THE TRANSFORMATION OF GECEKONDU PHENOMENON VIA VISUAL
AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES

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submitted by **ÖNCÜ ÖZALP** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Gülbin Dural Ünver   _____
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan   _____
Head of Department, **Architecture**

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın   _____
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın   _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral   _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan   _____
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İmamoğlu   _____
Architecture Dept., TED University

Date: 07.09.2017

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: Öncü Özalp

Signature :

ABSTRACT

THE TRANSFORMATION OF GECEKONDU PHENOMENON VIA VISUAL AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES

Özalp, Öncü
M.Arch., Department of Architecture
Supervisor:Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

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This thesis aims narrating the transformation of gecekondu phenomenon from use to exchange value via visual and spatial narratives by starting from the 1940s to the first half of the 1980s in Turkey. While the concentration of important breaks and ruptures during this transformation process are evaluated through discussions on use value of space and representations indicating visual narratives of successive spatial changes of gecekondu in its commodification process, the spatial qualities it possesses are examined through spatial narratives developed upon its flexibility. Through reconsidering the spatial model, this study also becomes the substratum by providing the main guidelines for the gecekondu museum proposal. In other words, the evaluation of the spatial narrative developed throughout this thesis becomes an intense impetus for the remembrance of the phenomenon with the premises of enduring relations.

Keywords: gecekondu, spatial narratives, visual narratives, gecekondu museum, capitalist urbanisation.

ÖZ

GECEKONDU OLGUSUNUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜNÜN GÖRSEL VE MEKANSAL ANLATILARI

Özalp, Öncü
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

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Bu tez, 1940'lardan 1980'lerin ilk yarısına uzanarak gecekondu olgusunun Türkiye deki kapitalistleşme sürecinde kullanım değerinden, değişim değerine dönüşümünü görsel ve mekansal anlatılarla tartışmayı amaçlar. Bu değişimde önemli olan kopma ve kırılmaların konsantrasyonunu mekanın kullanım değeri üzerine yapılmış çalışmalarla değerlendirerek gecekondunun metalaşma sürecindeki mekansal değişiminin mimari temsilleri ile görsel bir anlatı üzerinden, mekansal kalitesini ise esneklik üzerinden geliştirilen bir anlatı ile inceler. Sonrasında, bu çalışmada geliştirilen mekansal modelin gözden geçirilerek gecekondu müzesi için altlık oluşturabilecek bir katman haline gelmesini gecekondu olgusun hatırlanması için gerekli olan öncüllerin belirlenmesinde bir ivme olarak tanımlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: gecekondu, mekânsal anlatılar, görsel anlatılar, gecekondu müzesi, kapitalist kentleşme.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Objective of the Study

This study aims to narrate the great transformation of *gecekondu* phenomenon from use to exchange value within the capitalist mode of production and emphasizes that *gecekondu* is an evolving spatial entity projecting its sequential changes over "successive planes" that are taken as critical sections throughout years.

Also, this study contributes formation of a new pattern of discourse[1] by foregrounding images through dissection[2] to emphasize that "representing *gecekondu* space and representational *gecekondu* space as lived through the acts and conceptualisations of the *gecekondulu* in everyday life led to the emergence

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[1] In her book "Michel Foucault", Sara Mills argues that "in considering the term 'discourse' we must remember that it is not the equivalent of 'language', nor should we assume that there is a simple relation between discourse and reality. Discourse does not simply translate reality into language; rather discourse should be seen as a system which structures the way that we perceive reality." Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 55.

[2] Ulus Baker, "Fotoğraf Üzerine (Bir Kayıt Cihazı Olarak Fotoğraf)," last modified March 11, 2017, http://www.korotonomedya.net/kor/index.php?id=0,235,0,0,1,0.

of certain spatial practices, which have not been always coincided with the suppositions and predictions of strategical realm."[3]

To be able to mention successive expansion processes, this thesis encompasses early stages of *gecekondu* (meeting solely dwelling needs) and portrays its transformation into a commodity by extending towards the first half of 1980s. By doing that, this study implements the critical inquiry and evaluation of qualitative analyses (including phenomenological researches) because this work not only develops upon spatial analyses of *gecekondus* but also includes already made site researches, *gecekondu* phenomenon's semantic transformation through newspaper articles as complementary resources and also its critical inquiry in architectural thinking processes.

Figure 1.1 Pres cutting from "Milliyet" newspaper.
Source: Sabri Günay Akarsu, "Devrim İçin Hareket Tiyatrosu: Amerika, Gecekondu," last modified March 3, 2017, http://saltresearch.org/salt:digitool_salt3801892.

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[3] Neslihan Demirtaş, *Social Spatialisation in a Turkish Squatter Settlement: The Dualism of Strategy and Tactics Reconsidered* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009), 100.

1.2 The Structure of the Thesis

In his article "International Migration and the Turkish Gecekondu Family" İbrahim Yasa notes that the word "gecekondu" emerged in daily language as an idiom during the Second World War in order to define emerging self-made housing unit. Accompanying that, other idioms such as "dolmuş", "haciağa", "türedi ailesi" and "hava parası" also came out, which are "a shared taxi", "an upstart", "an illiterate from rural area", "nouveau riche" and "an additional fee paid by a leaser except from the actual required fee" respectively.[4] While the direct translation of the word *gecekondu* is put-overnight, a similar explanation can be made via consulting phenomenon's urban history. As being a compound word, which incorporates "gece" as a period being unlikely to experience any demolition attempt[5] and "kondu"[6] by referring temporality, it can also be defined as self reflective, which aligns with the peculiarities it possesses.

A similar approach can also be employed to Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2, which depict a moment of demolition and a "response" to the same activity. In this respect, the in-between "appearances", which are the occurrences between those two photographs can be elaborated via İbrahim Öğretmen's descriptive notes on *gecekondu* making process. After mentioning intricate details and implemented

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[4] İbrahim Yasa, "International Migration and the Turkish Gecekondu Family," in Prof. Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983), 159-160.

[5] Tansı Şenyapılı argues that according to penal law coded 486, "Umuru Belediye Müteallik Ahkam-ı Cezaiye Hakkında Kanun", demolition of a *gecekondu* could only be done during its construction process. In addition, if a roof of a *gecekondu* was completed and a *gecekondu* is inhabited, a court decree would be required for demolition. Tansı Şenyapılı, "A Discussion on the Physical Characteristics and the Evolution of the Gecekondu Phenomenon," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 7 (1986), 146.

[6] According to İlhan Tekeli, the field study conducted by İbrahim Öğretmen indicates that just within one year period (in 1955), 26 *gecekondus* were demolished 79 times in a studied neighbourhood. Tekeli adds, among others,one of them was demolished eleven times. İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: ODTÜ and Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 156.

materials in making phase, Öğretmen notes that if a built *gecekondu* get any complaints or any demolition attempt starts, the *gecekondu* would be pushed from one side to another by its dweller. The reason behind this intentional attempt is to easily uplift the toppled down *gecekondu* right after related demolition team leaves neighbourhood. After successive demolitions, a new *gecekondu* emerges by shedding its old "skin". As Öğretmen points out, this process starts with the articulation of new stones and mud brick walls onto the side of the walls facing interior spaces. When secondary old layer is torn apart (which would be used again for future expansions of already existing unit) new *gecekondu* appears within the boundaries of its former exterior skin.[7]
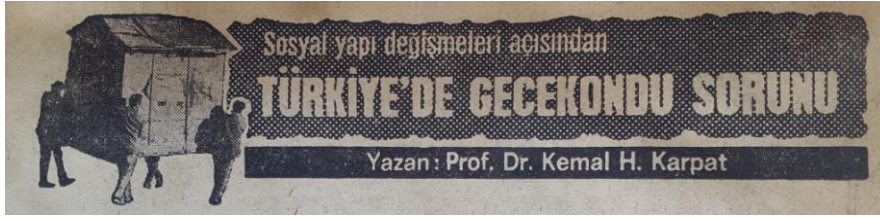
Figure 1.2 Press cutting from Kemal Karpat's newspaper article.
Source: Kemal Karpat, "Sosyal Yapı Değişimleri Açısından Türkiye'de Gecekondu Sorunu," *Milliyet*, June 16, 1969.

Regarding the formation of small scale shacks and use of residual materials, Fehmi Yavuz explicates making phase as:

> First *gecekondus* are often made out of oil and cheese cans that are no longer available to use. These cans are filled with mud. Having them dried, they are brought together and turn into shacks. The tops of these are generally enclosed with old rugs and sacks through the act of pounding tins onto pre-arranged vertical bars.[8]

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[7] İbrahim Öğretmen, *Ankara'da 158 Gecekondu* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1957), 25.

[8] Fehmi Yavuz, *Ankara'nın İmarı ve Şehirciliğimiz* (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952), 71, quoted in Suavi Aydın et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitapevi, 2005), 540.

The coming togetherness of "cans full mud", "old rugs as enclosure" and "use of oil cans as surfaces" describe formation of a spatial unit, which roots in an arranged albeit comparatively imprecise assembly. The subsequent use of the materials and descriptive features aid the comprehension of making phases and the "text" can suggests the existence of the "actor" (by implying openings "were enclosed", vertical bars "were arranged") behind the formation of spatial unit. Following that, thinking about an architectural plan of a *gecekondu*, a conventional method would probably overlook the intermediary processes that requires how interlaced manner of users and dwelling can be implied in representational tools. In this respect, the forthcoming chapters mention related discussions regarding this inseparable relationship by also mentioning its dissolution within the capitalist urbanisation process.

Figure 1.3 Demolition of a *gecekondu*.
Source: Tansı Şenyapılı, "Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılı, Gecekondu'nun 50. Yılı," in 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998.

In order to present a brief urban history of *gecekondu* by indicating phenomenon's transformation and highlighting its morphing phases from *baraka*, second chapter provides scholarly background of *gecekondu* phenomenon. To be able to distinguish *baraka* from to *gecekondu* and to portray dwelling units among "Yedikule" and "Sirkeci" in İstanbul during the 1930s, Gerhard Kessler's

direct observations are mentioned alongside Tansı Şenyapılı's book "Baraka'dan Gecekonduya Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960". In respect to increasing migration flows and immigrants' adaptation process, Mübeccel Kıray's book "Kentleşme Yazıları" and İlhan Tekeli's notes on "Göç ve Ötesi" are elaborated by highlighting transforming phases of patronage relations and changing definition of "kentlileşme" in Turkey respectively. Following this, the outcomes of questionnaires conducted with different approaches towards newcomers' adaptation process are used as cross references via "Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri" (1962) and "Gecekondu Gençliği" (1971). *Gecekondu* population's changing functions in the urban economy and its "mobility" in the labour market are discussed via Tansı Şenyapılı's comprehensive studies including "On Physical Aspects of Squatters in Turkey". For the 1970s, Mehmet Adam and Erhan Acar's notes on the commodification of *gecekondnu* neighbourhoods and emergence of intermediary actors are followed from their article "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Gecekondu" that was published in 1978. In respect to the same period, political polarisation process and changing characteristics of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods by becoming the places of political struggle are elaborated through Şükrü Aslan's book "1 Mayıs Mahallesi: 1980 Öncesi Toplumsal Mücadeleler ve Kent" and Aslan's collaborative work with Tahire Erman "The Transformation of the Urban Periphery: Once Upon a Time There Were Gecekondus in İstanbul".

By revisiting overlooked potentials of the phenomenon, which indicate use value related suggestions for lands occupied by immigrants and *gecekondu* becoming "an object of nostalgia" in the capitalist urbanisation, chapter three integrates discussions on use value, exchange value, abstract labour and abstract space.

Chapter four highlights "existence" of *gecekondulu*, who inhabit "*gecekondu* space" while simultaneously transforming it. By discussing *gecekondu* dwellers' utilitarian alterations on dwelling units such as the moment of expansion resulting from emerging needs, "flexibility" and its "traces" on physical environment are discussed as time laden characteristics through Jeremy Till's book "Architecture Depends". In order to distinguish early *gecekondu* making processes, which

portrays conjoined condition of dweller as "maker" and "designer" simultaneously, Abidin Dino drawings are discussed in reference to diagrammatic qualities they possess.

In chapter five, *gecekondu's* spatial qualities and its transformation from use to exchange value are discussed via spatial and visual narratives. By discussing Bernard Taschumi's the notion of Pyramid, a spatial narrative making process is developed by revisiting initial chapters and their concentration.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF URBAN HISTORY OF *GECEKONDU*

2.1 1930-1940 Period

In her book "Baraka'dan Gecekonduya Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960", Tansı Şenyapılı notes that between 1930-1940, Turkey witnessed dramatic declines in export revenues, which were dependent on the agricultural goods. As Şenyapılı notes, the economy built upon agricultural production could not invest in both rural and urban areas and labour intensive agricultural tasks continued without a considerable flow of migration to cities during this period. However, Ankara as the capital city was providing new jobs in trade sector and migrations flows were emerging from other countries in close proximity.[9]

Between 1930 and 1945, industrialisation under the leadership of the state provided the establishment of "Sümerbank" and "Etibank" for the finance and supervision of industrial sectors. Following that, from 1935 to 1940, population of Ankara shifted from 122.720 to 157.242 and resulted in the non-correspondence between increasing housing needs and inadequate numbers of housing stocks. The predominant side effects of this unbalance and weak possibilities to afford for residential units resulted in "*barakalaşma*", which

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[9] Tansı Şenyapılı, *Baraka'dan Gecekonduya Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 112.

deteriorated the basic principles of Jansen Plan.[10] As Şenyapılı notes, this did not only stem from newcomers being unable to afford for a dwelling and consequently finding self-made solutions with available materials. It also was related to the rents exceeding middle income groups' earnings and pushing those groups out of the borders of occupancy zones, which actually caused from rapid increase in speculation within the boundaries of the Jansen plan.[11]

Figure 2.1 "Yenihayat" neighbourhood.[12]
Source: Ruşen Keleş, *Eski Ankara'da Bir Şehir Tipolojisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971), 181.

Before compounding the discussion on the text epoch, it would be beneficial to portray this period's dwelling conditions in İstanbul. Gerhard Kessler, who firstly

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[10] *Ibid.*, 108-115.

[11] *Ibid.*, 113.

[12] In his book "Eski Ankara'da Bir Şehir Tipolojisi", Ruşen Keleş provides questionnaires made among the dwellers who had lived in "Eski Ankara" including neighbourhoods that surround the citadel walls. Considering survey outcomes, Keleş draws attention to the differences of income, level of education and occupation between already existing dwellers in "Eski Ankara" (the ones who settled right after the high income groups had moved to Yenişehir and surroundings of Karaoğlan Market area) and *gecekondu* inhabitants by mentioning that *gecekondu* areas completely stand out from the pattern of "Eski Ankara". Ruşen Keleş, *Eski Ankara'da Bir Şehir Tipolojisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1971), 168.

acknowledged the positive aspects of *gecekondu* phenomenon indicates his sensitivity as:

> On this occasion, I would like to first say that I deeply appreciate the people who have developed a self-help measure. They have proved their love for their family through their compassion and sacrifice. They are one of the hardest and most valuable citizens of our city, and the best of them must plunge into the City Council and the National Assembly in the next elections.[13]

In addition to the appreciation of self-made aspects and phenomenon's contribution to dwelling needs, the scenes of Yedikule and Sirkeci neighbourhoods in Istanbul described by Kessler from his first hand experience portray the "condition" of urban environment in 1933. According to Kessler, among his other academic experiences and site studies on various countries' shacks, İstanbul indicated extremely miserable conditions. He explicitly mentions that even though the city did not physically prone to the destructive forces of the Second World War, probably a century would be needed to re-invent and refine it.[14]

Also, period's governmental authorities becoming apprehensive about the demolitions of small shacks can be followed from period's Minister of Internal Affairs Şükrü Kaya. In his speech dated back to 1934, Kaya notes the difficulties encountered by dwellers during demolitions and proposes realisation of related acts in available climate conditions by refraining from winter seasons. In relation to this, in the successive chapters, state policies and changing approaches towards *gecekondu* phenomenon will be discussed.[15]

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[13] Gerhard Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı, Mesken Sefaleti, Mesken İnşaatı," *Arkitekt* no. 210 (1949): 132.

[14] *Ibid.*, 133.

[15] İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: ODTÜ and Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 59.

2.2 1940-1950 Period

In her article "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları", Oya Köymen mentions the letter of social scientist Richard D. Robinson written to the Institute of Current Word Affairs related to the introductory process of Marshall Plan in Turkey. The content of the letter is Richard Robinsons' concern of the mismatch of growth in agricultural mechanisation and industrialisation process. For Robinson, the prompt introduction of agricultural machinery into a country, which has not developed the sequential process of industrialisation required for advanced mechanisation would transform those introduced machineries into weapons forcing[16] large amount of people for migration.[17]

According to Tansı Şenyapılı, 1940-1950 period shaped with the side effects of the Second World War, Turkey's military expenses and also immediate aftermath of 1929 crises, which resulted in raw material scarcities and decline of domestic market activities. In 1945, with the Marshall Aid, labour dependent agricultural cultivation encountered with machinery and this resulted in "pushing off" excesses rural labour. Also, another affect of this American financial aid was the development of the vehicle roads between the rural areas and cities, which literally enabled a connection between those.[18] Following this, when large

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[16] According to İlhan Tekeli, considering the industrialisation of agriculture as the main "force" factor of migration from villages to cities is a fiction. In respect to related data of the agricultural cultivation, Tekeli draws attention to percentage of Turkey's arable lands exceeding its limits in 1956. In addition, plowing fields dependent on animal power increased 40%, which indicates the increasing labour power for agricultural tasks and makes the explanations relating large migration numbers to increasing tractors in agricultural field irrelevant. In respect to Mübeccel Kıray, Bahattin Akşit and Çağlar Keyder's studies on the transformations among rural areas, Tekeli emphasises the importance of understanding the developments in cities for discussing the factors of migration. İlhan Tekeli, *Göç ve Ötesi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 51-53.

[17] Oya Köymen, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları," in *75 Yılda Köyden Şehirlere* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 18.

[18] Şenyapılı, *Op. cit.*, 119.

migration flows (which reached its peak in 1950-1960 period) started to "move" from rural areas to cities, dissolution of the nation-state urbanisation had just started.[19]

On first immigrants' settlement pattern after the Second World War, İlhan Tekeli notes that migration groups firstly preferred to locate on areas that are in close proximity to labour market. Since those areas mostly belonged to the state's land, likely future demolitions suggested developing creative ways to make *gecekondus*, which would enable a future re-assembly process. Also, it is important to note that immigrants neither had the possibility to built up "communication channels"[20] with bureaucracy nor had enough capital to built a house with a residence permit. As Tekeli notes, while the state had no restriction on them to migrate, establishments made by the same agency portrayed their existence as criminals in the urban environment.[21]

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[19]Tarık Şengül, "Türkiye'nin Kentleşme Deneyiminin Dönemlenmesi," in *1920'den Günümüze Türkiye'de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, ed. Faruk Alpkaya and Bülent Duru (Ankara: Phoenix, 2012), 371.

[20] In her book "Kentleşme Yazıları", Mübeccel Kıray mentions that newcomers to cities were inexperienced in terms of finding agents capable of providing solutions to their emerging problems. The lack of knowledge in finding institutions, which can provide vocational training for high skill required industry jobs was a big obstacle. For that reason, migrants developed their own strategies, which would ease their life in cities. Kıray explains this development as a face to face, complementary albeit unequal communication tool entitled patronage. However, within the practice of alignment process throughout years, those communication ties had underwent great changes. Very early stages of this relationship, which included asking how to find a job in service sector or consulting elders for a specific task turned into hometown dwellers' relation in a larger scale. During the mid 1970s, when *gecekondu* dwellers became active voters; possible party members tended to create face to face communication with migrants for future interest relations mediating between being a certified party member and gaining a job in governmental circles. According to Kıray, during the 1990s, patronage included religious leaders' provision for houses, education and small enterprises among immigrant neighbourhoods. As Kıray concludes, patronage system led to a tough competition among different groups who struggled for more interests and ended up with producing illegal formations for the solutions to urban problems. Mübeccel Kıray, *Kentleşme Yazıları* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1998), 184-187.

[21] İlhan Tekeli, *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 245-246.

Figure 2.2 Formation of an assembly.[22]
Source: Salt Research, "2 Günde 200'e Yakın Gecekondu Inşa Edildi," accessed March 3, 2017, http://saltresearch.org/salt:digitool_salt356699.

In addition to the first settlement patters, İlhan Tekeli argues that "having a *gecekondu*" is just one constituent of the adaptation period of newcomers. This process also incorporates newcomers' position in economic space including the expansion of marginal sector and transformation process of the cultural traits of newcomers.[23]

The latter is explained by Tekeli via "kentlileşme", that makes reference to cultural transformation of immigrants in cities. As noted by him, cities of the West witnessed both the transformation phases of cultural traits and accumulation of population simultaneously. For that reason, urbanisation refers both phases in the West. However in Turkey, those stages emerged separately and academic discourse provided the term "kentlileşme". While the very first surveys focused

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[22] Tansı Şenyapılı notes that between 1947-1950, gecekondu making was occasional because immigrants had severe monetary problems and sought for making shelters without spending money on them. In respect to that, solutions newcomers developed to their dwelling need ranged from digging soil to create enclosures with rugs on slender wood elements to settling on old graveyards in cities. Şenyapılı, *Op. cit*., 126.

[23] İlhan Tekeli, *Göç ve Ötesi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 54.

on scrutinizing to which extend immigrants changed their own cultural habits"[24] by becoming an urban citizen, forthcoming surveys integrated "acculturation process"[25] by acknowledging social and cultural dimensions.[26] In addition to academic field, as Tekeli mentions, older urbanites tended to restrain immigrants in conceptual "artificial villages" and labelled them as "peasants in cities" by rejecting the possibility of the emergence of a unique culture.[27]

According to Tekeli, one of the evolving definitions and formation of the theoretical framework for urbanisation in Turkey was explained by assuming the disappearance of differences among already mentioned dualities in cultural behaviours. In other words, the explanation of the urbanization phenomenon was

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[24] İbrahim Yasa's book "Ankara'da Gecekondı Aileleri", which is the outcome of 916 questionnaire conducted during 1962 can be named one of those exemplary studies. On eating habits of gecekondu dwellers, Yasa notes consumption of certain foods ("kavurma", "bulgur" and "tarhana") or having breakfasts with soup as certain guidelines that distinguish newcomers from urbanites. As Yasa argues, the two reasons why *gecekondu* families favour new food consumption pattern is the ease of preparation and affordability. In this respect, Yasa's work regards becoming an urban citizen on relinquishing "agricultural traits" and adopting new ones. İbrahim Yasa, *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri* (Ankara: Sosyal Hizmetler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1966), 159-160.

[25] In the book "Gecekondu Gençliği", which was made among 19 neighbourhoods including 1172 young adults in 1971, Birsen Gökçe discusses the socio economic conditions of the *gecekondu* population (between the ages of 14 and 20) by drawing attention to the intense relationship of younger generation and environmental conditions they live in. The target group in the study is defined as secondary "transitional generation", which could not derive benefit from their free time and fail to develop skills important for enhancing the underlying socio-economic problems. In respect to other findings of the research including the superior adaptation period of the younger generation, which creates a tension between the first generation; Gökçe suggests establishment of voluntary agencies and official organisations striving to empower younger generation for thriving integration process. In this regard, establishments entitled "Toplum Merkezleri" would serve for a gateway to realisation of potentials, through which younger population can benefit from their spare time in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. Birsen Gökçe, *Gecekondu Gençliği* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1976), 157-159.

[26] Tekeli, *Op. cit.*, 61-62.

[27] *Ibid.*, 62.

associated with cultural differences. However, expecting immigrants to appropriate their own cultural traits according to elite urbanites soon realised as inadequate because of the maintenance of the duality in cultural behaviours in the forthcoming phases of urbanisation.[28]

In his book "Kent, Kentli Hakları, Kentleşme ve Kentsel Dönüşüm", Tekeli elaborates another framework developed for understanding the urbanisation process in Turkey. As Tekeli notes, in a market mechanism, through which the economic development dependent upon imported technology; marginal and modern sector emerge and differentiate in urban economy. While the first sector consists of informal and low income jobs; the latter involves organised, high level service works. Within those, groups in marginal sector would not be able to enter into the modern sector with ease and interruption.[29]

Realising the existence of "structural" duality mentioned above in the process of defining urbanisation phenomenon made the former definition irrelevant and necessitated new set of ideas regarding how newcomers adapt to the city and become a part of it. According to Tekeli, the new definition for defining immigrants' becoming a constituent of the city process dependent on empirical researches, which indicated that newcomers frequently changed their petty jobs and dwellings in cities according to their class position. For that reason, the adaptation process started to be defined through to which extend their work place and the position in urban environment become stable rather than differentiations on cultural traits.[30]

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[28] Realisation of the inability of this definition is important (among other evolving definitions of urbanisation phenomenon) because it ended the equivalent definition of urbanisation to "kentlileşme" and necessitated new frameworks for each independently. İlhan Tekeli, *Kent, Kentli Hakları, Kentleşme ve Kentsel Dönüşüm* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 235-236.

[29] *Ibid*., 236.

[30] *Ibid*., 236.

Figure 2.3 Oil painting by Nedim Günsür.[31]
Source: Önder Şenyapılı "Öyküde,Romanda, Şiirde, Tiyatroda, Sinemada, Resimde Gecekondu," in *Gecekondu: Dönüşüm, Kent: Tansı Şenyapılı'ya Armağan*, ed. Serap Kayasü et al. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi 2009), 67.

2.3 1950-1960 Period

In 1950, four years after its establishment, Democrat Party came into power and advocated liberal economic policies by giving emphasis to import of costly high technology and foreign capital. The credits given to private sector increased and resulted in the proliferation of industrial and commercial investments in urban areas.[32] Accompanying the developing connections with the United States through the Marshall Plan, Turkey's geo-political position as being a member of the Alliance provided with the membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952. Consequently, as Sibel Bozadoğan notes, the following ten years witnessed society's growing interest towards "American lifestyles,

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[31] While describing the painting of Nedim Günsür, Önder Şenyapılı notes that the family in the foreground indicates qualities of rural areas and lives in the city yet could not get acknowledgement in the urban space. In respect to Şenyapılı's notes on the neglect of immigrants in urban space, the artwork of Günsur testimonies and enacts İlhan Tekeli's explanations related to the view point of urbanites on immigrants. Önder Şenyapılı "Öyküde,Romanda, Şiirde, Tiyatroda, Sinemada, Resimde Gecekondu," in *Gecekondu: Dönüşüm, Kent: Tansı Şenyapılı'ya Armağan*, ed. Serap Kayasü et al. (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi 2009), 68.

[32] Tansı Şenyapılı, "A Discussion on the Physical Characteristics and the Evolution of the Gecekondu Phenomenon," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 7 (1986), 149.

consumer goods and middle-class wealth, all captured by the Democrat Party slogan of 'becoming little America'."[33]

In addition to Bozdoğan's notes on the society, Tansı Şenayapılı argues the government's inclination to "modernisation trends", which rendered "*gecekondu*" as the main impediment to the modernisation of cities because of the pivotal role of the "ideal Western model". As noted by Şenyapılı, this is highly related with declaration of 5218[34] and 5228[35] coded laws, which both addressed solving the "*gecekondu* problem" by moving dwellers to "regular housing types" and by aiming to have a control over forthcoming migrations.[36]

In respect to established laws, İlhan Tekeli notes that having adopted multi-party political system, amnesty laws incorporated populist and clientelist approaches by promoting legalisation of *gecekondus* in singular manner, being affective solely on specific areas within a determined time period and by having no utilitarian role on neighbourhoods and life standards. In other words, amnesty acts indicated that *gecekondu* phenomenon was not considered as an urban realm

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[33] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: the Republican Period," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey,* ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 443.

[34] 5218 coded law is the first legislation concerning directly with the *gecekondu* phenomenon and was established in 1948. It offered the allocation of low cost lands for the future *gecekondu* constructions and also provided lands to already existing *gecekondu* population. It is important to emphasize that the law did not incorporate the word *gecekondu* and instead referred the phenomenon as "housing units that were built on someone else's land without concession and title deed". In other words, the social dimension was completely overlooked and the establishment of the laws were centralised solely on "*gecekondu* as a housing problem". Suavi Aydın et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara (Ankara: Dost Kitapevi, 2005), 536.

[35] After two weeks of the establishment of 5218 coded law, a new "policy" was prepared in order to broaden the former. In other words, 5228 coded law was offering the extension of the feasibility of the former one by extending the boundaries from Ankara to Turkey. *Ibid.*

[36] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, last modified January 16, 2017, http://www.ejts.org/document142.html.

and finding ways to legitimization process was replaced by regulations that stroke merely on necessary occasions.[37] In addition to "site specific"[38] amnesty legislations, Tekeli points out Democrat Party's considerable number of votes from *gecekondu* areas and lack of outright policies related to housing problems between 1950 and 1960. According to Tekeli, this resulted from the absence of any central organisation that is in charge of related period's housing problems.[39]

Figure 2.4 Caricature by Tan Oral. "What is our crime to be forgiven?"
Source: Mehmet Rıfat Akbulut and Seher Başlık, "Transformation of Perception of the Gecekondu Phenomenon," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 28 (2011), 24.

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[37] İlhan Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," in Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 2010), 149.

[38] In his presentation for "Türkiye 'de Gecekondu Semineri 1970", İlhan Tekeli argues the effectiveness of planning studies when they are not developed in accordance with *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and their growth. For him, if planners can provide necessitating substructure for determined extension areas, they would be the best options for *gecekondu* settlements in near future and designers can have tools to manage the forthcoming developments related to that specific area. Önder Şenyapılı, "Ankara '70," *Mimarlık* 77, no 3 (1970): 40.

[39] İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: ODTÜ and Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996), 86.

Turning back to the implementation of the liberal economic policies, Tansı Şenyapılı notes that expansion of the emergent labour markets (moderately organised urban commercial markets) were seeking for "cheap" labour, as the burden of costly foreign technology imported had already been a large portion of investments. Since immigrants were deprived of high skill requirements to directly enter service sector without any obstacle, they channelled through small scale urban labour market. In other words, already mentioned "cheap" labour was provided through employment of inexperienced immigrants, who were able to "move" within different employment opportunities of loosely organised developing sections including those of service sectors.[40]

On her article "Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılı, Gecekondu'nun 50. Yılı," Şenyapılı expands the definition of "mobility" and notes that because working population of *gecekondu* did not have any established organisation in the labour market (and also because service sector not being firmly organised), a shrink in one sector resulting in a possible dismissal of employees directly led the relevant workers to pass through a new one, which did not necessarily required distinguished skills.[41] In other words, the permeability between distinct portions of the loosely organised sectors could reach to an extend that one could work as a factory worker and later might work as a shoe polisher in streets. As Şenyapılı notes, mobility of working *gecekondu* population in economic space projected on the same group's residential type as "flexibility".[42] In addition to that, mobility of workers brought about the transformation from marginal to petty albeit economically vital jobs and *gecekondu* population formed considerably enduring relations with physical space. In other words, shifts in labour market brought

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[40] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, last modified January 16, 2017, http://www.ejts.org/document142.html.

[41] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Cumhuriyet'in 75. Yılı, Gecekondu'nun 50. Yılı," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 310.

[42] Ibid.

about a perpetual existence in urban land and ended up with *gecekondu* population attaining a political power, which was used as a means of "negotiation" for attaining "legality" on the urban land in exchange for political support.[43]

2.4 1960-1970 Period

In her article "The Politics of Squatter (*Gecekondu*) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse", Tahire Erman notes the dissolution of optimism emerged in the first half of 1950s with Democrat Party's failures in the formation of a democratic society. Following government's repressive regime on the large public demonstrations, the military intervention took on May 27, 1960.[44] In Erman's collaborative work with Şükrü Aslan, writers note the centralised military regime's corresponding impact on *gecekondu* phenomenon through newspaper articles, which indicate strict orders regarding the cease of *gecekondu* "construction" of the period. In accordance with this, writers note the improper functioning of declarations of military period and the maintenance of *gecekondu* "constructions" by pointing out that social realms could not be erased by regulative declarations.[45]

With the establishment of the State Planning Organization in 1960, implementation of planned development economy model focused on the existing

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[43] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, last modified January 16, 2017, http://www.ejts.org/document142.html.

[44] Tahire Erman, "The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse," *Urban Studies* 38, no. 7 (2001): 985, doi: 10.1080/00420980120080131.

[45] Şükrü Aslan and Tahire Erman, "The Transformation of the Urban Periphery: Once Upon a Time There Were Gecekondus in İstanbul," in *Whose City Is That? Culture, Design, Spectacle and Capital in İstanbul*, ed. Dilek Özhan Koçak and Orhan Kemal Koçak (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 100.

regional inequalities of industrial developments. More importantly, the first five year development plan came into effect in 1963. The predominant strategic decisions of the plan can be listed as the implementation of the import substitution model for industrialisation, providing incentives and the prohibition of importing products that had already been produced in the domestic market.[46] According to Tansı Şenyapılı, those developments had a great impact on *gecekondu* population because they became an indispensible segment in economic space with the increasing need of labour power required for enlarging domestic market.[47]

2.5 1970-1980 Period

The emergence of intense political polarisation process including the friction among distinctly segregated groups had developed upon the groundings of the former epoch and came to surface with the economic problems of the 1970s. Different ideologies and the collision emanating from the polarization of groups promptly established and within the rise of this social unrest; the leftist groups organised in the areas, where "*gecekondu* people were the hope, and *gecekondu* settlements became the sites of radical politics".[48]

The changes during the 1970s also can be seen through the attitudes towards new *gecekondu* formation attempts. Although former decade's dispersed *gecekondu*

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[46] Asuman Türkün, Şürü Aslan and Besime Şen, "1923-1980 Döneminde Kentsel Politikalar ve İstanbul'da Konut Alanlarının Gelişimi," in *Mülk, Mahal, İnsan: İstanbul'da Kentsel Dönüşüm*, ed. Asuman Türkün (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 54-55.

[47] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, last modified January 16, 2017, http://www.ejts.org/document142.html.

[48] Tahire Erman, "The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse," *Urban Studies* 38, no. 7 (2001): 986, doi: 10.1080/00420980120080131.

neighbourhoods (depriving of any apparent political network among themselves) were encountering certain obstacles and immigrants had to get through informal intermediary interest groups, they were succeeding in having their dwelling units by virtue of local governments turning a blind eye to "construction" attempts. However, with the rise of leftist groups and the "leftist criticism of *gecekondus* as a commodity in the capitalist market"[49], *gecekondu* movement encountered legal and strict preventions.[50] As Şükrü Aslan adds, emerging *gecekondu* movement stood against the legitimacy of capitalist economic and social order by opposing public authorities' decision making process.[51] In other words, starting from the 1970s *gecekondu* population's unity was not necessarily depending on kinship ties or hometown dwellers' togetherness but rather was emanating from shared political characters.

In respect to the counter reactions to the period's exchange value oriented initiatives dependent on the informal relations among local governments that transformed urban space into rent vehicles, Şükrü Aslan notes that emerging alternatives offering use of urban land for public use both inspired from gecekondu movements and also aspired them in return. Aslan adds, the principles which prioritized the use value of space and also "construction" process of new dwelling units without turning them into rent generating tools both indicated that use value oriented projects can be realised in the capitalist housing market.[52]

Under the guidance and leadership of socialist groups, Mayday Neighbourhood was built in İstanbul. As Aslan notes, it became a unique example as an urban social movement with political characteristics and fell aside the generic patronage

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[49] Aslan and Erman, *Op. cit.*, 102.

[50] Şükrü Aslan, *1 Mayıs Mahallesi: 1980 Öncesi Toplumsal Mücadeleler ve Kent* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 77.

[51] *Ibid.*, 78-78.

[52] *Ibid.*, 194.

relations by surviving with extreme losses during the 1970s including remanding in custody, deaths and hundreds of injuries during large scale demolitions.[53]

Figure 2.5 Mayday Neighbourhood after the demolition.
Source: Abdullah Gelgeç, "Gecekondu Alanı Bir Savaş Sonu Görünümünde," *Cumhuriyet*, September 4, 1977.

Expounding on this period's *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and the emphasis on them as the alternative dwelling units developed upon use value, Mehmet Adam's notes on "Gecekondu Sorununa Bir Bakış Yaklaşimlar, Gelişmeler, Öneriler" can be revisited. In this article, Adam firstly draws attention to capitalists' profit maximisation, which operates on the exploitation of labour power qualitatively and quantitatively. By qualitative exploitation, he refers to the capitalist mode of production and its integration to all aspects of society. In capitalist economies, because workers also need to sell their private labour (except from their casual

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[53] *Ibid.*, 13.

working time) as a means of income, the existing production system assures its infiltration at very large proportions. However, in the countries encountering developmental stages of capitalism, slums can transcend the dominant mode of production thanks to social practices providing multiple forms of productions. As Adam notes, this similar potential lies upon the continuation of rural lifestyle activities among *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, which depend on use rather than exchange value.[54] Using gardens for farming, stocking foods seasonally, domestic knitting activities for cost effective clothing and making very small barns alongside dwelling units all represent new reproduction activities, which would decrease the expenses of dwellers in cities.[55] Those subsidiary practices, which are individualistic in the level of domestic production and unorganised in the level of neighbourhood were developed by Adam through realising the potential of the utilisation of dwelling as a space for secondary activities and their development into organised social production network. In other words, Adam's alternative proposal depends on dwellers' own labour activity and the equal distribution of the production of value originating from it. While the first is a collective activity, the latter would be provided by organisations relying again on the will of dwellers.[56] In this respect, utilising-reorganising existing rural activities, their maintenance among the establishment of cooperatives assuring an equal distribution of acquired values is important. Also, *gecekondu* population, who overcomes problems by constructiveness and creativity built on intuition and accumulating information produced via mutual relations are vital components of Mehmet Adam's proposal.[57]

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[54] Mehmet Adam, "Gecekondu Sorununa Bir Bakış Yaklaşimlar, Gelişmeler, Öneriler," *Mimarlık* 160, no. 160 (1979): 16-18.

[55] Mehmet Adam, *Almaşık Yeniden Üretim Süreçleri İçin Konut Alanları* (Ankara: TMMOB Yayınları, 1979), 33-34.

[56] *Ibid.*,44.

[57] *Ibid.*,27.

Another predominant aspect of this period is the derivation of changes in the making of *gecekondu.* Starting from the 1970s, the commodification of *gecekondu* and commercialisation of its making phases started with intermediary interest groups. As Mehmet Adam and Erhan Acar note, *gecekondu* phenomenon had been subjected to great changes starting with the development of capitalism. Writers differentiate those changes by listing the transformations on exiting *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and among the formation of new ones. Regarding the first, writers note the visibility of groups, who still maintain their first intentions as they regard *gecekondu* "as a means of dwelling"[58] irrespective of changes dependent on its exchange value. However, collective activities such as *gecekondu* making processes and invasion of land were being replaced by the formation of landlords, who started to have a control over social formations among neighbourhoods. In this regard, social networks (including hometown dwellers' common past, kinship ties, local networks) depending on collective activities had been displaced by informal but highly organised interest formations selling already invaded lands as commodities by restraining integration process in the early stages of settlement and preventing immigrants to choose their neighbours on the urban land.[59]

Accompanying those transformations among social life, Adam and Acar mention formation of markets supplying materials necessary for *gecekondu* constructions.

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[58] In the book Housing by People, Turner points out that the both private and other intermediary housing sectors fail to meet what informal sector housing can provide. For Turner, this firstly results from the condition that the latter providing a system of independent connections, which are primarily required for meeting demands of people both in large and individual scale. Additionally, the intention to use natural materials, tolerance dependent on personal responsibility among neighbourhoods(prevention of estranging inhabitants from their living environment) are basic characteristics of "housing by people". Consequently, this system provides the idea of "government by people" and diminishes the cost of housing in considerable percentages. John Turner , *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 141-142.

[59] Mehmet Adam and Erhan Acar, "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Gecekondu," *Mimarlık* 156, no. 3 (1978): 33-34.

Those interest groups were focusing on already demolished *gecekoundu* neighbourhoods to get items to sell for new constructions. With the implementation of landlords into this process; dynamic, constantly changing and responsive units turned into lower standard, readymade and rigid residential units on a piece of land. In other words, the very first stages *gecekondu* making that incorporated collective activity of land occupation and mutual making process with recycled materials had transformed into buying land from landlords and obtaining ready-made building materials from the local market.[60]
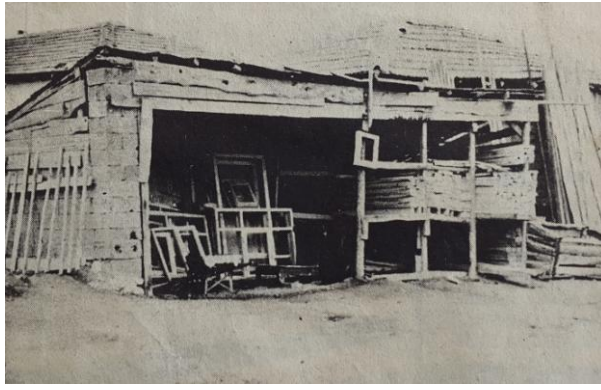
Figure 2.6 A *gecekondu* construction store.
Source: Prof. Dr. Tansı Şenyapılı 's personal archive.

In this respect, writes propose the prohibition of private ownership of occupied lands. By that, lands would remain under the domain of the state, serve solely as use value for *gecekondu* population and prevent interest groups' exploitation of *gecekondu* as a commodity for unearned income. More importantly, land as use value channels the future rent acquisitions directly to public interest instead of individuals and the economic dependency of *gecekondu* population would shift

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[60] *Ibid.*, 34.

from assurance of private ownership of dwelling to seeking for permanent jobs with adequate salaries.[61]

In addition to Adam and Acar, and their unrealised proposals, different sections of this period can be expounded via İlhan Tekeli, Yiğit Gülöksüz and Tarık Okyay's book "Gecekondulu Dolmuşlu İşportalı Şehir". According to writers, distribution of title deeds or provision of necessary housing units do not contribute to "*gecekondu* problem". As explicitly noted in the book, the condition commending dwellers to consider *gecekondu* as a social security medium should be displaced by the increase in the level of income, equal distribution of resources and permanent job opportunities because any high standard housing provision would become irrelevant within the incomes below subsistence level. Also, as writers argue, there is no possibility of appropriating *gecekondus* to the already built and established laws, which were developed and fostered according to completely different code of conducts. So, instead of giving this social process free rein, the dual construction phases in society (including *gecekondu* making and other residential units' construction methods) should to be reflected on the establishment of laws. According to writers, since *gecekondu* making process perfectly aligns with the economic conditions of population by minimising the very first required investments, its imprint should be apparent and be distinctly mentioned on the laws.[62]

On the two very different "formation" phases of *gecekondu* in the capitalist production, İlhan Tekeli firstly elaborates individual *gecekondu* making process developed by low income immigrants, who did not have any regular job. As Tekeli argues, this peculiar way of making necessitates adequate savings (excluding land cost) for the first phase, which would be expanded by designing new spatial units in horizontal and vertical growths in accordance with the very

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[61] *Ibid.*

[62] İlhan Tekeli, Yiğit Gülöksüz and Tarık Okyay, Gecekondulu, Dolmuşlu, İşportalı Şehir (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1976), 230.231.

first made spatial unit. In this respect, Tekeli defines the benefit of first spatial unit regarding it minimization of cost and later mentions its flexibility, which can be defined as the dispersion of making phase in different sequential alignments.[63]

The other development of *gecekondu* "formation" defined by Tekeli is entitled semi organised *gecekondu* construction, which refers to the implementation of market mechanism and intermediaries that introduced the firstly mentioned phase into a commercialisation phase. In contrast to the former one, newcomers pay money to landlords, who provide lands and act as extensions to reach local governments and bring new services for a future legalisation process.[64]

2.6 Conclusion

In their book "Turkey: Modern Architectures in History", Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan argue the impacts of the driven forces of globalisation in Turkey, which generated a sudden increase in "anonymous" buildings, gated residential zones and new regulative principles regarding design and administrative codes for mass housing. As writers note, especially after the second half of the 1980s, high speed of urbanisation and uneven distribution of wealth extended extreme levels because of the free market economy, multinational capitalism and quasi-legalised "informal" areas, which resulted in the conversion of "*gecekondu*" into multi story apartment buildings.[65] The amnesty laws passed in 1983 and 1984 (a considerably expanded version of the former), after the military coup, both provided *gecekondu* population to apply for licenses for legalisation process and resulted in changes in the city fabric through transformations into multi storey

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[63] İlhan Tekeli, *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 199-203.

[64] *Ibid.*, 203-205.

[65] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 235-236.

blocks. This process elaborated by Bozdoğan and Akcan as "rehabilitative master plan", which prioritized the development of real estate investments over the benefit of the public.[66]

The intense integration process of *gecekondus* into housing market and prohibition of new ones' construction through laws accompanied by the provision of rent share with *gecekondu* owners and its dissolution intensified in the urban fabric. As Sükrü Aslan and Tahire Erman note:

> Today, only a few *gecekondu*s are left, and no *gecekondu* neighbourhood in its "original" form remains in Istanbul, many being transformed into unplanned high-rise apartment settlements. Thus, while referring to them we say "old *gecekondu* neighbourhoods," which remain only in our memory.[67]

This study particularly focuses on "old *gecekondus*" and their transformation into "the hybridization of *gecekondu* and multi storey apartments."[68] In reference to the discussions on this chapter, which provide the scholarly background of *gecekondu* phenomenon by drawing attention to political decision makers and early site studies; in the forthcoming chapters, use value of *gecekondu* and simultaneity of evolving design phases-unceasing living period of dwellers will be discussed.

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[66] *Ibid*., 237-238.

[67] Aslan and Erman, *Op. cit*., 112.

[68] Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Op. cit*., 169.

CHAPTER 3

REMEMBERING *GECEKONDU* IN THE GENERIC CITY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter imparts the idea that "the physical reality of perception and the 'unreal' realm of imagination"[69] play a vital role in understanding the *gecekondu* phenomenon, whence images and image making process are important in the development of this chapter. In the forthcoming section, a discussion on the use and exchange value of a house is developed through a selection of images including a "making"[70] phase of a *gecekondu* (Figure 3.3). Opting for an image indicating a making scene stems from the intention to propose *gecekondu* phenomenon with its multifarious qualities, which suggest the overtones of interrelated discussions regarding that process. In other words, selected images become intermediary tools by developing concepts *vis-a-vis* the text.

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[69] Juhani Pallasmaa, *Embodied Image: Imagination and Imagery in Architecture* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2011), 92.

[70] Throughout this study, when use value of *gecekondu* is referred, we would use "to make". The periods encompassing the transformation of *gecekondu* as a commodity in the market, we would implement "to construct" for distinguishing the "production" phases.

3.2 *Gecekondu* **and the Generic City**

In her book, "The City of the Senses", Kimberly DeFazio discusses the loss of aesthetic experience under the expansion of capitalist development in "modern" cities. According to DeFazio, "the autonomy of affective aesthetics" is dependent on Kant's term primitive accumulation, which results from "mass of working people" being estranged from "the means of production (i.e., tools and land) and from the products of their labour".[71] In respect to the labour power and its commodity becoming process, DeFazio introduces the book "Precapitalist Economic Formations", where Karl Marx notes "the worker finds the objective conditions of his labour as something separate from him, as capital, and the fact that the capitalist finds the workers propertyless, as abstract labourers".[72] The development of the discussion on abstract labour with the exemplary *gecekondu* image require firstly elaborating a discussion on use value and exchange value of a house. In Figure 3.1, a typical real estate agent and its conditioning itself through exchange value by suggesting window shopping with the same cut out frames for different houses can be seen. In response to this scene, how a *gecekondu* image (Figure 3.3) can contribute to the definition of the "material expression of modernity"[73] will be mentioned through the analogies and

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[71] In addition, DeFazio highlights that workers are prevented from having control over means of production by being constrained by merely using their own labour power as means of salary. They become abstract labours that has no connection with both the required tools used for performing a certain task and also their own productions. For De Fazio, this is where the "autonomy of self- referentiality" starts. Kimberly DeFazio, *The City of the Senses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 130-131. The chapter entitled "Aesthetics and the Global Polis" in the book "The City of the Senses" was discussed in the extremely influential course "Politics and Space" instructed by Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın in the fall semester of 2015-2016, Middle East Technical University.

[72] Karl Marx, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, trans. Jack Johen (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 86.

[73] In the article "Exit 'Post' - The Making of 'Glocal' Urban Modernities" Erik Swyngedouw mentions that "the commodity, with its emphasis on exchange and exhibition value, is for Benjamin the material expression of modernity". Erik Swyngedouw, "Exit 'post'- the Making of 'Glocal' Urban Modernities," in *Future City,* ed. Stephen Read et al. (New York: Spon Press, 2005), 132.

dissimilarities between Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3. In this regard, the development phase of the text will introduce abstract labour as an adjoining discussion that of DeFazio with profound images, which aid to decipher the general outline of this chapter.

Figure 3.1 A real estate agent in Ankara.
Source: Photograph taken by author.

In his article, "Design and Production of Architectural and Other Products", Mehmet Adam points out the differentiation phases of production techniques with the development of industrialisation.[74] As Adam notes, the communication between the producers and users in a community belonging to pre-industrialisation ages lose its strength and end products turns into commodities in the newly introduced market relations. In this respect, exchange value becomes a dominant determination in the identification of a particular product, which overshadows the "pronunciation" of use value.[75] Similarly, regarding a discussion on the use value of a house, David Harvey extensively mentions definition's diversity in respect to particular needs of people, which are listed as being a shelter, a symbol of status or social belonging to some subgroup. Those factors are also related to the questions "how much exchange value" is necessitated for

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[74] Mehmet Adam, "Design and Production of Architectural and Other Products," *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 1 (1975): 32.

[75] Ibid., 34-35.

the use of a house and what are the parameters that determine the extent to which users are willing to undergo for it.[76]

Development of the already mentioned question on exchange value directs the reader to social characteristics of labour and its contradictory relation with money. In order to be able to mention labour power and the specific moments it can become socially equated labour, Figure 3.2 will be introduced. In an hypothetical condition, when a question arises in order to seek for the representation of the required labour power for the house of the worker in Figure 3.2, a response might be given via an image making process incorporating a visual principle, which provides momentous repetitions (by highlighting the moment of exchange) of the same image.[77] In other words, multiplications indicate the necessary labour power required for the new construction, the moment of exchange and socially equated labour.[78] Also, directing the same question to Figure 3.3 does not involve any "response". The composition remains intact without any change because the image implicitly reveals the labour required for the specific task by integrating participants as the "scaffolding" during its realisation.[79]

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[76] David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 15- 16.

[77] Mentioned question does not emerge from emphasizing the inevitable necessity of a house. Endless reflections point out the exchange value by emphasizing "the moment of exchange" as the main argument. Simon Mohun, "Abstract Labor and Its Value-Form," *Science & Society* 48, (1984): 401.

[78] As Isaak Rubin indicates, existing social relations among workers (as being commodity producers) and conditions during the production process do not have a direct relation on the definition of social labour. In order to be able to mention socially equated labour, the moment of exchange and labour power's commensurability should be scrutinized. Isaak Illich Rubin, "Abstract Labour and Value in Marx's System," *Capital & Class* 2, no. 2 (July 1978): 125.

[79] It should be noted that Figure 3.3 represents "labouring" required for a certain task, that is the making process of a *gecekondu*. Only in comparison to Figure 3.2 we define it as "labour power" to make complementary discussions among those photographs and their suggestions.

(a)   (b)

Figure 3.2 (a) A scene from a construction area. (b) A collage.
Source: Photograph (a) and collage (b) by author.

Figure 3.3 Construction of a *gecekondu*.[80] The making phase "suggests" heterogeneous concrete labour required for the collective task.
Source: Tansı Şenyapılı, "Gecekondu Kadınının İşlevi," *Dünya*, October 30, 1978.

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[80] In the book "Zeytinburnu Gecekondu Bölgesi", Charles W. M. Hart discusses the statistical data provided from the site surveys made in Zeytinburnu between 1962 and 1963. Hart notes that if an accountant had calculated the cost of the 125.000 *gecekondus* in Zeytinburnu, it would have been clear that the production cost of one single room would be extremely low. The cost effectiveness mentioned by Hart is important in terms of this image representing dwellers' own and mutual help for the specific task and also indicating low cost construction materials, which are highly related with the "making" process. Charles W. M. Hart, *Zeytinburnu Gecekondu Bölgesi,* trans. Nephan Saran (İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası Yayınları, 1969), 101.

In his article "Abstract Labor and Its Value-Form", Simon Mohun defines abstract labour as "the theoretical reflection of a real abstraction, the process of exchange, which abstracts from the heterogeneity of particular and private labors enabling a commensurability of homogeneous human labor-power as social labor".[81] In relation to Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3, the conditions through which the "transformation" of private labour turns into socially equated labour can be followed by Simon Mohun's notes on private labour:

> For the only way in which the private labor which is materialized in a product can be treated as social labor is through the value of the product as commodity achieving a form which is independent of the commodity itself. That is, the opposition between use value and value within the commodity is externalized through exchange as an opposition between commodities and money, between concrete labors and directly social labor.[82]

Following Rubin's and Marx's notes, money as a universal equivalent has the vital role in assimilation of all the products of labour. By that, the products of labour turn into products of abstract labour and can be compared with each other. Also they can be assimilated thanks to the provided condition of exchange.[83] In other words, as Rubin describes, the term abstract labour can be elaborated firstly as workers "being assimilated with a particular form of labour" and also can be described via "assimilation of labour's product with a universal equivalent".[84] Additionally, while the former is related with the term socially equated labour; the latter aligns perfectly with Mohun's discussion on the contradiction between commodities and money. Thus, social labour, socially equated labour and the condition of exchange (which integrates contradictions result from money

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[81] Simon Mohun, "Abstract Labor and Its Value-Form," *Science & Society* 48, (1984): 405, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40402953.

[82] Ibid., 401.

[83] Rubin, *Op. cit.,* 118.

[84] Ibid., 119.

representing commodities) play roles on the complex definition of abstract labour.[85] In this respect, following Mohun's explanations regarding the commodity and its breakup of the characteristics of private labour through exchange, Karl Marx's notes on the commodity-form can be introduced to highlight the moment of "split". In the book "The City of the Senses", after mentioning deceptive representations of commodities in relation to indiscernible labour power, DeFazio quotes Karl Marx:

> The mysterious character of the commodity-form consists therefore simply in the fact that the commodity reflects the social characteristics of men's own labour as objective characteristics of the products of labour themselves, as the socio-natural properties of these things.[86]

Labour attaining a socially equated role through exchange results in the "vanishing" of labour power, which was expended during production. As mentioned by Mohun, the concrete labour of a specific production, which is not taken into account in "society's total labor" in capitalist system results in the homogenization and dissolution of itself (concrete labour).[87] In this regard, with respect to Figure 3.2(b), Figure 3.3 becomes a "tool" indicating the hidden labour power immanent in commodities. In addition to the discussion on abstract labour, the term abstract space is noted perfectly by Andy Merrifield on today's postmodern cities as:

> Hence abstract space isn't just the repressive economic and political space of the bourgeoisie; it's also, Lefebvre suggests, a repressive male space which finds its representation in the 'phallic erectility' of towers and skyscrapers, symbols of force, of male fertility, and of masculine violence.[88]

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[85] Ibid., 115.

[86] Karl Marx, *Capital. Vol. I.,* trans. Ben Fowkes. (New York: Penguin, 1992), 164-165.

[87] Mohun, *Op. cit.,* 401.

[88] Andy Merrifield, "Henri Lefebvre: A Socialist in Space," in *Thinking Space*, ed. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 176.

The argument of Merrified on the construction of "symbols of force" and how capitalist tries to develop "a new pattern of language", is also mentioned by Juhanı Pallasmaa in the book "Embodied Image: Imagination and Imagery in Architecture". While discussing the relation between excessive amount of image production and its impact on fictitious architectural imageries, Pallasmaa mentions John Berger's notes on individuals' exposure to "make-believe realities".[89] According to Pallasmaa, "expanding veil of disguise" and "mental conditioning" conceal the absolute objectives of capitalist mode of production. [90] A parallel can be drawn from the new construction proposal for the shopping mall area for "Atakule", in Ankara. The new construction and its representation of itself via billboards create the necessity of the new one's relevancy through pseudo-images, which claim the legitimacy of the new construction through "protection" of Ragıp Buluç's tower in the new proposal by writing on the billboards, "take good care of the tower, I will be back soon, signature, the shopping mall."

Figure 3.4: A view from "Atakule".
Source: Photograph by author.

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[89] Pallasmaa, *Op. cit.,* 20.

[90] Ibid.

On being inquisitive about the consecutive use of Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5, the togetherness does not only stem from comparing the content and the context of two completely different texts but also to show the eligibility and transformation of the "surface" in relation to different users of space. By doing that, the transformation of the architectural elements, which are intimate enough for enabling dwellers to inscribe a social activity onto them becomes visible. More importantly, realisation of "domination to appropriation and the primacy of use over exchange"[91] can be pronounced via those images.
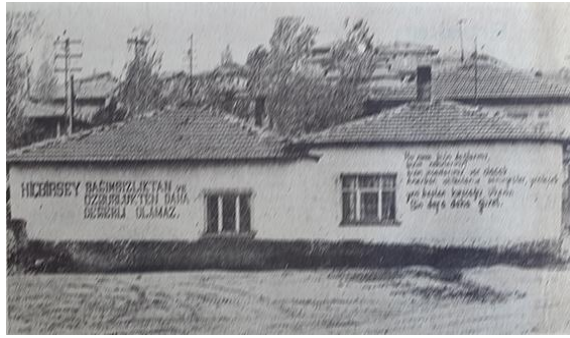
Figure 3.5 A single wall shared by two *gecekondus*.
Source: Ayşe Uyanık and Taylan Erten, "Başkent'te Bir Esir Kampı, Tuzluçayır Halkının Günlüğü," *Politika*, 1977.

In his book "Another Modern The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods", Tom Avermaete notes the extreme importance of the spatial and everyday practices in the formation process of GAMMA Grid, which was developed by Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic and Shadrach Woods.[92] Avermaete mentions the notes of Candisis on daily practices by drawing a parallel to philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty on meaning making and its

[91] Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Brenner Neil and Elden Stuart (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 192.

[92] Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), 87.

dependency upon "the intersecting actions through which man organises his relations with nature and with others."[93] Having mentioned the theoretical framework of GAMMA Grid, which was not constrained with abstract conceptualisations but rather integrated cultural and social practices[94], Avermaete introduces UR Grid by Alice and Peter Simithson. In the UR Grid, Simithsons give a high importance to making "assumptions" while thinking about everyday scenes.[95] They explicate the description of "assumption" on their Grid as:

> In the suburbs and slums the vital relationship between the house and the street survives, children run about, people stop and talk, vehicles are parked... and the shops around the corner: you know the milkman, you are outside your house in your street. Houses can be arranged in such a way that, with only such additional things that prove to be necessary to sustain physical and spiritual life that a new finite thing, the plastic expression of primary community is created.[96]

Figure3.6 Grid by Alison and Peter Smithson.
Source: Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), 96.

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[93] Maurice Merleau- Ponty, *Eloge de la Philosophie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1953), 69, quoted in Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), 87-89.

[94] Avermaete, *Op. cit.,* 90.

[95] Ibid., 94.

[96] Ibid., 94.

According to Avermaete, Simithsons' "assumptions" render suburbs as built environments with "enduring knowledge about collective urban realm", which is highly related to street as being a "spatial and social meaningful entity" as well as being a physically existing system with "activities, movements and rites".[97]

The emphasis on Tom Avermaete's book does not stem from introducing Simithsons' notes on slums as descriptive "sceneries" for Figure 3.3, where actors and internal contradictions are completely different. In this regard, the positioning of the Figure 3.3 in the discussion will be evaluated after introducing Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş's notes on the Middle East Technical University alley.

In their article "'A University is a Society': An Environmental History of the METU 'Campus'", Sargın and Savaş mention alley as the whole unit of central pedestrian walkway of the Campus of Middle East Technical University, which became a notable sign of Modernism in Turkey.[98] As writers note:

> The alley indeed affirmed that architectural elements were instruments for the elaboration of a comprehensive urbanism, of which the sense of community was an important part. Through the creation of an almost three-dimensional network, the alley was to regulate the surface and to indicate where the teaching facilities and social amenities had to be located.[99]

With the introduction of Figure 3.7 into the discussion, the contribution of the alley on transition areas leading to the entrances of the faculties in METU campus becomes exceptionally pervasive. The architectural elements overlooking the alley become transitional "surfaces" through which social practices are inscribed and more importantly reflected. As being periodical activities, posters attached to entrances transform facades into "vertical extensions" of the alley,

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "University is a Society; An Environmental History of the METU Campus," *Journal of Architecture* 18 (2013): 97.

[99] Ibid.,

where the social activities are inscribed on "vertical planes" and become considerably permanent with posters (Figure 3.7). As mentioned above, the reflection of the "vertical extension" becomes visible on the interior glass partition surface, which "oscillates" between the facades of the two entrances of the library (Figure 3.7 b). This brings about dissemination of outdoor spatial practices into interiors by acting as penetrating thresholds.[100]

In this regard, the importance and relevance of Figure 3.3 in this discussion mediates between firstly Simithsons' emphasis on street, which "celebrate" slums as being "the locus" for proposing socially and spatially unified designs with high concern of spatial and social practices in everyday life and secondly alley as the spatial network of the Middle East Technical University, which provides a space for a communal life.

(a)   (b)   (c)

Figure 3.7 (a) Vertical extension of alley (b) Reflection of the vertical extension. (c) Traces on vertical extansion.
Source: Photograph (a), (b) and (c) by author.

In other words, when social and spatial peculiarities are regarded, understood and reinterpreted in making architecture; the outcome becomes inscriptions on

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[100] The intention to capture the facades in different "conditions" is also important because they represent reflection of "social" on built environment by rendering architectural elements differently. While Figure 3.7(a) indicates the "participation" of the wall adjacent to the glass facade as a display unit; Figure 3.7(c) illustrates the transparent tapes' traces, which refer to the formerly "attached" posters. The varieties on the surfaces indicate the participatory process' alteration on different elements to certain extend.

"surfaces" (Figure 3.7) with the creation of a community bounded hand in hand (Figure 3.9) upon the network specifically designed by the acknowledgement of the social constituent of space. In hoping to provide the introductory discussion on *gecekondu* while underscoring recurrent "renewal" projects and "transformation"[101] of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Turkey, revival of already made studies related to the phenomenon provides certain qualities and contingent relations, which are very hard to discern under the capitalist development because of its physical barriers and its construction of socio-spatial constraints developed upon disempowerment and neglection.

(a)   (b)

Figure 3.8 (a) Social and spatial practices on the alley. Sorrowing for the poignant memories of "10.10.2015" (b) Spatial practices on the alley.
Source: Photograph (a) and (b) by author.

Appreciating and realising spatial practices and enabling a connective tissue by virtue of an individual thinking to be optimistic about being a part of urban space is important. Because only by forming meaningful moments, "space, matter and time fuse into one singular dimension, into the basic substance of being, that

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[101] The transformation process can firstly be interlinked to David Harvey's notes on the fixation of capital that it turns into long period investments as accumulation of buildings on a piece of land as fixed capital. By the same token, Harvey notes that capital, in its unstable condition resulted from fixation, it can no longer maintain its spatial mobility feature. This inevitably confines any plans for additional "agglomerations". In reference to Harvey's notes on the prevention of forthcoming investments because of the already existing built environment, 'urban renewal' projects can be discussed by giving emphasis to new profit generating areas in the focal areas of cities. David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 296.

penetrates our conscious."[102] So that, "we identify ourselves with this space, this place, this moment."[103] With its tenacious accentuation of spaces devoid of identity and communication, the generic city "tends to difference"[104] by providing conditions through which "people withdraw behind the walls of difference."[105]

(a)   (b)

Figure 3.9 (a) Photograph taken on the International Women's Day. (b) A view from the formation of the same collective activity. Students gathered and walked throughout the alley hand in hand on the International Women's Day, 2016.
Source: Photograph (a) and (b) by author.

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[102] Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes Of The Skin* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005), 72.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Richard Sennett, "Capitalism and the City," in *Future City,* ed. Stephen Read et al. (New York: Spon Press, 2005), 124.

[105] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

INTERMEDIARY SECTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is composed of intermediary discussions, which strengthen the arguments of chapter three and aims to become the base for the forthcoming one that focuses on narratives. By acknowledging that *gecekondu* phenomenon cannot be encapsulated as a "housing problem", "Gecekondu and Dwelling" introduces the "presence" of *gecekondu* dwellers by rendering the interlaced relation between *gecekondu* and inhabitants. In respect to this preliminary introduction, the next chapter argues that "*gecekondu*" is an "organic" unit, which inclines to response the necessities of dwellers.

In the subchapter entitled "Lightfastness and Temporality", traces and "imperfections" on the built environment are conceived as signifiers of temporality, which act as countervailing forces against those considering them as deficiencies. By visiting Jeremy Till's discussions of "social forces of time", this section contributes to the development of chapter five, where the "traces" of the later built unit *gecekondu* units (emerged through the moment of expansion) are discussed in relation to the temporality of successive making phases.

By considering the "adjacency" of the dwellers as the workers in the act of early formation phases of *gecekondu*, the subchapter "Architectural Plans of a Gecekondu", seeks to answer how the quality of making process and the

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interlaced manner of dweller as designer and maker (the particular mode of making that later disintegrated with intermediaries and other actors) can be realised in representational tools. Following this, in the forthcoming subchapter "Diagramatic Qualities of Abidin Dino Drawings in Gülten Akın's "Seyran Destanı", Abidin Dino drawings are discussed in searching the "modality" for the question elaborated above.

4.2 *Gecekondu* and Dwelling

In John Stilgoe's "Foreword to the 1994 Edition of "The Poetics of Space" Stilgoe, mentions that although Gaston Bachelard accepts house as a "geometrical object" and as a subject of analysis, he urges readers to think about the impact of human factor in this "geometrical object". Stilgoe adds, for Bachelard, inhibited space goes beyond "geometrical space", there is this dual impact in terms of both "human residence on geometrical form" and "form upon human inhabitants".[106] In the chapter "House and the Universe", Gaston Bachelard notes that because house being considered as a "geometrical object", there would be resistance towards accepting "human body and soul" as immanent parts of it.[107] By questioning the "condition" and "positioning" of the "human factor" in representations, this section of the study aims to contribute qualitative aspects of *gecekondu* by providing an introductory discussion on the inseparability of dwellers while discussing *gecekondu* phenomenon.

In Figure 4.1, the powerful photograph of Fahri Aksırt indicates the drawing on a demolished *gecekondu* in Şentepe, Ankara. It depicts an intimate scene, through

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[106] John Stilgoe, foreword to *The Poetics of Space*, by Gaston Bachelard (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), vii.

[107] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 48.

which the particular coming togetherness of the "text" can be followed from Martin Heidegger notes on the "body" and space:

> When we speak of man and space, it sounds as though man stood on one side, space on the other. Yet space is not something that faces man. It is neither an external object nor an inner experience. [108]

Within the listed names of the family members from eldest to youngest, the extension of the letters of the youngest member "m" and "t" extrude through other family members' names above and enclose them. Only having enclosed all the names, there comes the "happiness of the family" as inscribed vertically alongside the extensions of the letters. As being the representations of the family members, letters turn into an "enclosure", an inseparable relationship with the bodies they enclose.

(a)   (b)

Figure 4.1 A demolished *gecekondu* in Ankara (b) Writings on the demolished *gecekondu's* wall. In the vertical text adjacent to enclosure line it is written that, "We are a happy family". On the upper part of the image, "A list from eldest to youngest, Mehmet, Durkadın, Emine, Emre, Yunus, Musa, Mehmet".
Source: Photograph (a) and (b) by Fahri Aksırt.

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[108]Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Perennial, 2001), 154.

The inscription of the names on the *gecekondu* wall and more importantly the extrusion of the letters defining a hypothetical dwelling can be followed with Heideggerian terminology, as a building was arranged, re-arranged and constructed by "human presence" and also "was built by its inhabitants according to their needs and then configured and reconfigured through the ways in which they dwelt."[109] As mentioned by Adam Sharr, "a building is built according to the specifics of place and inhabitants, shaped by its physical and human topography"[110] in Heidegger's thinking.

The "configurations" and "reconfigurations through dwelling" will be discussed in the next chapter through "expansion" of a *gecekondu*. Before this discussion, time laden characteristics of "traces" on and their consideration as being the "signifiers" of dwellers will be discussed through Jeremy Till's book "Architecture Depends".

4.3 Lightfastness and Temporality

A handwork kept in a coffer for a long time might end up with having different shades of raw umber and there might emerge some spots, which is called "sandık lekesi"[111] in Turkish. The alteration can be interpreted solely as a change in the appearance or might be considered as a loss in value. From another perspective, the spots on the fabric become the signifiers suggesting the temporality of the object. More importantly, experiencing stains and spots become a connective tissue by making reference to the period of time, which is expected to keep the object intact and safe. Coffer, as a storing unit results in the formation of a new storyteller, which is the new "appearance" of the fabric.

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[109] Adam Sharr, *Heidegger For Architects* (London: Routledge, 2007), 9.

[110] *Ibid.*, 9-10.

[111] "Sandık lekesi" can be translated as "storing mark" or "coffer mark".

Figure 4.2 Imprints on the fabric.
Source: Photograph by Şirin Kaya.

Inevitably, buildings are prone to changes[112]. Because of both internal and external factors, architectural elements and details lose their precision. Considering this, crushes and cracks on a doorway might be appreciated as implications of a threshold or a "recovery" might be implemented for covering the "reflexivity"[113] of materials.

In his book "Architecture Depends", Jeremy Till discusses that atmospheric conditions are not adequate enough to explain the relation between architecture and temporality because "social forces of time" also play a vital role in realising their togetherness. Till introduces "entropic time" as a creative phase, which fortifies and proceeds the work of an architect when she completes both the design and construction phase. Because of its own peculiar nature, "entropy" can

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[112] Alterations in built environment do not only refer to a change in the appearance of a built structure and do not necessarily root in temporality. Changes also related with "human affairs" including "institutional", "value based" and "technological" aspects. Mutlu Başakman, "A Systematic Approach to Housing" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974), 110.

[113] In his book "Visual Sociology" Douglas Harper mentions the term reflexivity as a growing interest in visual ethnographic studies, which include integrating the research process (including photographs and recordings) as complementary discussions of research result. The term, in this sense, represents recorded photographs' contribution to ethnographic studies similar to "imperfections'" input in the realisation of temporality of architectural materials. Douglas Harper, *Visual Sociology* (London: Routledge, 2012), 39.

built and maintain new qualities upon the realisation of designers' projects.[114] In this respect, Jeremy Till's argument forwards designers from a restrictive position to an agency proponent of possible changes. By realising "social forces" as the continuation of the design in the life span of a building and appreciating them with time laden characteristics; "imperfections" can be kept away from the general point of view, which renders them as deficiencies impairing intact built structure and "detail"[115] of a "fixed and singular manner."[116]

Figure 4.3 Process control laboratory building in METU.
Source: Photograph taken by author.

More importantly, as Till emphasizes, when architects so intensely engage themselves with providing useful and practical aspects, architecture becomes

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[114] Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), 106-107.

[115] The word detail is not used to refer the coming togetherness of different architectural materials in a calculated, intricately designed and deliberately realised manner, which are all extensively discussed by Marco Frascari in his article "The Tell -The- Tale Detail". The word rather refers Frascari's notes on the contradictory definition of an architectural element, where "a column is a detail as well as it is a larger whole, and a whole classical round temple is sometimes a detail, when it is a lantern on the top of a dome." Marco Frascari, "The Tell -The- Tale Detail," in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York : Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 501.

[116] Till, *Op. cit.*, 108.

fixed and emotionless. In order "time" to continue and build upon the work of an architect, design proposals should integrate with their users by enabling them to make alterations.[117] Following Till's argument, which mediates between users, capabilities for change and temporality; we will discuss "flexible" spatial qualities of *gecekondu* by referring and developing upon Tansı Şenyapılı's inspiring article "On Physical Aspects of Squatters in Turkey" in the following chapter.

4.4 Architectural Plans of a *Gecekondu*

The outcomes of "ARCH 302" course, which was coordinated by Mehmet Adam between 1978-1979 provide rare documents on utilitarian proposals for *gecekondus* and their formation process. The logbook of the course includes solutions for certain problems including drainage, insulation details, site selection importance in relation to slope arrangement and spanning distances of structural elements.[118] The proposals also include detail drawings for the proper order of layering for roofs and other system insulations with short explanations.

In addition to Adam's studies, influential documentations provided in chapter five were drawn by second year students of the METU "CRP 242-Urban Geography Course" in 1976, coordinated by Tansı Şenyapılı. These invaluable documents include sequential growth of *gecekondus* (with related photographs) throughout years. In other words, those plans were drawn by students following the

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[117] *Ibid.*, 107.

[118] Mehmet Adam's studies are unique and rare works representing the concern of an architect embracing *gecekondus* as a research field. The studio's employment of *gecekondus* in course outline becomes more critical with the information provided by Ruşen Keleş. As Keleş points out, according to the studies conducted by "İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi Çocuk Sağlığı ve Hastalıkları Kürsüsü", the death rate of newborns in *gecekondu* settlements in Rami, Eyüp is 25.3% in comparison to the death rate of 2% in city centre. Ruşen Keleş, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1972), 216.

construction of dwelling units to provide information regarding expansion phases. In addition to their contribution to trace the spatial growth; for an architect, one of the main reference from those representations can be described as seeking for the "representations" of dwellers in architectural representations.
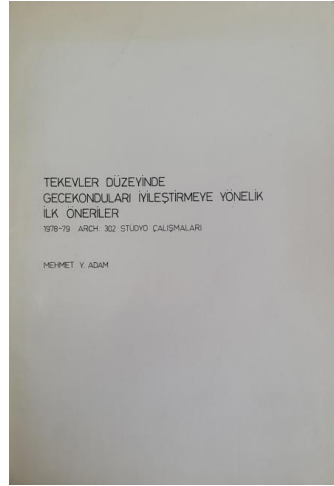

Figure 4.4 The cover of Mehmet Adam's studio logbook .The logbook includes Adam's 1978-1979 ARCH 302 studio course in METU.
Source: Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive.

In his book "Immaterial Architecture", Jonathan Hill mentions Henri Lefebre's definition of "abstract space" by highlighting architects' neglect of users, which result in displacing them as "the principal victims of the abstraction of space because they are presented as abstractions and the lived experience and production of space is denied."[119] Similarly, while elaborating the integration of the products of technological developments into the postmodern city, Paul Virio's notes the invasion of capitalist development tools into housing and its legitimacy through architectural representations as "automotive dwelling place":

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[119] Jonathan Hill, *Immaterial Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 52.

> Hasn't the automobile already become a detachable part of the floor plan, the necessary condition for the appearance of the secondary residence, the detachable habitat of the principle residence?[120]

While the automobile attains its autonomous place in architectural plans, dwellers remain in blur. Because of the scarcity of architect's "interest" into the field and lack of studies regarding this discussion (the interlace of *gecekondu* and dwellers in architectural representations) we would develop this discussion from extremely influential drawings of Abidin Dino because they are the epitome of inclusive representations, which preclude the neglect of the dwellers' existence.

4.5 Diagramatic Qualities of Abidin Dino Drawings in Gülten Akın's "Seyran Destanı"

Between November 6th and December 3rd 2016, the exhibition entitled "Par Avion: Abidin Dino'dan Gülten Akın'a Mektuplar ve Desenler" was held in "Galeri Nev", Ankara. For the very first time, the letters between Gülten Akın and Abidin Dino were exhibited with the original drawings in "Seyran Destanı". The gallery also published a book including all the exhibition materials and the letters between Dino and Akın.

Unlike the book, in which drawings accompany Akın's work, the exhibition design included the original drawings of Abidin Dino in frames without apparent corresponding text and any direct reference to related section in "Seyran Destanı" (Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6). They were both in groups and in linear organization regardless of the associated sections. In other words, the exhibition suggested independency and interdependency of the drawings. From this perspective, Dino's artworks could open up new meaning making process in addition to the great and extremely influential work of Gülten Akın.

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[120] Paul Virilio, *The Lost Dimension*, trans. Daniel Moshenberg (New York: Semiotext(e), 1991), 80.

Figure 4.5 "Par Avion: Abidin Dino'dan Gülten Akın'a Mektuplar ve Desenler" exhibition in Galeri Nev.
Source: Photograph taken by author.

Figure 4.6 "Par Avion: Abidin Dino'dan Gülten Akın'a Mektuplar ve Desenler" exhibition layout.
Source: Photograph taken by author.

The discussion on the diagrammatic qualities of the drawings of Abidin Dino in "Seyran Destanı" can firstly be elaborated through Stan Allen's article "Diagrams Matter". Allen emphasizes abstract way of thinking through diagrams as:

> Multiple functions and action over time are implicit in the diagram. The configurations it develops are momentary clusters of matter in space, subject to continual modification. A diagram is therefore not a thing in itself but a description of potential relationships among elements, not only an abstract model of the way things behave in the world but a map of possible worlds.[121]

In reference to Allens' notes, the drawings in "Seyran Destanı" can be interpreted as the interlaced projections of Akın's work. They suggest certain qualities in

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[121] Stan Allen, "Diagrams Matter," ANY: Architecture New York, 1998, 16.

addition to making reference to the attributed section in the original layout. Each figure and their relation to each other depict peculiar moments, which reveal contingent relations among "*gecekondu* sceneries" by disseminating dwellers into the composition.

Figure 4.7 Drawing by Abidin Dino.
Source: Photograph taken by author from the exhibition in Galeri Nev Ankara.

In Figure 4.7, figures become the tools for "abstract thinking" by proposing a very distinctive spatial quality in terms of the coming togetherness of the elements. While bodies in action start to dissolve within *gecekondu* by evoking "potential relationships among elements" and "momentary clusters of matter in space"; surrounding giant[122] hands[123] suggest "a map of possible worlds" as being

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[122] In the introduction part of "Seyran Destanı", Gülten Akın mentions that the process of democratisation and economic development of Turkey would depend on "the hands of the giant" which refers to those of "newcomers" to cities. Gülten Akın, *Seyran Destanı*, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1979), 6.

[123] It is also important to note out that the representation of hands in Figure 4.7 is also the "trademarks" of other Abidin Dino drawings and cannot be subsumed only under gecekondu, labour, and mutual help interrelation. As Nazım Hikmet perfectly "draws" in his poem "Straw- Blond", "...you draw hands Abidin those of our labourers and ironworkers". Nazım Hikmet, *Poems of Nazim Hikmet* trans. Randy Blasing and Mutlu Konuk (New York: Persea Books, 2002), 253.

a metaphor for labour . In other words, works of Abidin Dino indicated "diagrammatic qualities by representing ever changing contingent relations of actors over time[124].
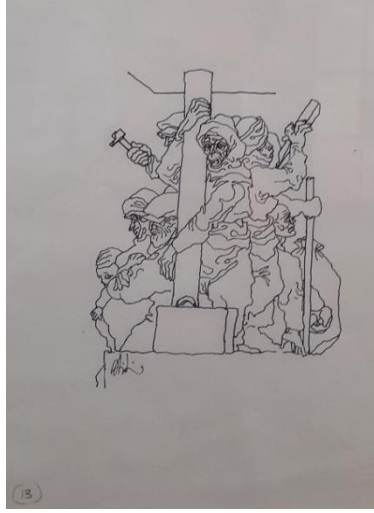

Figure 4.8 Drawing by Abidin Dino representing the formation phase of a *gecekondu*.
Source: Photograph taken by author from the exhibition in Galeri Nev Ankara.

In Figure 4.8, while the sense of space and scale is given with the single line just above the figures, lack of surroundings directs the emphasis to their action. In that particular drawing, the vertical element in the centre almost depicted like the extension of the body standing alongside. The togetherness of the figure and the vertical architectural element is strengthened with the obscure relation between the latter and the ground. With the particular position of the suitcase, the point where the vertical element meets the ground was concealed. This result in

[124] In the foreword to the book "Par Avion: Abidin Dino'dan Gülten Akın'a Mektuplar ve Desenler", Yücel Kayıran extensively mentions the mobility of the figures in Dino's drawings. For Kayıran, one of the reasons behind the togetherness and inseparability of any portion of the drawings in the book is the artist's decision to neglect the "background" in the compositions. Yücel Kayıran, foreword to *Par Avion: Abidin Dino'dan Gülten Akın'a Mektuplar ve Desenler* (Ankara: Galeri Nev Arşiv, 2016), 5.

representing the body as if being prone to the forces of the structure alongside the column by becoming an intermediary "architectural element", an inseparable section of *gecekondu*.
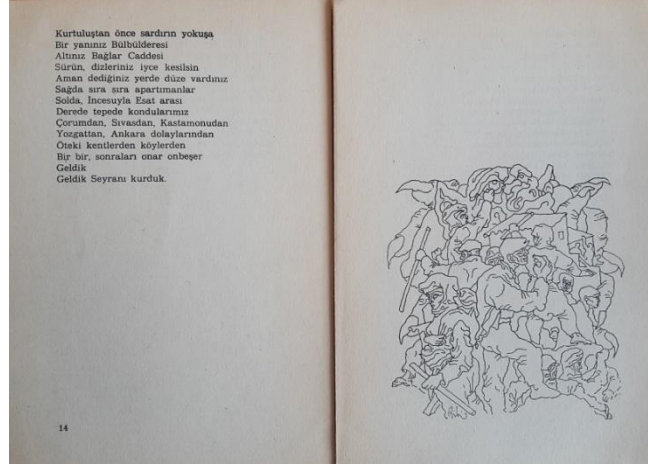

Figure 4.9 Page layout in "Seyran Destanı".
Source: Gülten Akın, *Seyran Destanı* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1979), 14-15.

Pier Vittorio Aureli's notes on diagrams also become important in terms of providing a broader perspective of the interpretation of Abidin Dino drawings. In his article "After Diagrams", Pier Vittorio Aureli argues:

> The way research, information, and communication are produced today is unconsciously metaphysical. It does not establish an intersubjective knowledge through experience, but rather tries to construct icons of reality in order to sustain rhetoric and consensus. This rhetoric is then synthesized through an imagery, which can only be addressed, as Friedrich Engels said of ideology, through a false consciousness.[125]

As being the a collaborative work, through which the communication between Dino and Akın was provided by intimate letters, the final work counteract

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[125] Pier Vittorio Aureli, "After Diagrams," Log 6 (2005): 8.

"alienating straitjackets"[126], by opening up the formation of a new pattern of discourse. As being unique representations of the "making" of *gecekondu*, the togetherness of their work stand against the potential danger of becoming "icons of reality."[127] On the contrary, they produce intimate instances by integrating the dwellers into the core of the "dialogue".

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[126] *Ibid.*

[127] Aureli, *Op. cit.*, 8.

CHAPTER 5

VISUAL AND SPATIAL NARRATIVES

5.1 Introduction

In her article "Reading "The Generic City": Retroactive Manifestos For Global Cities of the Twenty- First Century" Esra Akcan discusses the tension between assessing a higher importance to "reality of the world" and "dreaming" in the process of generating ideologies.[128] In the introduction part of the article, Akcan highlights firstly the relation between "travelling architects" and Friedrich Nietzsche's designation of "genres of history".[129] According to Akcan, a travelling architect might be specified in three categories as the group who only documents "the most important buildings", the section who makes documentations of any information to keep track of everything and lastly the ones who document with the purpose of a change.[130] Those specific qualities are interlinked to Friedrich Nietzsche's description of the three types of historians as the ones documenting "monumental history", the ones collecting anything regardless of a hierarchical order and the historians who feel the responsibility to

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[128] Esra Akcan, "Reading "The Generic City": Retroactive Manifestos For Global Cities of the Twenty First Century, " *Perspecta* 41 (2008): 151.

[129] *Ibid*., 144.

[130] *Ibid*.

"condemn the past" respectively.[131] On "disadvantaged" territories and on reluctance of thinking about new possibilities, Akcan expands the latter as:

> Suggesting that "architects gave up the critical project because it proved to be too unrealistic and, besides, reality is gorgeous" may sound like a mean joke to those who are inside the oppressive reality or those who epmhatize. Observing and recording the reality or world cities today unavoidably calls for new forms of criticism.[132]

Following those, the proposal, in this chapter and its conditioning within a "new form of criticism" will be developed by considering the division between "design as a material, subjective and embodied process and criticism as an abstract, objective, and distanced one."[133] By that, development of narratives will built upon drawings, collages and models, which entail the formation of a mindset for *gecekondu* in architectural discourse.

Before expounding the domains of the design process, how forgetting operates in Geoffrey Sonnabend's "Model of Obliscence" will be mentioned to introduce the concept of "intersection". According to Sonnabend, an experience is first got involved, remembered and then forgotten with the movement of the "plane of experience" and "cone of true memory", which intersect in certain areas in relation to their specific positioning.[134] Sonnabend notes the "splean axis" as individual's line of vision and calls the ever changing intersection areas as "Splean Disc".[135] In other words, the inevitable change in intersection area with

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[131] *Ibid.*

[132] *Ibid.*, 151.

[133] Jane Rendell, introduction to *Critical Architecture,* ed. Jane Rendell et al. (London: Routledge, 2007), 4.

[134] Valentine Worth, "Geoffrey Sonnabend's Obliscence: Theories of Forgetting and the Problem of Matter," in *Museums and Memory*, ed. Susan A. Crane (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 87- 88.

[135] *Ibid.*, 88.

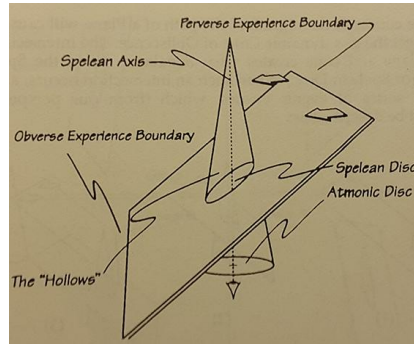the successive movements of planes through time is defined by him as "remembering an experience."[136]

Figure 5.1 Geoffrey Sonnabend's "Model of Obliscence".
Source: Valentine Worth, "Geoffrey Sonnabend's Obliscence: Theories of Forgetting and the Problem of Matter," in *Museums and Memory*, ed. Susan A. Crane (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 87.

Geoffrey Sonnabend's cone and plane composition is related to personal experiences as oppose to theories on social remembering. However, his representation of the relation between involvement to an "experience" and remembrance of it through ever changing intersection areas in successive images is important. In reference to Sonnabend's model, the next subchapters discuss expansion phases of *gecekondu* as the "object" of inquiry by evaluating intersections as an interjoining spatial entity with "the chance of meeting of two distant realities on an unfamiliar plane, or to use a shorter term, the culture of systematic displacement and its effect."[137] Following this, the first phase of the

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[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Max Ernst, *Beyond Painting* (New York: Wittenbron, Schultz, 1948), 13, quoted in Dalibor Vesely, "Between Architecture and the City," in *Phenomenologies of the City: Studies in the History and Philosophy of Architecture,* ed. Henriette Steiner and Maximilian Sternberg (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 158. For the discussion, where *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and interior space photographs were used as collages to aid writer's impression on *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, see Mary Ann Ray, "*Gecekondu*," in *Architecture of the Everyday,* ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke (New York: Princeton Architectural Press and Yale Publications on Architecture 1997), 162.

design process starts with an inchoate image (Figure 5.2), which later becomes the conjoint base for the adjoining concepts of Bernard Tschumi's notes on the concept of the "Pyramid".

Figure 5.2 Formation of the concept of intersection on "analysed bodies".[138]
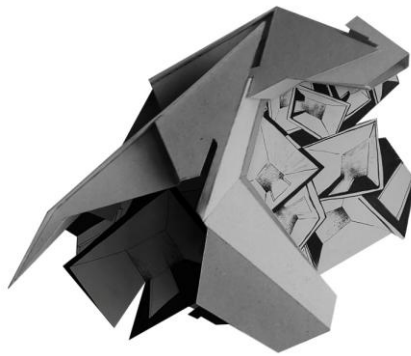Source: Drawing by author.

Figure 5.3 Phases of intersection. The model "instantiates" the idea of intersection and its transformation into three dimensional medium.
Source: Drawing and model by author.

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[138]   On architectural sections and scrutinization of a specific portion to understand a larger one, Beatriz Colomina notes: "In the sketchbooks of Leonardo da Vinci, cutaway views of architectural interiors appeared beside anatomical drawings. He understood the interiors of the brain and womb in architectural terms, as enclosures that must be cut through to reveal their secrets. The central reference for architecture was no longer a whole body, but a dissected, fragmented, analyzed body." Beatriz Colomina, "Skinless Architecture," *Thesis, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Bauhaus- Universität Weimar* 3 (2003); 123.

5.2 Expansion of A *Gecekondu*

In order to elaborate the introductory discussion on the spatial expansion of *gecekondu*, Tansı Şenyapılı's studies in Ankara will be introduced by highlighting *gecekondus*' spatial qualities[139], which mediate between restrictive forces of dwellers' income and creative forces of emerging needs.[140]

Under the coordination of Şenyapılı, Middle East Technical University, "CP 242-Urban Geography" course students made site surveys to document *gecekondus* among Yıldız, Tuzluçayır and Akdere neighbourhoods in 1976.[141] From those documents, Figure 5.4 indicates the evolution phases of a unit in three stages. It is important to note that the sequences do not only reveal additional units but also indicate the changes in the interior assembly. From stage two to stage three, the hall serving access to other rooms expands and results differentiations in the interior spatial configuration[142] in respect to the "oriental arrangement" of *gecekondu*.

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[139] By discussing spatial qualities of *gecekondu* with the acknowledgement of infrastructural and more importantly sanitary problems, what is referred by "qualities" exceeds physical-environmental and health conditions and rather refers to mutual and self help making phase, responsiveness to dwellers' need and even the possibility of choosing neighbours within the first settlement process.

[140] Tansı Şenyapılı, "A Discussion On The Physical Characteristics And The Evolution Of The Gecekondu Phenomenon," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 7 (1986), 152.

[141] All the gecekondu drawings and related photographs to those are used with the very kind permission of Tansı Şenyapılı, borrowed from her extremely inspiring personal collection and "CP 242-Urban Geography" course archive.

[142] According to Tansı Şenyapılı, the changes within interior spaces of a gecekondu through developmental phases depend on dwellers' founding, *gecekondu's* connection with site, features of building materials, the possibility of a future demolition, the ability to access competent techniques and finally *gecekondu*'s plan. Şenyapılı adds, expansions firstly occur horizontally because vertical growth requires foundations capable enough to carry additional loads. In this respect, vertical growth occurs under the circumstances of title deed acquisition. *Ibid*., 156.

In her article "On Physical Aspects of Squatters in Turkey", Tansı Şenyapılı notes that starting from the 1960s, with the increase in the working members among *gecekondu* families and the new position of *gecekondulu* on the market as being labours and buyers of the products of their labours enabled families to expend certain amount of income for their housing needs.[143] The relation between income of dwellers and flexible architecture responding the needs of inhabitants enabled *gecekondu* to expand as a spatial entity. To trace those expansions and transformation stages, Şenyapılı integrates *gecekondu* drawings in her study by illustrating the overlay of additional units and pre-existing ones. Following this representation technique in a slightly different manner, Figure 5.6 indicates the walls, which were "internalised" with the introduction of the second phase. While the developmental phases entwine with the very first living unit and bathroom (a very small shower), the interior spatial configuration changes accordingly. The walls marked as green in the stage four (Figure 5.6) indicate the internalisation process of the "surfaces" finalised with the last evolving stage. In Figure 5.7, the transition areas are defined by the transformation resulting from the obscure exterior-interior relationship of the "surfaces". In other words, moving through the *gecekondu* in Figure 5.7 is tenaciously related to mediating between thresholds defined by the changing characteristics of the architectural elements belonging to different "construction" phases.[144]

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[143] *Ibid.*, 152.

[144] It should be noted out that the discussion of thresholds and the flexible architecture of *gecekondu* do not involve forwarding Figure 5.6 and making a general assumption through a process of deduction. As Ilhan Tekeli argues, *gecekondu* enables dwellers for making further alterations (successive stages of destruction-construction in its lifetime) in conjunction with the dwelling process. For further notes on the same discussion, see chapter two. İlhan Tekeli, *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 202.

Figure 5.4 A *gecekondu* plan.
Source: Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive.
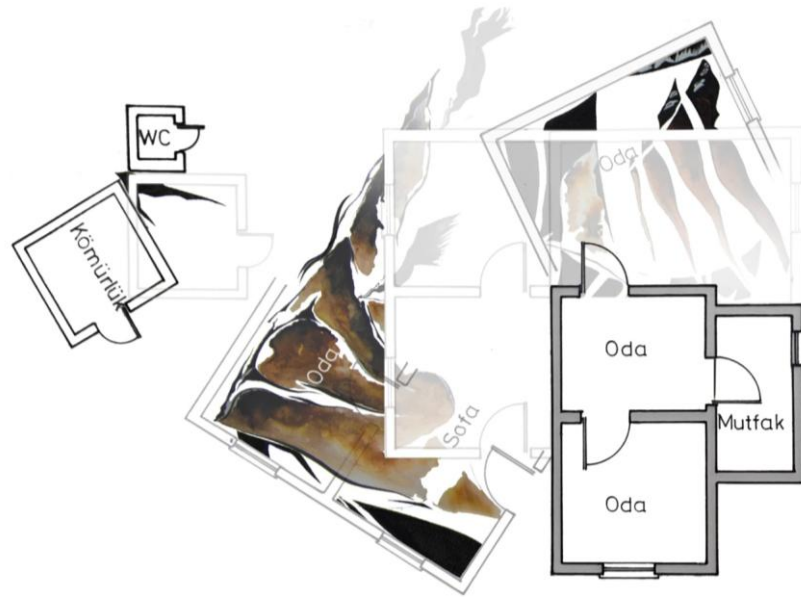
Figure 5.5 Expansion of the successive layers of growth. While the later constructions are discernible from the outset with the use of different materials, the alteration of interior spaces becomes congealed with the transformation of the surfaces from partially belonging to exterior to completely becoming interior "surfaces".
Source: Plans are provided from Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, collage and watercolour drawings by author.

Figure 5.6 A *gecekondu* and its evolvement. The traces of final construction can be followed from the entrance to *gecekondu*, which was built from third to fourth stage.
Source: Plans and the photograph are provided from Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, analysis by author.
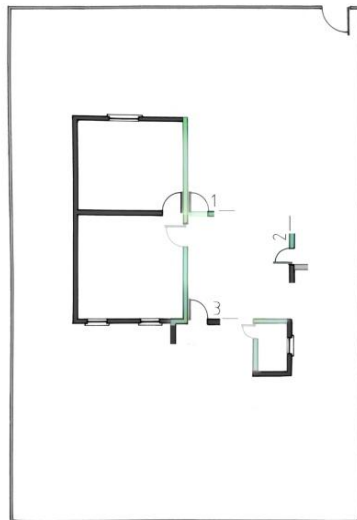

Figure 5.7 Threshold analysis. Numbered transition areas are defined by walls in different colours, which had been transformed from exterior (partly) to interior elements within different construction phases.
Source: Plans are provided from Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, analysis by author.

Similar to Figure 5.7, subsuming the later built units in Figure 5.8 under the domain of "additional units" is of little avail in explaining the interlaced manner of space and its social constituent. By segregating the "projections" of the flexible firstly built *gecekondu* and drawing a demarcation line between different periods; additional stages become indicators of re-appropriation of space, which highly depend on the firstly built *gecekondu*. As Lefebvre notes:

> For an individual, for a group, to inhabit is to appropriate something. Not in the sense of possessing it, but as making it an oeuvre, making it one's own, marking it, modeling it, shaping it. This is the case with individuals and with small groups like families.[145]

Figure 5.8 Obfuscation of successive alteration stages. Material changes and the extension of roofs reveal the traces of the growth.
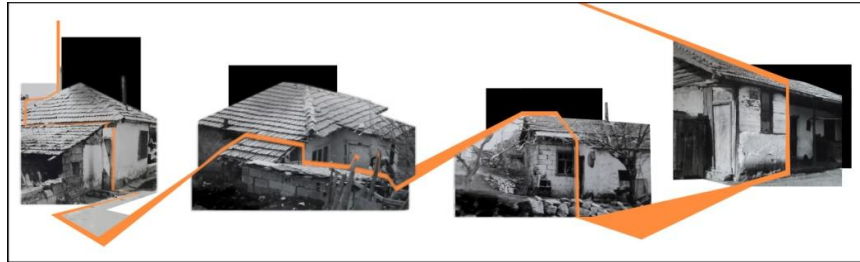Source: Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive.

Figure 5.9 Segregation of expansion phases.
Source: Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, modified by author.

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[145] Henri Lefebvre, "L'urbanisme aujourd'hui," 222, quoted in *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory,* Stanek, Łukasz (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 87.

The dwellers' appropriation of land and overlooked potentialities regarding the creation of new urban areas with dwellers very own contributions work in tandem with emphasizing "expanding the moment of expansion". As Baykan Günay mentions, besides social and economic aspects, the regulative force behind the transformation of the phenomenon was the political power, which overlooked the foresight of the technocracy and rather established its own "legal regime" for future developments.[146] According to Günay, assuming the ever changing characteristics of *gecekondu* as firm and permanent brought about the transformation of the phenomenon from "representational space" depended on appropriation to "representation of space" restrained by absolute ownership.[147]
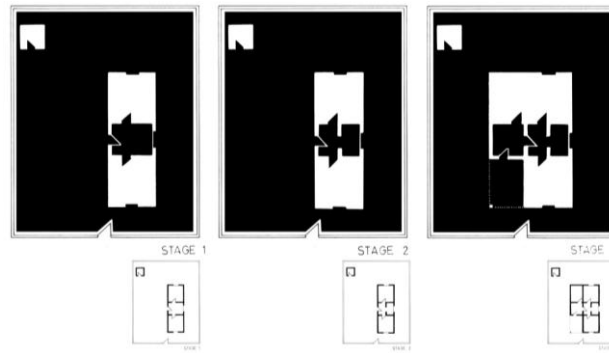
Figure 5.10 Interior space configurations in different stages.
Source: Plans are provided from Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, analysis by author.

Turning back on the spatial expansions, as marked in Figure 5.10, the changes in the organization of space do not necessarily incorporate an apparent remark from the outset. From stage one to two, the entrance was divided into two units and the former entrance area transformed into a lobby and a kitchen (Figure 5.10). More interestingly, within the transition from stage two to three, dwellers perfectly

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[146] Baykan Günay, "Gecekondu'ya Ne Oldu? Zilyetliğe Dayalı Kentten-Sahipli Kente," in *Gecekondu, Dönüşüm, Kent, Tansı Şenyapılı'ya Armağan,* ed. Serap Kayasü et al. (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2009), 109.

[147] *Ibid.,*

aligned the main entrance of *gecekondu* with the main entrance from the fences. Regarding this example, *gecekondu* was not necessarily enlarged or simply was divided into smaller units only in respect to dwellers' needs. The changes also work in tandem with the surrounding environment including the arrangement of entrances in relation to how dwellers approach to *gecekondu*.

In order to underline the flexible architectural qualities of *gecekondu*, this project will address the expansion moment by emphasizing the "congealed" phases and traces of construction, which follow the "invisible guidelines" of already existing unit. Before the introductory discussion on the unrecognised relation between *gecekondu* as an architectural entity and narrative making process, we re-introduce the transformation of the making phases of *gecekondu* in the following subchapter.

5.3 Narrative as a Theme for Transforming *Gecekondu* Making and Construction Phases

A brief summary of the discussion on *gecekdonu* making phase in chapter two can be revisited through Ruşen Keleş's book "100 Soruda Kentleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu". Keleş differentiates the commercialisation of *gecekondu* making process in different phases by arguing that *gecekondu* served mostly for its use value (with a very few examples for rental purposes) till 1960 as oppose to attaining a role in the market as a commodity. Between 1960 and 1970, although *gecekondus* were made by the virtue of the dwellers' own labour, renting attempts started when dwellers had multiple *gecekondus* within the boundaries of the occupied land. The third phase was defined by Keleş as 1970 and 1980 period, which includes commercialisation of construction phases with *gecekondu* firms.[148]

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[148] Ruşen Keleş, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Kentleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2014), 374-375.

The acknowledgement of the transformation of the *gecekondu* making process, which indicates different actors and profit seeking intermediary groups is important in the development of the proposal because the changes in construction methods incorporate firstly one's own means, which eliminate the distinctions between "designer", dweller and maker. Secondly, it encompasses semi-organised *gecekondu* construction period that introduces intermediary actors to the construction process.[149] In this respect, the concept of narration focuses firstly on the tension between the use value and phenomenon's transformation phases in the capitalist development. While the firstly mentioned narrative making will be developed by virtue of the Figure 5.2 (representing the solidarity among neighbourhoods) and its further development via the notion of the Pyramid; the latter incorporates framing and differentiating spatial growth of *gecekondu* during its commodity becoming process.

Regarding the formation of the arguments outlined above and their consideration in the design phase, in the book "Architecture and Narrative", Sophia Psarra extensively discusses Tashumi's notes on the "Pyramid" and the "Labyrinth" as metaphors, which both render the concept of space independently in their own peculiar manner.[150] While the first means "dematerialisation of architecture into the realm of concepts" the latter inclines to relate itself solely with the "physical space occupied by the body".[151] For Tashumi, the realisation of the "nature of space" and forming a conceptual framework for understanding it as a separate entity cannot be possible within the domains of "experiencing a spatial praxis" because within the experience of the "Pyramid", the "body" cannot exceed and go beyond the limits of defined space.[152] Tashumi notes:

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[149] Tekeli, *Op. cit.*, 202-203.

[150] Sophia Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 4.

[151] *Ibid.*, 219.

[152] Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 28.

One can participate in and share the fundamentals of the Labyrinth, but one's perception is only part of the Labyrinth as it manifests itself. One can never see in totality, nor can express it. One is condemned to it and cannot go outside and see the whole.[153]

In this regard, as a conceptual and abstract unit, the proposal seeks to represent the notion of the "Pyramid", which is "the analysis of the architectural object, the breaking down of its forms and elements, all cut away from the question of the subject."[154] In other words, we assume narrative via a process of dematerialisation, to "ensure the domination of the idea over matter"[155] and do not infer it as an immediate and "direct translation"[156] for re-interpreting the evolving phases of *gecekondu* phenomenon but rather acknowledge Tschumi's notes on the concept of "architectural equivalences", which prerequisite "carefully observed parallels".[157]

The narrative coefficient resides in a system of triggers that signify poetically, above and in addition to functionality. Narrative means that the object contains some 'other' existence in parallel with its function. This object has been invested with a fictional plane of signification that renders it fugitive, mercurial and subject to interpretation.[158]

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[153] *Ibid.*

[154] *Ibid.*, 49.

[155] *Ibid.*, 38.

[156] Psarra, *Op. cit.*, 251.

[157] Bernard Tschumi uses the concept of "observed parallels" while describing the process of re-interpreting narrative from one medium towards the other. In contrast to analogies suggesting comparisons among different entities, it can provide discussions through "equivalences" while mediating between narrative "translation" phase. Tschumi, *Op. cit.*, 164.

[158] Nigel Coates, *Narrative Architecture* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley, 2012), 16.

Figure 5.11 The horizontal development sequences of the components.
Source: Models and photographs by author.

Figure 5.12 A view from the developmental stages against the white background.[159]
Source: Model by author.

In this regard, narration as the main theme appraise *gecekondu* as a flexible unit
firstly by developing a design decision developed upon the flexible architectural

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[159]   In her article, "Urban Space, Modernity, and Masculinist Desire: The Utopian
Longings of Le Corbusier", Barbara Hooper mentions Le Corbusier's intentional usage
of the text "Left blank for a work expressing modern feeling", which was written on a
white blank page. For writer, this arrangement indicates Le Corbusier's utopian thoughts
on pure, clean, rational space, which requires an "erasure of problematic past" and also a
"tabula rasa representative of the new beginning whose existence depends upon this
erasure". Unlike opening up a "blank page" for the sake of the "modern feeling"
dependent on erasure, this work encourages encountering the changing approaches
towards *gecekondulu* and *gecekondu* phenomenon discussed in the second chapter.
Barbara Hooper, "Urban Space, Modernity, and Masculinist Desire: The Utopian
Longings of Le Corbusier," in *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change and the
Modern Metropolis*, ed. Amy Bingaman, et al. (London: Routledge, 2002), 55.
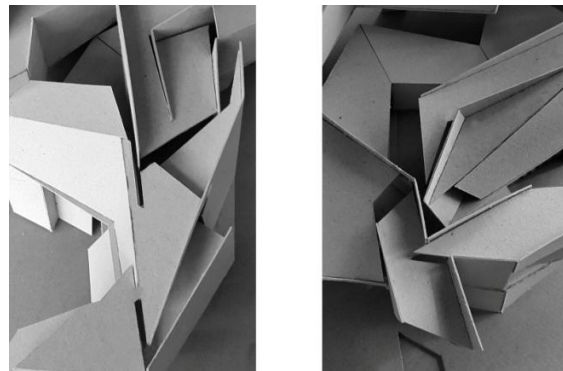
qualities of *gecekondu* and the eligibility of the "congealed" surfaces, which emphasize "narrative gaps that appear between the traces of between old and new uses."[160]

(a)   (b)

Figure 5.13 (a) Redefinition of interior space qualities with re-appropriations. (b) Legibility of interior space alterations.
Source: Drawing (a) and (b) by author.

(a)   (b)

Figure 5.14 (a) Expansion one. Similar to Geoffrey Sonnabend's notes on intersection, the extrusion of the vertical element and its continuation through the subtraction on the planar surface create the legibility of interior spaces through "autonomous" vertical elements. (b) Expansion two. The disintegration and fragmentation of the larger component in relation to the proximity of lastly introduced "phase".
Source: Model (a) and (b) by author.

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[160] On temporal qualities of spolia, which is an element of architectural transplantation, Jonathan Hale's notes that "architectural recycling" evokes the creation of "displacements" and boundaries of temporality suggest "new possibilities of signification and meaning to emerge." Jonathan Hale, "Found Spaces and Material Memory: Remarks on the Thickness of Time in Architecture," in *The Material Imagination: Reveries on Architecture and Matter,* ed. Matthew Mindrup (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 176.
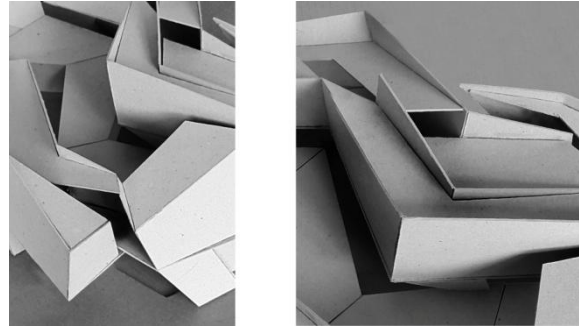
(a)   (b)

Figure 5.15 (a) Externalisation of "interior". The intersection area of two components and their externalisation through the splits on the planer elements.[161] (b) Planes as connective tissue. The "independency" of the vertical element defines the coming togetherness of two spatial different units.
Source: Model (a) and (b) by author.

To be more precise, the sequential growth of different components which culminated in the final composition represents imaginative recreations, which "broaden" the moment of expansion. Also, the coming togetherness of the components creates intersection areas by rejecting its realisation process and the "ideal image of an everyday architecture."[162] Delineated earlier, the expansion of the components does not indubitably align with the literal growth of a *gecekondu*, albeit the proposal endeavour providing a communication tool with its spatial narrative by imparting alternative ways for the spatial representation of the phenomenon. For this reason, this study also aims to contribute to the proposals suggesting *gecekondu* to "represent itself"[163], which inevitably come in for the

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[161] The explications accompanying Figure 5.14 and Figure 5.15 do not indicate what was "inscribed" and should be "legible" through the model. Those explications refer to the alignment of the process how "observed realities" were transformed into another narrative making process.

[162] Gerrit Confurius, introduction to *Daildalos* 75 (2000): 5, quoted in Adam Sharr, "Primitive and the Everyday," in *Primitive: Original Masters in Architecture* ed. Jo Odgers et al. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 247.

[163] Baykan Günay mentions Erhan Acar's valuable suggestion on conservation of a *gecekondu* neighbourhood with established legislations. In this respect, this study propose another vantage point for the "representation" of the phenomenon by thinking out loud on its architectural qualities. Günay, *Op. cit.*, 251.

conglomeration of other discussions overshadowing and confining the discussions on *gecekondu* as a spatial entity. To posit discussions provided from re-appropriation of land and self-mutual help *gecekondu* making period, this proposal denotes "subjective, unpredictable, porous and ephemeral"[164] qualities by emphasizing *gecekondu* as "a model, a perpetual prototype of use value resisting the generalisations of exchange and exchange value in a capitalist economy under the authority of a homogenising state."[165]
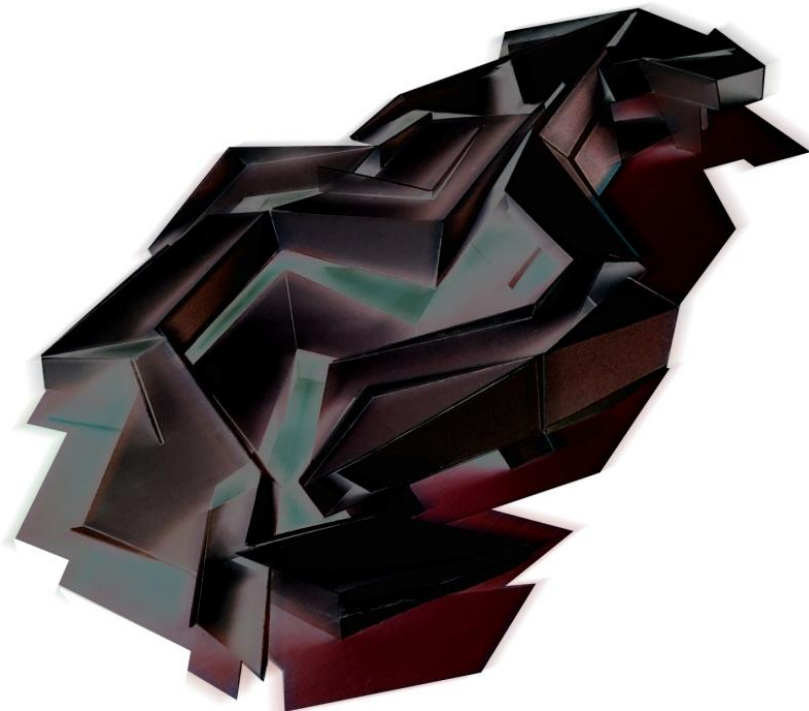
Figure 5. 16 Legibility through expansion phases.
Source: Model by author.

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[164] Jonathan Hill, *Immaterial Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 75.

[165] Henri Lefebvre, "Space, Social Product and Use Value," in *Critical Sociology: European Perspectives*, ed. J. W. Freidberg (New York: Irvington, 1979), 291, quoted in *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and Right to the City*, Chris Butler (New York: Routledge, 2012), 102

Figure 5.17 Spatial development of the model.
Source: Model by author.

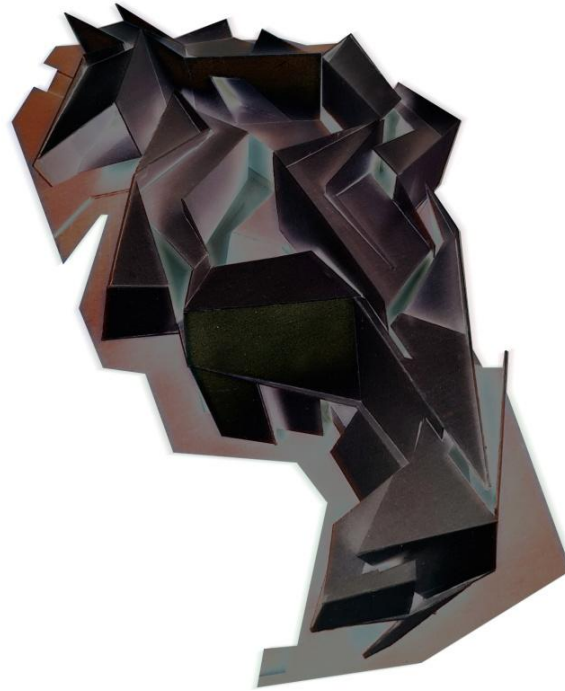In conjunction with the discussion delineated above, the second narrative making incorporates a visual one. In order to be able to develop a representation, which would also act as an expressive substitute of the already made studies on the use value of gecekondu, we develop the visual "principle" by defining site borders as framing tools to capture each evolvement scene. As Bernard Taschumi notes on the frame-sequence agreement:

> The frame permits the extreme formal manipulations of the sequence, for the content of congenial frames can be mixed, superimposed, dissolved or cut up, giving endless possibilities to the narrative sequence.[166]

The idea of "site borders as framing units" does not stem from a reductive inclination, which associates the representation of the site boundary defining

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[166] Tschumi, *Op. cit.*, 166.

walls in *gecekondu* plans and their resemblance to actual "frames". On the contrary, the intention to use frames is to capture horizontal sections and contribute to the "moments of sequences".[167] By that, the frame is not only a tool that creates the similarity among other design elements (the condition that each construction stage of the exiting unit is accompanied by site borders) but also a device to suggest a moment of concentration. In the visual narrative, frames configure each "making-construction" phase similar to Francis Bacon's use of "frames", which he describes to solely see the image.[168] In contrast to other assumptions, which associate the frames in Bacon's paintings as "generating a claustrophobic psychological intensity"[169], Bacon explains his will to use frames to "concentrate the image down".[170] In reference to Bacon's explications on his intention to integrate frames within the composition to concentrate on the image, successive growth stages are framed to distinguish the shift from use to exchange value implicit in spatial transformation phases of *gecekondu*. To implement those ideas, the development pattern of a *gecekdonu* in six stages, which was documented in 1976 is used as the structure of the narrative.

In other words, frames as site borders capture sequential growth of a *gecekondu*, (which both expands vertically and horizontally) to indicate certain stages and "the new forms of knowledge that occupy the area opened up by this new split."[171]

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[167] *Ibid.*

[168] David Sylvester, *The Brutality of Fact: Interviews with Francis Bacon* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 22.

[169] Francis Bacon, "Seated Figure," *Tate Modern*, last modified December 12, 2016, http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/bacon-seated-figure-t00459.

[170] Sylvester, *Op. cit.,* 22-23.

[171] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 64.
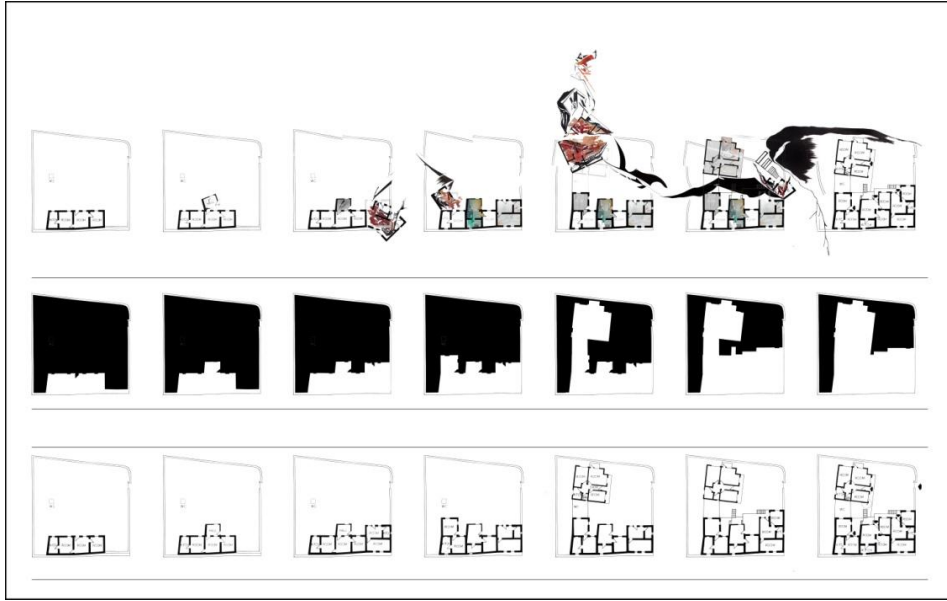
Figure 5.18 Visual narratives.
Source: Plans are provided from Tansı Şenyapılı's personal archive, layout, watercolour and ink drawings by author.

5.4 Ideas for Further Study

A brief introductory passage for re-evaluation of the spatial unit and its contribution to future studies as being the blueprint of Gecekondu Museum[172] can be followed from Ayşen Savaş's article "House Museum: A New Function for old Buildings". Savaş explicates the distinctive position of "Sabancı Museum" through Habermassian terms and notes:

> If there is no room for new experimentations and untested acts, artistic production can no longer be considered as a manifestation of society. And if there is nothing left to be criticized; and then museum is no longer an open space for public confrontation.[173]

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[172] A proposal for "*Gecekondu* Museum" was written in "ARCH 709, "Housing and Discourse II" instructed by Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan in the fall semester of 2015-2016, Middle East Technical University.

[173] Ayşen Savaş, "House Museum: A New Function for old Buildings," *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 27 (2010): 158.

Following Savaş's notes on "public confrontation" dependent on experimental operations and creative forces, Jennifer Barrett's book Museums and the Public Sphere can be introduced to highlight "the public" and "the public sphere" in the formation of a new discourse.[174] In the chapter "Space for the Public- The Public Museum", Barrett argues that important names in the formation of 21st century museology such as Eilean Greenhill and Tony Bennett consider museums as frameworks capable of "shaping" knowledge by integrating themselves in social life.[175] Through defining museums as "disciplinary spaces of social life", they become "heterotopias capable of encompassing contradictions".[176] As Barrett argues, museums should be interpreted as spaces of the public sphere, through which "the relationship between space and democracy"[177] can be pronounced by "musée imaginaire."[178]

The realisation process of *gecekondu* museum is intensely rooted in the assembly of the new concepts for the representation of *gecekondu* phenomenon from a wider spectrum. A further study should keep the gravity of responsibility to represent the phenomenon by an inclusive museum program and by undertaking a role as a place of renewal in contrast to mimic just a section cut from past studies.

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[174] Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 106.

[175] *Ibid.*, 100.

[176] *Ibid.*

[177] *Ibid.*, 81.

[178] The term "musée imaginaire" is borrowed from Andre Malraux. Jennifer Barrett argues that in relation to the new spatial practices for museums, "musée imaginaire" was introduced by art historian Malraux to define museums can exceed institutional constraints. For Malraux, especially in the late twentieth century, museums disciplined exhibition objects and destroyed the imaginary qualities attached to them. Malraux's term, which is translated into English as "imagination within the museum" by Barrett suggests the creation of communication tools between "objects" and participants. Ibid., 107-108.
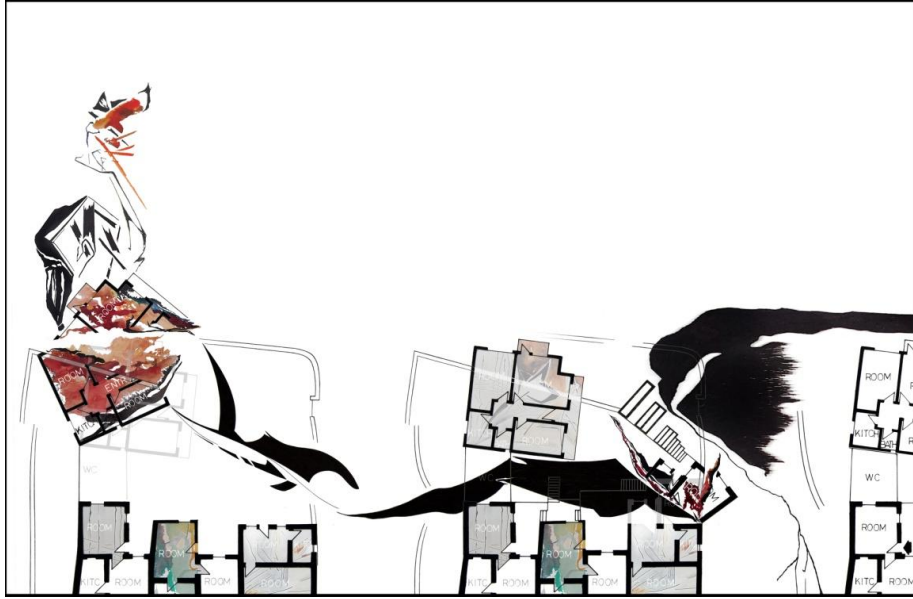
Figure 5.19 Detail of the visual narrative.
Source: Plans are provided from Tansı Senyapılı's personal archive, watercolour and ink drawings by author.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, the transformation of *gecekdonu* phenomenon from use to exchange value is discussed via developing spatial and visual narratives. To be able to mention transformation phases and their "imprint" on the urban environment, phenomenon's urban history is elaborated to create a general framework for the scholarly background of *gecekondu*. Changing approaches towards "*gecekondu* problem", patronage relations and architectural qualities *gecekondu* possesses are highlighted by revisiting discussions on alternative space organisations and lifestyles dependent upon the continuation of highly organised social production networks among *gecekondu* neighbourhoods.

In reference to discussions on *gecekondu* as a means of dwelling and self-mutual help making phases, chapter three brings about firstly two different representations to draw attention to the term abstract labour and later mentions Andy Merrifield's notes on abstract space. Following this, a discussion on concrete and abstract labour is elaborated via two images, one belonging to making process of a *gecekondu* and the other representing construction phase of a building. By doing that, images do not imply certain "interpretations" independent of the text. Their suggestions and associative possibilities are discussed along with the subsections in reference to re-appropriation of space and expansion phases of *gecekondu*.

Chapter four has an intermediary role and aims to create a link by introducing subchapters in a specific order that the placement of former prerequisites the forthcoming one. By mentioning "imperfections" on the built environment as profound signifiers of temporally; obfuscation of later built spatial units of *gecekondu* is discussed as crucial lines of demarcations, revealing the enrichment of interior space alterations. Also, as the representations of the interlaced manner of dwellers and makers in the formation of early *gecekondu* making process, Abidin Dino drawings are discussed via architectural diagrammatic qualities they possess.

Chapter five introduces making phases of spatial and visual narratives by arguing that *gecekondu* is a unique spatial entity having "responsiveness" for future changes and its formation and evolvement phases indicate the inseparability of dweller-dwelling integration. In this regard, examination of spatial qualities it possesses are evaluated via its evolvement and transformation dependent on social, economic and political factors.

Rethinking about each stage of *gecekondu* making starting from the increasing phases of migration to settling on very raw ground, we can trace its evolvement and great transformation in different periods. Considering the figures used in this study including newcomers' solution to their dwelling needs by creating enclosures with rugs, an uplifting process of a *gecekondu*, conditions of inhabitants in a demolished living unit in "Mayday Neighbourgood"; we can argue that they are all peculiar to specific scenes. They represent a reality, a real event had occurred, transformed and leaded into new approaches in phenomenon's urban history as we witness (by revisiting chapter two) political patronage relations of the 1950s and also repressive forces towards the 1970s *gecekondu* neighbourhoods when they started to have a political character aiming to challenge the capitalist housing market with an emphasis on the use value of urban land. In other words, those periods were "recorded" in different times, for different purposes emanating from intersubjective intercourses; the intention for bringing them together should depend on dissection rather than classification. As Jean-François Pérouse notes:

> Scholars overuse the word *gecekondu* to make arguments about urban poverty, internal migration, urban land ownership, social movements, housing policies or self-construction practices; each author has his/her personal and implicit vision of the *gecekondu*. What is the use of giving the exact number of *gecekondu* in Turkey or even the number of those being built every day or the percentage of the urban population living in *gecekondu*, if one doesn't know what it's all about. In other words, shall we ban from scientific debates this 'concept' which does not seem to fulfill any satisfying heuristic function? Otherwise, in which conditions shall we use it and what precautions shall we develop?[179]

In reference to Jean-François Perouse's notes, acknowledgement of intersubjectivity is very important for clarifying and circumscribing the phenomenon through formation of a textual narrative developed upon reinterpreting images to emphasize the scholarly background on *gecekondu*, labour and use value triad. In this respect, a photograph from a making scene of a *gecekondu* can be subsumed directly under the title of "making phase" or can be used as a complementary tool to "represent" construction materials. Also, it can become a critical tool to suggest the use value of *gecekondu* and required labour power depend on realisation of a particular task that is concealed in the capitalist mode of production. As *gecekondu* neighbourhoods had been "superseded" by new projects, the dramatic change on the built environment and rent seeking approaches can be revisited through images representing "mutual help as scaffolding for *gecekondu* making phase" to discuss "abstraction of workers" in the capitalist mode of production.

By the critical inquiry of *gecekodnu* images as "storytellers", information acquired from past studies are considered as complementary tools to understand those images and surrounding periods via revisiting their transformation phases. In other words, layers of differentiations are re-interpreted by foregrounding photographs as the kernel of this study for the formation of a new discourse developed upon the interrelation between the "verbal" and the "image".

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[179] Jean-François Pérouse, "Deconstructing the Gecekondu," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, thematic issue no. 1 (2004): 2.

In addition, from the standpoint of an architect, what calls for a critical consideration is that those already mentioned realities above necessitate a narration for their "realisation" because *gecekondu* phenomenon and its remembrance depend on developing a spatial entity that will form its own locus of memory. In contrast to a direct approach that inclines to become "the concept" of remembrance by preventing the conglomeration of other ideas regarding "how to think about *gecekondu* in architectural thinking" or *gecekondu* not worthy of any critical consideration that was adopted in the calendar of new and already realised *gecekodonu* transformation projects by having no direct or indirect glimpse of aspiration to understand what *gecekondu* is; the critical inquiry in this study develop upon spatial qualities of *gecekondu* by acknowledging dwellers' intense integration to urban economy as one of the main determinants of the moment of "expansion". In this respect, using flexibility as the main reference for the development of a "spatial unit" is also discussed via imprints of *gecekondu* population's indispensible labour power in economic space.

Following this, providing insight into the mutation phases of *gecekondu* phenomenon by undertaking narration as the theme and addressing architectural representation tools to evaluate successive spatial changes, one would clearly realise the conjoined condition of the maker and "designer". In reference to that, the development of the conceptual model evaluates *gecekondu* as a spatial entity deriving the predominant spatial qualities it possesses from sequential growths, which implicitly suggest expansion moments through traces as temporal breaks and time laden characteristics on the physical environment.

It is also important to highlight that the visual narrative formed in chapter five does not only represent expansion moments and make reference to the spatial narrative by consecutive use of images. While each image indicates sequential growth of *gecekondu* by integrating its horizontal expansions in figure ground relation; the focal point becomes the dissolution of the use value of *gecekondu* and its process of becoming a commodity, which was accompanied by intermediary actors and changes in "construction" methods. In respect to this, vertical and horizontal expansion moments are fragmented in sequential

arrangements by reframing each stage (starting from "former" to "to be realised" phases of the very same unit) to indicate phenomenon's distinguished use value period albeit also interlinked to represent gradual transformation phases of gecekondu and its becoming of a multi storey unit dependent upon exchange value.

In other words, the aim of this study does not only include seeking for a highly required responsiveness to the failed to be realised spatial entity, *gecekondu*. By creating new communication channels, this study also aims to transcend established centres by proposing phenomenon's reconsideration through narratives, which encompass its evolution from use to exchange value in the capitalist mode of production. Because the ruling power of the latter brought about the subjugation of the use value of *gecekondu* in unprecedented levels, reconsideration of the first through the critical inquiry of transformation phases is developed in this study via "framing" sequential transformation phases of *gecekondu* alongside evaluating its spatial qualities with the development of an abstract model, which provides the main guidelines for thinking about the architecture of "Gecekondu Museum". In this respect, this thesis' contribution to further studies should be discussed with museology studies, which are pertinent to the prerequisites dependent on reconsidering the abstract unit and its formation process.

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