

FROM *GECEKONDU* TO *APARTMANKONDU*:
ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE SQUATTER SETTLERS OF
RUMELI HISARÜSTÜ FROM 1960 ONWARD

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Thesis Abstract

İrfan Özdabak, “From *Gecekondu* to *Apartmankondu*:

Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlers of

Rumeli Hisarüstü from 1960 Onward”

In this study the primary and secondary transformation of the economic lives of the squatter settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü in line with the building up of *gecekondu/gündüzkondu/apartmankondu* from 1960 onwards, the impact of the neo-liberal policies in the world and specifically in Turkey on this transformation process, and the modifying role of the Boğaziçi University and its students is analyzed utilizing a qualitative research methodology by directing open-ended and semi-structured interview questions to the respondents selected through a judgmental and purposive sampling from the population of Rumeli Hisarüstü as well as through participant observation.

The squatter settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü have gone through a process of acculturation with the outcomes of assimilation, integration, marginality and separation at different levels. When the primary and secondary economic transformation process is viewed and analyzed within a dialectical socio-economic and historical continuum, the empirical evidence suggests that, contrary to the prevailing understanding on the social exclusion thesis with regard to the squatter settlements due to the global neo-liberal policies, Rumeli Hisarüstü squatter settlement is rather integrated into the system containing the prototype of the neo-liberal economic relations and transformation within itself and at the same time giving rise to a minor urban underprivileged class. This economic transformation also paved the way for the transformation of Rumeli Hisarüstü squatter settlers' economic ideologies, forming a new Rumeli Hisarüstü identity.

Tez Özeti

İrfan Özdebak, “Gecekondu’dan Apartmankondu’ya:

Rumeli Hisarüstü Gecekondulularının 1960’dan Bugüne Ekonomik Dönüşümü”

Bu çalışmada Rumeli Hisarüstü gecekondulularının *gecekondu/gündüzkondu/apartmankondu* yapımına paralel olarak 1960’dan bugüne kadarki ekonomik hayatlarının birincil ve ikincil ekonomik dönüşümü, dünyada ve özellikle de Türkiye’de uygulanan neo-liberal politikaların bu dönüşüm süreci üzerindeki etkisi, ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi’nin ve öğrencilerinin modifiye edici rolü Rumeli Hisarüstü popülasyonundan amaca yönelik örneklem yoluyla seçilen katılımcılara açık-uçlu ve yarı-kapalı mülakat soruları sorularak ve ayrıca katılımcı gözlem yoluyla kalitatif bir araştırma metodolojisi uygulanarak incelenmektedir.

Rumeli Hisarüstü gecekonduluları farklı düzeylerde asimilasyon, entegrasyon, marjinalleşme ve ayrışma sonuçlarını doğuran bir kültürel etkileşim sürecinden geçmişlerdir. Birincil ve ikincil ekonomik dönüşüm süreci göz önüne alınıp incelendiğinde, ampirik bulguların, global neo-liberal politikalar sebebiyle gecekonduluların sosyal olarak dışlandığı şeklindeki halen geçerli olan ve öne sürülen tezlerin tersine, Rumeli Hisarüstü gecekondu bölgesinin daha ziyade sisteme entegre olduğunu, kendi içerisinde neo-liberal ekonomik ilişkilerin ve dönüşümün nüvelerini taşıdığını ve aynı zamanda da imtiyazsız küçük bir şehir sınıfı yarattığını önerdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu ekonomik dönüşüm aynı zamanda Rumeli Hisarüstü gecekondulularının ekonomik ideolojilerinin dönüşümüne de yol açarak yeni bir Rumeli Hisarüstü kimliği oluşturmuştur.

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I dedicate this thesis to the honest, fair and humble people of my country and the world.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN THE WORLD AFTER WWII.....	8
A Brief History of Squatter Settlements in Turkey.....	8
The Political Economy of Squatter Settlements in Turkey from 1950s to 1980s.....	19
Neo-liberalism and Squatter Settlements.....	40
Social Exclusion, Integration and the <i>Gecekonu</i>	46
Reflection of the Globalized Consumer Culture in the Lifestyles of the Squatter Settlers.....	60
The Changing Discourse Regarding Squatter Settlements.....	62
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	77
Conceptual Basis.....	77
Research Questions.....	78
Qualitative Research.....	80
Ontology and Epistemology.....	81
Data Collection.....	84
Data Analysis.....	97
Reliability of the Data.....	98
Validity of the Data.....	99
Limitations to the Study and the Ethical Issues.....	100
CHAPTER 4: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE SQUATTER SETTLERS OF RUMELİ HİSARÜSTÜ.....	102
Background.....	104
From Early Settlement to Land Titles.....	110
Sources of Income.....	115
Primary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü.....	121
Change in State Policies.....	127
Path to Apartmankonu.....	129
The Change in the Composition and the Background of Boğaziçi University Students.....	135
Secondary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü	138
Change in the Demographic Structure of Rumeli Hisarüstü after the Apartmankonu.....	149
Economic Transformation and the Third Generation at Rumeli Hisarüstü.....	152

The Advent of Consumer Culture and the Squatter Settlers.....	157
Urban Restructuring and Rumeli Hisarüstü: Past Experiences and the Prospects for the Future.....	159
The Transformation of the Rumeli Hisarüstü Settlers' Economic Ideology from 1960 Onward.....	170
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	190
APPENDICES.....	197
A. Interview Questions in Turkish.....	198
B. Interview Questions in English	201
C. List of Rumeli Hisarüstü and Boğaziçi University Respondents.....	204
D. The Original Texts of the Quotations from the Interviewees	208
E. Total Enrollment Number of Students at Boğaziçi University from the Academic Year of 1971 -72 Onward	234
F. The Total Capacity of Boğaziçi University Dorms as of 2010.....	236
G. Local Businesses in Rumeli Hisarüstü.....	237
REFERENCES.....	247

FIGURES

1. Sequence of informal infrastructure provision67
2. Sequence of formal infrastructure provision74

ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
BİM	Birleşik Marketler (United Markets)
BMW	Bayerische Motorenwerke
BU	Boğaziçi University
BUSOS	Boğaziçi University Social Services Club
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi / Republican People's Party
ÇİTOSAN	Türkiye Çimento ve Toprak San T.A.Ş. (Turkish Cement and Soil Ind. Inc.)
DPT	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı / State Planning Organization
EKB	Emlak ve Kredi Bankası/Real Estate and Credit Bank
ELD	English Language Preparatory Division
FM	Frequency Mode
HİSARDER	Rumelihisarı Mahallesi Sosyal Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği (Association of Social Solidarity and Culture for Rumelihisarı Neighborhood)
ITU	Istanbul Technical University
KPSS	Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı (Public Personnel Selection Examination)
RHU	Rumeli Hisarüstü
SHP	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democrat Populist Party)
SSK	Workers Social Security Fund
TOKİ	Toplu Konut İdaresi (Mass Housing Administration)
TUIK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
WWII	World War Two
YADYOK	Yabancı Diller Yüksek Okulu (School of Foreign Languages)
YKY	Yapı Kredi Yayınları (Yapı Kredi Publications)
YÖK	Yükseköğretim Kurumu (Higher Education Board)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The development of squatter formation is a direct outcome of migration phenomena which are triggered by multiple factors around the world. Squatter settlements began to develop as uncontrolled settlements in the first half of the twentieth century and are mostly encountered in the so-called 'Third World' countries. As capitalism became a world system, disintegration of the traditional agrarian socio-political structures in the nineteenth century began to accelerate the economic development in the form of political independence and industrialization. This was accompanied by low mortality and high birth rates after WW II giving rise to a high level of movement of rural migrants into the urban areas and the leading city centers of the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Doğan (1974) suggests that Rio de Janeiro had no squatters before 1930, Lima before 1940, Porto Alegre before 1947 (p. 22). In the case of Turkey the first examples of squatters were seen in İstanbul in 1940s and were classified as "*baraka*" (shacks) in the official statistics. These temporary dwellings did not 'disturb' the texture of the city but began to increase in mass in late 40s and early 50s with uncontrolled industrialization leading to the phenomenon of '*gecekondu*'¹ (Şen, 1996, p.5).

¹ The term *gecekondu* literally means "built overnight" or "to land by night" (Taş and Lightfoot, 2005, p. 265) and itself refers to the building process which is carried out in secrecy at night to avoid the legal action of the police. Although the term '*gecekondu*' broadly stands for the 'squat', it has its own connotation when viewed from an etymologic, linguistic and historical perspective. First of all, the '*gecekondu*' is a squat built 'overnight', secondly '*kondur*' means 'erected', 'put', 'landed' and 'built' immediately implying that after it is put at night, in the morning it acquires legitimacy. Since it is built during the after-work hours, state, municipal, governor and police intervention is evaded, and thus in the morning some sort of legitimacy is acquired through clientele relationships. The '*gecekondu*' then

Squatter settlements that are encountered throughout the world appear under different names reflecting the specific circumstances and the local cultures within which they emerge: “*gecekondu*, “built overnight”(Turkey); *favela*, [a shantytown or slum in or at the edge of a city] (Brazil)²; *barriadas*, [district, quarter, *plural* slums] (Peru); *villas miseria* [the rural or suburban residence of misery] (Argentina); *ciudades asilas* [city taken refuge in] or *ciudades de refugio* [city of the refugees] (Colombia); *colonias proletarias* [proletarian colony] (Mexico); ... *poblaciones callampas*, [mushroom population or settlements] (Chile); ...*rancheros* [country-style houses] or *conqueros* [conquered settlements] (Venezuala); ... and *barrios piratas* [pirate neighborhoods] and *arrabales*, [slum or outskirts, outlying area] elsewhere in Latin America; *bustee* [inferior slum] or *basti* [slum village]” (Kolkata-Delhi); *chawls* [buildings of four to five stories composed of all-purpose single rooms plus a common kitchen rented by fifteen-twenty different tenants] (Mumbai); *ahatas* [from Hindi, a courtyard; a collection of dwellings in a compound of more than four buildings concentrated in the older parts of the city near industrial establishments forming congested slum localities, slum] (Kampar); *cheris* [small hamlets] (Madras), *sarifa* [house] (Baghdad-Iraq); *berrake* [barrack] and *nouala* [cabin] (Morocco); *bidonville* [shantytown] (Algeria-Morocco); *gourbivilles*

becomes a *de facto* reality and the first steps of settlement, taking root in the city, and the primary economic transformation of the squatter settlers begins.

² In the late eighteenth century in Brazil, the first settlements were called *bairros africanos* (African neighborhoods), where former slaves with no land ownership and no options for work lived. Then poor blacks were pushed away from downtown into the far suburbs among the hilly terrain of the area surrounding Rio forming the *quilombos* (independent settlements of fugitive African slaves) and setting the stage for the formation of *favelas*. Most modern *favelas* appeared in the 1970s, due to rural exodus to cities. Having no chance to find a place to live, many people ended up in a *favela* (Espinoza, <http://www.brazzillog.com/pages/cvrjun97.htm>). English versions in brackets of the Spanish words used for squatter settlement in different nations are found by the researcher from various web sites and dictionaries.

[spontaneous agglomeration] (Tunisia)” (Karpat, 1976, p.11). Squatter settlements are such a widespread socio-economic phenomenon that according to United Nations researchers’ figures as cited by Davis (2007) there were 921 million *gecekondu* dwellers all throughout the world in 2001 (p. 39) and that as of 2005, one-sixth of the world's population, that is to say one billion people, lived in shanty towns (Whitehouse, 2005).

Squatter settlements are still an important part of the city life around Turkey. Squatters are the major means of accommodation of the rural migrants to the cities where the housing problem could not be solved through formal methods. The issue was analyzed for many times with its different aspects in the literature.

The main focus on the squatter settlements in the literature, especially in Turkey, is on the primary economic transformation within a certain timeframe and the impact of overall state policies applied within the context of integration/exclusion/marginality debate (Perlman, 1976; Roberts, 1978; Touraine, 1991), formal vs. informal sectors (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009) and the strategical realm of the state vs. the tactical realm of the squatters (Demirtaş, 2009). In this context, Erman (2001), looking at the politics of squatter (*gecekondu*) studies in Turkey, has summarized the changing representations of rural migrants in the academic discourse where the representation of the *gecekondu* and its people in different periods has taken various forms: the 'rural Other' in the 1950s and 1960s, the 'disadvantaged Other' in the 1970s and early 1980s, the 'urban poor Other(s)', the 'undeserving rich Other(s)' and the 'culturally inferior Other(s) as Sub-culture' between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s, and finally the 'threatening/*varoşlu* Other' in the late 1990s and that argued that the “academic approaches to the study of the

gecekond people are in[f]luenced by the historical period in which they occur” (p. 983, 998). Since in general the study on the squatter settlement and the squatter settlers is made in a certain time period without analysis of its further transformation, the classification is then made from the perspective of the current transformation of the squatter settlers at the time of the study rather than evaluating the squatter settlement and the settlers in continuum. Thus, the linkages between the earlier and the later transformations, and its further transformation are neglected. This gives rise to periodization of ‘isolated’ *gecekond* discourse formations without looking at say what happened to the ‘rural Other’ of the 1950s and 1960s at the turn of the twenty first century, or what came out of the ‘disadvantaged Other’ of the 1970s and early 1980s, or have the ‘disadvantaged Other’ of the 1970s and early 1980s become ‘advantaged Other’ later, or what came out of the ‘urban poor Other(s)’, the ‘undeserving rich Other(s)’ and the ‘culturally inferior Other(s) as Sub-culture’ between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s. This approach, by looking at and evaluating the *gecekond* somewhat rigidly at a given time period and solely as ‘the other’, misses the dialectics of the squatter settlement and the squatter settlers and its organic transformation process together with the transformation of the wider society at large of which it is an organic part.

In the current study the researcher aimed to integrate the primary economic transformation with the secondary economic transformation. The building of *gündüzkondu*/*apartmankondus*³ in Rumeli Hisarüstü (RHU) in early 90s provided a

³The term *gündüzkondu* is used by the author to emphasize the change which took place with regard to the building process of *gecekondus*. During the field work it was seen that the RHU squatters use the term *apartmankondu* rather than *gündüzkondu*. While the *gündüzkondu* means the *gecekond* built during the day, *apartmankondu* means the apartment built in daytime. In the case of RHU, the majority of the *apartmankondus* were built day-and-night within a few months, again formally built

fertile means to trace this secondary transformation in formation. When combined with the research on RHU by Karpat in early 70s where he analyzed the primary transformation it became possible to trace different phases of the transformation of RHU until the present day. The continuum of transformation made it clear that the *gecekondus* have to be analyzed within a continuum in order to reach more accurate conclusions and also to understand the transformation of the wider society within the course of its transformation within time. Thus the micro analysis of the squatter settlement in a continuum will give important clues on the transformation of its macro environment such as a certain city or country, and the dialectics of the relationship between the specific and the general and their interaction and impact on each other will become more evident.

The objective of the current study is to understand the economic transformation of the squatter settlers of RHU through personal narratives, the impact of the neo-liberal policies in the world - specifically in Turkey - on this transformation and the clientele relationship between the Boğaziçi University (BU) and its students as tenants and the *gündüzkondu/apartmankondu* owners of RHU as the landlords as the modifying variable in this transformation process. The

'illegally', but informally built 'legally' with the complaisance and implicit approval of the mayor of the time. The difference between the usage of the terms 'gündüzkondu' and 'apartmankondu' reveals a big difference between the two words and concepts regarding the scale and the purpose of building. While the transfer from the 'gecekondu' type of building to the 'gündüzkondu' type of building indicates primary economic transformation, transfer from the 'gündüzkondu' to 'apartmankondu' indicates secondary economic transformation. Thus the process of dialectical economic transformation of the RHU squatter settlers begins by 'gecekondu', goes through 'gündüzkondu' and ends-up with 'apartmankondu'. However, some of the *gecekondus* still exist today, some *gecekondus* are converted into *gündüzkondus* and the majority is *apartmankondus*. Thus the trio of *gecekondu-gündüzkondu-apartmankondu* continues their joint-coexistence as of the date this study is carried out. Although not all the *gündüzkondus* built in early '90s are *apartmankondus* for the sake of usage *apartmankondu* is used for all instead.

transcription, decoding and analysis of the data obtained through the interviews also aims to reveal a certain pattern of economic transformation of the squatter settlements and settlers through the formation of *gündüz kondus/apartmankondus* as a vehicle of integration with the economic system prevalent in Turkey, shedding light on the second-stage economic transformation of other squatter settlements in Turkey.

In chapter two the history of the squatter phenomenon in Turkey is analyzed in detail with its economic, social and cultural causes and results in relation to changes in the world after WW II and within the context of neo-liberalism with special emphasis on social exclusion and integration.

In chapter three methodology of the research is explained. Special emphasis is made on the conceptual basis of the study, the amalgamation of the research methods utilized, the unique place of participant observation applied in the study within the context of the researcher's historical relations with the neighborhood, ontological issues regarding the research method, the ethical issues faced and coped with during and after the field work, and finally and limitations of the current study.

The fourth chapter is totally devoted to the primary and the secondary economic transformation of the squatter settlers of RHU through which the formation of the neighborhood after the second half of 50s with the early migratory flows of peasants from the rural areas into the cities, relationship of RHU with the nearby BU, consolidation of the squatter settlement through various popular policies applied by the governments until the *coup de etat* of 12 September 1980, freezing of the *gecekondu* building by the military government, the drastic demolition process of a main artery of RHU with the building of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge - the second Bosphorus bridge - in 1985, the impact of Özal's liberal policies in the

formation and development of *gündüzkondu* building process paving the way to *Apartmankondu* formation, change in the demographic structure of RHU thereafter, urban restructuring policies and the prospects for the future of RHU, the impact of the neo-liberal policies in the world and in Turkey, the changing relations of RHU and BU on this entire transformation process and the transformation of the economic ideology of the RHU settlers is traced and analyzed.

The fifth and final chapter discusses the conclusions drawn from the current research conducted on RHU with reference to the literature and the previous researches conducted on squatter settlements and RHU.

CHAPTER TWO

SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN THE WORLD AFTER WW II

“Tapulu arsaya ev yapmakla tapusuz arsaya ev yapmak bir mi?”
(Isn't it rather different to build a house on a registered land
than building a house on an unregistered land?)

(A Second Generation RHU Squatter Settler)

A Brief History of Squatter Settlements in Turkey

Squatter (*gecekondu*) establishment is one of the most important phenomena encountered in Turkey after the World War II. Migration to cities and the establishment of provisional shacks was a common phenomenon in the entire 'Third World' during the same period. Poor migrants all over the world lacked sufficient resources and income opportunities to afford the high rents within the cities, and instead they started to build their shacks as an alternative solution to the housing problem. Almost all of the new dwelling units were built on illegally appropriated land and using the cheapest construction materials (Doğan, 1974, p. 10). The term *gecekondu* in English is covered by words like “squat”, “shantytown” and “uncontrolled settlement” and are defined as “residential communities, formed by low income families, in which the houses are constructed in large measure by the residents and which are generally, but not exclusively, formed illegally” (Collier, 1976, p. 18-19 cited in Taş and Lightfoot, 2005, p. 265). *Gecekondu* dwellings are illegal since “they: (a) are built on public land usually belonging to the Treasury; (b) are constructed on private property not belonging to the homeowner; (c) are built on

shared-title land; and/or (d) were constructed without occupancy or construction permits” (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, p. 195).

The Turkish migrants, like their counterparts in other ‘Third World’ countries, also encountered with high rents and found the same alternative solution in almost the same manner (Karpas, 2003, p. 105). The distinguishing mark of this period in Turkey was the introduction of the new industrialization policies by the ruling governments (Şen, 1996, p. 3) creating a massive need for urban labor. The result of the industrialization policies was massive migratory movement from the rural areas to the urban settlements with the hope of establishing a better life. In this period the economic policies in the country were based on protection of the internal market through the important substitution economic policies. In this process and also thereafter, the neoliberal era, the labor force and the working class was the most important element as also expressed by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009).

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Turkey’s history; as pointed out by Karpas (2003) Ottoman history had witnessed massive migratory movements (p. 91). The author even asserts that the history of Turkey and Ottoman Empire can be seen as the history of migration. During Ottoman times migration was directed and controlled by the state with the major goal of colonizing the conquered lands and increasing the tax revenues of the state. To those subjected to enforced migration and mandatory settlement irrespective of their religious affinity the Empire even provided tax and military service exemption for a certain period and some were even given the ownership of the lands they were settled in (Acehan, 2008, pp. 13-14). Actually the Ottomans used the policy of controlled migration to benefit from the newly conquered lands.

Besides its adverse consequences, mandatory and enforced settlement was an empire policy for the Ottomans facilitating urbanization. Urbanization within the borders of Turkey had actually began in a limited manner during the Ottoman times in the nineteenth century as the Ottomans and their economy started to integrate with the world economy and trade. The transformation of the settlements towards urban centers was most apparent in the case of coastal towns which had more direct relations with the world (Tekeli, 1996, p. 9). Thus, some degree of urbanization had become the issue, and with it a kind of differentiation with respect to ethnic and religious identities and social stratification took place especially apparent in terms of housing and settlement formation. During this era, the majority of the buildings in the Ottoman territory were made of wooden material. In İstanbul around 56 per cent of the housing stock was constructed of wooden material in 1927. One of the major problems of the Ottoman administration was the establishment of housing units for the migrants coming from the land lost in wars and for the families who had lost their houses due to fire. Fire insurance began to be implemented in the empire beginning with 1870 by the insurance company The Sun, The North and the Northern (Tekeli, 1996, p. 11). An important measure to be taken against the loss of houses and other buildings due to fire was to construct houses and buildings out of masonry. But this could not be applied sufficiently in reality since masonry was much expensive to build. In practice, there was not a developed financial system which could support the construction of houses and other buildings to meet the demand for housing. New houses for the fire victims were even financed through collecting donations from the public as aid (Tekeli, 1996, pp. 11-12). The issue of housing and its construction continued to be a problem during the Ottoman times until the demise of the empire; a

time when the empire was faced with much inflow of migrants from the lost Ottoman lands.

After the demise of the Ottoman Empire the migration process reversed its direction and Muslim and Turkish populations living on lost land began to migrate into the lands under control of the newly established Turkish Republic. Karpaz (2003) shows that there was a huge inflow of Muslim population in the former years of the Republic which continued in the form of population exchange agreements during the later years (p. 91). But these are not the kind of migration processes that led to the formation of *gecekondu* establishments in Turkey. Rather, they are the previous forms of migratory processes in the history of the Republic. At the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the majority of the population lived in rural areas and there was a shortage of qualified labor in cities (Taş and Lightfoot, 2005, p. 264). There was just one urban center feasible to support the development of the country, namely İstanbul. Thus the founders of the Republic aimed to establish new urban centers in Ankara, Bursa, İzmit and Adana, which triggered a profound change in the structure of the society in the country. The establishment of new urban centers scattered around different regions in the country triggered a kind of migratory process (Taş and Lightfoot, 2005, p. 265). This new process is called *gurbetçilik* which is a seasonal migratory movement style in which the migrants leave their villages to find temporary employment in either close or remote areas or return after the end of their employment (Karpaz, 2003, p. 101). *Gurbetçilik* is the initial form for the establishment of ties of rural population with the world around them. *Gurbetçilik* laid the basis for permanent forms of migration from the villages to the cities which provided opportunities of employment and a better life. The process was accelerated

through the mechanization of agriculture, use of chemical fertilizers and the fragmentation of the land due to population increases all of which diminished the economic adequacy of the villages to provide economic output that can support the subsistence of the increasing population. The *gurbetçilik* phenomenon has had a long history within Turkey but was eventually replaced by a more permanent type of migration originating from the villages and triggered by the motive of a better life that was present in the cities and around other urban settlements. The new type of migration movement became dominant mainly after the 1950s as industries began to be established in big cities and thus making these centers of attraction providers of firmer employment opportunities to migrants and on a permanent basis. The process did not occur within the same rate in all regions, and İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir became the main centers where migrants gathered (Şen, 1996, p. 1).

While there appeared only temporary and limited problems of residence during the time of *gurbetçilik*, the permanent settlement pattern made housing an important issue needing to be solved by the migrant individuals and their families. The solution was not found by the state and its authorities but directly by migrants themselves who began to build houses on the state land around and within the cities (Şen, 1996, p. 1). Actually, cities in Turkey were surrounded by large plots of land which did not belong to any private enterprise or individual. The existence of such “free” land was made possible by the property regime prevalent during the Ottoman times where no private property ownership on land was permitted by the Ottoman regime. But during the later periods of the Ottoman Empire some laws permitting private ownership of land were issued as Şen (1996) mentions, particularly the period after 1858 (p. 5). Thus, it was expected that some be in the possession of private

entities or individuals but this was not the case and at the time the migrants from rural areas began to flow into the urban regions they encountered with huge areas of “free” land in the possession of the state or more precisely the Treasury. This was an important point that supported the legitimacy of the *gecekondu* areas. The *gecekondu* areas were built on land which belonged to no private individual or entity but the state itself. Another such point was that there were no existing formal land and housing markets in the country, which made the *gecekondu* a socially legitimate solution despite its illegality (Şen, 1996, p. 5). People concerned with the urbanization and development problems of the country postponed the eventual solution of the *gecekondu* problem to a later imagined period where the inequalities in income distribution would be alleviated, hence triggering an improvement in the solution of the housing problem of the population. But this imagined period never arrived and the *gecekondu* areas began to spread around the city lands within the country.

In this way the *gecekondu* establishment has been a dominant pattern in urbanization taking place in the country. Doğan (1974) suggests that urbanization is mostly associated with “increasing heterogeneity, secondary group relationships, segmentary and utilitarian relationships rather than integral and sentimental ones” (p. 12). But the required degree of heterogeneity and impersonalization for urbanization is not certain and behavior in urban spaces resembles that of traditional forms and has rural characteristics. This kind of urbanization taking place in the ‘Third World’ was different than the one encountered in the developed world long ago. Slum, according to Merriam Webster dictionary, is “a densely populated usually urban area marked by crowding, dirty run-down housing, poverty, and social disorganization”

("Slum", n.d.). According to certain scholars as cited by Karpat (1976), in the slum there is a high rate of crime, isolation, alienation and violence, very low level of literacy, detachment from the city people, child neglect, racial discrimination, sexual indecency, hatred of police, family disintegration, radicalism, juvenile delinquency and economic drain. Slums may even provide gambling, call girl and underworld connections to the elites of the cities. Or they may be places of hope, last resort to hold onto life after suffering a total defeat (p.24). Although squatter settlements resemble slums due to their low income inhabitants, drab-looking houses and lack of basic city facilities, few of them exhibit any symptom of moral depravity, psychological or social disintegration and crime. There is poverty in the squatter settlements, but no culture of poverty. Culture of poverty in its pejorative meaning signifies the depravity of culture and lack of basic cultural traits which give rise to all sorts of criminal behavior. Regarding Turkey Karpat (1976) states that on the basis of his own investigations in Turkey he fully concurs that the squatter settlements are "associations of optimistic people aspiring to reach a higher living standard and a more satisfactory mode of existence" (p.25). But in the big cities of the developing nations there are also lower-class dwellings, usually within the ancient city walls, that look like the slums in the developed nations inhabited by migrants/workers coming to the city a few generations ago but are alienated from their communities, could not form their own communities, and could not integrate themselves into the city at all and are sources of concern for law enforcement. In Latin America they are known as *callejones*, *corralones*, *jacals*, and *tugurios* (alleys, shackyards), some of the *katras* and *adabids* and *ahatas* in India *kaledibi* (bottom of fortress) districts in

the Turkish cities, *casbas* and *fondouks* in North Africa are among those (Karpat, 1976, p. 25).

From the economic and legal perspective the main difference between the slum and the squatter settlement lies in the ownership structure and the legality/illegality of the land occupied. While in the case of slums in the developed countries settlers have the legal right to the title of the land and the dwelling, the squatter settlers have no legal right to the land.

With the development of squatter settlements within and around the cities the city itself gained a meaning other than being the cultural and social center of the urban population. The city began to represent a place of hope for survival or progress in life for the rural populations (Doğan, 1974, p. 20). As occurred during Turkey's industrialization, village and small town populations in the underdeveloped world began to look for employment within the city along with a simple residence unit which would support them within the city and which would make their permanent presence in the city possible. The importance of squatter buildings finds its primary meaning as a tool in realizing the peasants' hopes for an improved life. A dwelling in the form of a shack and built with the least capital investment would suffice the peasants who were looking for just a roof which can help them to perform activities like sleeping, eating, fulfilling the need for a toilet and bathing facilities, and for spending spare time. For most of the time the newly built squatter housing was sufficient enough just to fulfill the basic functions for life. More elaborate housing units were established later as the migrants secured employment within the city and accumulated sufficient capital to build additions to their initial housing.

People living in squatter areas differ from other urban residents economically, sociologically and, psychologically. The differences between the squatters and non-squatters are explained by two different hypotheses by Doğan (1974) which are the culture of poverty hypothesis and the identity group hypothesis (p. 23). According to the culture of poverty hypothesis, poverty is a culture or subculture that has its peculiar structure and rationale and is passed among successive generations. The culture of poverty has a transcending character over regional, rural, urban and national differences, and poor people from different cultures show similarities in terms of family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value systems, and patterns of spending (Doğan, 1974, p. 23). Poor people adapt similarly to common problems created by poverty. There is an effort to deal with the perceptions of hopelessness and despair emanating from the situation of being frustrated in trying to achieve the values and goals of the larger society which is developing economically and changing socially.

The identity group hypothesis is based on the group solidarity among squatter settlers who have migrated from the same villages. This hypothesis is developed by Suzuki (1960) cited in Doğan, 1974) by observing the *gecekond* areas in İstanbul. Group solidarity “is expressed in cooperative labor practices, voluntary associations for mutual aid and recreational activities, and endogamy based on village of origin” (p. 25). In such a group some traditional village living patterns and practices are retained and continued. In such cases separation occurs where people resist the culture and lifestyle of the city with more vigor and retain their minority culture. The identity groups within the squatter settlements provide its members with security through networks of employment, cooperation to construct houses, and means of

protecting the property. If a member gets ill or experiences an accident, then the other members provide him/her with assistance and charity. This is a kind of social continuity that is carried over to city life. Doğan (1974) suggests that achieving personal security is an important motivating factor behind the group formation in *gecekondu* areas (p. 26).

The *gecekondu* areas are established initially through the pioneers who arrive in the city and settle in an empty or unoccupied land which belongs to the state. After that the pioneering individuals or groups convey information to their relatives and other people in their village about the city and about the opportunities in the city and most importantly about the opportunity to build a squatter settlement in the city. These pioneers encourage their relatives to immigrate to the city and settle there. After this initial movement many people from the same village immigrate to the city to build a squatter settlement and seek a better life in the city (Şen, 1996, p. 6). In the initial stages of the arrival of the newcomers to the city they are hosted by the early immigrants who also help them to find jobs, to establish a squatter settlement and provide any other assistance as needed. The process is not the same in all cases. In other cases the pioneers do not build their *gecekondu* at the outset but later as their relatives also join them in the city and as they form a large group and thus dare to occupy the state land and build their *gecekondu* in cooperation (Şen, 1996, p. 6). The process is continuous, and migration and *gecekondu* formation continues until the capacity of the settlement reaches its limit. Until that time immigrants from the same villages arrive in the city and build their *gecekondu* where their relatives or acquaintances have settled. This provides them access to the power of the group which also holds information on specific job markets within the city. The *gecekondu*

settlers need a group and the power of forming a group since they have to resist the actions of the state which from time to time demolishes their buildings, and against the actions and pressures of land mafia⁴, which also threatens their existence in the city. The *gecekondu* owners usually use political influence and bribery to avoid the demolition of their *gecekondu* (Şen, 1996, p. 7). In this way the *gecekondu* settlers are forced and enabled to establish a network of relations which includes politicians, municipality officers, mafia and many other groups that are influential in their lives. Such a network of relations is not present in the case of the other social groups or strata within the city.

Gecekondu is a part of the city in all of its social, cultural, political and economic relations. Actually *gecekondu* is beyond a demographic movement of the population but involves the differentiation between the urban and the rural areas in which the rural population is moved to the city life though the influence of the push and pull factors. Eventually the movement is resolved for the advantage of the city to a great extent which complements the need for labor for its various industries and also benefits from the huge market created by the *gecekondu* settlers. This leads to the economic development and differentiation of the city over the rural areas.

The solidarity groups within the *gecekondu* areas played an important role in the integration of the *gecekondu* settlers to city life and in the process of receiving public services from the municipalities. An important formation is the *gecekondu* associations that helped the *gecekondu* settlers establish relations within their settlements and in this way create social ties with the city at large. The associations

⁴ By the term "land mafia" is meant a well-organized group of armed people with political connections who forcibly occupied land to re-sell at a profit.

within *gecekondu* neighborhoods engaged in activities like fundraising to carry out the establishment of some public services within their region. The *gecekondu* settlers had to develop new ways of establishing relations with the municipalities and to receive social service for their settlements. This type of struggle helped the formation and acquisition of the *gecekondu* identity. Besides this the *gecekondu* settlers made their voices heard by the political authorities and established relations with the political parties and other groups around them that helped the existence of *gecekondu* be publically legitimized even at the level of the state (Şen, 1996, p. 8).

In time and through continual migration from the rural areas the intensity of *gecekondu* areas increased within the cities; and the *gecekondu* population came to comprise some substantial portion of the city population and thereby their influence on the economic, social, cultural and political life of the city increased. Their economic position or the role of the *gecekondu* settlers within the city and their increased influence within the city forced the municipalities to provide public services to the *gecekondu* regions. This was an important step toward the legitimization of the *gecekondu* settlements in cities which was followed through the *gecekondu amnesty issuance* by the governments at different times (Şen, 1996, p. 8).

The Political Economy of Squatter Settlements in Turkey from 1950s to 1980s

Expansion of the cities in Turkey accelerated mainly after the 1950s. There was a massive influx of migrants to the cities where a large land market was created with its own dynamics. Öncü (1988) suggests that all of the major social groups and classes made important gains from this process of land market creation (p. 38). Actually, the opening of the land market was reinforced by Turkish governments'

failure to fulfill their constitutional promises to provide housing for the poor and low-income families (Danielson and Keleş, 1985, p. 157). For this reason there was a speculative boom in the land market along with unplanned growth of construction (Öncü, 1988, p. 38).

The non-planned and illegal construction of the *gecekondu* residences has a long history in Turkey. After the emergence of these housing units the Turkish government defined and described *gecekondu* in 1966 as “dwellings erected on land and lots which do not belong to the builder, without the consent of the owner, and without observing the laws and regulations concerning constructions and building” (Özler, 2000, p. 40). The entire process of land market creation was a part of the wider urbanization movement in Turkey during the mentioned time period. The basic factors that triggered urbanization are cited by Keleş (1984) as economic, technological, political, and psychosocial factors (p. 5). The important point here is the relative lateness of the urbanization process within Turkey. Buğra (1998) suggests that there is a kind of moral legitimacy of squatter establishment “as a form of need satisfaction complementing the deficiencies of formal mechanisms of exchange and redistribution” (p. 306).

Land speculation in cities is nothing new. There are groups who choose to invest in land as capital rather than in any other productive means. These people base their decision on the expectation and possibility that land would yield better returns than other forms of investment. But there is also a risk factor associated with land speculation. In Turkey, land speculation in cities has a pervasive character and is not an individual phenomenon; this was so especially during the 1960s through the 1980s. During this time period, land speculation became the most dynamic sector

within the economy of the city, as suggested by Öncü (1988, p. 39). With the initiation of land speculation the price of the land increased greatly around cities in Turkey. Öncü (1988) mentions the three factors that are assumed to have a determining impact on land prices as follows:

- 1) The location of the land within the physical fabric of the city
- 2) The provision of various types of infrastructure and social overhead facilities (roads, sewers, water, light, buses, etc.)
- 3) Legal controls or restrictions such as zoning ordinances, building codes, etc. (p. 39).

The first of these three factors seems at first to be the most durable. The second group is usually subject to short-term changes through the involvement of municipalities. The third one is the most easily changed. However, some of these assumptions have proven to be false within the context of Turkey during the period of 1960 to 1980. There was a huge inflow of migrants from rural areas to the cities in Turkey during this time period. But the housing provision available within the cities was insufficient to meet the demand for housing engendered through these inflows. Thus, the land around the cities began to be occupied and sold to the migrants by land speculators, and as a result the physical location of lands around the city changed in short periods of time (Öncü, 1988, p. 39). These peripheral lands became settlements and their relative positioning to the city changed. Within the course of time land prices escalated, and inflation rates also contributed to rises in land prices. There are various factors affecting the establishment of the land market and the rise in the land rents in this period which are analyzed separately by Öncü (1988). These factors can be given as:

- 1) Massive migratory flows;
- 2) Inflationary pressures in the larger economy;
- 3) A very weak and undifferentiated financial sector;
- 4) The clientelistic nature of electoral politics at the grass-roots

level (p. 40-43).

There was a massive migratory flow to the cities in the mentioned time period, pushing the land prices up considerably. The migratory flows were triggered by three important factors which are thought to complement each other: the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture in a way to reduce the dependence of manpower, the industrial growth in urban centers, and the intense growth of the population (Öncü, 1988, p. 40). Within the agricultural sector many improvements had been made and the crop yield increased which in turn triggered other developments in the industry of manufacturing. In this way demand for labor force was created mostly around the cities in the country. This process was a major factor causing migration to the cities in search of better opportunities and urban employment (Şenyapılı, 2004, p.173). During the time period of interest, namely between 1950 and 1980, Turkey's population increased from 20 million to around 45 million and at the same time the population, the urban population, grew from 3.9 million to 20.3 million (Öncü, 1988, p. 40). Şenyapılı (2004) also verifies that there was a huge population pressure within the cities in this period (p. 174). The population growth for large, medium and small-sized urban centers within Turkey was highest between 1955 and 1975, after which it tended to decline (Gedik, 2003, p. 14). For the peasant population arriving at the cities during this time period, life in the city, though at the periphery, was much better than in villages, and at first the

migrants established settlements which were in essence modeled on their village lives with co-villagers staying together for most of the time (Keyder, 1987, p. 136). The author suggests that “one out of every ten villagers migrated to an urban area during the 1950s.”(p. 137). If it is considered that this process continued at increasing rates during the succeeding decades, one can notice the process of “excess”, “rapid”, “unbalanced”, “fake” urbanization which is the case for the underdeveloped countries as suggested by Keleş (1984, p. 11). The process was directed toward the bigger cities in Turkey and mainly concentrated around İstanbul most intensely creating a “Single Large City” within Turkey. Actually, Keleş (1984) also mentions İstanbul among the “Single Large Cities” around the world (p. 17).

Land had proven to be one of the most inflation-resistant forms of investment and thereby the demand for it increased (Öncü, 1988, p. 41). The land around İstanbul as the largest city of Turkey was so much exploited that Keleş (1984) suggests considering the area beginning with Tekirdağ, including İstanbul and then stretching to Izmit and Adapazarı as just one single metropolis (p. 28). This shows the extent of the demand for land around İstanbul and the cities adjacent to it.

During the time period of interest the banks did not deal with giving credit for home mortgages. Thus, there was not much differentiation within the financial sector. Only one state-owned bank lent credit for housing finance. This was the EKB (Emlak ve Kredi Bankası/Real Estate and Credit Bank) which only supported high cost housing projects (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 182). But the author suggests that residences built by this bank were far from the concept of social residence or people’s residence (p. 182). Most of the credits provided by the bank were directed to high income groups. Thus the bank did not function for the purpose for which it

was established as also suggested by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009, p.111). During the urbanization around the 50s and 60s the state withdrew itself from the housing market and let the “free market” establish itself with its own dynamism and the state got involved only to make minor interferences to the issues and problems occurring in this market. The same authors suggest that in the early phases of urbanization the state did not allocate any financial means for the urbanization problem and hesitated to regulate the process (p. 121). The Workers Social Security Fund (SSK) was another institution providing housing credits but only to workers who were covered by the SSK for at least five years. The credits supplied by this institution were restricted to apartment blocks. For this reason, the house building was financed through private savings as well as short-term commercial and suppliers’ credit at “comparatively high costs” (Öncü, 1988, p. 42). Öncü (1988) also suggests that a kind of building miracle was encountered in this period triggered by the flow of private savings into house building (p. 43). An important point to mention is that the migrant peasants “did not arrive in the cities destitute and without any belonging” (p. 159). Rather, a significant portion of the migrants have had agricultural lands in their villages which had been either “rented out or left to a family member in exchange for some compensation” (p. 159). For this reason the migrants, for the most part, had some capital with them to initiate a squatter housing project on the city periphery.

The “clientelistic nature of urban politics” also influenced the dynamics within the land market. After the 1950s Turkey passed to a multi-party rule along with military intervention that lasted for short periods of time. Though there was a Turkish democracy, the military was still influential in politics. The party system is based on the support by the clientelistic networks and this had their impact on the

“outcome of distributive processes in the urban arena” (Öncü, 1988, p. 43). Parties usually based their electoral strategies on the use of governmental resources. Electoral votes were exchanged for short-term benefits. Several of the state sources used for these purposes are agricultural price supports, liberal credit policies, electrification of villages and other such programs. In the urban arena the local governments used their regulatory powers to benefit the landless masses through the issuance of constructing licenses, and by not implementing the enforcement of zoning and building codes. Besides this, several services such as roads, electricity, sewerage, water, etc., were provided to the masses. Non-exercise of the legal controls was also a widely applied form of patronage. This created a kind of urban anarchy along with expectations that “land use and building controls would sooner or later be relaxed, modified or diluted” (Öncü, 1988, p. 45). Keyder (1987) suggests that politicians had the habit of promising the needed civic amenities and municipal services. After this process the titles to the land were delivered in most of the illegal settlements (p. 136). As a result of this new migrants were encouraged and the process of confiscating the state land accelerated and permanent housings began to be built on the invaded lands. But the process was not an easy one. The support of the local and central governments for the illegal land users in the cities actually began in a rather reluctant way. At first the authorities were not willing to provide civic services to the illegal settlers within and around the cities. But in time these people amassed huge political power pushing for their demands. Thus, the politicians had no alternative but to provide the civic services to illegal settlements (Danielson and Keleş, 1985, p. 137). Another important factor was the expansion of the urban market by the newcomers. The state applied strategies of industrialization, and the

newcomers to the cities provided a huge basis for the market of prospective national industries. The technology needed to establish the industries and their capital basis were expensive elements, and a cheap source of labor was needed to minimize the expenses of the industrialization process and the idle peasants in the villages who had no opportunity but migrate to the cities, providing a huge resource of cheap labor (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 45). The author further clarifies that the cheapness of labor did not solely refer to the price of the labor but also its ability to solve its problems without creating extra expenses for the employers and the state (p. 45). This included the solution of the housing problems through building squats. With all of this in mind a kind of policy of inclusion was implemented towards the newcomers due to the need of benefiting from their market-creating potential (Keyder, 1987, p. 162). Services were also provided with this logic in mind. Keyder (1987) also suggests that the economic conditions of the squatter settlers did improve in time and each household in the squatter settlements was able to buy a television set, a refrigerator and a washing machine (p. 186). Considering the fact that the migrants had become the majority of the urban population during those times, it becomes apparent that the state policies of reinforcing the creation of a domestic market through the inclusion of the migrant peasants to the urban spaces were fruitful in the short-term. Other than this, Bölen (1991) mentions that building of the squats had multiplier effects on the economy through the huge demand creation in the construction sector (p. A014). This is the other side of the coin; and suggests that the politicians and the local governments could not counter the squatter boom, due to its positive impact on the market for construction materials and other items and in its fulfillment of the need

for cheap labor in the cities. All of these were reasons to include the migrants within the economic – if not social and cultural - fabric of the city.

To summarize, the expansion of the city spaces provided most of the social and economic groups with significant benefits throughout three decades of time. During this time period the short-term benefits of the city expansion process and its by-product of social consensus establishments were continued. But the mechanism came to its end during the end of the 1970s. To understand the boom of the urban land market in a detailed manner one should also look closely at the involved groups and their relationship to urban land and land markets.

Finding Land

The squatter settlers used diverse relationships in reaching the land and the housing market in the city. Erder (1996) suggests that for this aim the squatter settlers used channels dependent upon origin and other channels equally frequently. Other channels include cooperatives, newspapers, announcements and advertisements, real estate agencies, and other relationships. Especially in relatively formalized squatter settlements, newcomers mostly used relations other than the channels dependent on the origin. On the other hand, newcomers settling in informal squatter settlements mostly used relations which were origin-dependent (p. 261). In regions where apartments had already been built, channels which were not dependent on the origin of the migrants carried more importance. These formal mechanisms were established recently and were about to replace the origin-dependent relations. The settlers who arrived relatively lately had the opportunity to benefit from the formal and informal

markets and channels within the established squatter settlement. Relations that were built on village/town of origin made the immigrants establish web of relations in the city by connecting ties with the migrants from other regions of the country. Such relations provided an internal environment of security for the migrants as they arrived in the city. It is suggested that creating such relations helped them to overcome their isolation within the city and to eliminate being wiped out in the city. Through their relations the migrants had access to land and the labor market within the city and found an opportunity to earn money that would enable them climb upwards in the ladder of the social classes. The same idea is expressed in different ways: the facilitating element for the urbanization in the country was the informal mechanisms that were established within and among the different social groups who arrived in the cities. These mechanisms were much dynamic and intricate and rendered the immigrants powerful; and generated hope for the future.

Relations which were dependent on origin were realized through different means. Firstly, origin-dependent relations were used to obtain information about the land and housing market. For example, the settlers heard the news regarding land sales in a squatter region through their relations and thereby purchased the land on which they built their squats. The benefit of using origin-dependent relations was the reliability of these relations to get help before and through the squatter construction period on issues like keeping land (Erder, 1996, p. 264), and building houses. Actually, land speculators mainly sold the land under their control to individuals who had access to large groups based on kinship.

Öncü (1988) also suggests that a kind of secondary or informal market was developed for the invaded state lands. The development of this market owes its

existence to the legalization by the governments of the squatter settlements built on invaded state land in short times. Thus, some group of people either occupied and sold the land or built houses on it with the aim of renting and selling. Migrants who arrived in the city earlier and who had established economically sustainable standards for themselves began to build proper housing for their families and rented their old huts to newcomers. Others shifted to middle-class apartments within the city and either sold or rented their squatter houses (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 187). In his earlier work on squatter settlements Şenyapılı (1981) states that squatter settlers began land speculation during the period of 1970 to 1980 (p. 48). This fact changed the characteristics of the squatter settlers and diverse typologies appeared. Tekeli (1982) differentiates between the following types of squatter settlers: those owning one squatter house, those owning more than one squat through the opportunities provided by the system, squatting tenants who do not own a squat but hope to build one in the future (p. 208). Other than these groups there were the squatter speculators, and through the activity of all these people a kind of real estate market without titles was established. During the 1950s the proportion of the illegal houses was 4.8%, and it reached 21.1% by 1980s. In the 1980s, for the first time the majority of the urban population was living in these illegal squatter settlements (Öncü, 1988, p. 47). The local governments attempted to end the illegal housing activities of the migrant peasants, but the number of municipal police was not sufficient to deal with all the cases which were numerous and scattered around the city. Besides this, the Turkish legal code did not allow for the restriction of the travel of the peasants which was included among their basic freedoms. Thus, neither their arrival to the city nor their occupation of the state land could be effectively stopped (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 179).

Access to the state land around the cities became a source of both security and accumulation for the migrants during 1950s and 1980s and thereafter. Within the course of a few elections the squatter housing began to turn into multi-storey apartment buildings as suggested by Keyder (2005, p. 126). But this is a way of commercializing the *gecekondu* which is a factor that undermined the moral basis of the establishments (Buğra, 1998, p. 306). The migrants as well as outside investors and developers benefitted from the process of the invasion of state land. These people began to buy large areas of land on the city periphery and then sold it at higher prices to new immigrants. But this phenomenon changed the issue of squatting since most of the land on the city periphery was owned by private entities. A group of landlords emerged within the cities, and new immigrants had to buy land from them, paying high amounts of money. Still, many migrants were coming to the city since there were not many job opportunities in local settlements around the country.

The second group of urban settlers who were affected by the process of land market formation was the middle classes which included the urban professionals, military and civilian bureaucrats, middle and upper level employees of big modern organizations such as marketing firms, banks, industrial concerns and others. Within the land market attached to the city, these groups of people were tied to the formal housing sector. These people carried the burdens of an inflationary economy through its impact on wages and salaries. Thus, land and house ownership became an important security mechanism for this group against inflationary erosion of their earnings. Land around the city had had crucial importance for these groups of people. As suggested above, land around the cities in Turkey has been a promising

investment that might bring good profits. For this reason, Öncü (1988) suggests that land or *arsa* “connotes a pattern of savings, embodies future hopes and aspirations, symbolizes a whole way of life” for the middle class residing within cities (p. 48). The ownership of a piece of land within or around the city was a way of securing the lifestyles of the middle class and of reproducing this lifestyle for the coming generations. These group of people traditionally resided in one- or two- storey housing through early decades of the Republic but in time and through the pressures of population growth multi-storey apartment blocks took the place of these traditional housing patterns. Thus, by the 1980s almost the entire middle class lived in multi-storey apartment blocks which were built near the city center. These residential areas were surrounded by the squatter type of housing that was reserved for lower income groups (Öncü, 1988, p. 50).

There was a unique phenomenon that took shape almost exclusively in Turkey which is called build-and-sell contractorship. As it has become obvious to the early residents and migrants to the city that migration would be accelerating, some smart people among the earlier migrants occupied the land to sell it to the newly-coming migrants for a profit. Then some speculators built squats for the newly-coming migrants. Actually the “build-and-sell” phenomenon has become an important driving force to spontaneously and temporarily solve the housing problem of the peasants who arrived in the city and this has become a good source of revenue for an emergent sub-contractor interest group (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009, p. 107). But the process took place differently in different regions. The solution of “build-and-sell” is deemed to be the first “licensed” mass housing construction process. This solution also brought together different social classes around the cities e.g. peasants

who arrived in the city and who aimed to find a solution to their housing problems, the bourgeois class who would employ these peasant migrants, and other groups in touch with the city all of whom benefitted from the economic dynamism made possible through the arrival of the migrants. The broadly-defined consensus model created a hybrid of formal and informal mixture in the economic realm. The cement of this formal-informal integration was the build-and-sell model which was based on a constant flow of money which was rendered possible by a lively and dynamic housing market where the need and demand for houses or residential units were met. As suggested by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) the build-and-sell model is based on a web of relations which included the land owners both private and public, the mafia having an interest on land, migrants in need of a piece of land to build their squats on, the capital holders who had ties to the economy such as small and large enterprises and other kinds of productive units who traded the construction materials in and around the city, shortly all those who have had a stake in the development of the market within the city (p.109).

In time relations between the landowners or occupants and the newcomers changed and the land around and within the city was revaluated. The social web of relations formed among the interest groups cited above changed and the landowners became more powerful (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009, p. 109) since land prices rose above the standard levels and began to compete with very famous cities in the world.

Entrepreneurs and contractors were the other groups who were influenced by the boom in the land market around cities. During the analyzed period of time a considerable proportion of all the investment done by state and private actors was concentrated in the construction sector. The state made investments mainly in public

works, and private investors concentrated in dwellings. During this era manufacturing of home furnishings like ceramic tiles, piping and installation to kitchen and bathroom fittings was an attractive area. The construction sector was occupied and shared by large and technologically advanced enterprises and by larger number of small firms. Large firms mainly focused on public works such as cement mills, irrigation projects, dams, power plants, etc. which were financed by the state. These large firms also found the opportunity to enter into the booming Arabian Gulf construction market. But they were not involved in the house building sector since there were no state subsidies in this field. Thus, the construction industry around cities was dominated by the small-scale and competitive construction firms. The prevalent style of projects was acquiring the land in return for a few flats from the land owners (Öncü, 1988, p. 53). Thus during this period many land owners within and around the city found the opportunity to make gains from their lands or housings. This method was especially profitable for the squatter settlers who confiscated a large area of land and built only one-storey buildings on it. By exchanging land for two or more flats, the squatter settlers found the opportunity to make large profit in more than one dimension. First, they acquired a more properly built and safer housing for themselves and second they retained the ownership of one or more their flats which they could rent. Actually, build-and-sell is a model that targeted the middle classes and *gecekondu* the migrants and the poor. But as the former or early *gecekondu* settlers found the opportunity to accumulate wealth and obtain some additional land in-and-around the city they began to leave their houses and operate the build-and-sell system to fulfill the housing needs of other and more middle class-oriented people in the city (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009, p. 121).

The last group within the movement in the land markets in the cities was the local politicians and city administrators. Actually there is a strong emphasis on centrality and the powers of the central government in Turkey, and due to this local governments have always been rather weak and in need of resources. But during the urban expansion mentioned here the local governments and politicians have also had their significant influences. The local governments used the construction licenses and zoning and building codes as their most important resource. These tools were selectively applied by the local governments as a means to support their clientelistic powers within the different districts of the cities. The local governments also had the tool of physical services including sanitation and utility provision under their control. But due to the scarcity of the resources these services were provided upon the choice of local authorities which were based on clientelistic relations with the local groups (Öncü, 1988, p. 54-55). The local authorities provided patronage to selected groups of settlers through free resources such as the selective application of building, zoning and planning codes. Thus, delivering deeds to the squatter settlers was a major form of patronage in return for votes in the elections. In this way, the governments were able to maintain a clientelistic consensus within the cities. Actually, patronage provided by local governments to selected groups is not something that creates discontent among the population. The case is also valid today as shown by Adaman and Çarkoğlu (2000) in their study (p. 166). The authors show that the patronage system is internalized by people and for this reason it is not easy to change this established system through reformatory action. In one or another way people benefit from the system of patronage. On the other hand, neither the political parties in government nor those in the opposition have the will to change this system. Both use

and benefit from the patronage system and for this reason cannot make a decision to reestablish relations with the public (p. 167).

Finding Employment

In the spatial distribution and development of the squatter regions, the industrial and service sectors and the development of labor markets and their assortment was determinative. There is a close relationship between the industrial places chosen by the businesses and the squatter areas, especially in the case of İstanbul. The first squatter areas of İstanbul were Zeytinburnu-Kazlıçeşme where there were leather and weaving industries. In the area from Ayvansaray to Eyüp there was the weaving, tobacco-alcohol, and tyre industry for cars, in Mecidiyeköy, Bomonti-Feriköy there were beer, weaving and chocolate factories, in Beykoz-Paşabahçe there were Sümerbank Kundura(Shoe) and Şişe Cam (Glass) factories, in İstinye there was the Dockyard and factories established by the Koç family and near these places were the squatter settlements. The squatter settlements in these regions were either supplying a cheap labor force to the industries there or those employed in these factories were building their gecekondu in the nearby regions. It was a sort of mutually beneficial relationship. While the employers did not have to be concerned about the problem of transportation for their workers, which also decreased their cost of labor, the employees were able to solve their accommodation problems cheaply. With the rapid pace of industrialization in 1960s and 70s, the industrial centers of 1950s in Sirkeci-Eminönü-Karaköy and around Haliç (Golden Horn) began to move to the surrounding areas to overcome the limitations in their development plans

encouraging *gecekondu* settlements around these new industrial centers. In these new industrial regions the title deed offices began to engage in allotment and parceling against the prevalent parceling rules. It is estimated that the number of such parcels created was over 700 thousand in 1961 (Şen, 1996, p. 12). It was a similar story in Ankara, İzmir, Bursa and Kocaeli, Adana, Antalya and elsewhere.

The economic pursuits of some of the urban people living in the squatter settlements were marginal within the economy of the city. Şenyapılı (2004) mentions that the newcomers to the cities lacked the skills and talents needed in manufacturing industries and for this reason most of them were pushed into the marginal sectors and have engaged in fierce competition among themselves to get the jobs in these sectors (p.174). Şenyapılı (1981) developed the concepts of “core” and “peripheral” employment and suggests that the newcomers settled in squats around the city found employment opportunities mostly in the latter group (p. 19). The peripheral employment opportunities were of smaller-scale when compared to the core jobs. They were mostly involved in activities like running a family grocery, working as restaurateur, hawker, whitewasher, glazier, dessert seller, plasterer, spice seller, scrap dealer, shoe repairer, fruit and vegetable seller, quilt maker, electrician, or occupied themselves as vendors of different varieties (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 18; Öncü, 1988, p. 46). These people constituted a kind of secondary workforce within the labor force in cities, and they comprised around one quarter to one third of the working population. Their skills and talents did not provide them with the necessary security within the labor market and in the urban area in which they had settled recently (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 19).

The relations and channels used in finding employment within the city also became important for the settlers. Erder (1996) classified these employment channels under three headings: the first channel was the use of origin and kinship relations; the second was the formal channels such as Public Employment Office (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu) examinations, newspaper advertisements, and assignment. The third channel involved employment found through personal relations and personal achievement (p. 267). Erder (1996) suggests that the share of employment found through formal channels was around 22 per cent and that even the proportion of self-employment and finding employment purely on personal relationships was more prevalent than finding employment through formal channels. Erder (1996) also makes an analysis of employment through channels based on origin of migration. She suggests that these can be divided into two groups. The first group of relationships involves communication among relatives or migrants from the same village or region. This is the most prevalent way of finding employment and is a form of mutual aid and solidarity which does not rely on money relations. But the quality of the job might have been dependent upon the closeness of the relation and provided access mostly to low-wage jobs which require fewer qualifications. For this reason, it is mostly utilized by newcomers who arrived to the city without any capital or qualifications. These people mostly found job opportunities in areas where their relatives and villagers concentrated. Thus, there were jobs which were mainly carried out by migrants coming from a specific region. Another form of information conveyed resulted in relatively scarce but more secure and permanent jobs like small officer cadres, or being employed in a small business as a worker (Erder, 1996, p. 269). Such information was mostly provided by closer relatives since those jobs

required giving references for newcomers, and a reference to a workplace was only given if the information provider trusted the newcomer and could know him/her more intimately. Actually, people who found employment in state services benefited from such a channel most of the time. Information providers or the intermediaries reserved such scarce and relatively secure jobs for their close relatives and acquaintances. The second group involves relations between individuals who were working together. In this relationship there is a money relationship between the involved parties and such relations were prevalent among small entrepreneurs. This is a relationship relying on "trust", involving inequality and allowing the use of cheap labor. The most prevalent forms of such relationships were father-son and senior-junior siblings. In such employment relationships there is always a dominant party which is either the initiator of the employment or the one putting through more capital or someone having a senior status in the relationship.

The group finding employment purely on personal effort and relationships is a heterogeneous group. Within this group there are individuals who have no kinship relations in the city but arrived in the city at an early age and established their own personal network in the labor market. Erder (1996) mentions individuals who were employed in small business or in the construction sector and travelled between different cities. Another way of employment was through the announcement made by factories. Thus, there were people who followed the announcements made by the factories and these claimed that they have found their jobs on their own. But this required that they have a basic knowledge on the location of the factories, their hiring process, and qualifications for the work in these factories. There is also a group who came to the city in their early teens and who found jobs through friendships

established in school or with neighbors. These people obtained information through the network or mediation of their friends. Formal mechanisms of employment were relevant mostly for those who either had learned occupation through education or for those who had migrated to the city individually.

The public employees of lower degrees were another group within the larger population of squatter settlers. They were employed in work areas such as garbage collection, public transport, and maintenance. But their occupations did not provide sufficient material benefits, although they were stable and secure positions. There was also another section of squatters who were employed by the large and medium-sized enterprises in the manufacturing industry. Their jobs provided them with the opportunity to be covered by the Social Security System active within the country and this was an important privilege for them since only a small fraction of the total work force was covered by the system (Öncü, 1988, p. 46). An important and related fact was the increase in the employment of the women. This shows that there had been a change in the work ethics within the cities as to include women in the labor force. On the other hand, when looking at the occupation of the male squatter settlers, it is seen that most of them were employed in very low-paid and unskilled jobs. This is an important fact supporting the “fake”, “unhealthy”, “excess” urbanization hypothesis as mentioned by Keleş (1984, p. 35). Unemployment also reached its highest levels among the squatter settler populations around the country as mentioned by the same author (p. 36). He also suggests that, in all their unskilled and disadvantageous conditions the squatter settlers provided the new capitalists of the county with a labor force lacking negotiation powers and therefore more vulnerable to exploitation (p. 39).

From the point of view of social mobility the squatter settlers were not in an advantageous position when considering their occupations. Their employment status was privileged in the eyes of the poor living in rural areas but their wages did not provide any security against the high inflation prevalent in the country in those years. But their access to land market in cities provided them with the opportunity to make accumulations over time (Öncü, 1988, p. 46).

Neo-liberalism and Squatter Settlements

Squatter settlements in the 'Third World' are the results of rapid, unplanned industrialization, change in agriculture with mechanization and shortage of housing in the urban areas to accommodate the migrants, leading to illegal settlements with the invasion and illegal occupation of the lands.

In some Asian countries there was an emergent over-urbanization that was characterized by the relatively higher growth rates of urbanization than the industrial growth taking place within these countries. This has had several economic and non-economic causes. Doğan (1974) divided these factors as push and pull factors. Push factors include the high birth rates in rural areas along with decreased death rates, which increased the pressure on land. Individuals living in rural areas could not find employment opportunities within the villages since arable land was scarce and mechanization reduced the dependence on human labor. Pull factors include the attractiveness of the big cities due to the presence of higher pay rates, the availability of radios, buses, electricity, medical, educational, and other important services as well as a variety of experiences and the opportunity to move up the social ladder (p.

18). All of these contributed to the over-urbanization phenomenon encountered in some 'Third World' countries.

Before 1980 the *gecekondu* regions were formed through village and relative solidarity, and the city rents were not that important. Different rent mechanisms began to take shape at different stages in the *gecekondu* regions. In the first stage the land is generated. At this stage, rather than the users, as was the case in most of the *gecekondu* areas before 80s, the land mafia and the capital groups of various sizes or groups formed and together become effective forces. Thus the urban lands generated by these groups were transferred to the individuals/families or marketed to the users from different sections. The second stage is the construction stage where the *gecekondus* are built either by the urban poor to solve their housing problems and/or to obtain rents in the future with such an expectation or illegal structures are built with the sake of luxurious consumption. In the third and the last stage the *gecekondu* areas are developed and *apartmankondus* are erected. Here either the build-and-sell contractors step in with small or moderate capital stock or the *gecekondu* owners build multi-storeys and obtain rents (Şen, 1996, p. 20).

After the 1980s the appearance of the squatter settlements began to change significantly. As suggested above, almost all of the squatter housings were built as one-storey buildings to meet the most basic needs of the migrant families. Actually, this was determined by the facts that the migrants lacked the necessary resources to build multi-storey buildings since the fate of the squatter settlers in the city were indeterminate. Thus, it was not possible and logical to built multi-storey housings though people had this in their minds. Today most of the squatter settlement regions of İstanbul are filled with substandard multi-storey apartments, which lack even a

final plastering as suggested by Keyder (p. 127). Hence most of the earlier one-storey squatters were demolished and replaced with these apartment buildings. Keyder (2005) further suggests that these apartment buildings are occupied by relatives for most of the time (p. 127). The owners also earn a considerable amount of rent out of the apartments. Thus, the apartments provided extra income and security against poverty in times of unemployment. Actually, building apartments is the final step of the economic development of the migrant families and it reveals a stage where the housing activity is commercialized by the squatter settler who had a disadvantaged status in the past. Buğra (1998), as also mentioned earlier, suggests that the commercialization of the *gecekondu* is an important factor that undermines the moral dimension of the housing.

The residential dynamics encountered in the squatter settlements were a kind of substitution and compensation for the squatter settlers against insufficient wages and lack of social security (Keyder, 2005, p. 127). From a wider perspective it should be stated that the import substitution model applied by Turkey came to a halt with the coup de etat of 1980 and the execution of the economic decisions of 24 January 1980 referred to Özal de facto ended the import substitution. The aim was to narrow down the domestic market and direct the resources for an export-oriented growth. This brought a radical change in terms of the relations between the state and the society. After 1980 the state gradually drew back from its role of acting as the arbitrator and privatizations were paving the way for this. This ended the wide class alliances which was the basic feature of the import substitution model. Thus the working masses were excluded from the equilibrium giving rise to more tensions between the classes. This in turn led to income polarizations. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) state

that the rules of the game changed when the state gave up its arbitrator role and the changing conditions after 1980 made the application of aggressive entrepreneurial strategies possible and opened new avenues for the informal sector. This also meant that the strategies adopted by the urban poor would be more aggressive. Thus the dominant migrant figure of the new period was not someone who was obedient and desiring to integrate with the city, but rather someone who would do anything to climb up the social ladder and ready to act legally or illegally as deemed necessary in order to cope with exclusion (pp. 123-127). This was the beginning of “poverty in rotation” in the squatter areas of the big cities as also suggested by the authors. Hence, in a system lacking welfare and having weak distributionary mechanisms, migrants, who mostly were not covered by the social security system in the country, found the solution in establishing social networks in their settlements. In order to benefit from the social networks the migrants had to have roots. For this reason, building houses had an important function to create belonging to a social network which benefitted them through mutuality and cooperation (Keyder, 2005, p. 127). Actually, those who had come earlier to the cities were the ones who found the opportunity to build squats for themselves and through this advantage to accumulate some significant amount of capital to transform these early squatters into multi-storey apartments. On the other hand, migrants who arrived in the city later, especially after the 1980s, were the most unfortunate since they encountered land scarcity because most of the land around the cities had already been sold to land speculators. These people also experienced high rates of unemployment within the cities and also had to face with the economic outcomes of the neo-liberal policies which will be elaborated below.

According to some scholars with the implementation of global neo-liberal policies an era of social exclusion has also began. For instance, Keyder (2005) suggests that “social exclusion refers to a failure of social integration at economic, political and cultural levels- a market phenomenon reinforced by failures in the welfare regime and by lack of cultural integration” (p. 128). The author argues that the “spatial segregation and consistent inequality in the experience of space” are the appearances of social exclusion within the urban area (p. 128). The economic consequence of liberalization and export-oriented production policies meant the loss of the subsidies for import-substitution economies and industries, leading to cuts in their employment levels. Besides this, the new fiscal discipline at the level of the state caused the state to withdraw itself from public employment. Privatization policies began to be implemented by selling the most efficient state-owned enterprises such as ÇITOSAN (Türkiye Çimento ve Toprak San T.A.Ş./Turkish Cement and Soil Ind. Inc.) and Ereğli Demir-Çelik Iron Industry (Cam, 2002, p. 94). The author suggests that the outcome of the privatization for labor was very serious. All of these were accompanied by the shift of the employment for working class from secure jobs to temporary and insecure employment (Cam, 2002, p. 94). Besides this, the government began to apply the model of contract working, initially to the white-collar and then the blue-collar employees working for it (p. 95). Another temporary employment solution was the implementation of the *tacheron* (sub contracting) system where, when appropriate, workers are hired without any contracts and the employees are given less chance “to describe themselves as employees in legal terms” (Cam, 2002, p. 95) although some *tacheron* firms abided by the social security rules. Even though social security is mandatory in Turkey, a

significant portion of the workers under the *tacheron* system are deprived of such rights and are thrown into deepest insecurity. As the author further suggests, the *tacheron* system paid below the mandatory minimum wage applied in Turkey in its early days. But in time the tacheron system has become more systematic, paying more than the minimum wage (Çetiner and Erdal, 2009). This shows how the neo-liberalist work codes were designed mainly to benefit the employers and to disadvantage the workers. Actually, a kind of severely exploitive system was created in the country.

Within the big cities like İstanbul new policies began to be applied that would further worsen the conditions of the workers and especially the unskilled and non-qualified ones. Keyder (2005) mentions the policies of cleansing İstanbul from the manufacturing industry and its negative impacts on the environment to make a more attractive and touristic city where the service sector is dominant (p. 128). But these new service economies were not fit for the employment purposes of the unskilled migrants. Thus, new migrants were left behind and had to suffer the burdens of unemployment. Besides this, neo-liberal globalization also ended the opportunity of the self-employment through discarding the grocers, vendors, carpenters, plumbers, and others. The new establishments such as hypermarkets and big hardware providers dominated the market.

The government supported increased mechanization of agriculture, opened up the rural areas to trade and engaged in trading of several types of products such as tobacco which triggered further migration to the cities. But due to the liberal reforms many people got excluded from the work life, with women more adversely affected than men. Besides this, according to Cam, the earnings of those who could find an

employment opportunity began to decline (Cam, 2002, pp. 101, 103). The overall picture of neo-liberal policies initiated in Turkey after the coup of 1980 suggests that the interests of the working poor were “severely undermined” (Cam, 2002, p. 104). The cities were already overfilled with migrants who had arrived at various dates. Employment opportunities got scarcer, and many people fell into the unemployment trap and were thereby prone to miserable conditions. At this point the forced Kurdish migration from the rural areas of Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the second half of 90s provided the cheap labor for the Turkish urbanization and this massive migration has created the losers of the system (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2009, pp. 173-74). These late migrants had to carry the burden of the commercialized squatter market which was directed by early migrants in the cities. Thus, unlike early migrants, they lacked the opportunity to benefit from satisfying their need for housing through establishing a house of their own. Instead, they became tenants in old squatter quarters thereby lacking the opportunity to accumulate some wealth to secure their lives. That made it worse for these late forced migrants was that this wave of migration also coincided with neoliberal transformation and various international financial crises.

Social Exclusion, Integration and the *Gecekondu*

Every person lives within a certain set of socio-cultural norms. While the individual is shaped by those social norms taught to him/her through his/her family, close relatives and acquaintances, school, work, etc., s/he also changes these norms. However, socio-cultural organization is a historical construct and covers the various

norms inherited from the previous generations, given shape by the institutions leading to a certain set of norms. These norms are encountered in different spheres of the life. Those attitudes, lifestyles and norms which are the representatives of the minorities are subordinated to the prevailing norms assimilated and accepted by the majority. The hegemonic norms, traditions, ideology-ridden rituals and understandings become the judging criteria on what is acceptable and what is not. Hence, we are faced with social isolation and exclusion which paves the way for the hegemony of the dominant ideology regarding what social exclusion is and what should be excluded, especially with regard to the economic situations and status of a certain section of the population within a given society. With the advent of the capitalist society, commodity relations become more and more complex and almost everything is expressed through monetary relations, wealth and status and new forms of social exclusion emerge.

As a socio-historical and socio-economic norm, we shall initially investigate the emergence of the concept of social exclusion and its function. Since social exclusion is a situation of disadvantage due to exclusion from the labor markets, exclusion from the system of social citizenship with certain institutional discriminations is created to make the socially excluded people visible and to advocate for their right to participate into the social space in all respects. We shall mention the differentiating characteristics of social exclusion. Barnes and colleagues (2002) cite the five key factors that characterize social exclusion as follows:

- 1) social exclusion is multi-dimensional – not about income alone but a wide range of indicators of living standards;

- 2) social exclusion is dynamic – analyzing social exclusion means understanding a process and identifying the factors which can trigger entry or exit;
- 3) social exclusion has a neighborhood dimension – deprivation is caused not only by lack of personal resources but also by insufficient or unsatisfactory community facilities, such as run-down schools, remotely-sited shops, poor public transport networks and so on;
- 4) social exclusion is relational – the notion of poverty is primarily focused upon distributional issues, the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or a household. In contrast, social exclusion focuses more on relational issues: in other words, inadequate social participation, the lack of social integration and the lack of power;
- 5) social exclusion implies a major discontinuity in relationships with the rest of society (p. 5).

From the beginning of its emergence, social exclusion became an important issue, initially in the welfare states of the developed world, and policies began to be implemented to solve this important problem. At first look, it seems that the concept has given way to the policies to find solutions indicating the importance of ideas in shaping the world. But a concept is only a one-sided mapping of the reality and while opening up possibilities for the solution of a problem, it also hides many dimensions of the reality in its pure state. The following expresses this concern:

Ideas are weapons and, like other weapons, their value lies in the use to which they are put. An “exclusion” discourse is possible from many political perspectives. It can be a call for radical restructuring of society,

but it can also be a way of rendering major social problems innocuous by breaking them down (Rodgers, 1995, p. 53).

Different aspects of the conceptual relations and underpinnings of social exclusion are analyzed by Silver (1994) who mentions the three paradigms of solidarity, specialization and monopoly (cited in Saraceno, 2001, p. 6). Some French thinkers such as Touraine emphasize social and collective ties and their importance in understanding social exclusion. According to this view, the socially excluded lack certain social relations and are rootless. Touraine (1991) suggests that social exclusion is a characteristic of postmodern societies in which exclusion is based on horizontal segregation and the refusal to include. Thus, societies and individuals exclude each other or do not exist for each other. It is thus suggested that the truly excluded are those who are characteristically people that are deprived of social ties and are in a disadvantageous position (Saraceno, 2001, p. 6). It can be argued that to be excluded, one should be in a position of not being able to create one's own web of social relation, solidarity, and social existence within an organically functioning social whole. If one is rootless and his/her actions are not recognized by those around him/her and/or if s/he has a totally different social existence, then it becomes easier for the rest of the society or those around him/her to exclude him/her. Again, regarding a certain social group where the socio-economic organization of a sub-stratum does not comply with the prevailing socio-economic organization and relations, then it is highly likely that this sub-stratum will be isolated.

From an economic perspective, it seems that there is a relationship between exclusion and unemployment, but the two do not automatically coincide. We must

also mention the idea of full employment, its conditions as well as the real situation in the capitalist market system. Byrne (1997) suggests that the power relations between the capitalist classes and labor was first established in the UK through the combined application of macro-economic policies and legal intervention into the union capacities as well as an ideological attack on all forms of collectivism which would undermine any possible union and solidarity that would resist the will of the capitalist classes (p. 30). As Polanyi (2001) states, social history in the nineteenth century was the result of a double movement. On the one hand, markets spread all over the world and the varieties and amounts of goods subject to exchange grew to unbelievable dimensions and on the other hand “a network of measures and policies was integrated into powerful institutions designed to check the action of the market relative to labor, land, and money” (p. 79, 136) and this process of double movement together with class struggle became deeper and more complex until the present day.

Exclusion comes into being in relation with the kind of regulation of the capitalist society and the power relations within it. Those excluded were even excluded from the reserve army and this was a disabling intellectual attack of the system and its ideologists. The system makes all kinds of ideological attacks on individuals to weaken their ties and creates a kind of rivalry and even hostility among them to prevent any formation of solidarity ties that would undermine the market economy based on competition, the isolation of the individuals from each other, the creation of atomized individuals who only think of their individual benefits and the maximum realization of the self without any allowance for the other. There also lies the moral weakness of the system that botches all kinds of human relations and transforms the society into a violent arena where all fight against all in a war

with no long-term winner. This war even leads to irreversible damages on the environment, and the human relations. The popular and recognized concepts on which the system is based are individuality, selfishness, maximization of interest and gain, competition which has ambiguous meanings where only its positive influence on improvement is stressed and the other and negative side is never mentioned.

In the age of globalization, we are witnessing unprecedented changes in technological innovations that lead to major changes in the economy. Day by day, an economic environment is created that intensifies the gaps between the workers as well as the unemployed majority and the capital owning minority, where the neoliberal logic of the system “allow[s] public wealth and income to be appropriated and concentrated on an unprecedented scale” and thereby creating a great mass of marginalized people as suggested by Schmidt and Hersch (2000, p. 50). On the one hand, there is wealth accumulation and wealthy neighborhoods and on the other hand and near them there are neighborhoods living in poverty and these are integrated with each other in close proximity. This is an unhealthy situation in terms of public welfare as the system continuously attacks the welfare regimes attempting to restrict or completely eliminate the welfare regime claiming that it is not a viable and sustainable system that puts extra burden on society and working people. However, there is no mention of the huge accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few beyond any reasonable and meaningful logic. At the same time, the media and all other communications tools are controlled by the wealthy few through which they promote the flawed logic of globalization and influence the minds of the public. Politics is not innocent in this game and tends to embrace the values of the system in return for holding power. Thus, there is only a few, or in fact, no political party that

would oppose the propagation of the logic of globalization that undermines all moral and humanitarian principles. The system is also transforming the quality of work and the general life of people where work is becoming more and more demanding and stressful and laborious and the general quality of life deteriorating as real wages and incomes decline and citizens are impoverished of their basic citizenship rights (Schmidt and Hersh, 2000). This process leads to the decomposition of social cohesion and to political instability. It is actually within this context that the term or the fact of social exclusion should be considered. Globalization intensifies the division in society and leads to a general competition for survival in an unprecedented manner, even though in an IT age, we live in a world with high levels of production. The system is enforcing social exclusion as a norm which is used as a threat against any demands coming from working people. They are threatened to be completely excluded from social life. There is no chance that social exclusion will begin to be discussed more intensely in recent times. Actually, social exclusion is a general threat directed against the basic morals of the society. The term “social exclusion” may be a weapon to be applied in this broad social (class) struggle fought against the destructive forces of globalization by calling for the protection of public welfare.

At this point, however, we must refer to Polanyi who explained and interpreted the logic of capitalism and of free market economy on the basis of a conflict that cannot be ever relieved. Polanyi begins by describing the self-regulating market system and its establishment where the economy is “controlled, regulated and directed by markets alone; order in the production and distribution of goods is entrusted to this self-regulating mechanism.” (Buğra, 2007, p. 173). But this is “a

stark utopia which could not exist for any extended period without annihilating the human and natural essence of society” (p. 173). The capitalist economy is distinguished from the former economic systems by the “disembedded” characteristic of the economy from society. Such a situation, however, is not compatible with the reality of social life. With the concept of “double movement”, Polanyi refers to the “parallel attempts to eliminate the barriers to the functioning of the market economy and resist, at the same time, the latter’s consequences for human beings, nature, and industrial activity” (Buğra, 2007, p. 174). This countermovement is seen as vital for protecting the nature and society, but is not compatible with the logic of the self-regulating market system.

Against all of the drawbacks, the concept is still in wide use and provides an understanding of the disadvantage experienced by different groups, but at the same time there are endeavors to shape a new discourse that would expand the understanding regarding disadvantage and improve the quality of public debate (Marsh and Mullins, 1998). It also must be mentioned where the disadvantage is at its deepest level. Marsh and Mullins (1998) speak of the housing system which can function as a key to social and spatial stratification. Housing is a neglected dimension of analysis in social research as well as in policy issues. The informal land and housing market that became active after the start of the urbanization process was a solution to the socially excluded groups, and gave birth to the “build-sell” model which offered cheap housing to these socially excluded groups. This market was controlled both by social groups within the cities and those that have seen a profit making opportunity in the construction of cheap housing units. The state did not intend to solve the housing problem but to generate an affluent class that controlled

wealth of the country. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) suggest that there were groups which were excluded by the state and the housing problem of these groups were solved through informal ways providing a non-market solution. The same authors suggest that the function of the build-sell model was to fill the gap between the state and the market (p. 112). In this respect, it is suggested that *gecekondu* has a special function and place for those who migrated to big cities and were excluded from the market. At initial phases, the *gecekondu* units were produced solely for purposes of usage and the process of construction almost did not include money relations.

Actually, the concept of social exclusion refers to a wide range of issues not limited to housing problems. These major issues are: exclusion from the labor markets e.g. lacking the opportunity of long-term employment, and exclusion from the system of social citizenship which establishes a basis for “stigmatization, restrictive or oppressive legislation and law enforcement, and form of institutional discrimination” (Somerville, 1998, p. 762). The first dimension, integration in the labor market, may be a key for a wider inclusion into society as suggested by Levitas (1996). The exclusion, in terms of the first dimension, can be broken down into two groups: exclusion from the labor market or exclusion from secure paid employment (Morris, 1994).

The second meaning also bears multiple connotations within the context of social citizenship: beginning from the right to a minimum income to the right to a decent standard of living involving access to education, health care, and housing and various other public services. The best or the ideal situation is that all humans should have the same opportunities without any exclusion on the basis of class, race, sex,

age, sexuality, disabilities regarding the basic human rights. But the list is not ever all-encompassing and there are other possible exclusions on other grounds. The division is made on the basis of the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ individuals where only the latter can be deemed to be excluded from the system and the society as suggested by Somerville (1998).

The problem of the integration of the socially excluded is a crucial one and has been discussed for a long time since the start of the social exclusion discourse and the activities to ameliorate the excluding condition within the context of the globalization and the application of neoliberal policies. Integration may take various forms depending on the policies applied. In developed countries, the socially excluded or disadvantaged are integrated into capitalist system through the welfare regime which seems to be weakening in the recent years. In Turkey, there are different and less institutionalized forms of integration. As stated by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009, pp. 102-122) the primary economic integration of the squatter settlers into the socio-economic system is first realized through the build-sell contracting system widespread in the formal and informal land sectors all over Turkey, especially before 1980s and then through “poverty in rotation” in the transformed *gecekondu* neighborhoods with *apartmankondus*. The process is also realized through mass housing built by TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi/Mass Housing Administration) as a legal and formal alternative to the informal *apartmankondu* formation. The period after 1980 is characterized by the further commercialization of the *gecekondu* space as an informal solution to the problem of integration (Demirtaş, 2009, pp. 82-91).

After the 1980s, there has been a re-distribution of wealth in Turkish society and a new type of business person called the entrepreneur became one of the building

blocks of the new economy. At this point moral issues began to be discussed since social and collective ties began to weaken and to be replaced by selfishness and individuality. The idea of selfishness laid the basis for the division of society and individuals. All of the processes were related to the kind of economic model being applied in the country. Since Turkey is not a developed country in terms of the welfare system and sound policies that rely on rights of individuals, the process was very painful. As every citizen wished to secure his/her survival and those close to him/her and at the same time to secure wealthy life standards, there began a race, a highly competitive race among the citizens. Although such a race increases productivity and production, one cannot confidently suggest that this was a healthy process in terms of social harmony and integration since the social production and distribution processes and mechanisms are at least as important as competition and increases in productivity and production.

Social Integration through Mass Housing under Neoliberal Policies of Özal and Thereafter

Turgut Özal has been a crucial figure in Turkey's transition from the import-oriented and closed economic policies to the neoliberal developmental model that took place after the 1980s. Özal's model of neoliberalism has had its own characteristics which distinguished it from other transition models that took place around the world. Özal established continuity in leadership during the 1980s which rendered the continuity in the policy and its rooting in the country in short time periods. Özal's leadership was crucial in persuading the electorate to give approval to the neoliberal policies

against all odds encountered such as the rising inequality in the distribution of wealth, and others.

With the introduction of the neoliberal policies after the 80s, the economic environment within the country changed abruptly and became very competitive. İstanbul was, as usual, the city around which the majority of economic activity was collected and for this reason this city also received a huge portion of the state funds which made it possible to engage in urban renewal projects as well as infrastructural investments (Keyder and Öncü, 1993, p. 23). Urban re-organization was carried out through the funds provided by the Mass Housing Administration which also encouraged the development of a private market for housing. The major aim of the governments was to reorganize the city to facilitate the needs of neoliberal capitalism which was newly introduced. The increased economic dynamism in cities influenced also the prices of land some of which were occupied by squatter settlements. At the same time, due to increased migration to big cities, there occurred a kind of housing shortage, particularly around İstanbul where the high inflation and the increasing land prices almost excluded middle and low income people from the housing market (Pulat, 1992, p. 49; Keleş, 1990, p. 13 cited in Burkay, 2006, p. 62).

In line with the neoliberal argument and Özal's populism in return for votes and securing his terms in the office, his government initiated the enactment of "imar islah planları" (Master Development Plans) to provide amnesties to illegally built squatters. Land occupied by the squatter settlers was revalorized and some significant portion of the squatter settlers benefited from these plans to transfer their land to land developers. It was a strategic move to avoid any upheaval against the

neoliberal policies through giving some crucial share to the squatter settlers which comprised a group that could not be neglected in different cities around the country. Özal also provided other compensatory mechanisms for the middle-classes, too, and these people were able to receive subsidized housing credits from the mass housing authority. This was the start of a new kind of urban populism after the coup of 1980. The succeeding governments never lost their ties with this urban populism in order to appeal to the majority of the voters scattered around different cities and who were the “oy depoları” (vote pools) for the governments determining the destiny of both the general and the local elections.

The Mass Housing Fund was founded by Turgut Özal with the aim of providing cheap credit to be used by individuals for housing purposes in order to trigger the development of a formal housing market. In its early five years funds were provided for approximately 550 thousand houses. During these years the fund remained autonomous but then in 1993 the fund was transferred to the central budget and its name was changed to Mass Housing Administration (Tafolar, 2007, pp. 96-115 cited by Yağcı, 2009, p. 92). The fund was totally abolished in 2001 while its credit providing power declined until the present day. As of 2009, the fund was transformed into T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut Dairesi (TOKİ) (The T.R. Prime Ministry Mass Housing Department /Mass Housing Administration).

The idea of the current AKP government and the Prime Minister Erdoğan is completely different on mass housing. Erdoğan, during his term as the mayor of İstanbul, met the cheap housing demand of the city through an early project designed in 1980s, namely the KOPTAŞ. The municipality had the techno-legal capacity and

provided the land and permissions and private capital was directed to the construction of houses for the lower-middle classes. This was a kind of public-private enterprise for housing that proved to be fruitful and Erdoğan, after winning the elections and obtaining the title of Prime Minister, transformed TOKİ into a similar establishment. Thus, TOKİ was empowered to produce and develop land, engaged in urban planning as well as confiscating the land invaded by *gecekondus* around the city. The assets of the former Emlak Bank were also transferred to TOKİ. At the same time Urban Land Office was abolished and its powers were transferred to TOKİ. In this way TOKİ became the sole authority dealing with and directing all kinds of land development, planning, and construction activities that are to be carried out by the state. TOKİ was empowered further as the institution was given the power of receiving land of the Treasury freely on the condition of receiving the approval of the Prime Minister. TOKİ began to engage in major housing projects around the country. During the initial years of the early fund, some 43 thousand houses were constructed between 1984 and 2003 and after the empowerment, TOKİ built some 367 thousand houses in only 6 years. TOKİ is no longer providing credit but building houses and in this way provides 10% of the housing supply (2000-2010 Türkiye Konut İhtiyacı Araştırması cited in Yağcı, 2009, p. 94).

The houses built by TOKİ are sold without much profit margin to the urban lower and middle classes with the aim of avoiding any further occurrence of a squatter boom around the country and the formation of an unregulated mortgage market. Since the 1960s, there have been no governmental subsidies or regulation in the housing market which has been the reason of illegal squatter settlements around the country.

Reflection of the Globalized Consumer Culture in the Lifestyles of the Squatter Settlers

Neo-liberal policies increased their pace with globalization leading to significant changes in the lifestyles and consumption cultures all over the world and within different social groups. Consumer culture is described through “the cultural dimension of the economy, the symbolization and use of material good as ‘communicators’ not just utilities” and “the economy of cultural goods, the market principles of supply, demand, capital accumulation, competition, and monopolization which operate within the sphere of lifestyles, cultural goods and commodities” (Featherstone, 1987, p. 57). According to another definition consumer culture is a “social arrangement in which the relations between the [lived cultural experience of everyday life] and social resources, between meaningful [valued] ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, is mediated through markets.” (Sheth and Maholtra, n.d., p. 1). The same authors also cite the four crucial aspects of consumer culture as follows:

1. The pervasive and rapid circulation of commercial products, that is, things produced for exchange within a capitalist market, takes priority over and above things redistributed by governmental means through the welfare state or exchanged among social groups through gift giving.
2. The relative independence of consumption activities from those related to production and the growing power and authority this gives to some consumers over market dynamics.
3. Changes in the relationships between different systems of production and valuation in the society where these changes are all increasingly interlinked

and mediated by market values, i.e. how much does it cost? How much will someone pay?

4. The special importance given to the use of consumer goods in the allocation of individual status, prestige, perceived well-being and quality of life (Lury, 1996, p. 4 cited Sheth and Maholtra, n.d., p. 1).

Within the new consumer culture carried by the tide of globalization, classes also changed their basic elements and lifestyles. Especially the middle class is on the rise while adopting a progressive world view. Through economic and social transformation processes, some of the early squatter settlers shifted their class identities from the working class to the middle classes while others and especially the late comers become tenants of the early settlers and the new workers, and even become the unemployed in the city. This shift is accompanied by a change in their tastes and consumption culture and lifestyles. Actually the migrants arriving in the city and forming a life in the squatter settlement around it begin to adapt themselves to the lifestyles prevalent in the city. The process of adaption is a form acculturation. Sandıkçı et al. (2006) cite Berry's (1980) conceptualization of "acculturation as a linear process with four possible outcomes of assimilation, integration, marginality and separation" (p. 429). The description of these four possible outcomes are: adoption of the dominant culture and seeking to get rid of the minority culture is named assimilation, rejection of the dominant culture to retain the minority culture is named separation, combination of the two cultures in a hybrid is named integration, and distancing from both cultures is named as marginalization (Üstüner and Holt, 2007, p. 42).

The Changing Discourse Regarding Squatter Settlements

Squatter Settlements: A Critical Evaluation

In their early periods the squats were treated like regions that involved the “threatening Other” who were not in compliance with the values of the city, its social order and its secular ideology or culture in general. An important issue is the way how *gecekondu* and *varoş*⁵ are represented in the media. Both of these concepts are the different names used for squatter settlements in Turkey. These two terms refer to different types of squatter environments regarding their relation to the city and their perception by others in the city. The concept of *varoş* is more recently coined and used in the agenda. The term *varoş* is rather a label that denotes a low income settlement which tends to be excluded by other city dwellers. Originally the term *gecekondu* involved negative connotations and a kind of othering process by the dominant discourse since the first emergence of the *gecekondus* around the late 40s and early 50s. But with the introduction of the term of *varoş* the othering process took a new form and impetus. In the initial years of the Republic, with the influx of migrants into the cities, either some shelters were established or very desperate rooms were rented within the low income neighborhoods in the big cities. Afterwards the process of *gecekondu* construction began to produce some uneasiness among the Republican elites and caused some kind of degrading discourse which worsened in

⁵ The word *varoş* comes from the Hungarian word *város* which has the meaning of city. (Wiktionary, <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/v%C3%A1ros>).

the following years parallel to the intensification of the squatter construction process. But there were expectations that the migration process was transitory and reversible.

The second period, namely the years between 1950 and 1966, was the term of the Democrat Party, and populist policies were applied. During this time the relations between the land owners and the peasants became more antagonistic, and the peasants who were reduced to farm laborers had no choice but to migrate to the city. Actually this was the breaking point in the history of the *gecekondu* in Turkey. It is during this period that the squatter settlements around the cities tended to transform from scattered houses into permanent and established neighborhoods. In line with the construction of the *gecekondu* settlements around the cities, public and academic attention began to focus on the issue. This involved “astonishment, uneasiness, and an optimistic belief in the transitory character of these settlements” (Demirtaş and Şen, 2007, p. 88). The elitists of the Republic who had posts in the academy or in bureaucracy were very critical of the squatters and the lifestyles in these settlements. They claimed that the *gecekondu* was a deviant and ugly space that had to be contained and eliminated from the sphere of beautiful cities.

The third period involves the entrance of the *gecekondu* issue and the term into the legal documents with the law number 775. The period runs between 1966 and 1980. During this period there was much politicization and polarization among the public which also influenced the *gecekondu* regions through violence and the struggle between different extreme political groups. The period saw the enactment of an Amnesty Law in 1976 which brought the demolition of *gecekondus* to a halt. The government was unable to apply urban planning projects due to lack of financial resources. The *gecekondu* space was much politicized in this period and obtained

some degree of power to confront the demolition policies of the state and the local governments. The era also marked the beginning of the commercialization of the *gecekondu* space. The commercialization of the *gecekondus* took place due to the heavy and continuous flow of migrants from rural to urban areas. The early *gecekondu* settlers found the opportunity to use their houses as a source of income. In early periods the *gecekondu* settlers were perceived by the urban population and elites as the rural others which had had a homogenized impact on them. This homogenization, however, began to change in this period since the *gecekondu* settlers began to differentiate along ethnic, sectarian and origin lines. The differences also began to trigger some serious conflicts among the *gecekondu* settlers. The situation was worsened through the unequal treatment of the *gecekondu* settlers according to their political affiliation. Also, the *gecekondu* settlers began to differentiate and separate from each other along their sectarian identity. As a result the perception of the *gecekondu* settlers as ‘rural others’ began to fade as the social difference among the *gecekondu* settlers became more visible. These differences related to political point of view, economic status, timing of migration or occupational roles within the city, and culture-related sectarian or origin differences. In general the prevalent discourse between the years 1940 and 1980 involved the integration of the *gecekondu* settlers to the city life. However, after the 1980s the discourse on the *gecekondu* in the academia and in media began to differentiate from each other. While academia adopted an in-depth approach to the lives of the *gecekondu* settlers, the media continued to treat the *gecekondu* and its settlers in a pejorative and exclusionary way (Demirtaş and Şen, 2007, p. 90).

What is missing in the discourse on the squatter settlements is the lack of evaluation of the squatter settlement as a living and transforming social organism in a continuum. Since the analyses are mainly limited to ten to fifteen-year time intervals, it is rather difficult to trace and understand the transformation of the squatter settlements as well as the transformation of their conceptualization by the society at large and especially by academia and the media. Hence it becomes quite difficult to put it in place within the entire social organization and the socio-historical picture. In the following pages I will thus approach the issue from a rather different and encompassing perspective and categorization of mine and will explain the process of economic transformation of the squatter settlements and the settlers from a historical and socio-economic perspective.

Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlements

Using the metaphor of the emergence of a river and its flow into and mixing with the sea water, the formation and transformation of the squatter settlements can be seen as a two-stage economic transformation within a continuum both at the micro as well as the macro level where at the first stage squatter settlers take root and ensure their sustained existence in the city, and in the second stage they become a part of the city. In this section this transformation process is analyzed with reference to the legalization of *gecekondus* settlements paving the way to *Apartmankondus*.

Primary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlements

The first wave of migration from the rural areas to the outskirts of the urban areas of the cities marks the beginning of the primary socio-economic transformation of the migrants. Thus the primary economic transformation begins with migration to the outskirts of the cities, continues through the creation of a settled life in the squatter settlements and gives rise to the secondary economic transformation with the building up of multi-storey apartments in the settled areas.

It would be misleading to see migration from the rural areas into the cities only as a result of poverty and economic change. It should also be seen as a search for a new and a “better life” associated with ‘modern’ life and expectations. In the first instance, this migration is reflected as a problem of accommodation, namely a housing problem in the cities. Since there was no solution provided by the government, the spontaneous solution was found by the squatter settlers by building illegal houses on Treasury lands.

As the spatial distribution of the population changed, the urban population began to surpass the rural population.⁶ Although the ‘Municipality Law’ (No. 1580) which was passed in 1939 and was still in effect at the time with certain modifications specifying that the “municipalities are responsible for solid waste management, construction and repair of streets, and installation and operation of water, electricity, gas, and light rail services (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, pp.

⁶ According to Şen (1996) one third of the city population lived in the squats (p.3) in 1996 and this figure reached 50 per cent of the urban population in 1999, with 4 million dwellings built on 227 million m² of Treasury land in Turkey valued at nearly \$1.5 billion in 1996 dollars and around 60 per cent of the gecekondu dwellers were underserved and to an extent served by the basic urban infrastructure and services (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, pp. 196-98).

196-98), the *gecekondu* dwellers developed their own means to solve their basic infrastructure problems which is characteristic of the primary stage of economic transformation. The flowchart in Figure 1 below describes the process by informal actors for producing infrastructure and services for *gecekondu* residents all throughout the primary stage of economic transformation.

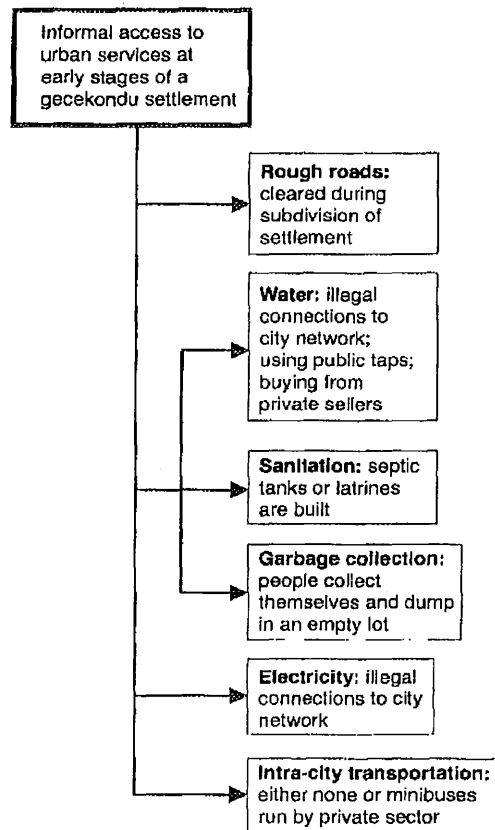


Figure 1. Sequence of informal infrastructure provision.

Source: Josef Leitmann & Deniz Baharoğlu, "Reaching Turkey's Spontaneous Settlements: The Institutional Dimension of Infrastructure Provision", *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1999, p. 203).

As the squatter settlements take root; *muhtars* (neighborhood-level elected officials) and to an extent the district mayors begin to play a role in conveying *gecekondu* demands for infrastructure to service providers. However, regarding the sequence of service provision priorities of the *gecekondu* dwellers and the public authorities are

different. While the *gecekondu* dwellers insist on the provision of services regarding their basic needs for water, electricity and waste disposal, roads become the key issue for authorities to provide the other services.

Thus, at the primary stage of economic transformation, *gecekondus* are situated at the key intersection points between the urban and the rural areas and become 'transitional areas' and 'interphases' in spatial, economic, social and cultural senses.

Legalization of Gecekondu Settlements and the Path to Apartmankondus

As the settlements became more consolidated, *gecekondu* settlers began to establish their neighborhood associations (*mahalle dernekleri*). The first example is Kazlıçeşme Zeytinburnu Havalisi Gecekonduarı Güzelleştirme ve Teşkilatlandırma Derneği (Embellishment and Organization of the Squatters of Kazlıçeşme Zeytinburnu District) which was established in 1948 (Şen, 1996, p. 8). Such associations established in 1960s and 1970s in large numbers played a crucial role in finding solutions to the infrastructural problems like electricity, water, sewage and road by collecting money from the settlers and using it for this purpose. They also played an important role in acting as mediators between the settlers and the municipality and pressuring the municipality to bring services to the squatter areas and acting as a catalyst in the formation of *gecekonduculuk*⁷ identity.

With amnesties the squatter regions began to become more secure in terms of development and have their status legalized. The first squatter amnesty is enacted by

⁷ Adapting the lifestyle of, thinking and acting with a squatter settler mentality.

the government of Hasan Saka in 1948 which only included the squatter settlements in Ankara. It authorized the municipality to distribute the Treasury lands on which the *gecekondu*s were erected to the squatter settlers and to give them the title deeds. The first amnesty law legalizing the squatter settlements was enacted in 1949. This was followed by the *gecekondu* amnesty laws or law amendments of 1953, 1963, 1966, 1976, 1983, 1984 and 1986 (Şen, 1996, p. 8). In the 1960s, *gecekondu*s began to be seen as an inevitable consequence of Turkey's rapid and unplanned development and urbanization. In the first 'Five-Year Development Plan' prepared by DPT (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı/ State Planning Organization) in 1963 options other than demolition of the *gecekondu*s were considered. For the low-income housing, 'redevelopment' of the existing *gecekondu*s together with the development of site and services programs was put as a prime objective and paved the way for their legalization (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, p. 197).

The *gecekondu* laws before law number 2981 of 1984 aimed to provide basic guarantees for the urban poor living in the cities. But this law laid the ground for the *gecekondu* owners to get a share from the city rents and to turn their *gecekondu*s into zoned buildings through the subcontracting builders and sellers. The other change brought by the law was the development-improvement plan which made it possible for the provincial municipalities to escape from the inspections of the metropolitan municipalities and to open up the illegal settlement zones into settlements (Şen, 1996, p. 9). So each *gecekondu* amnesty created a sort of legal guarantee to the previous *gecekondu*s and led to the spreading of *gecekondu* regions. Thus municipalities were formed in the *gecekondu* areas pulling more population from the rural areas as well as the poorer sections of the city encouraging the development of

the *gecekondu* regions and their spread to other regions of the city. For example, in İstanbul the *gecekondu* regions where municipalities were established after 1966 were the following: Avcılar (1966), Güngören (1966), Yakacık (1966), Sefaköy (1967), Alibeyköy (1967), Hadımköy (1969), Celaliye (1969), Soğanlık (1969), Esenler (1970), Kemerburgaz (1971), Selimpaşa (1971), Yenibosna (1971), Dolayoba (1971), Çınarcık (1972), Yeşilbağ (1975), Kocasinan (1976), Halkalı (1976) and Yahyalar (1977) (Şen, 1996, pp. 9-10).

Among the amnesty laws *Gecekondu* Law No. 775 issued in 1966 and the Law numbered 2805 issued in 1983 and enacted in 1984 by the ANAP (Anavatan Partisi/Motherland Party) government before the local elections of 1984 had different approaches than the other *gecekondu* laws. The Law No. 775 used the term *gecekondu* for the first time and sought “to: improve existing inhabited *gecekondus* while clearing out the uninhabitable ones; prepare sites and develop low-cost housing, and prevent new *gecekondu* settlements” (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, p. 197). While the law aimed to improve the existing sites it also established a *gecekondu* fund to prevent further *gecekondu* formations. With the other *gecekondu* law, law number 2805, all the *gecekondus* built up to June 1981 were forgiven. However, *gecekondus* on the Bosphorus were outside the scope of this law. Then with law number 2980 issued in the same year, *gecekondus* on the Bosphorus were included in the amnesty. With the new law numbered 2981 and issued in 1984, problems and conflicts in execution were removed. This law made it possible for the *gecekondu* owners to build up to four story buildings on their own parcels (Şen, 1996, p. 9) by permitting the distribution of title deeds to the *gecekondulus* who built their squats on the lands of foundations, on state owned lands or the municipal lands

provided that they would pay for the land they have appropriated (Demirtaş, 2009, pp. 87-88). With this law the primary economic transformation of the squatter settlers was endorsed and legalized by the state, opening the way for the second-stage of economic transformation.

Secondary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlements

Throughout 70s and thereafter the squatter settlements began to experience radical changes. While new squatter areas were being formed and continued their building until the turn of the century, the late-comers began to face many more restrictions. The first serious legal obstacle to the spread of squatter settlements was with the enactment of Public Works Law (No. 3194) of 1985 where the service providers were limited to serve areas within structure plans indicating that water, sewage, and electricity connections should only be provided to formal areas (Leitmann and Baharoğlu, 1999, pp. 197-98). On the other hand, in the squatter areas which completed their primary transformation process with basic infrastructure problem solved, multi-storey apartments began to be erected in the previously established squatter settlements with new municipal services. With the new amnesty laws and with the improvement of the municipal services, squatter areas began to have infrastructural services and this created the opportunity for the build-and-sell contractors to turn these settlements into apartments. Thus an avenue was created to get a share from the city land and building rents.

Building of *apartmankondu* was a turning point for the squatter settlers' secondary economic transformation. First of all, the relationship of the settler to the

land and the dwelling changed drastically. In the *gecekondu* times the settler lived a kind of village life with a *gecekondu* built within the garden; he planted vegetables, gathered fruits from the planted trees, raised cattle and chicken and obtained wheat, barley and other grains from her/his village and led a village-like life on the outskirts of the city. With the *apartmankondu* s/he began to live in a 'modern dwelling' which changed her/his lifestyle which began to look more like that of the then-middle class city people. In this context and with regard to the fact of apartment formation, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) emphasize the basic role apartments played in the emergence of the city middle classes and their efforts to increase their welfare levels (p. 103).

Secondly, the subsistence economy all throughout the primary economic transformation process was gradually replaced with a higher income economy with the increase in income from money obtained from the new flats rented, income obtained from savings and various investments, and being employed in better paying and higher quality jobs. Thirdly, the family solidarity of the *gecekondu* times created a better web of family and relative solidarity under better conditions since the new generation and the later coming relatives would be accommodated in the newly built *apartmankondu* flats creating an economic and competitive advantage when compared with other city dwellers paying rents. This opened the way for the accumulation of capital for the family's future investments. This monetary power of the family could then be directed to different areas of investments.

In the transformed squatter settlements *apartmankondu* formation was realized in two different forms. In the first form, build-and-sell and squatter building went hand in hand. Without getting permission from the public works low quality and cheap apartments were erected on the shared-land titles or on treasury lands by

the contractors. In the second form the *gecekond* owner, rather than building a make-shift cheap *gecekond* by using cheap and very low quality materials to finish the *gecekond* as soon as possible, began to build the foundation and the first floor of the apartment with strong materials and in a planned manner thinking of her/his future needs and by directing all of her/his savings into the newly erected proto-apartment. With the expectations of new *gecekond* or amnesty laws or amnesty for building s/he began to add new storeys in line with her/his economic power. While the earlier squatter settlements were one-storey, made of cheap and non-durable material with the settler's and his relatives labor, the new *apartmankondus* were built as multi-storeys, with high quality material, through the use of professional workers, with rational calculations and plans according to the dictates of the market and with the expectation of serious rents from them. The dynamic development of the city economy and significant savings made by the squatters was an important factor in the *apartmankond* formation. Thus the squatter settler jumped to the second stage of economic transformation with the *apartmankondus* and began to see the city as her/his main habitus, transforming the *gecekond*. Now the *gecekond* regions have become places where the second and the third generations are born and socialized, changing the way the squatter settlers integrate themselves to the city.

The flowchart in Figure 2 below describes the process by formal actors for producing infrastructure and services for squatter residents through the *muhtars* (neighborhood-level elected officials) and the district mayors playing the most important role in conveying *gündüzkondu/apartmankond* demands for infrastructure to service providers. In the squatter settlements which have already gone through their primary transformation and are going through their secondary transformation

priorities of the authorities and the *apartmankondu* dwellers concerning sequence for urban service provision now coincide with each other to a great extent.

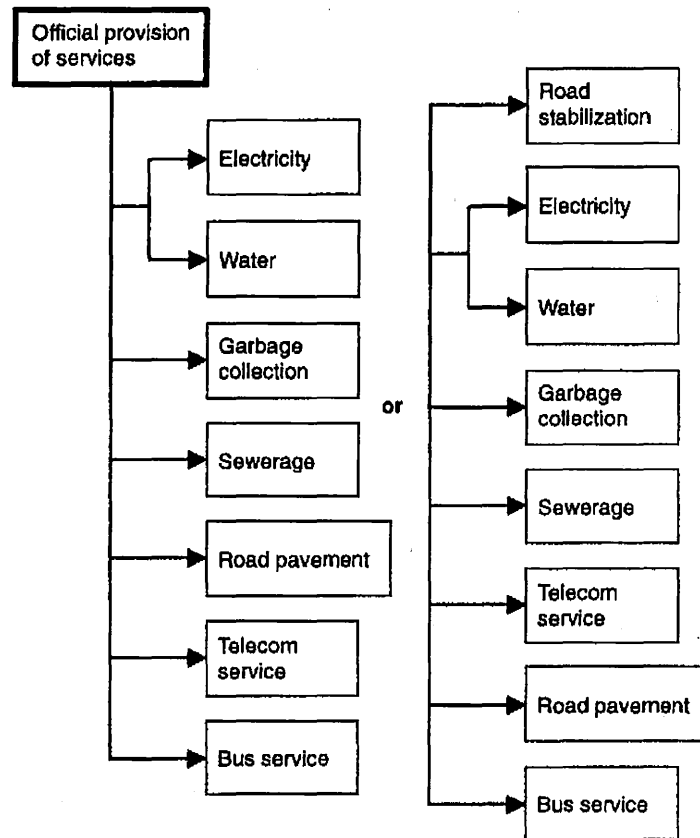


Figure 2. Sequence of formal infrastructure provision.

Source: Josef Leitmann & Deniz Baharoğlu, "Reaching Turkey's Spontaneous Settlements: The Institutional Dimension of Infrastructure Provision".
International Planning Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1999, p. 204).

While through the primary economic transformation squatter settlers take root and ensure their sustained existence in the city, with the process of secondary economic transformation they now change their economic status in the city. Besides ensuring their sustained existence, during the primary economic transformation process; they accumulated some wealth and capital and looked for ways of investing this capital. The main avenue in front of them was to invest the amounts they saved over years in

a family solidarity into their *gecekondu*. But since they could not extend the lands they occupied and could not built new *gecekondu*s nearby, this time they turned their *gecekondu*s into *apartmankondus*. In this type of *gecekondu* the squatter settlers first lay a solid foundation as in the case of the multi-storey apartments and build one storey on it and then add new floors over time. By this way it becomes possible to make an *apartmankondu* out of a *gecekondu*. This is the main mechanism where *gecekondu*s become new *apartmankondu* owners with multi-storey buildings. The strategy here is two-fold; first to guarantee a dwelling for their family and relatives including their growing/grown-up children and then to use the extra floors they built through the clientele relationships and bribery as a source of income. The family, relative and village-oriented solidarity within the squatter settlement and in the *gecekondu* now takes a new form. As the family takes deeper root within the squatter settlement and the city and as the family expands in size with the new generation of married sons and daughters, the *gecekondu* solidarity now becomes *apartmankondu* solidarity. The main problem of paying rents is again taken care of, but this time for the entire extended family. For some it becomes possible to rent the extra floors to the new tenants coming to work in the city like they did a few decades ago. This creates the opportunity to save more money and with a wider web of family solidarity. The economic power of the squatter settlers increases, and they begin to build new and modern villas in their villages, buy fashionable cars, summer cottages, the second generation begin sending their children to private colleges and *dershanes*⁸, invest the money in new businesses and finally engage in conspicuous consumption. This goes hand in hand with the increased pace of neo-liberal policies

⁸ private establishment preparing students for various exams

with globalization in the world and with Turkey's integration with the global system. New lifestyles emerge, consumption patterns change, individualism develops, older solidarity oriented social relations now give their way to the egotistic relations with aspirations to show their richness through what they own. On the other hand, those squatter settlers who were not able to turn their *gecekondus* into *apartmankondus* lost their economic advantage and became poorer, leading to a rather different secondary economic transformation and a different place in the economic life. Since they lost their web of solidarity and could not become rent earners either. As the squatter settlement is integrated deeper with its vicinity and the city at large the settlers also become part of the city life and a similar pattern of economic organization is seen in the squatter settlement.

Contrary to the prevailing understanding on the social exclusion thesis with regard to the squatter settlements due to the global neo-liberal policies, squatter settlements are continually being integrated into the system containing the prototype of the neo-liberal economic relations and transformation within itself and at the same time giving rise to a minor urban underprivileged class. Through the process of primary and secondary economic transformation the squatter settlers transform their pre-capitalist and agrarian socio-economic lifestyles into an urban and modern city lifestyle and the neo-liberal policies act as catalysts in this transformation and integration process with the overall system.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

“No theory ever agrees with all the facts in its domain, yet it is not always the theory that is to blame. Facts are constituted by older ideologies, and a clash between facts and theories may be proof of progress. It is also a first step in our attempt to find the principles implicit in familiar observational notions.”

(Paul Feyerabend)

In the current study the transformation of the economic lives of the settlers of RHU in line with the building up of *gecekondu/gündüzkondu/apartmankondu* from 1960 onwards, the impact of the neo-liberal policies in the world and specifically in Turkey on this transformation, and the modifying role of the BU and its students as the major component of the tenants of *gecekondu/gündüzkondu/apartmankondu* owners of RHU as the landlords is analyzed utilizing a qualitative research methodology by directing open-ended and semi-structured interview questions to the respondents selected through a judgmental and purposive sampling from the population of RHU as well as through participant observation.

Conceptual Basis

One of the important issues is to establish the conceptual basis of the study. The first basic concept is migration which means social dynamism at individual or social levels as suggested by Erder (1996, p. 15). Those who have migrated to the city have to use the structures and the channels of social dynamism. The second set of basic concepts is related to the economic ideology; collectivistic and solidarity-oriented

economic ideology vs. individualistic and self-interest centered economic ideology. Other related concepts are work and land markets in the city along with city, urbanization, and poverty, rent-seeking and primary and secondary economic transformation. At the primary stage of economic transformation the squatter settlers aim to take root and become an integral part of the city, whereas in the second stage of economic transformation they aim to get a share from the urban rent by becoming *a sine qua non* element of the city. Urban rent is an important phenomenon that is crucial to the understanding of the land invasion and its distribution in the black market. Urban struggles of the immigrants were shaped around the invasion and settlement in the primary economic transformation stage and distribution of land rent in the secondary economic transformation stage. Neighborhood or *mahalle* is an important concept which is an Arabic word that is transmitted to Turkish with the meaning of the smallest local settlement having its unique social communication, organization, control and order. In order to become a *mahalle* such a unit should go through the official procedures and get the necessary permits from the proper institutions (Erder, 1996, p. 27).

Research Questions

Interviewees are directed to respond to open-ended and semi-structured questions (See Appendix A and B).

Answers are sought;

Primarily to the following research questions:

- How did the economic ideology of the RHU settlers change from a collectivist and solidarity-oriented ideology into an individualistic and self-interest centered economic ideology and what was the impact of the neoliberal policies on the transformation of their economic ideology?
- What is the situation of the RHU settlers in terms of integration vs. exclusion paradigm with regard to the global neo-liberal socio-economic system and Turkey's integration with it?

And secondarily to the following questions:

- Why did the squatter settlers choose to build the *gecekondu*, *gündüzkondu* and *apartmankondus* in the early 60s and 90s respectively?
- What was the role played by the state, the governments, local authorities, municipalities, and the various *gecekondu* amnesty laws enacted in general and specifically with regard to RHU throughout the economic transformation process?
- How did the economic lives, motives and status of the squatter settlers of RHU change after the building of the *gecekondu* in the early 60s onward and the building of *apartmankondus* in the early 90s and how did this affect RHU and the new generations living there?
- How did the primary and secondary economic transformation of the squatter settlers of RHU take place and what were the differences between them?
- How was the relationship between BU and RHU all throughout the economic transformation process of RHU from 1960s onward and how did the BU contribute to this process?
- How did the relationship between RHU and BU change after building of *apartmankondus* in the early 90s?

- What was the impact of the neo-liberal policies in the world and specifically in Turkey on this transformation and how did it affect this economic transformation?

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research refers to different approaches and methods rather than a single, unifying and static set of approaches and/or tools of research. Snape and Spencer (2003) suggest that methods to be used in qualitative research depend on a set of circumstances such as the researcher's beliefs about the nature of the social world and about what can be known in this world (ontology), the nature of knowledge and tools of acquisition of this knowledge (epistemology), the particular purposes and goals set for the research, the different attributes of the research participants, the audience to whom the research will be presented, and the environment in which the research will be carried out (p. 1). Another issue also mentioned by Snape and Spencer (2003) is the duty of the researcher "to be aware of the philosophical debates and the methodological developments arising from them in order to secure the quality of the research produced." (p. 1).

In qualitative research designs the research questions revolve around the questions of "why" and "how" but in a specific way as to increase the understanding of the issue being examined (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005, p. 220). An important dimension in qualitative research is that the researcher usually presents her/his interpretations about the issue too. Thus, rather than analyzing the matter 'objectively' from a distance, s/he also adds her/his subjective interpretations to it. At

this point it is appropriate to present a definition of qualitative research. Snape and Spencer (2003) cite the following definition given by Denzin and Lincoln (2000):

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices... turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p. 3).

Ontology and Epistemology

Ontology and ontological questions regarding social research become decisive when making assumptions, conceptualizations and deductions on “what there is to know about the world” (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 11; Maylor and Blackmon, 2005, p. 155) and how to know it from an epistemological point of view. The problem that ontology deals with is whether there is a social reality independent of human conception and interpretation, since the people in general and the researcher in particular conceives the social and the natural world around her/him from a human-centered and pragmatic perspective. The answers to these questions mainly help to differentiate between three distinct positions which are realism, materialism and idealism (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 11). On the other hand, Morrow and Brown (1994) suggest that there are two distinct and different answers espoused by the objectivists and the subjectivists (p. 53). Realism claims that there is a reality of facts independent of our consciousness and our perceptions regarding them. This is a rather naïve conception of the essence of reality. The objectivists are closely

associated with realism. On the other hand, the subjectivists adopted the view of nominalism or constructivism “that argues there is fundamental gulf between our concepts and empirical reality.” (Morrow and Brown, 1994, p. 54). The argument of the subjectivist is that we cannot really know reality directly since “our understanding of it is mediated by the constructs of our consciousness.” (Morrow and Brown, 1994, p. 54). There is, on the other hand, a different method of explanation and approach beyond these two, called critical theory (Morrow and Brown, 1994, p. 35). But before explaining critical theory it will be appropriate to explain the epistemological stance of the above mentioned two theories in more detail.

Morrow and Brown (1994) suggest that “ontologies are linked closely to epistemologies because it is necessary to have a conception of the nature of reality before one proposes to justify a scientific analysis of it.” (p. 54). Realism is in accordance with positivist epistemology in that it claims that science is performed to discover the invariant laws that determine the relations of the facts and these invariant and universal laws exist and can be discovered beyond consciousness. There are the anti-positivists who include the excluded dimensions of the meaning and consciousness of social actors in to the play. This refers to the split between subjectivism and objectivism and found its expression in the famous and traditional opposition between idealism and materialism (Morrow and Brown, 1994, p. 55). Critical theory refers to the theory that seeks the liberation of humans or as suggested by Horkheimer (1982) “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (p. 244). Rasmussen (2004) states that critical theory “owes its origin to Kant, Hegel and Marx, its systematization to Horkheimer and his associates at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, and its development to successors, particularly to

the group led by Jürgen Habermas, who have sustained it under various redefinitions to the present day.” (p. 3). Critical theory is usually associated with changing society and this claim finds its purest expression in Marx’s famous eleventh thesis which is as follows: “Philosophers have always interpreted the world, but the point is to change it.”⁹ (Marx and Engels, 1979, p. 70). Marx emphasized the unity of theory and practice and this was the approach of critical theory adherents towards empirical research. But since the times of Marx critical theory has undergone substantial changes, and, as suggested by Morrow and Brown (1994), eventually critical theorists have decided on a revised research program. This stance of critical theory is explained in the following quotation from Giddens: “In being stripped of historical guarantees, critical theory enters the universe of contingency and has to adopt a logic that no longer insists upon the necessary unity of theory and practice.” (Morrow and Brown, 1994, p. 303).

Morrow and Brown (1994) differentiate between three types of research approaches which are defined and described as follows:

The relatively autonomous inquiries located in universities and other locations that encourage fundamental or relatively autonomous research oriented to relevant scientific communities; the interventions of social criticism – that is, forms of inquiry and advocacy primarily directed toward the public sphere, though also often involved in professional training associated with policy and social problems analysis; and critical action research directed toward informing the social praxis actually carried out by social agents. (p. 305).

We shall also discuss social change as it takes place in the social realm. The social realm constitutes social structures and human subjects each different than the other and engage in different activities. We shall be thinking about social change within

⁹ “Filozoflar dünyayı yalnızca çeşitli biçimlerde *yorumlamışlardır*; oysa sorun onu *değiştirmektir*.”

this framework. The social structure and the institutions are the outcomes of the process of reproduction and transformation. This process includes also change which is an essential part of it. The social structures are actively reproduced rather than being fixed in time. This is the transformational model of social activity. The transformation process encompasses all of the subjects involved in the social system. Actually it is the practice of humans that change and transform the social structure. This is a mutual process in which both the subjects and social structure change (Lawson, 2003, p. 184).

The current study is based on the amalgamation of various methodologies to minimize subjectivity with emphasis on critical theory stated above. However, its basic tenets are based on the analysis of the concrete social reality from an economic perspective to draw the framework of the methodology of the current research. Its departure point is the concrete. Before formulating his main hypothesis and arriving at the main research questions the researcher has carried out both theoretical and practical research in order to feel, experience and explore the essence of the issue at hand. Thus, the questions and hypothesis formulated in the mind of the participant-observer researcher after an adequate theoretical and practical research were revised after the research, leading to the final form.

Data Collection

Methodology was the first section written. Then the researcher went through the research data obtained through in-depth interviews, participant observations in the meetings of Rumelihisari Mahallesi Sosyal Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği”

(HİSARDER) (Association of Social Solidarity and Culture for Rumelihisari Neighborhood). Other associations of Sarıyer province and the “Associations Platform” of the squatter settlers of Sarıyer in order to determine the relevant literature as well as the basic parameters of the field work. The literature review was written simultaneously with the basic field work writing. Then the conclusion was written and finally the introduction, arriving at the draft form of the thesis. It was thought that this method was much more appropriate and useful for a ‘scientific’ approach in formulating the research agenda and the questions to search answers for.

In carrying out the current study, both secondary and primary data are used. In the theoretical and literature review, secondary data are utilized to prepare the groundwork for a theoretical setting and background of the study. In accordance with the topic of the current study about squatter settlements in RHU it is proper to include the issue of squatter settlements in the analysis. A preliminary literature survey indicated that there is a substantial amount of academic literature on squatter settlements and squatter settlers regarding Turkey and the world for the development of the theoretical framework of the current study. In the current study secondary data is obtained from the libraries, especially the Turkish University libraries, Yükseköğretim Kurulu (YÖK) (Higher Education Board) database, University of Michigan digital dissertations, data from the municipalities and *muhtarlık**, and Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) (Turkish Statistical Institute).

Secondary data has its disadvantages too. Churchill (1996) mentions two important disadvantages of secondary data as problems of fit and accuracy (p. 194).

* the office of the elected head of a neighborhood

Problems of fit refer to mismatch between secondary data and the issue currently being analyzed. For the current research it was not easy to find secondary sources that completely match the aims of the current study, namely primary and secondary economic transformation of the squatter settlers. Thus, even though valuable secondary sources are identified for the current research they mainly dealt with different aspects of squatter settlements and for different time periods. Another serious problem is related to the accuracy of secondary data. In the current research the researcher was careful and selective in utilizing the secondary data, especially for the period after 1976, and cross-checked it with the findings of the field work, and through participant observation.

Obtaining primary data is at the heart of all research. Secondary data, especially when it is associated with and based on the earlier time frames regarding the issue at hand, give clues on the relationships between the categories studied as they existed in an earlier period. It does not provide the researcher information on the changing relationships, new trends emerging and the new formations. Thus primary data provides information and links the past to the present, paving the way for the continuity. This is especially important for the current study. Through the collection of primary data some disadvantages in secondary data such as the subjectivity of the research, the problem of fit and accuracy may be overcome as well. Since primary data is collected specifically on the research questions being analyzed, there occurs no or fewer problems of fit, and it also serves as checks and balances tool. But the process of collecting primary data is time consuming and expensive. Still it is an indispensable part of any research as well as the current one. Primary data is also important for contributing to the literature and opening up new avenues for future

researchers. In the current research primary data is collected in RHU with the aid of Hisarder from the residents of the squatter settlements.

Data Collection Method

As a qualitative study, in-depth and semi-structured interviews and participant-observation are used as the data collection tool in the current research. Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) refer to classical ethnographers such as Malinkowski who stress the importance of talking to people to grasp their point of view and besides this “personal accounts are seen as having central importance in social research because of the power of language to illuminate meaning” (p. 138). In-depth interview is a kind of conversation taking place between the researcher and the respondents, and the conversation is managed and directed by the researcher through purposeful questions. In the current research the researcher directed the respondents so that they would answer the questions in the form of stories and narratives. In accordance with the logic of the current research, the temporal and logical narrative styles are preferred. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) refer to Denzin (1992) who suggests that narratives are temporal and logical in the following way:

A story ... tells a sequence of events that are significant for the narrator [the respondent/social actor] and his or her audience. A narrative as a story has a plot, a beginning, a middle and an end. It has internal logic that makes sense to the narrator. A narrative relates events in a temporal, causal sequence. Every narrative describes a sequence of events that have happened. Hence narratives are temporal productions. (p. 55)

In the current research, respondents who are chosen from amongst the RHU squatter residents are interviewed on their personal and family stories with special emphasis

on their economic histories, especially after the building of the *gündüzkondu*s and *apartmankondus* in the early 90s. This sequential story-telling helped the researcher to understand the economic story of the transformation of the squatter settlement and the settlers in a meaningful and integrative way. The life stories of the respondents helped the history of the transformation of the squatter settlements to make sense and be meaningful.

A standard set of questions was prepared in order to ensure that information was collected in a consistent and comprehensive manner. The standard questions formed the basis of semi-structured interviews which were flexible so that details and unanticipated questions could be pursued during the course of the interview. Most interviews were taped (with the interviewee's permission), transcribed and then translated into English. Around 1,500 pages of raw data were obtained from the respondents during the course of interviews. Anonymity was assured so no respondent is mentioned by name in this study.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a qualitative research method that aims to help the researchers to get information about the perspectives of the populations they study. Communities involve multiple perspectives that belong to its members and it is important to find and decipher these perspectives and to understand the interaction between them. In qualitative research there are two ways of achieving this aim; one by observation and the other through a combination of observation and participation. The researcher should observe and participate into the daily activities of the

community studied in the community settings and locations that are relevant to the research questions. Thus, instead of waiting for the participants to come, the researcher goes to the participants and visits them in their daily settings. The researcher remains an outsider but observes the daily life of the participants from the inside ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 13; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Through the observation and participation process, the researchers engage in informal conversations and interaction with the participants. The data obtained is then used as a check against the subjective views of the participants and especially against the gap between what they believe in and what they do. Besides this, participant observation is useful to gain an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts of the lives of the participants, their relationships, ideas, norms, and the events in their lives. Participant observation gives the researcher the opportunity to gain nuanced understanding that could be obtained only through personal experience. Through observation the researcher becomes able to gain an understanding of the depth and breadth of diverse human experience ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 14; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

There are several disadvantages related to participant observation. Participant observation is time-consuming. Observation and participation activities require as much as one year to complete. But in applied research shorter time periods are acceptable. It is proper to use a data collection team who are native to the region in which observation is carried out. They would "possess a solid base of cultural awareness" and this would help them to concentrate on the research question. In participant observation there is difficulty in documenting data since the process of observing and participating does not allow for any written record. Thus, memory and

personal notes are the main methods of recording data. But one can rely on memory only to some extent. In order for the notes to be useful the researcher should be diligent in note taking and in expanding them. Observation is subjective, but research requires 'objectivity'. There is a difference between reporting observations and the interpretations. The former is a more or less objective process while the latter is subjective. The researcher needs to filter out the personal biases ("Participant Observation", n.d, p. 15; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Major strengths and weaknesses of participant observation are:

Strengths

- Allows for insight into contexts, relationship, and behavior.
- Can provide information previously unknown to the researchers that are crucial for project design, data collection, and interpretation of other data.

Weaknesses

- Time-consuming.
- Documentation relies on memory, personal discipline, and diligence of researcher.
- Requires conscious effort at objectivity because the method is inherently subjective ("Participant Observation", n.d, p. 15; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Participant observation data may take many forms including text, maps, pictures, diagrams and kinship and organizational charts and even some quantitative data in the form of numerical data ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 15; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Participant observation is always used along with other qualitative methods including interviews and focus groups. It belongs to an iterative process that works back and forth. The first task of participant observation is to facilitate the establishment of positive relationships among the researcher and the key participants in the study. Without their assistance and confirmation the study cannot be realized. Initially the necessary permits should be received from the appropriate authorities and officials ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 16; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Participant observation should yield questions that are relevant and appropriate to be used in interviews and focus groups. Observation team members should be able to discern the subtleties within the responses through cultural cues ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 16; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

There are concerns about the identity and aims of the researcher and their disclosure to the respondents. In various situations the researcher and the observer team should hide their identities and their aims to obtain data easily. However, in others it is better that the identification of the aims of the researcher and the team be stated openly. The researcher ought never to be secretive and misleading about the project and about the roles of the related persons. Therefore, if respondents would like to know about the identity and the aims of the researcher and the team, they should be provided with adequate information ("Participant Observation", n.d., p. 17; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

The researcher had the opportunity to take advantage of the benefits of participant observation since he was a part of the neighborhood since the late 60s. He was the son of shoe-maker family from Şebinkarahisar, Giresun in Anatolia/Black Sea. Upon his father's death and due to lack of enough agricultural lands his family

first migrated to Adana near his uncle where his mother worked as a janitor at a primary school for two years. Later the family migrated to İstanbul near his uncle's residence in Kasımpaşa who was the pioneer migrant of the relatives coming to İstanbul. The uncle had performed his military service in İstanbul in the early 1950s and created a life of his own in the city by marrying here, working in various factories, and finally settling there. He acted as the stationing post for the further migrants including those going to Germany as guest workers and the family of the researcher who stayed with them for less than a year until they moved to Bebek when he was seven years old. He began his primary school education there and became a part of the struggle to build a squatter settlement in late 60s together with his mother who worked as a domestic worker in other's houses in Bebek. He used to come to a Nafibaba tomb which is now near the heliport at BU early in the mornings at sun-rise with his mother, his mother prayed there, he accompanied her and then they came to the newly bought land in RHU under today's Türkan Şoray Primary School. Later the researcher and his family took care of their land by regularly watering the trees they plants which they bought from Sarıyer nursery garden. Even at that age he carried water with *omuzluk*¹⁰ from the stream down the hill and watered the trees and the plants. The researcher's family built their *gecekondu* on this land, albeit with much difficulty. Since the stone foundation of their *gecekondu* was demolished a few times. Military pasha living in an apartment in Uçaksavar overlooking the *gecekondus* of RHU had called the *zabitas*¹¹ a few times to demolish their newly built *gecekondu*. To evade further demolition the new stone foundation of the *gecekondu* was built at the lower end of the land since it could not be seen from afar

¹⁰ a shoulder yoke for carrying goods and water.

¹¹ the city police

and a *gecekondu* was erected in one night with the organized work of around ten *gecekondu* builders. The researcher witnessed the struggles to control the land against the invaders claiming ownership of the land and the fights among the neighbors regarding the borders of the lands. The land owners literally fought with each other for an inch of the land and regarding border disputes. Communities were involved in these fights and the struggles to protect 'their' lands'. This situation continued until the squatter settlement at RHU became settled and safe enough to be lived in, and the researcher won the high school exams in 1971 to study at a private boarding school for the orphans, where he could come to his home and the squatter settlement in the weekends and then in the vacation times. He now became a 'participant observer' which continued when he won the university entrance exams to first study math at BU and then undergraduate in management upon winning the university exams again and masters in economics in the same university while he was a full time auditor. He lived in the neighborhood between 1980 and 1988, and experienced the struggles before the *coup de etat* of 12 September 1980, the coup process, the later period and then the beginning of the secondary economic transformation when the *apartmankondu* building process began. He then left to study in the US, earning a Master's degree in economics from Eastern Michigan University, living in Ann Arbor Michigan and also auditing courses in economics and sociology at the University of Michigan and then moving to upstate New York for a PhD study in History at SUNY Binghamton, where he received a master's degree in history. He came back almost at the end of the *apartmankondu* building process and again became a part of the neighborhood and continued his studies at BU through the amnesties in the academic years of 1991-92, 2000-2001 and 2009-2010.

He went back to the US to Chicago and Washington DC to study economics and math and to work there. In the meantime he came back and forth and made his own research regarding his own history, the neighborhood and about the *gecekondul*. With the final amnesty he began to work on his thesis to write on the current subject as his MA thesis in economics. All throughout this period he was both a local and live-participant and inhabitant of the neighborhood, and this helped him considerably during his research on the issue. Besides, for the fieldwork, the researcher had established a team of squatter settlers of different ages and professions including a BU graduate and RHU inhabitant to help him in carrying out his research and obtaining data and information on the primary and secondary economic transformation process of the squatter settlers. In the middle of the research project Rumelihisarı Mahallesi Sosyal Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği” (HİSARDER) (Association of Social Solidarity and Culture for Rumelihisarı Neighborhood) is founded and was of considerably help to the researcher all throughout the fieldwork supplying him all kinds of information regarding the research subject with the expectation and the hope that the research will be utilized for the benefit of the squatter settlers of RHU in a probable urban transformation project.

The researcher himself is a *gecekondul/gündüzkondu/semi-apartmandondu* co-owner together with his family, lived as a tenant in the central *apartmankondus* of RHU since 2000 and is currently the tenant of a car dealer from the same village of origin. The basement floor of his *semi-apartmankondu* is rented by various “*esnafs*”, new migrants from Eastern Anatolia, BU students, RHU inhabitants and tenants. The second floor which was a *gündüzkondu* is rented by BU students and graduates and the newly finished roof floor is a family dwelling. Researcher’s mother has a squat

residence (the original *gecekondu*) rented by a “gatekeeper” family working in an apartment in Bebek.

In his home-office of translation and consultancy services in RHU he employs an early RHU settler’s son whom he has known since his elementary school years and who is also a BU graduate. They provide translation and consultancy services to the nearby Notary Publics in Etiler and Bebek and the companies in these neighborhoods. One of the researcher’s sisters had not ever been involved in the squatter settlement process and lives a middle-class life in the Kurtuluş area in İstanbul. His other sister - who lives and works in the US since late 80s as a registered nurse - has been a part of the squatter settlement life since her middle school years upon building their squatter settlement in RHU five years after migrating to Bebek. She is a graduate of İstanbul University Florence Nightingale Nursing College. After working a few years in various departments of Cerrahpaşa Medical Faculty she was employed first as a nurse at BU infirmary and then later at the Kindergarten before she left for the United States. The researcher’s family has gone through a very similar process of primary and secondary economic transformation and this serves as a typical example for the respondents selected for data collection.

Except a few cases, the researcher did not face serious problems regarding the field work, the questions directed, etc. since the respondents were confident enough about him and his ethical stance. This reminded the researcher of an anecdote: in the middle of 1980s; field work was conducted by an American anthropology PhD candidate in RHU who faced serious problems including mistrust of the squatter settlers concerning the purpose and the ‘hidden agenda’ of the research. On the other

hand, the researcher was trying her best to abide by the ethical standards of the research and even later wrote an article on the research and her ethical stance and concern entitled: “An anthropologist trying to be ethical, but still getting the job done” which was never forgotten by the current researcher and is used as a guideline.

Sampling

The population of the current study from which the sample of respondents is chosen is the overall population of RHU who have lived through the transformation of the settlement during the 1990s. Thus, these people probably have firsthand, personal, accurate and complete knowledge on the former condition of the settlement as it was completely a squatter settlement and on its new form after building the *gündüzkondu*. While choosing the sample of respondents to be interviewed those who are thought to best fulfill the purposes of this study were handpicked. This kind of a sampling is called judgmental sampling or purposive sampling as suggested by Churchill (1996, p. 483). As stated by Churchill (1996) “the sample elements are selected because it is believed that they are representative of the population of interest” which is the population of RHU in our case.

The sample for this study consisted of 84 respondents chosen from among the population of RHU and BU (See Appendix C). Whenever need arose new respondents are found from among the population and the respondents are selected upon going through the deciphering of 1,500 pages of in-depth interviews and participant observation conducted for a period of six months all throughout the neighborhood. The interviews were conducted at two or three stages, each interview

taking at least four hours, some even taking eight to ten hours. Some respondents are interviewed a few times to obtain reliable data and to fill in the missing information as far as the research subject is considered.

The sample has a widespread demographic variety consisting of males, females, young, middle aged, elderly, single, married, divorced, representatives of four generations of RHU settlers, the urban poor, the lower, middle and higher income groups, different professions, various BU students and graduates both living in and outside of RHU, BU lecturers, tenants, early and later settlers of RHU still living in the *gecekondus* and from the poorest sections of the neighborhood, new migrants, BU employees in different parts of the university including the library employees and the gate keepers of the university.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is an important part of the research that has the power of determining the outcome. For this reason special attention should be paid and care be shown for this separate step. The data that is obtained through the field study period consists of tape-recorded interviews with the sample of respondents. So, at first the tape-recorded interviews are transcribed to be used more easily. Afterwards the data analysis tool or method is determined. Kolb's learning cycle is found to be a widely used and reliable method of data analysis that can be used with qualitative data. The method is explained by Maylor and Blackmon (2005) and consists of several steps. The first step is the concrete experience of the researcher and this, for the current study, consists of the transcribed interviews. The second step is named reflective

observation and consists of three separate activities. The first activity is familiarization with the data and involves “becoming intimately familiar with” the data (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005, p. 348). In the second activity the researcher spends enough time with the issues and the data and reflects on the important events and facts. The third step, named reordering, the researcher summarizes the data to decipher the patterns explored within the data (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005, p. 349). The stage just before the final one is named abstract conceptualization where the researcher extracts the key concepts from the data. During the final stage of active experimentation the researcher evaluates the data for recurring concepts and patterns and checks whether or not these concepts and patterns fit with the model, theories and concepts suggested in the literature (Maylor and Blackmon, 2005, p. 349). In the current study the research followed these stages and made use of Kolb’s learning cycle for data analysis regarding the data obtained from RHU respondents.

Reliability of the Data

Reliability refers to obtaining similar results with other and independent measurements (Churchill, 196, p. 405). Thus, the results of the study should be replicated with other measurements carried out by different researchers. In order to ensure reliability the sample population is chosen through a judgmental and purposive sampling from the population of RHU so that they adequately represent RHU and that they give true information on the history of the settlement and on the transformation process after the 1990s. To increase reliability, similar questions are directed in different phases of the interview, cross-checked with the information

given by other respondents having a similar situation. Since reliability is an important concern for any researcher, in this study the respondents within the sample are chosen with utmost care taking their trust in the researcher, their trustworthiness in a purposive way so that they fully represent the settlement and provide the researcher with true, accurate, and hence reliable information. Since the researcher is a member of the RHU community, living in the neighborhood since late 1960s, having personal acquaintance with the issue at hand, having had experienced a similar economic transformation process, knowing the issues and the basic relevant economic indicators, increased the reliability of the sample selected and the research process.

Validity of the Data

Validity refers to the accuracy with which the research is conducted. The issue determined at the start of the study, not another issue or concept that has some relation with it, should be distinctly and fully analyzed. In this study the issue to be analyzed is determined as the economic transformation within RHU from 1960 onwards after which it became a settled neighborhood. Thus, the questions in the interviews are chosen as to assess the issue at hand. The respondents are questioned and directed so that they would give a complete account of the economic transformation.

For validity and reliability purposes some interviews were conducted again after a few months in a shorter form to check the earlier responses and data provided by the respondents.

Limitations to the Study and the Ethical Issues

The first limitation of the study is related to the sample selected. The sample is selected purposefully on a judgmental basis and is based on the knowledge of the researcher regarding the economic life histories of the representative respondents from their primary economic transformations onward. This selection method brings with it the risk of excluding certain respondents who have built similar *gündüzkondu*s, albeit from different economic sources and including others coming from similar economic backgrounds, but having made different economic choices. Besides, the sample is chosen on acquaintance basis in order to obtain reliable and adequate data as it is rather difficult to convince the squatter settlers to be interviewed regarding their economic situation which is a private issue for them. They only reveal such information if and when they trust the researcher and his aims. It was even difficult to have the respondents tell their personal economic history narratives to see the change in their economic livelihood. The other related difficulty was the lack of recorded, official and/or published data regarding the respondents' profession, the rents they obtained, their earnings, investments, etc. as most of the economic activity in the region is unrecorded. This made it difficult to make generalizations from the sample selected. The other difficulty which was closely related to the first limitation is how to generalize the data obtained from this judgmental sample to the whole population of RHU.

Trust in the researcher and privacy of information posed another limitation to the study by inhibiting the interviewees to comfortably explain their economic

transformations, concealing information regarding their sources of income, etc., and the researcher had to devise indirect ways of obtaining the basic economic information. This has also led to ethical dilemmas on the part of the researcher to protect the respondents' privacy while getting the job done. In one instance where the researcher conducted an interview with one of the earlier *hocas* (*prayer*) of RHU whom he personally knew for more than 30 years, even though the respondent agreed to be interviewed believing in and trusting the researcher; he declined to participate because tape recording and note taking during the interview went against his personal, religious and political beliefs. He suggested that the researcher was familiar with the issues and that he could later put the pieces together and write the basic facts in general. There were other similar situations and problems with some other respondents as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE SQUATTER SETTLERS OF RUMELİ HİSARÜSTÜ

“Ben kendi devrimimi yaptım sıra sizde”
(I made my own revolution, now it is your turn)

(An Early RHU Settler)

Rumeli Hisarüstü overlooks both Rumeli Hisarı and Bebek and owes its existence to these two historical and well-off neighborhoods. Its major source of income during the primary stage and a significant portion of it during the secondary stage of economic transformation came from these neighborhoods and today some portion of its income still comes from these neighborhoods as will be explained in the coming pages. Thus, it will be proper to provide a general framework and information regarding both Rumeli Hisar and Bebek.

Rumeli Hisar is an old settlement located in between Baltalimanı and Bebek. Actually the neighborhood was the first Turkish village in Boğaziçi where a mosque was built and the location of the cemetery is determined. Owing to the fact that it was the first Turkish village in Boğaziçi the borders of the neighborhood were kept large initially, and these borders were protected until 1940. Afterwards they were narrowed to allow space for newer settlements and neighborhoods. The name of the neighborhood was Hermanion in antiquity and was modified to Lemokopion during the Byzantine period. After the construction of the Hisar fortress by the Ottomans the region began to be called as Rumelihisari and occasionally Boğazkesen, Boğazkesen Hisarı, Yenicehisar and Yenihisar. It is the narrowest point of Boğaziçi. Actually the fortress is the most important historical monument within the borders of Sarıyer

municipality. Within the neighborhood there is the famous Turkish cemetery, Aşıyan Mezarlığı. There is also an Armenian cemetery in the region which now belongs to Rumeli Hisarüstü (RHU), although there are no Greek or Jewish cemeteries in the neighborhood. During its history there have been new arrivals to the region and the population became more mixed including Bosnian, Albanian, Macedonian, and others. The population of the region changed its characteristics further after the second wave of migration in 1970s with fresh arrivals from Anatolia. After this time the region began to be crowded and its surrounding regions also developed. Nafibaba or RHU continued to develop further and besides this, fresh settlements were established in Küçükarmutlu. Thereafter Rumeli Hisar neighborhood has become the most populous neighborhood within the Sarıyer municipality. Thus, there appeared the need to divide the neighborhood and separate Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Baltalimanı as new neighborhoods. The region was a popular countryside in İstanbul. The majority of the population was employed in occupations like fisherman, small shop-owner, and state officer. The fortress is a major tourist attraction point, and in recent years some concerts began to be held in the fortress. Robert College was the most important educational institution in the region and was transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1971. Its name was changed to Boğaziçi University (BU), which is the most prestigious university in the country where education is being conducted in English. The dormitories of the university are also built in the region. There was an Armenian elementary school in Rumeli Hisar which is currently closed. There are two associations in the neighborhood. One of them is the *Rumelihisarı Spor Kulübü (RSK)* (Rumelihisarı Sports Club) and the other *Rumelihisarlılar Derneği (RD)* (Association of Rumelihisar Residents). According to

the 1997 census, the population of the neighborhood was 10,420 and it is estimated that it has reached 20.000 (Kesedar, n. d.).

Bebek on the other hand is also a neighborhood on the shores of Rumeli situated between Arnavutköy and Rumelihisar. The campus of BU is located between Bebek and Rumeli Hisarı. Bebek is a neighborhood attracting the affluent people of İstanbul. Throughout history, it hosted many sea-side residences which were owned by statesmen and members of the Ottoman dynasty or other affluent and influential people. Once upon a time there was a pier on the shore, but not operated today. Bebek is also a sightseeing place, but some part of the neighborhood is wooded and uninhabited (Saraç, 2003; Kayra, 1993). The Park on the shore is rearranged and is in operation today. The historical wooden structures in Bebek have been almost completely demolished and replaced by apartments. Some of the early settlers of RHU were employed in and were residents of Bebek in 1960s but then seeing the opportunity of owning a squat in RHU they left the neighborhood.

Background

It is proper to provide some information on the physical characteristics of the neighborhood. The area, according to Heper's account, is around 34 hectares and of this 21 percent consists of streets, and walkways, and 1 percent consists of open spaces, schools and community facilities. The remaining land is occupied by dwelling units, shops, and lots. As of 1965, 1974, and 1975 there were 400, 1500 and 1700 dwellings respectively. The majority has used wood, masonry and concrete as building material and most of the dwellings are one-storey masonry and detached

units. The construction material was purchased from the dealers in the neighboring areas. Some housing units were based on the model of Black Sea Houses and had long triangular roofs and large attics. Instead of the whitewash finish seen in Black Sea Houses, cement was used as the outer surface of the dwellings due to the humid air of İstanbul (Heper, 1978, p. 46). The construction process took a gradual form where basic dwelling units with one room and toilet are built initially and then other rooms added over time. Heper (1978) suggests that most of the residents of RHU, around 90 percent, built their own houses. The average area of the houses varied between 60 to 80 square meters with the smallest at 20 and largest 120 square meters. The reason for keeping the area of the houses below 100 square meters is the building tax exemption provided for houses below 100 square meters. On the other hand, Karpat (2003) in his detailed account regarding the physical conditions and sizes of the squats in RHU suggests that only 17 percent were composed of a single room, with 53 percent having two and 30 percent three and more rooms. Most of the houses had a toilet but most were outside the house (p. 153). The heating of the houses was provided through wood and coal, more specifically 75 percent of the houses used wood only and 25 percent a combination of wood and coal. Making a comparison of the physical conditions of the squatter houses in RHU with houses in other squatter settlements around Turkey, Heper suggest that RHU squatter houses seemed to be better off (p. 47). Around 5 to 10 percent of the squatter settlers lived in rental houses. Some of the rental houses were only used on a seasonal basis and others permanently. The owners of the latter houses were almost wholly employed and lived in Germany.

The early settlers of RHU were the early construction workers and manual laborers in the nearby factories and in the wealthy neighborhoods of Etiler, Hisar and Bebek. After making a small *gecekondu* they brought in their families and relatives. Hence, their journey for the primary transformation process began. In the squatter settlement although they still lived as a community and those coming from the same villages lived nearby each other, they became a part of the city life in RHU. Their aim was to be able to create a life and to sustain their life in the city. The men worked in the factories, as laborers in the business of the rich families, at the then Robert College and then as BU employees, etc., and their wives worked as day laborers in the houses of well-off families. Although they became a part of the city life, they continued their relationship with their villages, i.e. they sent money to their villages, received goods from their relatives from the villages, they also raised chicken and cows nearby their squatter settlements, they grew plants like tomatoes, beans, cucumber, cabbage, zucchini, etc. in their gardens. Thus, the early squatter settlers continued their village life in RHU with certain modifications. While they worked for the university and for the families and factories in the vicinity to earn their basic income, they continued their village life in their *gecekondu* communities in RHU. Within Berry's (1980) classification of their adaptation to the urban environment this was also the beginning of their integrative acculturation.

BU was officially founded in 10 September 1971. In the first academic year there were 94 faculty members exclusive of the ELD (English Language Preparatory Division). During the years the physical space of the university was expanded. Besides this, one new faculty and six institutes were added. The original campus of the university came to be known as the South Campus. North Campus was added on

the hilltop with the construction of the library, the Science and Engineering Laboratories Building, the Faculty of Education Building, the Men's Residence Hall II, the Women's Residence Hall II, the Educational Technology Building and the School of Foreign Languages (Freely, 2000, pp. 557-560). There is also the Uçaksavar Campus towards the direction of Etiler which is used as a residence and sport center. Lastly there is the Hisar Campus in the other direction and at the end of RHU where the School of Applied Disciplines and the Institute of Environmental Sciences and Men's Residence Hall VI are situated. There are also other campuses of the university out of RHU, the first one being located in Kandilli and called the Kandilli Campus which houses Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Center. The last campus is located in Kilyos and is called Saritepe Campus.

At this first stage a hybrid lifestyle is formed at RHU; on the one hand, the early settlers' life resembled the life in their villages, and on the other hand, they were acclimated to the city life through employment relationships. As their settlement was secured, as they solved their infrastructural problems like electricity and water they became a part of the city, and their economic life began to transform. They were no longer villagers or peasants, but they were not actual city dwellers either. This was the first phase of their integration with the urban environment. This primary transformation process increased its pace as they became more a part of the city, as their children were born or grew up at RHU, were educated in the nearby primary and secondary schools by studying with the children of the city dwellers of the nearby neighborhoods.

The settlement received water supply which in earlier times was limited in scope but increased later. The squatter settlers had also built their own sewage

system and connected it illegally to the city system. Prior to 1972 there were no street lamps in the neighborhood but were erected that year. One of our respondents suggests the following:

We had no electricity in the beginning. We studied by the gas lamp. In the primary school, between 1967-1972, we were studying with the gas lamp, the street lamps were erected after '72, initially we were getting electricity illegally, then the electrometers were received, and then everything turned into formality... then fountains were built in each neighborhood, but long queues were formed in front of the fountains, ... if the water was cut off the queues were still formed, ... even in 1976 water cuts occurred, ... then we were obtaining water from wells. (Interview; male, married, age 49, RHU settler).¹²

At street intersections lighting was placed and the houses also have electricity. But the electricity infrastructure was not adequate. There is a primary school in the neighborhood which was donated by the famous Turkish actress Türkan Şoray and still carries her name. The construction of the school began in 1972 and was made ready for education in 1973 with the name 50th Year Türkan Şoray Primary School (Türkan Şoray İlkokulu web site, <http://turkansoray.k12.tr/>).

On both ends of the neighborhood there is a mosque in operation today. Around mid 1970s there were no medical facilities in the region and only one pharmacy (Heper, 1978, p. 48). There were around 35 stores in the settlement and Heper (1978) suggests that around 85 percent of all food purchases were carried out within the neighborhood. The stores consisted of 5 hardware stores, 20 grocery stores, 4 household goods stores, 1 pharmacy, 6 coffee houses or kiraathane, 1 butcher, 1 iron-work shop, 1 electrician, 3 barbers, and 1 restaurant (Heper, 1978, p. 49).

¹² The original texts of the quotations from the interviewees are presented in Appendix D.

The basic unit in the neighborhood was nuclear family with the male dominating the decisions made in the family. The nuclear family and relations revolving around it were emphasized over relations with distant relatives. Thus there was a weakening of kinship relations in RHU but the closer ones were preserved. The majority of the squatters also preserved relations with their villages. The squatters got used to and adapted to the urban life in a gradual manner. People had a tendency to emphasize self-reliance and achievement over communal relations and solidarity. Still there was a feeling of community, and people acted for the common interest of the community. In this way they had been able to install their own sanitary sewerage network, improve the roads within and surrounding the area and bring utility services such as water and electricity to the area. They did this despite the weakening of the community ties and the growing importance of money relations (Heper, 1978, p. 50). One of our respondents narrated the construction of the main road of RHU as follows:

There was a bulldozer operator. He was working from early morning until midnight. We have also built the main road. From Etiler to Hisarüstü. We have built that road with the help of the neighborhood association and with the help of the members of the association for the development of the countryside and the BU. (Interview; male, married, age 75, early settler of RHU).

At the time of their arrival squatters had close relationships with one another and with their villagers. Actually, relationships were important then since it was these relationships that triggered migration and settlement to RHU. The migrants and new settlers of RHU were very dependent on their relatives and villagers for getting basic information regarding the city and the job market within the city. Relatives and villagers facilitated and mediated the access of migrants to the job market by

providing information regarding available jobs in different sectors. However, Karpat (2003) suggests that the majority of the squatters preferred to hide the fact that they had received help from their relatives and villagers in accessing jobs due to feelings of embarrassment (p. 147). This was how the migrants established their initial contact with the job market. After this they adapted themselves to the conditions and lifestyle within the city and tended to develop feelings and activities of self-reliance rather than always relying on group solidarity. Solidarity ties were also established with the nearby BU members and employees. The first mass transportation was also secured through the activity of the BU members and the RHU settlers as explained by one of our respondents:

When something happened the squatter settlers informed us and we accompanied them in resisting against the authorities. We were the members of the student association and helped to the process of inclusion of the region within the mass transportation network of the city and first buses with numbers 43 and 53 arrived in this way. (Interview; female, married, age 57, former BU lecturer).

From Early Settlement to Land Titles

The lands of the Treasury (*hazine arazisi*) on which the RHU *gecekondus* were built extended to the hills of Rumelihisar and Bebek in the west and was transferred to the municipality by the government. Before its invasion by the squatter settlers some of these lands belonged to a retired official. Lack of roads and its undetectability from the main road along the Bosphorus made the place inaccessible and provided good security for the original usurper. According to Karpat (1976), a group of low-waged Robert College employees and their friends and relatives began to set up their own dwellings due to the high rents in Rumelihisari. In the interviews Karpat conducted

with the original founders it was stated that “all the people in the group were from the same region and had known each other for years” and that they had been living in the city for several years. Interestingly enough, the new settlers found out that the original usurper who occupied this big area of land did not have any legal title. These people had “persuaded” this “owner” to sell them the land at a low price after ambushing and beating the man one night in the dark. In the coming days, they divided this big land into several lots and erected the first 20 to 30 dwellings in around 1958 (p. 79).

Since the majority of the lands belonged to the government, to guarantee the continued existence of the *gecekondü*, the early squatters were well aware that “the survival of the settlement depended on their actual numerical strength and the resulting ability to defend it against authorities, since their action violated every building code and property law” (Karpas, 1976, pp. 79-80). As one of the early settlers İsmail also brought some of his relatives to the new squatter settlement he built. He had occupied enough land for distribution to his relatives. He also thought that this would also create a social solidarity web. On the other hand, some early settlers divided the land and sold it to other persons, most of the time from the same village of origin so that a socio-economic web of relations would be built and developed (Aged 51, male, married, born and living in RHU).

The settlers had founded an Association for Settlement Improvement in 1964, and later re-founded it in 1973. The most important issue for association members was securing the titles to the land. Actually this was an important step for the squatters since most of them migrated to the city with the aim of owning property and thereby securing their lives as suggested by Karpas (2003, p. 148). Getting the

property in a squatter area within the city meant reaching the level of affluence for most of them or at least the primary step toward it. When compared with their economic and social conditions in the villages *gecekondular* was a very important opportunity for squatters. With such motivations and feelings the RHU settlers attached much importance to their settlements and this forced them to establish group solidarity against the government and the possibility of their houses being demolished by the state forces. One of our respondents suggests the following about the process of obtaining the titles from İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (İTÜ) (Istanbul Technical University):

Then İTÜ had assigned lawyers to solve this issue; Mr. Ercüment and Mrs. Beyza. They asked me, how we can get the money from people for their titles. Then I was working in a store in Osmanbey. I called him from Osmanbey. Mr. Lawyer said how are you going to do for the people? You, I said, will open an account in Ziraat Bankası, and those who have paid their debts will bring the receipts and you will give them their titles. Oh really, he said, it is a very good idea, let's do it that way. Then we opened an account in Ziraat Bankası through the automatic password, and [showing the documents to the researcher] see these are the receipts, the bank seals showing that the money is deposited. Those who finish their debts go to the bank, get their receipts, take it to the lawyer, and the lawyer writes the title paper, and sends it in a file. Then you go to the bank and receive the title one week later. (Interview; male, married, age 67, early RHU settler).

RHU was a very political and left-wing-oriented squatter settlement area before the *coup de etat* in 1980, providing a safe haven to various marginal groups as well. But for the basic infrastructural needs of the area such political affiliation was not taken into consideration since the settlers had a common cause of creating a decent neighborhood to live in with basic infrastructure. The political ideology prevalent within their region created a kind of solidarity among the people of RHU which is narrated by one of our respondents as follows: "It was intense. When a house was

built in Hisarüstü, when a squatter was built, ... it was built in one night but, you just look in a moment, 30 people, and they finish everything in one night.” (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

This was achieved by the time of late 70s. With the military coup of 1980 the squatter settlement activities and building new settlements almost came to a halt. The military administration did not even give permission for the operation of some newly established groceries in the area. In one account, one of the early settlers of RHU and our respondent had a grocery shop established and in operation with a tax number but without a license in Cami Sokak before the 1980 *coup de etat* where today there is a photocopy shop, İlhan Copy, operated by his son. After the coup, a new municipal police branch director, a retired army officer, was appointed as the Sarıyer branch director by the incumbent military administration. During the times of martial law he began to investigate the 35 grocery shops in Sarıyer whose official documentation was not complete since they had been established recently and he came to RHU to investigate the grocery shop of the respondent as well. After investigating, the officers wrote a report. After a month they came again, stating that the grocery shop had to be closed down since it did not have any license and that giving licenses was stopped. These 35 shop owners went to the branch directorate to have their groceries opened. Then a court case was opened by our respondent and the other representatives. The branch director stated that in Article 18 of the law, a squatter settlement could not be a business place and that it had to be closed down. But the complainants stated that the people living in the squatter settlement had to do their shopping.

The court case took one-and-a-half years, and the court decided to close down the grocery shop. Until the elections and resumption of the multi-party system in 1983 there was intense control over the squatter areas. There was also demolition activity against the squatter settlements as one of our respondents witnessed: “Hisarüstü was the region just opposite of the school downwards. It was fully in green. When authorities came to demolish the houses we resisted against demolition together with the squatter settlers.”¹³ (Interview, female, married, age 57, former BU employee).

According to the figures given by Karpat (1976) the price of the land lots still available in the squatter settlements surveyed in 1968 valued between \$80 to \$222 which was about 10 to 50 times less than the price of the legal building lots of the same quality and size in the other parts of the city. By time a *gecekondu* land market was formed which had its own rules, new “*gecekondu* entrepreneurs” emerged who sold the building materials of briquettes, bricks, cement and construction sand and in some cases built and sold the *gecekondus*. The total price of the *gecekondu* houses including the land value ranged between \$400 and \$600 in the period of 1966 – 68. The formation and development of this *gecekondu* land and house market indicated that if the title to the land could be obtained owning land and *gecekondu* in such a place would be very profitable for the inhabitants. At this point socio-economic solidarity became important to legalize the settlements and to create a socio-political power base. Then in 1964 the settlement expanded through further invasion even to the privately owned land. In a case that Karpat states, the person owning the land had

¹³ “Hisarüstü tam okulun karşısında aşağı doğru olan yerdi. Tamamen yeşillikti. Belediyeciler evleri yıkmaya gelince gecekodulularla birlikte yıkıma karşı direnirdik.”

to agree to sell the land to the settlers at a relatively cheap price of 12 lira per square meter, but the squatters, believing the false rumors that the land could be obtained free, breached the agreement and had to buy the lands again from the same owner when the case was brought to court and the court decided that it was a private property and that they had to pay. However, the squatters paid rather low prices to that person. While the population of RHU (then Nafi Baba) was dominantly composed of migrants from the villages of Yeniköy, Kırıntı and Kayacık of Gümüşhane and Şebinkarahisar of Giresun and there were around 1900 people in 1968, as more migrants came from other provinces RHU become more heterogeneous and more densely populated. On the Baltalimanı front, the settlements behind Behçet Kemal Çağlar Lisesi today were inhabited by the workers employed in a quarry owned by a non-Turkish citizen. There was government land next to the quarry and it was occupied by Niyazi Altıntaş and Hasan Bahar, migrants from the provinces of Trabzon and Ordu on the Black Sea. They brought their relatives and friends as well. By time this settlement expanded south up the hill and merged with the Nafi Baba settlement and formed one single unit in 1971-72 which became RHU. Some parts of RHU squatter settlement were assigned to the Technical University of İstanbul for its new campus and to turn this neighborhood into a zoological park (Karpat, 1976, pp. 80-82).

Sources of Income

RHU today is a very specific university town with its own features. The early settlers and the first generation of the RHU squatter settlers had their origins in their villages

in Anatolia. One of our respondents, a former BU employee, explains this fact as follows:

None of them were from Trachia. Early settlers were from Şebinkarahisar and then those from Gümüşhane, Şiran had arrived... then there were very few from Sivas... but the first comers were from Şebinkarahisar. We had a friend who shot a short time documentary titled 'From Şebinkarahisar to Hisarüstü' The film was completed both in Şebinkarahisar and Hisarüstü. (Interview; female, married, age 57, former BU employee).

The qualifications of the first generation were limited to their masonry skills and construction experience. Some even worked as gate keepers, neighborhood security officers and night shift factory keepers. From the beginning of its formation until the present day BU and RHU have been integrated with each other as two sides of the same coin. After Robert College was transformed into BU in 1971 and as RHU became the squatters' settled neighborhood, the relationship between BU and RHU began to take an organic form. The workforce and the personnel needs of BU from the cooks and dishwashers of Kennedy Lodge to the employees at the library, from the nurses and cleaners of the infirmary to the low level administrators in the various university departments are supplied by the squatter settlers of RHU. In the same manner women of RHU began to perform housework in the affluent neighborhoods of Bebek, Etiler and Emirgan. Their husbands also began to work as drivers, work in the factories, as gardeners and in other workplaces of the affluent people. One of the respondents tells the story of his parents as follows:

He goes to work outside the village and earns his money as unqualified laborer. After coming to İstanbul my mother begins working. My mother works as a domestic and father as a construction worker. Then as my mother was employed in Etiler the woman of the house asks about my mother's spouse and whether he can work or not. Her employees were working at the Ottoman Bank. Afterwards my father enters the Ottoman Bank as a driver. (Interview; male, married, age44, RHU settler).

The internal economy of RHU was limited to the basic needs of the squatter settlers since a few students were renting houses at RHU. Until the beginning of the secondary economic transformation with the building of the '*gündüzkondu*' apartments (*apartmankondus*) in early 1990s RHU was a workforce reservoir of BU as well as the nearby wealthy neighborhoods.

An important source of income for the squatter settlers was the money being sent from the early migrants of RHU to Germany that began in the middle of 1960s. Early squatter settlers, especially ones from Şiran, had gone to Germany as guest workers and in a few years they began to send money to their relatives still living in RHU. One of the respondents suggested that: "There were those who went to Germany directly from the village. In that sense we are like a crowded tribe in Germany. There are many of our villagers in Germany. They have urbanized in Germany and live in the same neighborhood and the same system continues."¹⁴ (Interview, male, married, aged 44).

The third major source of income was the taxi license plates and the secondhand car dealing sectors in İstanbul which were mainly carried out by the Şebinkarahisar originated RHU settlers. The leaders of this sector were from RHU and they had accumulated significant amounts of capital, which was later invested in the main *gündüzkondu* apartments in RHU. With the building of the *apartmankondu* in the early 1990s and after accumulating wealth through family solidarity, the process of secondary economic transformation of the squatter settlers of RHU began.

¹⁴ "Köyden doğrudan Almanya'ya gidenler vardı. Böyle bakarsak biz Almanya'da kalabalık bir aşiret gibiyiz. Almanya'da çok köylümüz var. Almanya'da şehirlileştiler ve aynı mahallede oturuyorlar ve aynı system devam ediyor."

Regarding the sources of income; taxi ownership and renting taxi plates has a special place in RHU. As stated earlier, the taxi sector in İstanbul came into being with the organized efforts of a few *Şebinkarahisarlı* families in RHU in early 70s. As wealth accumulated in the hand of these few families they have invested the money accumulated from the sale of taxis and rental of taxi plates into titled real estate in Arnavutköy, Bebeküstü, Ulus, Kuruçeşme, Emirgan, shortly in the nearby affluent neighborhoods. Another significant portion of their accumulated capital was invested into the newly built *apartmankondus* in RHU which are among the few outstanding apartments with their elevators and planned designs in the neighborhood. Today, besides the early owners of taxis and taxi plates, there are some new taxi owners still RHU settlers but from other city origins such as Gümrüşhane and Sivas. There is even a taxi owner who was once a library employee at BU, who built his own apartment and bought a taxi and rented it to taxi drivers and at the same time early settlers of RHU and/or their offspring. One of our respondents suggested the following about how he began driving taxis:

After I shut down the shop I rented a taxi. Before that I worked as a driver. Then I rented plates. I bought a car. I was giving 2,8 million monthly rent to taxi. I had around 7-8 million income. Then that taxi helped me to buy my furniture, to build my house, to send my children to school. (Interview; male, married, age 43, RHU settler).

There is another respondent whose father had managed to buy a taxi plate and his story is as follows:

Of course. I was 24 when I married. My mother was pregnant as she came. When I married, my mother still went to domestic work as I was 24 years old. And my father was working in Osmanlı Bankası, and he again worked with the taxi plate which he bought through borrowing money from Osmanlı Bankası...He was working in two jobs... I began to work on the taxi right after I finished my military service. (Interview; male, divorced, age 43, RHU settler).

This respondent also began to pursue amateur photography while he was employed as a taxi driver in his father's taxi. He was mainly working at nights and had the opportunity to witness the night life around İstanbul. In recent times he became a worldwide known photographer attracting much attention in the media. His works were exhibited in several art galleries in İstanbul and can be seen on the Internet. He also explained how his family's first squat was built:

The squat; first one room, then as you know one other room after earning some money, and then another. Expanding the squatter, together with the children. Formerly squats could only be built by parts. There was poverty. They first built one room and a toilet and then added another room. (Interview; male, divorced, age 43, RHU settler).

Another respondent who owned a taxi began his employment in İstanbul in a tea shop (*çayocağı*) of an office block (*iş hanı*) in Karaköy and through the money he earned as a *çayocağı* owner he built his house. Later through his clientelistic relations he was able to open a Tekel shop on the main road which had the license to sell alcohol. The Tekel shop was opened around 1996 and he also added chance games such as *İddia* to his shop. Through the money earned from the buffet he was able to buy a taxi and bought a summer house. He and his sons now operate the Tekel Shop in RHU and they employ three RHU settlers. Recently they opened a new branch on the same street, a few hundred meters away, across the main bus-stop, Hisar campus of BU and a touristic restaurant overlooking the Bosphorus and the Second Bosphorus Bridge.

Another form of employment was operating small cafes and tea shops (*çayocağı*) around different business *hans*¹⁵ in İstanbul. This profession is mainly favored by the Şebinkarahisarlı group. An example of this is a café owner in RHU whose grandfather began operating *çayocağı* in a large *han*. Later his father continued the profession of his grandfather in different places around İstanbul. The grandson is the last one in the family operating a café mainly attended by males in RHU. There are other Şebinkarahisarlı settlers of RHU who have operated tea shops around İstanbul, and many have built their apartments with the money they earned from this business.

One of our respondents was a truck owner and dealt with removal business in RHU, mainly servicing BU students. His grandmother, the mother of his father, was a doorkeeper in Bebek, and she had first settled in RHU by appropriating a plot of the land there while she was working in Bebek. The father of this truck owner was employed in Aksaray in a shoe manufacturing firm, his elder brother had graduated from the university and was employed as a Marketing Manager in a firm, and his sister was an employee at the BU in the Purchasing Department. His father is retired and opened a shoe repair shop in RHU and his mother is occasionally employed as a domestic worker. He told the story of the difficulty they encountered in building their small *semi-apartmankondu* through family solidarity as follows:

Around 1990-92 at intervals...formerly we had one storey...I was single, and my older brother was single too, ... we built our floor and inhabited it.. hardly, and then since we had no money, ... we were small, and did not work, my elder brother was studying at the university, then we were

¹⁵ Large commercial buildings having a small commercial tea-making room in the basement of each of them in the business districts of the big cities from early fifties onward to cater to the beverage, tea and coffee needs of the businessmen. Usually these tea-houses were operated privately and the early squatter settlers were the operators of such *çayocağı*.

not working. ... We were burdens for our mother and father, ... then with debt a floor and then we built these floors during the election times, the municipality pressed us much while we built them, we have had troubles with the police, ... don't build, there are complaints they said. In the next election, five years later we built another floor and then built an attic storey, and we had two floors, and then, upper storey two floors and the entrance one floor, father and mother live at the first floor, and we, I and my elder brother live in the second floor, and we struggle to make our living like that. (Interview; male, married, age 35, RHU settler).

Primary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü

RHU in 1950s was known as Nafibaba squatter settlement due to the entombed saint Nafi Baba who is now within the BU premises nearby the helicopter airfield. Before the squatters settled in the region, there were several buildings that were rented to the American officers and sergeants, and houses in which middle class and poorer families lived. A group of low-waged workers from the Robert College were in trouble with the rising rents in Rumeli Hisar and for this reason they began to search for land to settle on. Then the first settlers of the RHU invaded the land within the region. These properties were later sold to other people who either had a relation to them or heard the news regarding the invasion of RHU. The prices for this land were much lower than other land within İstanbul and gave other migrants the opportunity to find a settlement at relatively low costs (Karpat, 2003, p. 136). The presence of relatives in the same settlement provided a kind of security against illness, unemployment, and other risks, for the squatter settlers. The settlements in RHU were dependent on the solidarity among, and the organizational capability, and harmony of the squatter settlers. These were reinforced through kinship, villager relations and through unifying around practical interest. In a short time the

population of the neighborhood became more heterogeneous with the dominant elements coming from Kırıntı, Yeniköy and Kayacık (Karpas, 2003, p. 137).

RHU was in the close proximity to İstinye, Rumelihisarı, Bebek, Etiler and Levent, where employment opportunities became available when a series of apartments began to be built in the districts of Etiler and Levent whose residents were from the higher-income groups. Then two factories, drug and electrical appliance plants were established at Levent, and this was followed by the expansion of the shipyards at İstinye on the Bosphorus. On the main road of Büyükdere Caddesi today a *sanayi çarşısı* (industrial city bazaar) consisting of car repair shops were established which also led to settlements known as Sanayi Mahallesi (Industrial Neighborhood) today. The other additional sources of employment for both men and women were at Robert College, the Baltalimanı hospital and with wealthy families in the district of Bebek. When the Robert College (now BU) added a university section to its existing junior college section in 1955, it became a source of additional job opportunity for some 50 people from the Black Sea region (Karpas, 1976, pp. 78-79).

Heper (1978) suggests that the average monthly income per household in the squatter area was about around 2000 TL. 20 percent of the households were earning around 1200 TL and 50 percent around 3500 TL. The average household income in the settlement was close or equal to the average income level for upper-middle-level civil servants. The permanent employment rate among men was 50 percent. Ninety percent of women were employed in domestic work. One third of children were employed as apprentices in different technical or repair jobs and thereby learned a vocation. Half of the household heads engaged in jobs related to the construction sector, some 20 per cent were employed in factories and around 5 percent were in the

service of the government. The remaining group was self-employed. Only a minority of women worked in factories (p. 51). Some minority of the population, around 2-3 percent, were employed within the settlement in jobs such as storekeeper or worked in sewage and road construction. Factory work was hard to find but stable when compared to construction work. One of the respondents suggested that his father had found employment as a guardian and narrated the event as follows:

He was initially working for Doğan Nadir in Hisar who had a sea side residence there. They told him that he should keep an eye on the neighborhood until the morning. After this his employment was turned into the guardianship of Hisarüstü and became formalized. There were searching for a guardian for Rumeli Hisar. As he was doing this job he told himself, let me build a squatter there. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

This primary economic transformation process is also a process of expansion and enlargement. As their incomes increase and as their children come to the age of marriage new additions are made to their squatter settlements or new ones are built if they have enough land. Except the school-age children the entire family acts in solidarity in saving money. One of our respondents states the contribution of his mother to the family income during those times as follows:

My mother too.. between 1968-70... began to do domestic work in Bebek, eventually...so, all the three kids who came to İstanbul had started school, around 1970s, all are going to school, to Bebek, the kids of courses needed some sort of a daily allowance, there are the expenses of the house, so my mother also began to work to make a contribution, ... after the 1970s, she went to Bebek for five years. (Interview; male, married, age 49, RHU settler).

There are other migrants whose families had arrived and settled in Bebek. Some of these people had found employment at the then Robert College. One of our respondents suggests the following: "So, for example, my father's...how should I

tell.. his aunt..husband of his aunt.. he is in.. Boğaziçi University.. most probably...we called it American College. He was a gardener, he took my father to work with him..."¹⁶ (Interview; female, single, 56 years old, early RHU settler).

Even the school-age children work in the breaks, weekends and in the after-school hours to earn money. But since the land occupied and/or bought is limited and is fully occupied after sometime it becomes impossible to expand more. Some families who do not have enough land even begin to live with their married sons and daughters in the same squatter settlements. Besides, after the coup de etat in 1980 there is strict control over the building of new squatter settlements or building second and third floors. This process continues until the second half of the 80s.

The majority of the family income, around 75 percent, was spent for food since families were not able to grow their own food due to limitations on physical space. Only a few families could keep animals. Besides this, there was not much reliance on food sent from the village according to Heper, whereas Karpat (2003) gives a different explanation of the issue and suggests that squatters received some food from their villages and that this food was of much higher quality than food sold in the city shops (p. 140). Karpat (2003) even mentions the development of a food economy within the villages targeting the *gecekondu* market (p. 140). Squatters bought food from within settlement stores which sold the food at prices 10-15 percent (Karpat, 2003, p. 139). Squatters spent little money on outside entertainment since the majority of families had a television set. Heper (1978) suggests that the

¹⁶ "Böylece, örneğin, babamın... nası diim... halası... halasının kocası.... O... Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde.. muhtemelen.... Biz oraya Amerikan Koleji diyoruz. Bahçıvan'dı, babamı da kendisiyle birlikte çalışsın diye götürdü..."

squatters had an average of 10 TL daily transportation cost per person and the yearly heating cost was around 2000 to 2500 TL per family. Store owners allowed customers to buy on a daily and pay on a monthly basis without any interest charges. The squatter settlement has a moderately well economic situation among other squatter settlements in Turkey owing to the presence of BU.

Actually one respondent, a relatively early BU graduate, has been living in RHU since 1989 and gave a full account of the transformation process within the BU. He and his school and house-mates had the opportunity to live in RHU in the *gecekondu* houses before they were demolished and then in the *apartmankondu* when they replaced the *gecekondu*. During his education in BU he had the experience of entering the business life around the school in RHU through a photocopy business and had established close relations with the residents of the RHU. Before the *apartmankondus* were built, only some BU students had the opportunity to rent a house in RHU. He suggests that BU students had always the opportunity of earning their own money through private tutoring which gives them some degree of independence and economic freedom. Before 1990s BU attracted the majority of the affluent class member college students and the majority came from within İstanbul or the main cities around Turkey. But with the advent of the private universities the BU student profile changed. Thus, BU became a university with a student profile coming from all of Anatolia and other big cities besides İstanbul. But the economic income level of the students' families was still high. For this reason, they still had the option of renting a house jointly with a few friends. In the early 90s during the final time of the primary transformation and after the dormitories were located within and around RHU, students tended to spend their time within the university campuses and ate

mostly from the dining hall of the university, which had not yet been privatized. Those staying in rented houses did not have to eat out and spend their money and saved it only for rental and other expenses, since eating out was not fashionable and in those times there were only a few restaurants in RHU which occasionally served BU students. In the open area between RHU and the gates of South Campus there were some buffets that were open at night and sold *dürüm* (“roll”) and other meat-based fast food. These buffets became popular among BU students as well as within İstanbul. In a short time, they became very popular. Etiler high society and elite people began to eat *durum* here and to hang out, and a seedy night life grew in RHU that attracted some drug dealers and Mafioso-style persons. Due to problems with the BU students and the drug dealing activity, the BU Rectorate used its power to close these night buffets and end the lifestyle thus established. This coincided with the transformation of the RHU into an “*apartmankondu*” settlement with BU students being attracted to rental houses. Thus, the student activity within the school tended to spread through RHU and eating out became more popular among students and many restaurants were opened in the region. Our interviewee suggested the following:

All meals are eaten in the school canteen. The school canteen was not headed by the private [sector]. The school had its canteen....The number of students did also increase and restaurants began to become popular slowly. For example, there is a very popular food sector now. (Interview; male, single, age 39, RHU resident, BU graduate).

But after 2003 and 2004 the university began to operate the campus in Kilyos and constructed dormitories and some of the YADYOK departments were shifted into this new campus. This changed the life in BU considerably. A considerable majority of the new entrants to the university do not come to RHU but go directly to Kilyos and cannot participate in the life within and around the BU campuses in RHU. But

most of the students staying in dormitories in Kilyos tend to rent a house in RHU after they make a sufficient number of friends with whom they can share the rent. Actually, Kilyos campus is at a distant location to the city center and popular places. This is an important factor increasing the tendency to rent a house in RHU.

Change in State Policies

Transformation within the BU also had different aspects as narrated by a current employee of the BU Library who had been a resident of RHU until his family house was demolished by *Karayolları* (The Department of Highways). He was one of the last few inhabitants of RHU who could find employment in BU through his acquaintances, a viable and frequently applied way for employment for RHU residents. But after the millennium, state policies regarding the hiring process of civil servants changed. One interviewee suggests the following: “Then we were the first who entered to the University with the Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı (KPSS) (Public Personnel Selection Examination) examination around four-five years ago. With these examinations around üç-dört personnel come to the library each year.”¹⁷ (Interview; male, single, age 29, former RHU resident and BU library employee).

One of the gatekeepers at the BU whose father owns a *gecekondu* in Armutlu and who was once a resident of Küçükarmutlu and RHU and who later bought a titled flat of his own in Sultanbeyli with his and his wife’s savings who was a domestic worker explained that in the past one could not be employed at BU without

¹⁷ “O zamanlar, dört-beş yıl önce Üniversite’ye KPSS ile ilk girenlerdeniz. Bu sınavlarla her yıl kütüphaneye yaklaşık üç-dört personel gelir.”

the presence of very special and strong contacts and references. The same respondent suggested that in modern times there were no such issues and any employee of BU was chosen through the KPSS examination. The gatekeeper suggested the following:

In earlier times one needed strong references to gain employment at the BU. This person would tell your positive aspects to the hiring personnel at the BU and thereby you could get a job....But nowadays this condition is changed and the hirers at BU look only at the KPSS score which should preferentially be over 80 or 90 points. (Interview; male, married, age 42, early RHU settler).

The state began to carry out central examinations of KPSS and choose civil servants according to their success in these examinations thereby reducing informal relationships and their impact on the hiring process with the aim of achieving a just system to provide equal opportunity to citizens in accessing state jobs. Our respondent suggests that after this policy began to be applied by the state the number of RHU residents employed in BU began to drop considerably since many of them were at retirement age and just a few or no new job entrants from the RHU were seen. Almost all of the new officers and civil servants are chosen through the examinations. Another change was in the services provided by BU and its personnel. The university began to privatize some of the services carried out by university personnel and permitted the *taşeron* (sub-contracting) firms to carry out these services. The school cafeteria began to be operated by different private firms. Other than this, cleaning and gate keeping work once carried out by BU personnel were also assigned to *taşeron* firms. Our respondent suggests the following about this:

We entered [the university] four individuals as directly attached to the university. But the remaining individuals were attached to the *taşeron* firms. There was difference in treatment during our period of employment. (Interview; male, single, age 29, former RHU resident and BU library employee).

But these firms were required to keep the personnel who formerly worked for the BU. Our respondent was able to enter the state examinations and pass, thereby preserving his status as a civil servant in BU.

These were important steps in establishing ties with BU and commercial entities. These activities were also accompanied with the sponsorship of several university related events given to firms and allowing advertisements to be placed on billboards displayed throughout the university. The university has had sponsorship agreements with several private banks, firms and individuals. Today there are two banks within the university premises; Garanti Bank in South Campus, and Akbank in North Campus. In this way the university began to get more in contact with the business world and markets. After the establishment of the North Campus, radio broadcasts began under the name of Radyo Boğaziçi. This was actually a continuance of the radio broadcasting experience during the years of Robert College and had been re-started in 1992 along with the trends of establishing private radio and televisions in Turkey and through the opportunity of licenses being granted by the state. Radyo Boğaziçi is popular among the BU students and broadcasts through an FM band thereby reaching very distant places around Turkey. Many local RHU businesses advertised on the radio which became a source of income for the radio and to increase their business proceeds.

Path to Apartmankondu

After Özal came to power in 1983 and the multi-party system was resumed, the political atmosphere began to change. The neo-liberal policies of ANAP gave rise to

a new populist clientele relationship in politics. One of our respondents narrates this period as follows:

Of course... It changed with Özal... this Özal policy, which is criticized by everyone in Turkey, was a policy that led people to lose their intellectual abilities and to concentrate wholly on rent-seeking.. Özal achieved this in Turkey. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

At this point we shall give an example to the clientele relationships between RHU settlers and the leading parties of the period. These relationships were used to bring several services to RHU such as an extension to the primary school. One of our respondents suggests the following about the construction of the additional building to Türkan Şoray Primary School:

We applied to the City Directorate of National Education to build a high school in our neighborhood but they told us that building high schools was the task of the Ministry and suggested to expand the primary school with a new building upon a ready-made project available in their office... But while the school was about to be built and expanded, the Governor of İstanbul opposed the idea stating that the region did not need a school. While we were making preparations for the additional building the governor did not give approval. Then, I, there was a deputy, I called him and stated that the governor of İstanbul did not approve the construction of our school... I had worked with this deputy formerly and consulted him frequently, we were of the same political opinion, so I explained to him that everything for the addition to the school was ready but the governor did not give approval. The deputy told me to call him one hour later. He had called the governor and told him that, a school and an additional building to Türkan Şoray Primary School in Rumeli Hisarüstü would be built, and asked at what stage was it? The governor did not tell him that he did not approve but told him that he would approve the budget in the coming week, and that the school would be started. (Interview; male, married, age 67, early RHU settler).

In the local elections held in 29 March 1989, Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (SHP) (Social Democrat Populist Party) under the leadership of Erdal İnönü, who was once a professor and department president at BU, became the leading party and won the municipalities of 39 cities including İstanbul. İhsan Yalçın from SHP became Sarıyer

Mayor and served as the mayor between 1989 and 1994. Adnan Bal, from amongst the leading figures in RHÜ, became the assistant mayor (Sarıyer Belediyesi Haberleri, 2009). First a few two-storey masonry buildings were built in late 80s and the beginning of 90s. Then between 1991 and 1992 a massive "*apartmankondu*" building process began with the implicit approval of the mayor, and the settlers got the opportunity to build multi-storey apartments. A coordination committee composed of the leading figures of RHU was formed to supervise the building processes and to coordinate it with the municipality. One of our respondents tells the following about this event:

My father-in-law suggested that we have to lay the foundation of the building. Come to me... We came with the car. It was night if I am not mistaken. Around 9 o'clock. The mortar trucks arrived at the house. The police arrived at this moment. They said that you cannot pour the mortar. There are complaints. But in the meanwhile all around the region mortars are poured out. But 5 tracks were waiting. They have some restricted time to wait. After four-five hours the mortar dries and you pay for it... Then there was one of our older acquaintances who was in the committee. He came. I told him that there was complaint from them. He asked me, is this your place.. And I said that it was the place of my father-in-law. He said, he didn't know that. He said, now go and tell those who stopped you. I went to the police car and then told the police to take me to the police station. That time the police station was in Hisar. I told them that I submitted the money to the relevant persons.. then, he said to me, 'there is no problem'. All right I said, ... but I gave no money or something else to anyone. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

Monies were collected from the prospective *apartmankondu* owners by the committee for the organization of the building process, to be paid to the municipality as taxes, registration, etc. Some of the coordinators also got the opportunity to build their own *apartmankondus* from some of the money collected. One of our respondents suggested the following about this:

Most of the coordinators of the committee were idle men before the establishment of the committee but have seen the opportunity to obtain wealth through intermediating between the squatter settlers and the municipal police. They have coordinated the relationships and money flow between the municipality and the RHU settlers. Some portion of this money remained with them for their efforts as coordinators and this money enabled them to build their own apartments. (Interview; male, married, age 45, RHU settler).

RHU almost became a widespread construction site arena and within a few months the landscape of RHU totally changed from a “*gecekondu*” into an “apartmantkondu” area.

RHU squatter settlers had struggled a lot during their primary transformation to become a part of the city life. Migrating from their villages for a fortune in İstanbul whose land was like gold (*İstanbul'un taşı toprağı altın*) in their eyes, it became a matter of death-and-life to have a *gecekondu* on a piece of land whether with a title, on a state land, or buying from the third parties. This trend was in line with the needs of businesses providing them a cheap labor reservoir in the squatter areas like RHU all over Turkey. This was in line with the official Turkish view on the *gecekondu* as is clearly expressed in an address of the Turkish government to the United Nations in early 70s regarding the request for assistance to rehabilitate the dwellings:

Urbanization and its accompanying “*gecekondu*s” are not considered today as an undesirable phenomenon in Turkey. Instead, *the rapid growth of cities and the existence of gecekondu areas – planned or unplanned – are considered positive factors in national development, for, from them are to come the workers for the proposed massive industrialization programme of the decade of the 1970s [italics mine]*. In Turkey, urbanization, even as a singularly demographic phenomenon, becomes a “vehicle of economic and social development”... and “urbanization precedes industrialization” according to the Development Plan.” (cited by Karpas, 1976, p. 65).

The same ideas are also expressed by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) who cite import substitution as the tactical and protective development path of the underdeveloped but industrializing countries and that this path was abandoned with the Second World War on and this processes was initiated in Turkey around 80s, right after the coup. The driving force behind the economic development attempts was obviously the construction sector and hence the urbanization process that accelerated from 60s onward in Turkey. The struggles on how to share the city rents became very important, especially for the lower classes it was the only means to ensure their existence in the cities (p. 127).

In the first phases of settlement some settlers who confiscated acres of land, sold parcels of these lands to their relatives and villagers and- to the newcomers, thus becoming land speculators, making enough money to erect some *apartmantkondus* in early 90's for their later fortunes. Their children became wealthy landlords. Other settlers struggled on their own as a family and within communal village web solidarity where most of the women did daily housework (*gündelikçi*) or salaried work (*aylıkçı*) earning much more than their husbands who worked as construction and factory workers, as drivers of the wealthy businessmen in the neighboring areas, as restaurant servants, employees at the groceries and pharmacies, as gate keepers, in other similar jobs and as employees of BU. By avoiding rental payments they would be able to cope with the economic difficulties of earning their living on the outskirts of the city, raising their children and saving some money. As their children began to get older they built annexes to the *gecekondus* and their children began to contribute to the economic life of the family and the money saving process. It was also a process of primitive capital accumulation. Some of the early settlers from

Gümüşhane and especially its Şiran province had already gone to Germany as guest workers, leaving behind some relatives who both lived as squatter settlers in RHU and also kept an eye on the land and *gecekondu*s of those who left for Germany and some other European countries. It was a sort of communal division of labor to benefit both sides since they were able to save enough money to build the *apartmankondus* in early 90s. The other densely populated group was the Şebinkarahisarlı community which had control of distribution of taxi plates and second-hand car dealerships in İstanbul. Early Şebinkarahisarlı groups came to Ortaköy, Ulus, Kuruçeşme and Bebek and bought titled land and built their houses. Those in RHU were their extensions. Thus, they handled and carried out the taxi and second-hand car trading business quite well and made significant amounts of capital accumulation which was then invested in the building of the *apartmankondus* in RHU. Those families who did not have the power of building the *apartmankondus* by their economic means and accumulations got into contact with the contractors and sub-contractors and shared the newly built *apartmankondus* with them. Some of them sold their extra lands and built *apartmankondus* with those buying a portion of their land. Some others built the main skeleton of the buildings and completed the inside decoration as they earned and saved more money. This was a massive effort on the part of the RHU settlers to overcome marginalization and social exclusion and to organically integrate their socio-economic lives with the rest of the city through catalyst role of BU as their sources of income. This was a specific way of apartment/life formation in the case of RHU which would play a key role in the emergence of a middle class and the efforts of the once *gecekondu* dwellers to increase their welfare level as suggested by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009). On the other hand, this informal transformation created its

own negative consequences where those who did not have much economic power stayed in their *gecekondus* and still toil.

The Change in the Composition and the Background of Boğaziçi University Students

This transformation process in RHU coincided with the transformation of BU as explained earlier. In line with the neo-liberal transformation of the Turkish economy with Özal's government in 1983 privatization efforts increased, and private universities began to spring up by early 90s. Until the early 90s BU students were mainly from the leading private high schools of İstanbul, and some were coming from Anatolia. The BU dorms could accommodate those coming from Anatolia. As more students from İstanbul began to enroll in private universities, BU's student composition changed. At the same time the number of students at BU increased steadily. More middle-class students coming from Anatolia began to prefer BU since its tuition was relatively low when compared to the private universities, and BU had a high quality education. With the increases in BU enrollment (see Appendix E) accommodation of students was becoming a serious problem. Partial solutions were sought with the building of the Hisar and North Campus and dorms, but their accommodation capacity was rather limited. The first and the second north dorms composed of five storeys where the first two storeys were for the boys and the remaining three storeys for the girls in the North Campus were established in 1985 each with a capacity of 560 students. Later their capacities were increased and other dorms were established within course of time. On the other hand, a boy's dorm having a capacity to accommodate 200 students was established in BU's Hisar

Campus one year after its transfer to BU from İstanbul University in 1989. It served for a period of three years then closed down, opened again and then closed down permanently in early 2000 and was converted into new educational departments. Today the total capacity of BU dorms is 2795 (see Appendix F) (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yurtlar Müdürlüğü, 2010). In addition to the current dorms listed in the BU Dorms Directorate web page, a new dorm, third north campus dorm has been opened for the accommodation of the BU students with capacity of 510 students. Building of the fourth dorm began in the north campus in the summer and will be finished within a term or two (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yurtlar Müdürlüğü, 2010). Besides the BU dorms, there is a private dorm in RHU near the mosque off the main square operated by *İlim Yayma Cemiyeti* that accommodates 120 students, of which 7 of them are students of İstanbul Technical University and the rest from BU. This place includes the mosque whose title was bought by a man from ITU and he had a masonry building erected on it. When a need arose for a mosque, the leading figures of RHU together with the RHU Association of the time bought this place from this man and converted it into a mosque. This mosque was not adequate for prayers. Our respondents stated that one of the sons of the Ülker group was a BU student coming for Friday prayers. Once he had to pray outside in rain and when contacted by the RHU settlers and representatives of the RHU Association he told the situation to his father and with an agreement made with the Ülker group the building was converted into a bigger and newly built mosque complex with a conference hall for the RHU settlers and a dorm for students. At this point building of *apartmankondus* by the RHU squatter settlers provided a solution to the problem by supplying more than 3000 houses to the increased population of BU students.

The accommodation needs of the BU students created the demand for the newly built “*apartmankondu*” giving rise to a new relationship between RHU and BU. While the BU was a source of employment and income for the early settlers of RHU, this time BU students became their tenants. During the primary economic transformation process, the squatters of RHU established their relations with the state and the society through BU, got accepted into the prevalent economic, social, cultural and political norms, received support both from the university administration and especially the students in their struggle to create their settlements in RHU. In the early times the settlers had even used the water facilities of the main gate which was a small cottage with a gatekeeper, who was also a RHU settler. In one anecdote the current Sarıyer Mayor Şükrü Genç, an RHU settler, once a student of BU and then later an employee of BU library until he graduated as a civil engineer from İstanbul Technical University, stated that Nispetiye Caddesi was built with the students and the RHU settlers together in solidarity, digging the muddy roads and paving the road with asphalt. In the later years this solidarity became interwoven, the students helped the settlers to build their “*gecekondus*”, and pursued political and cultural studies in the squatter settlement, the settlers went to BU to watch films and live theater performances. Thus an interdependent and organic relationship formed between them. BU was a source of enlightenment for the RHU settlers, and both RHU settlers and the BU students were learning from each other. One of our respondents narrates this period as follows:

Then Boğaziçi University did not make direct contribution to the life in Hisarüstü. But since the people of Hisarüstü had gone beyond many things... Boğaziçi did not come to Hisarüstü.. Hisarüstü reached Boğaziçi. They reached the political people in Boğaziçi and established contact with them... Because Hisarüstü was conscious, well aware and

far-sighted regarding the political and economic situation and the future as I have said. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

There have been also several RHU settlers who had entered the BU and graduated from its various departments such as Business Administration, Economics, Electrical Engineering, Chemical Engineering and Tourism Administration. Some of these people went to Europe and US for further study, most of them stayed there, and some returned to RHU.

Since there is no research and no academic writing on the process and the results of this secondary economic transformation process, primary data is obtained from the in-depth interviews made with the squatter settlers of RHU, BU students and graduates living in RHU, the headmen of RHU, the mayor of Sarıyer (himself an early RHU settler) and data supplied by the current administration of the newly established association of RHU, Rumelihisarı Mahallesi Sosyal Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği” (HİSARDER) (Association of Social Solidarity and Culture for Rumelihisarı Neighborhood) and through the participant observation of the researcher who is himself a RHU settler.

Secondary Economic Transformation of the Squatter Settlers of Rumeli Hisarüstü

The secondary economic transformation process coincided with Özal’s coming to power in 1983 and the resumption of the multi-party system after the *coup de etat* in 1980. The neo-liberal policies of ANAP gave rise to a new populist clientele relationship in politics. The squatter settlers in various parts of İstanbul had become important in terms of their political impact and electoral weight, which was disregarded by the liberal mayor of İstanbul. Thus in the election of 1991 the social

democratic and the populist candidate Nurettin Sözen became the mayor. He had anti-globalization sentiments and during his tenure an implicit amnesty was granted to illegal housing and new migrations were encouraged. The governmental resources in many urban areas are shifted to the squatter areas. İhsan Yalçın from SHP became Sarıyer Mayor, and between 1991 and 1992 a massive *apartmankondu* building process began with the complaisance and implicit approval of the mayor and the settlers got the opportunity of building multi-storey apartments. Thus, the secondary economic transformation process began.

After the building of the *apartmankondu* BU again became a source of income for the squatter settlers, but this time not through employment at the university but by renting their new *apartmantkondus* to the BU students. Thus the nature of the relationship between RHU and BU was reversed and RHU's relationship to its neighborhood and the rest of the city began to change radically.

With the building of the *apartmankondus* a new life and a process of secondary economic and social transformation for the RHU squatter settlers began. *Apartmankondus* became a vehicle to change status, to become wealthy, and to guarantee the future of their already grown-up children. The names given to the new *apartmankondus* and the business places owned by them reveal so many things regarding their economic, social, cultural and psychological conceptions. For instance, one of the leading markets in RHU is *Kılıçoğlu Market*, which is operated by early RHU settler and his grown-up sons and the name emphasizes the lineage. An *Apartmankondu* has the name *Emek Apartmanı* indicating the owner's laborious achievement as a butcher. This seven-storey *apartmankondu* serves as a residence for the family and their married children, and as a source of income with three rented

floors, one to a barber, one to a bookstore and one to BU students. Another relatively well-built and modern *apartmankondu* is named *Ufuk Apartmanı* owned by a car dealer. One storey is occupied by the grandparents and the family, the rest are rented to businesses, to a painting gallery, to families and BU students. Ufuk is the eldest son of the *apartmankondu* owner studying at a private university. One other *apartmankondu* is named *Kardeşler Apartmanı* (Siblings Apartment). In RHU there are numerous such *apartmankondus* revealing different identities, aspirations and status. Thus, the phenomenon of *apartmankondu* in the case of RHU can be seen as the informal way of middle class formation, and when thought together with the changing BU and its catalyzing role, it provides us empirical evidence on the RHU settlers' socio-economic integration to rather than their social exclusion from the urban environment.

The process of secondary economic transformation went hand in hand with the neo-liberal and individualistic ideology of the modern capitalist society. Getting wealthy was the catch word. In one case an early RHU settler, a taxi owner and second-hand car dealer operating in Laleli which was the centre of second-hand car dealerships in 80s named his apartankondu as "Emek Apartment". His sons, after growing up, began to work with their father. They have bought a few titled flats in Ulus and some in Akatlar and are currently living there. They have built a fancy apartmankondu with ten flats in RHU, rented it to BU students and the other city dwellers. Just to see their old neighbors they come to RHU on and off with their jeep. One of their daughters attended a private university and leads a luxurious life in the Nişantaşı area.

The old solidarity-oriented communal relations gave way to the new individualistic relations where the economic and social relations began to be built on the level of wealth, and competition between family members, relatives and neighbors began to take root in the personal and social relations among the RHU settlers and became a norm over time. Still while building the *apartmankondus* some settlers sustained the solidarity as one of our respondents suggests following:

I was the smallest among four kids. In 1992 while everybody demolished *gecekondus* and began to build apartments I began to demolish and build a new too. Firstly, I needed a house. I demolished for myself. But my brothers said they can also build one floor each there in our building. 'Our sons have also grown up', they said. Their sons had completed their military services and were at the point of marriage. They built one floor each for their sons. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

Apartmankondu owners began to rent their newly built houses to meet the increasing demand from BU students and to share the proceeds among the family members. In the first instance houses were rented by the students without paying any deposits and directly from the families without a middleman or agent and from the family members and relatives in the case of those owners working abroad in Europe as the old informal ties between the BU students and the RHU settlers were still alive. Since there were so many houses to be rented and there was much demand from the BU students to rent, this situation created a sort of chaos. Besides, serious disputes and in some instances, as some of the respondents indicated, court cases and quarrels between the family members of the newly-built *apartmankondus* made things worse. In some regions religious families did not want their neighbors to rent their houses to students and/or to students to rent and share the apartments with female and male housemates. While some landlords acted on the basis of their ethical and religious principles, others thought that renting to students at higher prices would earn them

much more money. Thus settlers with conflicting approaches, economic and social attitudes began to confront each other. In a few years the power of money became dominant, and many conservative landlords began to change their attitude since it was really earning them money and their economic and social status was changing. Seeing the economic opportunity there and also to overcome this chaotic situation, some local business owners and unemployed settlers began to act as intermediaries and informal real estate agents. They began to create a customer pool of their own and became *de facto* real estate agents and amongst these the more professionally-acting few began to establish their own real estate agencies. Thus, the informal renting process began to change form. Our respondents, the real estate owners, have stated that certain negative events like tenants not paying their rents, not paying the utilities, or moving out without paying any money, or events like the landlords not paying back the deposits, disputes between the co-owners of the *apartmankondus*, whom to pay the rent to, etc. all facilitated the process of formalization and establishment of the real estate agencies as a profession in operation in RHU today. Thus the formal laws of the capitalist society began to slowly take shape within the real estate sector in its infancy and the newly established businesses in RHU began to have an impact on the socio-economic relations in the region thereby changing the prevalent economic norms and attitudes. Checks, promissory notes, contracts, etc. began to shape the economic relations between and among the settlers and the tenants. Money, money relations and their legal framework began to dominate over the informal socio-economic relations prevalent among the RHU settlers. The globalization process and Turkey's integration with the rest of the world, changing socio-cultural norms, new lifestyles in formation facilitated by neo-liberal policies,

advertisements on the TVs, already privatized radios and TVs and the telecommunications systems, the Internet, mobile phones, etc. began to reshape RHU together with the newly forming tenant-landlord-business relationships like in the other parts of the city, the country and the world. Through this adaptive acculturation as elaborated by Berry (1980), the dominant culture began to shape the settlers' attitudes and their socio-economic norms. Thus RHU settlers and their second and third generation off-spring began to find themselves in a rapid and at times arduous second-stage socio-economic transformation. This rapid process revealed the profit-seeking motive of a certain section of the RHU settlers who used this radical change process as an opportunity to prosper very quickly, to guarantee the future of their children without any consideration of the ethics of their economic behavior. The main means in their hands was the *apartmankondu* they had. So they began to rent these flats at relatively high prices when compared with the better-off apartments in its vicinity like Hisar, Uçaksavar and Akatlar. Some settlers even rented their houses near the road and lived in a cheap rental houses in another place in RHU as one of our respondents suggests:

So, there are those who rent their houses on the main road and then shift into another cheap rental house in Hisarüstü. There are also those who have shifted to other neighborhoods and who sustain their subsistence like that. But if I talk about myself, we have built just one floor for our child and we live in another floor. Now I am going to retire. (Interview; male, married, age 49, RHU settler).

On the other hand, there were those landlords who preferred to empathize with their tenants, most of whom were students. While those profit-seeking landlords were renting their flats at say 1000 TL, they were asking 700 or even 600 TL for the nearby similar flats. As some of our respondents and *apartmankondu* owners stated

that they were even asking half of the going price and were trying to be of help to the students thinking back to their own difficult times, economic hardships and what they got from the BU, both employment-wise and culturally. But the number of these landlords was much less than the profit-and rent-seeking ones. As the majority began to act with the profit-and rent-seeking motive, *apartmankondu* owners' rents in RHU began to skyrocket, creating resentment, complaints and organized protests on the part of the BU students. One of our respondents expresses the profit seeking attitude of the RHU home owners in the following way:

As we left [the house we rented in RHU] we didn't demand our \$500 deposit since we hadn't painted the house for seven years during our stay. So, I haven't thought to take the money back from the home owner since there were some needs of the house. But he called me and told that he made such, such and such expenses and that for this I had to pay 500 TL more. This was merciless. And we were depressed and stressed each January thinking about how much rent increase will be made by our landlord. Really our stress began three weeks in advance. (Interview; female, married, age 33, RHU resident and BU graduate).

In a similar manner, the current rector of BU made complaints about the high rents in the RHU in the following way:

There is the rent problem in RHU. People say that I have built five floors over my *gecekondu* and I have a five-storey apartment, and its second floor is 1700 TL. All right. Now I don't know its value is and let's assume that its value is 1100 TL. There are three students, for this or that reason, undergraduate or graduate students, they say that they won't be staying in the dormitory, or they say they there is no dormitory for them at the university, if s/he is a graduate student, or say this or that, whatever they say. They say they will collect the rent and submit the 1700 to the houseowner.... So what are we going to do with the high rent in RHU in this situation? (Interview; BU Rector).

With the current global financial crises, which interestingly originated as a real estate crisis in the US, and with the organized and unorganized protests of the BU students, the real estate sector in RHU in its infancy first began to reveal its artificial rent-

seeking character and then its artificially high rents. Students began to rent houses from the nearby regions of Hisar, Akatlar, Gültepe and even remoter places like Taksim leading to a decrease in the rents in RHU. To help ease the problem and to find a middle way, a panel was organized by Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Hizmet Kulübü (BUSOS) (Boğaziçi University Social Services Club) in cooperation with Sarıyer Municipality. Among the participants were the Sarıyer Mayor, RHU Mukhtar, HİSARDER, real estate agents of RHU, BU students residing at RHU and the press. One of the BU students suggested the following about the high rents at RHU and about the possible solutions to this problem:

We encountered problems in solving the high rent problem at the RHU. The apartment owners were not inclined to make any reductions in the rents even though there were complaints about the rents. The most important reason of this is that there are some groups of students who can afford the rents determined by apartment owners at the RHU. On the other hand there are those students who cannot afford these high rents. Thus, the students cannot establish solidarity against the apartment owners' high rents. So, we should raise consciousness about the rent issue and about the importance of establishing solidarity among students at the BU. (Interview; male, single, age 24, BU student).

The tenant-landlord relations at RHU goes back to late 80s when some of the squatter settlers began to build new squatter settlements nearby the earlier ones or added the second floors to their already existing masonry *gecekondus* buildings to rent to the BU students to have additional income. However, such instances were exceptional since the majority of the *gecekondus* were inhabited by the first and second generation squatter settlers. There was no real estate agent then. After the mass building of the *apartmankondu* in early 90s hundreds of houses became available for rent by the BU students.

According to the figures provided by Hisarder and the interview with the current Headman of RHU, Çetin Karayılan, the other interviewees, real estate agents, home owners, opinion leaders and the elderly living in the region, around one-third of BU students live as tenants in the squatter settlers' *apartmankondus* which is said to number around 3000.* Together with the dorms these *apartmankondu* flats provide a solution to the accommodation needs of the BU students. Students have the opportunity to share the house and the rent among themselves. While some students rent the flats by themselves, the majority rent the flat with two, three, four or more housemates. This is to the advantage of the students, the house owners, the real estate agents, as well as the university as each of the parties gain. However, it should be emphasized that the RHU settlers were well aware of the economic value of their flats and the rent they would earn them when the supply-demand relations and the scarcity of houses and dorms are taken into consideration. Thus, the new *apartmankondus* became a very important source of income for the RHU settlers in their secondary economic transformation and they together with the real estate agents enjoyed the rents arising from the mismatch of demand and supply. In the last two years rents of the flats which were earlier 1000TL began to decrease to 750-800TL. Students renting the houses say at 1,000TL began to leave those houses and rent the similar and vacant ones at 750-800TL. Thus the market began to regulate itself, albeit with some sort of organized protests and struggle rather than the invisible hand of the market.

* RHU is administratively a part of the RumeliHisarı Mahallesi together with Hisar. The headman is the headman of both Rumeli Hisar and Rumeli Hisarüstü. Thus, it is almost impossible to have exact statistical figures solely for RHU as TÜİK has the statistics for RumeliHisarı Mahallesi as a whole and the figures obtained including the population of and numbers of houses in RHU are rough estimates.

Today RHU has a somewhat closed economy which revolves around a “local economy” with the provision of services to the BU students, supplying homes for their accommodation needs and providing the basic needs of the squatters of RHU. While the photocopy, real estate, restaurant, removal, and taxi services are predominantly geared toward the needs of BU students, and the *nalbur* (hardware store), ironsmith, beauty shops, upholstery, café, car repair and tyre businesses are geared towards RHU settlers, the remaining business and services are shared by both. Over time as BU students became a part of the neighborhood, they began to share more of the economic services provided such as the barbers, plumbers, tailors, and beauty shops. Current BU students and some graduates began to earn their income through the services provided within the neighborhood. A good example to this is a current BU management student who opened a restaurant called Rumeli Pilavüstü and the other example is Wonderland, which is operated by BU graduates and mainly serves BU students. There are many more such examples. Although there is a dynamic local economy in the neighborhood, there is no bank in RHU at the moment. In the late 1990s there was a trial to operate an Akbank branch on the main street Nispetiye Caddesi and near the bazaar and the last bus stop, but it was not successful and was closed down after a few years due to inefficient operation and lack of demand. Today there is no bank in RHU, there are however a Garanti Bank inside the university premises in the South Campus and Akbank in the North Campus and they take care of the banking needs of the students as well as some of the RHU inhabitants. The Yapı Kredi Bank within the university premises was even closed down due to unprofitability. Both the RHU inhabitants and the businesses make use of these banks and the various banks in Etiler for their banking and financial needs. It

can be argued that the inhabitants of the area including the BU students can take care of their basic economic needs within the neighborhood. The distribution and the nature of the businesses across RHU indicate this (see Appendix G).

When the interviewees were traced within the course of their primary and secondary transformation this integrative relationship becomes much more evident. One of the respondents began his work life through being employed as a server in various seaside restaurants in Istinye, Hisar, and Bebek and also in the elite restaurants of Etiler. He worked in more than fifteen restaurants as a bus boy, waiter, dishwasher, cook, cashier, and waiter's coordinator. He had later opened an office cleaning business with family members but it wasn't successful due to lack of capital as well as capability and expertise in the sector. He then said that he would open a small café-restaurant for BU students in RHU. He managed quite well, accumulated some capital and began to employ dishwashers, cooks and outside food servers to the houses especially to the BU students. He managed to cope with the economic crises quiet well and stated that his experiences, his business ethics, and what he had learned from the earlier businesses on how to handle customers were important factors in his success. A majority of the other business owners in the food, photocopy, dry-cleaning, and hardware stores have fairly similar stories. They also state that they feel themselves of part of İstanbul and its business life and that what happens in the economy in a broader sense directly affects their business activities.

Building of the *apartmankondus* created a big reservoir of flats to be rented within time by some of the new migrants from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia fleeing from their villages due to 'forced evacuation', migrants from other cities of Anatolia, blue and white collar employees working in the nearby neighborhoods, single male servants, construction workers, house cleaners, tailors, lower level managers, students from other universities, families of the BU students, families of other university students, service sector employees, the urban poor, etc. besides the BU students. With the increased construction and opening to service of new BU Dormitories and with the impact of the global economic crises vacant houses began to increase and the rents began to decrease in RHU changing the features of the tenants of the *apartmankondus* as well. More non-BU residents began to rent the flats and this facilitated the deeper integration of RHU with the rest of the city.

To give a few examples, among the migrants coming from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, the majority work as construction workers and restaurant and café servers. For example, a family from East Anatolia directly migrated in 2006, settled near their relatives earning their lives as construction and house howers and first renting a house in Armutlu and then the *gecekondu* of a BU gate keeper¹⁸ in

¹⁸ The BU gatekeeper is an early RHU settler who used to work as a shoe-repairer in Bebek, and living there as a tenant. He was the neighbor of the researcher's family in Bebek. They came to RHU upon buying the land from the initial occupiers and building their *gecekondu*s and settling there. Later this *gecekondu* owner began to work as a gatekeeper at BU, retired, built another two-storey *gecekondu* for his children and settled back in his hometown with his wife in Trace. There were and still are other gate keepers at BU residing at RHU. One of the earlier gate keeper heads at BU who retired in early 90s was also a tenant in Bebek in late 60s, his family was a gatekeeper at one of the apartments in Bebek, they bought land from the initial occupiers, built a *gecekondu* at RHU and

RHU in late 90s. The newly arrived family rented the *gecekondu* of an early Kurdish RHU settler.¹⁹ The man of the family worked as a construction worker from his early 20s going for work to İzmir and other cities. Upon coming here he began to work with his relatives in the *apartmankondu* repair and other construction work at RHU and Armutlu. Later he moved out of the *gecekondu* and rented a flat of an *apartmankondu* and began to work with the subcontractor company working for BU. His elder daughter is working as a kitchen maid in the nearby Baltalimanı hospital, his elder son is working at Wonderland - a café-restaurant on the main street in RHU operated by BU graduates renting an *apartmankondu* flat at RHU - since the family came to RHU, his second eldest daughter worked in various local shops including a coiffeur shop at RHU during her semester breaks and attends the nearby Behçet Kemal high school, his wife worked as a cook for some time and his youngest son goes to Türkan Şoray middle school and works during the winter and summer breaks. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009), mention of a similar migration pattern and working and living conditions in the case of their findings from Sultanbeyli squatter settlements (pp. 173-74).

The second category of late-comer tenants at RHU comes from Anatolia, albeit indirectly, and are generally employed in the service sector in the city, indicating the potential to change the demographic structure of the settlement:

settled there. He later became the *mukhtar* of RHU and bought a flat of an *apartmankondu* and still lives in RHU.

¹⁹ This early Kurdish RHU settler worked as a server at various restaurants including the ones in Taksim, built his four-storey *apartmankondu*, sold two-stories and the early *gecekondu* to his son-in-law, and bought a taxi plate for one of his sons. Two of his sons are now living in the family apartment.

In earlier years of my youth while I was living with my parents in Kayseri I worked as a waiter during summer holidays... I had the talent of singing songs since I had a nice voice. In this way I began singing in tourist restaurants in Antalya...After some years I found job in a restaurant in Beyoğlu as a waiter again. Me and my friends began to search for a distinctive place to settle and got the information that the place around Boğaziçi University was somehow such a place. We rented a house in RHU. (Interview; male, married, age 56, new RHU tenant).

This man first rented the *apartmankondu* flat by himself. But since he went out of the city a lot with his boss and due to the irregularity of his job, looking for company and being in need of extra money to send as alimony to his children and divorced wife, he began to share a room of his flat with the motorcycle shop operator who rented the first floor of the apartment for his business.

Besides the motorcycle shop operator there are also a significant number of people who have settled in the neighborhood for the purposes of establishing a small business of their own by renting the *apartmankondu* flats. One of them was a tailor from Urfa who settled in the neighborhood around fifteen months ago. Before settling in RHU he lived almost thirteen years in different regions of İstanbul as a tailor after closing his shop in Urfa and finally settling in RHU:

I took some training in tailoring.... I worked as a tailor in Urfa for six years and then came to İstanbul, I worked in Beyoğlu and in Mecidiyeköy. Afterwards I heard that there were many market opportunities around the BU and decided to settle in RHU and I rented this house in RHU as a tailor shop. Since that day I work and live here...both home and office ... I applied low price policy to attract some customers since there are many tailors here. (Interview; male, married, age 36, tenant at RHU).

The tailor's wife also does babysitting and domestic work for affluent people in the neighborhood and in the nearby regions of Etiler and Bebek.

Together with the change in the demographic structure of RHU the variety of businesses began to change and the neighborhood, especially the main street along the BU main gate and the wall to the last bus-stop, began to resemble the main streets of the neighborhoods of İstanbul.

Economic Transformation and the Third Generation at Rumeli Hisarüstü

During the 50 years of economic transformation of the RHU from 1960 onward the squatter settlement has seen three to four generations. In this section the impact of the economic transformation on the third generation which does not have any direct affinity with the village(rs) of the prior generations will be analyzed.

Unlike the prior generations of RHU settlers, the third generation is totally RHU born and brought up like the children of the other squatter settlers elsewhere in the city going through this economic transformation process in a somewhat similar manner. The first and the foremost distinctive feature of the economic attitude of this generation is that they do not have the idea and thought of saving money for the future. They live for the day, spend what they have and think of a luxurious life with overtones of consumption in mind. For this type, work becomes a hobby, a way to spend time and busy oneself:

My family has an apartment with five stories. We have enough money from the rents we get. I can get my cash money and enjoy my life. Why should I work, money is coming from my father and grandfather's apartment. I am thinking about buying a BMW. (Interview; male, single, age 24, RHU settler).

On the other hand, there is a significant section of the third generation at RHU who continue their family jobs: for example, the sons of the leading supermarket at RHU.

The three children of the supermarket owner work with their father and the other employees. Even the son of the mayor works as a director in his father's construction company. He also has a music studio of his own in the same flat as the business and engages with music professionally. In the case of the supermarket, the sons were all helping their father after school hours:

I was in the elementary school when my father first converted his butcher shop into a grocery shop. After school me and my brothers looked after the shop in turns. During the vacation times we looked after the shop and earned our money. When the business enlarged the three brothers began to work at the shop full time. My brother was a teacher, he quit teaching and began to work with my father. (Interview; male, single, age 25, RHU settler).

In another case, a third generation RHU settler began to work as an accountant in the *Vakıf* (Foundation) at BU. Her father is an early RHU settler coming from Sinop, settling at RHU in late 60s and working as an employee at BU. He retired and went to Sinop with his spouse after a few years leaving their *gecekondu* to their youngest daughter, our respondent. One of her elder sisters works at BU infirmary and rents a house in RHU. The other elder sister is a housewife living in the cooperative house in Alibeyköy bought from BU with their indemnity payments. Our respondent is converting her father's *gecekondu* into a villa type of house.

Another section of the young generation works in the businesses in RHU and outside in cafes, restaurants, banks, chain stores in malls, as drivers, hotel employees, as workers in the factories, employees in the private sector, etc.

The lives of the second and especially the third generation RHU settlers have changed considerably through the transformations that took place in the country after the coup of 1980. The first generations of RHU settlers were peasants who had a primary school education on the average and inherited a village culture. They were

able to retain some of the culture prevalent in their villages and form ties among themselves in RHU. As explained elsewhere, most of the early RHU settlers belong to a group of peasants from the same villages forming almost closed cultural networks and getting in touch with the city life and culture only in limited amounts. The second generations were either born in their villages and came to the squatter settlements in their early childhood or born in the city and were able to find better jobs than their parents and have integrated themselves into city life more than their parents. But it is mostly the third generations whose lives were completely different than their parents. Most of the third generations have acquired a prosperous living standard through the rental earnings of their families. They were able to have a university education and join the social and cultural life within the city. One of our respondents suggested the following about the life of the new generation RHU settlers:

I am also from the new generation RHU settlers. I was born in 1974 and was able to attend school through the university level. There were only a few university graduates in the RHU before us. The number of university graduates was not as high in our generation. Most of them left the school either at the secondary or the high school level. But I was willing to continue my education and finished one of the universities in Anatolia. My father was working as an accountant at the BU and my mother was employed in the public sector at Tekel. We were able to build an apartment through the earnings of our family and my grandfather and uncle working abroad... But before this my fathers purchased a house in Uçaksavar and we shifted there. My life as an adolescent was highly colored and was not limited to the social and cultural life in RHU. I had friends who lived in different regions of the city and who came from different classes. I was interested in western rock music and in drawing. I learned drumming and received graphic education at the university. So I had a totally different cultural experience than my peers in RHU and from my own family. I completely belonged to one of the subcultures (Interview; male, married, age 35, RHU settler).

The third generation RHU settlers attained a prosperous life but this has had several adverse consequences. One of our respondents suggested the following about these consequences:

The parents of these children have earned significant amounts of money from rent. Their families attained a certain life standard and the children no longer needed to bother to earn money. The parents also felt that they had to provide their children a high quality life standard which meant to provide them sufficient monetary support to buy anything they desire to and do whatever they wish to. This is the most irresponsible act of the families since they thought that they can give happiness to their children through money. For them, giving significant allowances to children was sufficient and they did not show any concern for the moral and educational development of their children. What was important for them was to have their children live in accordance with the principle of maximizing the pleasure of the children. Children living under this irresponsible environment easily began to get addicted to drugs. There appeared people around RHU who engaged in dealing with drugs. One time I had the opportunity to talk to several of these addicted children and saw them in depression and searching for ways to get rid of drug addiction. I persuaded some of these children to receive professional help and reached their fathers. I talked to the fathers and explained to them the problems of their children in an attempt to persuade them and receive their consent for their children's rehabilitation in a hospital. But the fathers were reactive towards me. They listened to me but denied the addiction problem of their children. They were not interested in the rehabilitation. I could not understand why but I think it was easier for them to give money to their children and deny any responsibility. Fathers were ignorant of the harms that drugs could do to their children and never wished to hear a story about it. They simply denied reality with the simple logic that "nothing would happen" to their children. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

One other respondent suggested the following about his son who belonged to the third generation of RHU settlers:

My son grew up under different conditions than me and my spouse. He was able to attend the university and then went for completing his military service. When he returned from his military service we were able to marry him off since we had built a flat for him and for his would-be wife. We were also able to support him in establishing a business of his own. We have never had the opportunity to get support from our families in attending the university, owning a flat or in building a business of our own. My son was able to appreciate his luck and used all

of his opportunities successfully. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

Then there was a female third generation RHU resident who told about her different lifestyle.

My family built an apartment and earns some money from the flats. Thanks to the earnings of my family I did not need to give up school to enter the labor market. Most of the second generations had to give up school at early ages. This had two reasons: there was no culture of education and the children preferred to continue the culture of their parents and followed them in job preference. But in our generation this rule and the confines of the local cultures changed. The third generations of RHU now feel themselves as part of the culture of the city and search for their path of life in this culture. They don't see education as something useless but as a very crucial thing in life. For this reason most of the third generations have attended a university or at least a vocational school. Most of them preferred schools in Anatolia and not in İstanbul. I have also finished a university in Edirne. I am a girl but my parents gave their consent to send me to Edirne and even stay at a rented house with my friends. They trust me. If it were past, families would not be giving consent to the education of their female children and especially in a different city. This shows that all the culture within RHU has radically changed. (Interview; female, single, age 20, RHU settler).

One of the respondents belonging to the third generation RHU settlers suggested that he had a life which is completely integrated to the city life. He narrated his experiences as follows:

I was born in an environment of village culture continued within the RHU. My relatives had close relationships among themselves that most of them were from their own villagers. We could see weddings that took place in the gathering center of the neighborhoods to which people from my village attended and socialized. But with the construction of the apartments which took place in our childhood, this kind of socialization tended to decline since the apartments were occupied by people who came from different parts of the country. The population was getting more heterogeneous. At the same time a global culture was emerging instead of the family culture in the country. Thus I began to develop interest in cinema and I had the opportunity to get training in this area. I feel completely as a part of the culture that is prevalent in the city and the world. I don't define myself as a villager and RHU settler as did my parents and their family. Currently I am a movie director and reside in

RHU. I have my acquaintances in RHU. I see that all of my peers are engaged in activities and social relations outside the RHU. Our horizons are no longer confined to RHU as was previous generations. We, the new generation, are a part of the city culture and belong to it. (Interview; male, single, age 28, RHU settler).

There are a couple of other third generation members who provided evidence that their lives have completely integrated with the social and cultural life in the city. One female respondent suggested the following:

I am twenty-five and had education in one of the private universities in İstanbul. I am currently finishing my master's degree in the department of cinema and television. In previous periods girls were not educated in RHU but this rule has changed in the new generation. Previously girls only had the opportunity to go until high school and then had to marry and stay within RHU or go to Germany. Things have changed since then and currently almost all the girls have a university or vocational education and work at better jobs than their mothers. We are no longer restricted to domestic work. (Interview, female, single, age 25, RHU settler).

The Advent of Consumer Culture and the Squatter Settlers

In the case of squatter settlers, the acculturation process was not accompanied by a total disruption of the ties with their original culture. Rather, the squatter settlers adopted the consumer culture and the lifestyle of the city within the framework of their original culture, thereby establishing new and different ties with their own culture. It was like a redefinition and reformation of their own cultures. This is a situation that occurs in the same way in acculturation in many different contexts. The squatter settlers experience an integration process to the city at their first arrival and afterwards with the advent of the consumer culture, values attached to liberalism and

the new lifestyles that have spread throughout Turkey parallel to the spread of globalization around the world, and they go through a continuous transformation process. The squatter settler is able to earn money and get included in the system as a productive power satisfying his/her own interests. During the first part of the process of transformation, squatter settlers are able to accumulate their earnings by saving some considerable portion of their household income with the aid of getting rid of accommodation costs through their squats. At the end of their primary transformation, the squatter settlers are able to build apartments through their savings and by benefiting from the deficiencies in the construction law and the admissive policies of the authorities. This is the first and the necessary step that leads to their secondary transformation. Earning rents allow them to establish a different and new relation with city life by adopting the values of the new consumer culture. Their former close and collectivist relationships begin to weaken and gradually change to a culture of individuality, but without seriously severing the ties among the settlers. They do not lose their contact with their homelands which they retained throughout all of their city life. Some families begin to save money through rents and also invest some portion of their savings into the construction of *villas*²⁰ in their villages. They obtain much spare time and can now spend more time in their villages in their own houses and villas. This is how they establish deeper ties with their original homelands.

²⁰ The word villa comes from Latin and refers to the large and luxurious houses built on country side. (Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_villa).

Urban Restructuring and Rumeli Hisarüstü:

Past Experiences and the Prospects for the Future

In 1983-84 RHU went through a very drastic demolition process with the building of the Second Bosphorus Bridge in 1985 just a couple of years after the RHU settlers had completed their primary economic transformation, and this very traumatic event had very adverse consequences for the early RHU settlers. With the building of the bridge 400 houses were demolished in RHU and 800 more from Alibeyköy, Tarlabası and Okmeydanı (Kaya, 2010). The settlers organized meetings and protests against the building of the bridge in order to stop it. Among these three were especially worth mentioning. The first organized series of protests were led by the women with the motto of “Stop Squatter Demolishings” and the organizers infiltrated into a meeting held by the then mayor Bedrettin Dalan, opened posters they hid under their skirts and made use of the wooden clutches of a disabled friend of theirs and fixed the posters on it. Then on September the first, on the World Peace Day, they have painted the façade of their squats with white paint to have their voices heard. The third protest was the most critical one where they have learned that the Head of the Military Junta, Kenan Evren, would come to İstanbul. A group of RHU women settlers waited in front of the military house for hours to see the president and resisted the police. At the end they returned to RHU. The men were waiting them on the bus terminal. One of the women said that Evren would be waiting for them in Ankara which then motivated the men. With this small lie they organized again and went to Ankara and also wrote 750 petitions to 5 different institutions with the help of the neighboring Boğaziçi University students. They succeeded in meeting with the head of the military junta (Kaya, 2010). However, their efforts had its limits and

they had to come to an agreement with the municipality for the titled houses and land in Kayışdağı far on the Asian side of İstanbul and a relatively deserted area which was called “Konutlar” by the migrants from RHU. With the demolition the middle section of RHU, which was the backbone of the settlement area was wiped out. The settlers were removed like pulling a plant from its roots and planting it in a less fertile and foreign climate. This changed their future course of lives and led to a different path of secondary economic transformation on their part when compared with their fellow RHU settlers and their former social web of relationships. One of our respondents whose house was demolished explains the process as follows:

There were rumors in ‘84 that another bridge would be built on the Bosphorus and then in ‘85 the houses were sealed before demolition. Before the process of demolition as it was not certain whether they would give us a new place to go and settle on. For this reason some of the leading people in the community applied to the authorities and petitions were sent to the ministry in Ankara... The petitions were written in order to get the right for another settlement in the city and to defend our rights... Around hundred of the families were given houses which were previously built for the police. Since the police did not want to accept these houses due to reasons of small size, incomplete infrastructure and being remote to the city centre, the authorities decided to give the houses to the RHU settlers whose houses were demolished and we were ‘forced’ to leave our homes and settle there as soon as possible before organized protests developed. (Interview; male, single, age 36, former RHU settler).

This story shows that the state was not even willing to provide the RHU settlers with new houses in return for their demolished houses unless the settlers themselves applied with petitions to the ministry. The other important thing that the interview reveals is that there was no policy and planned resettlement regarding the mandatory settlement of the RHU settlers to this new place which was almost outside the city limits at the time of resettlement. Protest against the demolitions was also protest against the ill-intentions of the local governments of the time. There were even

rumors that the location of the bridge was shifted to RHU just to demolish the whole settlement.

The leading figures of RHU of the time got in touch with the leading local authorities, deputies and even went to Ankara to stop the demolitions. There were certain sections around the main bridge area which were also included within the demolition area. Meetings were held and a series of discussions made regarding the intentions of the local governors on marking a wide area for demolition. The general feeling of the settlers was that the aim of the local government was to get rid of RHU as a squatter settlement. Thinking of this, those settlers whose houses were not affected by the demolition, united with the ones whose houses were in the process of demolition to defend their settlement. A web of solidarity was organized in a few months before the demolitions. Through the clientelistic relations they had developed all over the years of their settlement RHU settlers were able to stop further demolitions.

The legs of the bridge were erected on the hill which was called Halim Pasha by the RHU settlers. There was a plain festivity area and a park on this hilly place overlooking the Bosphorus. This place was the meeting place for the RHU settlers. Football matches were played every weekend among teams from RHU, Hisar and the nearby neighborhoods, films were shown, gatherings were organized for entertainment and for cultural purposes, young boys and girls met each other here, others sold basic foodstuff to the comers. In short, Halim Pasha was the centre of socialization for the RHU settlers. It was the first place that was removed from the lives of the RHU settlers and this further united the settlers against demolitions.

Some of the respondents struggled heavily against the demolition of their houses but their efforts were in vain since the building of the bridge was a decision made by the central government and was irreversible. Demolitions meant a total shock and an unbearable process for those subjected to mandatory resettlement to Konutlar as all their social processes and relationships would be turned upside down. One of our female respondents suggested the following regarding this chaotic and shocking development:

In RHU we had an organized and ordered life. We had our close relations and all of our workplaces were located around our region. We were working as domestics and demolishing our houses and sending us to a distant place meant the corruption of our ties with the employment market. We had to find jobs around our new settlement and this was a hard task to achieve. For this reason we resisted against the demolition of the houses but could not find support from the civil society in Turkey or the given support did not suffice to stop the demolition process. As we shifted to our new settlements, some of the women employed as domestics tried to sustain their ties with their employers on the European side. But they faced many difficulties such as long commuting distances from the Anatolian side to the European side, increased transportation costs as many women did not use any means of transport other than walking to the house of the employer who were located in close proximity to their houses, hours and energy lost in the traffic and hopelessness. Other women were not willing to continue to work on the European side but sought employment on the Anatolian side which was a difficult process. They had no ties and acquaintances on the Anatolian side and had to search intensely for new relationships. (Interview; female, married, age 55, former RHU settler).

As our respondent explicitly states, the move to Konutlar meant a similar process of migration when compared with their migration from their villages to RHU. They would leave all their established social and economic life in RHU behind and would have to begin a 'new life' in an isolated, far and foreign place with lack of basic infrastructure outside the city limits.

While the poor people around the Konutlar welcomed the migrating RHU settlers thinking that they were middle class families and their daughters and wives would find housework jobs with them, the new comers had to begin a new struggle to establish their livelihood in the new and totally foreign and isolated area with improper and unfinished infrastructure. One of our respondents who first went to Konutlar after their house was demolished and came back a few years later after building a two storey *apartmankondu* with his father-in-law on his land tells this ironic situation as follows:

When the houses in Konutlar were built and RHU settlers began to shift there, the local people living around these building hoped that wealthy people would come to these houses which would need domestics for their housework. When we arrived in the region these people began to establish relationships with us asking us to employ their daughter and wives as domestics and we had to explain to them that they made a big mistake in expecting that they would find work as domestics in our houses. I told them that the RHU migrants to the region were themselves domestics. And this disappointed them. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

Another respondent narrated how their life was completely changed after the demolition of their houses:

We were shifted to the region called Kayışdağı where buildings were constructed for the police force that refused to live in these houses due to their being of small size, having incomplete infrastructure and being remote to the city centre. *These building were allocated to us and to other squatter settlers from different locations in İstanbul whose houses were demolished at the same time [emphasis mine]*. So the population of the new settlement was mixed and many of the new settlers were foreign to us as we were to them. At initial stages and still today there are problems between our youth and their children and youth. Some of these people have very different cultures than ours. Their youth engage in fighting, pressuring our youth and their males bother our girls and that causes fights between our young and adult males and theirs. Life here is not as secure and comfortable as in RHU and all of the settlers of Kayışdağı who came from RHU miss RHU much. They are economically much worse off than the RHU settlers. From time to time they visit RHU and see their old friends

there and spend time with these people. (Interview; female, widowed, age 75, former RHU settler).

Observations and evaluations of our respondent is quite striking since it reveals all of the major problems encountered as a result of this unwanted and unaccounted for migration. This reminds us the 'mandatory settlement' policy applied by the Ottomans as stated in the literature review. Without thinking of the basic needs of those being resettled, they are just dumped in a deserted, unfinished and improper neighborhood that lacks infrastructure. The most striking thing is that the new settlers were longing for RHU and their socio-cultural roots there.

The activity of demolition continued in parts until today, and families whose houses were demolished were sent to different regions around İstanbul. There are still certain houses around the evacuated region during the building up of the bridge, and their legal struggle goes on as of today. On the other hand, the resettled RHU inhabitants in Kayışdağı have followed a more drastic path of migration which continues today. One of our respondents currently living there tells her family's migration 'adventure' like a film series as follows:

We came to RHU nearby our relatives from Black Sea when I was in my early 20s after trying to settle in some other cities. We built our *gecekondu* with the help of family, relative and fellow villager (*hemşeri*) solidarity. Most of the women went for domestics to Bebek, Etiler and Şişli. In those years I was working at a factory and my brothers had to quit the university due to poverty... But still we were happy in RHU. We would go to cinema on weekends, then in summer we would go the concerts in Hisar. With one bus we would go to Taksim, we could see the Bosphorus, we had trees in our neighborhood and gardens. We would do everything in solidarity when we lived in RHU. But with the building of the Second Bridge they wanted to disperse us. Even the military regime could not dare to enter into our houses... Our struggle during the resettlement was to

stay and live together in the same neighborhood and that is how we managed to settle together in the police housing complex built in Ataşehir İmar-İskan Blokları which the police did not want to move in due to lack of infrastructure. We became owner of our sixty-five square meter houses after paying our installments for ten years... This place was far outside the city with no transportation system, no roads and we had to spend five-six hours to go to work... I had my insurance when I was living in our gecekonu in RHU, but after resettlement I quit in order to earn more to pay our installments and had to go to domestics. I lost my health, but we created a new neighborhood... Since the house we were given was small I rented it and I am renting a house somewhere else. But now our neighborhood is under the threat of urban transformation due to increased development of the region and the plan to move the Central Bank to Ataşehir. We will do our best not to move out of here. We will not leave each other, we did our best during the junta times and struggled for our rights and we will do the same here (Interview; female, married, age 51, former RHU settler).

This long story of our respondent together with the other 1,200 resettled squatters indicate that the state is attempting to integrate them into the system but is not in a position to create a viable solution. Similar secondary resettlements are under way in other regions of İstanbul as part of the urban transformation project of the AKP government. Lack of proper planning and temporary solutions prevents proper integration of the settlers into the urban environment, paving the way for further resettlements arising from the increased rent value of the land these people are settled on and due to increased capital concentration. This has of course created resentment and the neighborhood people organized against the new 'urban transformation project' signed between TOKİ and Ataşehir Mayor. The inhabitants including the mukhtar of the neighborhood are against such a transformation since they say that their neighborhood was a social mass housing complex built according to the 'Law on Prevention of Gecekonu', but that due to the increasing rent value of the region, shopping mall and other commercial complexes will be build by the big construction companies with the consent of the municipality and the government

and that their livelihoods and rights are not taken into consideration at all. If they do not accept the terms dictated then they are threatened (Yıldırım, 2010).

What happened during the first 'mandatory resettlement' gives clues on what will happen in future resettlements of the RHU squatter settlers if and when a new urban restructuring plan is applied. It is also the expectation of the majority of the *apartmankondu* settlers of RHU that they will experience a similar situation in the future in case of demolition and/or urban restructuring.

There are several rumors about the future demolition of RHU. Most of the RHU settlers could not get the titles to their land even today, and there is continual demolition activity carried out around the region due to reasons like road opening and expansion. Thus, demolition started before the construction of the bridge was continued in parts until today. Today there are rumors that RHU will be totally demolished in the near future. Some of the respondents were asked their ideas, plans and strategies for the possible demolition of the region. The feelings of the respondents are mixed. As expected their approaches to the issue are directly related to their economic interests, lifestyles and expectations from their fellow residents. While some are totally against such a new demolition, some others are ambivalent about it. Differences in attitudes toward a new demolition with the justification of urban restructuring is an indicator of the change in social behavior of the settlers to issues related to their community. The following quotations from different sections of RHU settlers reveal this quite clearly.

One of the respondents suggested the following:

I have not heard about the demolition of RHU yet but if that happens then I have nothing to lose because like in the past the state provides houses in turn of the demolished houses. Since I have built an apartment during '92 and the apartment had already paid back its construction

expenses and plus made me earn some significant amount of money to secure my future life I have no insecurity. So, if the state decides to demolish the apartments I am sure at least one residence will be provided to the apartment owners in another region of the city. (Interview; male, married, age 38, RHU resident).

However, not all the RHU settlers were so optimistic and well-off when compared with the above respondent. As one respondent stated:

I have heard that the squatter settlement will be entirely demolished. I have no idea how and why the state would do such a thing. But if that happens I think that some riot will take place in the region because people have invested all of their earnings to the apartments which is their only security. We will not let the state to demolish our apartments and send us somewhere else. In this case all of their future will be damaged. It will be an event with no return. (Interview; female, married, age 40, RHU settler).

In the case of poorer sections of the RHU, where settlers have only their *gecekondus* as their dwelling, their evaluation and expectations drastically change:

I feel nothing about such rumors because I have only one squat and have not built an apartment. I have nothing to lose since I believe and know by experience that the state would provide new houses for the demolished squatters and apartments. So my future will not be influenced. (Interview; male, married, age 45, RHU settler).

A widowed female respondent who was among the urban poor of the RHU suggested the following about the future demolition potential of the RHU:

My husband and I have worked to buy this squatter. For a long time after our wedding we lived in rents and paid some significant portion of our earning to rent and saved some money at the same time. Then, some sixteen years ago, we bought this small squatter house from the uncle of my husband in return for all of our savings. A couple of years ago my husband suddenly died and I, with my two children was left alone. I was the only working person in the house. My son is a drop-out of the university and he was fulfilling his military service when his father died. My daughter is still a high school student and cannot work. After finishing his military service my son returned and began working as a security personnel at Metrocity but was later laid off after some time. Since then he could not find employment and I am the only bread winner

in the house. My husband was retired from the BU and through his acquaintances I have found a secured employment at the university. Currently I am a BU personnel and do domestic work on the weekends. I have no other security than my squatter house. If they would demolish my house in the future I would face serious problems. But the usual procedure is that the state allocates a house in return for the demolished squatter house. So, I am sure that me and my children would not be left on the street but be given a house in some distant region of the city. The remoteness of the new dwelling would be the only problem for us. At the moment I am walking to my workplace but if the houses would demolished then I would be spending some significant time in the traffic of the city and would have to make extra payments. (Interview; female, widowed, age 51, RHU settler).

Some of the second and third generation residents of RHU whose families had built apartments have also expressed their concerns regarding the possible demolition of the settlement. There were different views regarding the issue.

My fathers were able to build a four-storey apartmentkondu. We are two siblings and each of us has one of flat, the parents live in another flat while the remaining flat is rented and its rent is taken by the parents. Actually I was not much interested in education while I was young and began working in unqualified jobs. After the military service I married and began to live in my flat in our family apartment. My wife also works and we have two children. It is not certain whether the state would be willing to give a flat in return for all the flats within an apartment. They might provide just one house per apartment or pay some insufficient money in return for the construction expenses. In that case we would not be able to buy a house for us. My brother is in the same situation. None of us and none of our spouses have good earning jobs. We were able to gather some money in time but we are not willing to spend all of our savings to buy a new house and establish a new life. We have our plans for our children and wish to spend the money for the future of our children and for our own retirement. (Interview; male, married, age 40, RHU settler).

Another respondent was in a better condition since her family was able to build a five storey apartment with two flats on each storey. The family had three children and two of them were married while the girl whom we interviewed was a university student at a private university. The family earned some significant income through

the rent and thereby they attained a certain life standard. The family had its cars, summer houses and was able to send their girls to the private university. The girl expressed her concerns about the future demolition as follows:

If the apartments would be demolished then the residents of RHU would be sent to some distant location around the city and they would be paid only some of the construction expenses which would not suffice us to build another apartment in the same manner. Thus, if the apartments would be demolished then my family and I would be losing some significant amount of earnings. So, I am afraid of and anxious about the future demolition plans of RHU (Interview; female, single, age 21, RHU settler).

However, the attitude of the leading figures of RHU regarding the future and probable demolition process with the claim of a new urban restructuring process reflect more awareness. In the newly established neighborhood association HİSARDER various meetings were held on this issue. The new association has become a member of the associations' platform with eighteen other associations of Sarıyer to defend their common rights and to act together regarding the problems of squatter settlements in Sarıyer, especially regarding future demolitions. Besides this, HİSARDER is bringing in experts to analyze the settlement situation in RHU, is also cooperating with the new mayor of Sarıyer regarding a viable solution to the improperly formed *apartmankondu* settlements in RHU. A few months ago the association invited the mayor of Sarıyer to their opening ceremony where the mayor delivered a speech to the RHU settlers in front of the association together with a folkloric ceremony shared by the entire squatter settlers of RHU.

The Mayor Şükrü Genç, who is the son of the early RHU settler, himself a RHU settler in an *apartmankondu* of his own stated the following in the opening ceremony of HİSARDER:

Our mothers and fathers had settled in RHU in the early 50s working as laborers, domestics and workers. Some of them have bought their titles to the land, some bought their lands from the occupying groups and the poorer settlers had to take refuge on the free-treasury lands building make-shift *gecekondus* to shelter their families for a hard living in the outskirts of İstanbul. With the help of BU and with the cooperation of BU students we have built our main road together and created a living neighborhood to benefit both sides. We were the first settlers of RHU and we must be its final settlers as well (Speech delivered in the opening ceremony of HİSARDER, 2009).

This speech of the mayor is actually the summary of the whole migration process and the ‘adventure’ of the squatter settlers of RHU whose journey began in early 50s.

While some migrated to Germany and became guest workers living there far from their homeland and hometowns, the majority settled in RHU as guest inhabitants, formerly in their *gecekondus* and now in their *gündüzkondu/apartmankondus*. They are waiting for decisions to be made by the ruling authorities for their future fate for a viable solution to the improperly formed squatter settlement mostly in the treasury lands of the state in RHU which later turned into an *apartmankondu* neighborhood lacking the basic city planning and order.

The Transformation of the Rumeli Hisarüstü Settlers’ Economic Ideology from 1960 Onward

The pioneers of the migrants settling in RHU in the early 50s were the migrant workers who came to İstanbul as single *gurbetçi* males working in manual jobs as masonry builders, construction workers, porters, coal loaders and off-loaders, gardeners and servants, and staying in the single male rooms (*bekar odaları*) in various *hans* or in jointly rented houses such as the ones in Arnavuktöy, Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Bebek, Hisar and İstinye. The majority aimed to earn enough money to

send back home to their families in their villages and if possible to bring their families to İstanbul. They could earn this money only through hard and manual work. Thus they created their own solidarity web either through their relative and village *hemşeri* relations and/or through the new solidarity relations they created with the other *gurbetçis* in the city. Thus for the majority, the lifestyle led gave rise to and was a catalyst for solidarity-oriented economic thought regarding production, consumption, saving money, investing and obtaining property. Hence, this economic approach was transferred to the newly arriving family members and the relatives when they formed the first *gecekondus* in RHU. However, it should be mentioned that some of the *gecekondus* were built on legally titled lands and some on treasury lands. It seems that on the part of those acting with the motive of appropriating the treasury land without payment, their poverty condition and lack of enough money to pay for the nearby titled lands was also a factor. The other factor was the new *gecekondu* formation trend in İstanbul which was implicitly ignored and might have been encouraged by the governments. With all these factors, the new treasury lands and the *gecekondus* were seen as the squatter settlers' new 'private properties' with communal protection by family, relative, acquaintance and village solidarity webs.

The early RHU settlers were predominantly peasants and proto-workers. As Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) emphasize, the first generation of *gecekondus* were built outside the formal real estate market and almost completely by the owners for their own use as a solution to their housing and accommodation needs neglected by the state. The *gecekondus* were built for use rather than as means of exchange to obtain wealth. When the first settlements were completed and settlers began to live in them, it became an area of habitation where the changing needs of the *gecekondu* settlers

were fulfilled. In line with the changing needs of the families living in the *gecekondus*, additions could be made to the *gecekondus*, chicken and cows could be raised, plants were grown and fruit trees planted both for family needs and to an extent to sell to the nearby affluent people in exchange for money to supplement the family budget (pp. 112-113). In a similar manner, the majority of the squatters of RHU were leading a small peasant lifestyle with small plots to until and vineyards and orchards to plant vegetables and fruits in as extension of their peasant lifestyles and the economy back in their villages which required a family-based and communal lifestyle. Thus they had the economic attitude of acting in a communal way, working together within the family as well as with their fellow villagers and *gecekondu* dwellers in line with the self-exploitation hypothesis of Chayanov. Chayanov, as quoted in Bagchi (n.d., p.5), in his analysis of peasant family farms, discovered that family farms could only survive under the conditions of self-exploitation of family labor in order to survive and to compete in the market (Chayanov, 1966). This situation is mentioned in a different way by Karl Marx who states that the major argument of political economy, which is the science of wealth and therefore simultaneously the science of renunciation, of want, of *saving*, is accumulation and that you have to sacrifice from your human activities and achieve a primitive capital accumulation process. Thus the less you are, the less you express your own life, the more you *have*, i.e., the greater is your *alienated* life, the greater is the store of your estranged being (Marx, 1976, p.210). In the case of the first generation of squatter settlements, as in the case of RHU, the early settlers have naturally carried over their village life habits and peasant ideologies with them and adapted this lifestyle and ideology to the socio-economic and geographic reality they became a part of. To be

able to first survive in the outskirts of the city, the early settlers had to act in solidarity within their families as well as with their fellow villagers. They continued this collective peasant production in their newly-built squatter settlements with overtones of self-exploitation by working extra hours and in additional jobs, with almost all the family members including their children above the age of ten participating in the effort. Some families had their own small barns near their squatter settlements. Thus, working in more than two jobs, most of the time the entire family living together in one room, teenager children working in the after-school hours, weekends and holidays, women of the family going to domestic work, raising cows and chicken, planting vegetables in their gardens, knitting sweaters, socks, etc. on a piece basis were different aspects of this solidarity and self-exploitation to cope with the family costs, and to save money to extend their *gecekondus* as well as to accumulate capital for their future investments. One early RHU settler told her story as follows:

When we came to RHU in early 60s we continued our village life in our new small squats in RHU.... My husband had built just two rooms... I came with my two sons... I began to work as a domestic in Etiler... Besides, I was looking after our four cows, collecting grass for them, collecting wood to burn, selling milk and eggs to the affluent people in the vicinity for whom RHU women worked as domestics... My husband worked in construction works, he also worked in side jobs and in building *gecekondus*... When I went to work, my sons took care of the cows and sold milk.... We were doing it all together. (Interview; female, widowed, age 81, very early RHU settler).

As the above story indicates, the families in general acted in a communal manner and made use of different sorts of labor to save money and expand their *gecekondus*. In a way, they exploited their own labor by working more and more hours, making use of their children's labor and engaging in 'primitive capital accumulation'. This was the

extension of their family peasant life in their villages. There was also a kind of communal cooperation and collaboration while building their houses predominantly based on the free provision of labor. The relatives and fellow villagers have built their houses with joint effort and in turns. When the *gecekondus* of one villager was built, others worked with them and the *gecekondus* were built in turns. A similar solidarity was applied in the building of extensions to the original *gecekondus* and/or for the building of the new ones in the spare *gecekondus* lands for the new family members and grown-up children. One respondent narrated how the family house was built through communal cooperation:

The land on which our house was built was previously kept by the family of my wife, her mother, sisters, and brothers, but since some of them immigrated to England, the land was left to us. When we married, we had to stay in a rental house in RHU, in a location which is demolished before the bridge was built. In the first year of our marriage, we began to build our squat on the land which was left to my wife. There were fellow villagers and RHU neighbor settlers who were employed as construction workers, or masters in RHU with whom we had some acquaintance and who were willing to help us with their expertise in construction but with certain discounts. Our house was built through the effort of these people, who were of the same village as my wife (Interview; male, widowed, age 62, RHU settler).

The above shows how people from the same or close village of origin established a web of solidarity among themselves in RHU while building their *gecekondus*. First, the land was kept through family and relative ties. In the above example, the land was kept by a villager family whose members were scattered around RHU. The family had many members, some of which were married and some were single, both male and female. Married members of the family kept land on different locations. The portion that was described above was kept by the mother and her two single daughters, and one married son. One of the daughters, after marrying, and the

married son of the family migrated to England and left some portion of the land to the remaining single daughter of the family who then married and built a house on the land with her husband. This is how the family ties worked in many parts of RHU in the case of migration to Europe. The remaining portion of the land, where the initial temporary squat was built, was then rented to different people on behalf of the married male child of the family, who had migrated to England. In the case of this family and their relatives, the family which built their own squat on the land did this through the use of communal ties in every way. As the respondent suggests, the family needed help during the construction of their house since both him and his wife had to work. Through their communal ties, they found construction workers and an experienced person who was involved in almost all the phases of building the *gecekondu*, drawing the plan, managing the construction work, etc. The family had the opportunity to get construction materials at cheap prices, and received discounts from the workers and the master who built the house.

Another respondent suggested the following regarding family ties and solidarity:

My family migrated to the city due to poverty and inadequate employment opportunities in the village. We were a large family and the family land did not suffice for the family. When we arrived in RHU, we occupied a land since there were many persons from our village who arrived in the city a couple of years ahead of us. Our villagers helped us to keep our land. Our family had many members both male and female. Through our communal ties we were able to build a squat in RHU. The same communal ties were also functional in finding employment of the members of our family. The women would go to house cleaning and male members found jobs either within factories in the city or at the BU which was then called Robert College. The jobs at Robert College were desired more by most of the RHU settlers since it was near the neighborhood and helped them to safeguard their *gecekondu*s and aided in establishing other and more important social ties. However, jobs at the College were not easy to find and could not only be accessed through communal ties. Only relatives from the same village helped each other to

find jobs at the College (Interview; female, married, age 58, early RHU settler).

As the above quotation indicates, solidarity was not only confined to the building of the *gecekondu*. A similar situation was seen in the case of finding employment, especially with regard to BU where before the KPSS, the majority of the non-academic BU personnel came from RHU through family, relative and village solidarity and sometimes through being fellow RHU neighbors.

Besides the dominant solidarity-oriented economic ideology attitude, there are cases where the lack of solidarity and at times disputes between the relatives regarding land and inheritance issues lead to struggles between the relatives and the family members taking refuge in other relatives' houses as migrants to İstanbul from their villages. This was the case in some situations from the less fertile regions of interior black sea region where the Şebinkarahisarlı migrants came from. Regarding the land and property disputes before coming to RHU, one of our respondents tells the following:

After my father died my mother had to take care of us. Among the seven siblings she was the only female. After a while we began to stay in the second floor of my grandmother's two-storey home and my uncle (*dayı*) stayed in the first floor. One of my uncles had cheated my grandmother and got my mother's land shares in her wife's name and the other uncle was trying to get the home. So they did not want my mother to stay in that home and asked for rent. So my mother went to a nearby town to take out beet and potato root. She was going to work with my elder sister and was staying there for a week and was obtaining the money needed for our daily needs. But still they did not want her to stay in that home and to till the lands, and there were serious struggles between the siblings to obtain the inherited scarce lands and orchards from their father and mother, so we had to come to İstanbul (Interview; female, married, age 54, early RHU settler).

After coming and settling in RHU and given their economic conditions, cost minimization and saving money was one of the pillars of their economic behavior.

To do this, both the man and the woman in the family had to work. For example, one early RHU settler states the following regarding the financial difficulties, cost minimization, savings and building their *gecekondu* as follows:

The squat was first built as a small one-room and one toilet shack in around twenty m². Almost eighty per cent of the monthly earnings of my father and my mother's daily domestics payments were put into building the *gecekondu*. I am not telling this as something specific to my father and mother. It was pretty much the same all over Hisarüstü [RHU]. For example, that month they would go to the *nalbur*²¹, buy thirty or forty briquette, two bags of cement and put them aside and cover them in the garden to make up the second room. Since five-ten people lived in one room. Then after a year or so another room was built and this was a solution to overcome the financial burden. All those family members and/or relatives in the family would put the money they earn into a common fund controlled by the family head (man or sometimes woman) and it was used by him or her for the expansion of the *gecekondu*. (Male, married, age 50, early RHU settler).

As in the case of this family, by building up their *gecekondus* and making annexes to it, they were able to save the money to be paid for rents to build up new *gecekondus* for the other family members. Here the individual interests were subordinated to the collective interest of putting their powers together to create a *gecekondu* for the whole family. To decrease their costs, a great majority of the squatter settlers obtained their basic agricultural needs from their villages, they planted their vegetables in their gardens, raised chicken and cows. They also sold their vegetable and dairy products to the nearby affluent families. Since their talents were limited in scope, they could earn their living through manual labor and by selling their labor

²¹ Hardware store

power or by being employed at the then Robert College at various low level manual jobs like gate-keeping, plumbing, janitor, etc. Thus, in time, they became part of the informal working class sector. Their wives began to work as a domestic. All through this time period, the RHU squatters acted and had to act in solidarity with each other and developed various webs of communal social relations while building their *gecekondus*, in searching for employment, in bringing goods from their villages, building up the basic infrastructure of RHU like the sewage, water and electricity facilities. Regarding finding employment a similar solidarity web and collective economic ideology was at work. One respondent suggested the following:

We built our squat through the help of our villagers who had settled in RHU previously and have also informed us about the region. When we arrived at the city with my family we have invaded a huge portion of land and then built our squat on it. My father was not a construction worker and therefore could not finish the house all by himself but his relatives and other acquaintances from the village helped him in the process of construction. We even bought the construction materials at relatively cheap prices and also paid nothing to the laborers and masters who worked at the construction process since all were our acquaintances from the village. Everyone helped each other like this. At the same time my father began employment through the help of one of his villagers (Interview; male, married, age 46, early RHU settler).

In the area of consumption, the settlers built various cooperatives to provide basic food stuff at its cost, one of which was on the main road and served the needs of various sections of the RHU until the *coup de etat* of 1980. The *gecekondu* times until the early 80s was predominantly marked by communal socio-economic behavior. The political make-up of the neighborhood was another catalyst in the development of the communal and collectivistic relations in the neighborhood. The neighborhood was a stronghold of the left factions of different kinds from the second

half of the 60s until the *coup de etat* of 1980. Like in many other squatter areas of İstanbul of the day, with the help of power vacuum on the part of the state, the neighborhood and the daily life were organized along the lines of marginal leftist ideology along communal lines and cadres were recruited for the leftist political factions. Shortly, the leftist and revolutionary ideology became a political weapon for the RHU settlers to defend their squats and their 'liberated' neighborhood, paving the way for a would-be revolution. This was in line with the rising leftist and revolutionary ideology in the squatter areas and the rural areas all over Turkey. The world conjuncture was also effective in the development of this collectivistic political and economic behavior since there was the so-called socialist camp and the ideological impact of the revolutions until the last Nicaraguan revolution in 1979 that provided a psychological motivation to the masses in RHU and elsewhere. There was a leftist tide in the world and this coincided with the increasing organization and impact of revolutionary groups in Turkey. That is why the Nicaraguan revolution was affecting the revolutionary people in the neighborhood and it could be taken as a model for their revolutionary organization and for their revolution. The main dispute between the different revolutionary groups was on how the revolution would be made and which countries could be taken as a model for their revolutions. Some groups were adherents of the Soviet regime, some were advocates of the Chinese socialism, some others said Cuba was a role model, etc. These disputes on how the revolution would be made could from time to time lead to serious disputes and sometimes to clashes between the different factions, but when it came to common cause of guarding their squatter settlements they could put aside their disputes among themselves and even their disputes with the minority religious sector of the RHU.

Thus, some sort of a communal town was formed where RHU was both being administered by the *muhtar* and the association and by some other committees. Although there were different political attitudes like the leading religious figures of RHU and those acting with individual interests, when it came to defending the common interests of the RHU settlers these political differences were easily put aside and the people mainly acted jointly, collectively and in solidarity with each other according to the motto of “birlikten kuvvet doğar” (acting together creates synergy). Those who insisted in acting according to their individual(istic) and self-interests were subjected to various social, political and economic sanctions to act in line with the dominant leftist economic ideology and the leftist groups organized the building of the houses, whom to give permission to go on building the *gecekondus* and whom not to go on building as well as building the *gecekondus* with the aid and work of the political groups. Then nightly and daily guarding duties were organized to defend the neighborhood against the outside forces including the rival rightist groups as well as the municipal police and the gendarmerie. One of our respondents even stated the following:

The Turkish Workers Party (TWP) was organized in RHU too. I have also heard that Yılmaz Güney had a small film archive in one of the make-shift squats in RHU... Before the *coup de etat* of 80, RHU was a sort of liberated zone and the squatter area was ruled by various leftist political groups through the association and some committees in addition to the rule of law enforced by the mukhtar... In the media it was even labeled as “small Moscow”... We were building the *gecekondus* of different people all together. I even recall one event where the revolutionaries were building the house of one family... Generally the settlers acted in cooperation with the leftist groups and have organized themselves, but there were exceptions too. For instance in one case, while the revolutionaries were struggling against the police and the *zabıta* against demolitions, the head of the family was playing cards in the coffee house. But years after, when we came to the early 90s and his *gecekondus* was turned into an *apartmankondu* he did not

even recognize us. (Interview; male, married, age 45, early RHU settler).

As our respondent clearly indicates, there were different tendencies as well. While the majority of the settlers shared the collective attitudes of the leftist political groups and acted in concert with their organization and effort to build and safeguard the *gecekondus* together, there were others who usurped the collective efforts of the organized leftist groups. Even still, the period of primary economic transformation took place on the basis of this dominant collectivistic and solidarity-oriented economic ideology. It may also be argued that the way to wealth formation and capital accumulation was through the collective and solidarity-oriented economic ideology that found a fertile ground to develop within the given ideological conjuncture and the social setting as Mark Granovetter (1985), explaining how the economic organization is shaped by the social structures with the concept of “embeddedness” he adapted from Karl Polanyi, argues that the attempts at purposive action are embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations. Hence, the driving force of economic action and the relationship of the social relations with it get tangled at the point of ‘social approval’ and ‘reciprocity expectations’. The web of reciprocal expectations that the migrants have established with each other is actually circumscribed with a second ‘web of reciprocal obligations’ that they have established with early comers and which was in line with their socio-economic lives and the *de facto* situations in the city.

The period between the *coup de etat* of 1980 and the building of *apartmankondus* in the early 90s was the gradual transition period from the dominant community and solidarity-oriented, collective economic attitude to the individualistic, rent-seeking and self-centered economic ideology on the part of the

majority of the RHU settlers. From the time of the *coup de etat* in 12 September 1980 until the national elections on 6 November 1983 the military junta was in power and totally controlled the political life of Turkey. The political strategy of the military regime was to take all the significant repressive measures to laminate the radical politics and struggles taking place in the public context and at the daily life level. First of all the ties between the community members began to break due to political pressures, searches and prison sentences as well as the big fear from the military regime since all the political parties, trade unions, etc. were closed down and many people in the neighborhood had to run away. The repressive measures were felt in detail in RHU as well. So, individuals began to pull themselves inward, to act by themselves and develop their family solidarity in order to cope with isolation. Second of all, the early socio-economic structures such as the cooperatives and the associations were either closed down or could not function at all under the military regime. Besides, there was a big ideological bombardment through the state media and organization, especially against the left and its ideology. However, it has to be mentioned that the political disputes and at times confrontations between the two leading factions in RHU in the last year before the coup created hesitance on the part of the masses regarding the ideals of socialism and collectivism. All these factors paved the way for the neutralization of the solidarity web among the settlers. With the elections in 1984 and Özal coming to power the ideological vacuum began to be filled with the new neo-liberal ideology. Since the radical left was almost wiped out from the political and public scene and was marginalized, the liberal anti-statist and anti-bureaucratic political agenda of Özal led his ANAP party to the victory in 1983 elections. Hence, the vacuum would now be filled with the neoliberal ideology of

Özal with the aim of integrating Turkey with the world economy without any political opposition on the part of the radical opponents and unions. What charmed the RHU settlers regarding their *gecekondu* was the *gecekondu* law number 2981 which was put into effect eight months before the 1984 municipal elections. For the first time this law permitted distribution of title deeds to *gecekondu* settlers who built their *gecekondus* on treasury lands, lands of foundations or on municipal lands provided that they would pay for the land they have already appropriated. The private technical offices under oath began to award special certificates called *tapu tahsis belgesi* (title deed reservation documents) as the first step to the title deeds. The RHU settlers who did not have titled lands benefitted from this and obtained their *tapu tahsis belgesi*. Besides this, the law also contributed to the further commercialization of the real estate system in *gecekondu* settlements since permission was given for the construction of four-storey apartment buildings on the lands which were considered as appropriate to be given title deeds. So with this law and other laws issued between 1983 and 1988, the *gecekondu* settlements began to be legalized and began to be transformed into organized districts composed of apartment blocks (Demirtaş, 2009, pp. 86-90) which began to be the case with RHU. Thus, the period of secondary economic transformation began to be predominantly characterized by individualistic and self-centered economic ideology together with the development of state-sponsored neo-liberal ideology under the direction of Özal government and various municipal rulings.

The distribution of *tapu tahsis belgesi* was a turning point on the part of the RHU settlers. The majority of the RHU settlers began to think that their collective and communal struggles and the ideologies they followed gave their fruits and they

got the legal right to their squats. Although there was a very repressive regime that cut their earlier collective and organizational ties with each other and isolated them, they were able to cope with the military regime by giving their votes to Özal who portrayed himself as an alternative to the policies of the military regime and the proponent of a liberal regime. Unlike the other squatter settlements RHU settlers acted in unity all throughout the military regime years. Their aim was to get the titles to their land and *gecekondus*. The difference was in the tactics to be used in line with the struggles between the strategical realm of the state vs. the tactical realm of the squatters as stated by Demirtaş (2009). One of our respondents suggested that the RHU settlers were forced to negotiate with the state in exchange for their squats:

The government authorities came with a bargain. They told us that they could give us two-storey residences if we allowed them to demolish our squats to build luxury residences. These luxury residences would be a part of the urban renewal project to be carried out at the RHU with the aim of transforming the region. But the leading figures in the region sensed that they would be abandoning their rights on the land and the use of it, since they already imagined to build the apartmentkondus for their children and their own, and for this reason they reacted adversely and persuaded the RHU settlers to say 'no' to the bid of the government. I think that this was the most important opportunity for RHU settlers to transform the region by complying with the government and thereby obtaining their legal approval and title for the land. There was a similar mistake made previously as the governor and the mayor of the city came to the region but was chased by some reactive RHU settlers. The same mayor donated the rights to the title to other nearby squatter settlements during the same period but not to RHU. Thus, the RHU settlers used their last and most desired option and built their *apartmankondus* according to their wish. Actually the former reactivity towards the governor of the city had to do with the political dynamism around the region which was very reactive and did not compromise in any way with the state or its authorities. (Interview; male, married, age 50, RHU settler).

This event that took place before the building of the *apartmankondu* in late 80s and early 90s indicates that the majority of the squatter settlers of RHU were influenced

by the individualistic, self-centered and profit-oriented economic ideology and also that they could not trust in the promises made and did not want to risk their future gains. It may also be argued that the two-storey luxury residences to be allowed like the ones in Etiler with their gardens would not suffice for the settlers and their family members and their children. Thus, the motivating behavior in their actions was to secure the future of their entire family including their children. This would only be possible through the building of *apartmankondus* when viewed from their perspective. The building of *apartmankondu* would also give them the opportunity to act together with their entire family, relatives and fellow villagers and neighbors in RHU in solidarity. From this perspective it seems 'inevitable' for the settlers to follow the path of building the *apartmankondus*. Since their settlement in RHU was a result of the process of chain migration and since their lands were limited they could not build new squats, but had to build *apartmankondus* instead. Thus it was both as a result of 'necessity' as well as a part of the logic of investing in profitable real estates to become rich. The Özal government's neo-liberal policies coincided with this need and they complemented each other.

At the first instance, the process of *apartmankondu* formation broke the extended communal ties between the RHU settlers of different village and city origins. As *apartmankondus* were built with family and relative solidarity the property ownership and sharing of the flats in the new *apartmankondus* gave rise to a new form of family solidarity and collectivity, which was a narrow form of the older communal and collectivistic peasant lifestyle. However, by time disputes between the family members began to increase regarding the rent sharing, ownership of the flats, and who would be getting the most out of the new rents obtained by renting the

flats to the BU students. In the meantime commercialization in RHU began to accelerate and the neighborhood began to rapidly integrate with the system. The shops opened to serve the BU students in restaurants, photocopy, markets, etc were at first operated in solidarity. In some photocopy shops the owner and his/her employees were from the same village. In a photocopy shop, newly established by a former worker of a stationary shop, several relatives work together. But the opening of this shop was not much appreciated by the other shops in the region and especially by the stationery shop owner who had abused his former employee who opened this new shop and criticized him of being a traitor and selfish person while not mentioning having exploited him continuously for years. But as the monetary relations began to deepen in the neighborhood and the capitalist commodity relations began to take shape the web of solidarity began to give rise to a new form of economic ideology. The settlers began to react to the developing individualistic and rent-seeking ideology and at times began to be a part of it internalizing the new ideology. Disputes between siblings regarding the sharing of the rents and ownership of the flats began to become more serious leading to various court cases. In one of the interviews our respondent told the following story:

My sisters, who lived in Germany, began to ask for a share of the rents of the flats to which they had made no contribution in its construction. They sued me of expropriating their rights on the land which was the common property of the whole family members. But my sisters, while I built the *apartmankondu* here, had told me that they would not demand anything in the form of a rent. (Interview; male, married, age 51, early RHU settler).

Those working as the employees of their fellow villagers began to leave those work places and open their own businesses and the trust between the settlers began to

erode. This erosion was first seen in the common ties of the RHU settlers. Since their association was closed down by the military regime and a new one was not opened village associations began to be established to create a joint platform to keep the same villagers together. But in these associations certain individuals began to use these platforms for their personal benefits and interests. Thus disputes within the same village associations began to increase and they became associations directed and controlled by a few persons. While some families were able to create family solidarity, in some others family members began to act against each other. Thus the logic of the market economy began to dominate and together with it the neo-liberal ideology began to take root in the neighborhood. In the meantime the unequal development of the business and the economic relations gave rise to different economic groups. Those having bigger *apartmankondus* were able to get enough rent to lead a middle and upper-middle class lifestyle while the others not able to build an *apartmankondu* had to stay in their *gecekondus* and lead a similar and sometimes even worse life than their past lives. This was reflected in the changing ideologies of the different RHU settlers. However, in general the economic attitude was to favor the capitalist relations and getting rich without considering the morality of their actions. They were acting in line with the attitude of the rest of the Turkish society where, as stated by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009, p. 178), even the opening ceremony of the new private Koç University which was illegally constructed within a forestry area was made by the President. Thus the worldview of scorning everybody else except oneself, seeing oneself totally innocent and not being inclined to pay any price spread to the whole society. In this world view the most sacred value was money and anything would be legitimate to reach the goal of obtaining more of it.

Thus the rents in RHU began to skyrocket and even the BU students began to engage in organized protests. With the global financial crisis beginning by the mortgage crisis in the US in 2006, Turkey also began to experience crisis and the rents began to decline significantly and this process still goes on. From the beginning of this crisis until today the economic well-being of the RHU settlers began to decline in general and this is reflected in their attitude towards the neo-liberal policies as well as toward the earlier individualistic and self-interest oriented economic ideology. Parallel with this, the settlers began to hear from different squatter areas of Sarıyer and from the media that with the new urban transformation projects of AKP they could lose their *apartmankondus* and could once more begin their economic lives and struggles at a much lower status and disadvantageous position in İstanbul. Thus, the recent urban transformation processes has created a sort of fear and this is reflected in their economic behavior of searching for a new collective action. At this point, they have established their new association, HISARDER, in 2010 to unite them against the future demolitions of their *apartmankondus* with a new urban transformation project. Here, it is important to mention of the group ties and the sake of organization on the part of the association. Granovetter (1983) explains the process of formation of weak and strong ties as follows. There are groups who are knitted around some purposively selected individuals, who are called the Ego, and have both close and distant relations. Those belonging to the group establish strong ties with the Ego and take their social positioning within the group, while there are other group's members who have weak ties with this Ego of the other group with whom they are acquainted and the Egos of all groups establish a "bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close friends" (p. 202). In RHU there are groups formed

on the basis of religious and regional ties, fellow townsmen who almost totally occupied the settlement and have established communication through the process of first and second generation transformation of the region which involves both solidarity and competition. The most recognized groups are villagers from Şebinkarahisar, and Şiran and certain parts of Sivas. These social groups from these villages and towns actually communicate with each other through these Ego's and through both "restricted and elaborated codes of communication" as suggested by Granovetter (1983, p. 204). The same author suggests that "attempts at purposive actions are embedded in concrete and ongoing systems of social relations". People who get into contact in social relations are tied with one another and expect to get approved in the web of social relations which involves access to economic activity that is crucial for survival and participation to the society and which is based on expectations of reciprocity in all kinds of relations among the members who recognize each other. But this time, in addition to the fulfillment of the egos of the leading figures in the associations at RHU, their collectivity seems to be a means of defending and protecting their *apartmankondu* and accumulated wealth. Hence, from early 50s until the present day, by gradually transforming and integrating into the urban economy as a very specific university town with the catalyzing role of BU, their economic ideology has shifted from the self-exploiting peasant ideology to the jointly acting, rent-seeking ideology with overtones of RHU identity as a uniting ideology to bring them together to safeguard their properties and their collective and capitalized economic interests in line with the prevailing neo-liberal economic ideology.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Squatter settlements are a direct outcome of industrialization which did not take place properly and of the 'modernization' of the capitalist world system. Among the reasons why they are mainly encountered in the so-called 'Third World' countries are the dependency of these countries on the developed world, the lack of proper government mechanisms in these countries, bribery, corruption and the lack of social housing policies. Although the squatter phenomenon was mainly absent and minor incidences were under control in the young Turkish Republic until the late 40s, with the populist policies of the Democrat Party and the changes in the rural economy of the country together with mechanization of agriculture, migratory movements to the cities began. The import-substitution model applied for integration with the capitalist world in the aftermath of WW II, the new Marshall plan that Turkey benefitted from, the choice of a capitalist mode of industrialization and modernization by setting aside the early planned economy, and with the emergence of a state-dependent bourgeoisie a new socio-economic system was created which was ready to integrate itself with the global capitalist system in formation, albeit with heavy overtones of dependency.

Migrants arriving in İstanbul in the early 50s began to search for a habitus of their own resembling their villages in Anatolia and found similar places at the outskirts of the industrializing cities, especially İstanbul. RHU was one of them; besides, it had the unique advantage of being side by side with the well-off neighborhoods of Etiler, Bebek and Hisar and BU, a leading Turkish university. Thus, the RHU settlers began to form a communal life of their own in the squatter

settlement and to adapt themselves to the lifestyles prevalent in the city going through an acculturation process. In Berry's (1980) conceptualization of evaluating acculturation as a linear process with four possible outcomes of assimilation, integration, marginality and separation, the squatter settlers of RHU experienced these outcomes one by one in different phases and at different levels of their transformation, finally integrating themselves into the macro system, becoming a *sine qua non* element of the system.

The apartment phenomenon, as stated by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009), played a crucial role in the emergence of the middle classes in the Turkish cities before 1980 and their efforts to increase their welfare levels, thereby affecting the shaping of the urban environment. In the case of RHU, as the later comers and with their *apartmankondus*, the settlers began their secondary socio-economic transformation process stepping into the sphere of middle class lifestyle. While the *gecekondus* played a basic role for the inclusion of the city poor within the political equations, in a similar manner, the *apartmankondu* formation began to play an important role in the participation of informally shaped and late-comer RHU middle class settlers in the political alliances of the period through their newly-forming middle class lifestyles and aspirations. In the recent municipality elections held in 29 March 2009 Şükrü Genç, an early RHU settler, an *apartmankondu* dweller, a civil engineer, the candidate of the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) (Republican People's Party) was elected as the mayor of Sarıyer province of İstanbul which may well be interpreted as an indicator of this informal integration process.

Rumeli Hisarüstü was among the pioneers of the process of squatter settlements widely seen all over the world and in Turkey after WW II and which

increased both in scope and size. When the economic transformation of RHU is analyzed from a socio-historical perspective it gives clues to the dialectical process of continual economic transformation of the squatter settlements and their integration with the macro system, creating new forms of hybrid socio-economic systems that are articulated into the capitalist mode of production in line with its rent-and-profit seeking motive of production and consumption patterns. In this sense RHU is an outstanding example to trace the formation and maturation of the relationship between the macro capitalist system and the micro squatter settlement area and their bilateral integration.

The economic transformation story of RHU gives us clues on how a pre-capitalist socio-economic social formation gradually transforms into a capitalist one within a period of three generations. For RHU and I think elsewhere, what the occupied land and *gecekond* was for the squatter settler at the beginning of his/her primary economic transformation, *gündüzkond/apartmankond* is for the squatter settler in his/her secondary economic transformation. When combined with the ideological motive of rent-and-profit seeking *apartmankond* becomes a crucial means of obtaining rent, becoming an integral part of the city life, changing status and completing the transformation of the agrarian lifestyle into a modern one. *Apartmankond* is a symbol of wealth and an important means of cutting costs, increasing savings and spending and capital accumulation for the squatter settler who has successfully completed his/her primary and secondary economic transformation.

In the case of RHU, the economic transformation, for the time being, has resulted in an integrative inclusion of the area into the neo-liberal system with the help of the nearby BU and its transformation. Most of the business owners in RHU

have gone through their primary and secondary economic transformation together with the settlers, each time amalgamated with the economic transformation of the country. In the case of primary economic transformation while the squatter settlers were creating a living area (*habitus*) of their own in the city, the country was going through a process of capital accumulation under Özal's liberal policies, supported by the preceding military regime. During the course of secondary economic transformation the settlers have become a part of the greater economic system, taking part in its division of labor, albeit with local tones and a somewhat closed economy.

The primary and secondary economic transformation process of the RHU settlers marked by the building of *gecekondu/gündüzkondu/apartmankondus* brought many changes in the economic lives, saving and spending habits and styles, economic ideologies, lifestyles and perceptions of the RHU settlers, their children and grandchildren. The most drastic and significant impacts of the transformation process were seen on the third generation of RHU settlers who were at their childhood during the secondary transformation process and for this reason have experienced and witnessed the transformation from *gecekondu* life to an *apartmankondu* life, from deprivation, poverty and anxiety of subsistence to some degree of economic security and abundance that paved the way for their immersion into a totally different consumption style and habits triggered by their families' increased economic power. This was a totally different way of social, cultural and educational life which integrated them more with that of the other affluent urban residents who could afford to benefit from education beyond the secondary and high school level to degrees at the university level. In this way, they could set for themselves a much different and more prestigious, desirable and voluntarily chosen

career path than was their parents' experience. The third generation, also with the impact of the neo-liberal policies at home and abroad and with the spread of global culture in the country, got the opportunity to integrate itself to the social and cultural life of the city deeper and more organically, which led them to avoid falling into the traps of the migrant peasant identity of their parents that isolated them from the remaining urban residents. The second generation, on the other hand, felt itself both a part of the village and the *gecekondu* life as well as a part of the city life and its modern institutions. This generation has mixed feelings regarding the economic transformation process since on the one hand they long for the communal life of the early *gecekondu* times but on the other hand they benefit from the fruits of the new city life brought by the *apartmankondu*. Shortly, they have double-identity which leads to crisis situations regarding their lifestyles and ties established with the neoliberal economic, social and cultural policies applied. The first generation still maintains its strong peasant identity and feels a part of their village life back in Anatolia, goes to their villages every year, builds homes and villas in their villages and are buried in their villages upon death. So, integration with the city life in all aspects was realized at the third generation level of RHU settlers. These young people grew up both in *gecekondu*s and in *apartmankondu*s, and the shift to the second type of residence helped them to get rid of the negative associations that were attached to the squatter settler identity, which facilitated their integration with the city life and the global economic culture which was spreading around. Now the third generation RHU settlers have their unique and much diversified identities and belongingness which creatively integrates their RHU identity with their modern urban resident identity. These young people have their ties both with their village of

origin through the culture of their parents and grandparents and with the city in which they live and they belong to both spheres. So, these people have passed beyond the developmental horizons of their parents and grandparents. As to their newly born or a few years old off-springs, they are just like the rest of the young children of the urban-born families.

The building-up of the *apartmankondus* facilitated the economic transformation process and sowed the seeds of further economic differentiation of the RHU settlers in terms of wealth, and with different interests and concerns for the future. Those RHU settlers who were able to build *apartmankondus* have managed to accumulate some significant amount of money as to secure their lives for the entirety of their lifetimes. These people feel economically secure. Their children have also managed to either receive university degrees with better opportunities by attending private universities or by establishing a business that would help them to live in prosperous conditions. There are still those who feel insecure because they could not benefit from *apartmankondus* since they could only build a *gündüzkondu* and most of the time had only their early *gecekondu*s to meet the needs of the family members. These people are not sure about their future conditions and about what kind of a compensation policy the state would be applying in a possible case of demolition.

The economic transformation process of the RHU settlers also paved the way for the transformation of their economic ideologies to a great extent. While the dominant economic ideology of the settlers before and during their primary economic transformation was rather collectivistic and solidarity-oriented, in the course of their secondary economic transformation and thereafter, with the adverse impact of the then dominant neo-liberal ideology in Turkey and the world, it was

gradually transformed into an individualistic and self-interest centered one, albeit retaining its solidarity-oriented and collectivistic core within the context of the RHU identity that came into being all throughout this socio-economic transformation process.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Questions in Turkish

MÜLAKAAT SORULARI

1. İstanbul'a nereden, neden ve hangi yılda geldiniz ve Rumelihisarüstü'ne yerleşiminiz nasıl oldu?
2. Köydeyken ne tür işlerde çalışırdınız, nasıl geçinirdiniz? Rumelihisarüstü'ne yerleşince geçiminizi nasıl kazandınız? Ne tür işlerde çalıştınız? Bugün geçiminizi nasıl kazanıyorsunuz? Evinizde kaç kişi yaşıyor, kimler çalışıyor ve ne iş yapıyor? Ekonomik durumunuzda nasıl bir değişim oldu? Bu yeni yapılaşma sizin için ne getirdi, ne götürdü? Neden?
3. Köyden başlayarak bugüne kadar detaylı olarak ekonomik hayat hikayenizi anlatır mısınız?
4. Oturduğunuz ev kendinizin mi kira mı? Arsanız hazine arazisi mi yoksa tapulu mu?
5. Eğitim durumunuz nedir?
6. Kaç katlı/daireli apartman yaptınız, kimlerle birlikte yaptınız? Yaptığınız ev için gereken parayı nasıl temin ettiniz?
7. Yaptığınız tasarrufları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Banka, döviz, emlak vb. Önceden nasıl değerlendiriyordunuz?
8. Önceleri aylık gelirinizin ne kadarını glenceye harcardınız, şimdi ne kadarını harcıyorsunuz ve neden?
9. Yıllar geçtikçe gecekondunuzu yıkıp yerine çok katlı bir bina yapma fikri nasıl doğdu?
10. Binanızı borçlanarak inşa ettiyseniz bu borçları nasıl ödediniz?

11. 12 Eylül darbesinin (ihtilalinin) size ve Rumelihisarüstü'ne nasıl bir etkisi oldu?
12. Apartman yapma fırsatı nasıl doğdu? Binalar yeniden yapılırken belediyenin tepkisi nasıl oldu ve nasıl izin alındı?
13. Herkes belli bir dönem içinde bina yapmaya nasıl karar verdi? Birlikte mi karar alındı?
14. Dairelerinizin sizin tarafınızdan oturulma, kiraya verilme, yapılmadan/yapılırken/yapıldıktan sonra satılma durumu nedir, detaylı olarak anlatabilir misiniz?
15. Kiralık dairelerinizin doluluk oranı nedir? Yılın kaç ayında, kaç tane daire için kiracı bulabiliyorsunuz?
16. Kiracılarınız ne tür işlerle iştigal ediyorlar? Bunların ne kadarı Boğaziçi Üniversitesi öğrencisi?
17. Çocuklarınızın tahsil durumu nedir? Geçmişte çocuklarınızın eğitimine aylık gelirinizin ne kadarını harcardınız ve bugün ne kadarını harcıyorsunuz?
18. Çalışan çocuklarınız var mı ve ne tür işlerde çalışmaktalar?
19. Kendi çalıştığınız işlerle çocuklarınızın işleri arasında ne tür farklılıklar var? Beceri, bilgi, ve işin rahatlığı bakımından kıyaslayınız?
20. Eskiden nasıl eğlenirdiniz, şimdi nasıl eğleniyorsunuz?
21. Halen ödenmemiş borçlarınız var mı? Varsa, ne tür bir borçlanma içindesiniz?
22. Rumelihisarüstü'ne ilk geldiğiniz dönemle şimdiki durumunuzu karşılaştırdığınızda sizce ekonomik olarak ne tür farklılıklar var?

23. Köyünüzle ilişkiniz Rumelihisarüstü'ne ilk geldiğinizde nasıldı, zaman içinde nasıl bir değişim oldu, şu anda nasıl?

Appendix B

Interview Questions in English

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Where did you come to İstanbul from, why and in which year and how did you settle in Rumelihisarüstü?
2. When you were back in your village what kind of works/jobs did you engage in and how did you earn your living? When you settled in Rumelihisarüstü how did you earn your living? What kind of works/jobs did you engage in? How are you earning your living today? How many people live in your home, who are working and with what kind of works/jobs are they engaged in? What sort of changes occurred in your economic situation? What kind of benefits did this new [building] structuring bring to you and what did you lose as a consequence? Why?
3. Beginning from the time of your village life can you please tell us your economic life story in detail?
4. Is the house you are living in your own house or rented? Is your land a treasury land or it has title deed?
5. What is your educational situation?
6. How many storey/flat does the apartment you built have, and with whom did you build it? How did you obtain the money required to build your home?
7. How do you invest your savings? Bank, foreign exchange, real estate, etc.? How did you make use of your savings previously?
8. How much of your monthly earning did you spend for entertainment previously, how much do you spend now and why?

9. How did you come up with the idea of demolishing your gecekondü and building a multi-storey apartment?
10. If you built your apartment by borrowing money how did you pay them back?
11. How did the coup de etat (revolution) of 12 September affect you and Rumelihisarüstü?
12. How did the opportunity of building an apartmankondu emerge? While the buildings were erected how permission was obtained from the municipality and how was its attitude towards this?
13. How did everybody decide to built their buildings together in a certain period? Did they decide together?
14. How is/are your flat/s occupied by you, your family members, by rent, etc.. Did you sell any of your flats before/while building/afterwards, please tell in detail?
15. How is the occupancy rate for your flats? In which month(s) of the year and for how many of your flats can you find tenants?
16. How do your tenants earn their living? How many of them are Boğaziçi University students?
17. What is the educational status of your children, what percent of your salary did you spend for your children in the past and what per cent are you spending now?
18. Do any of your children work, if so with what work/job are they engaged in?
19. What kind of differences are there between your work/job and your children's work/jobs? Please compare in terms of ability, knowledge and ease of work?
20. How did you entertain yourself previously, and how do you entertain yourself now?
21. Do you still have debts to pay? If so, what sort of debts do you have?

22. When compared with your first settlement times in Rumelihisarüstü what sort of economic differences do you see between that time and today for yourself?

23. How was your relationship with your village when you first came to Rumelihisarüstü, how did it change by time and how is your relation today?

Appendix C

List of Rumeli Hisarüstü and Boğaziçi University Respondents

Age	Occupation	Gender
35	Truck Owner/Transporter	Male
62	Retired Worker	Male
50	Municipal Police	Male
46	BU Personnel	Female
49	PTT Civil Servant	Male
39	Sales Director	Male
28	Psychology Student	Male
50	Retired BU Employee	Male
56	Pub Operator	Female
26	BU Master Student	Male
37	Ironmonger	Male
39	Cafe Owner	Male
67	Stationary Shop Owner	Male
39	Chemical Engineer/BU Graduate	Male
37	Housewife	Female
40	Physics Teacher	Male
41	RHU Mukhtar	Male
56	Sarıyer Mayor	Male
54	BU Rector	Male
28	Tekel Shop Owner	Male
39	Shop Owner	Male

31	Repair Shop Owner	Male
54	Dried Nuts Sales Shop	Male
33	BU Grad. English Teacher	Female
51	Highschool Teacher	Male
44	Taxi Driver	Male
56	Waiter	Male
37	Sales Personnel	Male
55	Domestics	Female
75	Old Domestics	Female
45	Courier	Male
57	Retired BU Lecturer	Female
39	Photocopy Shop Owner	Male
50	Water Distributor	Male
54	Weldor	Male
34	BU Personnel	Male
36	Domestics	Female
46	Domestics	Female
29	BU Employee	Male
43	Plumber/Taxi Driver	Male
25	University Lecturer	Female
40	Hotel Employee	Male
25	Student	Male
22	Unemployed University Graduate	Female
51	Domestics	Female

40	Unemployed	Female
28	Unemployed	Male
12	Student	Male
37	BU Grad. Chemical Engineer	Male
28	University Student	Male
50	Former RHU Imam	Male
37	Tourist Guide	Male
36	Tailor	Male
39	Photocopy Shop Owner	Male
32	Photocopy Shop Partner	Male
35	Graphic Artist	Male
21	BU Student	Female
22	BU Student	Female
22	BU Student	Female
56	Prev. RHU Muhktar/Ret. BU Gatekeeper	Male
58	Unemployed	Female
55	Housewife	Female
70	Retired/Housewife	Female
23	Unemployed	Female
21	University student	Female
75	Construction Worker	Male
42	BU Gatekeeper	Male
24	BU Student	Male
24	Not Working	Male

25	Supermarket Owner	Male
20	Student	Female
28	Movie Director	Male
25	Grad. Student	Female
36	Ironmonger	Male
55	Domestics	Female
38	Sales Director	Male
40	Office Boy	Male
51	Factory/Domestic Worker	Female
81	Housewife	Female
54	Housewife	Female
46	Construction Laborer	Male
45	Servant	Male
45	Servant	Male
51	Plumber	Male

Appendix D

The Original Texts of the Quotations from the Interviewees

Page 108

Önceleri elektriğimiz yoktu. Dersimizi gaz lambasıyla yapardık. İlkokulda, 1967-1972 arasında, gaz lambasıyla çalışıyoduk, sokak lambaları '72den sonra geldi, öncesinde kaçak elektrik kullanıyoduk, sonra elektrik saatleri takıldı, ve sonra da herşey formaliteye bindi... sonra her mahalleye çeşme yapıldı, ama çeşmelerin başında hep uzun kuyruk olurdu, ... su kesik olsa bile kuyruk olurdu, ... hatta 1976'da bile sular kesilirdi... sonra kuyulardan bile su alırdık. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 49 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi).

Page 109

Bi dozerci vardı. Sabahtan geceyarısına kadar çalışırdı. Ana yolu da yaptık. Etiler'den Hisarüstü'ne. O yolu mahallenin ve BÜ'nün geliştirilmesi için mahallenin derneği ve dernek üyelerinin yardımıyla yaptık. (Mülakat, erkek, evli, 75 yaşında, erken RHÜ mukimi).

Page 110

Birşey olduğunda gecekondudakiler bize haber verirdi ve bizde onların belediyeye karşı direnmelerinde yardımcı olurduk. Biz öğrenci derneğine üyeydik ve bölgenin toplu taşıma ağına dahil edilmesine yardımcı oluyorduk ve 43 ve 53 numaralı otobüsler bu şekilde geldi (Mülakat, kadın, evli, 57 yaşında, eski BU öğretim üyesi).

Sonra İTÜ bu meseleyi çözmek için avukat tuttu. Bay Ercüment ve Bayan Beyza. Onlar da bana tapular için insanlardan parayı nasıl alacağımızı sordu. O zaman ben Osmanbey’de bir mağazada çalışıyodum. Onu Osmanbey’den aradım. Avukat Bey “İnsanlar için bunu nasıl yapican?” dedi. Dedim ki: “ Sen Ziraat Bankası’nda bir hesap açıcan ve borçlarını ödeyenler makbuzları getirecek ve sen de onlara tapularını vereceksin.” “Ooo hakaten mi?” dedi. ”Çok güzel bir fikir, tamam öyle yapalım.” Daha sonra otomatik şifreyle Ziraat Bankası’nda bir hesap açtık, ve [bana evrakları göstererek] “İşte bak makbuzlar ve banka mühürleri paranın yatırıldığını gösteren. Borcunu bitirenler bankaya gidiyo, makbuzlarını alıyo, avukata götürüyo, avukatta tapu kağıdını yazıp sonra dosyayı gönderiyo. Sonra bankaya gidiyosun ve bir hafta sonra da tapunu alıyosun.” (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 67 yaşında, erken RHÜ mükimi).

Hiçbiri Trakyalı değildi. En önce gelenler Şebinkarahisarlıydı ve yine Gümüşhaneliler, Şiranlılar geldiler... sonra biraz da Sivas’lı vardı.. ama ilk gelenler Şebinkarahisarlılardı. Bizim bir arkadaşımız vardı, “Şebinkarahisardan Hisarüstüne” adında bir belgesel çekmişti. Film hem Şebinkarahisar’da hem de Hisarüstü’nde tamamlandı (Mülakat, kadın, evli, 57 yaşında, eski BU çalışanı).

Köyden dışarda çalışmaya gider ve ekmeğini amelelikle kazanırdı. İstanbul’a geldikten sonra annem çalışmaya başlar. Annem ev temizlikçi olarak çalışmaya başlar babam da inşaat işçisi. Sonra annem Etiler’de işe başlayınca evin kadını annemin kocasını sorar ve çalışıp çalışamayacağını sorar. İşçileri Osmanlı

Bankası'nda çalışmaktadır. Sonra babam da Osmanlı Bankası'na şoför olarak girer (Mülakat, erkek, evli, 44 yaşında, erken RHÜ mukimi).

Page 118

Dükkanı kapıyınca bi taksi kiraladım. Ondan önce şoför olarak çalışıyodum. Sonra plaka kiraladım. Bir araba aldım. Taksiye ayda 2,8 milyon veriyodum. Hemen hemen 7-8 milyon gelirim vardı. Sonra o taksinin mobilyalarımı almaya, evimi yapmaya, çocuklarımı okula göndermeme çok faydası oldu (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 43 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Tabi. Evlendiğimde 24'ümdeydim. Geldiğinde annem hamileydi. Ben evlendiğimde, 24 yaşımıdayken annem hala ev işlerine gidiyordu. Ve babam da Osmanlı Bankası'nda çalışıyordu, ve Osmanlı Bankası'ndan aldığı borçla aldığı taksi plakasıyla çalıştı. İki işte birden çalışıyordu... Askerliğimi bitirdikten hemen sonra ben de takside çalışmaya başladım (Mülakat; erkek, boşanmış, 43 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi).

Page 119

Gecekondu; önce bir oda, sonra biliyosun biraz para kazanınca bir oda daha, ve sonra bir oda daha. Gecekonduyu çocuklarla beraber büyüttüyösün. Önceleri gecekodular parça parça yapılrđı. Yoksulluk vardı. Önce bir oda yaparlardı ve bir tuvalet ve sonra da başka bir oda eklerlerdi. (Mülakat; erkek, boşanmış, 43 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi).

1990-92'lerde ara ara... önce bir kattı... ben bekardım, ve abim de bekardı, ... biz bizim katı yaptık ve içine geçtik... zar zor, ve sonra paramız olmadığı için, ... biz küçüktük, ve çalışmıyoduk, büyük abim üniversiteye gidiyodu, o zaman biz çalışmıyoduk. ... Anamıza babamıza yük oluyoduk, ... sonra borçlanarak bir kat ve sonra seçimde bu katları attık, katları atarken belediye çok zorluk çıkardı, polisle başımız belaya girdi, .. “Yapmayın, şikayet var.” diyolardı. Sonraki seçimde, beş yıl sonra bir kat daha attık ve sonra da çatı katını yaptık, ve iki katımız oldu, ve sonra, üst kat iki katta ve ilk katta, annemle babam kalıyo, ve biz, abimle ben ikinci katta kalıyoruz, ve hayatımızı böyle kazanıyoruz. (Mülakat; erkek, evli 35 yaşında, RHÜ mükimi).

İlkönce Hisar'da yalısı olan Doğan Nadir'de çalışıyordu. Ona önce “Sabaha kadar buraları bekle.” dediler. Sonra da işi Hisarüstü'nün bekçiliğine dönüştü ve resmi hale geldi. Onlar Rumeli Hisar'ı için bir bekçi arıyorlardı. Bu işi yaparken, kendi kendine “Bari ben de oraya bir gecekondı yapım.” dedi. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Annemde... sonunda... 1968-70 arasında.... Bebek'te temizliğe gitmeye başladı.... Böylece, İstanbul'a gelen bütün çocuklar 1970'lerin başında Bebek'te okula gidiyodu, tabi çocukların hepsine de az çok harçlık gerekiyodu, evin de masrafları var, böylece annemde katkı yapmak için çalışmaya başladı,... 1970'lerden sonra, beş yıl boyunca Bebek'e gidiyodu (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 49 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi).

Bütün yemekler okul kantininde yeniyordu. Okul kantinini işletenler özel [sektör] değildi. Okulun kendi kantini vardı... Öğrencilerin sayısı da arttı ve yavaş yavaş restoranlar popüler olmaya başladı. Mesela, şimdi çok popüler bir yiyecek sektörü var. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 39 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi, BU mezunu).

Önceden Boğaziçi'nde işe girmek için bayağı güçlü referans gerekirdi. Bu kişi senin Boğaziçi'nde işe alınman için sahip olduğun olumlu özellikleri söylerdi ve böylelikle de işe alınırdın... Fakat şimdilerde bu durum değişti ve artık Boğaziçi'ne işe alanlar sadece KPSS sınavıyla işe alınıyorlar, ve tercihen de 80 ya da 90 puanın üstü bir puanla. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 42 yaşında, erken RHÜ mukimi).

Biz dört kişi doğrudan [Üniversite'ye] üniversite yoluyla girdik. Fakat geri kalanlar *taşeron* firmalara bağlı olarak girdiler. Bizim çalıştığımız dönemde farklı muamele ediliyordu. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 29 yaşında, erken RHÜ mukimi ve BU kütüphane çalışanı).

Tabii... Özal'la birlikte değişti... bu Özal politikası, ki Türkiye'de herkes tarafından eleştiriliyor, insanların entellektüel yeteneklerini kaybettikleri ve sadece rant aramaya yoğunlaştığı bir politikaydı... Özal bunu Türkiye'de başardı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Mahallemizde bir lise yapmak için Milli Eğitim İl Müdürlüğü'ne başvurduk fakat bize lise yapmanın Bakanlığın görevi olduğunu söylediler ve bize ellerinde mevcut olan bir projeye göre ilkokulu yeni bir bina ile genişletmemizi önerdiler... Fakat tam okul yapılacak ve genişletilecekken, İstanbul Valiliği bölgenin okula ihtiyacı yok diyerek bu fikre karşı çıktı. Ek bina için hazırlıklar yaparken vali izin vermedi. Sonra, bir milletvekili vardı, onu aradım ve İstanbul valisinin okulumuzun yapılmasına izin vermediğini söyledim... Bu milletvekiliyle daha önce çalışmıştım ve ona sık sık danışırdım, aynı siyasal fikirlere sahiptik, böylece ona okula ek yapmak için her şeyin hazır olduğunu ancak valinin izin vermediğini söyledim. Milletvekili bana kendisini bir saat sonra aramamı söyledi. Valiyi aramış ve ona "Bir okul yapılacaktı Hisarüstü'nde Türkan Şoray İlkokulu'na bir ek bina yapılacaktı, durum nedir?" demiş. Vali tabi ona ben onay vermedim demiyor, haftaya bütçeden onay vereceğini, ve okulun yapımının başlayacağını söylüyor. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 67 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 131

Kayınpeder binanın temelini atalım dedi. Bana gel... Arabayla geldik. Yanılmıyosam gece 9 sularıydı. Mıcır kamyonları eve geldi. O anda polis de geldi. Mıcırı dökemezsiniz dediler. Şikayet var. Ama burada etrafta her yerde mıcır kamyonları mıcır boşaltıyordu. Ama 5 kamyon bekliyodu. Zamanları sınırlıydı. Mıcır dört-beş saat sonra kurur ve ödemesini de yapmak zorundasınız.... Sonra bir tanıdığımız vardı, komitede. O geldi. Ona şikayet olduğunu söyledim. Bana, burası senin yerin mi dedi. Ben de kayınpederimin yeri dedim. Bilmiyodum, dedi. Şimdi git ve seni durduranlara söyle... Ben de polis otosuna gittim ve polise beni karakola götür

dedim. O zaman karakol Hisar'daydı. Onlara ilgili kişilere parayı verdiğimi söyledim.. sonra o da bana 'sorun yok' dedi. Tamam dedim... ama ben hiç kimseye ne para ne de başka bişe verdim. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 132

Koordinasyon komitesindekilerin çoğu komite oluşturulmadan önce sağda solda gezen insanlardı ama belediye zabıtalılarıyla gecekonducular arasında aracılık yaparak zengin olmanın fırsatını görmüşlerdi. Belediye ile Hisarüstü'nde oturanlar arasındaki ilişki ve para akışını koordine ettiler. Bu paranın bir kısmı koordinatörlük yaptıkları için onlarda kaldı ve bu para onların kendi apartmanlarını yapmalarını sağladı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 45 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 137

O zamanlar Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Hisarüstü'ndeki hayata doğrudan katkı yapmadı. Fakat Hisarüstü'nün insanları çoğu şeyi aşmıştı... Boğaziçi Hisarüstü'ne gelmedi.... Hisarüstü Boğaziçi'ni buldu. Boğaziçi'ndeki siyasi insanları buldular ve onlarla ilişki kurdular... Dediğim gibi Hisarüstü siyasal ve ekonomik durum ve gelecekle ilgili olarak bilinçli, çok farkında ve uzun-görüşlü olduğundan. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 141

Dört kardeş içinde en küçüğü bendim. 1992'de herkes gecekonduğunu yıkıp apartman yaparken ben de yıkıp yeniden yaptım. Öncelikle, bir eve ihtiyacım vardı. Ben kendim için yıktım. Fakat abilerim kendileri için de bizim binada birer kat

yapabileceğini söyledi. ‘Bizim çocuklarımız da büyüdü’, dediler. Onların çocukları askerliklerini yapmış ve evlenecek yaşa gelmişti. Onların her biri de çocukları için birer kat yaptı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 143

Yine, ana caddedeki evlerini kiraya verip Hisarüstü’nde daha ucuza kiraya geçenler de var. Ayrıca başka semtlere gidip orada yaşayanlar da var. Ama kendim hakkında söyleyecek olursam biz çocuğumuz için sadece bir kat yaptık ve biz başka bir katta yaşıyoruz. Ben şimdi emekli olacağım. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 49 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 144

[RHU’nde kiraladığımız evden] çıktığımızda \$500’lık depozitomuzu istemedik çünkü kaldığımız süre boyunca yedi yıldır evi boyatmamıştık. Yani, parayı ev sahibinden almayı düşünmedim çünkü evin bazı ihtiyaçları vardı. Ama ev sahibi beni aradı ve ‘Böyle, böyle masraflar yaptım ve bunun için de sizin 500TL daha ödemeniz lazım.’ dedi. Bu acımasız bir şeydi. Ve biz de her Ocak geldiğinde ev sahibinin ne kadar kira artışı yapacağını düşünerek sıkıntıya ve strese giriyorduk. Hakkaten, stresimiz üç hafta öncesinden başlıyordu. (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 33 yaşında, RHU mukimi ve BU mezunu).

RHÜ’nde rant sorunu var. İnsanlar *gecekondum* üzerinde beş kat attım ve beş-katlı apartmanım var diyorlar, ve ikinci katı da 1700TL. Tamam. Şimdi ben onun değerini bilmiyorum ve farz edelim ki değeri 1100TL. Üç öğrenci var, bu ya da şu nedenle,

lisans ya da lisansüstü öğrencileri, yurttta kalmayacağız, ya da üniversitede onlar için yurt olmadığını diyorlar, eğer lisansüstü öğrenci ise, ya da dedikleri bir sebeple. Kirayı toplayıp 1700'ü ev sahibine vereceğiz diyorlar... Peki bu durumda RHÜ'nde yüksek kiralara ne yapacağız? (Mülakat; BU Rektörü).

Page 145

RHÜ'ndeki yüksek kira sorununu çözmede problemlerle karşılaştık. Kiralar hakkında şikayetler olduğu halde apartman sahipleri kiralari azaltma eğiliminde değildi. Bunun en önemli nedeni ise RHÜ'nde apartman sahiplerinin belirlediği kiralari ödeyecek güçte bazı öğrenci gruplarının olmasıydı. Diğer taraftan bu yüksek kiralari ödeyemeyen bazı öğrenciler var. Böylece, öğrenciler apartman sahiplerinin yüksek kiralariına karşı bir dayanışma kuramıyor. Yani, yüksek kira meselesine karşı ve BÜ'ndeki öğrenciler arasında dayanışma yaratmanın önemi hakkında bilinçlendirme yapmalıyız. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 24 yaşında, BU öğrencisi).

Page 151

Daha ilk gençlik yıllarımda ailemle Kayseri'de yaşarken yaz tatillerinde garson olarak çalışırdım... Güzel sesim olduğundan şarkı söyleme yeteneğim vardı. Bu şekilde Antalya'da turistik gazinolarda şarkı söylemeye başladım... Bir kaç yıl sonra tekrar Beyoğlu'nda bir gazinoda garson olarak iş buldum. Ben ve arkadaşlarım oturmak için farklı bir yer arıyoduk ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nin etrafındaki bölgenin böyle bir yer olduğu bilgisini aldık. RHÜ'nde ev kiraladık. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 56 yaşında, yeni RHÜ kiracı mukimi).

Biraz terzilik dersi aldım... Altı yıl boyunca Urfa'da terzi olarak çalıştım ve sonra İstanbul'a geldim, Beyoğlu'ndave Mecidiyeköy'de çalıştım. Daha sonra BU çevresinde iyi pazar imkanları olduğunu öğrendim ve RHÜ'ye yerleşmeye karar verdim ve RHU'nde şimdiki evi terzi dükkanı olarak kiraladım. O günden beri burada çalışıyorum ve yaşıyorum... hem ev hem işyeri... Bazı müşterileri çekmek için düşük fiyat politikası uyguluyorum çünkü burada birçok terzi var. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 36 yaşında, RHU'nde kiracı).

Page 152

Ailemin beş katlı apartmanı var. Kiralardan yeteri kadar para alıyoruz. Harçlık alıp keyfime bakıyorum. Neden çalışcam ki, para babamdan ve dedemin apartmanından geliyo. BMW almayı düşünüyorum. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 24 yaşında, RHÜ mukimi).

Page 153

Babam ilk defa kasabı bakkala çevirdiğinde ben ilkokuldaydım. Okuldan sonra benle abimler sırayla dükkana bakardık. Tatil zamanlarında dükkana bakar ve paramızı da kazanırdık. İş büyüyünce üç erkek kardeş de dükkanda tüm gün çalışmaya başladık Abim öğretmendi, öğretmenliği bıraktı ve babamla çalışmaya başladı. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 25 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 154

Ben de RHÜ'nde oturan yeni kuşaktanım. 1974 doğumluyum ve üniversiteye kadar okula gidebildim. Bizden önce RHÜ'nde üniversite mezunu bir kaç taneydi.

Üniversite mezunları bizim kuşağımızdaki kadar çok değildi. Çoğu, okulu ya ortaokulda ya da lisede terk etti. Ama ben eğitime devam etmek istiyodum ve Anadolu'daki üniversitelerden birini bitirdim. Babam BÜ'nde muhasebeci olarak çalışıyordu ve annem de kamu sektöründe, Tekel'de çalışıyordu. Ailemizin kazandıklarıyla bir apartman yapabildik ve dedemle amcam da yurtdışında çalışıyordu... Fakat bundan önce babamlar Uçaksavar'da bir ev satın aldılar ve oraya geçtik. Bir genç olarak hayatım çok renkliydi ve RHÜ'ndeki sosyal ve kültürel hayatla sınırlı değildi. Şehrin değişik bölgelerinde yaşayan ve değişik sınıflardan olan arkadaşlarım vardı. Batı rak müziğine ve resme ilgim vardı. Davul çalmayı öğrendim ve üniversitede grafik eğitimi aldım. Böylece RHÜ'ndeki akranlarımdan ve kendi ailemden tamamen farklı bir kültürel tecrübem oldu. Ben tamamen altkültürlerden birine aittim. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 35 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 155

Bu çocukların aileleri kiralardan önemli miktarda para kazandılar. Onların aileleri belirli bir hayat standardına ulaştı ve çocuklarının artık para kazanmayı düşünmeleri gerekmedi. Aileleri ayrıca çocuklarına yüksek kalitede yaşam standart sağlamaları gerektiğini hissettiler ki bu da onların istedikleri şeyleri almaları ve istediklerini yapmaları için onlara yeteri kadar para sağlamaları anlamına geliyordu. Bu, ailelerin yaptığı en sorumsuz şeydi çünkü çocuklarına parayla mutluluk verebileceklerini düşündüler. Onlar için, çocuklarına önemli miktarda harçlık vermek yeterliydi ve çocuklarının ahlaki ve eğitimsel gelişimi için hiç endişe etmediler. Onlar için önemli olan çocuklarının aldıkları hazzı maksimize etme prensiplerine göre yaşamalarıydı. Bu sorumsuz ortamda yaşayan çocuklar kolayca uyuşturucu madde bağımlısı.

olmaya başladı. RHÜ'nün çevresinde uyuşturucu maddeyle ilgilenen insanlar türemeye başladı. Bir keresinde bu bağımlı çocukların birkaçıyla konuşma fırsatım oldu ve onları depresyonda ve uyuşturucu alışkanlığından vazgeçmenin yollarını ararken buldum. Bu çocukların bazılarını profesyonel yardım almaları hususunda ikna ettim ve babalarına ulaştım. Babalarıyla konuştum ve onları ikna etmek ve çocuklarının hastaneye rehabilitasyona yatırılması için rızalarını almak için onlara çocuklarının sorunlarını izah ettim. Ama babaları bana reaksiyon gösterdi. Beni dinlediler ama çocuklarının uyuşturucu bağımlılığını inkar ettiler. Rehabilitasyonu istemediler. Neden olduğunu anlayamadım ama bence onların çocuklarına para vermeleri ve herhangi bir sorumluluk almamaları kolay olan yoldu. Babalar uyuşturucunun çocuklarına yapacağı olumsuz etkiler hususunda bilinçsizdi ve bunun hakkında hiç hikaye dinlemek istemiyolardı. Basitçe, basit bir mantıkla çocuklarına 'bir şey olmaz' diyerek gerçeği inkar ediyolardı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Oğlum benden ve eşimden farklı bir ortamda yetişti. Üniversiteye gidebildi ve sonra da askerlik hizmetini tamamladı. Askerden gelince onu evlendirebildik çünkü onun için ve müstakbel eşi için bir daire yapmıştık. Onun kendi işini kurmasına da yardım edebildik. Biz üniversiteye gidebilmek, bir binada bir daire alabilmek ya da kendi işimizi kurabilmek için hiç bir zaman ailemizden destek alma fırsatı bulamadık. Oğlum şansının değerini bildi ve bütün fırsatları başarılı bir şekilde kullandı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Ailem bir apartman yaptı ve dairelerden biraz para kazanabildi. Ailemin sayesinde okulu bırakmak ve çalışmaya başlamam gerekmedi. İkinci kuşağın çoğunun okulu bırakması gerekti. Bunun iki nedeni vardı: Hiç eğitim kültürü yoktu ve çocuklar da ailelerinin kültürünü devam ettirmeyi tercih ediyolardı ve iş tercih ederken de onları takip ediyolardı. Ama bizim kuşakta bu kural ve yerel kültürlerin sınırları değişti. RHU'nün üçüncü kuşağı şimdi kendilerini şehrin kültürünün bir parçası hissediyö ve bu kültürde bir hayat yolu seçiyolar. Eğitimi faydasız bir şey olarak görmüyolar tersine hayat için çok önemli bir şey olarak görüyolar. Bundan dolayı da üçüncü kuşaktakilerin çoğu ya bir üniversiteye gitmiş ya da en azından bir meslek okuluna gitmiştir. Çoğu İstanbul'da değil de Anadolu'da bir okula gitmeyi tercih etmiştir. Ben de Edirne'de üniversite bitirdim. Ben bir kızım ama ailem beni Edirne'ye göndermeye razı oldu ve hatta arkadaşlarımla ev tutmama da. Bana güveniyolar. Eğer geçmişteki gibi olsaydı, aileler kız çocuklarının, özellikle de başka bir şehirde eğitim almalarına rıza göstermezlerdi. Bu da RHU'ndeki bütün kültürün radikal bir şekilde değiştiğini gösteriyö. (Mülakat, kadın, bekar, 20 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Ben RHÜ'nde devam eden köy kültürü ortamında doğdum. Akrabalarımın kendi aralarında yakın ilişkileri vardı ve bunların çoğu da kendi köylüleriydi. Mahallerinin ana toplanma merkezinde düğünler olur, köyümden insanlar katılır ve sosyalleşirdi. Ama çocukluğumuzda başlayan apartmanların yapılmasıyla, bu türdeki sosyalleşmeler azalma eğilimi gösterdi çünkü artık apartmanlara ülkenin farklı yerinden gelen insanlar yerleşiyordu. Nüfus gittikçe heterojenleşiyodu. Aynı zamanda ülkede de ailelerinin kültürleri yerine global bir kültür ortaya çıkıyodu.

Böylece, ben de sinemaya ilgi duymaya başladım ve bu alanda eğitim alma fırsatım oldu. Ben tamamen şehirde ve dünyada hakim olan kültürün bir parçası olduğumu hissediyorum. Ben ailemin ve onların ailelerinin yaptıkları gibi kendimi köylü ve RHU'lu olarak tanımlamıyorum. Şu anda ben bir sinema yönetmeniyim ve RHU'nde yaşıyorum. RHU'nde tanıdıklarım var. Bütün akranlarımla RHU dışında aktiviteler ve sosyal ilişkilerle meşgul olduklarını görüyorum. Bizden önceki nesiller gibi bizim ufkumuz artık RHU ile sınırlı değil. Biz, yeni kuşak, şehir kültürünün bir parçasıyız ve ona aitiz. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 28 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 157

Ben yirmibeş yaşındayım ve İstanbul'daki özel üniversitelerden birinde okudum. Şu anda sinema ve televizyon bölümünde master derecesini bitiriyorum. Önceki dönemlerde RHU'ndeki kızlar okumazlardı ama yeni kuşakla bu kural değişti. Daha önce kızların sadece liseye kadar gitme fırsatı vardı ve sonra da evlenip RHU içinde kalır ya da Almanya'ya giderlerdi. Artık durumlar değişti ve şimdi kızların çoğu üniversite ya da meslek okuluna gidiyor ve annelerinden daha iyi işlerde çalışıyorlar. Yaptığımız işler artık ev işleriyle sınırlı değil. (Mülakat; kadın, bekar, 25 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 160

84'de Boğaz'da yeni bir köprünün yapılacağı söylentileri dolaşmaya başladı ve sonra 85'te de yıkımdan önce evler mühürlenmeye başladı. Yıkımdan önce bize gideceğimiz ve yaşayacağımız yeni bir yer verip vermeyecekleri belli değildi. Bundan dolayı bölgedeki önde gelen bazı insanlar yetkililere başvurdular ve

Ankara’da bakanlığa dilekçeler verildi... Dilekçeler şehirde başka bir yere yerleşme hakkı ve haklarımızı savunmak için yazılmıştı.... Ailelerin yaklaşık olarak yüzüne daha önce polisler için yapılmış evler verildi. Küçük oldukları, altyapısı tamamlanmadığı ve şehir merkezine uzak olduğu için polisler bu evleri kabul etmek istemedi, yetkililer de evleri yıkılan RHU yerleşimcilerine bu evleri vermeye karar verdi ve örgütlü protestolar gelişmeden önce en kısa zamanda evlerimizden çıkmaya ‘zorlanarak’ oraya ikamet ettirildik. (Mülakat; erkek, bekar, 36 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 162

RHU’nde örgütlü ve düzenli bir hayatımız vardı. Yakın ilişkilerimiz vardı ve bütün işyerlerimiz bölgemizin çevresindeydi. Biz ev işlerinde çalışıyoduk ve evlerimizin yıkılıp bizim uzak bir yere gönderilmemiz bizim iş piyasasındaki bağlarımızın da harap edilmesi anlamına geliyordu. Bizim yeni yerleştiğimiz yerin çevresinde iş bulmamızı gerekiyordu ve bu da başarılması zor bir şeydi. Bundan dolayı evlerin yıkımına karşı direndik ama Türkiye’deki sivil toplumdan destek bulamadık ne de verilen destek yıkımların durdurulmasına yetti. Yeni yerleşim yerimize döndükçe, ev işlerinde çalışan kadınların bazıları Avrupa yakasındaki eski işverenleriyle bağlarını korumaya çalıştı. Fakat Anadolu yakasından Avrupa yakasına gidişin uzun olması, çoğu kadın önceleri evlerinin yakınında olan işverenlerinin evlerine yürüyerek gittikleri için hiç bir taşıma aracı kullanmadıklarından şimdiyi durumda ulaşım maliyetlerinin artması, trafikte kaybedilen zaman ve enerji ve sinir bozuklukları gibi bir çok zorlukla karşılaştılar. Diğer bazı kadınlar da Avrupa yakasında çalışmaya devam etmek istemiyolardı, tersine çok zor da also Asya yakasında iş arıyolardı.

Anadolu yakasında bağlantıları ve tanıdıkları yoktu ve yoğun olarak yeni ilişkiler aramak zorunda kalıyorlardı. (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 55 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 163

Konutlara evler yapıldığında ve RHU'ndekiler oraya yerleşmeye başladıklarında, bu binaların çevresinde oturan oranın yerlileri evleri için temizlikçiye ihtiyacı olacak zengin insanların geleceğini ümid ediyodu. Biz oraya gittiğimizde bu insanlar bizimle bağlar kurup bizden kızları ve karılarını ev işlerine almamızı rica etmeye başladılar ve biz de onların bizim evlerimizde gündelikçi işi bulmayı ümit etmekle büyük bir hata yaptıklarını açıklamak zorunda kalıyoduk. Ben onlara bölgeye gelen RHU göçmenlerinin kendilerinin ev işleri yaptığını söyledim. Bu da onları hayal kırıklığına uğrattı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Biz Kayışdağı'ndaki polis gücü için yapılan ama küçük oldukları, altyapısı tamamlanmadığı ve şehre uzak olduğu için bu evlerde yaşamayı reddeden polislerin yerine buraya yapılan evlere gönderildik. *Bu binalar evleri aynı zamanlarda yıkılan ve bizim gibi gecekonduları yıkılıp da İstanbul'un değişik yerlerinden getir(t)ilen kimselere ayrılan binalardı [vurgular bana ait].* Yani yeni yerleşim yerinin nüfusu karışık ve yeni gelenlerin çoğu bize yabancıydı, biz de onlara. İlk başlarda ve bugün hala bizim gençlerle onların çocukları ve gençleri arasında sorunlar var. Bu insanların bir kısmının bizden çok farklı kültürleri var. Onların gençleri bizim gençlerle kavga ediyö ve onlara baskı uyguluyo ve onların oğullar bizim kızlarımıza sataşıyo ve bud a bizim çocuklarla onlarınkiler arasında kavgalara neden oluyo. Burada hayat RHU'ndeki kadar güvenli ve rahat değil ve Kayışdağı'ndaki

RHU'nden gelen yerleşimcilerin hepsi de RHU'nu çok özölüyo. Onlar RHU'ndeki yaşayanlara göre ekonomik olarak çok daha kötü durumda. Zaman zaman RHU'nü ziyaret ediyolar ve oradaki eski arkadaşlarını görüyolar ve bu insanlarla zaman geçiriyolar. (Mülakat; kadın, dul, 75 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 164

Diğer bazı şehirlere yerleşmeye çalıştıktan sonra ben 20'li yaşlardayken biz RHU'ne Karadeniz'den akrabalarımızın yanına geldik. Gecekondumuzu ailemizin, akrabalarımızın ve köylü hemşerilerimizin yardımıyla yaptık. Kadınların çoğu Bebek'e, Etiler'e ve Şişli'ye ev işlerine giderdi. O yıllarda ben de fabrikada çalışıyodum ve abilerim yoksulluktan üniversiteyi terk etti... Fakat yine de biz RHU'nde mutluyduk. Hafta sonları sinemaya giderdik, sonra yazın Hisar'da konserlere giderdik. Bir otobüsle Taksim'e giderdik, Boğazi seyrederdik, mahallemizde ve bahçelerimizde ağaçlar vardı. RHU'nde yaşarken her şeyi dayanışmayla yapardık. Fakat İkinci Köprü'nün yapılmasıyla birlikte bizi dağıtmayı düşündüler. Askeri yönetim bile bizim evlerimize girmeye cesaret edemedi... Yeniden yerleştirme esnasında bizim mücadelemiz aynı mahallede birlikte kalıp yaşama mücadelesiydi ve işte polislerin alt yapı yokluğu nedeniyle oturmak istemedikleri Ataşehir İmar-İskan Blokları'ndaki polis evlerine böyle yerleşmeyi başardık. On yıl boyunca taksitlerimizi ödedikten sonra altmış beş metre karelik evlerimizin sahipleri olduk... Burası şehrin çok dışında, ulaşımı yok, yol yok ve işe gitmek için beş-altı saat harcamak zorundayız... RHU'ndeki gecekonduda yaşarken sigortam vardı, fakat yeniden yerleştirmeden sonra taksitlerimizi ödeyebilmek ve daha fazla para kazanmak için işten ayrıldım ve ev işlerine gitmek zorunda kaldım.

Sağlığını kaybettim, ama yeni bir mahalle yarattık... Bize verilen ev küçük olduğundan kiraya verdim ve şimdi başka bir yerde kiradayım. Ama yeni mahallemiz bölgenin gittikçe gelişmesi nedeniyle ve Merkez Bankası'nı Ataşehir'e taşıma düşüncesi nedeniyle kentsel yeniden dönüşüm tehdidi altında. Buradan ayrılmamak için elimizden gelen her şeyi yapacağız. Birbirimizi bırakmayacağız, cunta zamanlarında her şeyi yaptık ve haklarımız için mücadele ettik ve burada da aynı şeyi yapacağız (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 51 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 166

Ben RHU'nde yıkım olacağını daha duymadım ama eğer böyle bir şey olursa o zaman benim kaybedecek bir şeyim yok ki çünkü önceleri olduğu gibi devlet yıkılan evlerin yerine ev verecek. 92'de apartman yaptığımdan ve apartman da artık maliyetini çıkardığından ve bana da kayda değer bir miktar para getirdiğinden gelecek endişem yok. Yani, eğer devlet apartmanları yıkmaya karar verirse eminim ki en azından şehrin başka bir yerinde bir daire verirler. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 38 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 167

Gecekondu bölgesinin tamamen yıkılacağını duydum. Devletin neden ve nasıl böyle bir şeyi yapacağı hakkında bir fikrim yok. Ama böyle bir şey olursa bence bölgede bir karışıklık olur çünkü insanlar bütün kazandıklarını apartmanlara yatırdılar ve bu onların güvencesi. Devlet evlerimizi yıkıp bizi başka bir yere sürerse buna müsaade etmeyiz. Bu durumda bütün gelecek kararır. Bu dönüşü olmayan bir yoldur. (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 40 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Bu dedikodular hakkında hiç bir şey hissetmiyorum çünkü bir tane gecekondum var ve bir apartman da yapmadım. Kaybedecek bir şeyim yok çünkü tecrübemle biliyorum ve inanıyorum ki devlet yıkılan gecekondular ve apartmanların yerine yeni evler verecek. Yani geleceğim etkilenmeyecek. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 45 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Bu gecekonduyu almak için kocamla birlikte çalıştık. Evlendikten sonra uzun bir süre kirada kaldık ve kiraya oldukça çok para döktük ve aynı zamanda da biraz para biriktirdik. Sonra, yaklaşık on altı yıl önce, biriktirdiklerimizi vererek kocamın amcasından bu küçük gecekonduyu aldık. Birkaç yıl önce kocam aniden öldü ve ben de iki çocuğumla yalnız kaldım. Evde çalışan tek kişi bendim. Oğlum üniversiteden terkti ve babası öldüğünde askerliğini yapıyordu. Kızım hala lisede okuyo ve çalışamaz. Askerliğini bitirdikten sonra oğlum geri döndü ve Metrocity’de güvenlik görevlisi olarak çalışmaya başladı ama bi zaman sonra çıkarıldı. O zamandan beri iş bulamıyo ve evde ekmek parası kazanan bir tek benim. Kocam BU’nden emekliydi ve onun tanıdıkları vasıtasıyla üniversitede güvencesi olan bir iş buldum. Şu anda BU personeliyim ve hafta sonları da temizliğe gidiyorum. Gecekondum dışında bir güvencem yok. Eğer gecekondumu yıkarlarla ciddi sorunlarım olur. Ama genel uygulamaya göre devlet yıkılan gecekondunun yerine bi ev veriyo. Yani, benim ve çocuklarımın sokağa atılmayacağına eminim, ama şehrin uzağında bir yerlerde bi ev verilir. Bizim için yeni yerin uzaklığı tek sorun olur. Şu anda ben işe yürüyerek gidiyorum ama evler yıkılırsa iş için trafikte bayağı bir zaman kaybederim ve ayrıca da masraflarım da artar. (Mülakat; kadın, dul, 51 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Babamlar dört katlı apartmankonu yapabildiler. Biz iki kardeşiz ve her birimizin de bir dairesi var, annemler bir dairede yaşıyolar ve geri kalan kat da kirada ve kirayı da annemler alıyo. Aslında ben eğitimle o kadar ilgili değilim, gençken kalifiye olmayan işlerde çalıştım. Askerlikten sonra evlendim ve aile apartmamızda dairemde yaşamaya başladım. Karım da çalışıyo ve iki çocuğumuz var. Devletin apartmanın bütün katları için birer daire verip vermeyecekleri belli değil. Belki apartmanın yerine sadece bir ev verirler ya da bina yapım masrafları için az bir para verirler. Bu durumda kendimize ev alamayız. Abim de aynı durumda. Hiç birimizin, eşlerimizin de iyi gelir getiren işleri yok. Zamanında biraz para biriktirebildik ama paramızın hepsini yeni bi rev almaya ve yeni bir hayat kurmaya harcamak istemiyoruz. Çocuklarımız için planlarımız var ve parayı çocuklarımız geleceği ve emekliliğimiz için harcamayı düşünüyoruz. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 40 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Eğer apartmanlar yıkılırsa o zaman RHU'nde yaşayanlar şehrin çervesinde uzak bir yere gönderilecekler ve biraz bina yapım masrafları verilecek ve bu da onlarn aynı bir şekilde yeni bir apartman yapmalarına yetmeyecek. Böylece, eğer apartmanlar yıkılırsa o zaman bizim ailemiz ve ben de ciddi paralar kaybederiz. Yani, RHU'nün gelecekteki yıkım planlarına karşı biraz endişeliyim. (Mülakat; kadın, bekar, 21 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Analarımız ve babalarımız 50'lerin başında RHU'ne gelip yerleřtiler, rençlerlik ettiler, ev işleri yaptılar, işçi olarak çalıştılar. Bazıları evlerinin tapularını aldılar, bazıları işgalcilerden parayla arsa aldılar ve daha fakir olanlar ise İstanbul'un varořlarında zorlu hayat koşullarına karşı ailelerini geçindirebilmek için hazine arazisine derme-çatma *gecekondu* yaptılar. BU'nun yardımı ve BU öğrencilerinin elbirliği ile beraber ana caddeyi yaptık ve her iki tarafa da faydalı olacak bir mahalle yarattık. Biz RHU'nün ilk sahibiydik ve bunun için de son sahibi olmalıyız. (HİSARDER'in açılışında yapılan konuşma, 2009).

RHU'ne 60'larda geldiğimizde RHU'ndeki yeni küçük gecekondularımızda köy hayatımızı devam ettiriyorduk... Kocam sadece iki oda yapmıştı... İki oğlumla gelmiştim... Etiler'de temizliğe gitmeye başladım... Yanısıra, dört ineğimize de bakıyordum, onlara ot topluyo, yakacak odun topluyordum, RHU'le kadınların evlerde temizliğe gittiği çevredeki zenginlere süt ve yukarta satıyordum... Kocam inşaat işlerinde çalışıyordu, ek işler de yapıyordu ve *gecekondu* da yapıyordu... Ben işe gidince oğullarım ineklere bakıyordu ve süt satıyordu.. Hep barabar yapıyorduk. (Mülakat; kadın, dul, 81 yaşında, çok erken RH mukimi).

Evimizi yaptığımız arsa daha önce eşimin, annesinin, kız kardeşleri ve abilerinin arsasıydı, ama onların bir kısmı İngiltere'ye gittiğinden arsa bize kaldı. Biz evlenince RHU'nde kirada kaldık, köprü yapılmadan önce yıkılan bir yerde. Evliliğimizin ilk

yılında eşime kalan arsaya gecekondumuzu yaptık. İnşaat işçisi olarak çalışan köylü hemşerilerimiz ve RHU'lü komşularımız vardı, ya da bize inşaatta biraz indirim yapacak yardım edecek ve çok tecrübesi olan ve bize yardım etmek isteyen tanıdıklar vardı. Evimiz eşimle aynı köyden olan bu insanların yardımı ve çabasıyla yapıldı. (Mülakat; erkek, dul, 62 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 175

Köydeki yoksulluk ve yetersiz iş imkanları yüzünden ailem şehre göç etti. Bizim aile büyüktü ve arsa bütün aileye yetmiyordu. RHÜ'ne geldiğimizde bir arsa çevirdik çünkü biz gelmeden birkaç yıl önce köyümüzden şehre buraya çok insan gelmişti. Köylülerimiz arsamızı tutarken bize göz kulak oldu. Ailemizin hem erkek hem kadın çok insanı vardı. Akrabalık ilişkilerimiz yoluyla RHÜ'nde gecekonduyu yapabildik. Aynı akraba bağları ailemiz için iş bulmada da bayağı faydalı oldu. Kadınlar ev işlerine gidiyor ve erkeklerse ya şehirde fabrikada iş buluyo ya da o zamanlar Robert Koleji dediğimiz BU'nde çalışıyordu. Robert Kolej'deki işler çoğu RHÜ'lü tarafından daha fazla tercih ediliyordu çünkü mahallenin hemen yanıbaşındaydı ve bu sayede hem *gecekondularımıza* göz kulak oluyo hem de diğer önemli sosyal ilişkileri kurmamıza yardımcı oluyodu. Ama, Kolej'deki işleri bulmak öyle kolay değildi ve sadece akrabalık ilişkileriyle olmuyodu? Kolej'de iş bulmaya sadece aynı köyden akrabalar birbirlerine yardımcı oluyodu. (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 58 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Babam öldükten sonra bize annem baktı. Yedi kardeş içinde tek kız oydu. Bir zaman sonra annemin iki-katlı evinin ikinci katında kalmaya başladı ve dayımda birinci katta kalıyordu. Dayılarımdan birisi annanemi kandırdı ve anneme düşen tarlayı karısının adına yaptırdı ve diğer dayım da evi üstüne almaya çalışıyordu. Yani annemin o evde kalmasını istemiyolardı ve kira istiyolardı. Böylece annem mecburen yakındaki bir kasabaya patates ve pancar kökü sökmeye gitti. Büyük ablamla çalışmaya gidiyo ve bir hafta orada kalıyo ve günlük ihtiyaçlarımız için gereken parayı kazanıyordu. Ama yine de onun o evde kalmasını ve arsaları işlemesini istemediler, ve annelerinden ve babalarından kalan sınırlı arazilerin ve meyve bahçelerinin mirası için kardeşler arasında ciddi mücadeleler oluyodu ve böyle biz de İstanbul'a geldik. (Mülakat; kadın, evli, 54 yaşında, erken RHU mükimi).

Gecekondu önce yaklaşık yirmi metrekare olarak bir oda bir tuvalet olarak yapıldı. Babamın aylık kazancının ve annemin gündeliklerinin neredeyse yüzde sekseni gecekondu yapımına gidiyodu. Buna sadece benim babam ve annemin yaptığını söylemiyorum. Bu bütün Hisarüstü'nde [RHU] hemen hemen aynı şekildeydi. Örneğin, o ay nalbur'a gider, otuz kırk pirket alır, iki torba çimento ve onları bir kenara koyarlar ikinci odayı yapmak için bahçeye koyarlar üzerine de bir şey örterlerdi. Çünkü bir odada beş – on kişi yaşırdı. Sonra bir yıl falan sonra bir oda daha yapılır ve bu da maddi yükü hafifleten bir çözüm olurdu. Ailedeki ve/ya aynı evde kalan akrabalar kazandıkları parayı ortak bir yerde tutar ve bunu da aile ressi

(adam bazen de kadın) *gecekondu*unun genişletilmesinde kullanırdı . Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 178

Biz gecekonduimizi daha önce RHU'ne yerleşen ve bizi de oradan haberdar eden köylülerimizin yardımıyla yaptık. Ailemle şehre geldiğimizde büyük bir arsa çevirdik ve sonra da üzerine gecekondu yaptık. Babam inşaat işçisi değildi ve ondan dolayı da evi kendi başına bitirmedi ama inşaat tanındıkları ve köylüleri ona yardım ettiler. Hatta inşaat malzemelerini bile ucuza aldık ve ayrıca hepsi de aynı köyden ve tanidik olduklarından işçilere ve ustalara para bile ödemedik. Herkes böyle birbirine yardım ederdi. Aynı zamanda babam köylülerinin yardımıyla işe başladı. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, , 46 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Page 180

Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP) RHU'nde de örgütlenmişti. RHU'nde derme çatma gecekonduların birinde Yılmaz Güney'in küçük bir film arşivi olduğunu bile duydum... 80 *darbesinden* önce RHU bir tür kurtarılmış bölgeydi ve gecekondu bölgesi muhtara ek olarak dernek ve çeşitli komiteler yoluyla çeşitli sol gruplarca yönetiliyordu... Hatta medyada "küçük Moskova" diye geçiyodu... Hep beraber farklı kişilerin gecekondularını yapıyoduk. Hatta devrimcilerin bir ailenin gecekonduğunu yaptığı bir olayı hatırlıyorum... Genel olarak gecekonducular solcu gruplarla birlikte hareket ettiler ve kendilerini örgütlediler, ama istisnalar da vardı.

Örneğin, bir olayda, devrimciler yıkıma karşı polis ve zabıtaya karşı mücadele ederken, aile reisi kahvede kağıt oynuyodu. Ama yıllar sonra, 90'ların başına geldiğimizde onun gecekondusu bir apartmankondu olmuştu ve o ise bizi tanımadı bile. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 45 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Page 184

Hükümet yetkilileri bizimle pazarlığa geldiler. Bize gecekondularımızın yıkılmasına müsaade edip iki katlı lüks villa yaparsak bizi iki katlı villa vereceklerini söylediler. Bu lüks villalar bölgenin dönüşümü amacıyla RHU'nde yapılacak bir kentsel yeniden dönüşümün bir parçası olacaktı. Fakat bölgedeki önde gelenler araziler üzerindeki haklarını ve onların kullanımını kaybedeceklerini hissederek ve çocukları ve kendileri için apartmankondu yapmayı düşündüklerinden olumsuz davrandılar ve RHU'lüleri hükümetin bu teklifine 'hayır' demeye ikna ettiler. Bence bu fırsat hükümetin kurallarına da uyup arsalarının yasal tapusunu ve onayını almaları için RHU'lülere sunulmuş önemli bir fırsattı. Daha öncede de şehrin valisi ve belediye başkanı bölgeye geldiğinde aynı hata yapıldı, karşı çıkan RHU'lüler tarafından kovalandı. Aynı belediye başkanı daha sonra çevredeki diğer gecekonduların tapularını verdi, RHU'nünkini vermedi. Böylece, RHU'lüleler en son ve en çok istedikleri tercihi yapıp kendi istekleri doğrultusunda *apartmankondularını* inşaat ettiler. Aslında bölgedeki valiye karşı önceki reaksiyon bölgedeki siyasal dinamizmle ilgiliydi ve hiç bir şekilde devletle ya da yetkili makamlarıyla bir uzlaşma istemiyodu. (Mülakat; erkek, evli, 50 yaşında, RHU mukimi).

Almanya’da yaşıyan ablalarım, yapımında hiç bi katkılarının olmadığı dairelerden kira payı istemeye başladılar. Beni ailenin ortak mülkü olan arsadaki haklarını aldığım için mahkemeye verdiler. Ama kardeşlerim, buradaki *apartmankonduyu* yaparken hiç bir şekilde bir kira istemiceklerini söylemişlerdi.(Mülakaat; erkek, evli, 51 yaşında, erken RHU mukimi).

Appendix E

Total Enrollment Number of Students at Boğaziçi University
from the Academic Year of 1971 -72 Onward

Academic Year	Total Enrollment
1971-72	1015
1972-73	1261
1973-74	1433
1974-75	2002
1975-76	2430
1976-77	2759
1977-78	3062
1978-79	3265
1979-80	3354
1980-81	3194
1981-82	3236
1982-83	3618
1983-84	3906
1984-85	4902
1985-86	5716
1986-87	6583
1987-88	7471
1988-89	8317

1989-90	8813
1990-91	9437
1991-92	9961
1992-93	10551
1993-94	9628
1994-95	9390
1995-96	9551
1996-97	9534
1997-98	9332
1998-99	ca. 9500
1999-2000	Ca. 9500
2009-2010	11,500

Source: Freely, John. (2000). A History of Robert College: The American College for Girls, and BU (Bosphorus University), YKY: İstanbul, p. 559;
<http://www.yurtlar.boun.edu.tr/genelbilgi.htm>.

Appendix F

The Total Capacity of Boğaziçi University Dorms as of 2010

NAME OF THE DORM	CAPACITY	CAMPUS
1. Boys Dorm	252	South
2. North Dorm	408	North
Zeynep-Ayşe Birkan Girls Dorm	228	South
1. North Dorm	454	North
Uçaksavar Dorm	215	Uçaksavar
First Kilyos Dorm	411	Kilyos
Second Kilyos Dorm	341	Kilyos
Superdorm (private)	486	Uçaksavar
TOTAL	2795	

Source: <http://www.yurtlar.boun.edu.tr/genelbilgi.htm>.

Appendix G

Local Businesses in Rumeli Hisarüstü

Today there are a total of 186 small businesses in RHU. Of these businesses 97 are operated by the outsiders and the remaining 89 by the RHU inhabitants. However, the business properties are almost totally owned by the RHU squatter settlers. There are 13 grocery shops in the interior and lower parts of RHU and two on Nispetiye Caddesi and are all owned by RHU settlers, there is a BİM (Birleşik Marketler /United Markets) and DiaSa market, 2 markets on the main road and 2 supermarkets (Kılıçoğlu market and Mega market) across the main entrance of BU and RHU, 4 pharmacies two of which are in the interior part of RHU just across Turkan Şoray primary school and the nearby Health Clinic, the other health clinic being on Nispetiye Caddesi, 4 purified clean water dealers, 4 carpenters all of whom are RHU settlers, 4 real estate agencies among which Hisar Emlak is the oldest with its operations going back to the middle of the 80s, Genç Emlak established in the aftermath of *gündüzkondu* formation in early 90s, the remaining two are in operation for less than a decade, there are also a few informal real estate dealers, 42 restaurants of various sorts serving fast food, traditional and home-food mainly to the university students, the businesses, and the daily construction workers in the area, 12 photo copy shops, 2 computer shops, 1 photographer's shop, 3 internet cafes, 8 electrician shop, 3 plumbers, 1 electrician and plumber shop, 6 barbers and 6 beauty shops, 3 shoe repairer shops and shoeshine parlors, 2 Turkcell mobile phone distributors, one carpet cleaning place, 1 first and second-hand household goods shop, one translation office, one bookstore selling the BU books, one bakery, 1 newspaper and magazines

sale shop, 1 taxi stand, 1 intercity autobus office, 1 fire extinguishers sales shop, 1 tavern, 1 alehouse, 1 türkubar, 1 newspaper distribution centre, 1 quilty maker, 1 construction drawing and architectural office, one painting studio, 3 dentists, 1 municipal bread shop (Halk Ekmek), 1 facade isolation works, 1 auto washing business, 3 hardware store, 2 nargile cafe, 3 billiard cafe, 2 Laundromats, 4 tailors, 2 fashion tailor workshops, 3 natural gas service provider, repair, maintenance and distributors, 4 kiosks two also selling alcoholic drinks and tobacco, 2 ironsmith and welders, 1 flower shop, 1 phyllo dough shop, 2 upholsterers and 3 furniture distributor, sales outlet and dealers, 5 variety stores, 3 refrigerator and washing machine repair, maintenance and service shops, 4 household goods, curtain and furniture stores, 3 auto spare parts, repair and service shops, 1 second-hand auto dealer, 2 auto electric accessories shops, 2 tire repair and service shops, 2 fishing tools and clothes shop, 1 construction and earthmoving works, 2 construction materials sales shops, 5 coffee houses, 1 betting coupon sales shop, one horse racing betting shop, 3 glass seller or installer shop, 2 frame maker shops, 1 dry cleaner, 2 green grocery, and 3 dried fruit sales shops.

Of these businesses some of the restaurants are operated by BU graduates and current BU students. The businesses are concentrated on Nispetiye Cad, the main road, Cami sokak and 6. Sokak which are just across from the university and where the economic life revolves around these three streets and the main business centre is the square at the entrance of the main gate of BU. The detail of the breakdown of the businesses in RHU is given in the list below.

Businesses in Operation in RHU

- 1.Şiran Mobilya
2. Filiz Bakkal
3. Eczane Şeyma.
4. Eczane Hisar.
5. Pirdem Emlak.
6. Ekin Cafe
7. Beykoz Çubuklu
8. Görkem Emlak.
9. Güney Elektrik
10. Yavuz Tesisat
11. Tınaz Elektrik
12. Kuaför Kasım
13. Boğaziçi Lostra Salonu
14. Arslan Elektrik
15. Yorgancı Fikri Turgut
16. Yakamoz Midye Kokoreç
17. Orta Kantin
- 18.Çamaşırhane Adnan
19. Terzi
20. Kuaför Mesut
21. Bereket Döner
22. Türkwich Cafe
23. Arkadaş Cafe

24. Dük Cam
25. Kavuk Çiğköfte
26. İlhan Fotokopi-Ciltevi
27. Urfam Ocakbaşı1
28. Urfam Ocakbaşı2
29. Yazçek Fotokopi
30. Doğa Kırtasiye
31. Toros İletişim Türkcell
32. Burger Borsası
33. Huzur Motor
34. Kibele Perde
35. Koçer Market
36. Aydın Gıda
37. Di-Za Gıda Pazarı
38. Boğaziçi Temizlik Hizmetleri
39. Hamidiye Kaynak Suyu
40. Boğaziçi Elektrik Su Tesisatı
41. Minela Kaynak Suyu
42. Kale Motor
43. Kaya Spot
44. Wailant
45. A Yapı Mekanik
46. Diş Hekimi Gonca Gökdemir
47. Okalıptus Cafe/Restaurant

48. Günel Copy
49. Dialogue Tercüme
50. Hisar Kuaför
51. Hayat Copy
52. Book Store
53. Elite İnternet Cafe
54. Chef'n Cafe
55. Yıldız Elektrik
56. Sevim Copy
57. Hisar Unlu Mamülleri
58. Kılıçoğlu Market.
59. Damga Çiğköfte
60. Hisar Büfe
61. Oto Yıkama
62. Tan İletişim Türkcell
63. Kampüs Copy
64. Durak Copy
65. Rumeli Hisar Börekçisi
66. Genç Emlak.
67. Emgi Erkek Kuaförü
68. Boğaziçi Eczanesi.
69. Mega Market
- 70.Öz Kervan Kuruyemiş
71. Rumeli Tıp Merkezi

72. Cafe Bu
73. Halk Ekmek
74. Gazete Bayi
75. Hazal Ana
76. Tantuni Dürüm Evi
77. Boğaziçi Taksi
78. Güvenç İnşaat
79. Kaan Kuruyemiş
80. Namlı Kebap
81. Tirkanlı Kebap
82. Hisar Fotokopi
83. Rumeli Büfe
84. İstikbal Mobilya
85. Peler Alışveriş Merkezi
86. Violet Model
87. Metro Turizm
88. İtfa Yangın Söndürme
89. Arn Bilgisayar
90. Taç
91. Diş Hekimi Mete Öge
92. Bakar Ocakbaşı
93. Poğaçacı
94. Yataş
95. Zengin Nalburiye

96. Fortress İnternet Cafe
97. Altın Çiftlik
98. Kahveci Şenol
99. Murat Yapı Malzemeleri
100. Kahveci Muarem
101. Can Lostra
102. Atak Doğalgaz
103. Cook Grill Fast Food
104. Tunç Kuaför
105. İMAGOSU
106. İz Yapı Nalburiye
107. Eda Bayan Terzi
108. Şimşek Elektrik
109. Marangoz Erdem Etem
110. Sebahattin Bakkal
111. Rima Dikim Evi
112. Hayat Tuafiye
113. Sağlık Eczane
114. Kanaat Cam Ticaret
115. Bim
116. Çiğ Köfte Park
117. Yunus Copy
118. Boğaziçi Erkek Kuaförü
119. Yenice

120. Ersin'in İş yeri
121. Dalyan Balık
122. Doydos
123. Buket Fotokopi
124. Hisar Emlak
125. Kaya Tesisat
126. Kayıkçı Elektrik
127. Şahin Bilardo
128. Şuşu
129. Arçelik
130. Wonderland
131. Öztürk Oto Servis
132. Dürümcan
133. Uzunlar Otomotiv
134. Terzi Bahattin
135. Arzum Kuruyemiş
136. Kardelen Kahvaltı Dünyası
137. Bat B
138. Diasa
139. Kuaför Hüsnü
140. Köfteci Berdan
141. Köşe Kiraathenesi
142. Diş Hekimi Gülseren Pirli
143. Fashion Studios

144. Boluca
145. Bizim Elektrik
146. Gümüş Kuaför
147. Aygaz
148. Boğaziçi Playstation
149. Depar Hüseyin İsabetli
150. Naturel Works
151. Rıza Uzun Bakkal
152. Camcı Veli
153. Bizim Bakkaliye
154. Don Kışot
155. Rumeli Pilav Üstü
156. Ganyan Park Kırathanesi
157. Elif Manav
158. Model Döşeme
159. Arslan Büfe
160. Onur Kuru Temizleme
161. Bahçe Nargile
162. Atölye Kanepe
163. Kanaat Yufkacı
164. Hisar Kırathanesi
165. Boğaziçi İskender Kebap
166. Taha Market
167. Zeynom Büfe

168. Murat Erkek Kuaförü
169. Boğaziçi Türk Konağı
170. Rüya Nargile
171. Hanedan Bilardo Cafe
172. Yaysat
173. Zülfikar Börek
174. Hisar Köfte ve Izgara
175. To & A Kuaför
176. Son Durak Ev Yemekleri
177. Siemens Bosch Beyaz Eşya Yetkili Servisi
178. Terlemez İnşaat
179. Öz Oto Kaporta
180. Öz Soğutma
181. Oto lastik Sadettin
182. Günel Oto Rıza Usta
183. Hasırcı
184. Garanti Oto Elektrik
185. Demir Doğrama Zafer
186. Balık Adam Zeynel

Source (Hisarder, 2010).

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