

Integration of migrants into the urban residential setting of Ankara

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Introduction

The study with which we deal in the present paper aims at investigating a rather neglected aspect of the migration process, namely the integration of migrants into an urban residential environment and is based on data collected in 1980 from a field survey conducted in Ankara among migrants from Iskilip, a Central Anatolian town, 200 km northwest of Ankara, as a follow-up to a migration research study conducted in 1970.

The earlier study on the process of migration was based on data collected from 167 townsmen and 65 villagers, migrants from Iskilip and its hinterland, while the 1980 follow-up study included 186 of those interviewed in the original study as well as 169 additional households which had migrated to Ankara between 1970 and 1980.

● **Ankara**, once a small Anatolian town having a population of little over 10,000, witnessed a drastic change after being selected as the new republic's capital in 1924. The city is now a regional center for the Central Anatolian region, a metropolis and a growth pole with a population of almost 3 million. The heterogeneous population structure of Ankara is compounded by changes over time so that what we have now can be considered as an integrated, articulated synthesis of the "culture" brought by immigrants, traditions of the state bureaucracy, influence of Western capitalism, and the like.

● In the last 50 years, **Iskilip** has remained a town of less than 20,000 people as almost all of the natural increase in population has migrated to Ankara.

Traditionally, about two thirds of the "export activities" of Iskilip were directed towards the regional market in shoe and saddle making, weaving and production of various metal items. The town has gradually lost its "export activity base"

partly because of the relocation of these activities in Ankara, and partly because of the introduction of new products which eliminated the demand for such traditional goods. For example, increases in mechanization reduced the demand for saddles, and leather straps. Similarly, the introduction of new types of locks, and door handles has eliminated their traditional markets. Shoes and tailor-made clothing, on the other hand, are examples of commodities for which demand has not contracted. However, their production has concentrated in Ankara and Istanbul. The shift in this second group of commodities has been affected by both the economies of scale and externalities enjoyed by the larger cities as well as increased fashion consciousness which has introduced a certain volatility into the market.

Losing its share of the market has not been an immediate or abrupt phenomenon for Iskilip, but a very gradual one. For example, the first segments of the market for shoes to be lost were shoes for young adults and middle and upper income groups. Special types of shoes worn by mosque-goers are still produced in Iskilip for national consumption, but it is reported to be a rapidly shrinking market even in absolute numbers. The services, which the town provides for its agricultural hinterland, have not expanded at any scale comparable to the loss it experienced in the regional markets.

Migration and migrants

Before proceeding to deal with the issues concerning the housing of the Iskilip migrants in Ankara, it will be informative to examine the data about their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. This examination will make it possible to compare these migrants, first with their peers in Iskilip in order to test whether they constitute a selective group, and secondly with the population characteristics of the city of destination, namely Ankara, to see if they form a "marginal" or "informal" section¹ in the city, as argued by some (MERRICK, 1976; SETHURAMAN, 1977; MAZUMDAR, 1979; PERLMAN, 1973; GEERTZ, 1963).

How representative of the sending community are the Iskilip migrants?

It is argued in the literature that migrants do not constitute "a random sample of the population group from which they originate" (IDRC, 1977). Migrants, in general, are young adult males, having higher educational attainment, coming from wealthier families, and are the most knowledgeable ones about the opportunities outside the sending community.

● **Age structure:** "With respect to age, selectivity can be considered a universal law of migration" (BOUKHEMIS and ZEGHICHE, 1988). Young adults are more migratory than their counterparts. Studies confirm that the overwhelming majority of them are in the 15 to 30 age-group (WEN LANG, 1972; FLINN and CARTANO, 1970; BYERLEE, 1972; IDRC, 1977; BOUKHEMIS and ZEGHICHE, 1988).

In the case of Iskilip, 71 percent of the migrants were in the 15 to 29 age bracket when they migrated to Ankara. This is in conformity with the findings of other field studies. The very young and the old constituted a small minority of the migrants. These findings show great divergence from the age structure in Iskilip. For instance, in 1970 and 1980 those in the 15 to 29 age-group constituted only 23 and 26 percent of the residents, respectively.

● **Education:** Contrary to the conventional view, recent studies have revealed that migrants are not the "dregs of society" or the "vast pool of illiterate labor" (IDRC, 1977). A positive relationship between migration and education is observed in most of the field studies conducted on migration (BYERLEE, 1972; CALDWELL, 1968; GREENWOOD, 1979; HERRICK, 1965). In other words, the tendency to migrate increases with the level of education. In our study we found that 90 percent of the respondents had formal education, which is far over the national average. Furthermore, 40 percent of them had at least secondary school education — e.g. more than six years of schooling. Educational levels of the Iskilip migrants are significantly higher than the townsmen/villagers in each age group.

● **Earnings:** It is generally argued that the greater portion of the migrants come from wealthier families. In the study, the greatest percentage of the migrants (43 percent) stated that their — or their families' — level of income could be categorized as "average" when compared to the income level of the population in their hometown/village as a whole. Only 17 percent of them considered themselves as being in the "lowest" and the "highest" income categories. Thus, it may be stated that the propensity to move is highest among those people who had more years of schooling and who belong to the middle or lower-middle income levels.

It may be concluded that the Iskilip migrants fit into the general pattern of personal characteristics found in other studies. In other words, migration from Iskilip to Ankara is a self-selective process by age and education.

How do Iskilip migrants compare to the population of the receiving city?

Let us attempt to test how "marginal" — as the term is defined by various authors — are the migrants from Iskilip in relation to Ankara's urban population. In other words, let us examine whether they comprise a qualitatively different, unintegrated marginal section of the urbanites in Ankara. We have taken a cross section of all Iskilipians who had migrated to Ankara at the time of interview. It should be kept in mind that more than half of those interviewed were recent migrants, e.g. those who had migrated to Ankara less than 10 years before. Our findings demonstrated clearly that rather than constituting a marginal population in the city of Ankara, the migrants from Iskilip are an integral part of the city's population.

Several characteristics have been attributed to the "marginal masses" or "informal sector" participants in various studies, although no consensus has been reached after two decades of debate as to what these terms imply, what they contain, and what their boundaries are, mainly due to the absence of a coherent theoretical framework (ERSOY, 1982).

Here marginality is tested in terms of several frequently cited characteristics such as educational and occupational status, family composition and the level of earnings.

● **The level of education:** The migrants' level of education is much higher than their peers' in Iskilip. The situation is similar when compared with the population of Ankara: while only 8 percent of the respondents stated in 1980 that they did not receive formal education, the ratio of those with no formal education in Ankara was twice as much in the same year.

Similarly, the ratio of Iskilip migrants who are university graduates is almost twice the ratio found for the whole population of metropolitan Ankara. Here, we may safely conclude that, educationwise, the Iskilip migrants do not belong to a marginal group. Their educational levels are higher than the average for the metropolitan population of Ankara. In other words, the Iskilip migrants do not conform to the marginalist assumption regarding low level of education among migrants, who by definition are considered marginal.

● **Occupational structure:** Our findings run counter to the marginal masses hypothesis, which states that the migrants occupy the low echelons of the occupational structure. It is apparent that the occupational structure in a rapidly growing city such as Ankara — about 7 percent per annum over the last 35 years — is highly sophisticated. Most of its labor force is in modern occupations which require skills, and provide security of employment and status. Hence, in 1970, while only half of those employed in Ankara were listed as scientists, technicians, academicians, administrative personnel, skilled laborers, etc., the same category rose to three quarters in 1980. Ankara is, indeed, quite different from settlements that have been described as "ruralized cities," "overgrown villages," and places where people survive by "taking-in each other's wash."

The occupational structure of the migrants studied paralleled fairly closely that of Ankara as a whole, with only two exceptions. The Iskilip migrants are:

- over-represented in the "production and related workers" group — 46 percent for Iskilipians versus 34 percent for Ankara; and,
- under-represented in the group containing high level civil servants, scientists, technicians, and directors — 9 percent for Iskilipians versus 20 percent for Ankara.

The occupational distribution of Iskilipians closely corresponds to that of Ankara as a whole in the following groups:

- middle level civil servants, and other white-collar workers;
- merchants and owners of important shops;
- factory workers, and other skilled blue-collar workers;
- unskilled white-collar workers; and,
- unskilled service workers.

In terms of occupational mobility among the migrants which is also considered in the survey, the most significant change in the occupational history of migrants occurs immediately after migration. The upward occupational mobility continues throughout the migrants' career in Ankara. The distribution of the first and the last occupation of the Iskilip migrants shows that, on average, only one out of three people who started their career in Ankara in the last two occupational groups — namely, employees in unqualified marginal jobs and artisans — remained in these groups at the time of the interviews. Upward mobility includes recent migrants who have not as yet gone through the necessary adjustments. When those who arrived during the last ten years are excluded, the proportion that has remained in the last two groups increases to one out of four. A similar conclusion is reached when we compare the employment structure of the heads of families and their children. Those employed in the last two occupation categories are twice as high for the first generation as compared to their children.

● **Earnings:** An important assumption regarding the income differentials between the informal and formal sectors is the former's unstable character in terms of working hours. Lack of long-term contracts or steady employment prohibits reliable information on the income level of the informal sector. Furthermore, the prevalence of self-employment in this sector causes additional problems in calculating average earnings. Under these conditions, it makes sense that "the differential in average earnings between the formal and informal sectors will be larger than differentials in wage rates" (MAZUMDAR, 1976). The logical consequence of the models which attribute to the informal sector a buffer role in absorbing those who failed to find jobs in the formal sector is the lower level of earnings in the informal sector (LANGDOM, 1974; SOUZA, 1976; MAZUMDAR, 1976; GERRY, 1974; BIENEFELD, 1975).²

In the case of the migrants from Iskilip we asked the respondents their monthly incomes. At the time of interview, the officially set minimum wage was 3,250 Turkish Lira net per month. Although a significant portion of the migrants earned 3,001-6,000 Turkish Lira/month, the portion of those whose income was the same or less than the legally set minimum wage was very low; only 3.6 percent of the respondents earned 3,250 Turkish Lira or less monthly. The ratio of the same category was higher (5.7 percent) for the total urban population of Ankara.

The ratio of those who earned three times or more than the minimum wage level was 26 percent and 23 percent for Iskilip migrants and the Ankara population, respectively. Furthermore, it was also ascertained that there was a very clear and strong correlation between the length of stay in the city and the level of income earned by the migrants from Iskilip.

● **Family composition:** Migrants from Iskilip have a stable family life by any standard. More than 90 percent of them are married; 80 percent of them have family sizes below five; 80 percent of the families are of the nuclear type; divorce is not common. All these findings are not significantly different from the statistics we have for Ankara.

The only significant difference between the two cases is the relatively high percentage of bachelors or single-person households in the Iskilip case. This is, however, rather usual for the migrant population since it is a common practice for newcomers to come to the city as bachelors or alone, by leaving their families in their home towns. In our sample when they first came to the city, 49 percent of the migrants were bachelors, and 33 percent came alone and brought their families later. In other words, the relatively high percentage of single-person households does not differ significantly from urban norms. Single-person households is a transitional phenomenon, and in this regard the Iskilipians do not constitute a population different from the urban population of Ankara in terms of household size and formation.

To sum up, we can conclude that all of the above findings demonstrate indisputably that contrary to the popular hypothesis about marginality, migrants form a rather stable population in terms of their level of earnings and socio-demographic characteristics.

Housing

One of the primary preconditions of having a decent life in the city is closely related to the quality of housing and the expenditures made to maintain it. The quality of the house in which the migrant resides and the general characteristics of the neighborhood within which the dwelling units are located, are two important indicators of the migrant's standard of living. Changes in these two factors are also highly indicative of the patterns of mobility and integration.

According to 1985 statistics, 77 percent of the households

in the country owned a house. This clearly shows the importance attributed by the people to homeownership. Similarly, the first and foremost desire of migrants is to own a house, whatever its quality may be. Therefore, a great percentage of savings is spent on housing.

The great importance attributed to homeownership is understandable in a country where the social welfare system is neither well-established nor comprehensive. In such a social environment owning a house would lower the cost of reproduction of labor significantly. Furthermore in squatter areas, an annexation can be made to the housing unit which can then be rented to contribute to the family budget.

Location of "first housing" in Ankara: The points of entry

More than half of Iskilip migrants were married at the time of migration. The others arrived as bachelors or as children with their parents. Of the married migrants, 35 percent arrived alone in Ankara and for a few months stayed as guests in a relative's or friend's house. It was only after renting or constructing a house that they brought their families there. The place where the migrants first lived has shown a drastic change in the last 50 years. For instance, while before 1950 40 percent of the migrants stayed as guests in a relative's house up to a year, this ratio dropped to 9.5 percent for those who arrived between 1970 and 1980. This is due to both the weakening social links between migrants and their townsmen in time, and the improved transportation facilities between Ankara and Iskilip.

Table 1 and figures 1, 2 and 3 give the migrant's points of entry into Ankara: that is, the neighborhoods where the "first houses" of the Iskilip migrants have been located over three decades. Neighborhoods in the city are divided into seven groups for 1980. The first group comprises the old central-city slums, and the next two the squatter areas — in Turkish, *gecekondus* — established in the 1950s, and also in the 1960s and the 1970s respectively. The rest are the quarters of the city where middle, middle-high and the high income groups live. The last groups include suburban settlements.

The residential clusters in the old central-city slums account for the greatest percentage where the first houses of the Iskilip migrants were located. This is so for all periods except 1971-1979. However, the share of the same

Table 1
Points of entry of Iskilip migrants to Ankara

Location of the house	Period of migration			
	Prior to 1951 (%)	1951-1960 (%)	1961-1970 (%)	1971-1979 (%)
Old, central-city slums	88.6	54.9	43.2	31.8
Gecekondus belt developed in 1950s (now transitional)	3.8	27.5	17.3	15.3
Gecekondus belt developed in 1960s	0	1.9	6.2	5.1
Gecekondus belt developed in 1970s	0	0	0	5.1
Middle income formal housing areas	3.8	13.8	28.4	36.5
High-middle income formal housing areas	3.8	1.9	3.7	5.1
High income formal housing areas	0	0	1.2	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: Field Survey).

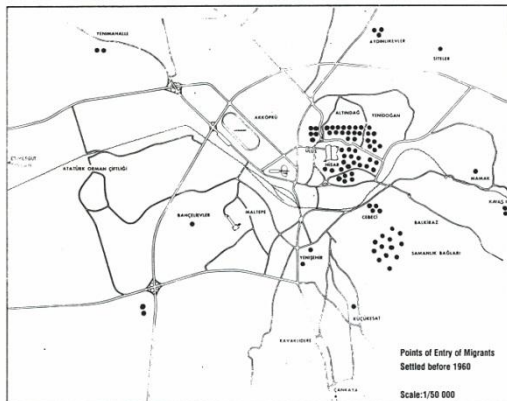


Fig. 1: Ankara — Points of entry of migrants settled before 1960. (Source: Field Survey).



Fig. 2: Ankara — Points of entry of migrants settled between 1960 and 1969. (Source: Field Survey).



Fig. 3: Ankara — Points of entry of migrants settled between 1970 and 1980. (Source: Field Survey).

residential clusters in the total housing of the migrants steadily decreased during the 50-year period from 88 percent to 31 percent. Before 1951, while almost 90 percent of the migrants located themselves in the old central-city slums, in the next decade this ratio decreased to 53 percent. In the 1950s the second major concentration areas, where one third of the immigrants were housed, were the newly developed squatter areas — geographically adjacent to the old central-city slums (figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7).

Besides the old central-city slums, migrants who arrived in the city in the period between 1961 and 1970 settled in those squatter neighborhoods developed during the 1950s and in middle income neighborhoods in the planned sections of the city. The squatter and middle income neighborhoods housed one fifth each of the immigrants who arrived in the city in that period. Furthermore, in that period those *gecekondu* neighborhoods developed in the 1950s adjacent to the central-city slums were transformed into transitional areas between the new *gecekondu* belt and the planned sections of the city.

Almost 60 percent of the Iskilip migrants that were included in the interviews migrated to Ankara between 1971 and 1979. Again, the old central-city slums provided the first housing for those immigrants. However, their share was rather low: only 31 percent of migrants settled in those neighborhoods. In this period an even higher percentage of the migrants, 36 percent, had their first house in middle income housing areas. In other words, regarding the location of the first housing of the Iskilip migrants, there is an obvious shift, with time, from low income *gecekondu* neighborhoods to middle income regular housing areas of Ankara. Obviously, the points of entry have changed significantly in the last 50 years.

Through time, the location of the first house became more diverse, and included ever more extensive sections of the city. Depending upon their socio-economic status, the migrants no longer concentrated in specific neighborhoods, but penetrated into the city from various entry points, and settled in different neighborhoods. This is a very crucial finding in terms of the integration process of the migrants. In the original study conducted by Kapil and Gençaga (1972), it was asserted that Iskilip migrants entered the city only through a very restricted number of neighborhoods. This in turn resulted in the stubborn persistence of the cultural and ideological values of the migrants, and played an important role in their non-integration into the city.

Based on our findings regarding the points of entry of the migrants from Iskilip into Ankara, the following conclusions were reached:

- There are particular residential clusters (old central-city slums) which act as points of entry for the Iskilip migrants into the city. Their share, however, in the total of first housing decreases over time.
- First housing in the middle income regular housing areas shows a steady increase in the last 30 years. One third of those who migrated to Ankara between 1971 and 1979 had their first housing in such areas. Hence, they were not environmentally isolated from the middle income citizens of the city.
- Out of 100 neighborhoods in the city, only one third of them were selected as points of entry by the Iskilip migrants. All those particular neighborhoods that were first settled had more than one Iskilipian family which had migrated to the city previously. Tentatively, we may argue that this is due to the existence of communication between those in the community of origin and those who had migrated to Ankara before. Hence, for more than half of the migrants the first housing in the city was found with the help of other Iskilipians who had already settled in the city.



Fig. 4: Ankara — View of squatter neighborhoods, Hisar (Citadel). (Source: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture).



Fig. 5: Ankara — View of squatter housing, Hisar (Citadel). (Source: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture).

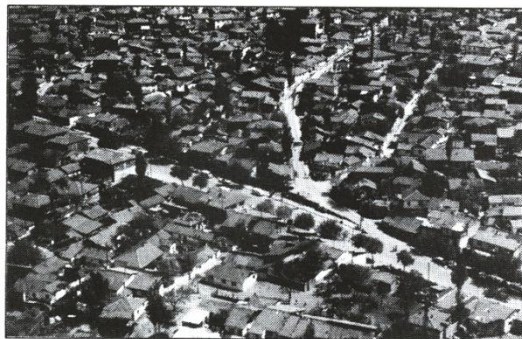


Fig. 6: Ankara — View of an old central squatter neighborhood (Yenidogan). (Photograph by Baykan Günay).



Fig. 7: Ankara — View of typical middle income regular housing area. (Source: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture).

Quality of the first houses lived in

In terms of municipal services, such as electricity and water, the quality of the first houses in Ankara where migrants from Iskilip lived shows significant changes over the last 40 years.

From the 1940s onwards, the majority of the houses inhabited by the migrants had electricity (table 2). However, there has been no significant change in that respect in the last 30 years, and there still exist houses without electricity. The situation is much worse in the case of running water

Table 2
Quality of the first houses of Iskilip migrants in Ankara

Period of migration	Houses with water		Houses with electricity		Houses with water and electricity	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Before 1951	6	20	21	70	6	20
1951-1960	28	49	47	82	27	47
1961-1970	41	58	63	89	38	54
1971-1979	114	65	152	87	109	63

(Source: Field Survey).

inside the houses. While before the 1950s only one fifth of the first houses inhabited by the migrants had running water, in the last 40-year period it rose merely to 65 percent. Such is the case for the houses with both water and electricity. In other words, though the quality of the housing stock has improved significantly in the last half century in Ankara, only 63 percent of those who migrated to the city after 1970 had the chance of living in houses with both water and electricity when they first arrived. However, this improvement is still quite modest. After half a century of migration, even now a significant number of migrants have to live in houses without water and electricity on their arrival in the city.

Residential mobility of migrants in Ankara

On average, migrants change homes more than three times within a span of 30 years; 82 percent of them have rented a house more than once; and 35 percent have moved from one rented home to another four to ten times. The reasons for change invariably relate to the houses being sub-standard. The conditions of subsequent residences, however, are not

markedly different.

According to findings from the survey, except for the newcomers, more than 80 percent of the migrants changed more than one neighborhood, and more than one fourth of them changed two neighborhoods. Though small in percentage, some resided in more than five or six different neighborhoods. While the average duration of stay in the first neighborhood was about 12 years for those who migrated to Ankara before 1951, it was only about two years for the newcomers. A few factors can be cited as the main reasons for this observation:

- first, increased housing stock meant the availability of houses with similar quality in different quarters of the city;
- second, the importance of the social contacts and the paths of communication with the townsmen already living in Ankara have decreased considerably; and last,
- the location of workplaces has become much more dispersed throughout the city.

In general, however, migrants are not very mobile in space. In fact, once they own a house they become settled and do not change their place of residence for the rest of their life. Only one sixth of homeowners moved to another house; of these, 75 percent also owned the house they moved into.

For the investigation of the changes in the quality of the first three subsequent neighborhoods into which the migrants moved (table 3), we simply divided the neighborhoods into two groups schematically as old central-city slums and *gecekondus* versus middle and high income regular housing areas, to compare their share in the first and the third neighborhoods lived in by the Iskilipians.

Except for those who arrived in the city between 1966 and 1970, a very significant number of the migrants were able to move from the first group of neighborhoods to the latter. In general, a significant number of the migrants had their first housing in the old central-city slums and in the *gecekondus*

Table 3
Sequence of neighborhoods of Ankara settled by Iskilip migrants (in percent)

Period of migration	Prior to 1950			1951-1955			1956-1960			1961-1965			1966-1970			1971-1979		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Old central-city slums	88	44	25	65	27	12	43	24	27	44	2	14	42	21	30	31	24	16
<i>Gecekondus</i> belt developed in 1950s	4	32	13	22	36	25	30	32	18	22	8	22	15	19	23	15	15	22
<i>Gecekondus</i> belt developed in 1960s	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Gecekondus</i> belt developed in 1970s	0	0	0	0	9	0	3	8	0	4	24	14	7	26	23	5	8	12
Middle income regular housing areas	4	20	56	9	4	50	17	28	37	22	40	43	31	26	8	36	41	38
High-middle income regular housing areas	4	0	6	4	9	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	8	5	4	0
High income regular housing areas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	2	0	1	2	12
Suburbs	0	4	0	0	14	0	7	8	18	4	4	0	0	2	8	7	6	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average length of stay (in years)	12	13	8	7	7	9	9	8	5	6	7	5	6	5	2	2	2	2
Percent of those who moved from 1st to 2nd and 3rd neighborhoods	100	96	61	00	96	35	100	83	37	-	93	52	-	78	24	-	51	18

(Source: Field Survey).

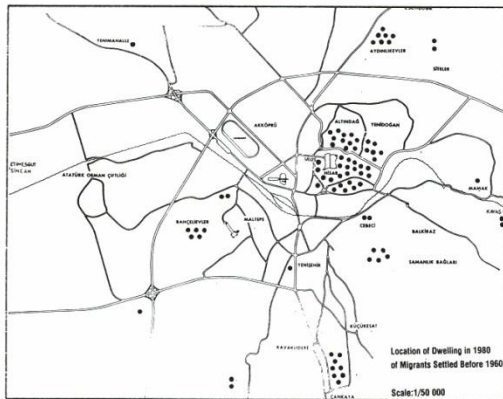


Fig. 8: Location in 1980 of the dwellings of migrants settled in Ankara before 1960. (Source: Field Survey).

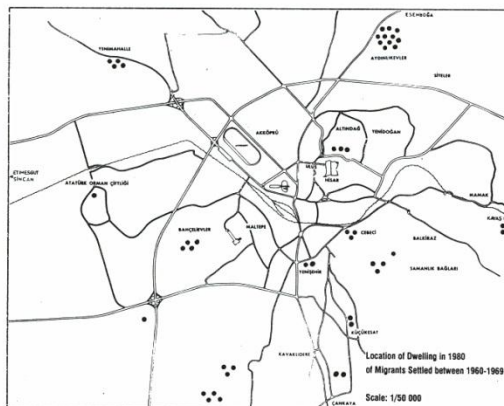


Fig. 9: Location in 1980 of the dwellings of migrants settled in Ankara between 1960 and 1969. (Source: Field Survey).

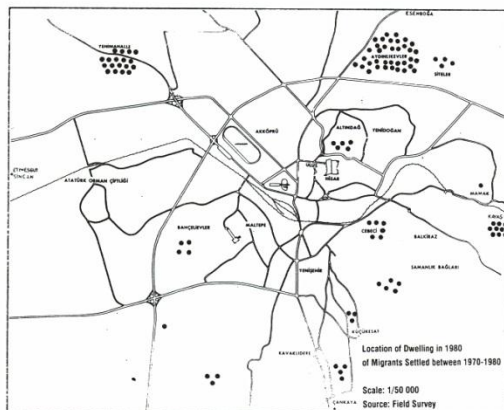


Fig. 10: Location in 1980 of the dwellings of migrants settled in Ankara between 1970 and 1980. (Source: Field Survey).

districts. However, half of them were able to move into middle and high income districts as their third neighborhoods. While it took 25 years for those migrants who arrived in the city before 1951 to move to such neighborhoods, newcomers were able to do so in a much shorter time. This indicates the existence of a clear improvement for immigrants regarding neighborhood quality (figs. 8, 9 and 10).

In other words, the longer the migrants stay in Ankara, the more probable it is for them to rent or own a house in one of the better quality districts of the city.

Kartal also comes to a similar conclusion in his study on migration from Central Anatolian villages/towns to Ankara. He concludes that as the length of stay in the city increases, those who move from lower to middle income residential areas also increases (KARTAL, 1978). Results of one survey showed that residential mobility is highest in the early years of migration. After settling in the city and finding a temporary job, migrants begin to look for a better quality house to move into. Having an improved knowledge of the city and the social network within it, they have a better chance of achieving their aim. After changing a few houses they either own or rent a house in a residential district which satisfies their needs both in terms of physical quality and social environment. In both cases, they become geographically settled.

Change in the quality of houses: electricity and running water

Parallel to the quality of the first neighborhoods settled by the migrants, the quality of the houses in which they resided also improved with time. To investigate the improvement of the quality of the first and the last houses inhabited by the migrants, we chose two basic municipal services, electricity and running water, as indicators of change (table 4).

Table 4
Changes in the quality of the Iskilip migrants' houses in Ankara: Electricity and running water

Period of migration	% of houses with running water		% of houses with electricity		% of houses with water and electricity	
	First house	Last house	First house	Last house	First house	Last house
Before 1951	20	93	70	100	20	93
1951-1960	49	89	82	96	47	69
1961-1970	58	79	89	94	54	68
1971-1979	65	78	87	89	63	75

(Source: Field Survey).

There is a clear improvement concerning the availability of running water and electricity between the first and the last houses resided in by all groups of migrants regardless of the period of migration. Furthermore, the quality of the house increases in positive correlation with the length of stay in Ankara. Hence, while almost all of the Iskilipians who migrated to Ankara before 1951 now live in houses with water and electricity, three quarters of the newcomers also live in such houses. In sum, there is a direct association between the quality of the houses lived in and the length of time spent in the city by the migrants.

Relationship between income and rent

According to Meier, in contemporary societies between 20 and 35 percent of family income is spent on rent (cited in KELEŞ, 1984). In the original Iskilip study it is calculated (KAPIL and GENÇAGA, 1972) that, depending on the income group, 14 to 24 percent of family income was spent on rent. The researchers pointed out that a negative correlation was observed between the level of income and the percentage of income paid for rent. Similarly, Kartal (1978) demonstrated that, as the length of stay in the city increased, the percentage of income paid for rent decreased. The unpublished findings of the Turkish Foundation for Development Studies (TGAV) survey of 1,000 households in Ankara showed that more than two thirds of the families pay less than 20 percent of their total income on rent. A similar conclusion is also reached in our study of the Iskilip migrants: 70 percent of them spend less than 20 percent of their income on rental payments. In fact, almost 75 percent of the migrants pay less than they can easily afford. Data also indicate that income gradations are not reflected on rent or rental price of the house. An increase in the incomes is not automatically followed by an increase in the rents. For instance, while 69 percent of migrants earning 5,000 Turkish Lira or less monthly pay 20 percent or less of their income for rent, this ratio rises to 82 percent in the case of the Iskilipians who earn between 5,000 and 10,000 Turkish Lira per month. The difference, however, is not very impressive. In short, we can safely conclude that more than half of the Iskilipians at each income bracket pay moderate rents when compared with their income.

Homeownership

According to national statistics, in cities the ratio of homeownership has been decreasing steadily since 1955. The ratio of those who cannot afford to own a house rose from one third of the urban population to more than half in a 25-year period. This ratio is even higher in metropolitan cities (KELEŞ, 1984). Former studies conducted on migrants in Ankara demonstrated that the ratio of homeownership among the migrants varies between 40 and 60 percent (YASA, 1966; KARTAL, 1978).

Our findings confirm these results. On average, 40 percent of the Iskilipians are homeowners (table 5). However, a breakdown between the old and the newcomers shows significant divergences. For the Iskilipians who migrated in the 1951 to 1955 period, this percentage is as high as 83 percent; and it is almost over 60 percent for those who had arrived in Ankara by 1971. On the other hand, only 20 percent of the newcomers had been able to afford to own a private house. This is supported by Kartal's findings, according to which the ratio of homeownership increases significantly with the length of stay in Ankara (KARTAL, 1978).

In general, until 1960 migrants had to wait, on average, 10 years to own a house. However, this period decreased significantly down to three years for the more recent comers. On average, those who migrated between 1961 and 1979 became homeowners five years after their arrival in Ankara. This length of time was 10 years for the Iskilipians who arrived before 1961. In other words, there has been a significant improvement for an Iskilipian in terms of waiting time to own a house. This, however, should not pave the way to conclude a rosy future for the migrants regarding homeownership. Because, while until 1970 more than half of the Iskilipians were able to own a house, this percentage has dropped drastically to 19 percent in the last decade. To put it in different words, while for a small group of migrants it has become easier to own a house, for the rest just the opposite holds true.

There may be three possible explanations for this observation:

- The socio-economic background of the newcomers might be different from those of the old comers. This explanation, however, is not supported by the data at hand. At the time they migrated, 90 percent of all the Iskilip migrants were earning almost the same or less than what the Iskilipians at home earned on average. Furthermore, the breakdown of income by the length of time in Ankara does not demonstrate a significant change. At each period, more than 60 percent of the migrants belonged to the "average" and "less than average" income category. Almost half of the newcomers stated that at the time of migration earnings at home were the same as those of the average townsmen. In other words, the data at hand do not support the hypothesis that the low ratio of homeownership among the newcomers is a direct consequence of their low economic background in comparison to the Iskilipians who had previously migrated.

- They are newcomers; hence not enough time has yet passed for them to own a house. This explanation is not convincing. Let us compare the situation for the two groups of migrants, e.g. those who migrated between 1961 and 1970 and those between 1971 and 1979. For the former, the average length of time to own a house was around six years, and more than 60 percent of the migrants who came to Ankara at that period could afford to own a house. In the latter group more than 60 percent of the Iskilipians migrated to Ankara during the period between 1971 and 1975. In other words, on average they have already spent six years in the city. If there had been no difference between the two periods (e.g. 1961-1970 and 1971-1979) in terms of probability to own a house, 60 percent of the 1971-1975 migrants would also be homeowners. This is equal to 38 percent of the 1971-1979 group, and it is just twice the ratio we have at hand. In short, the probability among newcomers to own a house was just half that of those who had migrated a decade earlier. The situation will not be different if we make similar comparisons with those who migrated earlier.

- The general economic milieu plays a certain role on the probability of owning a house due both to the increasing purchasing power of the migrants and the suitable conditions of the housing market. In fact, the percentage of homeownership is highest among those Iskilipians who migrated in periods of economic boom. Furthermore, the percentage of Iskilipians who own more than one house is also highest in those periods.

In brief, a significant number of those who migrated to Ankara prior to 1970 owned a house. In this group of Iskilipians, the ratio of homeownership is much higher than the average for the city. The ratio of homeownership for Iskilipians who migrated to Ankara after 1970, however, is rather low. This discrepancy can partly be due to the short span of time spent in the city. This, by itself, however, is far from explaining the observed gap with the early migrants. The overall economic conjecture must be taken into consideration. It is strongly probable that the recession of the 1970s, both in the overall economy of the country and in urban areas, adversely affects the level of homeownership among the migrants.

Other findings concerning housing

The way in which the migrants own a house has not shown any positive change in the last fifty years (table 5). Still, almost half of the Iskilipians built their own houses themselves. Together with those who paid cash to buy a house, this percentage increases to 80 percent. In other words, the number of those who owned a house through bank credits and cooperatives is extremely low.

Concerning the location of houses bought (table 5), a

Table 5
Homeownership among Iskilipian migrants in Ankara (in %)

Period of migration	Prior to 1951	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1979
Homeownership conditions						
OWN A HOUSE	65	83	67	74	58	19
DO NOT OWN A HOUSE	35	17	33	26	47	81
OWN MORE THAN ONE HOUSE	18	37	5	15	2	3
HOW THEY OWN THE HOUSE						
Through self-help	35	62	62	53	67	45
Paid in cash /in market	50	19	24	26	18	25
Paid on credit/in market	0	11	5	4	3	3
By bank credit	5	4	0	0	3	0
Through housing coop	5	0	0	4	3	8
Others	5	4	9	13	6	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
LOCATION OF THE HOUSE OWNED						
Old, central-city slums	30	11	5	9	12	6
Gecekondü belt developed in 1950s	30	43	38	13	18	8
Gecekondü belt developed in 1960s and 1970s	0	0	14	30	34	22
Middle income regular housing areas	25	27	28	48	27	39
High-middle income regular housing areas	10	11	5	0	3	6
High income regular housing areas	5	0	0	0	0	8
Suburbs	0	8	5	0	6	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
AVERAGE SPAN OF TIME IN THE CITY PRIOR TO OWNING A HOUSE (IN YEARS)	11	10	9	7.5	5.5	3

(Source: Field Survey).

rather plain picture can be observed: while prior to 1951 60 percent of houses bought were located in the old central-city slums and the nearby *gecekondü* belt, from the 1960s on a radical change is witnessed.

The percentage of houses built or bought in the *gecekondü* belt developed in the 1950s decreased while those located in the *gecekondü* belt developed in the 1970s increased significantly. This may be due to the higher prices in the former areas which transformed into a transitional stage. Hence, newcomers could not afford to buy a house in that section of the city. However, there are some positive indications as well. For instance, a significant portion of the houses bought by the migrants who came to Ankara by 1960 are located in middle and high-middle income regular housing areas. For this group of migrants, therefore, not only has the waiting time to own a house decreased but also the location of the houses has changed towards more prestigious districts of the city. In short, there is an obvious improvement for those migrants in these terms. In general, however, as seen in table 1, in each time period except 1971-1979 more than half of the Iskilip migrants could not afford to buy a house out of the slum and *gecekondü* areas.

We have also compared the location of the houses built or bought with the location of those houses rented by the rest of the Iskilipians. While until the 1966-1970 period the percentage of the houses bought in the middle and high income districts was higher than those houses rented by the Iskilipians in the same districts, from 1970 on these ratios become almost the same. In other words, it becomes more difficult for migrants to afford buying a house in the regular housing areas of the city. Even for those who were able to acquire a second house in the city, only one third were able to buy it in a better neighborhood.

In brief, houses bought or rented by Iskilip migrants in

Ankara are dispersed throughout the urban area rather than concentrated in certain districts.

Distance between home and workplace

The distance between home and workplace of the migrants, and its change over time, has also been examined in this study with respect to length of stay in Ankara. Unfortunately, we had no specific question on the interview forms to compare the time the migrants used to spend in traveling to their first workplaces and the time they spend traveling to their current workplaces. Hence, we divided the neighborhoods of the city into 14 districts taking mainly their physical proximity into consideration. Physical distance between home and workplace was then calculated for both the first residence and workplace and those at the time of interview. The findings (table 6) reveal that:

- First, the distance between the first home and the workplace increases as the length of time in Ankara decreases. More precisely, recent migrants have to travel longer distances between their first home and the workplace when compared to earlier migrants.

- Secondly, regardless of the period of migration, as the length of time spent in the city increases, the distance traveled for work also increases.

Both findings are typical indicators of distribution of the workplace and residences in a metropolis. In other words, in metropolitan areas workplaces are generally located both in the CBDs and at distances somewhat further away from the residential areas. Furthermore, choice of workplace increases and presents a wide range of opportunities for the citizens. Hence, data refute the view that migrants are marginals who work at the workplaces located in the *gecekondü* areas, not far from their residences. In fact, the percentages of the first and current workplaces located within walking distance show a great divergence. As the length of stay in the city increases, a smaller and smaller percentage of migrants have their workplace within walking distance.

Table 6
Distance between home and workplace of Iskilip migrants in Ankara (in meters)

Period of migration	Distance between first house and workplace	Percentage of the first workplace in walking distance	Distance between home and workplace at the time of interview	Percentage of the workplaces located within walking distance at the time of interview
Before 1950	2,277	47	4,000	16
1950-1959	2,732	36	3,760	16
1960-1969	3,032	40	4,685	24
1970-1974	3,522	32	4,432	28
1975-1979	3,968	27	4,805	10

(Source: Field Survey).

This finding is also confirmed with the geographical distribution of the first and the current workplaces of the Iskilip migrants. Almost half of the workplaces are located in the two CBDs of the city. A close examination of the maps reveal two general tendencies:

- Firstly, for each group of migrants, the percentage of those

whose first workplace was located in the old city center (Ulus) and around (including nearby old central-city slums) falls drastically as the length of stay in the city increases. For instance, while half of the Iskilipians who arrived in the city before 1960 had their first workplace in Ulus and the nearby areas, this percentage dropped to 25 percent at the time of interview. On the other hand, workplaces located in Kizilay and around doubled in the same period. Although not as significant, a similar trend operates for the recent migrants as well.

● Secondly, although the two CBDs and the nearby areas house almost half of the workplaces, the latter tend to scatter over a larger area parallel with the enlargement of the metropolis. On the other hand, the share of the workplaces located in the *gecekondu* districts, which never constituted a significant portion of the total, becomes rather insignificant as the length of stay in the city increases.

The findings concerning the geographical distribution of the workplaces disprove the sharp cleavage of the city of Ankara into two separate and largely independent segments as claimed by the modernization theory, which holds that migrants from a marginal population reside and work in the squatter areas of the urban centers. Migrants' workplaces are scattered throughout the city with expected concentrations in the old and the new CBDs of Ankara. Furthermore, as time passes, they tend to scatter over even wider distances. Hence, they are integrated with the city rather than being concentrated spatially in the *gecekondu* areas.

Conclusion

The chief objective of this paper has been to investigate a neglected area of research in migration studies: how do migrants integrate into the urban residential environment. The findings of our field survey showed that this is a rather dynamic process. Although for more than 40 years particular low income neighborhood clusters acted as points of entry, their share decreased significantly over time. Residential quarters chosen as points of entry became more diverse and included ever more extensive sections of the city through time. Modes of articulation of migrants in urban space exhibit a more diverse structure as the social stratification among migrants becomes more pronounced with time. Survey results show that the length of stay in the city and the probability of moving to a better quality house in a higher income residential area is positively correlated.

In summary, limited though the findings of our field survey are, contrary to the stagnationist thesis which asserts that migrants make a section of the marginal masses, settle in the lowest income neighborhoods of Third World cities, and see no prospects for the future, we may argue that migrants do adapt to the socio-economic and spatial environment of the urban areas more quickly than expected.

Notes

1. Originally, the term "marginal" was used to define in spatial terms the shanty towns or squatter areas of Latin American cities. Later, it was deployed to identify the social, cultural, and political characteristics of the people living in these areas. For a detailed discussion, see Ersoy, 1982.
2. Not all the studies share the same viewpoint. Papanek (1975), Koo (1981), Sinclair (1977), Ersoy (1982), show that there is no necessary correlation between income levels of formal and informal sector employees.
3. The great majority of residential units in Ankara are squatter houses, generally built on state-owned land, and built over night. As a result, despite heavy capital investment, the quality of the structures is poor. They lack the basic urban amenities, and constitute very high residential densities. There is no overall order providing access to the houses, and no provision of community

facilities. Practically all such housing is of uniform, low standard. Such housing also tends to occupy certain locations in the city. As a result of the uniform, substandard quality over large tracts of housing, improving the housing conditions required the migrants to move out of these areas and to relocate in other residential districts.

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