apartment**			
	Tenant		**Owner Occupier**		**Owner Occupier**		**Tenant**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
First three close friends								
Workfellowsip	7	1	2	2	2	1	6	1
Friends in Neighborhood	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1
Relatives	2	5	1	2	2	4	---	3
Neighbors	---	5	1	9	2	6	---	8
Friends from mosque	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---
School Friends	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Fellow countrymen	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---
Friends in Political Party	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---
No specific friendships	3	2	2	---	5	6	9	3
Place resided by first three close friends								
Within Şentepe	48.4 %	55.3 %	90.0 %	75.0 %	66.7 %	80.0 %	20.0 %	75.8 %
Outside Şentepe	51.6 %	44.7 %	10.0 %	25.0 %	30.3 %	20.0 %	80.0 %	21.2 %
Outside Ankara	---	---	---	---	3.0 %	---	---	3.0 %
Housing type resided by first three close friends								
Gecekondu	83.9 %	68.4 %	63.3 %	62.5 %	33.3 %	20.0 %	10.0 %	45.5 %
Apartment	16.1 %	31.6 %	36.6 %	32.5 %	66.7 %	80.0 %	90.0 %	54.5 %
Detached Houses	---	---	---	5.0 %	---	---	---	---

Source: Field Research

In opposition to the hypotheses of urban studies which consider gecekondu social environment under the concept of community, in our sample there is no apparent differentiation between residents of apartment and that of gecekondu in respect of friendship relations. As we have indicated in the third chapter, it is generally supposed that the most important difference separating gecekondu environment from apartment environment is overlapping of the neighborhood relations with traditional relations such as kinship or fellowship. However, we find out that the basic difference is not between gecekondu housing and apartment housing but between men and women. The above table demonstrates friendship relations on the basis of gender in addition to hosing type and housing ownership. In this respect, table points out that women's friendships

relations are restricted only with relatives and neighbors as compared to men's friendship relations. Also it is worthy saying in terms of the closest friends that many of the apartment tenures do not express specific friendships.

Gecekondu social environment is generally considered as a district where face-to-face and close relations are dominant, and which constitutes introverted social environment, limited and closed space with regard to its relations with the other sides of city. In a word, according to this view, gecekondu areas constitute limited, closed and segregate social space. However, in our sample it is not possible to observe a distinction between gecekondu and apartment but between tenants and owner-occupiers. As it can be seen from the table owner-occupiers have closed and limited relationships, while tenants' relations are not restricted with Şentepe. On the other hand, when we look at the housing type of best friends, it is obvious that gecekondu tenures generally have friendship relations with again gecekondu tenures and also apartment tenures meet mostly with the other apartment tenures. Therefore, it can be deduced from this finding that housing types have considerable effect on the formation of social relations especially in terms of neighborhood relations.

There are also other indicators that exhibit the formal network relations. As we have put at the beginning of this title, these relations are important in understanding the life styles of households; or the degree of socialization, adaptation and change. On the basis of housing hierarchy, it would be expected that the individuals who have privileged position in this hierarchy would have less reliance upon traditional based relations such as kinship, fellow citizenship etc. and have more advanced relations with formal organizations, institutions and associations. When we consider below table demonstrating the heads of household's relation with formal organizations, we encounter a picture consistent with these definitions.

Table 4.44: Membership of Heads of Household to Associations by Housing Groups

	Home Ownership			
	Gecekondu		Apartment	
	Tenant	*Owner Occupier*	*Owner Occupier*	*Tenant*
Ratio of Membership to Associations	12.5 %	31.3 %	31.3 %	56.3%
Fellow citizen Associations	6.3 %	---	---	25.0 %
Occupational Associations	6.3 %	6.3 %	12.5 %	18.8 %
Fan Clubs	---	---	6.3 %	---
Solidarity Associations	---	---	---	6.3 %
Political Party	---	6.3 %	6.3 %	6.3 %
Trade Union	---	18.8 %	6.3 %	12.5 %

Source: Field Research

As it can be seen, the ratio of membership to associations is greater among apartment tenures as compared to gecekondu tenures. In total, twenty people are member of certain organizations. Seven heads of household have membership to occupational organizations; one to Chamber of Agriculture Engineers who attends to meetings, one to Police Solidarity Fund who is just member and monthly pays his contribution to fund and other five to Chamber of Drivers. Drivers have to join to this chamber to do their jobs; therefore three said they were members because it was obligatory and two said that they attended to meetings. Three are members of the political party they voted, that is Justice and Development Party. Among women two have membership to political parties. One to Justice and Development Party whose husband is the mentioned active in county organization of party and one to active member of Republican People's Party. On the other hand, while twenty-eight heads of household said that there were trade unions in their work places, only six are members of trade unions. They said they did not need to be member of trade unions. Membership pattern is altered: for example, among gecekondu owner-occupiers, three out of six are just member, two of them compulsory member and only one of them is active member. Moreover, membership duration of one of them is five years while others' ranging between ten and eighteen years. To sum up, when seen in respect of the distribution of ratio of membership to associations among housing groups, it is obvious that there is a visible difference between the gecekondu tenures and apartment tenures, moreover, gecekondu tenants represent the housing group in which the ratio of membership is the lowest one.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

One of the most important tasks of urban sociology has been to develop a mode of analysis that would be able to explain how the relation and interaction between social and spatial aspects of stratification should be analyzed without either falling into spatial fetishism or amnesia. Housing classes theory, developed by John Rex and Robert Moore, constitutes one of the significant attempts in that direction. According to this theory, type and location of housing constitutes an important aspect of spatial stratification since it is a scarce resource to which market situation renders differential access. To be more precise, Rex and Moore assert that life chances of individuals are very restricted in the style and location of housing to which they could get access, which in turn leads to the formation of distinct housing communities composed of residents who share same life chances and value systems. On the basis of this, each community is defined as a housing class. Briefly, for them, housing classes constitute the basis of the articulation of spatial structure of the city with its social organization and can be taken as a unit of analysis in studying the urban social structure.

Housing classes approach has roots in Weberian understanding of social stratification. Weber defines classes with reference to social relations of exchange and specifies in terms of the market situation whereas social status clarified on the basis of the consumption patterns of social groupings in his model. In view of that, his distinction between classes and status groups reflects the distinction between production and consumption. Rex and Moore follow Max Weber in that classes arise not merely around the use of the means of production, but around the control of domestic property

as well. According to them, there will 'be as many potential housing classes in the city as there are kinds of access to the use of housing' (Rex, 1973, p.274). This approach is in a serious contradiction with Marxist understanding of social classes that defines social classes with regard to social relations of production and specifies in terms of the relations of production. From the Marxist point of view, cleavages among different groups arising out of the ownership status in crucial means of consumption such as housing reflect consumption pattern and correspond to status divisions in Weberian sense.

However, Marxist reasoning is not alone in criticizing the housing classes approach. Leaving aside other scholars who are not taken into consideration in this study directly, there are two important figures who criticize Rex and Moore's way of analysis for different reasons though they can be classified in the same tradition with them, as well. One of them is Raymond Pahl. Although Pahl agrees with Rex and Moore in assumption that individuals' life chances are determined not only by their relationship to the means of production but also by their spatial location in the urban system, unlike them, he gives primacy to access to housing in defining housing classes, which sequentially brings about the turning of his identification principally around the question of ownership and non-ownership. However, his way of analysis has been found confusing since it does not allow studying individual's present situation in the means of housing.

Other figure is Peter Saunders. In his earlier woks, Saunders' endeavor is similar with that of Pahl in the sense that by adopting Weberian view that homeownership is to be considered as a determinant of class structuration, he too tries to develop an analysis of housing classes in terms of the question of ownership. However, afterwards, he abandons taking housing tenure into account as the basis of a housing classes system and turns to view it around the concept of consumption sector. For him, major consumption sectors are constituted according to ownership situation of individuals in consumption resources the same as in the case of fundamental class divisions. He

considers consumption as a distinct sphere and asserts that it should not be treated in terms of reproduction since it is not determined by production, quite the opposite; the sphere of consumption has independent significance. When seen in terms of housing tenure, it means that housing tenure is analytically distinct from the question of class and it is no less important than class divisions in principle. On the other hand, with respect to Rex and Moore's approach, Saunders underlines the fact that their way of analysis is not regarding housing classes actually but different groups within social classes who experience greater difficulty in achieving access to certain types of housing because of their disadvantaged status.

We can see the traces of Rex and Moore's way of analysis to some extent in those approaches that have constituted the base of Turkish gecekondu literature, as well. In the gecekondu studies conducted in Turkey before 1980, gecekondu areas are conspicuous through their unifying characteristics and treated as homogenous urban areas. Moreover, gecekondu settlements are handled around the cultural, economic and social integration problem. Therefore, common feature of the studies conducted in that period is that gecekondu population is imaged as a population who is unable to integrate with the city and constitutes an undifferentiated social section dominated by the rural characteristic. As expected, the concepts such as community structure, gecekondu social environment and traditional values on the one hand and urban values, modern way of life and apartment culture on the other are prominent and noticeable concepts of those studies. What is more, they reflect a way of thinking which is in accordance with one of the main assumptions of housing classes approach: the people residing in specific housing type would form a community and have in common a way of life.

The unifying characteristic of the urban studies conducted after 1980 is, on the other hand, the increasing recognition of the differentiation and segregation tendencies and dynamics operating within gecekondu settlements themselves. Without a doubt, behind this important shift lie the economic and social developments that have accelerated

144

the urban transformation processes in the gecekondu areas of Turkey's cities. To illustrate, the commercialization of gecekondus and the social mobility opportunity provided by this phenomenon to certain groups not only bring about speeding up of the inner stratification tendencies among urban poor themselves but also make it difficult to view gecekondu areas, where they live, as homogenous districts. In this framework, the urban scholars of this period use the criterions such as ownership of durable consumption goods and status differences arising from the housing or land ownership to analyze the stratification trends within urban poors themselves. The important point here is that this way of analysis displays similar characteristics with housing classes approach in the sense that they both consider individuals' life chances as being restricted to their positions in the means of residence.

In case study, we have tried to answer two fundamental and related questions derived from the main assumptions of housing classes theory. Put briefly, first one was whether individuals' life chances were very restricted in the housing to which they could get access, while the second whether the groups who could get access to the specific house resources would form a community. With regard to first one, findings enable us to say that housing is an important resource that affects the life chances of individuals. We find that in many cases owner-occupiers of both apartment and gecekondu housing types are in more advantaged position as compared to tenants. These advantages become visible when certain variables such as consumption patterns of different types of household or education are considered. For example, as we have denoted in the fourth chapter under the title of income level, owner-occupiers in both gecekondu and apartment utilize their savings (resulting from not paying rent) in different kinds of expenditure and especially the education category can be considered as one of the important utilization domains. This finding is consistent with Saunders' argument that ownership of consumption resources enables individual to access to key determinants of life chances such as cultural capital. However, it should be noted that when these two owner-occupier groups compared within themselves, in most cases apartment owner-

occupier group comes to the fore.

On the other hand, the most disadvantaged housing group appears as gecekondu tenant group. For example, when education opportunities of children once more considered, which renders possible to observe effects of housing situation on the individual's life-chances, it seems that the gecekondu tenants be the most handicapped group. There are not only more children who do not attend to school in the gecekondu tenant families but also main factors bringing about this outcome are the economic ones as well. Put again, this finding regarding gecekondu tenants' disadvantaged position is also valid for other variables such as health, social security and employment status, as well. In brief, as we have also stated through the part of life chance of case study, apartment owner-occupiers can be considered as to be in the positively privileged position while the tenants of gecekondu constitute the most disadvantaged housing group in many respect.

In view of these findings, it can be said that home ownership provides the opportunity of a certain amount of accumulation to its owners, as Saunders states as well (see chapter two). To illustrate, housing rents result with a considerable degree of (approximately one forth of) decreases in the monthly income of both tenant housing groups. However, as far as our findings considered in general it seems not possible to support Saunders in his assertion that ownership of domestic property constitutes *a separate source of wealth accumulation*. For the reason that when income levels of residents considered, we reach similar findings in that the rank of housing groups from advantaged one to disadvantaged one is in correspondence with the positions they occupied in the rank of income level to an important extent. We come across with a similar picture in terms of resident's employment status, as well. For example, a considerable part of the gecekondu tenants work as manual worker in informal sector while among apartment owner-occupiers there is no one working in informal sector. By the same token, there is an apparent difference between apartment owner-occupier group and other housing groups in terms of average income per capita. Therefore, it is not possible to assume substantial differentiation between different housing groups

that is arising out of their housing situation. Rather, it seems to be reasonable to recommend that home ownership provides the opportunity of a certain amount of accumulation to its owners and, moreover, housing tenure intensifies the inequalities among different social strata but not cut across them. In that case, Harvey's recommendation that residential differentiation should be interpreted in terms of the reproduction of social relations within capitalist society seems to be appropriate and should be taken into consideration when spatial stratification in capitalist cities is studied.

The unequal positions of people in means of housing represent a consumption-based cleavage and although it is not inconsistent with their employment status or their positions in labor market, all the same it intensifies the inner stratification among them. On this basis, it can be asserted that in contrary to Rex and Moore's approach that considers housing tenure within class terms, it is the concept of status that represents the most proper conceptual instrument by which cleavages among different groups stemming from the housing tenure should be treated in Weberian sense. As we have seen, this evaluation is consistent with not only Marxist critique but also Saunders' critique of housing classes approach. All of them imply that different types of housing tenure are different modes of consumption of housing and these modes can be evaluated on the basis of life-styles associated with them in a Weberian sense.

Second fundamental question of the case study addressed the issue of whether gecekondu and apartment as different housing types constituted the basis of different social environments beyond their physical differences. As we have discussed in previous parts, it is generally assumed that the most fundamental aspect separating the gecekondu environment from the apartment social environment is the coincidence of hemseri-based traditional relations such as kinship with neighborhood relations in the gecekondu community. Moreover, according to this view, gecekondu community is conspicuous with its solidarity relations. In this regard, we compare gecekondu and

apartment housing types in terms of solidarity relations, formal and informal networks, residential mobility, etc.

First point which is to be underlined in understanding the community structure is regarding the residential mobility. To begin with, we find out that owner-occupiers have closed and limited relationships, while tenants' relations are not restricted with Şentepe. On the other hand, one of the main reasons for tenants to reside in Şentepe is the community-based motivation such as being acquainted with social environment or kinship relations. For the considerable part of the owner-occupiers, in contrast, is their possession of housing property. In this respect, we can say that there is no considerable distinction between gecekondu and apartment but between tenants and owner-occupiers in our sample. This is not an unexpected finding in the sense that tenants are more likely to be mobile since they do not have ties with their houses as owner-occupiers, who are likely to have. It can be hardly said that these residential features and tendencies operate through the formation of different community structures.

Second point that must be taken into consideration here is informal networks of residents. Neighborhood is important in terms of constituting solidarity relations. We find that the majority of residents in each housing group have relatives in Şentepe and there is no considerable difference among them in respect of the ratio of having relatives. The majority of all housing groups demand helps first of all from their relatives and this is the case for especially tenant housing groups. However, relations of the gecekondu tenures with their relatives are stronger than that of apartment ones in terms of helping each other. On the other hand, the households demanding help from their neighbors are composed of mostly gecekondu tenures and this demonstrates the fact that neighborhood relations are closer among gecekondu tenures than apartment tenures. Moreover, we also reach a general pattern that gecekondu tenures mostly demand help from gecekondu people while apartment tenures from apartment people. By the same token, in most cases, gecekondu tenures have friendship relations with again gecekondu tenures and apartment tenures meet with the other apartment

148

tenures, as well. Therefore, housing types have certain effect on the formation of social relations especially in terms of neighborhood relations.

All the same, according to findings, when solidarity relations generally considered in terms of not only their density but also their extensiveness among residents, there are still no substantial differences between housing types. One of the main reasons behind this is that both strength and comprehensiveness of solidarity network among gecekondu people is far from our expectation. This may partly attributable to social structure of the gecekondus where we conducted the case study in such a way that gecekondu residents in that neighborhood were not representing the ones at the bottom in social hierarchy. In other words, gecekondu people we interviewed in the case study are not homogenous in themselves and not display the social characteristics of definite social strata that can be regarded as urban poor in respect of their economic situation. Therefore, picture arising from our findings – the relatively limited characteristics of solidarity ties among gecekondu residents and no considerable differences between apartment and gecekondu housing groups in terms of informal networks – should not be dismissed as exceptional because the solidarity-based social networks are taking precedence among urban poors in their endeavor to survive in urban area. As a result, in the lights of our findings, we can say that although there are certain lines of separation between gecekondu and apartment neighborhoods, it is not possible to assert following Rex and Moore that the groups who could get access to the specific house resources become segregated from one another and would form a community. However, it is worthy reminding that we reach this concluding remark through our findings and, therefore, it may not display generalizable characteristics. More comprehensive studies are needed to analyze this problem adequately.

It should be also noted in this context that a mode of analysis based on the treatment of gecekondu settlements as spatial equivalent of urban poverty as most of the gecekondu studies have done seems not sufficient any longer to study neither urban poverty nor gecekondu phenomenon properly. It is true that the gecekondu areas are the places

149

where urban poverty intensifies. However, as we have denoted previously, not only these areas are far from being homogenous in themselves but also certain groups living in such areas are in highly advantaged positions. For example, the establisher and first migrants have obtained an active position in job and housing markets through using all kinds of networks. This heterogeneous structure is related with the development of gecekondu phenomenon. As is known, in Turkey, it is not possible to talk about single gecekonduzation process and gecekondu people. The gecekonduzation phenomenon in Turkey appeared in 1950s as an outside-market solution developed by the immigrant population to overcome their accommodation problems; afterwards, initially in 1970s commercialization of gecekondu had begun with the distinction of occupier, constructor and user in gecekondu production and especially from 1980s this process had accelerated. As a result of these transformations, gecekondu has become an important aspect of urban land market which has marketable potential. This development has also accelerated the differentiation dynamics operating in gecekondu neighborhoods, where is regarded as living places of urban poors. In this respect, at the same time as the term gecekondu continues to indicate a different social section from rest of the city, it is not possible any more to talk about single gecekondu type; rather, there are different gecekondu types and gecekondu people in Turkish cities. All in all, it may be misleading to suggest that the distinction of *being gecekondu resident* and *being not* reflect main differentiation lines of social divisions, different sections of social stratification system and different community structures in urban society.

REFERENCES

Ayata, S. (1989) 'Toplumsal çevre olarak gecekondu ve apartman', *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 46/47, pp.101-127.

Basset, K. and Short, J.R. (1980) *Housing and residential structure*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Crompton, R. (1993) *Class and sratification: an introduction to current debates.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Dunleavy, P. (1980) *Urban political analysis: the politics of collective consumption.* London: Macmillan.

Edgell, S. (1993) *Class*. London: Routledge.

Erder, S. (1995) 'Yeni kentliler ve kentin yeni toksulları', *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 66, pp.106-121.

Erder, S. (1997). *Kentsel Gerilim: Enformel İlişki Ağları Alan Araştırması*. Ankara: Um:ag Vakfı Yayınları.

Erder, S. (2001, 2nd ed.) *İstanbul'da bir kent kondu: Ümraniye*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Erman, T. (2001) 'The politics of squatter (*gecekondu*) studies in Turkey: the changing representations of rural migrants in the academic discourse', *Urban Studies*, vol. 38, no. 7, 983-1002.

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

Giddens, A. (1971) *Capitalism and modern social theory; an analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, A. (1973) *The class structure of the advanced societies*. London: Hutchinson

Giddens, A. (1982) *Sociology: a brief but critical introduction.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Gottdiener, M. (1988) *The social production of space*. Texas: Univ. of Texas Press

Güneş-Ayata, A. (1990/91) 'Gecekondularda kimlik sorunu, dayanışma örüntüleri ve hemşehrilik', *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 51/52, 89-101.

Güvenç, M. ve Işık, O. (1996) 'İstanbul′u okumak: statü-konut mülkiyeti farklılaşmasına ilişkin bir çözümleme denemesi', *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 71, 6-60.

Güvenç, M. (1998) 'Beş büyükşehirde statü-gelir temelinde mekansal farklılaşma; ilişkisel çözümlemeler', in *75 yılda değişen kent ve mimarlık*, ed. Sey, Y., İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

Hamilton, M., Hirszowicz, M. (1989) *Class and inequality*. New York: Harvester.

Harvey, D. (1973) *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, D. (1982) 'Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies', *Internal Structure of the City*, ed. Bourne, L.S., New York: Oxford University Press, pp.137-149.

Harvey, D. (1985) *The urbanization of capital*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP.

Hindess, B. (1987) *Politics and Class Analysis*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Işık, O. and Pınarcıoğlu, M. (2002). *Nöbetleşe yoksulluk: gecekondulaşma ve kent yoksulları: Sultanbeyli örneği*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Işık, O. and Pınarcıoğlu, M. (2001) '1980 sonrası dönemde kent yoksulları arasında güce dayalı ağ ilişkileri: Sultanbeyli örneği', *Toplum ve Bilim*, No. 89, 31-61.

Kalaycıoğlu, S., Kardam, F., Tüzün, S. and Ulusoy, M. (1998) 'Türkiye için bir sosyoekonomik statü ölçütü geliştirme yönünde yaklaşım ve denemeler', *Toplum ve Hekim*, Vol.13., No.2., pp.126-137.

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

Katznelson, I. (1992) *Marxism and the city*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kerbo, H. R. (1983) *Social Stratification and Inequality: Class Conflict m the United States*. Boston, Mass: McGraw-Hill

Kongar, E. (1976) 'A survey of familial change in two Turkish gecekondu areas', in *Mediterranean Family Structures*, ed. Peristiany, J. G., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 205-218.; http://www.kongar.org/aen_ge.php

Lambert, J., Paris, C. and Blackaby, B. (1978) *Housing policy and the state: allocation, access and control*. London: The Macmillan Press.

Marshall, G. (ed.) (1998) *A dictionary of sociology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Milner, A. (1999) *Class*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Özler, Ş. (2000) 'Politics of the gecekondu in Turkey: the political choices of urban squatters in national elections'. Turkish Studies, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp.39-58, www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/menu/g_major_pub.htm

Pahl, R.E. (1970) *Patterns of urban life*. London: Longman.

Pahl, R. E. (1968). 'The Rural-Urban Continuum' in *Readings in Urban Sociology*, ed. Pahl, R.E., Oxford: Pergamon Press

Pahl, R.E. (1975) *Whose City?*. London: Penguin

Pérouse, J. (2004) 'Deconstructing the gecekondu', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue:1, Gecekondu, URL: http://www.ejts.org/document195.html

Pritchard, R.M. (1976) *Housing and the spatial structure of the city*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rex, J. (1968) 'The sociology of zone of transition' in *Readings in Urban Sociology*, ed. Pahl, R.E., Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp.211-231.

Rex, J. (1973) *Race, colonialism and the city*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967) *Race, community and conflict*. London: Oxford University Press.

Saunders, P. (1984) 'Beyond housing classes: the sociological significance of private property rights of means of consumption'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Sciences*, Vol.8, pp.202-227.

Saunders, P. (1986, 2nd ed.) *Social theory and urban question.* London: Unwin and Hyman.

Suchting, W.A. (1983) *Marx: an introduction.* Brighton,Sussex : Wheatsheaf Books

Şengül, T. (2001) 'Türkiye'de kentleşmenin izlediği yol üzerine: bir dönemleme girişimi', in *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar*, İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 61-94.

Şengül, T. (2001a) 'Kalkınma kuramlarında kentler', in *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar*, İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 116-135.

Şengül, T. and Ersoy, M. (ed.) (2002, 2nd ed.) *Kentsel yoksulluk ve geçinme stratejileri: Ankara örneği*. Ankara: ODTÜ Kentsel Politikalar ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı.

Şenyapılı, T. (1982) 'Economic change and the gecekondu family', in Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem (ed.), *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*, Bloomington, Indiana University Turkish Studies 3, 237-248.

Thorns, D. C., (1981) 'Owner-occupation: its significance for wealth transfer and class formation'. *Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp.705-728.

Turner, B.S. (2001, 2nd ed.) *Statü*, (trans.) İnal, K., Ütopya Yayınevi: Ankara

Weber, M. (1970) 'Class, status, party' in *Readings on social stratification*. ed. Tumin, M. M., New Jersey: Prentince-Hall, Inc., pp.27-39.

Weber, M. (1996) 'Sınıf, Statü, Parti', in *Sosyoloji Yazıları*. Gerth, H.H., Mills, W.C., İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Wright, E.O. (2000) 'The shadow of exploitation in weber's class analysis' Paper presented at the International Symposium on '*Economy and Society*: Max Weber in 2000', http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Weber-revised.pdf.

Zukin, S. (1980) 'A decade of the new urban sociology', *Theory and Society*, Vol.9, Issue 4, pp.575-601.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM OF GECEKONDU HOUSING TYPE

Anketör (Ad / Soyad):   Tarih: Hanereisi (Ad/Soyad):   Adres: Telefon:

GECEKONDU

1. Hanede Yaşayan Nüfus: 2. Hanede Aile Sayısı:

(A) HANEHALKI ÜYELERİNİN BİREYSEL FARKLILIKLARI

3. Hanehalkı Üyeleri	4. Yaşı	5. Cinsiyet (Erkek / Kadın)	6.1. Medeni Hali (Evli/Bekar/Dul)	6.2. Nikah Türü (Resmi/Dini/Yok)	6.2. Evlilik Tarihi (19..)	7. Doğum Yeri	8.1. Eğitim Durumu (En son diploma alınan okul türü)	8.2. Kaç yıl eğitim aldığı	7.1. Mesleği	Çalışıyorsa, 7.2. Çalıştığı İş Türü (Ücretli, İşveren, Kendi Hesabına, vb.)	7.3. Çalıştığı Yer (kurum/oturduğu şirket vb.)	7. Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumuna bağlı mı? (SSK, Bağkur, Emekli Sandığı, Yeşil Kart, Özel, vb.)
Hanereisi		E K	E B D	R D Y								
Eşi		E K	E B D	R D Y								
1. Çocuk		E K	E B D	R D Y								
2. Çocuk		E K	E B D	R D Y								
3. Çocuk		E K	E B D	R D Y								
4. Çocuk		E K	E B D	R D Y								
5. Çocuk		E K	E B D	R D Y								
		E K	E B D	R D Y								
		E K	E B D	R D Y								
		E K	E B D	R D Y								

(B) HANEHALKININ SOSYO-EKONOMİK YAPISI

Anketörün Dikkatine: Soru 1-52 hanede evhanımı, öğrenci ve çalışmayan/çalışamayan dışındaki 16 yaş üstü hane üyelerine sorulacaktır. Soru 1-52 haneresine sorulacaktır

1. Şu an çalıştığın işteki konumunuz aşağıdakilerden hangisine uygundur? (Gelir kaynağına göre uygun meslek kategorisini işaretleyiniz.)
   1 ( ) Ücretli-maaşlı olarak birisinin yanında ya da bir kuruluşta.......
   ....**SORU 2**'ye GEÇ
   2 ( ) İşveren..............**SORU 10**'a GEÇ
   3 ( ) Kendi hesabına, serbest...............
   ....**SORU 17**'ye GEÇ
   4 ( ) Emekli...................**SORU 19**'a GEÇ
   5 ( ) İşsiz, arasıra iş bulduğunda çalışıyor.......................**SORU 31**'e GEÇ
   ( ) İşsiz, iş aramıyor (Ev hanımı)
   ....**SORU 31**'e GEÇ

(ÜCRETLİ - MAAŞLI ÇALIŞANLARA SORUNUZ)

2. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz? (Yaptığı işi açıkça tanımlayarak yazınız)
   1 ( ) Yönetici
   2 ( ) Memur
   3 ( ) Vasıfsız İşçi
   4 ( ) Vasıflı İşçi
   5 ( ) Uzman / Mühendis / Öğretmen
   6 ( ) Diğer:_____

3. Nerede çalışıyorsunuz?
   1 ( ) Kamu kuruluşunda
   2 ( ) Özel Sektörde

4. İşyerinizde toplam kaç kişi çalışıyor?
   _____

5. Fazla mesaiye sayılmadan iş saatleri dışında ve tatil günleri çalıştığınız oluyor mu?
   1 ( ) Evet
   2 ( ) Hayır

6. İşyerinde faaliyet gösteren sendika var mı?
   1 ( ) Evet ise hangi sendika?_____
   2 ( ) Hayır............**SORU 38**'e GEÇ

7. Siz sendikaya üye misiniz?
   1 ( ) Evet
   2 ( ) Hayır ise neden üye değilsiniz?_____
   _____
   _____ **SORU 38**'e GEÇ

8. Kaç yıldır sendikalısınız?_____

9. Sendika üyeliğiniz aşağıda sayacaklarımdan hangisine uygundur?
   1 ( ) Sadece üyeyim
   2 ( ) Arasıra sendika toplantılarına katılıyorum.
   3 ( ) Aktif olarak sendika faaliyetlerine katılıyorum.
   4 ( ) Yönetimde görev alıyorum.
   5 ( ) Zorunlu olduğu için üyeyim.

(İŞVERENLERE SORUNUZ)

10. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?_____

11. İş ortağınız var mı?
    1 ( ) Varsa kaç ortağınız var?_____
    2 ( ) Yok

12. Yanınızda sürekli çalışan kaç kişi bulunuyor?_____

13. Bu çalışanlar arasında ailenizden kişiler var mı?
    1 ( ) Varsa kaç kişi?_____
    2 ( ) Yok

14. Bu çalışanlar arasında ücretli çalışmayan var mı?
    1 ( ) Varsa kaç kişi?_____
    2 ( ) Yok

15. Bu çalışanlar arasında akrabanız, komşunuz ya da hemşeriniz olan kişiler var mı?
    1 ( ) Varsa kaç kişi?_____
    2 ( ) Yok

16. Genellikle işyerinizdeki çalışma biçiminiz aşağıdakilerden hangisine uyuyor?
    1 ( ) *Yöneticiyim:* Yalnızca işyerini yönetmek ve işleri planlamakla uğraşıyorum. Üretim ve hizmeti yanımdaki elemanlar gerçekleştiriyor.
    2 ( ) *Hem yöneticiyim hem üretici:* Hem işleri yönetiyorum hem de elemanlarla birlikte üretime ya da hizmet sunumuna fiilen ben de katılıyorum.
    3 ( ) Diğer:_____
    _____**SORU 38'**e GEÇ

(KENDİ HESABINA ÇALIŞANLARA SORUNUZ)

17. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?_____

18. Yaptığınız işle ilgili beceriyi nasıl edindiniz?
    1 ( ) Eğitim ile
    2 ( ) Geleneksel yollarla (çıraklık, aileden, vb.)
    3 ( ) Diğer_____**SORU 38'**e GEÇ

19. Hangi yılda emekli oldunuz? _____

20. Nereden emekli oldunuz?
1 ( ) Kamu
2 ( ) Özel

21. Hangi sosyal güvenlik kurumundan emekli oldunuz?
1 ( ) SSK (Normal emekli)
2 ( ) SSK (Süper emekli)
3 ( ) Emekli Sandığı
4 ( ) Bağ-Kur
5 ( ) Yurt dışı
6 ( ) Diğer_____

22. Emeklilik durumunuz aşağıdakilerden hangisine uyuyor?
1 ( ) Dışardan emeklilik
2 ( ) Çalışma süresi bitiminde emeklilik

23. Elinize geçen emekli ikramiyesini nasıl kullandınız?
1 ( ) İş kurmak için
2 ( ) Gayrimenkul alımı için
3 ( ) Menkul Kıymet alımı için
4 ( ) Geleneksel harcamalar için(düğün vb.)
5 ( ) Borç ödemek için
6 ( ) Emekli ikramiyesi almadı
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

24. Emekli olduktan sonra çalıştınız mı?
1 ( ) Evet, şu an çalışıyorum
2 ( ) Evet, çalıştım……**SORU 26**'ya GEÇ
3 ( ) Hayır...............……**SORU 28**'e GEÇ

25. Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?
İşin tanımı:_____
_____

26. Emekli olduktan ne kadar zaman sonra tekrar çalışmaya başladınız?
1 ( ) Ara vermeden çalışmaya başladı.
2 ( ) Bir yıl içinde çalışmaya başladı.
3 ( ) İki – üç yıl içinde çalışmaya başladı.
4 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____

27. Neden emekli olduktan sonra bir işe başladınız?
1 ( ) Maddi nedenlerden
2 ( ) Çalışmayı sevdiği için
3 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____

ŞU AN ÇALIŞIYORSA **SORU 38**'e GEÇ

28. Yeniden iş bulmayı ya da herhangi bir iş yapmayı düşünüyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.............**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

29. Yeniden bir iş bulmayı düşünüyorsanız nasıl bir iş istiyorsunuz?_____

30. Neden yeniden bir iş bulmayı ya da herhangi bir iş yapmayı düşünüyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Geçim zorluğu nedeniyle
2 ( ) Çalışmayı sevdiği için
3 ( ) Diğer:_____**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

(İŞSİZ ve İŞTEN ÇIKARILMIŞLARA SORUNUZ)

31. Şu anda geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?
(Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir.)
1 ( ) Kendi hesabına düzensiz işler yaparak: İşin tanımı:_____
2 ( ) Başkasının yanında geçici işler yaparak
3 ( ) Çocuğunun maaşı ile
4 ( ) Çocuğunun maddi yardımı ile
5 ( ) Eşinin maaşı
6 ( ) Akrabaların maddi yardımı ile
7 ( ) Komşuların maddi yardımı ile
8 ( ) Belediyeden aldığı yardımlar ile
9 ( ) Kira geliri ile
10 ( ) Eski birikimlerini harcayarak
11 ( ) Borçlanarak
12 ( ) Diğer:_____

32. Ne zamandan beri işsizsiniz?
0 ( ) Hiç çalışmadı….....**SORU 35**'e GEÇ
1 ( ) Son bir aydır
2 ( ) Son altı aydır
3 ( ) Son bir yıldır
4 ( ) iki-üç yıldır
5 ( ) Beş yıl ve daha fazla süredir
6 ( ) Diğer:_____

33. Neden işsizsiniz?
1 ( ) İflas nedeniyle
2 ( ) Mesleği yok \ iş bulmakta zorlanıyor
3 ( ) Sosyal güvencesi olan bir iş bulamadığı için
4 ( ) İşten atıldığı için
5 ( ) Köydeki işlerde çalışmak için
6 ( ) Ücreti iyi bir iş bulamadığı için
7 ( ) Sağlık problemleri nedeniyle
8 ( ) İş kazası nedeniyle sakat kaldığı için
9 ( ) Yaşlılık nedeniyle
10 ( ) Askere gideceği için
11 ( ) Diğer:_____

34. 1. Son çalıştığınız işteki konumunuz aşağıdakilerden hangisine uygundur?

1 ( ) Ücretli-maaşlı

2 ( ) İşveren

      2.1 ( ) 5 ve daha az kişi çalıştıran

      2.2 ( ) 6 ve daha çok kişi çalıştıran

3 ( ) Kendi hesabına, serbest

      3.1. ( ) Küçük Esnaf

      3.2. ( ) Düzenli enformal işler

      3.3. ( ) Diğer:_____

4 ( ) Arasıra iş bulduğunda, düzensiz işler

2. Ne iş yapıyordunuz? İşin tanımı:_____

- -

35. Ücretli-maaşlı çalışmak için bir iş arıyor musunuz?

1 ( ) Evet

2 ( ) Hayır.................**SORU 37**'ye GEÇ

36. Ücretli maaşlı çalışmak istiyorsanız nasıl bir iş arıyorsunuz?

1 ( ) Memuriyet

2 ( ) Her türlü iş

3 ( ) Kendi işini kurma girişimine faydalı bir iş

4 ( ) Dış ülkelerle iş yapan bir firmada

5 ( ) Meslek-zanaat öğretecek bir iş

6 ( ) Geliri iyi bir iş

7 ( ) Sosyal güvencesi olan bir iş

8 ( ) Meslek ve zanaatına uygun bir iş

9 ( ) Fiziki koşullarına uygun bir iş

10 ( ) Diğer:_____

37. Düzensiz (geçici) de olsa, iş imkanı olsa çalışır mıydınız?

1 ( ) Evet.................**SORU 51**'e GEÇ

2 ( ) Hayır...............**SORU 51**'e GEÇ

38. Şu an çalıştığınız işte Hangi Sosyal Güvenlik kurumuna bağlı olarak çalışıyorsunuz?

1 ( ) SSK

2 ( ) Bağ-Kur

3 ( ) Emekli Sandığı

4 ( ) Özel Sigorta

5 ( ) Sosyal güvenlik kurumuna bağlı değil...................**SORU 40**'a GEÇ

39. Kaç yıldır sosyal güvenlik kurumuna bağlısınız? (SSK+Bağkur+ Emekli Sandığı)

_____

40. İşyerinizin niteliğini tarif eder misiniz?

1 ( ) Ofis

2 ( ) Fabrika

3 ( ) Ev

4 ( ) Diğer:_____

41. İşyeriniz hangi semtte bulunuyor?

_____

42. Kaç yıldır bu iş yerinde çalışıyorsunuz?

_____

43. 1. İşe gidiş gelişlerinizde hangi vasıtayı kullanıyorsunuz? (İşe gidişte kullanılan tüm araçları işaretleyin).

1 ( ) İşyerinin sağladığı servis

2 ( ) Belediye ve halk otobüsleri

3 ( ) Dolmuş

4 ( ) Kendi arabası

5 ( ) Yürüyerek

6 ( ) Metro/Ankaray

6 ( ) Diğer:_____

2. Evinizden iş yerine gidiş kaç dakikada sürüyor?_____

44. Önümüzdeki dört beş yıl içinde çalıştığınız bu işten ayrılmak gibi bir düşünceniz var mı?

1 ( ) Evet ise neden?_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır.............**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

45. Ayrıldıktan sonra geçiminizi nasıl sağlamayı düşünüyorsunuz?

1 ( ) Ücretli-maşlı olarak daha iyi bir para kazanabileceğim bir işe girerek. .....**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

2 ( ) Kendim iş kurarak.

3 ( ) Köye yerleşip orada toprakla uğraşarak....**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

4 ( ) Emekli olup emekli geliri ile geçinerek....**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ.

5 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____**SORU 47**'ye GEÇ

46. Kendi işinizi kurmak için herhangi bir girişiminiz var mı?

1 ( ) Evet ise nasıl?_____

2 ( ) Hayır

- -

47. Bugüne kadar iş bulamadığınız, işsiz kaldığınız dönemler oldu mu?

1 ( ) Evet

2 ( ) Hayır.................**SORU 51**'e GEÇ

48. En son ne kadar zaman önce işsiz kaldınız?

1 ( ) Son bir yıl içinde

2 ( ) Son iki yıl içinde

3 ( ) 2002 – 2000

4 ( ) 2000 – 1996

5 ( ) 1995 – 1991

6 ( ) 1990 – 1986

7 ( ) 1985 – 1981

8 ( ) 1980 ve öncesi

49. Ne kadar süre işsiz kaldınız?
1 ( ) Bir sene ve daha az
2 ( ) 1-2 yıl
3 ( ) 3 yıl
4 ( ) 4 yıl
5 ( ) 5 yıl
6 ( ) 6 yıl
7 ( ) 7 yıl ve üstü

50. İşsiz kaldığınız sürelerde geçiminizi nasıl sağladınız? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir.)
1 ( ) Akrabalarım yardım etti
2 ( ) Tanıdıklarımdan borç aldım
3 ( ) Birikmiş paramız vardı
4 ( ) Evdeki bazı eşyaları sattım
5 ( ) Altın, ziynet eşyası sattım
6 ( ) Arsa, ev sattık
7 ( ) Eşim çalıştı
8 ( ) Çocuklarım çalıştı
9 ( ) Geçici işlerde çalıştım
10 ( ) Kira geliriyle geçindim
11 ( ) Diğer:_____

51. Daha önce çalıştığınız iş ya da işleri ve bu işleri hangi dönemde yaptığınızı geriye doğru sıralayınız (Çalışıyorsanız şu an çalıştığınız işten öncekileri belirtiniz)

	Başlangıç		Bitiş		Çalıştığı İş Türü (Ücretli,İşveren,Kendi Hesabına,vb.)
	Ay	Yıl	Ay	Yıl	
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

52. Şu anda çalıştığınız bu işin ya da mevcut gelirinizin dışında ek gelir sağlamak için, ara sıra da olsa, başka bir iş yapıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.................**SORU 56**'ya GEÇ

53. Kaç tane ek işte çalışıyorsunuz?_____

54. Ek olarak çalıştığınız iş / işler nelerdir?

	Çalıştığı İş Türü (Ücretli, İşveren, Kendi Hesabına ,vb.)	İşin Tanımı
1		
2		

55. Ek gelir sağlamak için başka bir iş yapıyorsanız hangi sıklıkta yapıyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir.)
1 ( ) Belirli bir düzenliliği yok, fırsat buldukça
2 ( ) Yıllık iznimde ve tatillerde
3 ( ) Hafta sonlarında
4 ( ) Mesai saatlerinden önce ya da sonra hemen hemen her gün
5 ( ) İşyerinden uzun süreli (örneğin bir hafta) izin alarak
6 ( ) Diğer:_____

56. Sizin ve ailenizin geçimi için tüm giderlerinizi düşündüğünüzde aylık ortalama harcamanız kaç liradır?_____milyon TL.

57. Hanenize giren aylık gelir nedir_____milyon TL.

58. Sizin gibi bir ailenin, rahat yaşayabilmesi için ayda ortalama ne kadar para gerekli? _____milyon TL.

59. Aşağıda sayacağım eşyalardan (çalışır durumda) hangilerine sahipsiniz?

		Sayısını belirtiniz
1	Buzdolabı	
2	Elektrikli Süpürge	
3	Renkli TV	
4	Video	
5	VCD/DVD Player	
6	Normal Çamaşır Makinesi	
7	Otomatik Çamaşır Makinesi	
8	Bulaşık Makinesi	
9	Radyo-Teyp	
10	Müzik Seti	
11	Telefon	
12	Cep Telefonu	
13	Bilgisayar	

60. Otomobiliniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır................**SORU 63**'e GEÇ

61. Otomobilinizin markası ve modeli/yılı nedir?_____

62. Otomobilinizi işinizde kullanıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

63. Kredi kartınız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Evet, ama kullanmıyorum
2 ( ) Hayır

159

64. Evlendiğinizden bu yana, geçim sıkıntısı nedeniyle para bulmak için taşınır taşınmaz herhangi bir mülkünüzü sattığınız oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.............**SORU 66**'ya GEÇ

65. Hangi yıllarda ne sattınız? (ev, arsa, tarla, araba, altın …)

	Yıl	Satılan Mülk
1		
2		
3		
4		

66. Tasarruf yapabiliyor musunuz? (Herhangi bir birikiminiz var mı?)
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.................**SORU 68**'e GEÇ

---

67. Tasarruf yapmak amacıyla aşağıda sayacaklarımdan hangilerini aldınız ya da hangilerine yatırım yaptınız?
1 ( )   Gayrimenkula yatırım (arsa, ev, araba vb. almak)
2 ( )   Menkule yatırım (banka hesabı, döviz, hisse senedi, ziynet eşyası)
3 ( )   Diğer:_____

68. Menkul ya da gayrimenkullarınızdan elde ettiğiniz düzenli bir geliriniz var mı? (Kira geliri, vb.)
1 ( ) Evet; Bu gelir(ler)in ne olduğunu ve ne kadar olduğunu belirtiniz:
    Menkul/Gayrimenkul / Gelir
    1. _____ / _____
    2. _____ / _____
2 ( ) Hayır

69. Aylık taksit ödemeniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne kadar?_____
2 ( ) Hayır

70. Aylık taksit ödemeleriniz dışında bir borcunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne kadar?_____
2 ( ) Hayır................**SORU 73**'e GEÇ

71. Neden borçlandınız?
1 ( ) Ev aldım/yaptırdım, arsa aldım.
2 ( ) İş kurduğum için
3 ( ) Geçim sıkıntısı nedeniyle
4 ( ) Düğün, sünnet nedeniyle
5 ( ) Diğer:_____

72. Kime borçlandınız?
1 ( ) Akrabalarıma, tanıdıklarıma (faizsiz)
2 ( ) Tefeciye (faizle borç veren şahsa)
3 ( ) Bankaya
4 ( ) Çalıştığım işyerine, patrona
5 ( ) Diğer:_____

73. Hanenizde 16 yaş altında çalışan çocuk var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır................**SORU 75**'e GEÇ

74. Çalışan çocuk(lar);

	Okula devam ediyor mu?	Çalıştığı İşin Tanımı
1. çocuk		
2. çocuk		
3. çocuk		

---

75. Hanenizde okula gitmeyen (18 yaş altı) çocuk var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır................**SORU 77**'ye GEÇ

76. **1.** Okula gitmeyen erkek çocukları;

	Okutmama nedeniniz nedir?	Okutmama kararını kim verdi?
1. çocuk		
2. çocuk		

2. Okula gitmeyen kız çocukları;

	Okutmama nedeniniz nedir?	Okutmama kararını kim verdi?
1. çocuk		
2. çocuk		

77. Babanızın eğitim durumu
1 ( ) İlkokul
2 ( ) Ortaokul
3 ( ) Lise
4 ( ) Üniversite
5 ( ) Diğer:_____

78. Annenizin eğitim durumu
1 ( ) İlkokul
2 ( ) Ortaokul
3 ( ) Lise
4 ( ) Üniversite
5 ( ) Diğer:_____

79. Babanızın işi nedir/neydi?:_____

80. Annenizin işi nedir/neydi?
1 ( ) Evhanımı
2 ( ) _____

81. Kendinizi aşağıdaki sınıflardan hangisinden sayarsınız?
1.1 ( ) Üst
1.2 ( ) Ortanın üstü
1.3 ( ) Orta
1.4 ( ) Ortanın altı
1.5 ( ) Alt Sınıf

82. Gelecekte ailenizin ekonomik durumunun ne yönde değişeceğini düşünüyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Daha iyi
2 ( ) Daha kötü
3 ( ) Aynı
4 ( ) Bilmiyorum

(C) HANE REİSİ ANKETİ

1. Nerelisiniz?
1 ( ) <u>İL Ankara   </u> .
    <u>İLÇE Merkez   </u>
                     SORU 6'ya GEÇ
2 ( ) <u>İL   </u>
    <u>İLÇE   </u> .

2. Aileniz, ebeveynleriniz ya da akrabalarınız nedeniyle, memlekette ilişkileriniz sürüyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır................**SORU 6**'ya GEÇ

3. Memleketinizdeki yakınlarınızdan para yardımı ya da bütçenize katkı sağlayan erzak vb. yardım alıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet, ise   **3.2.** Ne tür?_____
                 3.3. Düzenli alıyor
                 musunuz?_____
           2 ( ) Hayır

4. Memleketteki yakınlara para yardımında bulunuyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

5. Memleketteki yakınlarınızı ziyaret ediyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; ne sıklıkta:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

6. Doğum yeriniz:
1 ( ) <u>İL Ankara   </u> .
    <u>İLÇE Merkez   </u>
2 ( ) <u>İL   </u>
    <u>İLÇE   </u> .

7. Babanızın doğum yeri
1 ( ) <u>İL Ankara   </u> .
    <u>İLÇE Merkez   </u>
2 ( ) <u>İL   </u>
    <u>İLÇE   </u> .

8. Babanızın babasının doğum yeri
1 ( ) <u>İL Ankara   </u> .
    <u>İLÇE Merkez   </u>
2 ( ) <u>İL   </u>
    <u>İLÇE   </u> .

9. İlk işinizi kimler aracılığıyla buldunuz?__
_____

(SORU 10 - 18'i ANKARA DIŞINDAN GELENLERE SORUNUZ)

10. Ankara'ya ne zaman geldiniz?_____(yıl)

11. Ankara'ya neden geldiniz?
1 ( )   İş bulduğu için
2 ( )   İş bulmayı umduğu için
3 ( )   Daha iyi yaşamayı istediği için
4 ( )   Geldiği yerde geçinme şansı kalmadığı için
5 ( )   Ankara'da yakınları olduğu için
6 ( )   Kan davasından kaçtığı için
7 ( )   Diğer:_____

12. Ankara'ya nereden geldiniz?_____
_____

13. Ankara'ya gelmeden önce geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyordunuz?_____

14. Ankara'da ilk olarak çalıştığınız iş neydi?_
_____

15. Ankara'da ilk işinizi kimler aracılığıyla buldunuz?_____

16. Ankara'ya ilk geldiğinizde hangi mahalleye yerleştiniz?_____

17. İlk oturduğunuz mahallede akraba ya da hemşerileriniz var mıydı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

18. Ankara'ya ilk geldiğinizde yardım gördünüz mü?
1 ( ) Evet ise   Ne tür?_____
               Kimden?_____
2 ( ) Hayır

---

19. Şu an oturduğunuz mahallede akraba ya da hemşerileriniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

20. 1. Zor durumda kaldığınızda kimlerden yardım istiyorsunuz?
1 ( )   Akraba
2 ( )   Hemşeri
3 ( )   Komşu (Akraba ya da hemşeri olmayan)
4 ( )   Diğer:_____

2. Ne tür yardımlar alıyorsunuz?
1 ( )   İş bulma
2 ( )   Mesleki beceri kazandırma
3 ( )   Para yardımı alma
4 ( )   Borç alma, kefil olma
5 ( )   Evinde kalma
6 ( )   Bakım, onarım vb.
7 ( )   Ev işleri, temizlik vb.
8 ( )   Ev içi üretimde yardımlaşma
9 ( )   Eve göz kulak olma
10 ( )   Çocuk bakımı
11 ( )   Evlilik, ölüm, hastalık vb. yardımlaşma
12 ( )   Diğer:_____

21. Siz ne tür yardımlarda bulunuyorsunuz?
1 ( )   İş bulma
2 ( )   Mesleki beceri kazandırma
3 ( )   Para yardımı yapma
4 ( )   Borç alma, kefil olma
5 ( )   Evinde kalma
6 ( )   Bakım, onarım vb.
7 ( )   Ev işleri, temizlik vb.
8 ( )   Ev içi üretimde yardımlaşma
9 ( )   Eve göz kulak olma
10 ( )   Çocuk bakımı
11 ( )   Evlilik, ölüm, hastalık vb. yardımlaşma
12 ( )   Diğer:_____

22. Son   yıllarda   akraba,   komşu   ve hemşerilerinizle aranızdaki yardımlaşma ve destek ilişkilerinde nasıl bir değişim oldu mu?
1 ( ) Olumlu /Arttı
2 ( ) Aynı, değişmedi
3 ( )Olumsuz/ Azaldı

23. **1.** Herhangi bir vakıf/derneğe üye misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet, ise Hangi vakıf/derneklere?
                    1.1._____
                    1.2._____
                    1.3._____
2 ( ) Hayır………......**SORU 24**'e GEÇ

2. Dernek/vakıf üyeliğiniz aşağıda sayacaklarımdan hangisine uygundur
1.Dernek/vakıf için;
1 ( ) Sadece üyeyim
2 ( ) Arasıra toplantılara katılıyorum
3 ( ) Aktif üyeyim
4 ( ) Diğer:_____
2.Dernek/vakıf için;
1 ( ) Sadece üyeyim
2 ( ) Arasıra toplantılara katılıyorum
3 ( ) Aktif üyeyim
4 ( ) Diğer:_____
3.Dernek/vakıf için;_____

24. Herhangi bir cemaat ya da vakıftan ayni ya da maddi yardım alıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise   Ne tür?_____
                     Hangi cemaat/vakıf?__
                     _____
2 ( ) Hayır

25. Belediyenin yaptığı yardımlardan hiç aldınız mı?
1 ( ) Evet: Ne tür:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

26. Yurtiçinde başka bir yere yerleşmek gibi bir planınız var mı?
1 ( )   Evet ise neden?_____
          _____
          _____
2 ( )   Hayır

27. En son genel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
                        ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

28. En son yerel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?

Büyükşehir Belediyesi için:
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
                        ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

İlçe (Yenimahalle)Belediyesi için:
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
                        ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

29. En son muhtarlık seçiminde oy verdiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet ise Kime? _____
                        ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
                    Neye göre verdiniz?
                    1 ( ) siyasi görüsü
                    2 ( ) şahsa
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____

30. Önümüzdeki genel seçimlerde oy vermeyi düşünüyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
                        ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____

31. Oy verdiğiniz parti ile üyelik, delegelik vb. ilişkiniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır
3 ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum

32. Hangi nedenlerle oyunuzu tercih ettiğiniz partiye verdiniz?
1 ( ) Partinin programını beğenme
2 ( ) Partinin uygulamalarını beğenme
3 ( ) Partinin liderini beğenme
4 ( ) Partiye geleneksel bağlılık
5 ( ) Partiye alışkanlıkla bağlılık
6 ( ) Kişisel nedenler
7 ( ) Aile reisinin etkisi
8 ( ) Gerekçesiz
9 ( ) Diğer partilerin başarısızlığı
10 ( ) Diğer:_____

33. Bir önceki (1999) genel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____

34. En başarılı bulduğunuz lider kimdir?_____
_____

35. Eskiden (15-20 yıl önce) en başarılı bulduğunuz lider kimdi?_____
_____

36. Gazete okuyabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise
1.1. Hangi gazete(ler)?_____
_____
1.2. Düzenli okuyabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____

37. Boş zamanlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?_____

38. En son ne zaman sinemaya gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

39. En son ne zaman tiyatroya gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

40. En son ne zaman bir konsere gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

41. En son ne zaman bir kültürel aktiviteye (sergi, konferans, festival, vb.)katıldınız? (Hangi faaliyet olduğunu belirtiniz:_____
_____)
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

42. En son tatile ne zaman gittiniz? (Memleket ziyaretleri hariç)
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

43. Televizyonda en çok hangi kanalları seyrediyorsunuz?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

44. Televizyonda en çok hangi programı seyrediyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Haber – Tartışma programları
2 ( ) Film ve/veya diziler
3 ( ) Yarışma programları
4 ( ) Magazin/eğlence programları
Yanıta göre program adını not ediniz:____
_____

45. Ankara'nın iş dışında en çok hangi merkezlerini kullanıyorsunuz? (öncelik sırasını yazınız).
___ Kızılay
___ Ulus
___ Tunalı
___ Çankaya
___ Diğer:_____

46. **1.** En son ne zaman iş dışı bir amaçla bu merkeze gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

2. Ne amaçla gittiniz?
1 ( ) Gezme, eğlenme
2 ( ) Kültürel faaliyetler (Sineme, tiyatro, konser, sergi, vb.)
3 ( ) Alışveriş
4 ( ) Hastane
5 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____

(D) KONUT ve MAHALLE ANKETİ

1. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait?
1 ( ) Kira:
    1. Kira bedeli nedir?_____TL/ay
    2. Ne zamandır bu evde oturu-yorsunuz?(yıl)_____
    3. Eviniz kira bedeli sizce uygun mu?
        1 ( ) Hayır, fazla:
            Ne kadar ol-malıydı?
            _____TL/ay
        2 ( ) Evet, uygun
        3 ( ) Hayır, az:
            Ne kadar ol-malıydı?
            _____TL/ay
        SORU 3'e GEÇ
2 ( ) Kendime ait:
    1. Evinizi ne zaman edindiniz? (yıl)_____
    2.Evinizi nasıl edindiniz?
        1 ( ) Satın aldım
        2 ( ) Kendim yaptım
        3 ( ) Yaptırdım
        4 ( ) Ailemden kaldı
        5 ( ) Diğer:_____
          _____
    3. Evinizi satın almak/yaptırmak için ne kadar para harcadınız? (O yılın fiyatlarına göre)_____
    _____TL.
    4. Evinizin şu anki değeri nedir?
    _____TL.
3 ( ) Diğer:_____

2. Tapunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: ( ) Müstakil Tapu
        ( ) Hisseli Tapu:
        Hisse payınız nedir? %____
        ( ) Diğer:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

3. Oturduğunuz konutta:
1. Kat sayısı:_____

2. Salon dışında oda sayısı:_____

5. Sıcak suyu nasıl temin ediyorsunuz?
    1 ( ) Banyo kazanı (odunlu)
    2 ( ) Ocakta ısıtıyorum
    3 ( ) Şofben
    4 ( ) Kombi
    5 ( ) Soba
    6 ( ) Merkezi ısıtma
    7 ( ) Diğer:_____

6. Evin ısıtmasını nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?
    1 ( ) Soba (odun / kömür)
    2 ( ) Elektrikli soba
    3 ( ) Katalitik (doğal gaz / tüp)
    4 ( ) Kalorifer (Merkezi)
    5 ( ) Kat kaloriferi (doğal gaz)
    6 ( ) Diğer:_____

7. Doğal gaz: ( ) Var ( ) Yok

11. Elektriği düzenli alabiliyor musunuz?
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

12. Suyu düzenli alabiliyor musunuz?
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

4. **1.** Bahçeniz var mı?
    1 ( ) Evet
    2 ( ) Hayır…...**SORU 5**'e GEÇ, kiracı ise **SORU 8**'e GEÇ

2. Bahçenizde ekim yapıyor musunuz?
    1 ( ) Evet
    2 ( ) Hayır…...**SORU 5**'e GEÇ, kiracı ise **SORU 8**'e GEÇ

3. Ne zamandan bu yana ekim yapıyorsu-nuz? (yıl)_____

4. Bahçedeki üretimden gelir elde ediyor musunuz?
    1 ( ) Evet; Ne kadar?_____TL/ay
    2 ( ) Hayır

SORU 5-7'yi GECEKONDU MÜLK SAHİPLERİ-NE ve AKRABA MÜLKİYETİNDE OTURAN-LARA SORUNUZ

5. Gecekondunuzu edindiğinizden (satın al-ma, yapma, yaptırma) bu yana;
1 ( ) Kat çıktım; eklenen kat sayısı:_____
2 ( ) Oda ekledim; eklenen oda sayısı:___
3 ( ) Mutfak ekledim
4 ( ) Banyo ekledim
5 ( ) Tuvalet ekledim
6 ( ) Hiçbirini yapmadım…………………
      ………..……**SORU 7**'ye GEÇ

164

6. Kat çıkmanızın / oda eklemenizin nedenleri nelerdir?_____
_____

---

7. Konutunuzda yapmayı tasarladığınız eklemeler var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

HERKESE SORUNUZ

8. Şu an oturduğunuz konutun herhangi bir sorunu var mı?
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____

9. Evinizin inşaat kalitesinden memnun musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
_____

10. Eviniz size yetecek genişlikte mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

11. Şu an oturduğunuz konutu değiştirmeyi düşünüyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; Neden? _____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

12. Ankara'ya geldiğinizden / evlendiğinizden bu yana ne tür konutlarda oturdunuz? (şu an oturduğu dahil)…Hareketlilik yoksa **SORU 16**'ya GEÇ

	Konuta Taşınılan Yıl	Konut Türü (apartman dairesi, gecekondu)	Mülkiyet (kendine ait, kira, vb.)	Oturulan semt / mahalle
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

13. Konut değiştirmenizde etkili olan en önemli nedenler nelerdir?
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____
4. _____

14. Konut kalitesi açısından, şu anda oturmakta olduğunuz konut daha önce oturduğunuz konutlara göre daha mı iyi durumda?
1 ( ) Evet, daha iyi
2 ( ) Aynı
2 ( ) Hayır, daha kötü

15. **1.** (Mahalle değiştirdiyse), bu mahalleyi/mahalleleri en çok hangi nedenlerle değiştirme kararı verdiniz?
1. _____
_____
2._____
_____
3._____
_____

2. (Mahalle değiştirmeden konut değiştirdiyse) Mahalleyi değiştirmeme nedenleriniz nelerdir?
1._____
_____
2._____
_____
3._____
_____

---

16. Kendinize ait (başka bir) eviniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.......... **SORU 18**'e GEÇ

17. **1.** Diğer evinizin/evlerinizin türü nedir? (gecekondu, apartman dairesi, vb.)
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

2. Diğer evinizin/evlerinizin nerede?
İl_____ /İlçe_____ /Semt-mahalle
1. _____/_____ /_____
2. _____/_____ /_____
3. _____/_____ /_____

3. Diğer eviniz/evlerinizden kira geliri elde ediyor musunuz?

1 ( ) Evet; ise ne kadar?

       1._____

       2._____

       3._____

2 ( ) Hayır ise   Bu eviniz/evleriniz kimler tarafından kullanılıyor?

       1._____

       2._____

       3._____

18. Konut edinme yolunda bir girişiminiz / çabanız / planınız/ kararınız var mı?

1 ( ) Evet

2 ( ) Hayır..Evsahibi ise **SORU 21**'e GEÇ

       Kiracı ise **SORU 25**'e GEÇ

19. Ne tür bir konut edinme girişiminiz / çabanız / planınız/ kararınız var?

1 ( )   Arsa satın alıp gecekondu yapma / yaptırma

2 ( )   Kentin başka bir bölgesindeki arsası üzerinde gecekondu yapma / yaptırma

3 ( )   Şu an oturmakta olduğum gecekondu arsasını müteahhide verme……..…**SORU 28**'e GEÇ

4 ( )   Kentin bir başka bölgesindeki arsamı müteahhide verme …….... ………………**SORU 28**'e GEÇ

5 ( )   Toplu konut aracılığıyla konut edinme

6 ( )   Kooperatif aracılığıyla konut edinme

7 ( )   Daire satın alma

8 ( )   Diğer:_____

20. Bunun için gerekli parayı nereden sağlıyorsunuz / sağlayacaksınız?

1 ( )   Kendi birikimlerimden

2 ( )   Oturduğum evi satarak

3 ( )   Diğer evimi/evlerimi satarak

4 ( )   Menkullerimi satarak (araba vb.)

5 ( )   Diğer gayrimenkullarımı satarak (tarla, arsa, vb.)

6 ( )   Borç alarak (aileden, akrabadan, arkadaştan, komşudan)

7 ( )   Banka kredisi kullanarak

8 ( )   Diğer:_____

       _____**SORU 30**'a GEÇ

SORU 21-23'ü EV SAHİBİ ve AKRABA MÜLKİYETİNDE OTURANLARA SORUNUZ

21. Gecekondunuz yerine / arsanız üzerine apartman yaptırma konusunda müteahhitle mevcut bir anlaşmanız var mı?

1 ( ) Evet...............**SORU 29**'a GEÇ

2 ( ) Hayır

22. Anlaşma yapmamanızın nedeni nedir?___ _____ **SORU 31**'e GEÇ

23. Nasıl bir anlaşma yaptınız?

1 ( ) Arsayı müteahhide devretme

2 ( ) Daire karşılığı; Kaç daire?_____

3 ( ) Hissesini diğer ortaklara devretme

4 ( ) Diğer:_____

KONUT EDİNME GİRİŞİMİ OLAN HERKESE SORUNUZ

24. Bu daire(yi)leri hangi amaçla kullanmayı düşünüyorsunuz?_____
_____

HERKESE SORUNUZ

25. İçme suyu, elektrik, doğal gaz gibi kentsel servisler arasında komşularınızla ortak kullandığınız (ortak sayacınız) var mı?

1 ( ) Evet: Hangileri?

       ( ) İçme Suyu

       ( ) Elektrik

       ( ) Diğer:_____

2 ( ) Hayır: Oturduğunuz evde daha önce hiç ortak kullandınız mı?

       ( ) Hiç Kullanmadım

       ( ) Evet kullandım: Hangisi:_____

26. 1. Şu anki gelir durumunuzla başka bir yere taşınmanız gerekse Ankara'da başka hangi mahallelerde, ne tür konutlarda oturabilirsiniz?

       Mahalle_____ / Konut türü____

       1. _____/_____

       2. _____/_____

       3. _____/_____

    2. Neden bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz?

       1. _____ _____

       2. _____ _____

       3. _____ _____

27. Geliriniz yeterli olsa Ankara'da hangi mahallelerde, ne tür konutlarda oturmak istersiniz?

       Mahalle_____ / Konut türü____

       1. _____/_____

       2. _____/_____

       3. _____/_____

28. Bu mahallede oturmanın ne tür olanakları/ avantajları var?

       1. _____ _____

       2. _____ _____

       3. _____ _____

29. Sizce mahallenizin en önemli sorunları nelerdir?
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____

30. Mahallenize sunulan kentsel hizmetlerin kalitesinden memnun musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır: Neden?
     1. _____
     _____
     2. _____
     _____
     3. _____

31. Mahalle sakinleriyle bir araya gelip sorunlarını tartıştığınız oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır: Neden?_____
_____
___ **SORU 33**'e GEÇ

32. **1.** Bu toplantılarda mahallenin en çok hangi sorunlarını tartışıyorsunuz?
1._____
_____
2._____
_____
3._____
_____

2. Bu toplantılarda mahallenin sorunları dışında başka hangi sorunlarını tartışıyorsunuz?
1._____
_____
2._____
_____
3._____
_____

33. Mahallenizin sorunlarını çözmek için nerelere başvuruyorsunuz? Kimlerin aracılığını kullanıyorsunuz?_____
_____

34. Sizce muhtarınız seçildiğinden bu yana görevini iyi yapıyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
_____
3 ( ) Bilmiyor
4 ( ) İlgilenmiyor

35. Sizce Yenimahalle belediye başkanınız seçildiğinden bu yana görevini iyi yapıyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
_____
3 ( ) Bilmiyor
4 ( ) İlgilenmiyor

36. Mahallenizin diğer mahallerle arasında herhangi bir sorun ya da gerilim var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: Hangi mahalle ile?_____
       Ne konuda?_____
       _____
2 ( ) Hayır.

37. Mahallenizde komşularınız arasında herhangi bir sorun ya da gerilim var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: Ne konuda?_____
      _____
      _____
2 ( ) Hayır.

38. Daha önce oturduğunuz mahallelere ya da gördüğünüz yerlere kıyasla bu mahallede dostluk, arkadaşlık, komşuluk nasıl?
1 ( ) Daha iyi; Nasıl?_____
      _____
2 ( ) Aynı
3 ( ) Daha kötü; Nasıl?_____
      _____

39. Çevreye ve komşulara rahatsızlık vermemek için nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

40. Yan komşunuzun sizin huzurunuzu bozacak davranışlarda bulunduğu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Nasıl davranışlar?_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

41. Apartmanda oturanların sizin huzurunuzu bozacak davranışlarda bulunduğu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Nasıl davranışlar?_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

42. Yaşadığınız bu evde ve mahallede yeteri kadar rahat davranabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
_____

43. Komşularınızdan ev eşyaları, gıda, vb. ödünç alıp verir misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

44. Tüm komşularınızı tanışıklığınız, merhabanız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

45. Yandaki / karşıdaki komşunuzla en son ne zaman konuştunuz?_____
_____

46. İyi bir komşu diye düşündüğünüz biri var mı?
1 ( ) Evet;   Neden iyi bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?_____
                            _____
                            _____
                        Nerede   oturuyor?
                            _____
2 ( ) Hayır

47. Sevmediğiniz, istemediğiniz bir komşunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet;   Neden kötü bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?_____
                            _____
                            _____
                        Nerede oturuyor:
                            _____
2 ( ) Hayır

48. Mahallenizde hareketlerini, aile yaşantısını tasvip etmediğiniz kişi/kişiler var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Kim:_____ _____
             Nerede oturuyor:_____
             Konut tipi:_____
             Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
                            _____
2 ( ) Hayır

49. En çok hangi arkadaşlarınızla vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
1 ( ) İş arkadaşları
2 ( ) Mahalle arkadaşları
3 ( ) Akrabalar
4 ( ) Komşular
5 ( ) Okul arkadaşları
6 ( ) Diğer:_____

50. En yakın üç arkadaşınız nerede oturuyor?
    Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. ____/_____/_____
2. ____/_____/_____
3. ____/_____/_____

51. Başınız sıkıştığında yardım isteyeceğiniz ilk beş kişi ya da kuruluş kimlerdir?
    Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. ____/_____/_____
2. ____/_____/_____
3. ____/_____/_____
4. ____/_____/_____
5. ____/_____/_____

52. Yeni insanlarla/arkadaşlarla tanışmak hoşunuza gider mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

53. Arkadaşlarınızla, komşularınızla politika / siyaset üzerine sohbet edersiniz?
1 ( ) Evet: Neler konuşursunuz:_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır;Neden:_____
_____

54. Sizce mahallenizdekiler siyaset / politika ile ne kadar ilgileniyorlardır?_____
_____
_____

55. Mahallenizde dedikodu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Neler konuşuluyor:_____
                        _____
                        _____
2 ( ) Hayır

56. Apartmanda oturanlarla aranızda bir tartışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
                        _____
                        _____
2 ( ) Hayır

57. Mahalleden biri ya da birileriyle bir tartışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
                        _____
                        _____
2 ( ) Hayır

58. Sizce yan apartmanda oturanlar size nasıl bakıyordur?_____
_____
_____

59. Mahallenizde kimlerin, hangi gruptan insanların nerelerde oturduğunu anlatır mısınız? (**Anketörün dikkatine:** Memleket, etnik köken, sosyal statü, siyasal tercih vb. neye göre gruplyorsa not ediniz)
_____
_____
_____

60. Siz bu gruplardan hangisine dahilsiniz?
_____
_____

61. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan hangilerinde görüştüğünüz, iyi anlaştığınız kişiler var?
_____
_____

62. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan anlaşamadığınız, sevmediğiniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Hangisi:_____

Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

63. Sizce; gecekonduda mı yoksa apartmanda mı yaşamak daha iyi?
1. ( ) Gecekondu: Neden?_____
_____
_____
_____

2 ( ) Apartman: Neden?_____
_____
_____
_____

64. Gecekondu yıkımları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce doğru mu yanlış mı(?) Doğru; Neden:_____
_____
_____

2 ( ) Yanlış; Neden:_____
_____

(E) KADIN ANKETİ

1. Ev dışında gelir getirici bir işte çalışıyor musunuz?
( ) Evet...................**SORU 3**'e GEÇ
( ) Hayır
( ) Emekli.............**SORU 3**'e GEÇ

2. Dışarıda gelir getirici bir işte çalışmak ister misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet ise Neden çalışmıyorsunuz?___
_____
_____
____**SORU 10**'a GEÇ
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
____**SORU 10**'a GEÇ

- -
3. İşinizi kimler aracılığıyla buldunuz?_____
_____

4. Çalışıyor olmanın size sağladığı yararlar var mı / var mıydı?
1 ( ) Evet ise Bu yararlar nelerdir?___
_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

5. Çalışıyor olmanın yarattığı sorunlar var mı / var mıydı?
1 ( ) Evet ise Bu sorunlar nelerdir?__
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

6. Çalışıyor olmanız nedeniyle aile üyelerinden ev işlerine yardım eden oluyor mu / oluyor muydu?
1 ( ) Evet; Kimler?_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

7. Siz çalışırken çocuklara kim bakıyor / bakıyordu?_____

8. Çalışmanıza karşı çıkan oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Kimler?_____
Bu sorunu nasıl aştınız?____
_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

9. Çalışmanızı kim istedi?_____
_____

- -
10. Evde gelir getirici bir iş yapıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır…………….……………
...Çalışıyorsa **SORU 18**'e GEÇ
Çalışmıyorsa **SORU 22**'ye GEÇ

11. Ne gibi işler?_____

12. Düzenli yapabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet, düzenli
2 ( ) Hayır, düzensiz

13. Ne zamandan bu yana yapıyorsunuz?____
_____

14. Bunların hammaddesini / girdilerini nereden alıyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Peşin olarak kendim satın alıyorum
2 ( ) Borçlanarak kendim alıyorum
3 ( ) Sipariş veren veriyor
4 ( ) Diğer:_____

15. Bu işleri sipariş üzerine mi yapıyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; Siparişi kim veriyor?_____
2 ( ) Hayır

16. Bu ürünleri kendiniz mi pazarlıyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

17. Yaptığınız işle ilgili sorunlarınız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet, Ne tür sorunlar?_____
2 ( ) Hayır

SORU 18 – 21'i TÜM ÇALIŞAN KADINLARA SORUNUZ
18. Ortalama aylık ne kadar kazanıyorsunuz?
_____milyon TL.

19. Gelirinizi nerelere harcıyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir.)
1 ( ) Mutfak giderleri
2 ( ) Temizlik malzemeleri
3 ( ) Giyim
4 ( ) Çocukların eğitimi
5 ( ) Sağlık harcamaları
6 ( ) Ev eşyası
7 ( ) Kişisel ihtiyaçlarım
8 ( ) Diğer:_____

20. Para biriktirebiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet;　　　Bu parayı ne için biriktiriyorsunuz?____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

21. Geliriniz yeterli olsa çalışmaya devam etmek ister misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet; Neden?_____
_____

1 ( ) Hayır; Neden?_____
_____

- -
TÜM KADINLARA SORUNUZ
22. Bu eve ayda ortalama kaç lira giriyor?
_____milyon TL.

23. Bu para nerelere harcanıyor?
Sabit harcamalar
(kira, elek., su, tel.):_____milyon TL.
Yiyecek　　　:_____milyon TL.
Temizlik　　　:_____milyon　TL.
Yol　　　　　:_____milyon　TL.
Eğlence　　　:_____milyon　TL.
Yakıt　　　　:_____milyon TL.
Konut aidatı　:_____milyon TL.
Sağlık　　　　:_____milyon TL.
Eğitim　　　　:_____milyon TL.
Diğer:_____:_____milyon TL.

24. Geçim sıkıntısına düştüğünüzde öncelikle nelerden vazgeçersiniz?
( ) Tatil
( ) Eğlence
( ) Eğitim
( ) Giyim
( ) Yiyecek

25. Bu eve aylık ortalama ne kadar et (kırmızı, beyaz, tavuk, balık, kıyma) giriyor?
_____ kg./ay

26. Eve giren et miktarı son yıllarda arttı mı, azaldı mı?
( ) Arttı
( ) Aynı
( ) Azaldı

27. Daha önce düzenli olarak tükettiğiniz ama maddi zorluklar yüzünden alamadığınız herhangi bir şey var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Neler?_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

28. Evde konserve, salça, tarhana, turşu, reçel, vb. yiyecek maddeleri yapıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet, Ne amaçla?
( ) Kendi tüketimleri
( ) Pazarlama
2 ( ) Hayır; Neden yapmıyorsunuz?_____
_____**SORU 31**'e GEÇ

29. Aşağıdaki yiyecek maddelerinden hangisini yapıyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Konserve – kurutma - salamura
2 ( ) Salça
3 ( ) Turşu
4 ( ) Reçel
5 ( ) Tarhana-erişte
6 ( ) Ekmek
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

30. Ne zamandan bu yana yapıyorsunuz?____

- -
31. Eşinizle aşağıdaki ev işlerini nasıl bölüşüyorsunuz?

	Kendisi	Çoğunlukla Kendisi	Ortak	Çoğunlukla Kocası	Kocası
1. Alışveriş, Pazar					
2. Haftasonu kahvaltıyı hazırlama					
3. Çamaşır, bulaşık					
4. Evin temizliği					
5. Evdeki araç gereçlerin tamiri					
6. Çocukların eğitim sorunlarıyla ilgilenme					
7. Çocukların diğer sorunlarıyla ilgilenme					
8. Evin bütçesini düzenleme					
9. Faturaları ödeme					
10. Diğer:_____					

32. Kocanızın evin işlerini paylaşması sizi mutlu eder mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____

- -

33. Sağlık sorunlarıyla karşılaştığınızda hemen doktora gider misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

34. Sağlık sorununuza ilişkin doktor haricinde çevrenizdeki insanlardan yardım alıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; Kimlerden?:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

35. Sağlık sorunlarınız olduğunda hangi sağlık kuruluşlarına gidersiniz?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

36. Hanenizde ciddi bir hastalığı ya da sakatlığı olan var mı?
1 ( ) Evet, Kimde ve Ne tür?
( ) Kendisi :_____
( ) Eşi :_____
( ) Çocukları :_____
( ) _____ :_____
2 ( ) Hayır..............**SORU 38**'e GEÇ

37. Sakatlık ya da yoksulluk yardımı alıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise   Ne tür?_____
                    Nereden?_____
2 ( ) Hayır

38. **1.**Çocuğunuzun kaç çocuğu olmasını istersiniz?_____
2. Neden?_____

39. Kaç kez hamile kaldınız?
1 ( ) _____ kez hamile kaldım
2 ( ) Hiç …………… **SORU 50**'ye GEÇ

40. **1.** Doğum kontrol yöntemlerini biliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır
2. Doğum kontrol yöntemlerini kullanıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

41. Kaç canlı doğum yaptınız?_____

42. Bir yaşından önce ölen çocuğunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Var, Sayısı:_____
2 ( ) Yok

43. Kaç tanesi hayatta?_____

44. Hiç kürtaj yaptırdınız mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Kürtaj sayısı:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

45. Hiç isteyerek düşük yaptınız mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Kaç defa:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

46. Neden isteyerek düşük yaptınız ya da kürtaj yaptırdınız?_____

47. Hiç kendiliğinden düşük oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Kaç defa:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

48. Son hamileliğinizde hastane, sağlık ocağı ya da doktora kontrole gittiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

49. Son doğumunuzu nerede yaptınız?_____
_____

- -

50. En çok hangi arkadaşlarınızla vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
1 ( ) İş arkadaşları
2 ( ) Mahalle arkadaşları
3 ( ) Akrabalar
4 ( ) Komşular
5 ( ) Okul arkadaşları
6 ( ) Diğer:_____

51. En yakın üç arkadaşınız nerede oturuyor
        Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. _____/_____/_____
2. _____/_____/_____
3. _____/_____/_____

52. Başınız sıkıştığında yardım isteyeceğiniz ilk beş kişi ya da kuruluş kimlerdir?
        Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. ____/_____/_____
2. ____/_____/_____
3. ____/_____/_____
4. ____/_____/_____
5. ____/_____/_____

53. Yeni insanlarla/arkadaşlarla tanışmak hoşunuza gider mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

54. Hangi ihtiyaçlarınız için (ne tür durumda) çevrenizden yardım istersiniz?_____
_____

55. En çok kimlerden yardım istersiniz?_____
_____

56. Boş zamanınız olduğunda nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? (Tüm işler bittikten sonra)_____

171

57. Kadınlar kendi aranızda toplantı yapar mısınız?
1 ( ) Evet,   Ne tür toplantılar?____
_____
_____
Hangi sıklıkta?_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

58. Arkadaşlarınızla, akrabalarınızla ev dışında buluşup bir şeyler yapar mısınız?
1 ( ) Evet,   Neler yaparsınız?____
_____
_____
Hangi sıklıkta?_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

59. **1.** Şehirde hangi merkezlere gidersiniz?
( ) Kızılay
( ) Ulus
( ) Tunalı
( ) Çankaya
( ) Yenimahalle
( ) Diğer:_____
2. Ne sıklıkta gidersiniz?_____
_____

60. Komşularınızdan ev eşyaları, gıda, vb. ödünç alıp verir misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne sıklıkta:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

61. Tüm komşularınızı tanışıklığınız, merhabanız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

62. Yandaki / karşıdaki komşunuzla en son ne zaman konuştunuz?_____
_____

63. İyi bir komşu diye düşündüğünüz biri var mı?
1 ( ) Evet;   Neden iyi bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?_____
_____
_____
Nerede oturuyor (+ Konut tipi):_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

64. Sevmediğiniz, istemediğiniz bir komşunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet;   Neden kötü bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?_____
_____
_____
Nerede oturuyor (Konut tipi):_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

65. Komşularınıza misafirliğe gelip gider misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne sıklıkta:_____
2 ( ) Hayır……….**SORU 67**'ye GEÇ

66. Yan apartmanda misafirliğe gelip gittiğiniz kişiler var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne sıklıkta:_____
2 ( ) Hayır

67. Yan apartmanda nasıl kişiler, kimler oturuyor?_____
_____

68. Mahallenizde hareketlerini, aile yaşantısını tasvip etmediğiniz kişi/kişiler var mı?
1 ( ) Evet;   Kim:_____
Nerede oturuyor:_____
Konut tipi:_____
Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

69. Mahallenizde dedikodu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Neler konuşuluyor:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

70. Mahallenizde kimlerin, hangi gruptan insanların nerelerde oturduğunu anlatır mısınız? (**Anketörün dikkatine:** Memleket, etnik köken, sosyal statü, siyasal tercih vb. neye göre grupluyorsa not ediniz)
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

71. Siz bu gruplardan hangisine dahilsiniz?
_____
_____

72. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan hangilerinde görüştüğünüz, iyi anlaştığınız kişiler var?
_____
_____

73. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan anlaşamadığınız, sevmediğiniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Hangisi:_____
Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
_____

74. Apartmanda oturanlarla aranızda bir tartışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

75. Mahalleden biri ya da birileriyle bir tartışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

76. Sizce; gecekonduda mı yoksa apartmanda mı yaşamak daha iyi?
1. ( ) Gecekondu: Neden?_____
_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Apartman: Neden?_____
_____
_____
_____

77. En son genel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

78. En son yerel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?

Büyükşehir Belediyesi için:
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

İlçe (Yenimahalle)Belediyesi için:
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

79. En son muhtarlık seçiminde oy verdiniz mi?
1 ( ) Evet ise Kime? _____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
Neye göre verdiniz?
1 ( ) siyasi görüsü
2 ( ) şahsa
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

80. Önümüzdeki genel seçimlerde oy vermeyi düşünüyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise Hangi partiye?_____
( ) Söylemek istemiyorum
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____
_____

81. Oy verdiğiniz parti ile üyelik, delegelik vb. ilişkiniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır
3 ( ) Söylemek istemiyorum

82. En başarılı bulduğunuz lider kimdir?_____
_____

83. Eskiden (15-20 yıl önce) en başarılı bulduğunuz lider kimdi?_____
_____

84. Gazete okuyabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet ise
1.1. Hangi gazete(ler)?_____
_____
1.2. Düzenli okuyabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır
2 ( ) Hayır ise Neden?_____
_____

85. En son ne zaman sinemaya gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

86. En son ne zaman tiyatroya gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

173

87. En son ne zaman bir konsere gittiniz?
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

88. En son ne zaman bir kültürel aktiviteye (sergi, konferans, festival, vb.)katıldınız? (Hangi faaliyet olduğunu belirtiniz:_____
_____)
1 ( ) Bir kaç gün önce
2 ( ) Bir hafta önce
3 ( ) Bir ay önce
4 ( ) Bir yıl önce
5 ( ) Hatırlamıyorum
6 ( ) Hiç gitmedim
7 ( ) Diğer:_____

89. Televizyonda en çok hangi kanalları seyrediyorsunuz?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

90. Televizyonda en çok hangi programı seyrediyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Haber – Tartışma programları
2 ( ) Film ve/veya diziler
3 ( ) Yarışma programları
4 ( ) Magazin/eğlence programları
Yanıta göre program adını not ediniz:_____

91. Hanenizde çocukları okuturken kız-erkek ayrımı yapıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.................**SORU 94**'e GEÇ

92. Kızınızı okutmama nedeniniz nedir?_____
_____

93. Kızınızı okutmama kararına katılıyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

94. Gelecekte ailenizin ekonomik durumunun ne yönde değişeceğini düşünüyorsunuz?
1 ( ) Daha iyi
2 ( ) Daha kötü
3 ( ) Aynı
4 ( ) Bilmiyorum

• Diğer bilgileri not ediniz:_____

174

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM OF APARTMENT HOUSING TYPE (PART D)

(D) KONUT ve MAHALLE ANKETİ

65. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait?
1 ( ) Kira:
    1. Kira bedeli nedir_____TL/ay
    2. Ne zamandır bu evde oturu-yorsunuz?(yıl)_____
    3. Eviniz kira bedeli sizce uygun mu?
        1 ( ) Hayır, fazla:
          Ne kadar olmalıydı?
          _____TL/ay
        2 ( ) Evet, uygun
        3 ( ) Hayır, az:
          Ne kadar olmalıydı?
          _____TL/ay
        SORU 3'e GEÇ
2 ( ) Kendime ait:
    1. Evinizi ne zaman edindiniz? (yıl)_____
    2.Evinizi nasıl edindiniz?
        1 ( ) Satın aldım
        2 ( ) Kendim yaptım
        3 ( ) Yaptırdım
        4 ( ) Ailemden kaldı
        5 ( ) Arsa sahipliğin-den dairemi elde ettim
        6( ) Diğer:_____
        _____
        _____

    3. Evinizi satın almak/yaptırmak için ne kadar para harcadınız? (O yılın fiyatlarına göre)_____
    _____TL.

    4. Evinizin şu anki değeri nedir?
    _____TL.

3 ( ) Diğer: _____

2. Tapunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: ( ) Müstakil Tapu
        ( ) Hisseli Tapu:
        Hisse payınız nedir? %____
2 ( ) Hayır

3. Oturduğunuz konutta:
2. Salon dışında oda sayısı:_____

5. Sıcak suyu nasıl temin ediyorsunuz?
    1 ( ) Banyo kazanı (odunlu)
    2 ( ) Ocakta ısıtıyorum
    3 ( ) Şofben
    4 ( ) Kombi
    5 ( ) Soba
    6 ( ) Merkezi ısıtma
    7 ( ) Diğer:_____

6. Evin ısıtmasını nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?
    1 ( ) Soba (odun / kömür)
    2 ( ) Elektrikli soba
    3 ( ) Katalitik (doğal gaz / tüp)
    4 ( ) Kalorifer (Merkezi)
    5 ( ) Kat kaloriferi (doğal gaz)
    6 ( ) Diğer:_____

7. Doğal gaz: ( ) Var ( ) Yok

11. Elektriği düzenli alabiliyor musunuz?
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

12. Suyu düzenli alabiliyor musunuz?
( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

SORU 13'ü ARSA SAHİPLİĞİNDEN KO-NUTUNU ELDE EDENLERE SORUNUZ!
7. **2.** Arsanız karşılığında nasıl bir anlaşma yaptınız?
1 (   ) Daire karşılığı arsayı müteahhide devretme; Kaç daire?_____
2 ( ) Hissesini diğer ortaklara devretme
3 ( ) Diğer:_____

8. Şu an oturduğunuz konutun herhangi bir sorunu var mı?
1. _____
   _____
2. _____
   _____
3. _____
   _____

9. Evinizin inşaat kalitesinden memnun musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
_____

10. Eviniz size yetecek genişlikte mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

11. Şu an oturduğunuz konutu değiştirmeyi düşünüyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; Neden? _____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

12. Ankara'ya geldiğinizden / evlendiğinizden bu yana ne tür konutlarda oturdunuz? (şu an oturduğu dahil)……. ……Hareketlilik yoksa **SORU 16**'ya GEÇ

	Konuta Taşınılan Yıl	Konut Türü (apartman dairesi, gecekondu)	Mülkiyet (kendine ait, kira, vb.)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

13. Konut değiştirmenizde etkili olan en önemli nedenler nelerdir? (sırasıyla tüm değişimler için)
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
_____
4. _____
_____

14. Konut kalitesi açısından, şu anda oturmakta olduğunuz konut daha önce oturduğunuz konutlara göre daha mı iyi durumda?
1 ( ) Evet, daha iyi
2 ( ) Aynı
2 ( ) Hayır, daha kötü

15. **1.** (Mahalle değiştirdiyse), bu mahalleyi/mahalleleri en çok hangi nedenlerle değiştirme kararı verdiniz?
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____
2. (Mahalle değiştirmeden konut değiştirdiyse) Mahalleyi değiştirmeme nedenleriniz nelerdir?
1. _____
_____
2. _____
_____
3. _____

16. Kendinize ait (başka bir) eviniz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.............**SORU 18**'e GEÇ

17. **1.** Diğer evinizin/evlerinizin türü nedir? (gecekondu, apartman dairesi, vb.)
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
2. Diğer evinizin/evlerinizin nerede?
_İl_____/İlçe_____
/_Semt-mahalle_
1. _____/_____
/_____
2. _____/_____
/_____
3. _____/_____
/_____
3. Diğer eviniz/evlerinizden kira geliri elde ediyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet; ise ne kadar?
1._____
2._____
3._____
2 ( ) Hayır ise   Bu eviniz/evleriniz kimler tarafından kullanılıyor?
1._____
2._____
3._____

18. Konut edinme yolunda bir girişiminiz / çabanız / planınız/ kararınız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır.............**SORU 25**'e GEÇ

19. Ne tür bir konut edinme girişiminiz / çabanız / planınız/ kararınız var?

1 ( ) Arsa satın alıp gecekondu yapma / yaptırma

2 ( ) Kentin başka bir bölgesindeki arsası üzerinde gecekondu yapma / yaptırma

4 ( ) Kentin bir başka bölgesindeki arsasını müteahhide verme ……………… **SORU 21**'e GEÇ

5 ( ) Toplu konut aracılığıyla konut edinme

6 ( ) Kooperatif aracılığıyla konut edinme

7 ( ) Daire satın alma

8 ( ) Diğer:_____

20. Bunun için gerekli parayı nereden sağlıyorsunuz / sağlayacaksınız?

1 ( ) Kendi birikimlerimden

2 ( ) Oturduğum evi satarak

3 ( ) Diğer evimi/evlerimi satarak

4 ( ) Menkullerimi satarak (araba vb.)

5 ( ) Diğer gayrimenkullarımı satarak (tarla, arsa, vb.)

6 ( ) Borç alarak (aileden, akrabadan, arkadaştan, komşudan)

7 ( ) Banka kredisi kullanarak

8 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____
_____ **SORU 24**'e GEÇ

SORU 21-23'ü MÜTEAHHİTLE ANLAŞMA TASARISI OLANLARA SORUNUZ

21. Gecekondunuz yerine / arsanız üzerine apartman yaptırma konusunda müteahhitle mevcut bir anlaşmanız var mı?

1 ( ) Evet...............**SORU 23**'e GEÇ

2 ( ) Hayır

22. Anlaşma yapmamanızın nedeni nedir?___
_____
_____
_____ **SORU 24**'e GEÇ

- -

23. Nasıl bir anlaşma yaptınız?

1 ( ) Arsayı müteahhide devretme

2 ( ) Daire karşılığı; Kaç daire?_____

3 ( ) Hissesini diğer ortaklara devretme

4 ( ) Diğer:_____
_____

- -

KONUT EDİNME GİRİŞİMİ OLAN HERKESE SORUNUZ

24. Bu daire(yi)leri hangi amaçla kullanmayı düşünüyorsunuz?_____
_____

- -

25. İçme suyu, elektrik, doğal gaz gibi kentsel servisler arasında komşularınızla ortak kullandığınız (ortak sayacınız) var mı?

1 ( ) Evet: Hangileri?

( ) İçme Suyu

( ) Elektrik

( ) Diğer:_____

2 ( ) Hayır: Oturduğunuz evde daha önce hiç ortak kullandınız mı?

( ) Hiç Kullanmadım

( ) Evet kullandım: Hangisi:_____

26. **1.** Şu anki gelir durumunuzla başka bir yere taşınmanız gerekse Ankara'da başka hangi mahallelerde, ne tür konutlarda oturabilirsiniz?

Mahalle_____ / Konut türü__

1. _____/_____

2. _____/_____

3. _____/_____

2. Neden bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz?

1. _____
_____

2. _____
_____

3. _____
_____

27. Geliriniz yeterli olsa Ankara'da hangi mahallelerde, ne tür konutlarda oturmak istersiniz?

Mahalle_____ / Konut türü_____

1. _____/_____

2. _____/_____

3. _____/_____

28. Bu mahallede oturmanın ne tür olanakları/ avantajları var?

1. _____
_____

2. _____
_____

3. _____
_____

29. Sizce mahallenizin en önemli sorunları nelerdir?

1. _____
_____

2. _____
_____

3. _____
_____

30. Mahallenize sunulan kentsel hizmetlerin kalitesinden memnun musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır: Neden?
      1. _____
       _____
      2. _____
       _____
      3. _____
       _____

31. Mahalle sakinleriyle bir araya gelip sorunlarını tartıştığınız oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır Neden?_____
       _____
       _____
      ____**SORU 33**'e GEÇ

32. 1. Bu toplantılarda mahallenin en çok hangi sorunlarını tartışıyorsunuz?
1._____
   _____
2._____
   _____
3._____
   _____

2. Bu toplantılarda mahallenin sorunları dışında başka hangi sorunlarını tartışıyorsunuz?
1._____
   _____
2._____
   _____
3._____
   _____

33. Mahallenizin sorunlarını çözmek için nerelere başvuruyorsunuz? Kimlerin aracılığını kullanıyorsunuz?_____
   _____

34. Sizce muhtarınız seçildiğinden bu yana görevini iyi yapıyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
   _____
3 ( ) Bilmiyor
4 ( ) İlgilenmiyor

35. Sizce Yenimahalle belediye başkanınız seçildiğinden bu yana görevini iyi yapıyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
       _____
       _____
3 ( ) Bilmiyor
4 ( ) İlgilenmiyor

36. Mahallenizin diğer mahallerle arasında herhangi bir sorun ya da gerilim var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: Hangi mahalle ile?_____
       Ne konuda?_____
       _____
       _____
2 ( ) Hayır.

37. Mahallenizde komşularınız arasında herhangi bir sorun ya da gerilim var mı?
1 ( ) Evet: Ne konuda?_____
       _____
       _____
2 ( ) Hayır.

38. Daha önce oturduğunuz mahallelere ya da gördüğünüz yerlere kıyasla bu mahallede dostluk, arkadaşlık, komşuluk nasıl?
1 ( ) Daha iyi; Nasıl?_____
       _____
       _____
2 ( ) Aynı
3 ( ) Daha kötü; Nasıl?_____
       _____
       _____

39. Çevreye ve komşulara rahatsızlık vermemek için nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz?
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

40. Yan komşunuzun sizin huzurunuzu bozacak davranışlarda bulunduğu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Nasıl davranışlar?_____
   _____
   _____
2 ( ) Hayır

41. Gecekonduda oturanların sizin huzurunuzu bozacak davranışlarda bulunduğu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Nasıl davranışlar?_____
   _____
   _____
2 ( ) Hayır

42. Yaşadığınız bu evde ve mahallede yeteri kadar rahat davranabiliyor musunuz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır, Neden?_____
   _____
   _____

43. Komşularınızdan ev eşyaları, gıda, vb. ödünç alıp verir misiniz?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

44. Tüm komşularınızı tanışıklığınız, merhabanız var mı?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

45. Yandaki / karşıdaki komşunuzla en son ne zaman konuştunuz?_____
_____

46. İyi bir komşu diye düşündüğünüz biri var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Neden iyi bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyor-sunuz?____

Nerede oturuyor:_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

47. Sevmediğiniz, istemediğiniz bir komşunuz var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Neden kötü bir komşu olduğunu düşünüyor-sunuz?____

Nerede oturuyor:_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

48. Mahallenizde hareketlerini, aile yaşantısını tasvip etmediğiniz kişi/kişiler var mı?
1 ( ) Evet; Kim:_____
Nerede oturuyor:_____
Konut tipi:_____
Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
_____
_____

2 ( ) Hayır

49. En çok hangi arkadaşlarınızla vakit geçiri-yorsunuz?
1 ( ) İş arkadaşları
2 ( ) Mahalle arkadaşları
3 ( ) Akrabalar
4 ( ) Komşular
5 ( ) Okul arkadaşları
6 ( ) Diğer:_____

50. En yakın üç arkadaşınız nerede oturuyor?
Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. _____/_____/_____
2. _____/_____/_____
3. ____/_____/_____

51. Başınız sıkıştığında yardım isteyeceğiniz ilk beş kişi ya da kuruluş kimlerdir?
Kim / Nerede oturuyor / Konut tipi
1. _____/_____/_____
2. _____/_____/_____
3. _____/_____/_____
4. _____/_____/_____
5. _____/_____/_____

52. Yeni insanlarla/arkadaşlarla tanışmak ho-şunuza gider mi?
1 ( ) Evet
2 ( ) Hayır

53. Arkadaşlarınızla, komşularınızla politika / siyaset üzerine sohbet edersiniz?
1 ( ) Evet: Neler konuşursunuz:_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır;Neden:_____
_____
_____

54. Sizce mahallenizdekiler siyaset / politika ile ne kadar ilgileniyorlardır?_____
_____
_____

55. Mahallenizde dedikodu oluyor mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Neler konuşuluyor:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

56. Gecekondularda oturanlarla aranızda bir tartışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

57. Mahalleden biri ya da birileriyle bir tar-tışma ya da çekişmeniz oldu mu?
1 ( ) Evet; Ne konuda:_____
_____
_____
2 ( ) Hayır

58. Sizce yan gecekondularda oturanlar size nasıl bakıyordur?_____
_____
_____

59. Mahallenizde kimlerin, hangi gruptan in-sanların nerelerde oturduğunu anlatır mı-sınız? (**Anketörün dikkatine:** Memleket, etnik köken, sosyal statü, siyasal tercih vb. neye göre grupluyorsa not ediniz)
_____
_____
_____
_____

60. Siz bu gruplardan hangisine dahilsiniz?
_____
_____

61. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan hangilerinde gö-rüştüğünüz, iyi anlaştığınız kişiler var?
_____
_____

62. Bahsettiğiniz gruplardan anlaşamadığınız, sevmediğiniz var mı?
    1 ( ) Evet; Hangisi:_____
                Neyi tasvip etmiyorsunuz?__
              _____
    2 ( ) Hayır

63. Sizce; gecekonduda mı yoksa apartmanda mı yaşamak daha iyi?
    1. ( ) Gecekondu: Neden?_____
              _____
    2 ( ) Apartman: Neden?_____
              _____

64. Gecekondu yıkımları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce doğru mu yanlış mı?
    1 ( ) Doğru; Neden:_____
              _____
              _____
    2 ( ) Yanlış; Neden:_____
              _____
              _____

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

In-Depth Interview I

Mr O.
35 years old, born in
Yozgat Sorgun,
tenant in gecekondu,
married, having one
child and waged-
manual worker.

Pınar: Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? Nerde, ne zaman doğdunuz? Ne zaman Ankara'ya geldiniz?

O.: İlkokuldan çıktım Ankara'ya geldim, işin açığı. Anladın mı? Ondan sonra kaportacıda çalıştım. Ondan sonra kaportacıda çalıştım, işim güzeldi, hırsızlık oldu. Ondan sonra hırsızlık olunca biz mecbur kaldık başkasının yanında çalışmaya. Bi beş sene birinin yanında çalıştık mı. Orda çalışınca adam bizim bibuçuk sene sigortayı yatırmayınca, maaşı da düşük verince biz ordan ayrıldık. Şimdi bu bibuçuk senedir de bu Özdemir Sanayi'de çalışıyoz bakalim, eğer nasip kısmet olursa.

Pınar: Ankara'ya ne zaman geldiniz?

O.: Ankara'ya geleli onbeş sene bitti.

Pınar: Geldiğinizde buraya mı oturdunuz?

O.: Yok. İskitler'e gittim.

Pınar: Akraba mı vardı orda?

O.: Ablan vardı.

Pınar: Nasıl geldiniz? Tek başına mı, aileyle mi yoksa?

O.: Yo, ben önce, evi getirmeden önce, ablamın yanında ben kendim bekar kalıyordum (*Kızım bi dur!*) Ondan sonra, ablamın binadan bi boş yer bulduk, yanında bina vardı. Ben orayı tuttum, boya badana yaptım. Ondan sonra, telefon ettim, kamyon tuttum, evi aldım buraya getirdim.

Pınar: Bekardınız o zaman?

O.: Nişanlıydım.

Pınar: Daha sonra evlenip oraya yerleştiniz…

O.: Evet, evlendikten sonra ilk evim oraydı.

Pınar: Sonra buraya

O.: Yok ondan sonra, Kızılcıhamamlı Mustafa Amca var. Oraya geçtik

Pınar: Burç Mahalesine mi

O.: Hı, aşağı … bunun bi alt tarafına. Orada Burç, burada Burç oluyo da. Orada oturduk.

Pınar: Akraba mıydı Mustafa Amca?

O.: Yo, o da sıradan bi komşu işte. Yani tanıdık. Uşaklarını tanıdık, ondan sonra baba. Bizim ev kiralık var dedi, geldi buraya. Onun sayesinde yerleştik.

Pınar: Peki, neden ev almayı düşünmediniz şimdiye kadar?

O.: İmkanım olmadığından.

Pınar: Buranın kiraları nasıl?

O.: Valla ben buraya 115 veriyorum.

Pınar: Daha uygun yer var mı?

O.: Daha uygun yer var ama böyle yer yok.

Pınar: Niye burada oturuyorsunuz?

O.: Böyle yer bulamadım bir; var, yer var, 135 milyon 125 milyondan başlıyo, artı adam 500 milyon depozit istiyo. O 500 milyon depoziti verecek durumda olmadığım için, mecbur böyle yerde oturuyom. Buranın kirası da uygun geliyo. Uygun gelmese oturmam yani. Ha, var, 60 milyona da var ev. Ama ben burda otururkene fareler ordan selam verip selam geçiyo. Arkadaş olduk, birbirimizi iyice tanıdık yani.

Pınar: Daha temiz mahalleler yok mudur mesela Ankara'da?

O.: Ya, vardır da, ben, hemen hemen Ankara'ya geldim geleli bibuçuk sene hariç, yani onbeş sene oldu, bi senesini boş ver, ondört senedir ben

buradayım. Şentepe civarındayım yani. Bildiğim tanıdığım yer olduğu için ben buraları seçiyom.

Pınar: Peki, kimler oturuyo bu Şentepe mahallesinde?

O.: Abimgil var. Yarıdan çoğu Yozgatlılar çok bizim burda. Çorumlu hemşehrilerimiz çok. Yarıdan çoğu zaten Yozgatlıylan Çorum, Koçhisar. Karışık geliyo.

Pınar: Peki, kim kurmuş bu mahalleyi? Nasıl oluşmuş biliyo musunuz?

O.: Valla onu bilmiyom, yalan söylemeyim.

Pınar: Siz geldiğinizde nasıldı peki?

O.: Aynı böyleydi.

Pınar: Apartmanlar var mıydı?

O.: Aynı böyleydi. Aynı apartman gene böyle dikiliydi.

Pınar: Kaç senesinde gelmiştiniz bu mahalleye?

O.: Bu sene ikinci senem işte. İkinci seneye girecem, bibuçuk sene bitti.

Pınar: Yeni yapılan apartmanlarda var di mi?

O.: Var, orda iki tane.

Pınar: Orda kimler oturuyo biliyo musunuz?

O.: Bitmedi daha.

Pınar: Bu yeni yapılan apartmanlarda, ya da yakınınızdaki apartmanlarda …

O.: Burda komple iki tanesi, işte bu bizim ev sahibinin iki tanesi oğlu var, bir de kendi var üç. Ondan sonra geri yannısı komple kira

Pınar: Daha önce gecekondu sahibimiymiş.

O.: Buraların sahibiymişti.

Pınar: Nasıl insanlar peki onlar?

O.: Ya, insanlığı nası diyim, insanlığı iyi de, işte birazcık tabi ufak tefek hataları oluyo, yani hataları derken yani anlamıyo. Onun için ufak tefek şeylere biz katlanıyoz.

Pınar: Ev sahibiniz de mi orda [yan apartmanda] oturuyo?

O.: Ev sahibimiz en üst katta oturuyo.

Pınar: Onla nasıl ilişkiniz?

O.: Suyuna gidersek, senin dediğin olsun, tamam dediğimiz zaman çok iyiyiz. Ama onunla da birazcık birlikte benim dediğim olsun dediğin zaman da anlaşamıyoz.

Pınar: Kira bedeli nasıl, uygun mu sizce buranın.

O.: Uygun değil bağa, işine kalırsa.

Pınar: Bu evin değeri?

O.: Bu evin değeri 90 milyon 80 milyon.

Pınar: Siz ne kadar veriyodunuz?

O.: 115 veriyoz. 80 milyonluk evi 100'e verdi. 110 milyon olan, 110 milyon olacağına, yani 100'e bi oturacağımıza 115'e oturduk. Burdan uygun bi ev de bulamadığımız için mecbur kaldık burda oturmaya. İşin açığı böyle yani.

Pınar: Peki bu yoksul kesim diyelim ya da dar gelirli kesim için, ne yapılmalı ki, hani böyle konut sorunları olmasın, rahat ev bulabilsinler?

O.: Rahat ev bulabilmesi için yüksek maaşın olacak. En az 600 milyon maaş, 500 milyon 600 milyon maaş alman lazım.

Ad. (yan komşunun oğlu): Ya da konut yapılacak.

O.: 600 milyon da maaş alsan, okula giden çocuğun olsa bu şartlar altında geçim yapamazsın. Bak 350 milyon lira ben maaş alıyom. 300 – 350 milyon lira yani, normal asgari ücretten de, işimiz ağır olduğu için 315 alacağımıza 350 alıyoz. Zam var dedi mesela, iki sene oldu daha hala zam yapacak. Onun için, para yüksek maaş olması lazımkine bizde daha iyi yerlerde oturalım.

Ad.: Tabi.

Pınar: Paranız daha yüksek olsa ev almayı düşünür müydünüz?

O.: Düşünürdüm tabi niye olmasın.

Pınar: Ev almak ne kazandırır size? Yani bi eviniz olsa …

O.: Çok şey kazandırır. Ne kazandırcak mesela, durumum iyi olur, halim vaktim yerinde olur, istediğim zaman istediğim şeyi alırım, ne biliyim ben, hastalanayım, mesela ben şimdi özele gitmem gerekirken sigortaya gittim. Sigortaya gittiğim halde ayağım böyle şişti. Eğer özele gitseydim bu olmazdı bak.

Demet: Ama üstüne basmamak lazım heralde fazla.

O.: Üstüne fazla basmamak ama mecbur kalıyom. Mecbur kalmasam zaten basmam. Mecbur kaldığım için basıyom.

Pınar: Yeteri geliriniz olsa alır mıydınız bi ev?

O.: Alırım.

Pınar: Apartman dairesi mi alırsınız yoksa ...

O.: Yok, fazla yükseği de istemem. Bi gecekondum olsun yeter. Apartman istemiyom. Mesela şöyle müstakil, elektriği, suyu kendi başına iki oda bi salon bi gecekondum olsun, başka bi şey istemiyom.

Pınar: Gecekondu nesi güzel, nesi cazip oluyo?

O.: Gecekondunun komşuları güzel olur. Ondan sonra nebilim elektriği suyu tek başına olur. Kapıyın önü rahat olur. Bina da olsan onu yapamıyosun bak. Binada otururum ben, merdivenlerden mesela işim acele olduğu zaman hızlı çıkınca hemen adam niye hızlı çıktın, sen beni rahatsız etiin diyo.

Ad.: Tepemde hoplama der.

O.: Ondan sonra bunun kapıcı parası çıkıyo, elektrik parası çıkıyo, su parası çıkıyo, çöpçü parası çıkıyo, bisürrü hikaye. Ama gecekonduda bu sorunum yok.

Pınar: Peki komşularınız kimler? Yani nasıl insanlar komşularınız?

O.: Valla bizim burda iki tane komşumuz var. Şu yan tarafınan küs idik, işte iki gündür barıştık. Şimdi bacı kardaş gibi olduk.

Pınar: Neden küstünüz?

O.: Küstüğümüzün sebebi, mesela ne diyim, şimdi, burda yan tarafımızda oturan bi Döndü Abla diye biri vardı. Sen onlan konuşmayacan da

182

benle konuşcan dedi. Onlan konuşursan benle küs olursun dedi. E şimdi, demek ki bizim hanımın kafasına da o yattı. Yani onu iyi gördü ki onlan konuştu, bunlan konuşmak istemedi, konuşmadılar. Sen onlan konuşuyon da benlen konuşmuyon diye bizlen küstü.

Pınar: Komşularınızı anlatıyodunuz bi de, kimler var diye, onu yarıda ketsimde ben, başka kimler var komşular?

O.: Nasıl kimler var? [Ad.'ı gösteriyor] Ha bunun babası var işte, bunlar var. Ondan sonra bunların öbür tarafında Adalet Abla diye biri var. Ondan sonra…

Pınar: Yani, genelde nasıl insanlar?

O.: İyi

Pınar: Memurlar mı yoksa …

O.: Eğer burda oturduklarına mecbur, mesela bu adamların durumu da aynı benim gibi. Annesi de düşük, asgari ücret, mesela babası asgari ücretlen çalışıyor. Asgari ücretten de az. 300 milyon para alıyo adam bak. Annesi de 315 milyon lira da annesi alıyo. Mesela babasının maaşı durumu iyi olmuş olsa hanımını çalıştırmaz bence, ben öyle diyom yani. Şimdi benim, aslında ben, hanıma git ça... diyo bana bende diyo çalışıyım ama ben çalıştırmak istemediğim için [eşi çay ikram ediyor] onun için mecbur kalıyoz. Şimdi bu adam mecbur ki burda oturuyo. Mecbur olmasa bunlar gelmezdi bak buraya. Aha, kendi de oğlu da burada. Sorabilirsin yani. Oturur musun senin durumun iyi olsa? Oturmaz.

Ad.: Hayatta oturmam.

O.: Bak bi ev tuttular mesela, iki oda bi salon olarak tuttu adam. İki odasının kullanıyo, salonun biri, odanın birini kullanmıyo. Niye? Rurubet bol bir, çatısı kötü, sağ tarafı kötü, fareler oluyo, böcük oluyo. Adam odanın birini şaapmıyo, kullanmıyo ha bunlar. Kullanmıyo. Kullanmıyo. Sadece oraya işe yaramayan iki üç tane malzeme koydu, hepsi o kadar.

Pınar: Siz kiracılar gidip ev sahibine bunu anlatıyo musunuz? Anlatabiliyo musunuz?

O.: Anlatıyom tabi.

Pınar: Ne diyo?

O.: Adam, benim şu dışkapı, ben birgün, Ramazan Bayramı'na memlekete gittim geldim, adam anaktarlan benim kapının anaktarını oynamış. Bozulmuş yani. Resmen içeri girmek için. Açamamış, içeri girememiş. Biz de açamadık. Adam, kapının kasası kötü mesela bak. Kapının kasası değişmesi lazım. Dünya kadar da kira alıyo. Allah daha çok versin, gözümüz yok ama, şimdi ben o kapıyı değiştirmek zorundayım. Şimdi o değiştirmezse ben değiştirecem, şeyim olsa, gücüm olsa, ben onu hiç söylemem. Kafama göre takarım, kafama göre kilit alırım, hiç ona da göstermem o kilidi, kendim kullanırım. Şimdi burayı yapalım diyom, yap diyo bana. La para yok. E ben napim diyo. Ulan sen yap, bu ev senin kardaşım. Kiradan

kes. Diyom ki ben tamam o zaman iki ay bi ay vermeyim sağa kiramı veyahutta yarı yarıya bölüşelim, 115'in yarısını alma, yarısını birlikte yapalım, ona da gelmiyo, şimdi bu kapıyı böyle idare ederiz. Akşam yatarkene mesela adam hafif omzuyla itse valla açılacak. Aha kak gösterteyim.

Pınar: Kaç evi var evsahibiniz, biliyor musunuz?

O.: Abla, 8 tane orda var, 9 tane hatta altıylan birlikte. Dokuz. On. Ben onbir. Oniki. Onüç. Ondört tane. Onbeş tane evi var, bi de orda gecekondusu var.

Pınar: Peki, doğru buluyo musunuz bunu mesela, bi kişi de bu kadar çok ev olmasını?

Ad.: Adam kazanmış yapmış.

O.: Şimdi işin açığına bakarsan bana bakarsan bu normal alın teriylen kazanıyım dediğin zaman bu bu bu olmaz bence. Ha benim aklıma ne geliyo. Hiç bi şey gelmiyo. Niye hiç bi şey gelmiyo. Kazanmışta çalışmış geliyo. Duyduğumuz bu. Bizim de söylediğimiz bu. Gerçi adamın onbeş tane evi var mesela, artı, demin de dedim ya Allah daha çok versin, gerçekten zerre kadar gozüm yok, varsa gozüm çıksın. Şimdi taksisi var iki tane, mağzası var, ne biliyim ben buna benzer; çalışmış, kazanmış, almış. Buna rağmen varıpta bir kiracının en ufak bir ihtiyacını görmüyo. Aslında görmesi lazım. Çünkü mesela şu evlerin biri birinde, bu gecekonduların hiç birinde toprak hattı yok. Eğer en ufak mesela bi sigorta atmasa da, kuvvetli sigorta olsa da atmasa da, hata verse, komple yanarız bu evde. Çünkü neden komple yanarız; çatılarımız komple bitişik. Şimdi o taraftan başladığın zaman 100 metre ta buraya kadar tıkır tıkır tıkır kopekler içerde doluyo zaten. Aha canlı şahit, gecende şakır şakır sesler geldi. La kardaşım, o tarafın önünü keselim kopekler girmesin diyom, çık kendin yap diyo bana. Ya benim yapacak gucüm olsa ben zaten yapıcam, sağa soylemicem diyom ona. Şimdi, dedim ya işte kira uygun gelmiyo. Aslında gene de gelmiyo yani. Şöyle bağa, 100'ü veriyom 15 verirken zorlanıyom bak, yalan yok. Gerçekten zorlanıyom. Onu da nası veriyom o onbeşi biliyo mu? Sabahleyin saat sekizbuçuk işbaşı yapacağıma buradan yürüyerek gidiyom, sekizbuçukta anca oluyom. Dolmuşla varsam rahat varıyom ama altıda kalkarsam yörüye yörüye anca gidiyom. Yol parasından kesiyom, onbeşin üstünü tamamlıyom buraya ödüyom yüzonbeşi. Dolmuşlan gittiğim zaman yüzonbeşi veremiyom bak mesela; niye? Elektrik, su geldiği zaman veremiyom, işin açığı bu. Yörüyerek gidip geliyom. Akşam saat sekizbuçuk dokuza kadar çalıştığım da oluyo, onikiye kadar çalıştığım da oluyo, zabahın altısına kadar çalıştığımda oluyo. Ha bedava çalışmıyom, mesaisi bazı yerlerde şirketten şirkete fark ediyo. Kimisi üçmilyonikiyüzelliden veriyo mesaini, kimisi ikimilyonikiyüzelliden veriyo, kimisi bimilyonyediyüzelliden veriyo; biz bimilyonyediyüzelliden alıyoz. O paraya ben

aslında çalışmam ama muhtaç olduğum için çalışıyorum. Niye? Ya bi bebelik hanım olsun bebek olsun birine varıpta bi bişi istemesin. Yani gözü kalmasın. Ya, şu da şu bizimde şu olmasın, olsaydı daha iyi olurdu demesin diye çalışıyom işin aslında. Ya param, maddi manevim iyi olmuş olsa, olur.

Pınar: Siz hanımı çalıştırmam demiştiniz di mi?

O.: Çalıştırmam ben.

Pınar: Neden?

O.: Ya, sevmiyom.

Pınar: Çalışmaz mı hanımlar?

O.: Çalışır, çalışıyım diyo, ben çalıştırmıyom.

Demet: Sen niye istemiyosun yani?

O.: Ya, benim istemediğim mesela, ben kıskancım şimdi işin açığı koyarsan. Şimdi o oraya varıpta bi mesela bu iş yapsa ya bulaşık yıkayacak, bulaşıkçı olacak ya çay demleyecek. Şimdi bizim orda çalışan kadın var mesela. Durumunu görüyom, patrondan dünya kadar fırça yiyo kadın. Mesela arkasından kötü lafta konuşturuyo oraya, benim zoruma gidiyo bak. Ya aynısı benimkine de olur icabından; bi de benim hani o adama o an çay vermesi benim zoruma gidiyo. Anlatabildim mi? Telefona baksa, telefonda düzgün konuşacak ben onu yanlış anlıyom. Yani kıskanç bi herif olduğum için, yani çalışmasını o yönden istemiyom işin açığı. Ha ne zaman çalışır biliyon mu; Allah kimsenin başına vermesin de kötü olurum, ya hiç çalışamam, elim ayağım dutmaz, anca o zaman belki, çalışırsaaa kardaşlarım ona biz besleriz tamam ben bakarım ayağına onu da demezse mecbur çalışacak. Ona da ben bişey diyemem zaten, çünkü o hale düştükten sonra çalışmasını istersin heralde di mi? Ben istemiyom aslında, istemem de, mecbur kaldığında kendisi çalışır; ama şu anda çalıştırmak istemem. Beşyüzmilyon değel bimilyar maaş da verseler ben çalıştırmam. Valla çalıştırmam billaha çalıştırmam bak.

Pınar: Peki, hiç bu belediyenin yardımından ya da başka bir yardımından almış mıydınız şimdiye kadar?

O.: Valla almıyoz.

Pınar: Hiç almadınız mı?

O.: Valla, şerefsizim almıyom. Hiç, kuruş para. Ya, bi kere Yenimahalle Belediyesi'nden yardım alıyolardı. Orda bizim Bayram Abi diye birisi var. Onun sayesinde bi kere aldık. Oraya vardım bak, ister inan ister inanma, bi yardım almaya on kere gidilir mi? Bi yardım almaya, veriyolar, ben içeri girip o yardımı elime alıp başarı dışarı çıkmaya valla utandığım için gidemedim, en sonunda dedimkine buna, ya dedim benim ayağıma dedim bakıyolar, ayakkabıma neyin bakıyolar, benim bi eski ayakkabı var. … bi eski yırtık purtuk … bi yırtık mırtık ayakkabı ver de onlan gideyim, bi utanarak bi ondan aldım. Sonradan da dedik O. senin sigortan çıkıyo. Senin sigortan varmış, senin yardımını dediler kesiyoz, ordan da kestiler. Bi kere aldım. Adam

mersedesiylen geliyo, 115 kasa mersedesiylen geliyo, kapının önünden belediyenin önünden alıyo, ordan alışveriş çekini koyuyo cebine, gidiyo ordan Beğendikten artık nerdense alışverişini yapıyo, gidiyo, biz gitmeye utanıyoz. Ben valla gitmeye utanıyom bak. Ama gelse iyi olur bence, niye iyi olur? Şu gelse bence iyi olur, yiyecek gıda istemiyom pek; bana versinler bi kömür bi odun başka bişey istemiyom.

Pınar: Hiç almadınız mı şimdiye kadar?

O.: Valla almadım. Bi yerden alıyoz; sade tek bi yerden; o da nerden A.? Etlik'ten mi?

A. (O.'ın eşi): Bilmiyom ki.

O.: Etlik'ten; bi işte bu yardımsever bi adam mı varmış artık kim varsa, ben bilmiyom da, şu komşu var bizim, Adalet Abla, onun sayesinde, o dedi, onunlan birlikte bi birlikte gittik, oraya yazıldık. Bi işte fakirlik ilmuhaber kağıdı aldık, onunlan bi her sene onbeş çuval kömür geliyo. Her sene. Bu senede gelirse gelir, gelir diyolar, gelir heralde. Başka da ordan başka da birisinden alıyosam da zehir zıkkım olsun.

Pınar: Peki, bu yeni belediye nasıl? Eskiden galiba CHP'deydi Yenimahalle Belediyesi.

O.: Şimdi ben yardımını görmediğim için ne iyi diyebilirim ne kötü diyebilirim. Ben yardım görmüyom

Pınar: Peki, hükümeti nasıl buluyosun şimdi?

O.: Erdoğan'ı mı?

Pınar: Hı hı.

O.: Valla Erdoğan, Ecevit'in zamanın da olsun öbürlerinin zamanın da olsun bağa iyi gibi geliyo. Onun için önceden öyle değildi mesela bak. Onun zamanında ekmek üçyüzelli dörtyüz beşyüzbin liraya çıktıydı mesela di mi? Akşam niyetine eve geliyodum, üçyüzmilyon lira maaş alıyodum, haydaa bi tüp değiştirmeye gidiyodum, tüp fırlamış. Tüp üçmiyonaltıyüzbin lira oluyodu, küçük tüp. Dörtmilyon lira oldu, beşmilyon lira oldu, altımilyon lira oldu. Akşam niyetine eve gelince yatıyodum, sabah kalkıyodum, zam. Gunlük hani, bu adam öyle bişi yapmadığı için bağa iyi geliyo yani. Yine oy vermiş olsam yine o adama veririm.

Pınar: Ona verdin son seçimde de

O.: Verdim, ona verdim.

Pınar: Daha öncekinde kime vermiştin?

O.: Daha öncesinde de, olmaz bulunmaz olsun, Ecevit'e verdim. Südüklüğü dursun diyecem ama durur da yani.

Pınar: Peki neye göre veriyosun? Yani şey mi? Uygulamalarını mı yoksa ….

O.: Uygulamaları hoşuma, ıııııı, işime geliyo, zam yapmayışı işime geliyo. Ya, beşmilyonluk benzinle ben burda mesela bi arkadaşın arabasını alıyodum, diyodumkine ya ben bu pazar dükkana gidip gelecem. Hani mesleğim kaportacı ya, gidiyim ufak tefek iş yapayım, iyi kötü yolumu buluyim. Beş milyonla gidip geliyodum, o Ecevit'in

184

zamanında gidip gelemiyodum, bak şimdi gidip geliyom. Ama O'nun zamanında gidip gelemiyodum. Üçyüzellibin liraya ekmek alıyodum yav. Ama şimdi yüzyirmibeşbinden yüzellibin liraya alıyom. Niye ben bu adamı istemeyim.

Pınar: Peki, bu hükümetten sizin gibi yoksul insanlara ya da kirada oturan insanlara ne tür politikalar geliştirmesini beklersiniz? N'apsınlar yani?

O.: Ne mi yapsınlar?

Pınar: Hı hı

O.: Valla ben de bilemiyom ne yapacaklarını.

Pınar: Yani, devletten bi şey umuyo musunuz?

A.: Elimize gelip de para tutuşturacak değiller de, en azından kolaylık sağlasınlar.

Pınar: Neyde mesela?

O.: Kirada.

O.: Kirada bi standart koyması lazım. Şimdi mesela bi normal kaynakçı en fazla en fazla maaş alan adamın maaşı, bizim, ben bildiğim çevrede, hemen hemen altı senedir de Ostimdeyim, dörtyüzmilyon lirayı geçmiyo. E şimdi geçmedi, onda standart koymuşlar.

Pınar: Sigortalı mı o çalışanlar?

O.: He, sigortalı. Ama adam işine geldiği zaman girdi çıktı gösteriyo, senin beş senelik sigortanı indiriyo üç seneye, o da vicdanına kalmış, indirirse. Bak benimkini ta bibuçuk seneye düşürmüşüdü beş sene önce. Hökümet buna da bi şey koysun mesela. Adını sen getir, yardım yapmak istiyosa, guzellik yapmak istiyosa, kiralar yüzde on artsın mesela. Yüzmilyona oturan adam, kira arttığı zaman on milyon artsın. Niye onbeşmilyon? Veremiyo adam, ya ben veremiyom şahsen ya. Ha şu yan tarafımızdaki yüzellimilyona oturuyomuş, ben bilmiyom, öyle söylüyo. Ama onun iki tene kızı çalışıyo bak, iki de oğlu çalışıyo, bi de kendin kocası çalışıyo, beş kişi. İkiyüzer milyon almış olsa aylık bir milyar eve para girer. İkiyüzden fazla alıyolar da, en düşüğü üçyüzmilyon lira hesap et, beş kişinin maaşı nerden baksan bimilyarikiyüz yapar. O adam geçimini yapar di mi? Ama ben yapamıyom, yapıyom da işime göre, sokaktayım.

Pınar: Sizin ne kadar geliriniz?

O.: Üçyüzellimilyon, benimki.

Pınar: Kira ne kadardı?

O.: Yüzonbeş

Pınar: Maaşın üçte biri oraya mı gidiyo?

O.: Elektriğinle su, üçte biri gidiyo. Yani temiz elimize elektriği, suyu, kirayı, telefonu verdiğimiz zaman elimizde seksenbeşmilyon para kalıyo. Zeytin, peynir almayı bırak bi kenara, onu şöyle bi kenara koy, gördüğümüz yok. Nassı bi rengi var, bilmiyoz işin aslına bakarsan. Yani bilmiyoz derkene yani o kadar yani her ay alamıyoz yani, ayda yılda bi alabilirsek alıyoz bi kilo zeytinle bi kilo peynir. Onlarıda aldığımız zaman elimizde ya ister inan ya

onbeşmilyon kalıyo ya yirmimilyon kalıyo. Onla ay başını getir bakayım nası getireceksen.

A.: Taksitler çok.

O.: Ha mesela taksit durumu. Aha benim belimde platin var. Doktur bana ortopedik yatak önerdi. Adam en düşük senin taksitini yapsam kırkmilyondan yapabilirim diyo. Alabilir misin kırkmilyona?

Pınar: Çok pahalı.

O.: Tabi canım. En düşük, o da tanıdık. Kefil de istemiyom senden diyo, madem diyo, sen diyo, Ferhat Ali'nin evinde oturuyomuşsun, biz onu tanıyoz, kırkmilyon taksit yapabilirim kardeşim başka yapamam.

Pınar: Peki, şimdi biz burda da konuştuk, apartmandakilerle gecekondudakilerle. Bi de son seçimlerde de bilyoruz, zengini de AKP'ye verdi, fakiri de AKP'ye verdi.

O.: Ee?

Pınar: Siz AKP'yi beğeniyorum dediniz ya, siyasetin bi önemi var mı, yani zenginde fakirde aynı kişiye veriyosa? Siyaset ne işe yarar sizce?

O.: Ya, ben onu nasıl cevaplayım bilmiyom ki. Sen cevap ver.

A.: Siyaset olmasa zaten ortamda düzen diye bir şey olmaz. Siyaset olmazsa, herkes zengin fakiri hor görür, fakirin kötüsü zengine zarar verir. Benim düşüncem o.

O.: Bizi görüyolar mesela, adam binadaki oturan adam bizi hor görüyo. Mesela geçen gün söylemesi ayıp masada dışarıda oturuyoz şurda, arkadaşla. Kadın ordan çocuğunun altını değiştirmiş, ordan poşete çocuğunun altının bezini koymuş, salladı salladı kaldırdı buraya bi attı, pat burnumuzun dibine düştü. Ya buraya niye atıyon diyom.

Pınar: Aparmandan mı?

O.: He. Sende diyo onu kaldır da diyo çöpe at n'olur diyo bana. Konuştuğu lafa bak yav.

Pınar: Hor görüyolar yani.

O.: Tabi canım ya, işte en basitinden bu. Öbür tarafta çöp bidonu var oraya at, veyahutta in de at. Yani bu senin çocuğunu şeyi pisliği değil mi? Götür at. Benim bu tarafa niye atıyon veyahutta ordan atıp da millet rahatsız etmeye ne gerek var. Onun için biz, yani hor görmeseler, bizi görmezmezlik de yapsalar, biz halinden anlamasak da onların öyle bir tavrı var, işin açığı.

Pınar: Pek, mahallede onun dışında böyle bir kavga gürültü huzursuzluk falan var mı?

O.: Yok. Arada bir oluyo.

Pınar: Ne üzerine oluyo mesela?

O.: Ya mesela adam ordan, geçen gün en basitinden adam haddinden fazla böyle aşırı derecede dövüşmüş, birbirlerini mi bıçaklamışlar bilmiyom, dört tene trafik arabası trafik polisi geldi buraya, dört tane araba, biri orda, biri orda, biri orda. Eee, buranın, Samanyolu Caddesi işte ne bileyim

185

nerde, bizim buranın adresi, yirmidokuzda kavga varmış buraya geldi, ekip arabasından çıkmış gelmiş. Bazısı gerçek oluyo, bazısı… İşte bi bi gerçek olan o düğünü olan adam var ya onun bi zamanlar oğluylan işte bi öyle olay oldu, bi de yanlış adres vermişler heralde, veya işletmişler mi artık n'omuş bi de öyle geldi. Ondan sonra da gelmedi.

Pınar: Orda n'olmuş oğluyla?

O.: Ya, o da …

A.: Oğlu değil, kardaşı.

O.: Kardaşı mı, artık kızı mı? Onun o evlendiği kız kaçtıydı da şimdi geldi, şimdi tekrar düğün ediyolar şimdi. Artık onun kardaşıylan mı kızının mı arasında bi tartışma sorun mu çıktı n'oldu, ondan bi kavga olduydu. Götürmüşlerdi gece saat onda onbirde.

Pınar: Böyle mahalleliler siyasi görüsüne göre ayrılır mı burda?

A.: Ayrılırlar tabi.

O.: Ayrılırlar tabi, niye ayrılmasınlar.

Pınar: Nasıl mesela?

A.: Mesela, alevilerle sünniler var ya. Alevilerin genelde şeyi CHP, bizimki de Akparti.

O.: Alevilerin yarıdan çoğu Deniz Baykal'a veriyo mesela bak. İster kazansın ister kazanmasın.

A.: Mesela oturup bir sohbet etmiş olmuş olsan çok sinirleniyorlar.

Mahir: Siz ne düşünüyosunuz sol partiler hakkında, onların seçmenleri, siyasi tercihleri hakkında? Nasıl değerlendiriyosunuz yani?

O.: Ya ben …

A.: O pek bilmez yani.

O.: …herkesin görüşü ayrıdır derim ben yani, sen şaapmadığım için. Bende alevilik yok sünnilik de yok. Deniz Baykal'ın da alevi olduğunu bildiğim için ben ona kesseler de vermem. Biz işte bu adama verdik, bakalım bu da nassı gidecek. Deniz Baykal'a mümkünatı yok vermem. Ama Ecevit'e verdiydik, bi zamanların işte kurtçu murçtu ayağı vardı ya, onun için verdik. Ondan da, onun da kazığını yedik, ondan sonra aklımız başımıza geldi, şimdi bu bu nasıl çıkacak. Şimdiki hali iyi de, bu düzenle giderse iyi.

In-Depth Interview II

Mrs. H.
41 years old, born in
Ankara Çamlıdere,
tenant in gecekondu,
married, having two
children, housiwife

Pınar: Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız? Nerede doğdunuz ve ne zaman Ankara'ya geldiniz?

Mrs. H. : 1963'te Çamlıdere Peçenek köyünde doğdum. 3. sınıfa kadar köyde yaşadık. Ondan sonra tekrar buraya göç ettik. Babam ev yapmış buraya ev yapmış buraya, gelip bize sürpriz yaptı. Bi baktık ki bi gece babam gelmiş, biz Ankara'ya bi ev yaptım, nasıl olur biz köyümüzden ayrılamayız, gidemeyiz dedik. Babam dedi işte şöyle güzel böyle güzel, bizi artık özendiriyor ya buraya. Biz dedik olmaz hayatta, köyü çok seviyoruz, köye de daha yeni ev yaptı falan. Bi buraya geldik ki Allahh, bizi ikna etti ama, aylar sonra, okul tatil oldu buraya göç ettik, hadi karne günü geldik Ankara'ya..bi geldik ki çamurr, hiç buralarda ev yok, ıssız, tenha bi ev, dıştan merdiveni yok, basıp gidiyosun taşları goymuş babam yapmış bi gecede. Allahım biz şok olduk, hayal kırıklığına uğradık, ağladık ağladık, bi sene boyu ağladık. Babam da bana hiç kıyamazdı, annesinin ismiymişim. Ondan sonra alışana kadar seneler geçti. Yani köyden kopup gelmek bile , çamurr, burda bu kadar teknoloji nerde, su yok, ışık yok, lambayla.. o zamanda Ecevit zamanı, savaş dönemi falan vardı ya, çok böyle battaniyeleri falan kapatır otururduk, çok böyle değişik karamsar bi hayatın içindeydik. Canım 5-10 sene geçene kadar , alışana kadar akla karayı seçtik yani biz.

Pınar : Babanız niye gelmiş buraya?

H.: Babam işte şey satıyodu, çarşafçılık yaparmıştı, Çankaya'da omzunda böylr bohçayla, gece gündüz çalışırmıştı. Bi buraya yapmış ev, köye yaptı ev. Tekrar işte askerden geldikten sonra tekrar işte Çankaya'da bohçacılık yaparken yaparken burayı

diyolar, bura boş bi alan, herkes yer kapıyo, arsa kapıyo, git oraya ev yapalım, arkadaşı ikna ediyo, yapıyorlar yıkıyolar, yapıyolar yıkıyolar. Yedi defa yıkmışlar sonunda yapacam illaki demiş kararını vermiş, yapmış babam, yani sonunda yapmış evi, dikmiş..çarşafçılık yapa yapa sonra Çankaya'da bi dükkan açmış kendine, ortak bi arkadaş vardı.

Pınar : Ne dükkanı?

H.: Çeyiz üzerine, havlu, çarşaf marşaf, yatak örtüsü falan filan işte.

Pınar : Buralar nasıl gelişmiş sonra?

H.: Buralar sonradan işte

Pınar : Hatırlıyo musunuz?

H.: Hatırlıyorum. Böyle adım adım, karış karış. Asfaltlandı, su geldi işte. Taa biz 2 km uzağa su taşımaya giderdik, ilerde vardı 1 km yol, ordan su taşırdık. Sonra babm bize kıyamadı, bi ay sonra bişey tuttu, sucu, ordan su taşırdı bi bayan vardı, affedersin eşeğin sırtında tenekelerle. Dört teneke hergün bize bırakırdı. İçme suyu olarak, artık ayda bi ordan taşırdık motorlar gelirdi, doldururduk bütün bidonları falan. Kış zaten ona keza eziyet. Taa ileri asfalt ana caddeye kömür dökülürdü biz kovalarla ağlayarak ayakkabımız kalırdı, çorabımız kalırdı, o çamura yapışırdı. Ne rezillik, ne ağlardık, ne çile çekerdik. Şimdi çok modern, hayat güzel yani bence..

Pınar : okula devam edemediniz siz o dönemde di mi?

H.: Evet devam edemedik. Evet bi sene gittik, ordan terk ettik. Taa burda doluymuş kayıtlar, almadılar bizi burda, okutamayız falan filan diye taa tepedeki şu ..... okuluna gittik. Ablam burda bitirdi bir seneyi. Zaten ilkokulu bitirdin mi tamam. Babam tek oğlu vardı, onu okutacam dedi o da aksine okumadı, o kadar zenginliği variyeti vardı ama. Kızlar zekiydi ama kızları da okutmadı yani.

Pınar : Siz ister miydiniz okumayı?

H.: İsterdim tabii. Kim istemez de mi?

Pınar : Öyle

H.: Ablam da öyle çok başarılıydı, küçük kızkardeşim de öyle çok başarılıydı, okul öğretmenleri derdi, bi resimler falan çizer, her okula gideni tabloya asar öğretmen. Yani o kadar şey, güzel çizer yani, resimleri falan. İşte o da gitmedi, hiçbiri okumadı.

Pınar : Babanız burayı satın almıştı di mi? Arsayı satın almış.

H.: Satın almış, arsayı birinden

Pınar : Daha sonra etrafta satın alanlar oldu?

H.: Etrafta satanlar oldu. İlk ev buraya babam yapmış, ilk ev. Buralar kıraçtı, bomboştu, biz karşıları istediğimiz gibi seyrederdik, koşardık oynardık, araba maraba, bi patika yol gidiyodu şurdan, sadece ordan vardı. Affedersin koyunlar falan geçiyordu şu önümüzden. Burası daha uzundu bu kadar daha önde vardı bizim arsa. Sonra 5-10 yıl geçtikten sonra yola yıkım yaptılar. Büyük

büyük ağaçlarımız vardı, şeftali, kiraz.. meyveler olurdu sebzeler yetiştirdi annem bie de alışkın ya köyden, artık burda yetiştirirdi herşeyi.

Pınar : Sonra akrabalardan gelen oldu mu buraya?

H.: Akrabalardan gelen oldu.

Pınar : Sizden görüp falan?

H.: Bizden görüp gelenler oldu. Şuraya ablamın kayınpederi geldi işte kiracı olarak, buraya ev yapmışlar, kiracı olarak. Şu yan tarafı satın aldılar, komşular ev yaptılar, karşıya yaptılara, karşıya yapmışlardı. Sade bi ev vardı, bi de bizim burda vardı, otelin sahipleriymiş karşıkiler, bi de bizim bu vardı, bura ooo.. bura dış falan basıp taşlara öyle giriyoduk. Bura ne biçim ya, bizim köydeki evimiz çok güzeldi, dubleks üzerine yapılmıştı, çok harikaydı ora yani. Buraya geldik ki Ankara'ya ev yaptım şöyle yaptım. Ben de sorardım babama, baba dedim, şu öğretmenin evi gibi mi güzel derdim, bura derdim, hani lojmanları var ya. Bizi de çok severlerdi öğretmenimiz sağolsun. İki arkadaş görüşürdük orda, köyde yalnız ya öğretmenler. Annemiz bişey gönderirdi, süttü, yumurtaydı derken onlara gittikçe akşama kadar kalırdık özenti ya bi de köyde görmüyorsun ya o şeyleri.Bize ilgi gösterirdi o da kahve yapardı, kahvaltılık bişeyler hazırlardı, hoşumuza giderdi. Ben de sorardım, orda gördüm ya, hiç şehirde ev falan görmedim. Baba dedim şu öğretmenin evi kadar güzelse giderim derdim..çok güzel ordan da güzel, meğer bizi heveslendirmek için, bi de geldik ki ağladık, bura ne biçim, götür bizi baba. Çok şey oldu yani perişan bi haldeydik, annem hasta oldu, alışamadı bi türlü, ameliyatlar geçirdi, biz küçüğüz böyle. Çok perişan bi çocukluk yaşantımız oldu yani...

Pınar : Sonra kaç yaşında evlendiniz?

H.: Ben mi? 19

Pınar : Görücü usulü mü yoksa isteyerek?

H.: Görücü usulü

Pınar : Akrabayla mı evlendiniz?

H.: Yok uzaktan akrabaymış annelerimiz

Pınar : Hemşehri?

H.: Hıı..hemşehri, aynı köylüyüz

Pınar : İsteyerek mi peki?

H.: Pek isteyerek olmadı

Pınar : Siz mi istemiyordunuz?

H.: Daha sonra

Pınar : Neden?

H.: Burda gelen kişilere de hayır dedim, ne biliyim pek olumlu bakmazdım, evleneceğim kişi şöyle çok gözüm yükseklerdeydi. Öyle kişilerle ben evlenmem baba derdim.. ne diyosun diye babam gene de sorardı bana, verelim kızım seni bu gence, o da gelirdi falan filan, yok baba derdim ben istemiyom. Hayır dedim, buna da hayır dedim ama kısmetmiş, yüzüğü falan attım falan. Allahım neler olmadı ki o anlarda, böyle olur söz verdik de falanda filanda, eski batıllardan.

Sonra alıştık birbirimize, o da beni istedi, ben de onu, anlaştık gitti yani..

Pınar : Peki evlenince aynı evde mi kaldınız yoksa ayrı eve mi çıktınız?

H.: Kaynanamgille aynı evde kaldık, bir sene boyu ondan da huzursuz olduk aslında. Onlar köyde oturuyordu, baktım benim hizmetlerim çok güzel geldi, yemekler dört dörtlük. Köyde hiç görmemiş o yemekleri o adam, çocuklara diyorum ellerinizi yıkayın, ben biraz da titiz kişiyim biliyo musun? Sofraya otururken ellerini yıkamadan oturdular. Allahım bunlarla yemem falan yemekte, artık şey yaparlardı. Gitti be ne biçim karın var kocasını, kayınpeder beni şikayet ederdi. Bayaa bi huzur bozulurdu yani. Artık dedim istemiyom ben, böyle hayat olmaz, ben böyle evlilik de istemem böyle şey de istemem. Sonra ev sahibi de bunlardan çok sıkıntı oldu, bizim hatırımız için babamın hatırı için verdiler bize, gecekondu kiraladık kiracı olarak.

Pınar : Burda mı kiraladınız?

H.: Burda kiraladık. 200 metre uzaktaydı şöyle, gelin olduğum evde. Ondan sonra badana yaptık, temizlik yaptık, alıştık derken, kayınpeder dedi ben iki hafta kalıp düğünü yapıp gitcem, oğlumları da senin yanında işe koyup gidiyim. O zamanlar meşhurdu ya kalmak gelinin yanında, ondan sonra gidince..

Pınar : Anlamadım. Nasıl birilerinin yanında kalmak?

H.: Yani gelinin yanında illaki birinin bırakırlardı, kayın, kayınlardan, onlar senin yanında işe girsin, ilkokulu bitirdi mi gelip bırakır giderlerdi.

Pınar : Siz de bakmak zorundasınız?

H.: Hıı..bakmak zorundayım, mecburen. Ben dedi sizin yanınıza bunu bırakıp gidecem kızım. Anam adam bi yerleşti, köye gittikçe bi yatak getiriyo, köye gittikçe bi yorgan getiriyo. Eşyaları tek tek taşıdı bizim yanımıza. Dedim bu böyle, bunlar gitmeyecek mi diyorum eşime, heralde gitmeyecekler diyor ben de senin gibiyim H.nerden biliyim diyo... Artık iyiceleyin ikimizin huzuru bozulurdu, beraber pek yemek falan yemezdim doğrusu. Kayınpederim biraz da titiz değildi. Artık ben de titizliği seven bi insanım. Kayınlarım daha 3 yaşında biri 6 yaşında birisiydi. Hep ben banyo yapardım, kaynanam hiç ilgilenmezdi, bakmazdı onlara, affedersin tırnaklarını keserdim temiz olsunlar diye. Şimdi ben yengeleriyim, ben utanırım derdim onların halinden görüntüsünden. Napabilirim temiz bakmalıyım onlara derdim artık şey yapardım. İşte böyle böyle bir sene doldu, huzursuzluk başladı bizde. Artık kayınpederim bir tane gitti ev buldu, dedi bir tane ev tane ev buldum ama Necati H.beğenmedi evi dedi. Artık eşimi de ben öğütlemiş gibi H.beğenmediyse baba ben hiç beğenmem dedi. Tamam orda olay bitti. Gece eşyalarını aldı gittiler o eve onlar. Biz yalnız kaldık ikimiz...sonunda istediğimiz oldu

188

dedik onlar gitti biz tek başımıza kaldık. Artık ev sahibinden de huzursuz olduk onlar giderdin gitmezdin, onlar çıktı diye biz de bi ev bulduk kiraladık, biz de gittik ordan, ayrılmamamızın sebebi.

Pınar : Ev sahibinin ne huzursuzluğu oldu?

H.: İşte ev sahibi. Tavuklar getirdi, o da titiz bi insandı. Beyim titiz diye verdi adam evini, güvendi. Tanıdık bi aileden, içi dışı çok yakın bi insandı o da işte babamın arkadaşı. Baktı horoz tavuk herşeyi doldurdu köyden, o da titiz bi adam. Geliyosun affedersin kapının önüne, bahçeye tavuklar pisletiyo, giriyo, çıkıyo. Gürültüler de çok, çocuklar da çok. Köydeki hareketleri istiyo çocuklar da burdaki şeye uymuyo, mesela kurallara dedi. O yüzden çıkarttı işte ev sahibi, kızdı, bizde o yüzden çıktık. Babama böyle böyle yaptı, biz de artık yüz yüze bakamayız. Biz de en iyisi mi ev tutup gidelim çıkalım. Çıktık başka bi eve, kiraladık, kızıma da,aynı mahalleden, büyük kızıma da hamileyim o zaman. O doğdu falan, bayaa kırgınlıklar oldu. Bize gelmediler, küstüler torununu bakmaya gelmediler, doğdu 2-3 aylık oldu büyük kızım daha sonra görmeye geldiler. Kayınpederimin kızkardeşleri zoruyla. Olmaz, ilk torunun falan filan senin, böyledir şöyledir. Artık onu öyle getirdiler barıştık, aradaki soğukluk düzeldi yani. Ondan beri de işte aynı yaşıyoruz, şimdi mesafe var aramıza ama iyi, diyaloglar güzel.

Pınar : Bu eve mi geldiniz en son?

H.: En son buraya geldik.

Pınar : Kaç sene önce gelmiştiniz?

H.: Kaç sene önce, taşına taşına mı?

Pınar : Hı hı

H.: 4-5 ev geçtikten sonra

Pınar : Bu mahallede mi taşındığınız eski evler?

H.: Buralara yakın

Pınar : Hep kiradaydınız?

H.: Hep kiradatdık. Beşinci ev burası.

Pınar : Ev sahibi tanıdık mıydı?

H.: Hı hı

Pınar : Yani bu çevreden mi?

H.: Hepsi tanıdıktı, hı hı bu çevredendi.

Pınar : Hemşeri falan mı?

H.: Hı hı hemşeriydi

Pınar : Öyle mi?

H.: Hemşeriydi çoğu. Çoğu rahatsız ederdi işte bizi. O yüzden çıkardık. Çoğu kirayı çok fazla arttırdığı için çıktık. Bizim ekonomik güç, eşim işten çıktı bir sene boyu, öyle işsizlik, çocuklar küçük..derken neler geçti, neler geçti işte böyle...

Pınar : En son buraya geldiniz?

H.: En buraya geldik, beşinci ev taşına taşına. Daha önce şu karşıdaydık buraya taşınmadan önce, arada bi beyaz ev var, ordaydık. Çocuklar küçükken taşındık buraya. Ağlıyolar anne bizim ev değil mi bu ev niye gidiyoruz biz burdan diye. O kadar alıştılar yani eve.

Pınar : Burası sizin bi de akrabaların evi değil mi?

H.: Hı hı babamın evi

Pınar : Burası hisseli, sizin de hisseniz var?

H.: Hı hı kızkardeşlere de kira veriyoz biz, üç kıza babam vasiyet ettiği için işte kiralarda dolaşıp durmayın oraya oturun bi de öbür kızkardeşlerim de kiracı ya onlara da pay edersiniz, kirayı verirsiniz, fazla arttırma derdi de olmazdı. Hep böyle kiralar arttıkça ben ağlardım babama biliyo musun? Çok üzülürdü o da içine verirdi. İşte artık buraya oturduk babam da ölünce hastayken vasiyet etti artık gecekonduyu alın yaptırın, daire olunca da inşallah birer tane düşer dedi.

Pınar : İnşallah

H.: İnşallah.. biraz zor ama nasip..

Pınar : Şimdi durduruldu galiba?

H.: Durduruldu

Pınar : Vermeyi düşünüyor muydunuz müteahhide?

H.: Düşünüyorduk

Pınar : Kaç daire veriyorlardı?

H.: Valla iki tane, dört kişiye iki tane de, yarımşar mı düşecek artık, hiç de ümüdümüz de yok da işte.

Pınar : Siz apartmanda mı oturmak isterdiniz, gecekonduda mı?

H.: Apartmanda isterim

Pınar : Neden

H.: Çünkü bıkmışım ya gecekondunun pisliğinden falan, titiz..

Necati : Ben memnunum yani

H.: Ben biraz temizliğe önem veren biriyim. Böyle süpüre süpüre bıktım yani temiz olmasına önem veriyom o yüzden daire olsa daha iyi benim için. Daha düzen li bir hayatın olur, dışarda görüşmezsin fazla.

Pınar : Şu anda va mı apartmanda böyle tenidiklarınız, görüştükleriniz?

H.: Valla hepsi apartmanda. Bi biz gecekonduda kaldık. Kızkardeşlerim, annemgil, kayınpedergil hapsi apartmandalar.

Pınar : Onlar da arsa sahipliliğinden mi?

H.: Kayınpedergil arsa sahipleriydi, iki dairesi vardı. İşte sattı ticari aldılar ya. Şimdi kiraya geçtiler, onlar da akraba evindeler. Annemgilde işte dükkanı sattılar, daireyi, kiraya geçtiler, onların da evi vardı onlarda sattı.

Pınar : Bu yakındaki apartmanlarda genelde kimler oturuyor? Hep böyle şey mi eskiden beri konut sahibi olanlar mı?

H.: Hı hı evet.

Pınar : Onun dışında var mı? Farklı?

H.: Hı hı var kiracılar var, her tür insan var.

Pınar : Sizden böyle çok farklı insanlar mı onlar?

H.: Farklı da var, farksızı da var. Her çeşit var.

Pınar : Farklılar nasıl mesela?

H.: Farklılar mesela seninle konuşmayı tercih etmeyenler. Kendi halinde..

Pınar : Tercih etmeyenler neden tercih etmiyorlar?

H.: Ne biliyim dışlıyolar seni bayaa

Pınar : Neden?

189

H.: Kendi hallerinde.

Pınar : Dışlamaları neden olabilir?

H.: Yaa değişik çevrelerden gelmiş, mesela affedersin ırkları falan ayrı, mesela dinleri ayrı, dilleri ayrı. Pek konuşmaya gelmezler onlar.

Pınar : Kimler onlar?

H.: Mesela Çerkezler diyelim pek konuşmaz, Türksünüz siz diye. Pek insanlara sırlarını vermezler. Sadece meraba meraba derler, başka hiç öbür sırlarını açmazlar, konuşmazlar. Yani çok samimi olmazlar senle. O kadar 2-3 yıl samimi olacak ondan sonra tek tek açarlar özel ilişkilerini falan, ayrıldılar mı, nası bi durumda olduklarını, birden girmezler yani. Böyle gecekondudakiler mesela hemen senle samimi, dobra dobra, her şeyi senle açık açık konuşurlar, burdakiler hiç gizli saklı olmaz.

Pınar : Çerkezler genelde apartmanda mı oturuyor?

H.: Apartmanda da var, gecekonduda var, burda da var.

Pınar : Bu gecekondularda, bu muhitte genelde kimler oturuyor?

H.: Kimler, Koçhisarlı çık, Yozgatlı çok, Çamlıdereli çok, aşırı, bizim buralılar çok yani, hemşeriler çok.

Pınar : Irkı farklı dediğiniz insanlardan var mı gecekondularda?

H.: Var, gecekonduda var

Pınar : Komşularınızdan var mı?

H.: Var

Pınar : Nasıl onlarla aranız?

H.: İyi, güzel. Ben herkesle iyi anlaşırım yani genelde. Anlaşamadığım pek yoktur.

Pınar : Bu mahalle rahat mı?

H.: Rahat, çok rahat. Bi de çocukluğum burda geçtiği için, hiç yabancılık çekmem yani, doğduğum..

Pınar : Tanıyor musunuz herkesi?

H.: Tanıyorum genelde. Tanıdıklarım da çok gelip gitti kiracı olarak ama, herkes sattı. Bura hep ev sahibiydi, herkes satıp dairelere gittiler, kimi İncirli kimi Etlik kimisi mesela Pursaklar, şura bura Aydınlık herkes taşındı. Herkesin birer ikişer evi var, burdakiler kendi evleri herkesin, kiradalar hapsi kiraya verip gittiler. Önceki tanıdığım ev sahipleri hep gittiler benim çocukluğumda.

Pınar : Sizin şey var mıydı böyle altın günü yada çay toplantısı falan yapıyor musunuz kadınlarla?

H.: Yok yapmıyoruz. Önceden yapıyoduk ama şimdi yapmıyoruz. Ekonomik durumlardan dolayı, çok teklif ediyolarda..

Pınar : Gün olmasa bile arada bir..

H.: Gün olmasa bile geliyoruz toplantı, konuşma, çaydı otururuz, konuşma.

Pınar : Kimler mesela, genelde yakın çevreden mi?

H.: Yakın çevre gelir. Arkadaşlarım benim, bayan arkadaşlarım, burda oturup taşınanlar tekrar gelirler, eşimin arkadaşları ile arkadaş olduk, bayanlarla, onlar gelir gideriz. Birbirimizle diyaloglarımız iyidir yani..

Pınar : Eşinizin iş arkadaşları başka mahallelerden değil mi?

H.: Ha.. başka mahalleden. Biri Güzelevler'de biri Yenimalle'de öyle yani.

Pınar : Siz peki boş zamanlarınızda ne yapıyorsunuz daha çok?

H.: Boş zamanlarda öyle otururum eşime hizmet ederim. Hiç el işi yapmayı sevmez de yaptırmaz da bana, kitap okurum, müzik dinlerim, spor yaparım, yürüyüşe severim ben.

Pınar : Kızılay ya da Ulus'a gezmeye falan gider misiniz?

H.: Bazen ara sıra, genelde sıkıldığımda.

Pınar : En çok hangisine gidiyorsunuz?

H.: Genelde Ulus'a giderim, Gençlik Parkı'na falan çocukları bi götürürüz ara sıra, uğrarız geliriz. Bunlar bi açılsın falan diye, daha yakın olduğu için.

Pınar : Hep ailecek mi yapıyorsunuz bunu?

H.: Bazen ailecek, bazen kızlarla, genelde kızlarla giderim ben, eşim dışarı hayatını pek sevmez, akşama kadar trafik yoğunluğu ya, sevmez. Evi eve atar siz gidin der bize, ben zaten o trafikten bıkmışım, şehir hayatından der. O evde dinlenir biz gideriz.

Pınar : Peki mahalledeki kadınlar nasıl, onlar mesela evden çıkmayan, kocasının evden çıkmasını yasakladığı kadınlar var mı?

H.: Hepsi çok gezer, bi benden başka. Bi ben evi beklerim, hepsi acayip fazla gezer.

Pınar : Bazıları hani böyle tutucu kocalar olur?

H.: Hı evet göndermeyenler olur, sıkıcı

Pınar : Var mı buralarda?

H.: Hepsi gezer, bi ben beklerim. Herkes gezmeye gider bi ben evde olurum genelde.

Pınar : Ne yapıyorlar genelde kadınlar?

H.: Giderler, gezerler. İşlerini hemen bitirirler. Acele yemek ya yapılır ya yapılmaz hemen sokağa. Çok sever bizim buranın kadınlar bayılır gezmeye, oturmaya.

Pınar : Siz hiç çalışmadınız değil mi şimdiye kadar?

H.: Yok hiç çalışmadım.

Pınar : İster miydiniz?

H.: İsterdim.

Pınar : Neden hiç çalışmadınız şimdiye kadar?

H.: Eşim izin vermediği için, hiç vermez izin. Kıskançtır biraz da, napacan der. Ben kendime bir katkıda olur, sana bi katkıda olur derim, çocukların geleceğine harcarım derim, eğitimine harcarım derim. Çok isterim yani üst baş almak isterim, aahh sürekli tartıştığımız da bi konu, çalışacam çalışacam...

Pınar : Çalışsanız ne tür bir iş istersiniz mesela?

H.: Bana ne şey olursa. İlkokul mezunlarını pek şey vermiyolar, mesela iş vermiyolar. Mesela aşçılık olabilir, çaycılık olabilir. O tür şeyleri çok iyi yaparım ben, ben yemek türünden iyi anlarım yani. Anca benim yapacam öyle şeyler yani. Tekstil işi de olabilir, dikiş nakış gibi bişeyler olabilir. Çalışsaydım o işlerden olurdu anca. Başka neye alacaklar, memuriyete, üniversiteliler iş bulamıyor değil mi?

Pınar : Evet öyle..Peki çok teşekkür ederiz.

In-Depth Interview III

Mrs. A.
48 years old, born in
Ankara,
owner-occupier of
apartment housing,
married, having three
children, housiwife

———

Pınar: Önce sizden kendinizi tanıtmanızı isteyecez. Nerde doğdunuz, ne zaman Ankara'ya geldiniz?
Mrs. A.: Biz Ankara'da doğduk kızım.
Pınar: Merkezde mi?
Mrs. A.: Hı hı.
Pınar: Aileniz hep burada mıydı, başka yerlerden mi geldiniz yoksa?
Mrs. A.: Kırk senedir ailemle birlikte Ankara'da yaşıyoruz kızım.
Pınar: Eşiniz de buralı…?
Mrs. A.: Hı hı. O da buralı
Pınar: Asıl memleketiniz neresi?
Mrs. A.: Yozgatlıyım.
Pınar: Eşiniz de mi?
Mrs. A.: O da Yozgatlı.
Pınar: Peki, eşinizle akrabalık var mı?
Mrs. A.: Akraba değiliz.
Pınar: Peki, siz doğduğunuzdan beri burada mı yaşıyorsunuz? [Oturduğu ev soruluyor.]
Mrs. A.: Yok, hayır.
Pınar: Apartmana ne zaman taşındınız?
Mrs. A.: Buraya beş-altı ay bişey oldu.
Pınar: Peki, bu daire gecekondudan mı…?
Mrs. A.: Gecekondudan yapıldı.
Pınar: Gecekondu sizin miydi?
Mrs. A.: Yok hayır, eşim emekli olunca burayı aldık. Gecekonduydu, daha yeni aldık.
Pınar: Eskiden buralar nasıldı?
Mrs. A.: Evler hep vardı. […]
Pınar: Hepsinin tapusu var mıydı?
Mrs. A.: Hı hı.
Pınar: Peki, dedeleriniz burada nasıl ev elde etmişler biliyor musunuz? Kendileri mi yapmışlar?
Mrs. A.: Tabi canım, gecekondulu diye boşa koymamışlar, gece gece yapmışlar. Tüm Türkiye böyle.
Pınar: Peki, altı aydır buradaysanız daha önce nerde oturuyordunuz?
Mrs. A.: Daha önce gecekondudaydım, hemen ilerdeydi.
Pınar: Peki, apartmanda yaşamakla gecekonduda yaşamak arasında ne fark var?
Mrs. A.: Apartmanla gecekondu arasında dağlar kadar fark var. En başta komşuluk. Gecekonduyla bura bir değil. İletişim olsun, komşuluk olsun daha iyiydi. Gene de eski komşularım olduğu için pek fark yok. Zaten şimdi burda oturanların hepsi

gecekondulu. Hepsinin evi varmış, müteahhite vermiş, yaptırmış.
Pınar: Peki siz nerde yaşamayı tercih ederdiniz? Gecekonduda mı yoksa apartmanda mı?
Mrs. A.: Gecekondu. Evin güzel olacak gecekonduda oturacaksın.
Pınar: Gecekondunun cazip yanları neler?
Mrs. A.: Cazip yanları … bilmem. Küçüklükten beri gecekonduda yetiştik.
Pınar: Peki, burada yapamayıp gecekonduda yapabildiğiniz neler vardı?
Mrs. A.: Yemeği bahçede yersin, ordan karşıda komşuyu görürsün, selam verirsin, davet edersin. Kahvaltıya gidebiliyordun komşuya. Tek başınaydın.
Pınar: Burada komşularla ilişkileriniz nasıl?
Mrs. A.: İlişkilerim iyi ama gecekondudaki gibi değil.
Pınar: Komşular hemşeleriniz mi?
Mrs. A.: Yok, değil.
Pınar: Kiracı ev sahibi durumu nasıl bu apartmanda?
Mrs. A.: Kiracı yok burası hep ev sahibi.
Pınar: Ortak mı alınmış, satın mı alınmış yoksa?
Mrs. A.: Benim üstekilerinin arsasıydı, müteahhite verdi, 3 daire aldı işte.
Pınar: Yozgatın neresindensiniz siz?
Mrs. A.: Sorgun.
Pınar: Alevilik var mı?
Mrs. A.: Evet Aleviyiz.
Pınar: Biz aşağı tarafla da görüştük burayla da konuştuk, mahallede pek Alevi yok herhalde. Alevi olduğunuz için…
Mrs. A.: Herkes kimin ne olduğunu biliyor. Alevi Aleviyi tanıyor. Sünni Sünniyi tanıyor.
Pınar: Hiç konu oldu mu?
Mrs. A.: Şimdi nasıl diyim. Benim Alevi olduğumu burada herkes bilir. Yumuşak başlı biri de değilim. Fazla din din etmezler.
Pınar: Sizin akrabalar da burada olduğuna göre kalabalık bir grup var burada herhalde.
Mrs. A.: Akrabalar, kayınpedergil var. Kendi ailem var.
Pınar: Başınız sıkıştığınızda ilk kimden yardım istiyorsunuz?
Mrs. A.: Önce herhalde, İhsan önce komşulara gider. Ondan yardım göremezsen akrabalara gidersin.
Pınar: Mahallede sorun oluyo mu? Belediye hizmeti konusunda ya da başka konularda.
Mrs. A.: Yook (cık) hiç olmuyo, öyle sorunlarla karşılaşmadık.
Pınar: Olsa nereye giderdiniz?
Mrs. A.: Muhtara giderler herhalde, öyle bir şey olmadığı için bilmiyorum.
Pınar: Peki. Siz seçilen muhtara mı oy verdiniz, seçilmeyene mi?
Mrs. A.: Seçilmeyene.
Pınar: Şu anki muhtardan memnun musunuz?
Mrs. A.: Buraya taşınınca muhtar haliyle değişti. Buranınki. İyi ki 20 yıldır seçiliyor.

Pınar: Daha önce nerde oturuyodunuz?

Mrs. A.: İlerideydi, Barıştepe.

Pınar: Genel seçimlerde oy verdiniz mi?

Mrs. A.: Tabi.

Pınar:Kime oy vermiştiniz peki, … söylemek istemiyorsanız…

Mrs. A.: Valla söyleyim de, bilinir ama başkalarınca açıkca bilinir ama söylemeyeyim.

Pınar: Söylemek istemiyorum diyorsunuz. Peki komşularla aynı çizgide mi yoksa farklı mı?

Mrs. A.: Başkaları, hiç kimse de şu partiye verdim demez.

Pınar: Peki kadınlar bir araya gelip gün falan yaptığınız oluyor mu?

Mrs. A.: Arasıra, çok değil.

Pınar: Sohbet ya da çay toplantıları falan…

Mrs. A.: Sohbet toplantıları mesela.

Pınar: Ne sıklıkta?

Mrs. A.: Haftada bir, onbeş günde bir toplanırık.

Pınar: Neler konuşuyorsunuz?

Mrs. A.: Kadınlar mı neyden konuşur, dedikodu, ondan şundan.

Pınar: Siyaset konuşulur mu bu toplantılarda?

Mrs. A.: Valla pek siyasete girmem.

Pınar: Mahallede siyaset ile aktif olarak ilgilenen kadınlar var mı?

Mrs. A.: Tabi canım var. Hemen hemen hepsi tutarlardı, şey yaparlardı. Ben pek ilgilenmem.

Pınar: Peki, asıl sormak istediğim, apartmanda oturmanın avantajları neler, gecekonduya kıyasla, hem maddi hem diğer bakımlardan.

Mrs. A.: Şimdi, dediğim gibi, ben küçüklükten beri gecekonduda büyüdüm. Sırf temizliği, başka bir avantajı yok. Yoksa apartmanın komşuluğu yok. Falanın evi güzel diyorlar.

Pınar: Peki apartmanda oturmanın ayrıcalıklı bir yanı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Mrs. A.: Hayır, düşünmüyorum. Temizliğine, güzelliğine işte apartmanda oturuyoruz.

Pınar: Siz ayrıcalıklı olmadığını düşünüyorsunuz. Peki gecekonduda oturanlar nasıl bakıyorlar acaba mesela siz eskiden gecekonduda otururken…

Mrs. A.: Valla, gecekonduda işte dediğim gibi, yer beton, şurası beton, çocukarın odası yok. En azından şimdi çocukların odası var. Apartmanın avantajı bu sadece.

Pınar: Çocuklar açısından bir şey değişti mi?

Mrs. A.: Onların açısından valla hiç değiştiğini sanmıyorum. Hiç daha demezler yani.

Pınar: Gecekondu yıkımları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Mrs. A.: Yıktıklarının yerine ev veriyorlarsa doğru buluyorum.

Pınar: Neden?

Mrs. A.: Doğru bulmamın sebebi, adamın evi yok, ne yapacak, yıkılsın daha güzel evler yapılsın.

Pınar: Ne tür evler yapılsın, mesela apartman türü mü yoksa gecekonduya alışkınlar diye gecekondu türü mü?

Mrs. A.: Valla bilmiyorum ki.

Pınar: Konut sorununu çözmek için hükümet ne yapmalı?

Mrs. A.: Şimdi, televizyon yayın veriyor, Oyakbank yayın veriyor, kira öder gibi evsahibi ol diyorlar, ayda bilmem kaç Euro'ya… Ulan bu Euro'yu kim verecek sana. Ben Oyaktan orda şimdi nasıl evsahibi olacam. Bir memurun eline geçeni düşünmüyorlar mı? 650 milyon kira mı ödüyor memur? Yap 250 milyon devletsen.

Pınar: Siz hiç çalıştınız mı?

Mrs. A.: Yok çalışmadım.

Pınar: Neden?

Mrs. A.: Şimdiye kadar çocuklar vardı. Çocuk okuyor şimdi. Birisi liseye, biri de ortaokula gidiyor.

Pınar: Peki çalışmak ister miydiniz?

Mrs. A.: İsterdim tabi.

Pınar: Bir kadının çalışmasının avantajları neler?

Mrs. A.: Ekonomik gücün olur en azından.

Pınar: Peki siz çalışmak isteyip de sizi engelleyenler oldu mu? Mesela eşiniz ne düşündü?

Mrs. A.: Tabi önce eşim razı olmadı, sonra bunlar büyüdü, gençken yapılanlar, belli bir yaştan sonra insanın canı istemiyor.

Pınar: Peki hiç iş aradınız mı?

Mrs. A.: Yok.

Pınar: Bu ev size aitti değil mi?

Mrs. A.: Evet.

Pınar: Peki başka bir ev edinmek için bir girişiminiz var mı?

Mrs. A.: Yok. 300 milyon maaşla ne evi edinebilirsin… Sen yaz, asıl bunları yaz. Bir gecekonduda bir çocuk bir Yenimahalle'ye, bir Etlik'e kayıt olamıyor; gidip güzel bir okula gidemiyor.

Pınar: Neden, ikametgah mı istiyorlar?

Mrs. A.: İkametgah değil. Gecekonduda oturan bir çocuk Etlik'e Yenimahalle'ye gidemiyor. Benim bir küçük var. Onu yazdırmak istiyorum. Bu sene bitiriyor. Onu oralara yazdırcam.

Pınar: Mahalleniz gecekondu mahallesi diye bilindiği için mi bu sorun yaşanıyor?

Mrs. A.: Eşek değiliz anlıyoruz tabi. Gecekondunun çocuğunu almıyor.

Pınar: Maddi gücünüz yeterli olsaydı, peki, nerede oturmak isterdiniz?

Mrs. A.: Tabi bu çocukların daha iyi okuyabilmesi için, daha iyi bir semtte oturabilirdim. Bir İncirli'de, Etlik'te.

Pınar: Gecekonduda mı yoksa apartmanda mı oturmak isterdiniz?

Mrs. A.: Hiç farketmez. Benim için farketmez. Başkalarını bilemem… Güzel bir semtteki çocuk parkıyla buradaki park arasında dağlar kadar fark var. Ya valla genelde burda gördüğün parkların hepsi böyle. Madem yapıyon, iki tane de şey koy lan. Bir git Etlik'e çayını da iç, yemediğini de ye. Bunlar bu vatanın çocukları değil mi? Buraya da yap.

Pınar: Neden sizce oradaki parklar iyi buradakiler kötü?

Mrs. A.: Bimiyorum, orası daha iyi semt olduğu için böyle oluyor. Oradakilerin hepsi mühendis, doktor.

*Pınar:*Peki, evsahibi olmanın size kazandırdığı avantajlar var mı?

Mrs. A.: Tabi olmaz mı. Nerden baksan bura olmasa ben 200 milyon kira verecektim.

Pınar:Evsahibi olmak birikim olanağı sağlıyor mu? Bir kenara üç beş kuruş koyabiliyor musunuz?

Mrs. A.: Yok, ne biriktirecem. Zaten aldığı ne ki, 400 milyonu buluyor. 100 milyon kıza yol parası, 100 de elektrik, su, ben bununla nasıl okutacam.

Pınar: Bu eviniz olmasaydı, nerde, ne tür bir evde yaşayabilirdiniz?

Mrs. A.: Gene burda yaşardık. Kiracı olurduk.

Pınar:Buraya gücünüz yetmeseydi, başka nerde oturabilirdiniz?

Mrs. A.: Gene de başka yerlere bakarak burda kira normal gibi bir şey. Belki kalırdık. Şentepe de ucuz değil, gecekondu semtlerinde otururduk. Buralarda oturmak, kiraya oturmak… Bir giriş katı bile 250 milyon.

Pınar: Mahallenizde kimler oturur, yapısı nasıl?

Mrs. A.: Hep buranın insanları.

Pınar:Herkes birbirini tanır mı?

Mrs. A.: Tabi tabi. Hep birbirini tanırlar.

Pınar: Peki, gecekondudan taşındıktan sonra alışkanlıkla gidilen yerlerde bir değişiklik oluyor mu? Mesela alışveriş yapılan market ya da bunun gibi şeyler.

Mrs. A.: Başka markete falan, ya şey yapıyorlar ama, bi apartmanda oturmak, benim için geçerli değil, ama bazı hareketlerden falan anlaşılıyor. Ama genelde çok farklı olmuyor. Başka başka yerlerden gelmiş olsalar belki farklı olurdu, başka yerlerde ben birbirlerinin evine rahatça giremediklerini duydum. Ama burda pek yok öyle şeyler.

Pınar: Peki biz teşekkür ediyoruz zaman ayırdığınız için.

In-Depth Interview IV

Mukhtar of Burç
District for twenty
years,
owner-occupier of
gecekondu housing,

Pınar: Mahalleniz hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz? Ne zaman kurulmuş, ilk yerleşenler ne zaman yerleşmiş?

Muhtar: Şimdi mahallemiz 1960'lı, 1967, 1968'li yıllarda kurulmuş. İlk defa buraya bir devlet büyüğünün gelmesiyle yani mahallemiz Şentepe, yani mahallemiz şenlendi, dolayısıyla buranın ismi de Şentepe olsun demişler. Yani o devlet büyüğünün gelmesiyle mahallemizin ismi Şentepe olmuş. Şentepe dokuz mahalleden oluşuyor, yaklaşık 130 bin nüfusu var. Şimdi bugüne kadar gerçekten öyle olmasına rağmen, Ankara'nın en büyük gecekondu bölgesi, dolayısıyla en Çok fakiri olan bir mahalle. Dolayısıyla bizim burdaki en büyük sıkıntımız mesela anayasamız emreder ki , der ki, nüfusu 2000 den fazla olan yerlerde Ana ve Çocuk sağlığı oluşturulur denir, 130 bin nüfuslu Şentepe'de iki tane ana Çocuk sağlığı var. Ayrıca bir de en büyük sıkıntımız, mahallemizin geri kalmış olmasının sebeplerinden biri de, efendim Şuna bağlıyorum Büyükşehir belediyesinin ayrı Yenimahalle belediyesinin ayrı partiden olup, onların zıtlaşmalarının cezasını biz çektik.

Pınar: Neden mesela? Var mı aklInIzda olan?

Muhtar: Şimdi örneğin bir asfalt çalışması yapılıyor, örneğin ana caddenin Büyükşehir'e ait ara sokaklar Yenimahalle'ye ait dolayısıyla Şuradaki caddeye asfalt atılırken, ara sokakta ufak bir tahribat var orayı yaptıramıyoruz. Şimdi, yani sırf Büyükşehir yıpransın veyahut ta birbirlerini yıpratmak için de hizmet, dolayısıyla hizmet, hizmette vermediler bizim mahallemize.

Pınar: Peki 68'de kurulmuş dediniz bizim mahallemiz dolayısıyla 68'den önce göç almaya başlıyor herhalde değil mi?

Muhtar: Evet

Pınar: Bu da daha sonra kaçak yapılaşma mı oluşmaya başlamış?

Muhtar: Evet

Pınar: Burası aslen hazine arazisi mi?

Muhtar: Burası bir şahsa aitti. Münevver Aktopuk diye bir Şahsa aitti. Aşağı yukarı 110 bin hektarlık tapuluydu burası. Burayı Yenimahalle belediyesi kamulaştırdı ve bizlere ücret karşılığı sattı.

Pınar: Buradaki bütün evler, sizin Burç mahallesini kapsayan bütün evler o kapsamda mıydı?

Muhtar: Evet, evet. Münevver Aktopuk diye bir avukatınmış.

Pınar: Dolayısıyla arsa üzerinde istimlak diye bişey yok, öyle mi?

Muhtar: Evet

Pınar: Ama yapılar gecekondu şeklinde?

Muhtar: Gecekondu Şeklinde evet.

Pınar: Peki ne zaman en Çok göç almış Şentepe?

Muhtar: Şimdi bu Çevre ilçeler mesela Ankara'ya yakın, Şentepe'ye yakın, Yenimahalle'ye yakın Çevre ilçeler, mesela, Kazan, Ayaş, Çamlıdere, Beypazarı yani genelde oralardan daha çok var bizim bu Şentepe'de.

Pınar: 60'lı yıllarda başlıyor diyorsunuz bu göçler. Peki hala devam ediyor mu göçler?

Muhtar: Şu anda göç durdu. Buralardaki mahalle sakinleri de gecekondularını kiraya verdiler, başka yerlere gidiyorlar. Şimdi, şu anda da gecekondu sahipleri oturmuyor, veya Çoğu müteahhide veriyor; şu anda inşaatlar, daire karşılığı veriyor çoğu.

Pınar: Apartmanlaşma da olmaya başladı değil mi? Yüzde kaçı apartmanlaştı biliyor musunuz?

Muhtar: Bizim buranın Şu anda yüzde 20'yi geçmez.

Pınar: Arsa sahipliliğinden konut elde ediyorlar değil mi? Genelde arsaya kaç daire veriyorlar?

Muhtar: Şimdi yüzdeyle Çalışıyorlar bunlar. Örneğin mesela %35, mesela %35'le verilen yerler var, %40'la verilen yerler var, en fazla %40.

Pınar: Peki Şimdi bi de Yenimahalle belediyesinin bir projesi varmış galiba, Tüm Burç mahallesini kapsıyor mu?

Muhtar: Hı hı

Pınar: Peki ne olacak biliyor musunuz?

Muhtar: Siteleşme çalışmaları ile ilgili bir çalışma olduğunu ben biliyorum. O da bu ay sonuçlanacakmış, yani Yenimahalle belediyesine sunulacakmış bu siteleşme, plan değişikliğini. Şimdi bu çalışmaların zannediyorum iyi olacağını düşünüyorum ben mahalle muhtarI olarak.

Pınar: Size bilgi vermediler mi bu konuda?

Muhtar: Verdiler bilgi verdiler de, iyi olacağını da söyediler. iz de iyi olacağıyla ilgili yani ikna olduk. Çünkü örnek gösterdiler, mesela Dikmen'de bir dairenin 150 milyar ettiğini bizim burda da mesela 50 milyardan fazla satılamadığını falan, yani o konuda tabii. Diğer taraflardan müteahhitler de diyor ki mesela Büyükşehir belediyesi kendisine, kendi inşaat firmalarına rant sağlamak için böyle siteleşme çalışmaları yapıyor deniyor. Tabii biz bu konuda, Yenimahalle belediyesine arz ettik, söyledik, dedik ki bu siteleşme çalışmasında, Büyükşehir yandaşlarına falan filan kuruluşlarına rant sağlanması. Yok dediler öyle şey değil. Diğer bütün ihalelere diğer başka büyük firmalar da girecek dediler ihalelere.

Pınar: Oturanlar ne diyor? Evlerin hepsi yıkılacak sanırım değil mi?

Muhtar: Şimdi burda oturanların pek yani şeylerle, pek açıklık olmadığı için, pek

194

bilmedikleri için, mesela 50 metreyle bir daire, 300 metresi olana da bir daire falan diyorlar. Halbuki öyle olmadığını anlatıyoruz, söylüyoruz, hatta söylüyorlar, yüzdeye göre verileceğini, mesela herkes Şimdi mesela müteahhitten ben işte şu birinci kattan işte güney cephesindeki dairesini alırım diyorlar. Ama siteleşmede öyle bişey olmayacağını söylüyorlar. Mesela Dikmen'de öyle yapıyorlarmış, kura çekiyorlarmış, aynı kooperatiflerde olduğu gibi. Mesela kaçıncı katta çıktı, 5. katta çıktı, öbürüne yapıyor ondan sonra Şerefiye parasıyla veyahut da değiştirebiliyormuşsun. Birinci kattaki beşinci kattakiyle falan veyahut da Şerefiye parası veriyormuş. Mesela beşinci kattaki zemin kattakine bir miktar para falan o şekilde.

Pınar: Arsa büyüklüğü önemli değil miymiş yani?

Muhtar Hayır arsa büyüklüğü, ona göre mesela diyelim yarım daire.

Pınar: Mahallenin gelişimini konuşuyorduk yarım kaldı. Kaçak yapılaşmanın durduğu tarih ne zaman?

Muhtar: İşte imar affı çıktı, ondan sonra durdu. 1987'de durdu.

Pınar: Herkesin şu an elinde tapusu var değil mi?

Muhtar: Evet Şu anda tapusu var.

Pınar: Peki daha çok Ankara'nın çevre ilçelerinden göç aldığından bahsettiniz. Peki bunun dışında başka hangi illerden göç aldı?

Muhtar: Genelde Çankırı, Yozgat, İç Anadolu'dan, Çankırı,
Yozgat, Kırşehir.

Pınar: Mahallede başka herhangi bir ayrışma var mI? Memleket üzerinden olabilir ya da başka konularda olabilir?

Muhtar: Yok fevkalade güzel bir kaynaşma var, fevkalade güzel bir dayanışma var bizim mahallemizde. Mesela diğer, Şentepe'nin bazı mahallerinde böyle bir bölünmeler oldu.

Pınar: Hangi dönemlerde mesela?

Muhtar: 80'li yıllar öncesinde oldu. Ama bizim Burç Mahallesi, Barıştepe Mahallesi'nde yani bu merkez mahallelerde pek olmadı. Bizim burda fevkalade güzel dayanışma, kaynaşma var. Zaten bu kaynaşmayı, dayanışmayı sağlamak için de Kızılcahamamlıların oturduğu yerlerde, mesela bizim burası Sorgun sokak, neden? Yozgat'ın bir ilçesi. Yani onun için öyle bir şey oluşturur, yani Şu anda dayanışma, kaynaşma fevkaladedir.

Pınar: Yoksulluk da çok fazla diyorsunuz...

Muhtar: Evet, yok, Çok fazla.

Pınar: Genelde bu mahallenin yerlileri mi yoksa yoksullar mı bu mahalleyi daha çok tercih ediyorlar?

Muhtar: Şimdi esas gecekondu sahipleri değil, burda kirada oturanlar, kiracılar da çok yoksul. Yani gecekondu sahiplerinden yok mu? Aslında gecekondu sahiplerinden de var. Şimdi mesela bir gecekondusunu verdiği zaman, arsasını verdiği zaman üç daire alacak ama şimdi açlıktan ölen gecekondu sahipleri var.

Pınar: Mahallenizdeki yoksulluk yardımlarını genelde siz mi
düzenliyorsunuz?

Muhtar: Şimdi, yok. Yoksullukla ilgili, yardımlarla ilgili, vatandaş gelir, fakir olduğunu, fakirlik ilmühaberi talep eder, biz fakirlik ilmühaberini veririz. O da gerekli yerlere götürür, verirler, verdikleri yerden de gelip araştırıyorlar, yani onların sosyal durum Şeylerini, yardıma muhtaç olup olmadıklarını araştırıyorlar, ondan sonra ona göre yardıma uygunsa veriyorlar.

Pınar: Size uğrayan dernek falan oluyor mu?

Muhtar: Mesela şahıslardan uğrayanlar, mesela hayır sahipleri, mesela az önce geldiler. Onun gibi mesela diyor ki, ne diyor gıda dağıtmak istiyoruz, fitre, zekat dağıtmak istiyorum diyor mesela. Burdaki gerçekten 10 milyarın üzerinde para dağıtan bir hayırsever olmuştur. Kendi gözüyle görüp kendi eliyle veriyor.

Pınar: Dernekler falan, Deniz Feneri gelmiş bir ara galiba, biriyle konuşmuştuk...

Muhtar: Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfının yardımıyla geneli, Büyükşehir Belediyesinin yaptığı yardımlar var. Ayrıca Yenimahalle belediyemizin yaptığı yardımlar var, bi de şahısların, hayır sahiplerinin, zengin hayırsever iş adamlarımızın yaptığı yardımlar var. Yani onun için şahısları gördüğünüz gibi bizler yönlendiriyoruz, mahalle muhtarları, gözleriyle görüp, elleriyle veriyorlar. Ama öbür türlü de Büyükşehir olsun, Yenimahalle olsun, ayrıca sosyal yardımlar olsun, yardımlaşma vakfı olsun onlar kendileri araştırıyorlar, oraya müracaat ediyorlar. Ayrıca Deniz Feneri
Vakfı var, oraya daha çok talep var, Deniz Feneri Vakfı var. Bizim Yenimahalle belediyemizin Yeni Ay diye daha önce Gündem 21'di heralde onu Yeni Ay olarak değiştirdiler, Şu anda Yeni Ay diye bir dernek kurdular, o yardım yapıyor.

Pınar: Siz kaç dönemdir bu mahallenin muhtarısınız?

Muhtar: Ben 20 yıldan beri mahallemizin muhtarıyım, yani 86'dan beri mahallemizin muhtarıyım.

Pınar: Neler değişti 20 yılda, ilk göreve geldiğinizde nasıldı, şimdi nasıl?

Muhtar: Esas tabii, gecekondu, çamurdan geçilmiyordu sokaklarımız, mahallemiz, kanalizasyonumuz yoktu, doğru dürüst elektriğimiz yoktu Şimdi tabii bunları aştık. Bunların yanında Şimdi artık yeşil alanlar istiyoruz. Yani ayrıca bir banka şubesi olsun istiyoruz biz burda. yaşlılarımızın, dul, yetimlerimizin aylıklarını alabileceği, efendim bir banka şubesi olsun istiyoruz. Ana ve Çocuk Sağlığı olsun istiyoruz. gerçekten çok ihtiyacımız var. Hizmet açısından yeşil alanımız yok. Şimdi gidiyoruz başka mahallelere, bizim Keçiören'e bağlı, yani gerçekten çok kıskanıyoruz Keçiören'i diğer mahallelerle.

Pınar: Diğer muhtarlar da burası gecekondu bölgesi olduğu için mi hizmet eksikliği olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz, diğer yerlere göre?

Muhtar: Evet şimdi işte dedim ya. Büyükşehir ve Yenimahalle belediyelerinin ayrı partilerden olmasının, zıtlaşmalarının cezasını biz çektik. Mesela Büyükşehir diĞer ilçelere verdiği

195

hizmetlerini buraya vermedi sırf Yenimahalle Belediyesine bağlı olacak diye. Mesela park yaptıysa, büyük parklar yaptı diğer ilçelere, diğer mahallelere, bizim Şentepe'ye yok.

Pınar: Şimdi bir farklılık var mı?

Muhtar: Şimdi yok, yani Şimdi, küçük küçük parklar var. Keşke onlarda hiç olmasa, çoğu bakımı yapılmadığı için, şu anda yani parktan ziyade artık çocukların, bu tinercilerin toplandığı bi yer yani.

Pınar: Mahalleniz de hırsızlık var mI ya da herhangi bir suç var mı, arada bir oluyor mu?

Muhtar: Evet hırsızlık olayları bir ara Çok artmıştı. İşte bu ekonomik sıkıntılardan, işte o zaman bi hep ona bağladılar. Zaten polislere valla görseniz işte ekonomik kriz falan, hırsızlık şeyleri patlama yaptı falan dediler. Fakat gene de bizim mahallemizdeki hırsızlıklar bizim mahallemizde oturanlar tarafından yapılmıyor.

Pınar: Dışardan?

Muhtar: Yani dışardan gelenler tarafından yapılıyor.

Pınar: Bunun dışında suça eğilim falan var mı? İşte tinerci çocuklar dediniz falan...

Muhtar: İşte yok. Ama bu diyelim ki Keçiören'deki parklarda o çocuklar bunları yapamıyorlar Çünkü parkı kurmuş, gayet güzel, bekçisini de koymuş, bekçi kulübesini de koymuş diğer ilçedeki, ondan sonra oradaki çocuklar orda tiner, uhu falan çekemiyor. Eee, ne yapıyorlar, geliyorlar, bizim buradaki parklara, çünkü bakımı yok, bekçisi yok. Dolayısıyla bi şeyde söylediğimiz zaman, gidiyoruz mesela Allah korusun yani...

Pınar: Sizin 20 senedir görevdeyken ihtiyar heyeti de aynı mıydı?

Muhtar: Yok yok, sık sık ihtiyar heyeti değişti. Bizim mahallemiz daha önce Barıştepe ile beraberdi, Şentepe'nin en büyük mahallesiydi. 92'de ikiye bölündü. Burç Mahallesi ile Barıştepe Mahallesi ... ihtiyar heyetinin pek yani köylerdeki gibi bizde pek Şeyi olmaz, yani öyle bi toplanıp karar alma şeyi, mekanizması yok bizde. Şehirlerde ihtiyar heyeti üyeleri mesela ben izin alırsam, veyahut ta Allah korusun hasta olursam, her an bi şey olursa benim yerime bakacak birisidir yani. Ama köyde öyle değil, köy bütçesi vardır, veya köyle ilgili alınacak kararlarla ilgili, onlar onun üzerine, bizim burdaki ihtiyar heyetinin pek önemli bi şeyi yok.

Pınar: Peki sizin asıl mesleğiniz ne?

Muhtar: Ben esas olarak SSK emeklisiyim, özel sektöre ait bir fabrikada 19 sene çalıştıktan sonra emekli oldum. Genç yaşta emekli oldum ben, emekli olmadan önce de mahalle muhtarı oldum.

Pınar: Son bir soru daha da soralım daha fazla vaktinizi almayalım, sizce muhtarın görevi tam olarak nedir? Ne yapar muhtar?

Muhtar: Şimdi muhtarın görevleri aslında okul çağına gelen çocukların okula kaydını sağlama, askerlik çağına gelen gençleri askere sevk eder, bunun dışında işte mahalledeki salgın hastalıkları ilgili makamlara bildirir, ayrıca mahallemizdeki, mahalle sakinleri, mahalledeki oturanlarla ilgili belgeleri, kayıtları tutar. Mahalle sakinlerinin kayıtlarını bulur, belge düzenler verir, mahalledeki eksik hizmetleri ilgili makamlara bildirir, mesela yol, su , elektrik, asfalt gibi hizmetleri ilgili makamlara, kaymakam veyahut ta belediyelere veyahut ta ilgili kuruluşlara bildirir. Biz de işte elimizden geldiğince yapmaya gayret gösteriyoruz, işte bu gayretimizin karşılığını da görüyoruz. Aslında mahalle muhtarlığında, gerçekten yani, diğer mahallelerde mahalle muhtarlarının çok büyük gelirleri var, yani belge onay parası belge başına 1 milyon 750 bin lira alıyoruz. Aslında bizim bura gecekondu bölgesi, fakir olduğu için, şimdi bi çocukları gönderirler, hemen çocuğun eline verirler bir iki-beş bin lira, veyahut ta para, ondan sonra, amca, belgeyi alır, iki-üç belgeyi alır, çıkartır 500 lirayı verir, onun elinden zor alırsınız o çocuğun veyahut ta öyle artık. Ne yapıyorum ben de çocuk kaybolmasın diye yanına bi arkadaş verilir. Şimdi ben o 500 lirayı alıyorum, bozduruyorum 250 birine veriyorum, 250 birine veriyorum, yani belge parası da almıyorum. Çünkü o çocuğun elinden koparılmaz, çünkü zaten fakir, bakıyorsunuz ayağında ayakkabısı yok, çorabı yok, Şimdi siz ben nasıl alırım elinden o 500 lirayı, yani bi de sıkmış böyle ki yani kaybetmeyim diye yani, yani diyeceğim...

Pınar: Çok teşekkür ederiz.

APPENDIX D

PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM

Photograph 1: *Şentepe*

Photograph 2:
Apartment Housings

Photograph 3: *Burç District*

197

Photograph 4: *Garden of a gecekondu.*

Photograph 5: *Gecekondu Housings*

.

Photograph 6: *Gecekondu Housings*

Photograph 7: *Apartment and Gecekondu Housings*