



# Kent Academic Repository

**Baharoglu, Deniz (1993) *Forced moves and chosen moves: residential mobility in Ankara, Turkey*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/86238/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.86238>

## This document version

UNSPECIFIED

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

## Additional information

This thesis has been digitised by EThOS, the British Library digitisation service, for purposes of preservation and dissemination. It was uploaded to KAR on 09 February 2021 in order to hold its content and record within University of Kent systems. It is available Open Access using a Creative Commons Attribution, Non-commercial, No Derivatives (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>) licence so that the thesis and its author, can benefit from opportunities for increased readership and citation. This was done in line with University of Kent policies (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/is/strategy/docs/Kent%20Open%20Access%20policy.pdf>). If y...

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

**Forced Moves and Chosen Moves:  
Residential Mobility in Ankara, Turkey**

by

Deniz Baharoglu

PhD in Urban Studies  
University of Kent, 1993

## ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an analysis of residential mobility in Ankara, Turkey. The principal question posed is whether the household adjustment model, in which residential mobility is defined as a mechanism enabling households to meet their housing needs, is applicable.

The thesis examines the previous literature on residential mobility, describes the economic and social context of housing decisions in Ankara, and then presents a detailed analysis of a survey of a representative sample of Ankara households. The critical review of previous writing on residential mobility leads us to set out a conceptual framework which includes household decision making and the context in which such decisions are made. It is shown that in Ankara this context includes economic liberalisation policy, declining average real wages and housing costs rising faster than inflation. The scene is set for an examination of the relative value of the household adjustment model and a 'forced mobility' model in which households are strongly constrained by land and housing market actors.

The analyses of the survey distinguishes four types of area (high, medium and low income authorised, and unauthorised) and two types of tenure category (owners and tenants). Unlike most of the few previous residential mobility studies in third world cities our sample covers the whole population rather than migrants only. Path models and logit models are developed of past residential mobility, planned residential mobility and housing satisfaction. It is shown that owner-occupiers are highly immobile compared with tenants.

These analyses reveal that the household adjustment model has only limited value in explaining residential mobility. It is relevant in the high income areas and to some extent in the middle income areas but has only limited relevance in the low income area types. The models of satisfaction are used to show that residential mobility in low income areas does not lead to greater housing satisfaction, or to better housing as measured by an objective index. Further support for the applicability of the forced mobility model was provided by qualitative follow-up interviews with tenants who had moved. These revealed the importance of landlords pressures on their housing decisions. An exception to the above statements

concerns owner-occupiers in unauthorised areas who are relatively happy with their situation, possibly due to the speculative potential of land in many such areas.

It is therefore concluded that the household adjustment model cannot be applied as a general model of residential mobility in Ankara. Rather, the further one moves from the high-income type of area to the low-income and unauthorised type of area, the greater the relevance of the forced mobility model. It is thus argued that the main difference between third world cities and advanced capitalist cities affecting the character of residential mobility lies in the contexts within which mobility decisions are made rather than in households' housing needs.

# Contents

<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</b>	<b>8</b>
1.1 Introduction	
1.2 Studies of Residential Mobility and Location in Developed Western countries	
1.2.1 Studies guided by the Behavioural approach	
1.2.2 Explanations which refer exclusively to the context: Institutional and Marxist approaches	
1.2.3 Studies which examine both household demand and the context	
1.3 Residential Mobility in Third World countries	
1.3.1 Studies guided by the Behavioural approach in the third world	
1.3.2 Studies which examine residential mobility with reference to the context	
1.4 A General Explanatory Model of Residential Mobility	
1.5 Distinctive Features of the Context in the Rapidly Growing Cities of the Third World	
1.6 Conclusion	

- 2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES - LABOUR MARKET CONDITIONS AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS IN TURKEY 45**
- 2.1 Introduction
  - 2.2 A Brief Summary of Economic Development Policies
  - 2.3 Impacts of Rapid Urbanisation
  - 2.4 Impacts of Liberalisation of the Economy on Labour Markets and on the Distribution of Income
    - 2.4.1 Changes in economic activities and production processes and their impacts on labour markets
    - 2.4.2 Changes in the distribution of national income between different area types
  - 2.5 Relationship between Demand by the Economy and the Supply of Qualified Personnel by the Education System, and its Impact on the Stratification of the Labour Force
  - 2.6 Conclusion
- 3. HOUSING SUPPLY CONDITIONS IN TURKEY AND THE LIKELY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PATTERNS 85**
- 3.1 Introduction
  - 3.2 Housing Policies, Supply Conditions of the Authorised Stock, and the Likely Mobility Behaviour of Households
    - 3.2.1 Pre-1980 housing market conditions and the crisis in the housing sector in the early 1980s
    - 3.2.2 Restructuring of market conditions after the crisis in 1983
    - 3.2.3 Hypotheses about the residential mobility of authorised stock dwellers
  - 3.3 Supply Conditions of Unauthorised Stock (Gecekondü) and the Likely Residential Mobility of Gecekondü Dwellers
    - 3.3.1 Conditions of provision of gecekondü and State intervention in this part of the stock
    - 3.3.2 Hypotheses about the residential mobility of gecekondü dwellers
  - 3.4 Conclusion

- 4. PROFILE OF HOUSEHOLDS AND AREA TYPES IN ANKARA** **130**
- 4.1 Introduction
  - 4.2 Characteristics of Different Types of Housing Area
    - 4.2.1 Area Type 1
    - 4.2.2 Area Type 2
    - 4.2.3 Area Type 3
    - 4.2.4 Area Type 4
  - 4.3 Stratification and Social Class Positions
  - 4.4 Socio-Economic Mobility Rates and Patterns
    - 4.4.1 Rates and patterns of income change
    - 4.4.2 Social (occupational prestige) mobility rates and patterns
  - 4.5 Residential Mobility Levels
    - 4.5.1 Past residential mobility
    - 4.5.2 Planned residential mobility
  - 4.6 Conclusion
  - 4.7 Appendix
- 5. IMPACTS OF HOUSHOLDS' OWN CHARACTERISTICS AND DYNAMICS ON THEIR PAST RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY** **209**
- 5.1 Introduction
  - 5.2 Description of Methodology and the Measurement of Variables
  - 5.3 Analyses of the Impact of Household Characteristics and Dynamics on the Residential Mobility of (A) All Households and (B) Tenants Only
    - 5.3.1 Description of Path analysis

<b>6.</b>	<b>CURRENT SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING AND CHANGES IN SATISFACTION THROUGH THE MOVES</b>	<b>252</b>
6.1	Introduction	
6.2	Analyses of Current Housing Satisfaction of Both Tenure Groups Together and Tenants Separately	
6.2.1	Description of variables and meaning of positive relationships	
6.2.2	Presentation and evaluation of results by area type	
6.3	Changes in the Housing Standards and Housing Satisfaction of Mobile Tenants between 1983 and 1988	
6.4	Analyses of Current Housing Satisfaction of Owner-Occupiers	
6.5	Conclusion	
6.5.1	Concluding remarks concerning the tenants	
6.5.2	Concluding remarks concerning the owner-occupiers	
<b>7.</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING THEIR EXISTING UNIT AND DISTRICT</b>	<b>307</b>
7.1	Introduction	
7.2	Mobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Existing Unit and District	×
7.3	Immobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Existing Unit and District	
7.4	Immobile Owner-Occupiers' ("OO" Groups) Reasons for Choosing their Existing Unit and District	
7.5	Conclusion	
<b>8.</b>	<b>CASE STUDIES OF MOBILE TENANTS</b>	<b>325</b>
8.1	Introduction	
8.2	Evaluation of Case Studies	
8.2.1	Reasons for moving	
8.2.2	Ways of coping with the rent	
8.3	Conclusion	



<b>9. PLANNED RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY - THE RELEVANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTMENT MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING MOBILITY PLANS</b>	<b>339</b>
9.1 Introduction	
9.2 Causal Analyses of Planned Residential Mobility	
9.2.1 Explanation of statistical technique and meanings of positive coefficients	
9.2.2 Presentation and evaluation of results	
9.3 Households' Reasons for their Residential Mobility Plans	
9.4 Conclusion	
<b>10. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>384</b>
10.1 A Brief Summary of the Study and the Results	
10.2 Main Conclusions	
10.3 Future Prospects of the Research	
<b>METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX</b>	<b>498</b>
<b>QUESTIONNAIRE</b>	<b>405</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>422</b>

## Tables

2.1	Planned Growth Rates of Sectors and GNP . . . . .	48
2.2	Composition of Gross National Product Between 1923 and 1988 and Growth of GNP . . . . .	49
2.3	Mechanisation of Agriculture . . . . .	51
2.4	Urban and Rural Populations Between 1927 and 1985 . . . . .	52
2.5	Urbanisation Rate Between 1927 and 1985 . . . . .	53
2.6	Share of Metropolitan Cities in Population . . . . .	54
2.7	Sectoral Mean Incomes Per Capita (at Current Prices) and their Ratios to the Economy Wide Average . . . . .	54
2.8	Sectoral Distribution of Employment 1962 - 1985 . . . . .	58
2.9	Unemployment Ratio among Total Labour Force (Age 15+) . . . . .	61
2.10	Distribution of Household Incomes by Quintiles in Urban Areas (Including Formal and Informal Sector Earnings) . . . . .	62
2.11	GNP Shares of the Different types of Income Between 1980 and 1988 . . . . .	74
2.12(A)	Wage Indices (1983 - 1988) for the Formal Sector . . . . .	75
2.12(B)	Inflation Rates . . . . .	75
2.13	School Enrolment Indices . . . . .	78
2.14	Total Labour Force Composition in Terms of Distribution of Levels of Education . . . . .	79
2.15	Percentage of Population with Different Levels of Education Among the Unemployed . . . . .	80

3.1	Housing Production in the authorised Stock (and its Ratio to Total Housing Need) Between 1964 and 1980 .....	88
3.2	Rates of Increase in Construction Material Prices and Wholesale Prices Between 1970 and 1980 .....	90
3.3	Public Housing Investments Between 1968 and 1980 .....	91
3.4	Rate of change in consumer Price Index and Housing Costs for Istanbul Between 1973 and 1980 .....	93
3.5	The Ratio of Housing Investments to the GNP and to the Total Fixed Investments .....	99
3.6	Housing Production in the Authorised Stock (and its Ratio to Overall Housing Need) After 1980 .....	100
3.7	Housing Production in the authorised Stock and its Ratio to the Overall Demographic Housing Need Between 1966 and 1988 in Ankara .....	101
3.8	The State's Share in Housing Production After 1980 .....	106
3.9	Rates of Increase in Construction Material Prices and in Wholesale Prices After 1980 .....	107
3.10	Increases in Credits and Costs of Construction Excluding the Land Component - Examples for Two Different Unit Sizes .....	108
3.11	Rates of Increase in Consumer Prices and Housing costs in Big cities of Turkey Between 1983 and 1989 .....	111
3.12	Gecekondu Stock and Population in Urban Settlements .....	117
4.1	Distribution of Actual and Sample Number of Households Between Four Area Types .....	131
4.2	Total Family Income and the Male's Monthly Earnings (from their Main Job) by Area Type .....	143

4.3	Percentage of Wage Earners and Public Sector Employees (Male) . . . . .	144
4.4	Averages of the Actual Rents and Rent/Income Ratios by Area Type . . . . .	144
4.5	Correlations Between the Components of Social Class by Area Type . . . . .	146
4.6	Correlations Between Income Change and Changes in Occupational Prestige by Area Type . . . . .	151
4.7	Summary of the Income Change of Wage Earners and Non-Wage Earners (Male's Monthly Income) . . . . .	155
4.8	Changes in the Total Family Income . . . . .	163
4.9	Changes in Occupational Prestige . . . . .	164
4.10	Past Residential Mobility Rates . . . . .	170
4.11	% of Mobile Houeholds Making a Specified Number of Moves . . . . .	173
4.12	Planned Residential Mobility: "Whether the Households are Thinking of Moving Out of an Existing Unit into Another One in Ankara" . . . . .	177
5.1	Path Coefficients and the Residential Paths for All the Households by Area Type . . . . .	249
5.2	Path Coefficients and the Residential Paths for "TT" Groups by Area Type . . . . .	250
6.1	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among All Households in Area Type 1 . . . . .	257
6.2	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among All Households in Area Type 2 . . . . .	258
6.3	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 2 . . . . .	261

6.4	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 3 . . . . .	264
6.5	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 4 . . . . .	269
6.6	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Ankara . . . . .	274
6.7	Changes in the Housing Conditions of Tenants Who Were Mobile in the 5 Years Prior to 1988 - Using the Objective Index . . . . .	278
6.8	Changes in the Housing Satisfaction of Tenants Who Were Mobile in the 5 Years Prior to 1988 - Using subjective Evaluations . . . . .	279
6.9	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 2 . . . . .	285
6.10	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 3 . . . . .	289
6.11	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 4 . . . . .	294
6.12	Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Ankara . . . . .	299
7.1	Mobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	309
7.2	Summary of Mobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	310
7.3	Immobile Tenants' Reasons for choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	314
7.4	Summary of Immobile Tenants' Reasons for choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	315

7.5	Immobile "OO" Group's Reasons for choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	319
7.6	Summary of Immobile "OO" Group's Reasons for choosing their Unit and District . . . . .	319
8.1	Reasons for the Moves by the "TT" Group Between 1983 and 1988 . . . . .	327
9.1	Tenants' Reasons for Planning to Move Out . . . . .	371
9.2	Tenants' Reasons for Planning to Remain in the Same Unit . . . . .	372
9.3	Owner-Occupiers' Reasons for Planning to Move Out . . . . .	375
9.4	Owner-Occupiers' Reasons for Planning to Remain in the Same Unit . . . . .	376
9.5	Summary of the Results for the Planned Mobility Model . . . . .	380

## Figures

4.1	Income Changes of Wage Earners (1983 - 1988 Adjusted for Inflation) . . . . .	153
4.2	Income Changes of Non-Wage Earners (1983 - 1988 Adjusted for Inflation) . . . . .	154
4.3	Income Changes of Wage Earners in Different Area Types . . . . .	156
4.4	Income Change of Non-Wage Earners in Different Area Types . . . . .	158
5.1	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility . . . . .	212
5.2	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for all the Households in Area Type 1 . . . . .	218
5.3	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for all the Households in Area Type 2 . . . . .	223
5.4	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Area Type 2 . . . . .	224
5.5	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for all the Households in Area Type 3 . . . . .	228
5.6	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Area Type 3 . . . . .	231
5.7	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for all the Households in Area Type 4 . . . . .	233
5.8	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Area Type 4 . . . . .	235
5.9	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the Whole of Ankara . . . . .	238
5.10	Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the Whole Sample of "TT" Groups in Ankara . . . . .	239

5.11	Logit Causal Model of Past Residential Mobility for the whole Sample of "OO" Groups in Ankara . . . . .	246
6.1	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction . . . . .	254
6.2	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for All the Households in Area Type 2 . . . . .	259
6.3	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for All the Households in Area Type 3 . . . . .	263
6.4	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the "TT" Group in Area Type 3 . . . . .	265
6.5	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for All the Households in Area Type 4 . . . . .	267
6.6	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the "TT" Group in Area Type 4 . . . . .	270
6.7	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the Whole of Ankara . . . . .	272
6.8	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the Whole Sample of "TT" Groups in Ankara . . . . .	275
6.9	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 2 . . . . .	286
6.10	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 3 . . . . .	290
6.11	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 4 . . . . .	295
6.12	Logit Causal Model of Current State of Housing Satisfaction for the Whole Sample of "OO" Groups in Ankara . . . . .	300
9.1	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for All the Households in Area Type 2 . . . . .	344



9.2	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for All the Households in Area Type 3 . . . . .	348
9.3	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Area Type 3 . . . . .	351
9.4	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the Owner-Occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together) in Area Type 3 . . . . .	355
9.5	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for All the Households in Area Type 4 . . . . .	357
9.6	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Area Type 4 . . . . .	359
9.7	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the Owner-Occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together) in Area Type 4 . . . . .	361
9.8	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the Whole of Ankara . . . . .	364
9.9	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the Whole Sample of "TT" Groups in Ankara . . . . .	366
9.10	Logit Causal Model of Planned Residential Mobility for the Whole Sample of Owner-Occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together) in Ankara	368

## **Illustrations**

4.1	Map Showing Location of Different Area Types in Ankara	<b>132</b>
4.2	Views of Housing from Different Area Types of Ankara	<b>133</b>

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank the British Council and the Population Council for their financial support of this study, Andrew Fenyo for his help and advice in logit analysis, and all my ex-colleagues and friends at the State Planning Organisation and at the Middle East Technical University for their continued interest in and support of this project.

I would also like to thank Terry McBride for her tireless efforts in editing and typing this thesis.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Chris Pickvance, whose help and constructive criticisms made this thesis possible.

# Introduction

Why do people move? This question has been asked in numerous studies in the last three decades. Most studies of residential mobility in the developed capitalist countries have described it as a mechanism by which households adjust their changing housing needs. But this leaves unanswered the question of whether the same function can be attributed to intra-urban mobility in developing countries and if not, this raises the further question of how residential (im)mobility can be explained in these countries?

The aim of this thesis is to examine (intra-urban) residential mobility<sup>1</sup> in the case of Ankara, Turkey.

The thesis is divided into three parts: Part one consists of a review of the literature on residential<sup>differentiation</sup> and mobility in both developed and developing capitalist countries; Part two is an account of the particular conditions of housing and labour markets in Turkey in the recent context of rapid urbanisation and development; Part three presents an analysis of a field survey of residential mobility and housing behaviour among 500 households in Ankara. These were drawn from different income groups and lived both in the authorised housing stock and in unauthorised districts in Ankara. Interviews were carried out in four types of neighbourhoods: high, middle, and low income areas of the authorised stock, and unauthorised areas. The number of households from each area type in the sample reflects the ratio of the populations of these area types within the whole population of the city.

Chapter 1, comprising part one, is divided into three sections. The first section covers residential location and residential mobility studies in the developed capitalist countries. A very large number of residential mobility studies have followed conventional residential differentiation and spatial location theories in which household choice processes and household characteristics provide the main explanations. In urban ecological studies of residential differentiation individuals are regarded as being sorted into "natural areas" which

---

<sup>1</sup>In this study residential mobility refers to intra-urban moves.

they endow with distinctive social characteristics, and residential locational choices are considered to be a function of the social distance between people. On the other hand although neo-classical consumer theories are introduced as an alternative approach in the literature, they seem to be compatible with urban ecology in the sense that the household and its choices are given as the principal (and often the only) cause of residential differentiation.

The majority of residential mobility studies in developed capitalist countries have remained within the same tradition; they treat residential mobility as a function of household characteristics and dynamics and of consequent housing needs. Thus residential mobility is seen as an adjustment mechanism for the changing housing needs of households.

In contrast to conventional theories of residential location and mobility, in marxist and institutionalist approaches people's autonomous and spontaneous preferences have no role in explaining residential differentiation and locational choice. In marxist theory capitalist accumulation processes and the organisation of forces external to the individual's will - in accordance with the accumulation processes - have to be analysed for an explanation of how the built environment and its internal differentiation is actually produced. In the institutionalist approach the activities and decisions of institutions - i.e. financial and public organisations, landlords, and developers - comprise the explanatory framework. Obviously it is not possible to argue about purely subjective and autonomous household choices. Nevertheless certain questions which are basic to understanding mobility - e.g. how do individual households respond to the constraints? And how do they choose among the available alternatives? - remain unanswered within both marxist and institutionalist approaches.

The question which then arises is whether the conventional approach and the approaches which exclude individual needs and preferences are mutually exclusive, or whether they can be applied together? There are a few studies of residential mobility and housing allocation which can be classified as a "combined approach". Both the individual's preferences and needs, and certain structural factors - e.g. housing supply conditions and decisions by institutions - are considered within the explanatory framework of these studies.

In the second section of the chapter, studies of residential mobility in the third world are reviewed. It is shown that most of them have been confined to the relocation pattern of immigrants in cities. Turner is a pioneer in residential mobility research in the third world. His model can be described as an application of conventional theory. Certain stages are defined to describe the relocation patterns of immigrants, where the space requirements and the locational and tenure preferences of immigrants are presented as determinants of different stages of their location in the city. Some critiques of this work have suggested reformulating the stages of residential mobility in Turner's model, whilst mainly staying within the conventional approach. A few studies in the 1980s criticized the model for its exclusive reference to household characteristics and needs. These explained the relocation patterns of immigrants in the cities in the light of State intervention in land provision and land and housing supply, although household choices are not completely excluded from the explanations of some of these studies.

After reviewing previous studies in both capitalist countries and in the third world, we established an analytical framework to examine residential mobility in this study. Its principles are that: (i) Residential mobility analyses should be designed within a matrix where there is room for household characteristics and needs, as well as for features of the context in which mobility takes place; and (ii) Forms of State intervention in the housing and labour markets, land and housing supply conditions, conditions of labour markets, and income distribution patterns should comprise the structural variables to be examined in order to specify the particular features of the context.

This analytical framework is in fact not only applicable for the third world or for Turkey, but is a *general* one. The above listed structural variables are not only relevant to understanding the context of residential mobility in the third world. The same variables, but with a different range of values, enable one to characterise the particular features of the context in different localities in both the capitalist developed countries and in the third world.

Chapters 2 and 3, which comprise the second part of the thesis, set out the context for the particular case of Turkey. Two phenomena within the development process of the country: (i) rapid urbanisation since the 1950s; and (ii) a dramatic shift in the country's economic

policy after 1980 with the transition from an import substitution economy to an outward oriented (liberal) one, are taken as fundamental to our discussions since they had major impacts on labour markets, income distribution patterns, and housing markets. An account of the impacts on wage levels, on production processes and hence on demand for certain types of labour, on the distribution of national income between wages, profits, and interests, and on labour supply and its relationship to demand, is presented in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 3 the basic features of housing production and housing markets in Turkey are presented. We discuss the ratio of authorised housing production to total housing need, the volume of public investment in housing production, the rate of increase in housing costs and prices, housing finance systems, and market mechanisms within the unauthorised part of the stock.

The third and final part of the thesis presents and analyses the survey data. The socio-economic characteristics of households in different area types, and the changes in their real incomes and in their occupations and work positions within the 5 year period from 1983 to 1988 are presented in the first section of Chapter 4. In the second section of the chapter we present data on the levels of past residential mobility - measured between 1983 and 1988 - and planned mobility. It will be seen that tenants were highly mobile within the previous 5 years. In contrast lack of mobility is a common feature among the owner-occupiers in all the area types except for high income areas.

In Chapter 5 we start to explore the causes of these patterns and to test the conventional view of residential mobility. A causal model is constructed to ascertain the extent to which household characteristics and dynamics (which are supposed to be decisive in residential mobility) have determined the residential mobility of households in Ankara over the previous 5 years. The results of our analyses show that the majority of moves in the city do not fit the "adjustment model" proposed by the conventional view. We therefore turn in chapter 6 to the question: If residential mobility is not an adjustment mechanism, how far is it a forced response to the particular conditions of the context? We also ask whether - even if mobility does not conform to the conventional model, and even though high levels of mobility do not emerge as particularly due to household dynamics - the households still adjust their needs by

moving? Another question that we ask in chapter 6 is: To what extent is the lack of mobility among the owners a matter of choice?

In order to examine these questions we carried out a series of further analyses. Firstly current housing satisfaction is considered: (i) The levels of satisfaction among the mobile and immobile households in both tenure groups are examined. This provided us with an indication both of the extent to which immobility can be explained as a matter of choice, and the extent to which mobile households are able to attain units which suit their needs. (ii) The causal relationship between past residential mobility and current housing satisfaction is examined in order to see whether more mobile households are more likely to be satisfied than those who are less mobile - in other words whether residential mobility leads households to be more satisfied. Secondly changes in the housing standards of mobile tenants are examined, both in terms of objective and subjective criteria. If residential mobility is an adjustment mechanism the majority of mobiles would be expected to attain units which are better suited to their needs, whereas if mobility is a forced response the majority of mobile households would not be expected to attain better units and could even experience worsening conditions. Results of the analyses further confirmed that residential mobility - particularly among the tenants in area types 3 and 4 - is not an adjustment mechanism, but is more likely to be a matter of forced responses. However not all the tenants are subject to severe constraints. The results for owner-occupiers presented quite different pictures for each area type: in type 2 (middle income) areas lack of mobility appears to have been a matter of choice for the majority of owners; by contrast in type 3 (authorised low income) areas it can be argued that lack of choice is the primary factor explaining the lack of mobility; in type 4 (unauthorised gecekondü) areas owner-occupiers appeared to be subject to less constraints than in type 3 areas. However choice does not seem to be the primary factor explaining the lack of mobility among the owner-occupiers in the unauthorised stock, unlike the case in type 2 areas. To explain the differences in the results for each area type the variations in land and housing supply in different segments of the housing markets (in the pre and post 1980 periods) are referred to. Our results also showed that housing satisfaction among those who recently became owners is not very high.



Having seen in Chapters 5 and 6 that the (im)mobility of the majority of households within the previous 5 years in Ankara does not fit the "choice model", further understanding of the extent of constraints on housing consumption was sought. In Chapter 7 the subjective experience of the constraints on housing choice was analysed and we examined the respondents' reasons for choosing their existing unit and location. The analyses were done for mobile and immobile households in both tenure groups separately. The results showed that there was no difference between mobile and immobile households, and confirmed the importance of constraints on the housing choices of households - particularly in area types 3 and 4 - while at the same time showing that there is a range of choices, albeit a very limited one. The significance of constraints on the choices of immobile households, particularly for the groups in which the current dissatisfaction ratio was high, further confirms that lack of choice is a primary factor in explaining their immobility. Constraints on the choices of mobile households provide supplementary evidence that many of the moves were not actually for the adjustment of housing needs. Hence the households' subjective experience of the constraints further verifies that a majority of (im)mobility decisions fit the forced (or constrained choice) model. Nevertheless our finding that there is a range of choices, albeit a very limited one, illuminates a quite significant point: that although there are several cases where some choices were made within the constraints, in general terms housing behaviour conforms to the constrained model.

In Chapters 5 - 7 our discussion refers only to past residential mobility. In Chapter 8 we complement this discussion by a qualitative analysis of the causes of moves in the previous 5 years. For this piece of analysis we carried out "follow-up" interviews with some of the mobile tenants within the sample. This analysis confirmed that the high rates of mobility among tenants in the previous 5 years in Ankara cannot be explained as due to the households' own needs and housing adjustment purposes. It was found that more than half of the moves that we examined were induced by factors other than the tenants' own needs (or dissatisfaction with the unit). Rent burdens appear to have been an important factor contributing to the high rates of mobility. Tenants stated that pressures by landlords to increase their rents - in some cases in excess of the high rates of inflation - and difficulties in coping with the rent and decreasing consumption power, even in the absence of pressures by the landlord, were the causes of around one third of the moves. Nevertheless it was seen

that moving out of the unit is not the first alternative that tenants generally choose to eliminate the rent burden, since finding another is quite difficult. Cutting down on costs and working for extra hours were quite common strategies to cope with the rent burden, and moves were delayed. Both the tenants who had conflicts with their landlords and those who had no problems with their rents or their rent agreements stated that they felt they were in a weak position against their landlords.

Having shown that the residential (im)mobility decisions of households in Ankara are more likely to be a forced response to the adverse conditions of the context, Chapter 9 addresses a remaining major question, namely whether or not the household adjustment model is relevant to the respondents' planned mobility. If it is not this would suggest that both past and planned mobility are severely affected by constraints. But if planned mobility can be understood in terms of household adjustment this would mean that constraints affect past but not planned mobility. It is shown that in some area types the latter is the case, while for some other area types the adjustment model is not relevant for their planned mobility either.

# 1 Review of the Literature

---

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter research on residential mobility and related topics both in developed and developing countries is reviewed. Our aim is: (i) to examine ways of analysing residential mobility in both developed and developing countries; (ii) to see whether residential mobility (in terms of its function and pattern) is different in kind in developed and developing countries; and finally (iii) to develop an analytical framework for our own research.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, different approaches to residential location and differentiation, and residential mobility in developed western countries are reviewed. In this section we look firstly at the studies in which household demand is taken as the central theme of the explanations. Most of the empirical work in the developed countries has been produced within such a tradition, and residential mobility is examined with exclusive reference to the households' socio-economic characteristics and housing needs. In this type of research, residential mobility is understood to be an adjustment mechanism. Then we look at approaches which explain residential location and mobility with exclusive reference to factors external to household needs. Lastly we look at some studies which examine housing allocation and residential mobility both with reference to household demand, and to factors external to household needs, particularly housing supply conditions.

In the second section of the chapter we focus on residential mobility in third world countries. In this context we see basically two types of research; those which explain residential mobility with exclusive reference to household demand, and those which analyse residential mobility within a combined approach. Almost all the research in the third world has been confined to the immigrants in the city and consequently our knowledge of the form of residential mobility in the third world remains limited to that of immigrants.

Then in the third section, drawing on the analytical principles observed in the studies of both developed and developing countries, we develop a general explanatory model for residential mobility, which also guides our own research in the particular case of Turkey.

Finally in the last section the distinctive features of the context in which residential mobility takes place in the third world, are outlined. This enables us to suggest the extent to which residential mobility in the rapidly growing third world cities is expected to be different from the mobility seen in the developed western countries.

## 1.2 STUDIES OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND LOCATION IN DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES

### 1.2.1 Studies guided by the behavioural approach

An early perspective on the distribution of population within the urban housing stock was "urban ecology". Arguments drawn from urban ecological models underlie the behavioural approach. A basis for understanding the salient attributes and preferences by which households choose housing locations was set out by Park and Burgess. Burgess (1925) observed that lower socio-economic groups tended to occupy sites around the city centre where most of the employment opportunities are assumed to be located. The upper classes on the other hand are located near the periphery. He argued that as their income increases, households prefer more spacious living environments, away from the crowded conditions of the city centre. Burgess put forward the "concentric ring theory" of urban spatial structure. The main factor leading to this was the radial growth of industrialising cities in the west which led to the "invasion-succession" process. In urban ecological models the city is divided into homogeneous areas in terms of the socio-economic status of its inhabitants which are termed "natural areas". This concept is derived from the assumption that individuals with similar attributes have a similar ability to compete for desired locations. Park (1925) argued that the greater the similarity between the socio-economic characteristics of households, the more intimately they will be related socially, and the less the geographic distance will be separating them. In other words, according to Park, residential locational choices are a

function of the social distance between people. Hence residential mobility is treated as a status-conferring phenomenon. Hoyt (1939) argued that through the development of transport technology the higher socio-economic groups move towards the periphery, and they lead the residential relocation trends since the ultimate aim for others is to live as close as possible to those in the highest social group.

By virtue of analogies to ecology these models of city and its radial growth do not consider the structure of housing markets. As Bassett and Short (1980) indicate, housing supply is considered to be a constant and often natural or given variable. Failure to consider the housing market has therefore been the major area of criticism of the urban ecological approach.

Nevertheless several later studies examine urban social stratification and residential differentiation through the same approach. Duncan & Duncan (1955), Tilly (1961), and Uyeki (1964) found that in several cities in the US, differences in the residential distribution of occupational groups were parallel to the differences among them in socio-economic status and recruitment. Guest (1978) explained the changes in the socio-economic structure of suburbs in the US, and Johnston (1967) examined city growth and the relocation of immigrants in Melbourne. Both of their findings support the Burgess model of the radial growth of cities. Hoover & Vernon (1959), Birch (1971), and Moriarty (1974) found ethnic factors besides occupational prestige in the formation of "natural areas", or homogeneous residential areas.

Another line of research in which household preferences and demand are central to the arguments explaining residential location and differentiation, is the "neo-classical consumer theory" or "trade-off models". In these models residential location is explained as a relationship between the consumption of housing space and travel costs. Each household is assumed to choose its location by trading-off housing costs which are assumed to fall with distance from the city centre, against transport costs which are assumed to increase with distance from the centre - see Alonso (1964), Muth (1968), Wingo (1961) and Mills (1972).

The Alonso model assumes that for any given income level there is a bid rent-curve showing the amount of money that people are able to afford for property at increasing distances from the urban centre. Individual households choose where to live on this bid rent-curve according to their individual indifference curves which indicate their relative preference for commuting and property costs. This model was developed on the basis of Von Thunen's theory of land and rent which is that rent decreases uniformly with distance from the centre.

In short, in this approach households are supposed to trade off travel costs against housing costs in an attempt to maximise their utility subject to a budget constraint. The concept of utility is crucial to consumer behaviour within this approach. Each household has a utility function incorporating their tastes and preferences, and each household allocates their expenditure so as to maximise utility, subject to their budget constraint. To explain the location of high income households on the periphery, it is assumed that the income elasticity for housing and space is positive and that higher income households prefer low density living. Thus the emphasis on the demand side is explicit: the structure of household preferences is the main explanatory factor within an urban land market which is in stable equilibrium, and households are assumed to be free agents, realising their preferences. As in the case of ecological models, the failure of the model to analyze the supply side was heavily criticised. The neo-classical and urban ecological models are considered to be alternative perspectives since they emphasise different aspects of demand. The latter deals more with the non-economic aspects. Nevertheless, at a very basic level they are similar in their exclusive emphasis on the demand side.

A very large number of residential mobility studies have also followed another variant of the Behavioural Approach, in which residential mobility is explained as a response to changes in households' housing needs.

Rossi's seminal (1955) work Why Families Move played a leading role in this line of research. Rossi argued that:

"The adequate understanding of mobility requires a knowledge of what moving means to individual households. What part does mobility play in family life?"

What are the needs, desires, and aspirations which mobility expresses?" (p 225)

The basic argument and legacy of this study is that a household's housing needs are strongly conditioned by stages in the family life-cycle. Here we will cite the definition from this study which has most frequently been referred to in residential mobility studies.

"...[T]he major function of mobility [is]... the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes" (p 61)<sup>1</sup>

Besides the impacts of life-cycle stages on housing consumption and mobility, the impacts of other household characteristics - i.e. income, age, occupational status, tenure status, and education - were studied by several researchers. In spite of differences in the relative strength of the impacts of different household characteristics, the results basically agreed with the view that households adjust their housing to their changing characteristics and needs through their moves. Abu-Lughod & Foley (1960) examined the impacts of life-cycle stage, education, income, and age on housing consumption in several US cities. They found that most of the residential moves were due to the increasing space needs of families at the child bearing and child rearing stages. Thereafter residential mobility declines. Nevertheless, by examining the rise in income over the life-cycle, they pointed out that life-cycle changes needed to be combined with income changes in mobility analyses.

As a result of their research in Indiana, Leslie & Richardson (1961) argued that both life-cycle stage and upward social mobility are quite significant determinants of planned residential mobility. Speare (1970) compared the impacts of tenure duration, life-cycle stage, age, and tenure status, on the actual residential mobility of households in a newly established residential area in the US. He found that age and life-cycle stage have quite different impacts although they appeared to represent the same concept, and that duration of residence had quite

---

<sup>1</sup>However it should be noted that in the second edition Rossi reformulated this explanation of the function of mobility as follows: "Households tend towards equilibrium in their housing choices, an equilibrium which is presented by that choice in comparison to which an alternative choice would produce no additional benefits that exceed the cost of moving... households move when it is clearly advantageous for them to do so, as they see it." (p 35)

a strong impact on the mobility of tenants. Pickvance (1974) examined the impacts of income, life-cycle stage and age on tenure status and on expected and desired residential mobility, to understand whether the greater mobility of renters is simply due to their younger age and earlier lifecycle stage or whether it was independent of these variables. Life-cycle stage was found to have a crucial impact, independent of tenure status on both desired and expected mobility. It should be indicated however this study acknowledged the importance of external factors for the study of residential mobility but did not collect any relevant data. Sabagh et. al. (1969) proposed a conceptual framework which indicated that in addition to household characteristics, the social and psychological aspects of households, i.e. familism, social mobility aspirations, and local participation, should be included in the analyses. Doling (1976) examined the impacts of income and life-cycle in Birmingham and found that the accumulation of wealth through the family life-cycle appears to coincide with significant changes in housing choice. Clark et al (1984) is another study which examined the impacts of life-cycle characteristics. Research was conducted in Tilburg (Holland), and results confirmed that many moves were in response to changes in life-cycle stages, and hence changes in space requirements.

Furthermore the perspective set forth by Rossi which treats residential mobility as an adjustment mechanism, and a response to the changing housing needs of households, guided another group of researchers who emphasised the role of the level of housing and environmental satisfaction on residential mobility. The basic concept underlying this group of studies was "place utility" (the explicit terminology of neo-classical models), considered as a measure of satisfaction with respect to a dwelling unit and its environment. Wolpert (1965) defined place utility as "... the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some position in space" (p 162). Simmons (1968) described it as a measure of the attractiveness or unattractiveness of an area relative to alternative locations as perceived by the individual decision maker. Brown and Longbrake (1970) suggested that to measure place utility both the aspirations of the household in terms of residential environment, and the environment of the present (or prospective) residence, should be considered. Environment in this definition includes neighbourhood, dwelling unit, the site on which it is located, and its relative location. Residential mobility is defined as:



"...a process of adjustment whereby one residence site is substituted for another in order to better satisfy the needs and desires of households, i.e. in order to increase its experienced place utility" (p 370)

Clark and Cadwallader (1973) developed a conceptual model of mobility based on the "place utility" idea. They indicated that the decision to move can be viewed as a function both of the household's present level of satisfaction, and the level of satisfaction believed to be attainable elsewhere. The differences between these levels were viewed as a measure of "stress" created by the present residential location.

The concept of "place utility" gave rise to several mathematical models of housing consumption equilibrium and mobility. See Goodman (1976), Hanushek and Quigley (1978), Weinberg (1979), Clark & Onaka (1985), Ben Akiva & De Palma (1986).

Michelson's (1977) research in Toronto brought a quite distinctive slant to discussions of housing satisfaction and residential mobility. In this study residential mobility was not treated as a mechanism for attaining the complete and final adjustment of housing needs. Instead he put forward the concept of "mobility cycles" within which different levels of adjustment are realised. He says the

"[e]valuation of people's match with their housing had to be done not always in terms of what the family really wanted, but rather in many cases in terms of what they wanted for a finite period of time before doing something entirely different" (p 6)

In his later article (1980) he also indicated that people evaluate residential satisfaction on the basis of what is currently attainable rather than in terms of their long term aspirations. Coupe & Morgan (1981) analysed housing satisfaction and residential mobility in Northampton. Their explanations originated from Michelson's "mobility cycles". Coupe & Morgan indicated that many households may have an ultimate housing goal which is beyond their grasp at the outset, but which they reach by means of a number of steps or "intermediate" houses, such that housing satisfaction improves at each step.

Michelson, in his Toronto research, also questioned the impact of spatial structure on residential mobility. It is one of the first studies to examine the impacts of residential environment on the housing consumption patterns of households, or the fulfilment of their expectations. More recently we have seen studies by Munro & Lamont (1985), and Deurloo et al (1990). Munro & Lamont examined the ways in which neighbourhoods are perceived in Glasgow, and demonstrated the importance of these perceptions on residential mobility and on the search for another unit. Deurloo et al studied the role of the spatial structure of the residential environment on mobility in Randstad (Holland), and arrived at similar results.

Some other studies examine the relative importance of housing dissatisfaction and changes in household characteristics on residential mobility - see Clark & Onaka (1983), Landale & Guest (1985), and McHugh et.al. (1990). These studies examined the impacts of housing dissatisfaction and changes in household characteristics on planned mobility in several different cities and obtained quite different results. In Landale & Guest's study which was done in Seattle, changes in household characteristics had a stronger impact than dissatisfaction. McHugh's study, depending on the measurement of planned mobility (both on a short and long term basis), showed differences in the relative importance of the independent variables.

Thus as seen above, a considerable volume of research has been produced on residential mobility in developed capitalist countries with exclusive reference to household characteristics, needs, and preferences. Several different analytical and mathematical models, and various classifications of needs and household characteristics were put forward through these studies. They obviously provide important technical recommendations both for constructing the demand side of an analytical model, and for organising the data on household characteristics in residential mobility analyses. However this voluminous work has limited relevance in terms of understanding and explaining residential mobility itself. The critique of the Ecological and Trade-off models due to their treatment of households as free-agents in the market also applies to these studies. It is obvious that households are not the only actors in the housing sphere. Besides the role of the consumer, the activities of other actors - i.e. producers, speculators, land owners, and the State's priorities and concerns in relation to housing at the national and local levels - structure the decision-making context. The

volume of stock relative to housing need, levels of rents and prices relative to income levels, credit availability and so forth, all help to determine the allocation of stock and hence act as constraints on the individual household's housing consumption, thus prescribing the extent to which the household can adjust its own housing needs<sup>2</sup>.

In all the above reviewed research residential mobility is understood as an adjustment mechanism. Moves which are not made for adjustment purposes (i.e. moves due to demolition and eviction) comprise very limited percentages - see Rossi (1955); Abu-Lughod and Foley (1960); Michelson (1977). But the particular conditions of the market, the allocation mechanisms which enable most of the households to adjust their needs, and the range of alternatives available to them, remained a mystery.

There are however other approaches which bring the factors external to household demand into the discussion of housing allocation and residential differentiation. In the following two sections we will evaluate these approaches with a view to constructing an analytical framework for residential mobility.

---

<sup>2</sup>Some models of mobility and housing choice were designed to measure the impacts of certain policies, e.g. housing allowances on residential mobility and the housing consumption of households - see Menchic (1980) and Wheaton (1985). However measuring the impact of a particular condition would have a limited relevance to understand residential mobility. The context of decision making should be examined as a whole.

## 1.2.2 Explanations which refer exclusively to the context: Institutionalist and Marxist approaches

Here the "institutionalist" and "marxist" approaches to housing and its differentiation will be examined, and we will consider the extent to which the question of residential mobility can be understood within these approaches.

The institutionalist approach conceives of accessibility within the urban housing stock and residential differentiation through the decisions and activities of housing market institutions. The concept of "housing classes" which originates from the Weberian theory of the distribution of life chances lies at the basis of this approach: income, occupation, and ethnic status of households on the one hand, and allocation rules, decisions by the public and private sector on the other, lead to the formation of housing classes, and determine their accessibility within the urban housing stock. See Rex and Moore (1967).

Control by public and private sector personnel - termed urban managers - of access to the urban housing was further discussed by Pahl (1975 and 1977). First urban managers were defined as autonomous actors, and later as not fully autonomous but still crucial actors. Here we shall not go into the details of this discussion since it is not our immediate concern.

In contrast to the behavioural approach, in the institutional one, the household demand (choice) factor is completely ignored. Decisions of households among different alternatives and/or their trade off between the different aspects of their own housing needs in response to the constraints - set by the eligibility criteria of housing market institutions -, in short the capacity of individual household to influence their housing situation (consumption) is not included in the explanatory framework.

As was the case in the institutionalist model, in the marxist approach as well individual households (consumers) are treated as passively responding to external factors.

Residential differentiation patterns and housing allocation are interpreted from the point of view of the class structure of the society, capitalist accumulation processes and the role of the

State in maintaining social stability and enforcing the status quo. Autonomously and spontaneously arising consumer sovereignty is dismissed, and it is argued that capitalist accumulation processes create value systems, and demand. Harvey (1985 and 1989) indicated that residential differentiation is produced by the organisation of forces external to the individual or even to the collective will of particular social groupings. He writes that

"...we will have to turn to the examination of speculator-developers, speculator-landlords, and real estate brokers, backed by the power of financial and governmental institutions, for an explanation of how the built environment and residential neighbourhoods are actually produced... [F]inancial and governmental institutions are hierarchically ordered by authority relations broadly consistent with the support of the capitalist order, in this manner micro and macro aspects of housing market behaviour are coordinated... it creates a structure that individuals can potentially choose from but cannot influence the production of" (Harvey 1989 - p 121)

Households thus decide to move and make their choices in terms of value systems created and imposed by external forces. Castells (1977) indicates that households, through their mobility within the city, cannot redefine residential space on the basis of individual values. Residential mobility is a question of adapting to a new familial situation, to new needs which are already created. He wrote that "[t]he structure of the housing market produces its own demand. We observe that the individuals circulate biologically in a residential space already produced" (p 179). He indicated that the results of research on residential mobility which set out from the preferences of individuals (within the behavioural approach) were quite revealing in demonstrating that individuals adapt themselves to ready-made needs and positions. So in Castells's terms, residential mobility is again an adjustment mechanism, but individual preferences and choices are not autonomous. Households move much like puppets, conforming to already produced values and housing stock.

Obviously it is not possible to argue that household choices and preferences are purely subjective and autonomous. Nevertheless the questions important for understanding residential mobility - to what extent households adjust their needs and preferences through moving, (irrespective of whether they are autonomous or not), how they respond to the constraints? and how they choose among the alternatives available? - remain unanswered within the marxist approach as well.

Hence, as seen none of the approaches provide an explanatory framework which is sufficient to understand residential mobility. Marxist and institutionalist approaches focus on the constraints and opportunities acting on housing choices, but cannot provide answers to questions concerning demand. The behavioural approach on the other hand fails to understand household behaviour in relation to the context. It is apparent that analyses of household demand and analyses of structural conditions cannot be treated as mutually exclusive in mobility research.

In fact, there are studies which combine an analysis of household choices, with an analysis of structural factors. We shall now look at these studies.

### 1.2.3 Studies which examine both household demand and the context

Form (1954) is one of the first studies to consider both household demand, and the activities of other actors operating in the housing sphere within the same explanatory framework in explaining the structure of land and housing markets. Against the assumptions of ecological and trade-off models - that the market is free and individuals compete impersonally - Form developed an analytical model, arguing that the land market is highly organised and dominated by a number of "social congeries". Although he indicated that most of the land and housing consumption decisions of households are influenced by an administrated and organised market, the demand side was not completely abandoned in his model. Households, together with other small consumers of land (e.g. shopowners) comprise one of the congeries, whereas real estate, large industry, and local governments constitute the other three. Economic resources, interests, international organisations, the pressures and influences of each group, and the relationships between them are defined as the elements of his analytical model. Form indicates that the social characteristics of consumers, their interests, their economic power and relations with the other segments of society, should help us to understand their role in the formation of land use.

There are two studies, by Murie et.al. (1976) and Munt (1987) which carry out case studies and interpret their results within a combined approach.

Murie et.al. (1976) studied the moves within and between the public sector, the owner-occupied sector and the privately rented sector in different parts of U.K. as an indicator of the nature of the housing system and of the process within it. Eligibility factors in each of these sectors, the socio-economic characteristics of the movers, changes in their housing standards, and the process of decision making were examined. It was argued that the residential mobility rates and patterns (the frequency of moves between and within the sectors) were the product of household demand (their socio-economic conditions and needs), supply conditions, and decisions by the gatekeepers in each sector. They then put forward the concept of "orientation" to formulate and to place household demand within an explanatory framework for analysing residential mobility and housing allocation. Orientation is defined as "all the facets of social background, experience, and aspirations which influence a household's likely response to changing circumstances and which affect housing decisions for example whether or not to move" (p 213). A later study by Clapham & Kintrea (1983) utilised the concept of orientation in discussing public housing allocation system in Britain. They argued that the institutionalist approach is insufficient to explain allocation, and that it is necessary to refer to the household demand (the decisions regarding their housing situation) too.

Munt's (1987) research was on gentrification in inner London. He argued that explanations with reference to the changes in housing production and in the employment structure in inner London, which the marxist approach had developed, provided only a partial understanding of the questions where and why gentrification occurs. Since the gentrifiers could afford numerous inner city locations, the attractiveness of the area, and hence demand, appeared to be an important unexplored issue. Munt argued that gentrification starts prior to institutional involvement, but that once public institutions become involved through investments they enhance the process. He concluded that the restructuring of employment in London, changes in housing production, and factors of demand, are inextricably linked in an explanation of gentrification.

On the other hand there are some studies which acknowledge the importance of a combined approach but do not collect all the relevant data. As mentioned previously in the study by Pickvance (1974), although the data on which the residential mobility discussion was based

originates from individual households, he indicated that this does not commit the study to the assumption that residential mobility is freely chosen, or purely the result of subjective preferences. Pickvance emphasised that housing market institutions are significant to mobility as well as the households themselves. He argued that residential mobility is determined jointly by household and institutional decisions and responses. Thorns (1980), and Clark & Moore (1980) also criticise the behavioural approach, and suggest that planning decisions, housing finance policy, and construction activities, as well as the household's own preferences influence (im)mobility decisions.

These studies all help us develop an analysis of residential mobility within a combined framework. They provide a conception of household demand different from the approaches examined previously. They present consumer decision making (including mobility) as neither completely autonomous, nor as an entirely passive outcome of external factors.

Through our discussion in this section so far, our basic analytical principle for examining residential mobility has been established. Residential mobility research needs to be organised within a matrix which has room for household characteristics, needs, and preferences, as well as for the structural factors that underlie the particular conditions of the context. It was seen that several aspects of housing supply - i.e. decisions by public organisations and by private producers, and changes in land & housing values - were identified by researchers as the key variables structuring the context.

In the following section we shall look at residential mobility in the developing capitalist countries - which will be termed "third world countries" in the rest of the chapter. Our aim is to examine the structural factors which influence residential mobility, and hence to understand whether mobility is of a different kind in the third world.



## 1.3 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Most of the residential mobility and location studies in the third world have also been guided by the behavioural approach. Firstly, we shall summarise these studies. Then, studies which examine residential mobility and location with reference to the context will be reviewed.

### 1.3.1 Studies guided by the Behavioural approach in the Third World

Changes in urban residential locational patterns have been the subject of several studies carried out during the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in Latin America. These studies were based on the urban ecological approach. The development of transportation, and the growth of commerce were argued to be the determinants of such changes. Schnore (1965) is the first to examine the changing residential locational pattern of Latin American cities. He argued that the shifting pattern presented an evolutionary model which led to patterns similar to those outlined by Burgess (1925) and Hoyt (1939) - as explained in the first section. Later Amato (1969 and 1970) observed that through the development of transport, elites moved from centrally located colonial-style to North American ranch-style residences. He argued that the residential locational choices of elite groups are the key influence on the intra-urban relocation of the other groups. On the same basis as Hoyt's argument that households' ultimate aim is to live as close as possible to those in the highest social group, Amato argues that middle income families who want to be closer to the prestigious areas follow the high income households, and the low income households occupy the dwellings left by higher income groups. Schwirian & Rico-Velasco (1971) is another study which examined the patterns of location of socio-economic groups in different cities of Puerto-Rico within the same tradition. They found that as the social status distance between groups increases, the spatial distance between them increases, regardless of whether the locational distribution of socio-economic groups presents a colonial or post-colonial (North American) pattern. They argued that this is a universal fact, and differences between the colonial and post-colonial cities - i.e. whether the elite groups are centralised or decentralised - should be explained as a consequence of different levels of transportation development and commercial growth.

In short, in these studies a general argument was arrived at which maintains that urban residential structures evolve in a predictable way. None of these studies questioned the impact of a different pattern of socio-economic development and the consequent rural-urban migration - which is a distinctive component of urban growth in the third world - nor the distinctive structure of housing markets on the observed changing location patterns. Such a weakness however originates from the basic assumption of the approach itself. As explained earlier, the households are assumed to be competing impersonally for the desired locations within a natural order.

Some other studies examine the residential mobility of households with reference to their characteristics and dynamics. Okraku (1971) examined the impact of life-cycle stages on actual and planned mobility in Puerto-Rico. The results showed that life-cycle stage is an important determinant of residential mobility. Households at the early stages of their life-cycle were found to be more mobile than those who are at the later stages. However as in all the residential mobility research within the behavioural approach, the study does not examine the context at all. The constraints on the households' housing consumption and/or opportunities available in the housing market were left unexplored. Savasdisara & Suwannodom (1989) examined the impact of household satisfaction together with household characteristics on planned mobility in Bangkok, and housing satisfaction was found to have the stronger impact. This study has a limited relevance in understanding residential mobility in the case of Bangkok. Besides its failure to explain the structural conditions of the context (like the previous research), the study analyses planned mobility only. Many mobility plans however, may reflect household preferences and needs more than the constraints on their housing consumption. It is important to examine actual residential mobility to have a comprehensive understanding of the matter. The study by Pickvance (1974) for example showed sharp differences in terms of the impact of household characteristics even between the desired mobility and expected mobility (concrete mobility plans).

The relocation pattern of immigrants in the city comprises a third topic examined through the behavioural approach. In fact a considerable volume of residential mobility literature in the third world focuses on the relocation of immigrants, and as will be seen later this topic has also been analysed with reference to structural conditions.

Turner's (1968) study is a pioneer in this field. He observed that in Lima (Peru) and Mexico-city recent arrivals live in central tenements in the city centre. He called them "bridge-headers" and indicated that these new arrivals trade off the high value placed on accessibility to central jobs against a low value placed on the need for space and security (home ownership). He observed that later on they obtained regular jobs and became homeowners in the illegal subdivisions of the urban periphery. Turner argues that progress through the family cycle, and a rising income, alters the parameters of household demand and therefore changes the weight placed on each residential priority. A higher value on the need for space to accommodate a growing family, and on the security and independence conferred by ownership, is traded against a lower value placed on accessibility. The household becomes a "consolidator", owning land on the urban periphery and gradually extending the dwelling. Hence the Turner model draws on both currents of the behavioural approach: trade off models where travel costs and distance are traded off against space, and the approach in which residential mobility is presented as an adjustment mechanism for changes in household characteristics. In his model four dimensions of the households' choice are defined as the determinants of residential mobility and locational choice: (i) accessibility to employment; (ii) family life-cycle, and demand for space; (iii) income; and (iv) tenure choice, for security and independence. The model involves the following assumptions: (i) all jobs are located at the city centre; (ii) cheap and rented units are also located around the city centre; and (iii) there are no constraints on the opportunities of immigrants once they get a permanent job and decide to move out of the centre (a parallelism between social and residential mobility). Through these assumptions Turner eliminates the impact of the social and economic context. Household dynamics and priorities therefore remain the only determinants of residential mobility in the model.

As has already been argued, explanations of residential mobility with exclusive reference to household characteristics lead to a very limited perspective. Several case studies later (Vaughan and Feindt 1973, Ward 1976 for example) showed that relocation patterns of immigrants in different cities of Latin America showed divergences from the Turner model. The Turner model has nevertheless influenced a large volume of later writing. Conway & Brown (1980) for example developed their "three phase model" to explain the divergences from the Turner model, but this alternative model remained mainly within the same analytical

framework as the Turner model. In Conway and Brown's study the Turner model was criticised for its inadequacy to explain the way in which the basic priorities of households reflect on the relocation pattern through successive phases of urbanisation. It is suggested that as urbanisation proceeds three distinct areas emerge: central-city slums, inner low income settlements (the earliest squatterments and low-income subdivisions), and new peripheral low-income settlements. Relocation patterns become more complex with more immigrants moving directly to the low-density periphery, skipping the initial step (i.e. choosing the inner-city as the initial settlement). Family and kinship ties are emphasized as the critical factor in influencing initial settlement and subsequent relocation. In this three phase model the assumptions of the Turner model - underlied by the behavioural approach - were not questioned or criticised. As Gilbert & Ward (1982) also indicated that Conway & Brown study tends to stress the housing preferences of households without investigating the constraints on their ability to obtain housing. Schuurman (1986) on the other hand, took the Turner model as a reference point to analyse the relocation pattern of immigrants in the case of Arequipa (Peru). He argues that reality can be much more systematically described and analysed when compared to the model. Nevertheless not much explanation was brought about the differences between the case of Arequipa and the model; opportunities and constraints that the households experience in particular did not receive any considerable attention, although it was acknowledged that the model underestimates such factors.

Kliest & Schiffer (1981) examined the relevance of the Turner model to the relocation pattern of immigrants in the cities of Ibadan, Lagos Island, and Central Accra (Nigeria). Like the study mentioned above, the failure of Turner's model to consider the market structure is acknowledged in this research. However in the empirical work, apart from land speculation by different ethnic groups on the city fringes - which excludes the other groups from the submarkets of the city fringes - no other aspects of land and housing markets which influence the accessibility of the households were examined. The dispersion of job locations, and the rehabilitation of city centre slums, were pointed to as other factors causing divergences from the Turner model.

More recently van Lindert (1991) examined the residential relocation patterns of city native poor and immigrants in La Paz (Bolivia). As in Conway & Brown study, support by relatives

and kin is emphasised as a significant determinant on the initial location and subsequent relocations. In addition to support systems, tenure and location priorities of households were argued to be influential factors. Although it is indicated that the housing behaviour of households is moulded by the conditions of the land and housing markets, these factors do not take place in the explanatory framework of the research. Ahmad (1991) examined the relocation of immigrants in Karachi (Pakistan). The initial location and subsequent mobility patterns were explained by exclusive reference to the ethnic status of immigrants.

There are a few studies in the third world which explain residential mobility with reference to the broader context, and particularly housing and land market conditions. In the following section we look at these studies.

### 1.3.2 Studies which examine residential mobility with reference to the context

Research in the third world that examines residential mobility in the light of land and housing market conditions has been confined either to immigrants or to the urban poor. Criticisms of the Turner model underlie most of them, and they question whether the residential mobility of the poor is more likely to be a matter of their priorities, or a forced response to the constraints.

Brett (1974) for example, is one of the early studies which criticised the behavioural emphasis of the Turner model, directing attention to the activities of other actors in the housing sphere, and ensuing constraints on household choices. He indicated that the interests and priorities of the commercial sector and the state frequently conflicted with those of urban poor, "...the housing context remains overwhelmingly controlled by sectors other than the users themselves and is no less than a product of a fundamental confrontation of interests" (p:189). Brett gave the rises in land values as the most crucial example of control over the users' choice. He indicated that rising land values, resulting from competitive pressures and speculative power in the expansion of the city, change the range of available alternatives in the housing sphere

quite regardless of the household's priorities and expectations. He added that households who have been forced to readjust their priorities to a lowered ceiling are expected to be found.

Gilbert & Ward (1982) directed their attention towards an empirical evaluation of the influence of structural factors on the relocation of immigrants, arguing that:

"in order to understand residential movement, both residential preferences and constraints need to be considered, the latter can only be included through an analysis of wider structural factors such as government policy towards land and servicing, the changing price of land, and the effects of increasing urban diseconomies" (p 131)

They examined the relocation patterns of immigrants in three cities - Valencia, Bogota (Colombia), and Mexico-City. The residential mobility histories of immigrants since they had arrived in the city were obtained, and the state's responses to land invasions, and land market conditions were examined. It was found that, depending on the extent of restrictions on land invasions, on price levels of plots relative to incomes, and on the size of rental stock (which was found to be inversely related to restrictions on land invasions), the relocation pattern of immigrants varied in different cities. They concluded that in these three cities the immigrants' (re)location decisions are less an outcome of their own priorities, and more the product of different constraints.

Edwards' (1983) study in Bucaramanga (Colombia) showed that changing patterns of residential mobility are closely related to the changing structure of local housing markets. He found that in relation to state policies concerning land invasions, the availability of cheap land had fluctuated markedly during the previous 50 years in Bucaramanga. The relocation patterns of immigrant cohorts - life-cycle stages, and the age and income levels at which they became homeowners - varied sharply according to land market conditions.

With reference to these results it appears that state intervention in the housing sphere, together with land and housing supply conditions, are the key factors which form the contexts within which residential mobility occurs. The particular conditions of supply, and the particular

forms of state intervention in different localities and/or at different periods, underlie the different patterns of relocation.

Apart from the research on the relocation patterns of immigrants, there are two studies concerned with the residential mobility of the poor in the private rental sector in the third world - Ozo (1986) and Strassmann (1991). Interestingly they reported sharply contrasting residential mobility rates, although in both studies residential (im)mobility was found to be a forced response to unfavourable housing market conditions.

In his survey in Benin-city in Nigeria, Ozo (1986) indicated that acute housing shortages, the restrictive assignment of housing allocations in the public sector, and low vacancy rates, prevent households' needs and choices from having an impact on their residential mobility decisions. Ozo reported that only 24% of immigrant tenants had moved in the last five years. Around 60% of the respondents who had not moved within the last five years, gave as their reason for not moving the lack of suitable vacancies, which partly reflects the low vacancy rates. Another 25% said that they did not have enough money for the three months' advance rent payments usually demanded by landlords. It is evident that immobility in Benin-city does not reflect the households' choices and preferences.

Strassmann (1991) on the other hand, contrary to Ozo, reported that in Korea tenants move very frequently. He indicated that rents are secured in the form of an interest-free loan to the landlord that is returned upon vacation of the premises. Seoul has grown very quickly and since irregular settlements and self-help building are no longer tolerated, there is a housing shortage, rents are rising quickly, and the state has no control over them. To avoid evictions (which would mean the loss of deposit money), and to hedge against inflation, tenants have to move very frequently - on average a tenant moves every three years.

These contrasting rates of residential mobility show how different policies have great effect on residential mobility.

Since the research reviewed in this section was confined to immigrants or the urban poor, our knowledge of residential mobility in the third world in terms of its function and form remains limited. Nevertheless they have contributed to our understanding in an analytical respect.

As is clear, the different forms of housing supply, and the particular forms of state intervention into the land and housing sphere, were the key factors affecting the different forms and rates of residential mobility. In other words with reference to those results it can be concluded that the particular form of housing supply, together with the state priorities and concerns in housing and consequent housing policies, are the principal aspects of the context affecting residential mobility.

Furthermore, Gilbert & Ward (1985) pointed out that the conditions of labour markets (i.e. employment levels, income levels, and changes in wages) have to be examined as well in order to understand the context of housing consumption. They indicated that employment conditions, housing policies, and housing supply, together determine the degree to which the poor are able to exercise a choice over their housing situation. This further broadens our analytical framework.

Having examined the approaches taken by residential mobility researches in the third world, we need to ask whether a specific explanatory model is necessary to understand residential mobility in the rapidly growing third world cities, or whether a general model can be constructed which explains residential mobility in all the countries.

#### 1.4 A GENERAL EXPLANATORY MODEL OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

As a result of our analysis of the previous literature it can be seen that there is a systematic link between contextual features and residential mobility such that one can conceive residential mobility within a single model. Within this model the different forms of residential mobility in different types of societies correspond to different sets of values on the same contextual and household variables.

Reference back to the research in both developed and developing countries will clarify this argument further. As was seen in Munt (1987), and Murie et al (1976), housing supply conditions, volume of production, changes in production, rents and prices, and decisions by private and public institutions, were the key features of the local contexts which influenced



housing consumption and residential mobility. Pickvance (1974) also pointed out that the decisions of private and public institutions - in short, the conditions of supply - should be referred to in order to understand the context in which residential mobility occurs. Furthermore the research by Gilbert & Ward (1982), Edwards (1983), Ozo (1986), and Strassmann (1991), showed that in different third world cities, the form of state intervention in the housing sphere, and land and housing supply conditions, resulted in different patterns and rates of residential mobility among the urban poor. Hence it is apparent that (i) housing policies which reflect state priorities in housing, and which influence the decisions of the market institutions; and ii) consequent land and housing supply conditions are the key variables to be included in the explanatory framework; and the different values of these variables in different localities identify the main features of the local contexts. Furthermore as was mentioned, Gilbert & Ward (1985) pointed out the importance of examining labour market conditions in order to understand the context of housing consumption. Although Gilbert and Ward discussed this matter in relation to the housing consumption of low income households in the third world, this can and should be generalised: labour market conditions together with patterns of income distribution have to be examined in order to understand the context of housing consumption for different income groups in all urban economies.

In short, it is apparent that to understand residential mobility in different localities does not require particular explanatory frameworks. A single analytical model is possible through which residential mobility can be examined in different contexts.

Housing supply conditions, housing policies, and the conditions of the labour markets have been identified as the structural variables of the model. Although it is a single model, the different values taken by these variables will enable us to grasp the particular conditions of the contexts - the extent of the constraints, and the range of alternatives and opportunities available in the housing spheres in different localities. In view of this let us now refer back to the basic analytical principle arrived at previously to make the analytical framework further explicit. It was established that residential mobility research should incorporate both analyses of household demand, and the structural conditions of the context in which mobility occurs. Hence the general model can be described as a matrix which has room for both household demand as well as for the particular structural conditions of the context. Analyses of

household demand will explore the impacts of household characteristics on their residential mobility, the household preferences, and the households' own evaluations of the extent to which their preferences are realised. At the same time housing supply conditions, conditions of the employment sphere, income distribution patterns, and housing policies (which reflect state concerns and priorities in the housing sphere) will comprise the structural variables of the model.

We shall now attempt to understand the extent to which residential mobility in the rapidly growing third world cities is different in terms of its function from the residential mobility observed in the developed capitalist countries. In the latter case residential mobility appears to be a mechanism for households to adjust their changing housing needs. However the context of residential mobility in the third world cities should be considerably different from that of the developed countries. We shall outline the factors that can be influential on residential mobility in the third world cities to see the extent to which residential mobility can have the same function as those observed in the developed capitalist countries. Examining the distinctive features of the structural variables will provide us with some clues of the extent to which determinants of residential mobility in the third world are different. The results of case studies (reviewed above) which examine residential mobility with reference to the context already comprised a perspective on the matter; they suggest that residential (im)mobility of households is less likely to be due to their own needs. Nevertheless, these studies were limited in number and concentrate on immigrants or urban poor, furthermore some of them did not look at all the relevant structural variables. Here looking at the distinctive features of the structural variables in the third world countries will provide a broader perspective to understand the context of residential mobility in the third world, and whether it is an adjustment mechanism, or whether it serves for different purposes - is caused by different factors.

## 1.5 DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE CONTEXT IN THE RAPIDLY GROWING CITIES OF THE THIRD WORLD

We acknowledge that there are a lot of differences between the third world countries and even between cities in the same country in their housing supply mechanisms, forms of state

intervention in the housing sphere, and labour markets. However low economic development levels (low levels of GNP per capita), limited industrial development which can not keep pace with rapid urbanisation, and rapidly increasing demand for housing are the striking common phenomena that these countries experience - in contrast to the developed western countries. These common experiences must have shaped some main features of land and housing markets, state priorities in housing, and labour markets in similar ways in many third world countries. Here we shall outline these main common features of the structural variables.

### Land and housing supply conditions

Sharply increasing demand for urban services, including land and housing, on the one hand, and the quite low levels of GNP on the other severely constrain the government's ability to make public investments and to provide services for urban residents in almost all third world countries. An inelastic supply of serviced land, and the consequent dual structure of the housing stock - i.e. authorised and unauthorised - are the major common characteristics of all rapidly growing third world cities. The inelastic supply of serviced land, and the continuously increasing housing demand - primarily due to the high rates of urbanisation - constitute ideal conditions for high rates of increase in land prices and land speculation. Several third world studies have reported that not only large capital, but also small family savings are invested in urban real estate as a hedge against inflation - Peattie (1979), Durand-Lasserve (1983), Oncu (1988). Rapid rises in land prices and speculative potential are not confined to authorised land. The unauthorised land and housing stock have been commercialised in almost all the third world countries and have also gained a speculative potential.

Nevertheless it should be noted that there are some studies which indicate that the recession in the 1980s has caused land speculation to lose its momentum in both parts of the market. Gilbert & Varley (1991) for example found that in Guadalajara (Mexico) in the 1980s real prices of land had stopped rising faster than inflation. They reported that between 1975 and 1980 average price per square meter increase by 14% (in terms of 1985 prices), whereas between 1980 and 1985 average price fell by 3%. Findings from Mexico City and Caracas also suggested that the land prices were not increasing faster than inflation (Gilbert 1989). However as Gilbert (1992) indicated although land prices may not have been increasing in

real terms, they may still have risen relative to incomes, but there is not much reliable data on this topic. Moreover the stabilisation of land prices relative to inflation is not a general finding among third world countries.

Amis (1990) argued that land speculation is still widespread in most of the African countries. He wrote that "in stagnant economies and/or in periods of economic recession, land and housing are likely to be seen as secure and/or lucrative outlets for investments. This is clearly the case in contemporary Africa" (p 19). Dowall (1992) also reported rocketing land prices in Bangkok (in constant dollar terms) both inside and on the fringes of these cities.

Through the findings of the research reviewed here, it can be seen that trends in land prices, vary considerably between different third world cities. Various local circumstances play roles on these trends e.g. the extent to which land invasions are allowed, the form of behaviour of capital in choosing between different sectors in which to invest during the recession and so forth (see Durand-Lasserve 1990, and Gilbert 1992 for discussions on circumstances influential on land prices). Hence it is difficult to make generalisations about the existence of land speculation and prohibitive land prices among all the third world cities. However findings from different third world cities suggest that high rates of increase in land prices are not an unusual experience in the third world. Even if the land speculation in some countries is not as intense as was the case up until the 1980s, land prices may still be increasing relative to incomes.

Now let us look at housing supply conditions. Materials prices are reported to have increased in several third world countries due to different factors i.e. dependency on export products (in conventional housing production), the monopolistic or oligopolistic structure of the building materials industry, and/or limited production capacity of the material industry (see Drakakis-Smith 1981, Linn 1983, Turel 1990, Okoye 1990, Ozo 1990). Recession could have a depressive impact on construction material prices. However, in Venezuela material prices were found to be keeping pace with inflation, in Mexico they seemed to be increasing even in real terms (Gilbert 1989), and in Brazil and Colombia there are signs that material prices are increasing relative to the minimum wage - though not increasing faster than inflation - (Gilbert & Gugler 1992). Given that materials costs comprise an important component of

housing production costs, in many third world countries housing costs have probably been increasing. Furthermore Drakakis-Smith (1981) indicated that in some cases producers introduce a risk component to prices, leading to rises in selling prices which are disproportionate to rises in production costs.

In the authorised stock most of the housing is supplied by the private sector. Public investment in conventional housing does not exceed 10% of total production in most developing countries - Linn (1983). More recent studies, Cohen (1990) and Gilbert (1992) have pointed out that debt crises placed severe constraints on governments' ability to invest in housing and urban services in many third world countries in the 1980s. Decline in many governments' spending in urban services and infrastructure was already evident in the early 1980s (World Bank report 1988, p:113). It is therefore unlikely that public investment in housing production in the late 1980s has increased and reached a significant proportion of total housing production in most third world countries.

The tenancy ratio was found to be quite significant in many third world countries. In the authorised stock the percentage varies between 30% and 50% (See Linn 1983 Table 5.7, pp 136-137). There is limited data however on the proportion of private renting, Edwards (1990) indicates that private renting is quite significant in Latin America, whereas there are some countries in Africa where public renting (including company houses) ranges between 30 - 60%. The rental sector has been an important component of the unauthorised housing stock as well. Given the rising land prices in several countries - even if not in real terms, then at least relative to incomes - rising material prices, and limited public investments in housing; considerable proportions of tenancy should not be surprising to start with. Although in some case studies limited accessibility to ownership was argued to be an important factor, in some other research renting is argued to be less likely related with accessibility but more likely to be a matter of choice, since this form of tenure provides more flexibility.

There are not many studies concerning rent levels, rates of increase of rents, and other supply conditions of private renting. Furthermore most of the available research concentrates on unauthorised stock renting. Data on the authorised housing stock renting conditions is even more limited. Results of the research varies quite a lot.

Amis' (1984) study in unauthorised housing stock in Nairobi (Kenya) for example, indicates that rent levels are not subject to legal rent controls, and that rents increase when incomes rise; In 1980 when the minimum wage was raised, the rent level also increased immediately, despite the fact that the government made explicit warnings to prevent rises in rents. Nearly 40% of tenants were found to have severe difficulty in affording their rents. Amis reported that landlordism was large scale, and landlord-tenant relations were generally hostile. Physical violence and immediate evictions following the failure to pay the rent were not unusual practices. Similarly Ozo (1990) indicated that in Benin City (Nigeria) tenants have a very weak position against landlords. His research showed that tenants suffer insecurity of tenure. There is always the fear that they could be evicted at short notice and that those who resist could be harassed. On the other hand some research presents evidence from the unauthorised stock which is contrary to the above arguments. Aina (1990) for example reported that in an unauthorised district of Olaleye (Nigeria), where landlords operate on a small scale and landlord-tenant relations are not generally hostile 41% of the tenants argued that their rent was unfair, while 56% felt that it was fair. He also reported that rent increases are not very frequent. Gilbert & Varley (1991) gave figures concerning the rent increases for Mexico. Throughout most of the 1980s rents increased marginally above the minimum salary, only in 1988 and 1989 were there considerable increases in rents relative to the wages. They indicated that as a result of the government's anti-inflationary policy, the minimum salary was permitted to rise by only 11% in 1988, and that despite the government's efforts to limit the rent rises, in that same year rents increased by 85%. These drastic rises in rents relative to wages were interpreted as a lagged response to the increases in inflation in the previous years, and they added that rent rises would possibly fall later. In the same study relations between tenants and landlords were examined in two cities of Mexico: Guadalajara and Puebla. It is reported that most landlords in both cities operate on a small scale, and that although eviction is not uncommon, occurring mainly because tenants failed to pay the rent, tenant-landlord relations are not too conflictual - unlike the situation reported by Amis (1984). In self-help housing settlements in Bogota (Colombia), Gilbert (1983) examined the reasons for moving out of the previous units, and tenancy durations. He argued that although the tenants were not constantly subject to evictions, they clearly did not have any real security of tenure. Furthermore in unauthorised settlements upgrading projects may lead to excessive increases

in rents, and evictions. Such cases were encountered in some African cities<sup>3</sup>. But this is not a general finding, Rakodi (1988) for example found little evidence of increased rents in Lusaka after the unauthorised settlements were upgraded.

Rent/income ratios vary from very high to quite moderate levels between the countries. Malpezzi and Mayo (1987) showed that in different cities in Colombia and Korea the ratio ranges between 30% and 77% among the low income groups. The city average in these countries is around 20%. In contrast the ratio for several cities in India, Egypt, Philippines and El Salvador ranges between 9% and 17% among the poor, and the city average in these countries is around 8%. Ozo (1990) indicated that in Benin City (Nigeria) the ratio is quite high, an average worker spends between 25% and 40% of his monthly income on rent. In Pueblo and Guadalajara (Mexico) on the other hand the ratio for the whole city was found to be low, at 13%. Even for households earning less than the minimum salary the ratio was found to be 16% (Gilbert & Varley 1991). Amis (1984) reported that the ratio is 14% among the urban poor in Nairobi. He indicates that the ratio for Nairobi can be considered to be low compared to the international agencies' arbitrary figure of 20%, but he added that the average tenant's household income in the survey was found to be slightly higher than the amount necessary to fulfill a household's basic nutritional requirements alone. Hence considering the particular economic context of the country, rents appear to be high financial burdens for the low income groups in Nairobi.

Thus considering these patchy data about the conditions of private renting in the third world one can suggest that lack of tenure security and high rent burdens are quite common experiences among the low income groups in particular. Nevertheless it should be indicated that these conditions cannot be argued to be general findings for all the third world countries. Several studies have produced little or no evidence to support the existence of such unfavourable conditions in some cities, while others suggest that some unfavourable conditions of supply, e.g. rapid rises in rents, may not be constant trends. It should also be added that the above reviewed research does not provide much data on authorised stock

---

<sup>3</sup>Gilbert (1992) refers to his personnel communication with Richard Stren.

renting, hence it is not possible to go in to any argument about the conditions experienced by middle and low income groups in the authorised rental housing markets.

### State objectives and housing policies

As was argued the particular features of land and housing supply conditions should be understood with reference to the State's priorities and objectives in the housing arena, together with its financial viability. In this section the State's priorities and its forms of intervention in the housing sphere will be outlined. This will help our understanding of the formation of certain land and housing supply conditions which seemed to be common among many third world countries.

The State's relation to the housing sphere can range from non-intervention in the market to the production and management of a nation's housing stock (see Ungerson & Donnison (1982) for different forms of state intervention in the housing sphere). In almost all the third world countries the State's intervention in land and housing production generally remains at moderate levels - in other words much closer to the "non-intervention" end of the scale. As was explained previously, in almost all the third world countries, the low GNP levels and the sheer magnitude of the demand, constrain the ability of state to provide services including housing for the whole urban population. Moreover as was also mentioned in the 1980s in particular, the debt crises that all the third world governments experience put further constraints on their ability to invest in urban services. In addition, in most of these countries housing is not one of the priorities for investment of scarce financial sources.

These factors obviously have important impacts on the formation of the State's objectives and level of intervention in the housing arena, but do not amount to a complete explanation. Beyond these reasons governments mostly prefer not to intervene in market forces since in an environment where the serviced land supply is inelastic and demand is rising continuously, the urban housing and land market offers a major channel of capital accumulation and hence fulfils an essential economic function, leading to the formation of interests around land and housing transactions. Several studies in different third world countries argue that land speculation has never been challenged, and policies have done nothing to dissuade



speculation. Durand-Lasserve (1983) wrote that the State's non-interventive behaviour towards speculation in Bangkok was not solely the result of a deficiency in the State apparatus, or a lack of coordination between administrative departments. On the contrary the State and public authorities have shown no will to intervene, mainly because the extra revenue from urban property during periods of increasing demand is a form of capital accumulation, and has been encouraged by different groups. Oncu (1988) also indicated that the urban land market in Turkey represents a major channel of accumulation. Interest groups form around it, and the State generally prefers not to intervene in its operation, apart from channelling limited credit availability to the middle classes to ensure the continuity of their effective demand for urban property. Gilbert & Ward (1985) reported examples in Latin America of public organisations engaging in land speculation.

The State's policies concerning the unauthorised land and housing broadens our perspective on the matter. Increasing tolerance of land invasions and illegal subdivision, and the upgrading of these settlements have become popular policies among the third world countries within the last two decades. These policies involve several different motives. Cheap accommodation must be available for the urban poor to ensure the low cost of reproduction of the labour force if the third world economy is to continue to function within the world economy. For the State, allowing land invasions and upgrading of the stock is the least costly way of housing the poor masses (Burgess 1985). Accepting and upgrading the unauthorised stock is in the State's own interest as well, since such a policy ensures social stability. Furthermore it enables governments to gather the votes of these masses (Nelson 1979, Drakakis-Smith 1981). While at the same time unauthorised land and stock has been commercialised, and led to the formation of several interest groups - i.e. owners of land near to unauthorised settlements, construction companies, land speculators. The state never interferes with the commercialisation of unauthorised stock, moreover upgrading projects for these settlements have probably enhanced the speculative potential of the stock in many cities. Nevertheless at this point some questions must be raised: i) One of the important factors leading the State to tolerate land invasions and illegal subdivisions was assumed to be ensuring the reproduction of labour at low costs, but commercialisation of this stock obviously increases the cost of housing for the urban poor. This raises the question of why the State does not challenge this; Furthermore ii) Why does the State sometimes demolish such

settlements and engage in urban renewal (Gilbert & Ward 1982, Gilbert & Gugler 1992). Answers to these questions depend on a wider understanding of the State's objectives in the housing sphere. The State acts to maintain the overall conditions for capital accumulation, but is nevertheless subject to pressures from various interest groups (Peattie 1979, Gilbert & Ward 1982). Its housing response therefore constitutes a balance between these interests while at the same time aiming to maintain the existing economic system and overall conditions of capital accumulation (Gilbert & Gugler 1992). Hence such an objective of state, together with the rapidly increasing demand for housing in the third world cities and limited resources to be invested in land and housing production further clarify our perspective about the context of housing consumption of the masses in third world cities.

### Labour market conditions

As was established in our explanatory model, the labour market was another structural variable to be examined. We will now look at the distinctive conditions of labour markets - in terms of income levels, changes in incomes, job turnover, and job security - in the third world. It is a well known fact that industrialisation could not keep pace with rapid urbanisation in most third world countries. Apart from limited industrial expansion, most of the third world countries foster capital intensive industrialisation which can offer employment only for a highly educated, skilled labour force (Herbert 1979, Gilbert & Gugler 1992). Hence the influx of semi- or unskilled labour to urban labour markets on the one hand, and limited, capital-intensive, industrial development on the other, have resulted in an excess of labour with limited skills, low levels of incomes, and lack of job security. Estimates for several countries suggest that labour without job security (unprotected labour) comprises considerable proportions of the urban labour force. Gilbert & Gugler (1992) referring to six Latin American and two Asian countries quote figures of between two fifths and two thirds of the urban labour force as in the "informal sector"<sup>4</sup>. It should be indicated that unprotected labour (informal employment) is not confined to the "informal sector" activities, unprotected labour can be found in the largest and most modern firms in some third world countries. The

---

<sup>4</sup>We acknowledge that the line between formal and informal sector is not clear. The criteria used in the above estimations could be different. Nevertheless, these estimations provide us with a picture of the size of the unprotected labour force in those third world countries.

same authors refer to a labour survey in Guadalajara (Mexico) which found that 20% of respondents working in firms employing more than 500 workers were not covered by social security or having temporary contract.

Furthermore, the 1980s witnessed decreases in the earnings of the working masses in many third world countries due to the acute debt crisis. Governments, while decreasing public investments, keep wage levels down to low levels in order to cope with the debt crisis and rising inflation (see Cohen 1990, Gilbert 1992).

Thus given that (i) the real earnings of the masses are decreasing in many third world countries; (ii) considerable proportions of the labour force experience low incomes, and many of them do not have job security; (iii) housing material prices are increasing at high rates in many third world countries; (iv) though land speculation is not rampant any more in some third world countries, land prices may well be increasing relative to incomes, while in some others land speculation did not lose much of its momentum; (v) very limited proportions of the stock are provided by the state; (vi) lack of tenure security and high rent burdens are not uncommon experiences among the low income groups in some places: the context of housing consumption does not seem to be compatible for housing adjustments for the majority of households. In other words considerable proportions of (im)mobility decisions in many third world cities are expected to be different in terms of their function from those in developed capitalist countries: they are more likely to be a forced response to the context. Furthermore, the decreases in real wages on the one hand, and rising trend in prices of construction material and land relative to incomes on the other, may even influence the housing consumption of the middle income groups in several cities; hence their (im)mobility decisions may not perfectly fit the adjustment model.

## 1.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter studies of residential mobility and related approaches have been reviewed. Our aim was to understand residential mobility in terms of its function and causes, to establish ways of examining it both in developed and developing countries, and finally to set out an analytical framework for our own research.

In the first section, studies in developed countries and related approaches were reviewed. It was seen that in developed capitalist countries a very significant volume of research has been guided by the behavioural approach, where residential mobility is explained with exclusive reference to household demand and characteristics. Through the results of these studies residential mobility was understood to be an adjustment mechanism in the developed countries. However, given that households are not the only actors in the housing sphere, but others i.e. financial and governmental organisations, constructors, land owners, and so forth, also take part in that sphere, it is apparent that examining residential mobility in relation to household demand, preferences, needs, and socio-economic characteristics is important and necessary, but not sufficient to understand all the aspects of the matter within a broad perspective.

Marxist and institutionalist approaches on the other hand have focused on the context of decision making. In the marxist approach, residential differentiation and allocation of housing were interwoven with capitalist accumulation processes. While the institutionalist approach provided explanations in terms of the policies and practices (eligibility criteria) of housing market institutions. But neither of these approaches is household demand taken into account. Households are considered to be passive respondents to external factors. Although it is apparent that the households' housing consumption decisions are not autonomous (or subjectively chosen), their choice among the range of alternatives available, their responses to the constraints (e.g. trade-off of priorities, coping strategies and so forth) and the impacts of their own characteristics on their decisions, are important issues in understanding residential mobility.

Hence it was established that analyses of household demand (choices and preferences), and of the structural factors, cannot be treated as mutually exclusive if an understanding of residential mobility is to be achieved. A few studies examined residential mobility using a combined approach in the developed countries. Reviewing these studies clarified our perspective in terms of analysing and explaining mobility with reference to both household demand and structural conditions. In these studies changes in land values, decisions taken by the producers in terms of where and how much to produce, and decisions made by public institutions, were shown or argued to be the key factors influencing the particular conditions of the context in which residential mobility occurs. Household demand on the other hand is defined as a response to the particular conditions of the context, yet influenced by and originating from household characteristics, needs and preferences.

In the second section of the chapter residential mobility studies in the third world was reviewed. It was seen that several studies in the third world were also guided by the behavioural approach. The "Turner model" was a quite significant example of this approach in the third world. In that model the relocation patterns of immigrants in the city were described with reference to their own priorities. On the other hand, there were a few studies which examined mobility with reference to structural conditions. However all these researchers confined their studies to the residential mobility of immigrants or of the urban poor. To our knowledge there is no study which looks at residential mobility in the city as a whole in the third world. Constraints and/or the range of housing alternatives and opportunities experienced by different socio-economic groups in the third world cities - where demand for land and housing is increasing continuously, housing production costs most likely to increase at high rates in many places, and where real wages are decreasing - have not been examined. Residential mobility of the different socio-economic groups (or the households in different segments of the stock) in the third world cities: whether it is a matter of choice or more likely a forced response to the context has remained unexplored so far.

Nevertheless, research which concentrates on the context of residential mobility of immigrants contributed to our efforts to establish the analytical principles for examining residential mobility. These studies showed that the particular conditions of land and housing supply, and the specific forms of state intervention in the land and housing sphere, have been the key

factors affecting rates and patterns of residential mobility. In addition to the conditions of housing supply, it was argued that labour market conditions ought to be taken into account, since for the majority of households their ability to exercise their choice over their housing situation is the outcome of both housing supply conditions and the labour market conditions - i.e. income levels, changes in income levels, and stability of employment.

In the third section of the chapter, a general explanatory model for residential mobility was set out. With reference to the studies and discussions both in developed and developing countries, it was established that there is a systematic link between contextual features and residential mobility such that one can conceive residential mobility within a single model. Within this model the different forms of residential mobility in the different types of societies correspond to different sets of values on the same contextual and household variables.

The principles of the model can be summarised as follows: (i) It incorporates both analyses of the conditions of the context in which residential mobility occurs, and of household demand; (ii) Housing supply conditions, housing policies, and labour market conditions are the structural variables of the model which will enable us to grasp the effect of the context; (iii) Analyses of household demand should explore the impacts of the households' own socio-economic characteristics and of their needs on their (im)mobility, and the households' subjective experience of constraints and/or opportunities concerning their housing consumption, including (im)mobility decisions. These principles will also guide our own research in the particular case of Turkey.

Then in the last section of the Chapter the distinctive features of the structural variables in the third world were outlined to understand the context of residential mobility in third world cities and to see whether the residential mobility in the third world fits the residential mobility reported in the developed capitalist countries in terms of its function. Rapidly increasing demand for urban land and housing, limited industrialisation, low levels of GNP per capita and debts are the common experiences among most of the third world countries and must have underlain some of the main features of the structural variables in similar ways. Although it would be wrong to make generalisations about the features of the structural variables among the third world countries, some features appeared to be quite common, or

occurring in different rates or extents among the many countries. We concluded that residential mobility is less likely to have been an adjustment mechanism in the third world, rather it may more likely be a forced response to the context. Moreover, this form of residential mobility may not be confined to the low income groups, (im)mobility decisions by the middle income households may not perfectly fit the adjustment model, either.

In the following two chapters, in accordance with the explanatory model, development policies, the socio-economic indicators, housing supply conditions, the State's interest in the housing sphere and housing policies, and labour market conditions in Turkey in the 1980s will be examined in order to define the context in which residential mobility takes place.

## **2 Economic Development Policies - Labour Market Conditions and Income Distribution Patterns in Turkey**

---

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter the particular features of labour markets and the economic policies affecting income distribution will be examined. As was established in the previous chapter, changes in the employment structure, the distribution of job opportunities and earnings, changes in income levels, and the consequent patterns of stratification and social mobility in urban areas, together with housing supply conditions, are considered to be the principal factors determining the context in which residential mobility takes place. By stratification we mean differentiation among people in terms of income and work positions (positions within the occupational hierarchy) and social mobility refers to the changes in people's positions in relation to either income levels, or work positions, or both.

The liberalisation of the Turkish economy since 1980 (a turning point in the country's economy) and the ongoing process of urbanisation since the 1950s are the two phenomena which are taken to be fundamental in our analyses of labour markets and income distribution mechanisms in Turkey in the 1980s.

Turkey's economic development process since the establishment of a republic and the policies and conditions that gave rise to these crucial phenomena through the development process will be presented briefly in section 2.2. Then in section 2.3 rural-urban migration will be discussed as an important source of labour supply in the urban labour markets. Evidence of the phenomenon of "over-urbanisation" - roughly defined as the situation in which the formal sector is incapable of absorbing the labour supply by rural-urban migration - will be presented and the impact of this situation on labour markets and income distribution will be discussed. In section 2.4 we discuss the liberalisation of the economy and its impacts (i) on production



processes and business management methods which affect changes in the economy's demand for particular skills and labour qualifications and (ii) on the distribution of national income between different income types within the economy. With the economy undergoing rapid change, the extent to which the changes in demand for particular skills could be met is also an important issue underlying the stratification of labour markets. The relationship between the economy's need for particular skills and qualifications and the supply of skilled, qualified personnel by the education system, and with its impact on the stratification of labour markets is discussed in the final section.

## 2.2 A BRIEF SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 industrial investment has been accepted as the most appropriate means of developing the country towards a self-sufficient economy, the aim being to develop the indigenous industry. Due to the absence of strong private enterprise the key development strategy was for the State to intervene in the economy in order to lay the foundations for the development of private enterprise and to stimulate growth in those sectors of the economy neglected by private capital<sup>1</sup>. But it was not until after 1929 (after the expiry of the Lausanne Treaty<sup>2</sup>) that the Turkish State was able to establish its "Etatist" economic development policy much more firmly. The chief aim was to industrialise and an "Import Substitution" model was chosen as the basis of economic development. Consequently the Turkish State closed its economy to the world market in order to protect the indigenous industrialists from competition with foreign goods in the local markets (Ramazanoglu 1985, Boratav 1989). In the first two decades of the republic industrialists were given generous incentives and the State made extensive direct investments in industry. The "Karabuk" steel-mill factory, established in 1939, was a very prominent example of the State's direct investment.

---

<sup>1</sup>1923 Izmir Economy Congress (see Kepenek 1984, Ramazanoglu 1985)

<sup>2</sup>The Lausanne treaty between 1923 and 1929 prevented the Turkish State from applying custom duties to foreign consumption goods. Turkish private capital had little incentive to invest in industry when quicker and easier profits could be made through import trade (see Ramazanoglu 1985).

An alternative development policy to the "Import Substitution" model started to be considered in the political environment after the second world war. Turkey had agricultural products and raw materials to offer and in return could provide a market for manufactured goods. This model was supported by both the opposition (the first multi-party system was instituted in 1946 and the Democrat Party was established as the opposition) and a group within the government<sup>3</sup>. As will be seen in the following pages, from the late 1940s and particularly during the 1950s agriculture was rapidly being mechanised.

The development policy of the late 1940s and 1950s can be defined as agriculture based growth (Kepenek 1984, Isik 1992). Furthermore from 1950<sup>4</sup> to 1954 the import substitution strategy as a blueprint of the Turkish State's economic development policy was abandoned in favour of export orientation. Nevertheless due to the economic crises and increasing budget deficits, in 1954 Turkey returned to the Import Substitution policy (and continued its struggle for economic development through this strategy until 1980). Towards the late 1950s the need to guide the accumulating private capital and to cope with increasing budget deficits led the State to prepare development plans to establish investment priorities. In 1963 the Planned Economy period started<sup>5</sup>. Today Turkey is in the process of implementing its sixth Five Year Development Plan. The common denominator in all these plans is the fact that industry has been taken as the leading force of economic growth. The planned growth rates of the sectoral shares in the GNP (presented in Table 2.1) show this quite clearly.

---

<sup>3</sup>The main reason for the appearance of an alternative development policy is the opportunity to export agricultural products and raw materials to the embattle powers during the years of the second world war, and the consequent growth of wealth in the hands of land owners and the commercial bourgeoisie (Ramazanoglu 1985).

<sup>4</sup>In 1950 the Democrat Party won the elections.

<sup>5</sup>In 1934 a Five Year Industrialisation Plan was drawn up and applied. The development plans began in 1963 were more global, including the other sectors in the economy.

TABLE 2.1      Planned Growth Rates of Sectors and GNP

		Agriculture	Industry	Services	GNP
First Plan	(1963-67)	4.2	12.3	6.8	7.0
Second Plan	(1968-72)	4.1	12.0	6.3	7.0
Third Plan	(1973-77)	3.7	11.2	7.7	7.4
Fourth Plan	(1978-83)	5.3	9.9	8.5	8.0
Fifth Plan	(1985-89)	3.6	7.5	6.4	6.3
Sixth Plan	(1990-94)	4.2	8.4	6.9	7.0

Sources:            Compiled from Kepenek (1984) and Fifth and Sixth Development Plans by the State Planning Organisation

Through the development policies which mostly took industrialisation as the leading force, the structure of the economy has changed significantly since the 1920s. Shares of sectors within the GNP show this clearly (see Table 2.2 below).

TABLE 2.2      Composition of Gross National Product between 1923 and 1988\* (%) and Growth of GNP

	1923-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79**	80-88
Agriculture	46	42	44	41	32	23	22
Industry	11	16	15	15	17	22	25
Services	43	42	41	44	51	55	53
GNP Growth Rate (%)***	10.9	6.8	0.5	6.9	5.7	5.8	4.9

Sources:            Compiled from Kepenek (1984), Hic (1988), Boratav (1989), Turkish Economics (1989) by TUSIAD

\*      Figures for shares of sectors until 1969 are based on current prices

\*\*     Figures for 1970-79 and 1980-88 are based on 1968 fixed prices

\*\*\*    Growth rates between 1923 and 1939 are based on fixed prices of 1939 and between 1950 and 1988 fixed prices of 1968

While industry has been taken as the priority of the development policies since the 1920s, the mechanisation of agriculture and hence increasing agricultural productivity have also been the aim. But as Kepenek (1984) pointed out, within the first two decades of the republic there was little improvement in agricultural techniques and governments were generally more concerned with land distribution. A rapid increase (or boom) in the mechanisation of agriculture was seen after the war years in the late 1940s (see Table 2.3). As was explained by Ramazanoglu (1985), opportunities to export agricultural products arose in the war years and the accumulation of wealth led agriculture to be the basis of development policies during the 1950s in Turkey. Also during the planned period, although industry was again considered to be the leading force of the economy, the mechanisation of agriculture and increasing productivity constituted the aim and the number of tractors continued to increase (as shown in Table 2.3 below). Kepenek (1984) indicated that arable land had reached its limits in the 1960s and increasing productivity in agriculture was necessary in order to create sources to transfer to industry.

Such intensive and constant mechanisation caused a tremendous influx of population from rural areas to the cities. It was essentially unemployed agricultural workers who migrated, although small land owners probably contributed to the influx as well. It is reported by Danielson & Keles (1985) that most farms were small - three quarters of the farms in 1970 were less than 50 decares (mostly under 12 acres) which made the use of modern agricultural machines difficult. Hence productivity, was low for small land owners and generated minimal incomes. While at the same time, due to the development of health services on the one hand and inefficient birth control programmes on the other<sup>6</sup>, the total population was increasing at high rates. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 below show the population growth and urbanisation within the last 50 years in Turkey.

---

<sup>6</sup>In Turkey governments avoid insisting on the implementation of birth control programmes for fear of jeopardising the vote, particularly the rural vote.

TABLE 2.3      Mechanisation of Agriculture

Year	No. of Tractors	Increase Rate (%)	Year	No. of Tractors	Increase Rate (%)
1945	1,156	-	1963	50,844	16.2
1946	1,356	17.3	1964	51,781	2.0
1947	1,556	14.7	1965	54,668	5.5
1948	1,756	12.9	1966	65,103	19.0
1949	9,170	422.9	1967	74,982	15.2
1950	16,585	80.9	1968	85,475	14.0
1951	24,000	44.7	1969	96,407	13.0
1952	31,415	30.9	1970	105,865	10.0
1953	35,600	13.3	1971	118,825	12.0
1954	37,743	6.0	1972	135,726	14.2
1955	49,282	6.7	1973	156,139	15.0
1956	43,727	8.6	1974	200,466	28.0
1957	44,144	1.0	1975	243,066	21.2
1958	42,525	-3.7	1976	281,802	16.0
1959	41,986	-1.5	1977	320,578	14.0
1960	42,136	0.6	1978	370,259	15.5
1961	42,505	0.9	1979	402,777	9.0
1962	43,747	2.9	1980	436,369	8.3

Source:            Kepenek (1984) p109 Table V.4; p243 Table X1.4

TABLE 2.4 Urban and Rural Populations Between 1927 - 1985

	Total Population	Urban Population	% Urban Pop. within Total	Rural Population	% Rural Pop. within Total
1927	13,648,000	2,236,000	16.4	11,412,000	83.6
1940	17,821,000	3,234,000	18.1	14,586,000	81.9
1950	20,947,000	3,884,000	18.5	17,063,000	81.5
1960	27,755,000	7,189,000	25.9	20,566,000	74.1
1970	35,605,000	11,821,000	33.2	23,784,000	66.8
1980	44,737,000	20,330,000	45.4	24,406,000	54.6
1985	50,664,458	25,789,000	50.9	24,875,458	49.1

Sources: Between 1927 - 1980 Keles & Denielson (1985), p.28; 1985 figures State Statistical Institute Population Census, 1985

TABLE 2.5 Urbanisation Rate between 1927 - 1985

Period	Annual Rate (%)
1927 - 1940	2.8
1940 - 1950	1.8
1950 - 1960	6.4
1960 - 1970	5.1
1970 - 1980	5.6
1980 - 1985	4.3

Source: As above

Particularly after 1950 which marked the beginning of agricultural mechanisation, urban growth accelerated sharply and with an urbanisation rate of 6.4% between 1950 and 1960 Turkey became one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in the world. Since 1950 the population in urban areas has been expanding much faster than in rural Turkey, despite the fact that the natural growth rate in rural areas is much higher than in urban districts.

It is reported that rural-urban migration comprises around 50-60% of the population increase in cities (Kepenek 1984; OECD Report 1988). Between 1950 -1985 the average annual increase in the urban population was 5.3%. By 1985 6 times as many people lived in cities and towns as in 1950. Large cities grew even faster; in those with populations of over 100,000 the average rate of urbanisation was 7% during the same period. Within the context of this extremely rapid urbanisation, three metropolitan cities have been established in Turkey: Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. More than a third of the total urban population lives in one of these metropolitan cities (see Table 2.6).



TABLE 2.6 Share of Metropolitan Cities in Population

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
In Total Population (%)	12	13	15	17	18	19
In Urban Population (%)	35	36	37	39	38	37

Source: OECD Report 1988, p11, Table II.5

It should be noted that in addition to rural unemployment, significant income differences between the rural and urban sectors have emerged through Turkey's development process (see Table 2.7).

TABLE 2.7 Sectoral Mean Incomes Per Capita (at Current Prices) and their Ratios to the Economy Wide Average

	1963		1973	
	TL.	Ratio to Total	TL.	Ratio to Total
Rural Sector	1,082	0.54	3,301	0.49
Urban Informal Sector	2,582	1.28	8,056	1.19
Urban Formal Sector	5,403	2.69	14,807	2.18
Total	2,012	1.00	6,785	1.00

Source: Kuran (1980) p362, Table II.3

Moreover better living standards in cities relative to rural circumstances must have also encouraged the massive flow of population from rural to urban areas. Research carried out in unauthorised housing (gecekondü) areas of Istanbul by Senyapili (1982) found that most of the migrants are aware that their standards of living are lower than the rest of the city dwellers, but they believe that they have come a long way in comparison with the conditions

of village life; they eat better, dress better, and their children go to better schools. Hence rural-urban migration has been a major feature of Turkey's development process within the last 40 years.

Towards the late 1970s the Turkish economy started to undergo a crisis which finally led the country to a drastic shift in its economic policy from an inward-looking, etatist one to an outward-looking, liberal one. The stabilisation policy package in Turkey which inaugurated this shift was the product both of impasses in the import substitution strategies adopted since the establishment of a republic and of the conditions of the international economy, particularly the oil crises of the 1970s. On the one hand as a result of the protective import substitution trade regime the market had been flooded with inferior quality and highly priced manufactured goods in the early 1970s and was near saturation point. Furthermore there was a need for investment in the production of intermediate capital goods in order to maintain the continuity of the rate of industrialisation. Hence there was a need to find new markets for Turkish goods so that more foreign currency could be invested in the production of capital goods (Senses, 1985). On the other hand in the 1970s, for the first time since the 1930s, world capitalism was experiencing a serious recession which intensified the difficulties of the Turkish economy. Between 1973 and 1974 oil prices increased fourfold which hit Turkey's external trade position. While import costs increased dramatically, export earnings remained stable. Turkey had an extra \$3 billion deficit in its budget between 1975 and 1978, just because of the boom in oil prices (Tekeli, 1984). The foreign currency reserves in the Central Bank had been exhausted, and from the mid 1970s onwards the manufacturing sector was forced to cut output. Dramatically increasing inflation rates: 27% in 1977, 43% in 1978, 59% in 1979, and 110% in 1980; and declining GNP growth rates: 3.9% in 1977, 2.9% in 1978, -0.4% in 1979, and -1.1% in 1980 (TUSIAD Report, 1989) clearly indicate the severe circumstances that the Turkish economy was experiencing.

In 1978 the IMF proposed a "Stabilisation and Liberalisation" policy package for Turkey in order to resolve the situation. However the implementation of the package was a sudden and difficult task for the Turkish economy which had been surviving under an etatist strategy for 50 years. Unless Turkey accepted these proposals the IMF was not willing to grant urgently

needed loans and without the IMF proposal international banks were not willing to extend further credit facilities to Turkey either (See Ramazanoglu 1985, Tekeli 1984).

Thus in 1980 the Stabilisation and Liberalisation package began to be implemented. Its main precepts were:

- (i) To increase incentive measures for exports;
- (ii) To increase interest rates. Increasing rates was assumed both to have a depressing effect on prices and to lead to the accumulation of funds in the banks for the use of incentive measures. However within the import substitution strategies interest rates were kept at artificially low levels to encourage investment by local capital;
- (iii) To keep wages at low levels;
- (iv) To devalue the Turkish Lira which had been kept at unrealistically high levels throughout the import substitution period to facilitate the importing of manufactured capital goods;
- (v) To open the economy to foreign capital and promote foreign investments by the same incentive measures given to local capital, since foreign capital was assumed to be the only remedy for the negative balance of payments.
- (vi) To liberalise the import of consumption goods in order to increase competition in the local markets and force the producers to export. Under the import substitution strategies the importation of consumption goods was prohibited in order to protect the local producer.

The above outlined precepts imply impacts in two different contexts: (i) impacts on economic activities, production processes, and business management methods, and hence a demand for certain labour qualifications; and (ii) impacts on the distribution of wealth (national income) among the different income types.

Thus throughout the development process of Turkey the ongoing rural-urban migration since the 1950s which has released a flood of semi or unskilled labour into the urban labour markets, and the liberalisation of the economy appear to be the most prominent factors affecting the basic features of the labour markets, including the stratification of the labour

force and the distribution of national income. In the following two sections the influences of these factors will be discussed.

### 2.3 IMPACTS OF RAPID URBANISATION

The distribution of employment by sector and the distribution of income in urban Turkey within the recent three decades constitute the data that we shall present and consult here in order to gain a clearer perspective on the impact of a rapidly increasing labour supply on urban labour markets. Since it is not possible to differentiate migrants in the employment and income statistics we will not be able to ascertain the impacts of the migrant labour force on urban markets with any precision.

The figures below showing the distribution of employment by sector since 1960 indicate quite remarkable changes.

TABLE 2.8 Sectoral Distribution of Employment 1960 - 1985

	1960		1985		Change in Share %	Change in Empl. (000)	% Share in Absolute Change of Employment	
	Emp. (000)	% Share	Emp. (000)	% Share			Non- Agr.	Total
<b>AGRICULTURE</b>	<b>9.737</b>	<b>75.0</b>	<b>10.950</b>	<b>57.0</b>	<b>-18.0</b>	<b>1.213</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>19.5</b>
<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>977</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>2.256</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>1.279</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>20.5</b>
Mining	77	0.5	136	0.7	0.2	59	1.0	0.9
Manufacturing	885	7.0	2.097	11.0	4.0	1.212	24.0	19.5
Electricity	15	0.1	23	0.1	0.0	8	0.1	0.1
<b>SERVICE</b>	<b>2.278</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>6.004</b>	<b>31.0</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>3.723</b>	<b>74.0</b>	<b>60.0</b>
Construction	290	2.0	740	4.0	2.0	450	9.0	7.0
Commerce	353	3.0	1.355	7.0	4.0	1.002	20.0	16.0
Transport	247	2.0	614	3.0	1.0	367	7.0	6.0
Bank & Insurance	50	0.4	388	2.0	1.6	338	7.0	5.0
Other	1.338	10.0	2.904	15.0	5.0	1.566	31.0	25.0
<b>NON-AGRIC.</b>	<b>3.255</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>8.257</b>	<b>43.0</b>	<b>+18.0</b>	<b>5.002</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>80.5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12.992</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>19.207</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>6.215</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Compiled from State Planning Organisation (1988) Pub. No. DPT 2134-SPB = 414 p50 Table 34, 1985 Census of Population pp116-117 Table 46.

The share of agriculture decreased from 75% to 57% whereas the share of non-agricultural sectors, industry, and services increased. Considering the transformation of the Turkish economy - decreasing GNP shares of agriculture, the mechanisation of agriculture, and rural-urban migration - such changes in the distribution of employment within the previous 25 years are not surprising at all. What is interesting is that despite Turkey's industrialisation efforts, throughout these years of rapid urbanisation the share of industry in the absolute growth of employment in the non-agricultural sector has remained at quite a modest level: 26%. While 74% of the growth in employment has been provided by the service sector. Here it should be remembered that informal sector activities which are defined as small scale production and service activities operating outside the legislative framework are not

differentiated in employment statistics in Turkey. Hence the above figures include informal sector employment as well. Therefore the share of the formal, modern industry has probably been less than a quarter of the absolute growth of employment in the non-agricultural sector. As seen in the table above, among service sector activities those related to modern businesses and industry, i.e. insurance, banking, and business services, have a very limited share. The category includes both public and personal services, and undefined activities (given under the heading of "other" in the table) have the largest share in the absolute growth of employment between 1960 and 1985 at a level of 31%. Personal services and undefined activities probably include shoe shiners, parking lot attendants, street vendors etc, which are distinctive features of the streets in Turkish cities, domestic servants, and so on. Moreover in Turkey disguised unemployment in the public service sector, especially in clerical and ancillary jobs, is a quite well known fact (see Hic, 1988). It has probably been used as a strategy by the State in order to prevent increases in open unemployment. Hence a considerable proportion of the personal and public services subcategory probably comprises self employed informal sector workers, and disguised unemployed personnel in public offices.

Although statistics in Turkey do not differentiate informal sector activities some studies have resorted to indirect methods to find out the size of the informal sector within the total employment. Tekeli (1982) took the state of being outside the legal framework as the differentiating factor between the formal and informal sectors. In the non-agricultural sectors the difference between the total employed labour force, including the self employed, and the number of those registered in any of the social security institutions was assumed to be the size of the informal labour force and in 1965 it was nearly 48% of the non-agricultural labour force. In addition to this Tekeli reached some different estimates ranging from 31% to 57% for the same year, based on population census occupational distribution figures. Details of the methods were not presented in that study but it is indicated that the occupational subgroups assumed to contain informal sector jobs were analysed, and through different sets of assumptions and cross tabulations different percentages were estimated. Nevertheless Tekeli himself pointed out that the first method is the most reliable one since it excludes subjective assumptions. Kuran (1980) is another study which provided estimates about the size of the informal sector. In defining the informal sector Kuran referred to small scale activities and the condition of being partly or totally outside the legislative framework. He

indicated that the informal labour force roughly comprises self employed manufacturers, handicraft workers, and self employed or small scale service workers. Occupational groups in the latter category include itinerant traders, small shop keepers, dolmus drivers<sup>7</sup>, shoeshine boys, and domestic servants. Kuran's study analysed figures from the 1960 and 1970 population censuses by cross tabulating economic activities in urban areas and the distribution of the labour force by employment status. Using several assumptions and interpolations based on these tables, the size of the informal sector was estimated to be 38% and 36% for the 1960s and 1970s respectively (Kuran, 1980 p357, Table II.1).

Despite the variations in these estimates by Tekeli and Kuran it is possible to conclude that in the 1960s and 1970s the informal sector comprised at least one third of the total employment in non-agricultural jobs, which is not negligible at all. We used Tekeli's first method, which takes the state of being outside the legal framework as the criterion, to reach estimates for more recent years. The State Planning Organisation (Pub. No. 2170, p11, Table 2) reported that the number of the labour force (in non-agricultural sectors) registered with any of the social security institutions was 4,555,307 in 1980 and 5,689,612 in 1985. Levels of employment in the non-agricultural sectors were found to be 7,247,210 and 8,257,000 in the 1980 and 1985 population censuses. Accordingly the size of the informal sector is estimated at 37% and 31% respectively.

While the informal sector provides a fair proportion of the employment, the urban unemployment rate was not low during the 1980s. It was 11% in 1982, 12% in both 1983 and 1984, and increased to 15% in 1985 (Labour Force and Employment Surveys of Cities with Populations of 10,000 and Over: State Institute of Statistics, Statistical Year Book 1985, p196, Table 157; and 1987, p178, Table 137). Unfortunately it is not possible to obtain comparable figures showing the changes in urban unemployment rates throughout the years

---

<sup>7</sup>The dolmus is a privately owned vehicle, similar to a taxi, but hired by up to eight people at one time.

of rapid urbanisation<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless for the whole labour force (rural and urban) unemployment rates were found to be increasing over time (see Table 2.9 below)<sup>9</sup>.

TABLE 2.9 Unemployment Ratio Among Total Labour Force (Age 15+)

	1962	1967	1972	1977	1980	1983	1985
RATIO %	3.7	4.5	7.3	9.0	11.3	12.0	12.0

Source: State Planning Organisation: Fourth Five Year Development Plan; 1984 Yearly Plan, p26, Table 256 and 1986 Yearly Plan, Table 242

Assuming that underemployment (disguised unemployment) in rural areas is more likely than open unemployment, the above rises in the open unemployment ratios are more likely to reflect rises in urban unemployment ratios.

The information gathered so far shows that (i) while the share of agriculture has been decreasing in the total employment, the shares of industry and of modern service sector activities within the absolute growth of non-agricultural employment have been limited. Furthermore (ii) the informal sector's share of urban employment does not appear to have been negligible, and (iii) the urban unemployment rate was not low either in the 1980's. These factors suggest that the increasing labour supply in the urban markets could not be absorbed by the formal economy, a situation which can be defined as "over-urbanisation". While industrialisation efforts and rapid (over) urbanisation was going on, income distribution

---

<sup>8</sup>In census population data unemployment rates are not differentiated for urban and rural areas. Labour force and employment surveys were carried out in 1967 for settlements with populations of 50,000 and over, and in 1968 for settlements with populations of over 2,000. Then in 1988, 1989, and 1991 surveys were done for settlements with populations over 20,000 using a different method from before.

<sup>9</sup>Here we should indicate that the unemployment ratios estimated by the State Planning Organisation are higher than those based on population censuses. The difficulty of obtaining realistic unemployment ratios has been pointed out by several researchers in this field and by State Planning Organisation experts. However the increase in unemployment rates is also evident from the State Institute of Statistics' figures as well.



was found to be very unequal in urban Turkey (see Table 2.10). In other words, together with over-urbanisation unequal income distribution seems to be a prominent feature (or outcome) of the development process of the country.

**TABLE 2.10**      **Distribution of Household Incomes by Quintiles in Urban Areas (Including Formal and Informal Sector Earnings)**

Groups	Income Shares (%)		Average Income (1987) TL (000)
	1979*	1987**	
First 20%	6.4	5.4	1,126
Second 20%	10.5	9.3	1,934
Third 20%	15.0	13.6	2,819
Fourth 20%	21.6	20.7	4,294
Fifth 20%	46.6	50.9	10,559

Source:            Compiled from State Planning Organisation Pub. No. 2076-SPB:401, p33, Table 15, and Statistical Year Book of Turkey (1989), p250, Table 165

\*        Settlements with a population of 10,001 or more. Sample: 822 households

\*\*      Settlements with a population of 20,001 or more. Sample: 1,202 households

Given that (i) around 60% of the increasing population in cities is due to rural-urban migration, and most of the increasing labour force in the major cities of the country is unskilled and lacks relevant qualifications for developing industry and modern business service activities; furthermore (ii) as was evident from the sectoral distribution of employment within the 20 years prior to 1985, the formal industry and modern business services have a limited share within the absolute growth of employment and a significant proportion of employment in the urban labour markets has been provided by the informal sector - at least at a level of 30%. These factors suggest that the growing labour supply has been leading to a mass of cheap labour in the urban labour markets. Hence the growing masses of semi or unskilled labour have probably been one of the principal factors contributing to the above seen income inequality in urban areas.

Income distribution figures for Istanbul alone also present a very unequal income distribution. Based on research carried out by the Istanbul Master Plan Bureau, Danielson & Keles (1980) reported that the poorest 20% in the city earned only 4.7% of all income accruing to households in 1968, while the most affluent 20% got 55.4% (p293). With reference to the disparities recorded in 1969 between the incomes of squatter area households who constituted 45% of the city's population (most of whom are assumed to be first or second generation migrants) and the incomes of households in the middle and upper income districts (almost all of whom are supposed to be city natives), Danielson & Keles also argued that the influx of uneducated and unskilled labour into the major cities is the underlying cause of the income inequalities.

Furthermore ongoing migration can have dampening impacts on the earnings of the unskilled masses in the urban labour markets in both the informal and formal sectors. Kuran (1980) reported that in Istanbul and Ankara informal sector labourers, particularly dolmus drivers and apartment caretakers, formed organisations to erect protective barriers against competition from new job seekers. In view of this fact Kuran indicated that their incomes and job security are probably threatened by the ongoing influx of labour from the rural areas. In the case of the formal sector however it is quite difficult to find much evidence to support a general argument. In Turkey a minimum wage rate has been set by the State and applied in the formal sector. In determining both a minimum wage level, and the rate of increases in wages in the public sector and in large scale private businesses, several economic and political conditions are influential, including the extent to which workers' unions are effective. Nevertheless if the other determinant variables are kept constant it is expected that the increasing abundance of labour will have a dampening impact on the minimum wage rates. In keeping the minimum wage rate as low as possible, the State would try to employ more personnel as ancillary cadres in the public sector to create a kind of buffer against increases in the open unemployment rates. In small businesses in the formal sector the increasing labour supply can be more influential in imposing dampening impacts on the wage increase rates of existing personnel and on the wages of new employees. Some employees earn less than the minimum rate (though it is illegal) in small scale formal sector businesses.

In short it can be argued that unskilled labourers with low levels of earnings constitute a growing "segment"<sup>10</sup> within the urban labour force and must be contributing significantly to the disparities of earnings in the labour markets (in the whole market, including both the formal and the informal parts) and to the inequalities of income distribution in urban Turkey. For example an unskilled labourer's wage in the formal sector (at the minimum wage level) was at least ten times less than that of a manager in the 1980s in Turkey. Sharp income disparities are not only particular to the formal sector. Although the informal sector basically comprises the unskilled, residual labour force which could not be absorbed by the formal economy, this sector does not present an undifferentiated mass in terms of earnings. Quite high levels of earnings and huge income disparities in this sector are reported by some researchers, revealing an interesting dimension to the stratification of urban labour markets.

Based on his 1980 research in Ankara on informal sector activities, Ersoy (1982) reported that 70% of employees' earnings in the informal sector are at similar levels to the official minimum wage in the formal sector. 30% of the employees' earnings were found to be lower than the minimum wage rate. Ersoy also reported that the profit accruing to 64% of the small business owners in this sector, including self employed producers, varied between TL 42,000 and TL 166,000 per month at 1980 prices. This is seven and twenty times higher than the average income of 70% of the employees in the sector. Here we should indicate that these levels of monthly earnings are similar to the wages of senior government officials - in 1980 high level civil servants' wages were around TL 100,000 - TL 150,000. It was also reported by Ersoy that out of 185 business owners in the informal sector, only 28% reported that they did not make a profit in recent years. 72% said that they did, and 51% of these had reinvested in their businesses and expanded their production activities. 5% had invested in other businesses and had more than one workshop; 12% invested in real estate, securities, gold, etc. Ersoy noted that the profit levels of some of these business owners are easily as

---

<sup>10</sup>Obviously besides the skilled/unskilled division, several other criteria, e.g. levels of education, work positions, sectors (public, private, formal, and informal) etc., also define the segments of the labour force, resulting in a quite complex classification. Most of the time it may not even be possible to ascertain clearly defined segments. In other words, segments can overlap in terms of different criteria. Here we use the term "segment" in a broad sense, since being unskilled and earning at very low levels seems to roughly define a category in the labour force, most of which is expected to be comprised of migrants - though this segment has probably presented differentiation in terms of work positions and/or sectors and so forth within itself.

high as those of their counterparts in the formal sector, whose production scale may be larger than that of the small workshops.

Particular functions that the informal sector performs within the context of rapid urbanisation and the development process of the country seem to be influential in enabling them to accrue high levels of income. These types of production activities, in providing low quality cheap consumption goods to the poor, not only enable the poor masses to survive in the cities but also keep the cost of labour reproduction at low levels, which in turn accelerates the rate of capital accumulation in both sectors. They also act as a buffer to unemployment by absorbing quite significant proportions of the increasing labour supply in urban areas (Ersoy 1982). Furthermore it is also argued that the informal sector provides production on a contract basis to the formal industry, which is less risky and cheaper in some cases for the formal sector than it would be to lease equipment and employ permanent labourers (see Senyapili 1986<sup>11</sup>). It is argued that in Turkey the above mentioned functions of the informal sector have led the State to allow these producers to survive through such means as connivance with their abuse of labour laws, health and safety regulations, insurance, and tax evasion. This in fact not only provides a convenient environment for survival, but can also enable the producers to accrue considerable profits (Ersoy 1982). However the high levels of income that they enjoy seem to be quite inconsistent with their occupational prestige levels.

As was seen in Ersoy's research, some of the informal sector producers' earnings have been much higher than the workers' earnings although their occupational prestige is not remarkably different. On the other hand these producers' income levels are not very different from the incomes of administrative cadres in the formal sector, although the occupational prestige of those managers and bureaucrats is obviously higher than that of the informal sector producers. Hence income levels and occupational prestige levels - which are supposed to be the principal determinants of one's position in terms of stratification (one's "social class position") - are inconsistent in the case of these producers.

---

<sup>11</sup>See also Roberts (1978) who gave the same explanations for the functions of the informal sector in several Latin American countries.

Lenski (1954) was one of the first researchers to discuss the inconsistencies between certain socio-economic characteristics<sup>12</sup>. He argued that instead of constituting a single position in a unidimensional hierarchy, social class comprises a series of positions in a related series of vertical hierarchies. He defines the inconsistencies between the socio-economic characteristics of people as "Low Status Crystallisation". The matter of inconsistencies between the components of social class positions will be returned to when discussing the impacts of education on labour force stratification in a later section.

Thus the data gathered in this section suggests that the increasing labour supply - a significant proportion of which is through rural urban migration - could not be absorbed by the formal industry or the formal service sector in urban areas. Hence "over urbanisation" appears to be an important phenomenon. It would appear that the acute income inequalities found in urban areas have been generated principally by the growing masses of low paid, unskilled labourers in the cities. Besides underlying the income inequalities, rapid urbanisation, by providing conditions which further lubricate the high levels of earnings for the informal sector producers, appears to be contributing to the formation of social groups with inconsistencies between the components of social class position.

As indicated earlier, while over urbanisation was going on, the Turkish economy experienced a drastic change from its import substitution policy to an outward, export oriented one.

---

<sup>12</sup>Wright (1985) who defined social class through different criteria, also pointed out the difficulty of locating people in certain class positions, and defined the inconsistencies between different components of social stratification as "ambiguous class positions".

## 2.4 IMPACTS OF THE LIBERALISATION OF THE ECONOMY ON LABOUR MARKETS AND ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

As indicated in section 2.2, the precepts of the liberalisation policy (the IMF package) implied (i) changes in economic activities and in production processes and business management methods - hence changes in the demand for certain labour qualifications; and (ii) changes in the distribution of national income between different income types. Let us start with the changes in economic activities and in production processes.

### 2.4.1 Changes in economic activities and production processes, and their impacts on labour markets

Deregulation of interest rates for saving deposits and credits, liberalisation of the importation of consumer goods, increasing incentives for the production of export goods, and hence the necessity for local producers to compete in the international arena, brought about changes in investment patterns and in production and management techniques.

Here, starting from an analysis of the changes in the production and investment sphere, we will explain the emerging income and occupational mobility and its impact on labour segmentation patterns. On the one hand rapidly rising interest rates - which had increased to 62% for medium term credits in February 1988 from 16% in 1979 - caused dramatic increases in production costs. It became impossible to make investments or to continue to produce with such high rates of interest. Therefore producers had to increase their own capital (equity ratio) in order to survive. On the other hand the local market was stagnating since: (i) savings were attracted by the continuously rising rates of interest for saving accounts - interest rates for short and medium term credits increased to 52% and 65% respectively in 1988 from 9% and 12% in 1981; (ii) wages were kept at low levels; and (iii) prices were increasing rapidly under the influence of rising production costs. Under these circumstances there was no alternative for producers but to export in order to survive. At the same time incentives for the production of export goods had been increased.

Thus the new economic precepts and the State's incentive measures - which are in line with these precepts - were inducing an overall change in the production sphere towards more modernised production and management forms in order to be able to compete in the international markets and to be able to produce higher quality goods and services. In 1983 the Prime Minister declared that industrialists must either export or die. Nevertheless, for the producers who were used to producing low quality goods for the domestic market - through the import substitution strategies - this message was difficult to comprehend. It must have been especially difficult for the small producers in the formal sector to compete in the international arena and to enlarge their capital/credit ratio. Although strikes were illegal<sup>13</sup>, maintaining wages at low levels, cash flow problems emerged and many businesses in the manufacturing sector were forced to close - most of them small businesses. The others could only survive by changing their production organisation and management techniques so as to become competent in the export markets, and by increasing their capital/credit ratios (see Tekeli, 1984).

Senses (1985) also indicates that although the rise in production costs - particularly after the deregulation of interest rates - tended to have an adverse effect on all enterprises, it is likely that the overall effect on larger enterprises was smaller, not only because their considerable monopoly power enabled them to pass on the rise in their costs with greater ease, but also because big manufacturing interests were closely interwoven with banking interests; some of the commercial banks were actually owned by them.

Therefore relatively big enterprises were able to undertake modernisation and quality improvement investments and/or to make patent and royalty agreements with the leaders of the international markets, even if they experienced financial difficulties in doing so. More than a third of the investment certificates issued by the State Planning Organisation between 1983 and 1989 were given for the modernisation, quality improvement, and enlargement of existing production units (reports by Foreign Investment and Investment & Application

---

<sup>13</sup>In 1980 the military intervened into civil politics in Turkey - a few months after the stabilisation policy package was accepted. The military intervention should be considered an important factor in providing a suitable environment for the implementation of stabilisation and liberalisation policies.

Directorates of the State Planning Organisation). Furthermore some service activities, i.e. banking and finance, have undergone rapid change. Several foreign banks and finance companies have established branches in Turkey, and Turkish banks underwent the transformation and modernisation of their business management and operation methods. Ramazanoglu (1985) explains the impact of the liberalisation package and the situation in the early 1980s in Turkey as follows:

"The IMF stabilisation package was not possible without rapid change in previous business practices.. resources had to be rapidly (re)allocated between different sectors of the economy in order to promote the production goods for exports and to abolish restrictions on further expansion. These changes meant that the economic activities which traditionally had been geared to a protected market would have to be changed almost overnight." (p224)

The impacts of the liberalisation package cannot be confined to formal sector activities. Informal activities, by virtue of their functions within the economy - i.e. providing cheap consumption goods to the poor masses and outwork processes for the formal sector - should transform in parallel relation to transformations in the production modes and consumption patterns of the formal sector.

Industrialists have been facing risks in both the domestic and international markets. They have also been forced to bear heavy financial burdens due to sharply rising credit interests. Several recessions in the manufacturing sector in Turkey have been reported within the last decade. Therefore even though production methods have been improved and/or changed in many industrial establishments, the unfavourable market and investment conditions would seem to suggest that several firms, particularly medium scale investments - even if they changed their production methods to improve quality - would continue to outwork some parts of the production processes. This not only provides security and flexibility against the unstable market conditions, but also enables them to keep fixed capital investments at minimum levels against rising credit interests. Hence the relationship between the two sectors - a sort of interdependence or symbiotic relation - is expected to continue under the new economic precepts as well.



At the same time the necessity of increasing quality, and hence changing production processes, should lead the formal sector producers to change their requirements in relation to the quality and type of outwork processes provided by the informal sector. In short it can be argued that the "symbiotic" relationship between the two sectors would be retained, but due to the changes in economic policies the formal sector had to evolve, which in turn leads to changes in its requirements (regarding quality for example) from the informal sector, and hence the informal sector is expected to transform parallel to the changes in the formal sector.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the negative influence of an export oriented economy on some small firms in the formal sector and their disappearance from the market on the one hand, and the rising quality and hence rising prices of consumption goods by the formal sector on the other, can even create advantages for the informal sector by further expanding the market capacity for cheap and low quality consumption goods.

All the above explained transformations in economic activities, production processes, and management methods since 1980 have induced transformations in the employment sphere, bringing about changes in the requirements for certain skills and in job opportunities, and hence have influenced the stratification of the labour markets and social mobility patterns.

Firstly, alterations in production and management modes towards more sophisticated techniques in conformity with the requirements of the export oriented system generate needs for more qualified people to operate them. Executives and technicians with the necessary qualifications to run the businesses under the new standards have the highest occupational status and extra high incomes. Above all, drastic changes in production methods and emerging needs for more sophisticated qualifications - which cannot be answered immediately by the educational systems<sup>15</sup> - are likely to create further scarcities and result in extravagant premiums for those personnel. As a consequence this should be a factor in reinforcing and increasing the existing income disparities and inequalities in the formal sector. At the same

---

<sup>14</sup>Castells and Henderson (1987) wrote that; Production for export, rising costs of imports, in most of the third world countries not only shape the organisation of the formal sector, they reach down to the informal economy and structure the informal economy.

<sup>15</sup>The mismatch between the needs of the economy for some qualifications and the supply by the education system will be discussed in the next part.

time, while some of the cadres are becoming obsolete, the creation of new positions and the emerging requirements for new qualifications for those positions is expected to increase the social mobility rates within the upper levels of the formal sector; the old guard may find themselves with moderate incomes and positions relative to the newly created cadres who get extra premiums. It can be argued that the upper segment of the formal sector is reproduced and reformed through the creation of new positions and emerging needs for different qualifications, and through increasing social mobility rates. This may be interpreted as the formation and rise of a new group within the upper segment of the formal sector.

Secondly, those with low skills are affected. While the masses of semi or unskilled labour continue to increase, primarily through the constant flow of migrants, the changes in economic activities which had previously been geared towards a protected market and the changes in production processes and methods seem to have decreased the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector, particularly for the semi or unskilled labourers. As was pointed out earlier, several small manufacturing firms were forced to close as a result of the imperatives of an export oriented economy and of consequent financial difficulties, which means many employees became redundant. Those small and middle size units which were able to continue in the market, even if they need to increase their production and labour force, may prefer to outwork some parts of their production. Rather than employing more labour on a permanent basis and making more fixed investments, they probably prefer to keep their fixed production expenses to a minimum in order to reduce their risks. Some may even decrease the number of employees and try to keep labourers wage rates to a minimum.

On the other hand, as was indicated earlier, large companies were able to cope with the requirements of the export oriented regime and to find a place for their products in both the international and local markets (in competition with imported consumption goods) through modernisation and quality improvement investments and/or by buying patents and royalties from western firms. These new production processes and methods are likely to be more capital intensive. In other words the capital/labour ratio is expected to increase in large scale industrial production. The feasibility analyses of ten quality improvement investments in existing production units owned by the largest companies in the country - in rubber, ready made food, construction materials, and textiles - which had received investment incentives

from the State after 1983 were examined (from the State Planning Organisation: Incentives and Applications, and Foreign Investment Directorates Archives). We found that in all these reports either employment remained the same, even though annual production capacity increased, or even if employment increased the capital/labour ratio was higher than previously. Moreover it is unlikely that the increasing labour need would be for unskilled labour given the new standards of production processes. It would appear that the gap between the increasing supply of labour and the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector (particularly for semi or unskilled labour) is widening. This would result in a further supply of semi or unskilled labour in the informal sector and/or would contribute to the rises in unemployment<sup>16</sup>. Therefore the changing production methods are expected to have a depressing impact on the already low earnings of the semi and unskilled workers, both in the informal and formal sectors. It seems that the ongoing migration and the changes in the economic activities and production methods of the formal sector have intensified each other's impact in terms of generating an abundance of labour in urban areas, in lowering the earnings of the semi or unskilled masses and hence increasing the income disparities in the urban labour markets (in both sectors), and in decreasing the job security of the unskilled masses - particularly in the informal sector, and in small scale businesses in the formal sector.

Thirdly, as indicated earlier, the "symbiotic" relation between the two sectors is expected to continue but due to the necessity of producing higher quality goods through the precepts of the liberal economy, the requirements of the formal sector in relation to the outwork processes are expected to change, e.g. in terms of the demand for higher quality or for production of new materials. Such changes may intensify vertical mobility among the informal sector producers. While some producers may experience increases in their profits and find opportunities to diversify and/or enlarge their production activities in line with the new requirements, for others such changes might be difficult to cope with and they may experience decreases in their incomes.

---

<sup>16</sup>Since data on urban and rural unemployment rates are not available it is not possible to make this statement more precise.

Having set out these arguments concerning the impacts of changes in production processes on the labour markets, now we shall look at the impacts of the liberalisation package on the distribution of national income between the different types of income.

#### 2.4.2 Changes in the distribution of national income between different income types

Wages and interest rates have been used as the main tools of the State in the implementation of the Stabilisation package. This has led to changes in the distribution of national income between different income types. Wages have been deliberately kept at low levels to decrease domestic demand and hence to induce producers to export, and to restrict inflation rates. At the same time increasing incentive measures for export production imply a sort of resource transfer from wages to profits. On the other hand, interest rates for deposits were increased (a) to collect savings in the banks for public funds - which have been used for infrastructure and incentive measures; and (b) to decrease domestic demand and hence to restrict inflation rates. Deposit interest rates increased from 12% in 1980 to 55% in 1985, and 65% in 1988. However, rising interest rates for credits increase the cost of production, restricting profits to a considerable extent. In particular those producers who could not export certain quantities of their products are expected to have even further decreasing returns. Alternatively, increasing interest rates should bring increasing returns to the owners of liquid assets (see Tekeli, 1984). Apparently the liberal economy programme generated the reallocation (or transfer) of national income from wages to profits and interest. Since 1980 changes in the shares of different types of non-agricultural income within the GNP (given in Table 2.11) confirm that wealth has been reallocated among the different types of income within the urban economy. Wages comprise decreasing proportions of the GNP, while incomes other than wages - i.e. profits, rents, and interests - constitute increasing proportions of the GNP. From 1968 to 1979 the GNP shares of wages and of incomes other than wages were almost stable - around 30% and 38% respectively (see Tekeli, 1984, p242, Table 3)<sup>17</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup>Based on data provided by the State Planning Organisation.

TABLE 2.11 GNP Shares of the Different Types of Income Between 1980 - 1988

INCOME TYPES %	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Agricultural Incomes	23.9	23.0	21.8	20.5	20.4	19.1	18.1	17.6	15.8
Non-Agricultural Incomes	76.1	76.9	78.2	79.5	79.6	80.9	81.7	82.4	84.2
Wages	26.7	24.6	24.6	24.8	21.6	18.8	17.5	17.0	14.0
Incomes Other Than Wages	49.5	52.4	53.5	54.7	58.0	62.1	64.2	65.4	70.2
GNP Growth Rates	-1.1	4.1	4.5	3.3	5.9	5.1	8.0	7.4	3.4

Sources: Huseyin Ozmucur (unpublished data) for the shares of different income types; Report by Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association 1989 (depending on data by the State Planning Organisation, Pub. no. 89/7/129 p6) for GNP growth rates.

The policy of raising interest rates must have also contributed to the inequalities in income distribution, assuming that the low income groups would be less likely to have savings and liquid assets (particularly under the depressing impacts on their income levels their ability to save must have further decreased), whilst those in the upper and middle income groups would be more likely to have liquid assets and to be receiving increasing returns for their savings.

Through the State's policy of keeping wages at low levels - which was a prerequisite of the "success" of the IMF's stabilisation recipe - the 1980s have witnessed losses in wages in real terms (see Table 2.12 below). Moreover new production forms, through their depressing impacts on the wages of the semi or unskilled masses, must have aided the State's efforts to keep the wages at low levels. Here it should be noted that until 1979 real wages in Turkey had not decreased since the 1950s.

TABLE 2.12A Wage Indices (1983 - 1988) for the Formal Sector

Year	Price Index	Current Wages		Real Wages	
		Public	Private	Public	Private
1983	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1984	148.4	150.6	152.8	101.8	103.0
1985	215.1	205.7	215.7	95.6	100.3
1986	289.6	239.9	266.7	82.8	92.1
1987	402.1	298.9	342.4	74.4	85.2
1988	691.5	379.6	552.3	55.0	79.9

Source: "The Turkish Economy 89" TUSIAD p51 - based on State Planning Organisation data

TABLE 2.12B Inflation Rate

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Inflation Rate %	36.6	34.1	31.4	48.4	44.9	34.6	38.8	72.0

Source: As above, p14

The index, taking 1983 as the base year, shows that public sector daily wages decreased by 45% in real terms between 1983 and 1988, and those of the private sector decreased by 20%. The difference in real losses of wages between the public and private sectors should be explained as due to differences in the implementation of wage policy in these sectors. In Turkey wage levels and rates of increase in wages are generally higher in the private sector than in the public sector - particularly in the case of skilled personnel (see Aral, 1980). Although wage increases in the private sector were influenced by the imperative of a wages policy set by the State for the whole economy, it seems that the private sector continued to enjoy higher wage increases than the public sector.

It should be noted that only a very small proportion of the wage earning group are likely to have been unaffected by these impacts. As explained in the previous section, those occupying the newly created positions in the upper segment of the formal sector are likely to have experienced upward social mobility not only in terms of prestige, but particularly in terms of their incomes. The statistical estimates and numerical facts detailed above represent the averages of real losses in wages. If it were possible to differentiate the share of these top employees we would be able to see that losses of wages in real terms are higher than represented here for both the public and private sectors. The above figures do not include informal sector wages. Nevertheless it is very unlikely that the evolution of real wages in the informal sector is more favourable than in the formal sector.

As was indicated earlier, changes in economic activities and production processes since 1980 appear to have had constraining impacts on the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector, which in turn is expected to have a dampening influence on the earnings of semi or unskilled labourers (in both sectors). Consequently, under the combined impacts of low wage rate policies and changes in production processes, the semi and unskilled labourers are expected to be experiencing higher losses in their real incomes relative to the average.

We obviously acknowledge that a person's total income can be comprised of different income types - rents, interests, wages or profits. Therefore decreases in real wages do not necessarily imply that wage earners as a group are experiencing downward social mobility in terms of their incomes. Moreover, as already discussed, the wage earners at the top of the employment hierarchy are very unlikely to experience downward mobility in terms of their incomes. It can be argued however that the proportion of wage earners experiencing decreases in their real incomes, and hence in their consumption power, has not been negligible.

It is likely that some wage earners will have experienced downward mobility in terms of their real incomes while not necessarily experiencing a downward shift in their occupational positions and current incomes. Alternatively a wage earner may be promoted in terms of occupational position and current income, but might still be worse off in terms of income and hence consumption power. This draws attention to the effect of mobility in creating inconsistencies between components of status.

Thus it is seen that within the development process of the country (a) the mechanisation of agriculture and consequent rapid urbanisation which has led to an increasing supply of labour in the urban markets, and (b) the liberalisation of the economy which reallocated sources between different income types and changed the methods of production and management, are the major socio-economic transformations underlying the basic contours of the labour markets and of income distribution in urban Turkey.

In the next section we will examine the relationship between the demand for educated personnel and particular skills by the economy, and the supply of particular skills and qualifications by the education system. This will help us to understand the stratification of the labour force.

## 2.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEMAND BY THE ECONOMY AND THE SUPPLY OF QUALIFIED PERSONNEL BY THE EDUCATION SYSTEM, AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE STRATIFICATION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

As discussed previously, through the growth of modern sector activities, especially through the liberalisation of the economy, labour requirements have changed rapidly and demand for new forms of qualifications has risen.

We will start by examining to what extent the education system can meet the rapidly increasing demand for personnel with new forms of qualifications. A mismatch between supply and demand would not only generate scarcities of certain forms of qualifications and excessive earnings for them, but would also create surpluses of educated personnel in other areas and hence "qualificationism" (credentialism).

Since the establishment of the Turkish republic formal education has been seen principally as an instrument of modernisation. Consistent with that premise, education has been freely provided by the State. Formal education, especially higher education, is considered to be the only means of achieving prestigious jobs. Therefore school enrolment (at all levels) has rapidly increased in Turkey as part of the modernisation efforts (see Table 2.13).



TABLE 2.13 School Enrolment Indices

Year	Primary (1,591,000)	Junior High School (65,000)	Lycee (21,000)	School (56,000)	Technical University (25,000)
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1955	117.3	172.3	166.6	116.0	112.0
1960	158.0	392.0	295.0	175.0	216.0
1965	236.8	544.6	466.6	291.0	336.0
1970	303.6	1,078.4	1,023.8	387.5	588.0
1975	338.1	1,455.3	1,684.2	558.2	1,048.0
1980	353.3	1,813.8	2,533.3	919.6	1,080.0
1985*	434.0	2,425.4	5,887.7	965.4	2,625.4

Source: Williamson (1987) p143, Table 8.1

\* Figures for 1985 were taken from the census of population data: "Social and Economic Characteristics of Population" Pub. no. 1369, p98 Table 42

An obvious outcome of the rapid increase in school enrolment is the growth in the ratio of educated personnel within the active labour force (see Table 2.14).

TABLE 2.14 Total Labour Force Composition in Terms of Distribution of Levels of Education %

Year	Illiterate	Literate	Primary School Grad.	Secondary School Grad.	Lycee Grad.	Univ Grad.	Total
1965	12.9	52.4	28.6	2.3	1.0	1.1	100
1970	10.8	46.7	34.3	2.6	1.4	1.6	100
1975	8.8	36.8	43.9	3.7	2.2	1.8	100
1980	7.3	31.9	45.0	4.6	3.7	4.2	100
1985	6.3	21.1	54.3	5.7	4.6	3.8	100

Source: State Planning Organisation; Social Planning Department (1988) Pub. no. DPT2134-SPB414, pp54-58, Tables 29-33

The growth of educated personnel and their increasing participation in the labour force does not mean however that they actually fulfil the needs of the modernising economy for specific qualifications. The Fifth (1985-1989) and Sixth (1990-1994) Five Year Development Plans by the State Planning Organisation for example have drawn attention to the acute shortages in the number of medical personnel, and electrical, electronic, and computer engineers. It is also indicated that an immediate need has arisen for personnel in international relations, marketing, and in project appraisal. Projected figures for the demand and supply of scientific personnel and engineers for 1985 - 1995 in the World Bank Report (1983) also confirm the shortages. Moreover shortages of skilled manual labourers and technicians are also indicated. The World Bank Report (1983) projected that the supply of technicians and skilled manual labourers between 1985 and 1989 would meet 46% and 58% of the demand respectively. The SPO Sixth Five Year Development Plan also confirmed the shortages of skilled manual labourers.

These shortages coincide with a surplus of trained personnel in some other spheres of the labour market. A surplus of educated personnel in biology, physics, chemistry, pharmacy and law has been reported in the five years between 1985 and 1989. In the late 1980's the ratio

of Lycee graduates (as shown in Table 2.15 below) reached nearly one fifth of the unemployed labour force, while Secondary school graduates comprised over 10% of the unemployed labour force, with both percentages increasing over time.

**TABLE 2.15** Percentage of Population with Different Levels of Education Among the Unemployed

Education Levels	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Illiterate	5.5	5.0	4.9	3.4	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.1
Literate	7.1	7.4	8.0	7.9	7.5	6.5	5.9	4.7	4.5	4.3
Primary	51.3	53.2	51.9	54.4	53.3	53.1	52.1	52.9	52.4	51.8
Secondary	11.0	10.3	10.0	10.2	10.9	11.1	12.0	13.0	13.2	13.4
High School	13.2	13.6	14.0	14.3	15.6	16.4	17.0	17.3	17.9	18.6
University	1.3	1.3	2.1	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.8
Other (Tech.)	9.2	9.1	8.2	8.2	8.5	8.6	8.1	8.3	8.0	10.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Employment Report (1989) State Planning Organisation, pub. no. DPT2170 - OIK341, p33

Thus with reference to the above circumstances it is concluded that in Turkey education and manpower planning could not keep pace with the rapidly changing labour needs of the economy. In the course of Turkey's economic development process, besides the over abundance of unskilled (uneducated) labourers which, as was seen in the first section, was principally caused by rural-urban migration, the mismatch between the skills of the educated labour force and the need for particular skills by the economy appears to be a significant problem as well.

The probable impacts of such a mismatch on the stratification of the labour force and on income distribution can be explained as follows:

- (i) Given the inability of the education system to cope with the immediate requirements of the economy, many of the skills required for the top management and technical

cadres would be scarce in the labour markets. This scarcity of skills further confirms that they must have been receiving quite excessive premiums, which would be an important factor in sharpening the income disparities.

- (ii) Mismatches between the skills that are supplied and those demanded by the economy - i.e. the co-existence of scarcities in some skills and surpluses in others - would inevitably give rise to inconsistencies between the components of social status - i.e. income, education, and occupational prestige - or in Lenski's words, would lead to "low levels of status crystallisation". While in some spheres of employment university graduates work for modest wages in modest positions, in other spheres the scarcities of certain qualifications enable the owners of these skills to occupy top positions in the employment hierarchy and/or to secure very high incomes. Similarly a qualified technician with relevant skills for industry would earn much more than a Lycee graduate working as a clerk. Empirical research carried out in Ankara by Aral (1980) showed that education and income, and occupational prestige and income were not correlated with one another. Correlation coefficients between education and income ranged from .10 to .17 and those between income and occupational prestige ranged from -.19 to .11 in different neighbourhoods of the city, whereas between occupational prestige and education the coefficients were stronger, ranging from .49 to .86. With reference to these figures it is apparent that education leads to high levels of prestige, but not income. The coexistence of surpluses and scarcities of particular skills in the labour markets is not the sole cause of low status crystallisation however. As explained earlier, an overlapping of the incomes of some of the informal sector producers with those of formal sector employees at much higher prestige levels, also contributes to inconsistencies between income and occupational prestige levels. Decreases in real wages after 1980 are likely to have enhanced the inconsistencies.
- (iii) The particular conditions of the labour markets discussed in this section - i.e. on the one hand rapidly increasing school enrolment and an increasing proportion of educated personnel in the employment sphere, but on the other mismatches between the needs of the economy for particular qualifications and their supply and hence surpluses of educated personnel - suggest that "credentialism" is the other probable outcome. Many people with education have probably accepted jobs for which they are over qualified. This may have been an additional factor in further decreasing job

opportunities for the less educated and unskilled masses - mainly migrants - in the formal sector, and hence constitutes a further depressing impact on their earnings.

In conclusion, wide income disparities combined with inconsistencies among the components of status are the distinctive characteristics of stratification in Turkey. In other words it is found that although income inequalities are sharp, the components of social status are not strongly related to one another and stratification is not rigid.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have tried to establish the main features of the labour markets and income distribution patterns in urban Turkey. Two prominent phenomena within the development process of the country: (i) rural-urban migration and (ii) the liberalisation of the economy, were taken as the basis of the analyses since they are supposed to be the main determinants of labour market conditions and income distribution in the 1980s. The impacts of these phenomena can be outlined as follows:

Rapid urbanisation since the 1950s and the consequent growing masses of unskilled labour which could not be absorbed by the formal sector, with their low levels of earnings, is assumed to be one of the principal factors determining the income inequalities found in urban Turkey.

At the same time the precepts of the liberalisation of the economy since 1980 seem to have been intensifying social mobility while sharpening the income disparities. (i) Liberalisation policies (the IMF package) brought about changes in economic activities and production processes which are expected to decrease the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector, and to widen the gap between the labour supply and the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector - hence increasing the labour supply in the informal sector. Thereby, in addition to the ongoing migration, changes in production processes seem to reinforce the depressing impacts on the earnings of the unskilled labour force both in the formal and informal sectors, and to decrease job security, particularly in the informal sector. (ii) Low wage rate strategies were an important imperative of the liberalisation package. Considering the decreases in real wages in both the public and private sectors, it is argued that the

proportion of wage earners who are expected to experience downward mobility in terms of their real incomes would be appreciable. At the same time, given the changes in production processes which are expected to decrease the labour absorption capacity of the formal sector, together with the ongoing migration which is expected to have depressing impacts on the earnings of semi or unskilled labourers, these wage earners are expected to experience the most dramatic decreases among all the wage earners in the labour force. (iii) Furthermore, rises in interest rates, and hence increasing returns to the holders of liquid assets (assuming that low income households are less likely to have savings on which to receive interest), would also aggravate the already existing income inequalities. (iv) Emerging needs for more qualifications and skills to run businesses under the new standards would intensify social mobility within the upper segments of the formal sector. Those personnel with the necessary skills and qualifications would attain high premiums. Moreover the inability of the education system to respond to the immediate needs of the economy and the consequent scarcity of required qualifications would further increase the premiums of those who possess the relevant qualifications. This also contributes to the income disparities in the labour markets and to the consequent inequalities in income distribution. (v) Besides the scarcities of some skills and educated personnel in particular spheres, surpluses in the educated labour force in other spheres are another distinctive aspect of labour markets in Turkey. The coexistence of very high incomes for scarce skills and credentialism due to surpluses of other skills inevitably results in inconsistencies among income, education, and prestige levels. On the other hand, the high profits accruing to some producers in the informal sector, providing them with incomes which are no lower than the wages of senior officials, or the profits of some of their counterparts in the formal sector, are interesting examples of inconsistencies between the components of social class positions.

In short (i) growing masses of semi or unskilled workers with low earnings, (ii) sharp income disparities, (iii) decreases in the real earnings of a significant percentage of the labour force, (iv) lack of job security for an appreciable proportion of the labour force and (v) inconsistencies between occupational prestige, education and incomes, are established as important socio-economic features of urban populations in the 1980s in Turkey, all of which will be influential on the housing consumption of households, and on the consequent reallocation of urban housing stock.

In conformity with the precepts of our explanatory model, in the following chapter we will examine the conditions of land and housing supply which, together with the above outlined patterns, will enable us to understand the context in which residential mobility occurs.

### **3 Housing Supply conditions in Turkey and Likely Residential Mobility Patterns**

---

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

As we saw in our explanatory model, housing policies and the conditions of land and housing supply are the structural variables which, together with the labour market conditions and patterns of income distribution, set out the context within which the households' consumption behaviour, including residential mobility, takes place.

In this chapter State intervention in the housing sphere and housing supply conditions in the major cities of Turkey will be examined, and the features of the context will be defined. This will provide the reference point through which our observations and statistical analyses of households' residential mobility (the relationship between their own characteristics, housing needs and mobility) in the rest of the study will be interpreted.

As elsewhere in the third world, in Turkish cities housing stock consists of two different parts: authorised and unauthorised. Although these two parts overlap both in terms of prices and rents and in the socio economic characteristics of their dwellers, in each sector the predominant forces - i.e. State interests and intervention, planning laws, housing benefit and credit programmes, and modes of provision - are very different. We have therefore divided the chapter into two main sections for the authorised and unauthorised sectors of the housing markets respectively.

In each section we will first discuss the policies, forms of State intervention, and the supply conditions of land and housing. Rather than just focusing on the conditions dominant in the 1980s, we shall present these over a longer period since the current policies and supply conditions cannot be discussed and understood independently of the past policies and supply conditions, or from the bottlenecks created by previous forms of provision.



We will then consider the specific features of the context - i.e. housing supply conditions, labour market conditions, and income distribution patterns. Finally we will hypothesise the extent to which the (im)mobility of tenure groups is influenced by their own choices, and we will discuss their likely residential mobility behaviour.

## 3.2 HOUSING POLICIES, SUPPLY CONDITIONS OF THE AUTHORISED STOCK, AND THE LIKELY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY BEHAVIOUR OF HOUSEHOLDS

Within the last two decades in Turkey the provision of formal housing, levels of effective demand, and the volume of production have undergone drastic changes. The early 1980s witnessed the restructuring of housing market conditions. The mode of provision which had prevailed since the 1960s changed, and a new market structure was formed.

Let us start by explaining the policies, supply conditions, and forms of provision which were predominant until the early 1980s, and the causes of the crisis in the housing sector. Then we will discuss the restructuring of the housing sector and outline the housing policies and supply conditions predominating in the 1980s - after the crisis.

### 3.2.1 Pre-1980 housing market conditions and the crisis in the housing sector in the early 1980s

A "housing boom", accompanied by a profitable expansion of market operations, is the principal feature of the formal housing sector since the beginning of urbanisation in the 1950s until the late 1970s in Turkey. During the 1950s industrialisation efforts, and the consequent increasing rate of urbanisation, established a situation of continually increasing demand for urban land and housing. Massive migratory flows to a very few metropolitan centres<sup>1</sup> are the prime factor explaining the growth in demand for urban land and housing. These flows encountered an inelastic supply of land, minimal infrastructure, and an inadequate housing

---

<sup>1</sup>The high rates of urbanisation since the 1950s are given in the previous chapter, Tables 2.4 and 2.5.

stock to provide for an effectively instantaneous and increasing need, leading to the rise in urban land and housing prices. Karpat (1976) for example reported that some lots around Istanbul that sold for 50 Liras/m<sup>2</sup> in 1949 had risen to 50,000 Liras/m<sup>2</sup> in 1965. Nevertheless, within an economy where the rates of inflation in the 1960s and 1970s ranged between 20% - 50% per annum, rising urban real estate prices provoked demand, particularly among the urban middle classes, to invest in land and housing as an inflation resistant form of investment. Hence urban land and housing became a subject of speculation (see Oncu 1988, Turel 1990, and Isik 1992). Through our interviews with the construction companies and the Real Estate Bank (which was a government owned organisation until 1980 when it became a mixed enterprise, giving housing credits and undertaking production as well) it was learned that the bank and large companies always have land stocks in planned as well as unplanned areas. Here it should be indicated that in Turkey very large companies prepare settlement plans for their projects which are intended to be realised on the unplanned land. These plans are called partial "imar plan", and are proposed to local government for approval<sup>2</sup>. One of the company managers who complained about the inefficiency of the local government in extending the development plans indicated that in most cases they propose partial "imar plans" rather than waiting for the local authorities to prepare them. Hence such a practice of proposing plans for the land in the unplanned areas provides a legal framework which makes speculation easier for large companies.

The lack of alternative avenues for investment - e.g. money markets - was another important factor affecting the level of investment in urban real estate. State regulations required the banks to keep interest rates to savers and borrowers at low levels - below the rate of inflation - and prohibited the development of money markets in order to encourage or promote investments in conformity with an import substitution strategy (see Oncu 1988).

The high effective demand for housing stimulated housing production and a "housing boom" was experienced within the period from 1960 - 1980 (see Table 3.1 below).

---

<sup>2</sup>Imar plan is a kind of master plan which includes further details concerning settlement and construction criteria.

TABLE 3.1 Housing Production in the Authorised Stock (and its Ratio to Total Housing Need) Between 1964 and 1980

Year*	Number of** Dwellings Completed		Five Year Average of Total Housing Need	Ratio of Production to Need	
	Regular Stock (a)	Total*** Housing Need (b)		$\frac{(a) \times 100}{(b)}$	Five Year Average %
1964	14,000	66,600	69,800	21	34
1965	33,000	73,000		45	
1966	41,000	77,000	99,300	53	59
1967	51,000	82,000		62	
1968	63,000	101,000		62	
1969	66,000	110,000		60	
1970	72,000	126,000		57	
1971	73,000	112,000	121,600	65	72
1972	89,000	117,000		76	
1973	96,000	119,000		81	
1974	85,000	129,000		66	
1975	97,000	131,000		74	
1976	102,000	121,000		84	
1977	119,000	130,000	132,400	91	90
1978	120,000	133,000		90	
1979	124,000	135,000		92	
1980	139,000	146,000		95	

Source: Turel (1990)

\* 1964 is the base year. Construction statistics only began to be compiled then and we do not have figures for previous years.

\*\* State Institute of Statistics: Monthly Construction Statistics.

\*\*\* This figure refers to total housing need in urban areas, some of which is met in the unauthorised sector. In estimating the production/need ratios, second (resort) houses, the number of units which have been converted for other uses, those which have been demolished and lost from the stock, and concealed housing need should also be determined. In Turkey these statistics are not available. The above housing need figures are equal to the increase in the number of households (termed demographic housing need, and calculated on an average household size of 4.5). Increases in the number of households are estimated on the basis of the State Institute of Statistics' estimations of the rate of increase in population between two censuses through the formula  $(P=Po.e^{Rn})$ . See *Census of Population Publications*.

As shown through the figures the level of housing production in the authorised sector increased continuously over the whole period. Due to the lack of relevant statistical information estimations of housing need are approximate (see footnote 3, Table 3.1), but they are given as a rough guideline in order to evaluate the increase in production relative to need and to observe the trend between 1964 and 1980. Figures show that while the estimated overall housing need in cities rapidly increased, the ratio of new dwellings to housing need also increased dramatically during the 16 years prior to 1980. Although only around one fifth of the total housing need was met by authorised housing production in 1964, the ratio reached an average of 90% during the second half of the 1970s, peaking at 95% in 1980.

As production increased, construction material prices also started to increase. After the mid 1970s construction material prices rose more rapidly than prices in general (see Table 3.2). The oligopolistic structure of the construction material industry in Turkey may be considered a factor that influenced the drastic increases in the prices of construction materials at a time when the rise in production had become a constant trend.

TABLE 3.2 Rates of Increase in Construction Material Prices and Wholesale Prices Between 1970 and 1980 (%)

Year	Rate of Increase in Wholesale Price Index	Rate of Increase in Construction Material Price Index	Ratio of Material Price Index/ Wholesale Index (1963 = 100 for each)
1970	7	8	1.03
1971	16	10	0.90
1972	18	13	0.94
1973	20	11	0.86
1974	30	21	0.81
1975	10	9	0.80
1976	15	39	0.96
1977	24	67	1.30
1978	53	50	1.28
1979	64	74	1.36
1980	107	88	1.23

Source: Statistical Year Book of Turkey 1977, p387, Table 406; Statistical Year Book of Turkey 1985, p385, Table 317. Data is compiled by the Evaluation Dept of Under-secretariat of Treasury and Foreign Trade, Prime Ministry.

Hence in addition to the rising land prices, given the rises in construction costs housing prices must have been increasing at quite high rates.

It should be pointed out that the "housing boom" experienced within the twenty years prior to 1980 had been mostly realised through private finance. The State's role in housing was established in the development plans as a "regulator" as opposed to a direct investor or constructor (Keles 1990b). Public housing investments comprised the State's housing investments for its own employees (available for rent at very low rates) and low cost or self-

help housing projects, accounting for less than 10% of all housing investments in the authorised sector (see Table 3.3 below).

**TABLE 3.3**      **Public Housing Investments Between 1968 and 1980**  
(Billions TL at Current Prices)

Year	Public Housing Invest. (a)	Total Housing Invest. (b)	Total Public Invest. (c)	Share of Public Housing Investment	
				in Total Housing Invest. (a/b) %	in Total Public Invest. (a/c) %
1968	0.4	3.9	11.2	10.26	3.57
1969	0.5	4.6	12.8	10.87	3.91
1970	0.7	5.8	14.4	12.07	4.86
1971	0.6	7.0	16.2	8.57	3.70
1972	0.5	9.9	20.0	5.05	2.57
1973	0.4	12.8	25.0	3.13	1.59
1974	0.6	13.2	35.0	4.55	1.71
1975	1.4	17.8	53.8	7.87	2.60
1976	1.7	26.8	74.7	6.34	2.28
1977	2.5	37.2	107.8	6.72	2.32
1978	3.8	60.6	136.3	6.27	2.79
1979	6.8	107.9	235.5	6.30	2.85
1980	9.9	186.1	484.9	5.32	2.04

Source: Danisoglu (1986) p30. Data compiled by State Planning Organisation

Moreover commercial banks were legally prohibited from using their own resources for long term home mortgages in order to encourage resource allocation to industry and industrial infrastructure. In effect the only bank extending credit for housing finance was the

government owned Real Estate Bank (EKB). With limited funds the EKB extended credits at highly concessionary rates, mainly to civil servants (see Oncu 1988). She reported that within the banking system as a whole, housing credit accounted for no more than 1.7% of outstanding loans in 1979, representing a steady decline from 12.7% in 1960 and 5.9% in 1970. In addition some social security organisations - i.e. the Social Security Agency for Armed Forces and the Workers' Social Insurance Agency - provided credits for their members with limited funds. This institutionalised finance covered less than 10% of the dwellings built in the authorised stock between 1975 and 1980 (see Oncu 1988, Table 1 p43).

In Turkey houses are produced for sale and subsequently either owner-occupied or rented out for investment purposes. Production of houses for rent has been completely abandoned since the war years (Keles, 1990b).

The tenancy ratio in the authorised stock was estimated at around 50% in 1980<sup>3</sup>. The absence of any mortgage system or public finance, and rising house prices might have prevented relatively lower income households from purchasing housing. Around 90% of the rented stock is privately owned - mostly by small scale landlords. Many middle income families invested in housing not only for their own needs, but also to rent out. The rent control system, implemented during the pre-war years, was abolished in 1963 by the State Planning Organisation, following a decision by the Constitutional Court - established in 1962 after the military intervention - which found rent control unconstitutional on the grounds that individual rights could not be suspended or abolished (see Keles 1990a). Hence the abolition of rent control can be explained as due to the authorities' fear of jeopardising the effective demand to invest in housing - since many middle income families buy flats to rent out as well. In a context where (i) there is a quite significant demand for rental stock; (ii) housing need is increasing continuously; (iii) most of the rental stock is owned by private landlords; and (iv) there are no rent controls, rents can be expected to increase at high rates (at least to keep pace with inflation). Data on rents until 1980 in Turkey is scarce. Consumer price

---

<sup>3</sup>In the 1980 household consumption survey by the State Institute of Statistics the ratio in big cities is given as around 50%. Although this figure includes both authorised and unauthorised stock, since the tenancy ratio in the unauthorised stock was estimated at 50% in Ankara and Istanbul, for the late 1970s and 1980 one can deduce that the tenants in the authorised stock comprise around half of the total households.

indices including rent expenses are available only for Istanbul (compiled by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce). It can be assumed that the figures for Istanbul exemplify the trend in other big cities - i.e. Ankara and Izmir. As seen in Table 3.4 below, in Istanbul the rates of increase in rents were higher than inflation in most years during the second half of the 1970s, and the rents were increasing in real terms.

TABLE 3.4 Rate of Change in Consumer Price Index and Housing Costs for Istanbul Between 1973 & 1980 (%)

Year	Rate of Change in Consumer Price Index	Rate of Change in Housing Cost Index	Ratio of Housing Cost Index/Consumer Price Index (1968 = 100 for each)
1973	14	8	1.09
1974	23	13	0.99
1975	22	18	0.96
1976	17	27	1.06
1977	31	52	1.23
1978	68	88	1.38
1979	78	82	1.41
1980	75	45	1.17

Source: Statistical Year Book of Turkey 1981; State Institute of Statistics, Table 355, p362. Data compiled by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce

Rising rents would in turn further increase the demand to invest savings in housing. Not only would this demand come from tenants seeking to avoid rising rents, but also from owner-occupiers investing in their second or third houses in order to obtain increasing rent incomes. Here it is important to note that real wages in Turkey were rising up until the application of the pre-stabilisation package in 1979 (see Tekeli 1984, and Boratav 1989). This should be considered an important factor in maintaining the increases in production and rises in house



prices, since it enabled middle income groups to increase their effective demand for housing in the absence of public finance and any mortgage system. Moreover rises in wages must have enabled the tenants to bear the costs of rising rents.

However it can be argued that these rising rents and prices prevented the low income strata from raising effective demand in the formal market, leading to the formation of the informal sector. Discussion of the conditions of this sector and of residential mobility patterns within the unauthorised stock is left to section 3 of this chapter.

In short, from the 1950s through to 1980 rapid urbanisation together with the economic conditions of the country - i.e. rising inflation, rising real wages, and the lack of any arena to invest savings in other than urban land and housing - led the formal housing market to expand by bringing good returns (and speculative profits) both to the producers and to the buyers. Within this period a very particular mode of provision had been formed which (i) facilitated the flow of private savings into housing and (ii) secured the production of the maximum possible number of housing units. An explanation of this particular mode of provision will clarify how this housing "miracle" was realised - that is, how the above described, profitably operating housing market was formed.

### Small producer mode of provision

Because of highly fragmented land ownership and the absence (until the 1970s) of a building materials industry that could support large scale housing development projects, large construction firms avoided entering the field of housing production<sup>4</sup>. But increasing potential demand for housing and rising house prices made housebuilding a profitable industry.

Small producers (one-man firms) - "Yap satci"<sup>5</sup> - dominated the production sphere. These small constructors started out by entering into an agreement with the land owners, offering

---

<sup>4</sup> Until the beginning of the recent decade, large construction companies mainly undertook State tenders for civil works and development projects in the Middle East countries.

<sup>5</sup> One man construction firms are called "yap-satci" in Turkish, which means a constructor who builds and sells each flat immediately.

30% -50% of the apartment units intended for a single plot to the owner in return for his land. Such an agreement made it possible for those "yap-satci" to commence work with the minimum initial capital - just enough to build a basement and first floor flats. In order to continue production the producer generally sells the first few flats on completion and with the purchasers' advance payments starts further construction. Bickicioglu (1987) reported that sales during construction constituted 60% of construction finance, whilst borrowings from the sellers of construction materials and others constituted 14%. The "yap-satci" generally started with an initial capital comprising nearly 26% of the total finance, and did not use bank credits at all<sup>6</sup>. The prospective buyer generally had to pay 36% of the total price in advance, and the conditions of instalments were dependent on the agreement between the purchaser and the constructor. Hence this mode of provision offered quite convenient conditions of payment for the buyer and, in a context where there was limited credit availability, facilitated the flow of small savings into housing.

The particular mode of housing provision which dominated the market in the 1960s and 1970s ensured that producers undertook production with capital that might not be used in other areas at all, or that might not have been put to such profitable use. Thus besides providing significant material benefits to the groups involved, housing market conditions and the consequent particular mode of provision promoted the rate of housing stock growth to the extent that Turkey experienced a "housing miracle" between 1960 and 1980. As was seen in Table 3.1 in most of the years after 1964 the number of dwellings completed each year was increasing continuously, as was the ratio of production to housing need. Balamir (1982) estimated that apartment blocks - which comprise the housing type provided by that particular mode of provision - accounted for 70% of all urban housing completed between 1963 and 1980 in terms of floor area.

Here it is important to note that the State's tolerance and/or implicit support was a critical factor in the creation and development of such a housing market structure. The mode of

---

<sup>6</sup> As was indicated in the previous chapter, until 1980 bank interest rates were subject to State regulations. Oncu (1988) also indicated that it was State policy to maintain a highly complex system of preferential interest rates on credits to priority sectors, mainly to industry. Housing construction was not a priority sector, and credits for housing construction were limited and interest rates were higher than for the priority sectors.

provision and conditions of the housing market described so far conformed to the State's political and economic interests.

As in several other countries in the third world, the State had never challenged speculation<sup>7</sup>. It is obvious that in an environment where rising rents and prices are the main channels of accumulation for several groups it would be difficult for the State to work against the rises in rents and prices as it would challenge the political consensus (Oncu, 1988). Furthermore it would do significant damage to the housing industry as well since the rising effective demand and hence the rapid growth of housing stock, was mainly stimulated by rising prices (which promise speculative gains) and by rising rents (which would not only provoke owner occupiers into buying second or third houses in order to obtain rent incomes, but would also further stimulate tenants to become owner-occupiers). The abolition of the rent control law in 1963 (in the early period of the "housing boom") would appear to be an important indication of the State's priority and general policy in the housing sphere. Moreover the State, by allowing higher numbers of floors and larger construction floor areas in individual plots (throughout the years of the housing boom), not only facilitated the rapid growth of stock<sup>8</sup>, but reinforced speculation as well.

Oncu (1988) argued that the State had never challenged speculation, nor the rapid, unplanned and uncoordinated development of urban land, since urban land opens up a major channel of accumulation. Speculative expansion had provided short term material benefits and generated political consensus based on them. Likewise Danielson and Keles (1985) indicated that the "government encouraged the boom in private housing in response both to pressures from the housing industry and to the political attractions of providing benefits to the urban middle class" (p161).

Besides creating a political consensus, the small producer mode of housing provision and the expansion of the formal housing stock - through speculative gains - were also convenient for

---

<sup>7</sup> See discussion in Chapter 1.

<sup>8</sup> By increasing building densities the State also encouraged owners of single or two-storey houses to make agreements with constructors in order to acquire more units in return for their land. So not only empty plots, but also land comprising low density buildings were incorporated into this particular mode of housing provision.

the State's economic interests. The State was not willing to allocate either its own resources, or other credit sources for housing (as was indicated, industry and its infrastructure were the priority areas into which resources were channelled). This is evident from the credit policy towards housing, and from the limited shares of public housing investments in total housing investments and in total public investments as seen in Table 3.3.

The system explained so far did not necessitate any financial support from the State either in the form of credits or direct investments in production, but enabled the urban middle classes to become homeowners and sustained the profitable expansion of the housing sector and the growth of stock. This is what the experts called the "housing miracle".

### The end of the "housing miracle"

The shortage of serviced land in the city on the one hand, and decreasing real wages and rising interest rates (through the liberal economy policies) on the other, created bottlenecks in the profitable growth of the formal housing market during the early 1980s.

As Tekeli (1981) and Oncu (1988) indicated, after two decades of dense, high rise residential development, towards the end of the 1970s and early 1980s the supply of empty land in the city had been depleted. This made it difficult for the constructors to continue to make high profits since land owners began to use the shortage of land in the city as an advantage in the bargaining stakes, and started to claim higher percentages of the flats intended for construction on their land<sup>9</sup>. In response producers increased their prices further. But this led to higher burdens on households and had a negative influence on their accessibility to

---

<sup>9</sup> Building construction could not expand outwards in the city easily since serviced land supply was not demand elastic. Considering that these small housebuilders would not have enough influence over officials to provide services for their plots, and that they would not have sufficient capital to enable them to stand empty while waiting for the services, it was not a widespread strategy for them to invest their capital in unserviced land. Moreover if they did find serviced land on the outskirts of the city and could start construction immediately, the price of the flats they produced would be lower than the ones they could sell in central areas, hence their profits would be lower, while the ratio of flats that the landowners were demanding would be increasing on the outskirts of the city as well. In order to increase their profit level they would have to enlarge the scale of construction, but in this case they would need larger amounts of land, and would have to achieve economies of scale which would not be possible due to their conventional production techniques.

ownership. Hence the unity of interests between producers, consumers, and landowners began to collapse.

Above all, the liberalisation package taken on board in 1980 further mobilised the impasses of the system. As explained in the previous chapter, interest rates increased after 1980 and for the first time exceeded the rate of inflation. In addition real wages decreased sharply after 1979 (see Table 2.12 in the previous chapter). Moreover private money markets (bankers), which had previously been prohibited in accordance with the import substitution economy, were allowed to become established. Their numbers increased dramatically in a period of only a few years. While banks were increasing their interest rates gradually, from 10%-12% (for medium term deposits) in 1979 to 30%-35% in the early 1980s, bankers were offering higher interest rates than the savings banks - ranging between 40%-50%. High interest rates for savers opened a new avenue for private savings which decreased the attractiveness of investing in housing. At the same time the rising interest rates charged to house builders during the construction period made it difficult or even impossible for them to continue to produce by means of commercial credits in the absence of purchasers' capital. Furthermore, decreasing real incomes made it difficult for households to afford increasing rents and prices. As a result the early 1980s in Turkey witnessed a major recession in the housing sector.

Decreases in the share of housing investments in the early 1980s, both within the GNP and in total fixed investments, are indicators of the depression in the housing sector. These are shown in Table 3.5.

TABLE 3.5      The Ratio of Housing Investments to the GNP and to the  
Total Fixed Investments (%)

Year	Housing Investments GNP	Housing Investments/ Total Fixed Investments
1970	3.9	21.2
1971	3.6	21.7
1972	4.0	21.0
1973	4.1	21.6
1974	3.0	17.3
1975	3.3	16.5
1976	4.0	17.4
1977	4.3	17.6
1978	4.7	21.6
1979	5.0	24.0
1980	4.2	21.5
1981	2.5	13.3
1982	2.4	12.8
1983	2.4	13.0
1984	2.5	13.7
1985	3.0	15.0
1986*	4.0	16.0
1987*	5.0	21.0
1988*	6.0	25.5

Source: Danisoglu (1986) p30. Data compiled by State Planning Organisation

\* Data for these years is unpublished

Both percentages reached their lowest point just after 1980 and remained at those low levels until the mid 1980s (the increasing percentages after the mid 1980s will be discussed in the next section). Moreover the decrease in housing production and in the ratio of production to housing need (shown in Table 3.6) also verifies the crisis in the housing market in the early 1980s.

TABLE 3.6 Housing Production in the Authorised Stock (and its Ratio to Overall Housing Need) After 1980

Year	Number of* Dwellings Completed Regular Stock (a)	Overall** Housing Need (b)	Five Year Average Between Censuses	Ratio of Production to Need <u>(a)x100</u> (b)	% Average Between Censuses
1980	139,000	146,000	132,400	95	90
1981	119,000	186,000		64	
1982	116,000	193,000		60	
1983	113,000	205,000	202,400	55	58
1984	122,000	210,000		58	
1985	118,000	218,000		54	
1986	168,000	230,000		73	
1987	191,000	238,000		80	
1988	205,000	244,000		84	

Source: Turel (1990)

\* State Institute of Statistics; Construction Statistics

\*\* See footnote Table 3.1 concerning the estimation of housing need

The production level shows a striking decline from 139,000 in 1980 to 119,000 in 1981, then remained at around that level until 1986<sup>10</sup>. The ratio of production to total housing need shows a striking decline as well; while the ratio was 95% in 1980, it dropped to 64% in 1981. The average ratio for the 5 year period from 1975 to 1980 was 90%, whereas between 1980 and 1986 it was 58%. Having seen the figures for housing production for all the cities together, now let us look at the figures for Ankara.

<sup>10</sup>Many of the constructions started in 1978, 1979 and 1980 (by conventional methods it takes an average of 24 - 30 months to complete a 4 or 5 storey building) remained uncompleted in 1981 due to the shocking increases in interest rates - which precipitated the sudden boom of the bankers in 1981.

TABLE 3.7 Housing Production in the Authorised Stock and its Ratio to the Overall Demographic Housing Need Between 1966 and 1988 in Ankara

Year	Number of Dwellings Completed Regular Stock	Yearly Average Production Between Censuses (a)	Yearly Average Overall Housing Need Between Censuses (b)	Ratio of Production To Need $\frac{(a) \times 100}{(b)}$
1966	6,700			
1967	7,200			
1968	8,300	7,460	14,600	51
1969	8,500			
1970	6,600			
1971	8,300			
1972	10,500			
1973	13,000	10,120	19,700	51
1974	9,600			
1975	9,200			
1976	7,200			
1977	10,700			
1978	9,100	8,940	11,000	81
1979	8,900			
1980	8,800			
1981	9,800			
1982	9,500			
1983	3,900	9,520	15,700	60
1984	8,400			
1985	11,000			
1986	11,800			
1987	13,360			
1988	14,500			



Source: Compiled from Turel (1986) for figures of demographic housing needs and dwellings completed between 1966 - 1980. Census of Population (1985) Ankara Issue for figures of Demographic Housing needs between 1980 - 1985, Table 1, pxxii (see footnote Table 3.1 concerning the estimation of housing need). Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (1991) for figures of number of Dwellings completed between 1985 - 1988, Table 19 p20.



As seen in the table above the number of units completed each year in Ankara in the 16 years prior to 1980, unlike the case for the cities in total, does not present a gradual increase. Particularly after the peaks in 1972 and 1973 - with the exception of the peak in 1977 - the level of production shows a quite steady trend at around 9,000 dwellings each year. In fact production remained at that level until 1985. The estimated demographic housing need appears to have been increasing up until the mid 1970s and the ratio of production remained at 50% of the total housing need within that 10 year period in the capital. It is quite difficult to draw any conclusions about the extent to which the fall of demographic housing need in the second half of the 1970s prevented housing production from increasing during those years. Nevertheless considering that the majority of migrants (who comprise a significant proportion of the housing need in big cities) cannot raise effective demand for the authorised stock, it would be unlikely that changes in housing need in the big cities (i.e. Ankara, and Istanbul) would have a major impact on the production of formal housing, particularly in a context where housing and land is the only sphere in which to invest private savings. Alternatively in Ankara the availability of plots might have started to decrease earlier than the average in other cities, and this could be a factor preventing the level of production from increasing up until 1980 - unlike the case shown for the cities in total.

However after 1980, when the housing sector in general witnessed a major recession (as seen through the figures in Tables 3.5 and 3.6), housing production levels in the capital did not decrease. This should be explained with reference to the particular residential development pattern of the city. New residential areas were planned by the local government for mass housing projects in the western regions of the city, and opened for development in the late 1970s. Since the buyers of these houses had already started making monthly payments before construction started, unlike other prospective housebuyers they did not or could not change their minds in order to take advantage of the 30% - 40% interest rates available on money market investments. Hence those units which were beginning to be completed in the early 1980s must have been an important factor preventing the number of units from decreasing in the capital during that time. On the other hand small producers (*yap satci*), who dominated the market throughout the 1960s and 1970s, experienced the crisis in Ankara as well. Turel (1989) has indicated that in the absence of purchasers' capital several of the "*yap satci*" could not finish the constructions they had started and experienced difficulties in selling the units

that they produced. Our interviews with small producers in Ankara who were in this business before 1980 confirmed these difficulties. One of the small producers that we interviewed indicated that he could not sell even a single flat throughout the whole of 1981. Another indicated that he had to borrow considerable sums of money at a very high interest rate in order to be able to continue production. However after 1984 (as seen in the figures above) the number of units completed shows an increase in Ankara, as is the case for all the cities in total.

It is evident from the increasing share of housing investments in the GNP and in the total fixed investments, and from the increasing number of units produced, that towards the mid 1980s (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6) the housing sector had begun to recover from the crisis. It seems that the housing market had started to operate under a new set of circumstances, in line with the new regulations.

### 3.2.2 Restructuring of market conditions after the crisis - in 1983

In this section, after explaining the State's response to the crisis in the housing sector and the reactivation of effective demand, we shall examine the housing supply conditions structured through the new circumstances and policies.

Although up to 1980 the State had never been keen on allocating credit to the housing sector, in 1981 it made a major policy change in order to reactivate housebuilding. In view of the significant role of the construction sector in using industrial products as inputs, Korum (1982) indicated that the construction sector had a key role in the economy, and that this can be considered among the reasons which led the State to make a policy change in response to the crisis in the sector. Furthermore until the late 1970s many large Turkish construction companies were working in the Middle East, but because of the decreasing volume of work in Middle East countries these large companies became interested in expanding their local operations (Oncu, 1988). The volume of civil engineering work would not be sufficient for them to operate profitably and, as Oncu indicated, large scale housing projects (feasible for their construction technology) would be required.

In 1981 under the direction of the military government the "Mass Housing Act" was passed. A public fund was created, absorbing 5% of the national budget, which would provide TL 100 billion (US\$ 1 billion) at the outset if the promised finance materialised. 80% of the fund was planned to be given to consumers. Credits were planned to cover construction costs. Their repayment period was 10 - 20 years, and interest rates were between 15% - 20% depending on the size of the unit.

However, requirements for access to housing funds automatically excluded the low income groups. Substantial down payments were required, and the minimum monthly income for participation in 1981 was TL 59,000 (about US\$ 600) which exceeded the salary of many civil servants (Danielson & Keles, 1985). Furthermore the amount of money that was reserved from the budget for the fund was less than planned, and the objectives of the 1981 mass housing act could not be achieved (see Danielson & Keles 1985; Turel 1990). In 1984 the first party government (on the right wing) revised the national housing policy. New taxes were brought in (for the consumption of oil, tobacco, alcohol, import goods, and foreign travel) to replenish the housing fund. From 1984 to 1987 TL 1,043,9 billion was obtained and distributed as housing credits to the consumers (Kent-Koop, News Bulletin p12).

Under the new law not only would individuals, housing cooperatives, and builders benefit, but also social security institutions and applicants for credits to be used for investment in infrastructure in tourism regions. The condition under the 1981 law, that to benefit applicants should not already own a house, was repealed in the 1984 law. Moreover credits were also given for resort houses and the maximum unit size eligible for credit was increased from 100 to 150 square metres. Keles (1990b) wrote that: "The new steps taken in the opposite direction suffice to make the social goals of legislation highly questionable" (p.155). The aim of increasing housing production as a whole was clear, but although down payments and minimum income levels were not required by this second law, the credits could not be extended to the low income groups and the middle income groups were the prime beneficiaries of the credits (Danisoglu 1986; Keles 1990b). During the 1980s the Real Estate Bank acted as an agency in the distribution of mass housing credits. In the interview we asked the manager concerned which income groups were the beneficiaries of these credits. The average income indicated by the manager was much higher than the minimum wage

levels for those years. Furthermore the rising inflation rate and rising house prices made the credits insufficient to cover the prices of units - this will be further explained in the following pages.

Nevertheless as a result of the creation of a housing fund the share of housing credits within the total bank credits increased significantly. It increased from 1.4% in 1980 to 1.6% in 1981, 1.9% in 1982, 2.8% in 1983, 4.9% in 1984, and 6.9% in 1985. Towards the end of the recent decade production levels, both in terms of their share in the GNP and in the total fixed investments, surpassed the levels of the 1970s (shown in Table 3.5).

It should be noted that bankers who were offering 40% - 50% interest rates for savings, attracting quite significant proportions of savings in the early 1980s, collapsed within a few years<sup>10</sup>. In addition to the housing credit programmes, the collapse of an important part of the money markets must have been an important factor in the reactivation of demand.

It can thus be argued that the main features or underpinnings of the previous system had been recreated: (i) the State, by offering new possibilities for the urban middle classes to become homeowners - thereby transforming their potential demand into effective demand -has once again generated a consensus among the urban middle classes<sup>11</sup>; (ii) urban land and housing has become attractive for private savings again; and (iii) as was the case before 1980, the State's role remained that of a regulator rather than a direct investor, and the private sector dominated production. The public sector share in total housing investments remained at quite limited levels, even decreasing drastically after 1985 (see Table 3.8).

---

<sup>10</sup>Bankrupt bankers often made the headlines of the press in those days. Most of them were arrested or escaped abroad.

<sup>11</sup> In a survey carried out by the Turkish Industrialists & Businessmen's Association in Ankara and Istanbul in 1986, it was reported that homeownership occupied the top priority among needs - 28% of householders defined becoming an owner-occupier as their most urgent need. 36% of households made housing their preference when they were asked how they would spend a large amount of money from an unexpected source. It is a very well known fact from the party programmes and propoganda that the urban middle classes were defined as the primary target group by the first government party after the coup. "The Middle Pillar" was the popular term used by party workers in their speeches.

TABLE 3.8 The State's Share in Housing Production After 1980

Year	Public Sector Investment/ Total Housing Investment %
1980	5.3
1981	10.4
1982	7.5
1983	7.2
1984	10.0
1985	8.6
1986	6.8
1987*	3.3
1988*	2.1

Source: Danisoglu (1986) p30. Data compiled by the State Planning Organisation

\* Data for these years are unpublished

Whilst the main features of the previous system were recreated, we see some changes in the mode of provision: (i) Small producers (yap satci) still remained on the scene. In research by Bickicioglu (1987) interviews with 25 "yap satci" showed that 11 of them were in the same business before the recession - they closed their businesses for a few years during the recession and started again. But this time they started with a higher initial capital (increased from 25% to 53% of the cost of a building) and they started to invest in vacant lands long before commencing construction. This enabled them to avoid the constraints of housing contracts with landowners (Turel 1990, and Isik 1992). (ii) At the same time large companies - which had so far been working abroad - started to undertake housing construction. They either organised groups of prospective housebuyers to establish housing cooperatives in order to get housing credits, and undertook their construction, or they worked as contractors for already established cooperatives. Some of them bought and produced on their own land, marketing the constructions themselves. In addition municipalities increased their efforts to provide serviced land for residential development, facilitating the operation of these grant

companies - which by virtue of their construction technology found it impossible to produce on a small scale.

Having explained the restructuring of demand and of the modes of provision so far, we will now try to explain the trends in rents and house prices within the renewed system. The drastic increases in housing construction generated increases in construction material prices - as was the case before 1980. As shown in Table 3.9 below, in 1981 when the construction sector was in crisis and levels of production decreased to a great extent, the ratio of the material price index to the wholesale price index dropped significantly from 1980 to 1981. But in 1982 the ratio began to increase sharply and the rate of increase in material prices remained above the rate of increase in wholesale prices throughout the rest of the 1980s.

TABLE 3.9 Rates of Increase in Construction Material Prices and in Wholesale Prices After 1980 (%)

Year	Rate of Increase in Wholesale Price Index	Rate of Increase in Construction Material Price Index	Ratio of Material Price Index/ Wholesale Index (1963 = 100 for each)
1980	107	88	1.23
1981	37	17	1.06
1982	25	30	1.09
1983	31	41	1.23
1984	52	53	1.24
1985	40	54	1.36
1986	28	54	1.65
1987	40	61	1.91

Source: Statistical Year Books 1987 and 1989. Table nos. 309 and 306 respectively. Data compiled by the Evaluation Department of the Undersecretariat of Treasury and Foreign Trade, Prime Ministry.

Furthermore, in accordance with the sharp rises in production, demand for land - and hence land prices - would be expected to increase again at high rates. As a result housing prices would have been increasing drastically (which in turn must have provoked further demand to invest in urban land and housing). However, under the influence of rapid increases in production costs, credits - although they increased as well - started to become insufficient to cover construction costs (see Table 3.10 below).

TABLE 3.10      Increases in Credits and Costs of Construction Excluding the Land Component - Examples for Two Different Unit Sizes

Year	Credits TL(000)	80m <sup>2</sup>		100m <sup>2</sup>		
		Costs of Production TL(000)		Costs of Production TL(000)		
		(a)	(b) <sup>12</sup>	Credits TL(000)	(a)	(b)
1985	2.750	3.500	4.800	3.250	4.400	6.000
1986	3.000	5.500	6.400	3.500	6.800	8.000
1987	5.000	7.300	8.000	5.250	9.000	10.000
1988	7.500	12.500	16.000	7.500	15.600	20.00

Source: Turel 1990, based on data from the Ministry of Construction

These credits cover much lower percentages of the total price of a unit, 50% - 60% of which (on average) was comprised by the cost of land. Keles (1990b) wrote that at 1988 market prices the credit actually given to each family meets only one quarter of the price of a social dwelling of about 80m<sup>2</sup>. As a result families have to look for other sources to gain funds. Rapidly increasing construction and land costs make it almost impossible for middle and low income households to become homeowners. According to Keles's estimation a manual

<sup>12</sup>(b) columns of production costs are based on estimations by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce.

worker with a monthly income of TL 200,000 (US\$ 160) would have to commit twenty years of his monthly salary in order to meet the cost of a social housing unit.

Furthermore increasing amounts of credit for each type of unit over time and the allocation of credits without a proper programme - mainly under the influence of political pressure - had exhausted the fund within four years. Fewer and fewer units were allocated credit towards the end of the 1980s and many applications were not accepted (Turel, 1990). According to Mass Housing Directorate figures the number of applicants who received credits decreased from 156,000 in 1987 to 61,000 in 1988. In the first eight months of 1989 only 9,000 applicants were given credits. Cooperative housing constructions which could not be completed and which stopped production for long periods due to the inability of members to pay the instalments were quite common in the 1980s. At the same time many households quit their membership of the cooperatives, withdrawing their small shares because they could not endure the increasing burdens of the instalments (Tekeli, 1988; Planning Seminar, unpublished paper).

From our interviews with housing constructors in Ankara (with both large scale companies and yap satci) we learned that in response to decreasing effective demand they started to channel their production towards comparatively higher quality units for relatively higher income buyers in different segments of the market. In fact several of them indicated that this had been their only way of surviving since the crisis in 1980. In particular those who are producing in the upper and middle income districts told us that they started to use very luxurious - sometimes imported - materials for interior and exterior construction. As an inhabitant of the city it is impossible not to be aware of the striking extravagance of the newly built units in the high and middle income districts. Furthermore almost all the producers from large companies to small producers - "yap satci" - indicated that they had changed the terms of payment for customers after 1980. Previously around one third of the total price was paid in advance and the rest was paid in instalments for up to 3 years<sup>13</sup>. However after 1980 under the rising interest rates it was no longer possible to continue to apply these payment terms. Since then at least 50% of the total price has to be paid in

---

<sup>13</sup>As cited in the previous section, Bickicioglu (1987) also reported a similar ratio for the initial payment of total price.



advance and the instalments are paid in up to one year. The interest rate charged for instalments is either the official bank rate (50% - 70%) for medium term deposits, or the instalments are paid in hard currencies. It was also learned that all the producers interviewed, who are producing in different segments of the market, observed changes in the income groups of their customers. They all indicated that since the 1980s only the relatively higher income groups can afford the units that they produce. Several of the producers pointed out the decline in the proportion of wage earners in particular among their customers.

Thus it can be argued that two contradictory forces operate in the market to influence effective demand and accessibility of households: (i) the State's efforts to increase effective demand through credit support and (ii) increasing demand has generated an increase in production, and hence prices, which in turn has begun to operate by influencing accessibility in the reverse direction. In an economy where real wages are decreasing, continually rising prices cannot be afforded by the majority of people. Therefore a new crisis in the sector seems to be inevitable unless new sources of funding are found.

While accessibility to ownership became increasingly constrained for many households, the supply conditions of the rental stock do not seem to have been very favourable in the 1980s either. As shown in Table 3.11 below, both in Ankara and in Istanbul the rates of increase in housing costs in the rental stock (comprised of rents and running expenses, e.g. heating and electricity) were quite high - in several years surpassing the rate of inflation. In Ankara in particular, taking 1979 as the base year, rents have never decreased in real terms. Furthermore we see that the ratio of the rent index to the price index increased considerably from 1983 up until 1986. In Istanbul, although the ratio of the rent index to consumer prices was not as high as in Ankara, rents never decreased in real terms significantly. Decreases in real wages, which reached quite drastic levels towards the late 1980s (particularly in the public sector), may have been a factor which caused decreases in the ratio of rent index to the consumer index in the late 1980s in both cities. Although we do not have index numbers based on the same year for wages and rents to determine the ratio of the rent index to wages, given that rents never decreased in real terms throughout the 1980s, but that wages decreased in real terms considerably it would appear that rents were increasing relative to wages, even in the late 1980s.

TABLE 3.11 Rates of Increase in Consumer Prices and Housing Costs in Big Cities of Turkey Between 1983 - 1989 (%)

	Ankara			Istanbul		
	Rate of Increase in Consumer Price Index	Rate of Increase in Housing Costs Index	Housing Index/ Consumer Index	Rate of Increase in Consumer Price Index	Rate of Increase in Housing Costs Index	Housing Index/ Consumer Index
1983	31	36	1.12	32	30	0.99
1984	48	46	1.10	51	50	0.98
1985	50	66	1.21	48	68	1.12
1986	37	41	1.25	35	34	1.11
1987	40	28	1.14	41	29	1.00
1988	72	56	1.03	75	60	0.92
1989	66	71	1.04	70	61	0.87

Source: Wholesale and Consumer Price Indexes Monthly Bulletin: State Institute of Statistics; Prime Ministry. 1985 & 1990 Issues: Table B.14 pp28,32 and pp56,60 respectively. The index numbers have been computed monthly depending on the results of the "Household Income and Consumption Survey" conducted by the State Institute of Statistics, dated between October 1978 and September 1979. Although the base years are taken as 1978 and 1979, indexes only started to be computed in 1982.

Although in the 1980s there was pressure on the Supreme Court to establish a rent control system in order to prevent rents from increasing at high rates (to keep rent increase rates at 30% - 40% of the inflation rate), attempts were not successful and no rent controls were introduced. The absence of any rent control system and constrained accessibility to ownership (as a consequence of which demand for rental stock must have been increasing) can be considered as significant factors that have led rents to at least keep pace with inflation - even to increase in real terms in the case of Ankara - despite the fact that the wages of the working masses were decreasing in real terms.

In short, after the recession in the housing sector, towards the mid 1980s the housing market was reactivated through the formation of a housing fund for credits and the collapse of money markets (bankers) which had previously attracted private savings. Nevertheless the main underpinnings of the previous system were recreated; the State's role remained that of a regulator rather than a direct investor, and the private sector dominated production and marketing. A vicious circle of rising demand, production, and prices has been reconstructed. On top of this, rising prices have rendered credits ineffective in terms of financing production costs.

The main features of the supply of authorised stock in the 1980s in Turkey can be summarised as follows: (i) increasing costs of production, and hence prices; (ii) increasing credit availability, but at a continually decreasing percentage of the total cost of the units; and (iii) rents were keeping pace with inflation, or even increasing in real terms in Ankara during much of the mid 1980s.

With reference to the above features of the housing supply, and to labour market conditions, and changes in income levels and distribution patterns (obtained in the previous chapter), we shall now hypothesise the likely forms of (im)mobility of different tenure and income groups within the authorised stock of the big cities in Turkey.

### 3.2.3 Hypotheses about the residential mobility of authorised stock dwellers

Let us start by discussing the likely responses of tenants towards the particular conditions of the context, and the consequent (im)mobility within the rented stock.

Continuously decreasing real wages since 1979<sup>14</sup> on the one hand, and increasing rents (at least keeping pace with inflation) on the other, can be taken as an increasing constraint on most of the tenants' housing consumption behaviour.

---

<sup>14</sup> Although the complete liberalisation policy package was taken on board in 1980, some of its precepts, including low wage policies, were introduced in 1979.

Firstly, to a quite significant extent, tenants' ability to move in order to adjust their changing housing needs has probably been constrained and adjustment moves are expected to be quite rare. Hence forced immobility may be quite common. Moreover, given the shrinking budget of many wage earners, in the course of time the rents of the existing units can become a burden within their budget. There have probably been cases of households trying to stay in the same unit - even if it does not answer their needs - by cutting down on other expenses and taking extra jobs in order to avoid moving into a cheaper unit which would further deteriorate their housing satisfaction. But there may have been cases as well in which the household moved out in order to avoid further increases in the rent burden, rather than cutting down on other expenses or working extra hours etc. Or even if the household attempts to stay in the unit by cutting down on other expenses and so on, rising rents together with the decreases in their wage earnings may lead to a point where it is no longer possible for the household to bear the cost of rising rents, and moving out of the unit becomes inevitable. Consequently the number of forced moves may not have been negligible at all. In short it is argued that in the particular case of Turkey the (im)mobility behaviour of many of the tenants in the authorised stock is unlikely to be determined by their own dynamics (changes in their socio-economic and demographic characteristics) and their consequent housing priorities. Forced mobility or forced immobility are expected to be quite common; and we will attempt to establish the extent to which this is the case.

Nevertheless, as was discussed in the previous chapter, those in management cadres with the qualifications to run businesses in accordance with the new requirements of the economy, or those with required technical qualifications, are probably receiving incomes that are increasing in real terms, or at least keeping pace with inflation. At the same time high interest rates would have prevented the incomes of receivers from decreasing in real terms. Hence within the formal stock, while the housing consumption of many of the tenants is constrained, housing adjustment moves are expected to be supported by the high premiums which emerged in the labour market and the high interest rates for savings among a limited number of households in the middle and high income groups. Thus the increasing inequality in income distribution through labour market conditions and other mechanisms of distribution is likely to be reflected in sharp differences between types of move among different social groups. We would expect to find a large variety of moves in terms of their determinants - i.e.

adjustment moves as well as moves determined by different extents of constraint within the authorised stock itself.

As was indicated earlier, rising house prices and decreasing credits as a percentage of house prices are expected to restrict accessibility to ownership, and many tenants must have been prevented from becoming homeowners. Having arrived at this argument, it also seems important to know the extent to which those who were able to become owner-occupiers were satisfied with their units. In a context where becoming an owner-occupier is not only a means for tenants to escape the burden of rising rents, but also gives them access to potential speculative profit as well, a question is raised. Can it be the case that those who had some savings or credit access, but not sufficient to attain satisfactory units, used them to buy a house even if it did not answer their housing needs and they had to sacrifice some of their housing priorities? We shall seek to understand this issue for the different socio-economic groups.

Now let us consider the likely forms of (im)mobility of those who were already owner-occupiers. In buying a unit, since the interest (of the debts to the seller) are in line with commercial bank rates and would be very high and increasing rapidly, almost the full price of the already finished unit, or at least 50% - 60% of it, is paid in advance and instalments are paid in up to one year. For units which are under construction, although the advance payments are lower, instalments are generally continued up until the completion of the unit. In both cases housing credits are given at very low rates with a long (10 - 15 years) repayment period, and interest rates are at around 15%. Hence although becoming a homeowner (accessibility to homeownership) is very difficult, once having bought the unit the danger of losing it is very low. Thereby forced moves from owner-occupancy to rented units and forced moves from one owner-occupied unit to another are expected to be very low. On the other hand adjustment moves are expected to be constrained: (i) high interest rates on debts to the seller, and hence the necessity of paying a significant proportion of the price in advance and completing the payment in a very short period of time; (ii) very limited amounts of credits, and (iii) the decreasing saving power of households within an inflationary economy, and the low levels of earnings of the masses compared to house prices, constrain the opportunities for many owner occupiers to obtain a better unit. Forced immobility may

not have been negligible, particularly among the lower and lower-middle income groups in the authorised stock.

So far we have described the conditions of the authorised housing market and advanced some hypotheses about likely residential mobility within this part of the stock. However a very significant percentage of the total housing stock in big cities in Turkey - as elsewhere in rapidly growing third world cities - is provided illegally. In Turkey this unauthorised housing is called "gecekondu" which literally means landed overnight. A market mechanism has been formed in relation to the production and consumption of this unauthorised stock. In the remaining sections of the chapter we will focus on this part of the housing market.

### 3.3 SUPPLY CONDITIONS OF THE UNAUTHORISED STOCK (GECEKONDU) AND THE LIKELY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF GECEKONDU DWELLERS

State intervention in the provision of unauthorised land and housing, transformations in the form of provision of this stock over the course of time, supply conditions, and the likely residential mobility of gecekondu dwellers are the topics we will discuss in this section.

Before embarking on these discussions let us clarify the definition of the gecekondu. In the relevant law (No 775, 1966) gecekondu are defined as "buildings constructed on someone else's land without obtaining the owner's permission, and not meeting the building regulations and codes". In the Dictionary of Urban Planning Terminology, Keles (1981) includes the socio-economic characteristics of the gecekondu dwellers in the definition. Gecekondus are defined as buildings constructed on either public or private land without obtaining the owner's permission and occupied by low income households whose housing needs cannot be met by the State. (Changes in the status of gecekondu stock and its definition will be discussed later.)

The rural-urban migration which started in the 1950s provoked an increase in demand for urban land and housing. However the inelastic supply of serviced land, and the increasing

inability of low income households to afford to pay for serviced land and housing produced in the authorised stock (by the private sector), have led to the formation of unauthorised (illegal) stock in the big cities of Turkey.

Although the Turkish constitution declares that the State shall take measures to meet the housing needs of low income families in accordance with health requirements, this commitment was not met. As was seen in the previous section, the State's share had never exceeded 10% of total housing investments, and credit was never extended to low income groups. Hence the households excluded from the authorised housing market have to take shelter in gecekondur housing. Besides the de facto owners, some households have to take shelter in these districts as tenants. As will be discussed in the forthcoming pages, tenancy ratios are not negligible in the gecekondur areas in the big cities.

In Turkey there is no data on the volume of gecekondur housing and population in the national statistics. But there are some estimations, and Keles (1990a) used the research reports of "Kent Koop"<sup>15</sup> to arrive at the following estimations of the volume of gecekondur stock (Table 3.12).

---

<sup>15</sup> Union of Housing Cooperatives.

TABLE 3.12 Gecekondu Stock and Population in Urban Settlements\*

Year	No. of Gecekondu Houses <sup>16</sup>	% of Gecekondu Population within the Urban Population
1955	50,000	4.7
1960	240,000	16.4
1965	430,000	22.9
1970	600,000	23.6
1980	1,150,000	26.1
1990	1,750,000	33.9

Source: Keles (1990a) p369

In big cities the ratio of gecekondu population to the total urban population is much higher than the national average.

Almost two thirds of all gecekondu housing was built in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. According to estimations the proportion of the population living in unauthorised settlements in 1980 was as high as 50% in both Istanbul and Izmir, and in Ankara it was estimated at 70% in 1980 and 58% in 1990. The number of gecekondu units in the capital was estimated at 144,000 in 1970, 275,000 in 1980, and 350,000 in 1990 (Keles 1990a). The possible causes of the decline in the ratio of gecekondu dwellers to the urban population, and the decline in the production rate in the capital will be discussed later.

<sup>16</sup>According to the figures above, between 1965 - 1980 720,000 gecekondu houses, and between 1970-1980 550,000 gecekondus were built in Turkey. However, according to the figures in Table 3.1 the housing deficit should be 432,600 between 1965 - 1980 and 240,000 between 1970 - 1980. The difference between these two estimates can be explained as due to (i) the housing surpluses in the hands of the relatively higher income groups, (ii) vacancies and second houses, and (iii) units which had been converted into uses other than residences. These items could not be estimated and included in the housing needs in Table 3.1 (see Turel 1986).



### 3.3.1 Conditions of provision of gecekondu and the State's intervention in this part of the stock

The first waves of migrants built their own gecekondu themselves - literally in one night - on the lands they invaded with the help of their relatives and hometown friends (Karpas 1976, and Senyapili 1982). However over time the mode of provision of gecekondu has been transformed. Gecekondu land and housing has become commercialised and a market mechanism has been established in relation to its production and consumption. This means that the ways of acquiring or gaining access to unauthorised land have changed. Instead of invading the land together with hometown friends and relatives, the migrants have to pay speculators and estate agents who have established monopolies over certain areas. Payne (1980) explains the change by indicating that in place of informal squatter development involving relatives, friends, and fellow villagers, organised real estate markets emerged. Keles and Danielson (1985) also added that houses were more likely to be built by commercial builders which increased costs and decreased communal efforts.

Besides the continuously increasing demand for land and housing as more and more migrants piled into the major cities, the State's approach to the gecekondu question through its economic and political interests in gecekondu, has played quite a crucial role in this transformation.

When Gecekondus first appeared in the late 1940s and early 1950s in Turkey, prohibition and demolition were the first reactions by the State. Tekeli (1981) explained this reaction as due to the limited vision of the State concerning both the function of those households (cheap labour) in the operation of the urban economy within a peripheral capitalist system, and the irreversible mechanisms which led the squatters to migrate and survive in the city.

Urbanisation continued unabated, and the State's efforts to prevent the gecekondu in the cities were apparently unsuccessful. As was seen in Table 3.12 the average percentage of gecekondu dwellers in Turkish cities increased from 5% in 1955 to 16% in 1960. In Ankara

the percentage increased from 22% to 56% in the ten years since 1950 (Keles 1990a). Danielson and Keles (1985) indicated that in Istanbul settlers erected the first gecekondus in Zeytinburnu district (the centre of the leather industry) in 1947. Despite the resistance of the State, local government, and land owners, six years later the settlement housed close to 50,000 people. Tekeli (1981) also pointed out the failure of the State's efforts to prevent gecekondus in the cities: "There were those who set out to construct their eleventh gecekondus upon the ruins of their tenth; indeed urbanisation proceeded at full speed." (p73)

In the 1960s we see changes in the State's approach to the gecekondus matter. Gecekondus started to be seen as the inevitable consequence of rapid urbanisation and Turkey's level of economic development. Danielson and Keles (1985) wrote that the first Five Year Development Plan, prepared in 1963 by the State Planning Organisation, reflected the new approach clearly. Improvements rather than demolition were taken as the objective. In 1966 a "Gecekondus Law" (No 775) was passed. The improvement of existing gecekondus and the demolition and clearance of uninhabitable ones, site preparation, the development of low cost housing, and the prohibition of new gecekondus settlements, were the basic principles set out by law. Nevertheless, in practice clearance and the provision of cheap plots for low income households (site and services programmes) which were first put on the agenda in Istanbul and Ankara in the late 1960s and 1970s did not materialise. In Ankara for example, Turel (1986) reported that in two large projects a total of 3,200 hectares was appropriated for site preparation between 1965 and 1975, which was supposed to be distributed to the low income groups at low prices. But certain parts of the land were invaded by the squatters even before the plots were planned, while other parts of the land were bought by groups with higher incomes than the average gecekondus dweller. In short, after a few, unsuccessful initiatives these programmes were abandoned completely in the late 1970s. Taking the existing gecekondus into amnesty schemes and providing services was less costly and much easier in practice. Yonder (1988) indicated that on maps of different dates settlements originally marked for clearance (dwellers were supposed to be resettled in site and services schemes) changed into improvement areas - that is areas to be provided with services. In 1973 a decree - based on Law 775 - was issued, guaranteeing title deeds to all gecekondus built up until that time. In 1976, through an amendment to the law, infrastructure was provided to the gecekondus.

Here we should clarify the official status of legalised *gecekondus* before going on to discuss commercialisation. The legalisation of *gecekondus* does not make this stock become a part of or the same as the authorised stock (which is developed on planned, formal urban land). *Gecekondus* can be legalised in terms of their existing situation but are not taken into the planned and authorised urban land scheme - they are not incorporated into the "imar plan" (a kind of detailed master plan). This means that *gecekondus* stock cannot be redeveloped according to the "imar" criteria which set out higher density levels (a larger construction area for each plot with higher numbers of floors) and better service standards. Hence, *Gecekondus* Law No. 775 (1966) and the later decree dated 1973, by legalising the *gecekondus* built up to that time, created a new category of urban housing stock which is legal, but in official and administrative terms, different from the authorised (conventional) housing stock developed on planned urban land. Not only in related literature, but in official terminology as well, legalised *gecekondus* are still defined as "*gecekondus*" unless they are taken into the imar plan scheme, and redeveloped according to the criteria of the plan - or more precisely, unless they have been transformed into the authorised stock. Of course after each legalisation or amnesty decision which pardoned the *gecekondus* built up until that time, illegal ones continued to be built, and the number of *gecekondus* increased continuously (as shown in Table 3.12 above).

Considering the 1966 Law and its implementation, and the decrees of 1973 and 1976, it appears that the State accepted *gecekondus* as a feasible solution to the housing needs of low income groups. Given that (i) *gecekondus* were increasing in number, urbanisation continued unabated, and *gecekondus* dwellers had votes; (ii) *gecekondus* housing was keeping the cost of labour production at low levels; and (iii) the *gecekondus* presented a solution to the housing needs of the poor without necessitating much financial support from the State, the *gecekondus* served the State's political and economic interests (see Drakakis-Smith 1976, Tekeli 1981, Yonder 1988, and Oncu 1988).

In an environment where need for land and housing was increasing and prices for urban land and housing were rocketing, and more importantly where the State presented a seemingly positive approach toward this illegal mode of provision and the fear of demolition had decreased, *gecekondus* land and housing inevitably became a subject of speculation. Oncu (1988) also wrote that within an inflationary economy where land and housing prices in

general are increasing at high rates, the potential for legalisation of ownership generates ideal conditions for speculation in this part of the market.

In Yonder's (1988) study of the gecekondu districts in Istanbul we see quite high rates of price increases. She reported that in an old gecekondu settlement of Istanbul (Zeytinburnu), when 1972 is taken as the base year (1972 = 100), the index number for TL/m<sup>2</sup> in 1976 was 1,000, and in 1978 it was found to be between 2,000 and 3,500. In her study Yonder reported a newspaper (Milliyet, 1978) interview with an ex-major (Ahmet Isvan) of Istanbul. The major indicated that "gecekondu speculators with their offices, lawyers, gunmen, and strong connections in all the State agencies, are a well organised group and knew the title records and public projects better than even the majors". Yonder continued: "They are known to have monopolies in certain districts selling private and public land as well as building materials." (p121) Danielson and Keles (1985) also indicate that the speculators became quite active in the 1970s and that the prices of gecekondu plots began to rise sharply. Even plots lacking title commanded high prices.

Hence gecekondu owners and speculators obviously secured important gains from the transformation in the provision of this illegal housing and land. In addition to the speculative gains, homeowners obtained other advantages through legalisation: Heper (1978) indicated (on the basis of his research in Istanbul in gecekondu districts) that once the threat of demolition had passed, gecekondu were improved and more rooms and extensions were built. These extensions must have been for the household's need, as well as for renting purposes. Nevertheless the existing tenants' and newcomers' accessibility to land (to homeownership) must have been constrained significantly. Quite high tenancy ratios in gecekondu districts confirm the fact that accessibility to ownership was constrained. According to newspaper research (Milliyet) reported by Yonder, in 1979 the tenancy ratio in several gecekondu districts of Istanbul was around 40% - 50% on average. Keles (1990a) also reported the same ratio for Istanbul as well as for Ankara.

In the 1980s we see changes in the economic policies of the country and new policies concerning the gecekondu. As was indicated previously, through the liberal economy policies interest rates for savers increased and real wages decreased. In addition to these changes in

economic conditions which might have slowed down the speculation in gecekondus, since the late 1970s the urbanisation rate has dropped to 4% from 6%. Hence, given these conditions, in the early 1980s the gecekondu market appeared to have lost the dynamics which had been providing speculative gains to some interest groups involved in its production and consumption. Nevertheless in 1983 and 1985 two laws concerning gecekondus (Nos. 2805 and 2981) were passed, under which all the gecekondus built up until that time were pardoned. More importantly it was established by the law that all the gecekondu districts will be redeveloped according to master "imar plan" criteria, or more precisely they will be transformed into authorised housing stock. Redevelopment plans were starting to be prepared by the municipalities.

The decreasing availability of empty plots on authorised land, increasing land values, and the consequent pressures to enlarge the authorised lands in the big cities which were surrounded by gecekondu stock, can be considered among the principal factors which gave rise to such a policy. Particularly in big cities where urban land commands high values, it can be assumed that these redevelopment plans were intended to set out construction codes which would bring the most efficient use of land - which would be to increase building densities - hence plots would acquire the rights to construct higher floors. Moreover even if low densities were established initially, it is a very well known fact in Turkey that in the authorised stock the building densities for each plot are increased by "imar" plan changes later. This happened on several occasions in the 1960s and 1970s in the authorised stock. Hence it was a perfect opportunity for existing gecekondu owners to become owners of one or more of the flats within the buildings that were intended to be built on their plot. After the completion of the redevelopment plans, as was the case in the authorised stock, they would be able to give their plot to contractors in return for a certain ratio of the flats that would be constructed on their plot. Redevelopment plans were also creating favourable opportunities for the contractors, especially for small scale ones (yap satci) - as indicated earlier - who were suffering from the scarcity of plots on authorised land, and whose profit ratios were decreasing as the owners of plots were claiming higher percentages of the flats<sup>17</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup>One of the small scale producers that we interviewed - who was working in low income area types of the authorised stock - indicated his enthusiasm for these plans and added that he expects local government to take further steps to implement them.

Although by the end of the 1980s none of the districts had completed the redevelopment plans, and even though in many of the districts planned preparations could not be started, basically due to bureaucratic delays and disagreements between central State organisations and local governments on certain principles, such a policy must have regenerated the speculative potential of gecekondur land, even if speculation had slowed down in the early 1980s due to the factors mentioned earlier. Research by the Mainland Municipality of Ankara showed that in areas where the preparation of redevelopment plans had already started, the price of land increased dramatically. From 1983 when the first land use maps started to be prepared, until 1985 saw the completion of 1:5,000 scale development plans<sup>18</sup>, the average annual rate of increase in the price of land (TL/m<sup>2</sup>) was around 170% - 200% whereas the annual rate of inflation in Ankara was around 50%. We do not have price increase rates for districts where the preparation of redevelopment plans has not yet started, but given that the law set down in principle that all the gecekondus constructed up until 1985 will be redeveloped, prices in these areas must have been increasing as well. Although the increases would not be as high as in districts where the plans have already begun to be implemented, it is hard to expect that prices would not be increasing in real terms or at least keeping pace with inflation.

Redevelopment policy and the consequent high rates of increases in land prices can slow down gecekondur production, particularly in big cities. The price of land can reach a level that the majority of potential buyers could not afford, and/or at the same time the speculators might have frozen the sale of unauthorised plots for a while - until the completion of redevelopment plans for the adjacent gecekondur districts - in order to maximise their speculative gains. In this case some of the newcomers may have stayed with relatives (densities could have been increasing in the existing stock). Besides the decreasing urbanisation rate, redevelopment plans and the consequent rises in prices could be factors which caused the decline in the number of gecekondur houses built in Ankara compared to previous years, as seen in Keles's estimations in the previous pages.

Hence in the 1980s as well State intervention in gecekondur housing appeared to be providing favourable conditions for existing owners and speculators. On the other hand, rising prices

---

<sup>18</sup> The author would like to thank Mr. Selcuk Ozcelik, Director of Estates and Expropriation, Department of Ankara mainland Municipality, and Mrs. Berna Turkili who made this information available.

would have been constraining the accessibility of existing tenants and newcomers to ownership to a great extent.

As was seen, it was reported in some of the previous research that quite significant percentages of gecekondü dwellers were tenants. Now let us look at the supply conditions of the rental gecekondü stock in the 1980s.

Research on other third world countries shows that in some cases the commercialisation of unauthorised stock gave rise to the emergence of entrepreneur landlords. For these landlords, who own large numbers of units, homeownership is a business from which they derive their main income (see Amis, 1984). Although rental housing ratios reached significant levels within the unauthorised housing stock in Turkey, there is no evidence of "large scale landlordism". Rented units in gecekondü stock are generally provided by residents of gecekondü districts who built other units, usually on the plot where they live or next to it. Some households rent out their own gecekondü in order to be able to pay their debts while they are living with their relatives and/or living in units provided by employers. Janitors and caretakers who live in the annexes of the building they work in are the most common examples of such cases (Keles 1990a).

It is understood from research in other countries that the scale and organisation of landlordism can have an important influence on the supply conditions of the rental stock. Research by Amis (1984) in Nairobi, where rental stock is mainly owned by entrepreneur landlords, showed that tenant-landlord relations were quite hostile. Physical violence, and immediate evictions were fairly common sanctions. Payment of rent represents a major financial difficulty for most of the tenants, and profits by the landlords are extremely high (131%). On the other hand Aina (1990) argued that in Nigeria's Lagos city, where most of the rental stock is owned by small scale resident landlords, and where rent incomes constitute a supplement to the landlord's budget rather than the main income, rents do not increase at high rates and do not constitute a big financial burden for the tenants. Moreover tenant-landlord relations are not generally hostile.

Hence in the case of Turkey where there is no evidence of entrepreneur landlords, one would expect there is not much pressure on tenants regarding rent increases and payment regulations.

On the other hand, as was already established, the real wages of the working masses were decreasing. In the formal job markets it was found that wages decreased by 45% and 20% in the public and private sector respectively between 1983 and 1988. Moreover, as has already been discussed, decreases in the real wages of semi or unskilled labourers both in the formal and informal sectors may have been even higher. Can rents be decreasing in real terms parallel to the decreasing rent paying ability of the majority of the tenants? And hence is it possible that rent does not constitute a problem for the majority of tenants? We do not have figures for the rates of increase in rents or average rent levels particularly for the gecekondur stock. However the other conditions of the context: (i) demand for rental units must have been increasing since accessibility to ownership is constrained, and migration is still going on although its rate has decreased relative to the 1960s; (ii) rates of inflation are high; and (iii) there are no rent controls, lead us to suggest that rents in gecekondur stock must have been increasing quite rapidly - at least relative to incomes.

Although renting out appears not to have been the main business for most gecekondur landlords, given the conditions above many of them may be trying to maximise their rent incomes by forcing them up to the limits of the tenants' ability to pay. Hence it seems quite likely that rents would be increasing in gecekondus relative to wages - even if they have not been surpassing, or keeping pace with inflation<sup>19</sup>. Moreover it should be added that in Turkey minimum wage rates are set at unrealistically low levels. Given that the majority of workers will be earning at the minimum level in the unauthorised stock, even if rents are not increasing at high rates - not increasing relative to incomes - the increasing prices of other basic consumption goods in an inflationary economy can easily exhaust their limited budget, and rent paying may present a major problem for most people.

---

<sup>19</sup>it should be indicated that in the authorised stock as well there is no evidence of large scale landlordism. But as was already established (Table 3.11) rents did not decrease in real terms in Ankara, and decreases in Istanbul were quite negligible in the 1980s.



So far we have discussed the conditions of supply of unauthorised stock in the major Turkish cities, and the constraints on households' access to housing and consumption. Taking the above arguments as our premise, we will hypothesise the likely residential mobility behaviour of the *gecekondu* dwellers in the following section.

### 3.3.2 Hypotheses about the residential mobility of *gecekondu* dwellers

Moves from tenancy to ownership are expected to be constrained, particularly among the wage earners. The low levels of mobility from rental stock to ownership would be expected to be concentrated among those business owners in the informal sector, some of whom have been earning quite high profits. Since *gecekondu* housing is more promising than ever, they may well give priority to buying a house rather than investing their profits in other spheres.

Most of the (im)mobility decisions within the rental stock are expected to be forced responses. As was discussed for the tenants in the authorised stock - particularly those in the low income groups - adjustment moves are expected to be quite rare within the rental *gecekondu* stock, whereas the rent burden of their existing unit can lead them to be mobile, and moves into a cheaper unit in order to eliminate or decrease the rent burden may be quite common. Alternatively many tenants may be attempting to cope with the rent burden by taking extra jobs and/or cutting down on other expenses in order to avoid moving and worsening their housing standards further, particularly if vacant units are not readily available in the stock. Nevertheless if the constraints have been quite strong, moving out of the unit may have been the only way to survive in the market for many tenants, even though their housing standards would decrease significantly.

At this stage of the study it is not possible to ascertain the extent of the constraints, or to estimate the importance of the various forced responses. Our hypothesis is that for the majority of tenants their (im)mobility behaviour is more likely to be a forced response than to be determined by their own housing preferences. If this is the case, we shall then attempt to differentiate and define the various types of response in terms of the level of mobility and the housing satisfaction of households. These responses would then reflect the different types

and extents of constraint - e.g. moves which can be defined as choices made within the constraints, and moves which are almost completely determined by constraints.

Among the owner occupiers in this part of the stock being immobile is expected to have been the most likely response to the particular conditions of the context.

We would expect the ability of many owners to raise a lump sum to buy a better unit and/or to move into another area to be constrained given the decreasing saving power of the working masses within an inflationary economy and the unavailability of credits or subsidies. But independently of their financial ability to make an adjustment move, redevelopment plans made by the authorities are expected to have been quite influential on the gecekondu owners' decisions. Planning criteria had not been set out clearly and/or plans had not been started in most of the districts in the late 1980s, yet acquiring higher density construction rights and obtaining better services are the most likely prospects within the near future in the gecekondu stock. Given the emerging opportunities we would expect the majority of owners to have been immobile in the 1980s - even if they had been planning to move into another unit or into another area - while waiting for opportunities to arise out of the planned implementations for their own district. Moreover the flexible structure of gecekondu housing, allowing the household to extend and modify the unit according to its own needs (see Heper 1978), would also be a factor decreasing the likelihood of adjustment moves. Hence given all these conditions the majority of owners of gecekondu stock are expected to have been immobile independently of their satisfaction with the unit or of their socio-economic conditions and housing priorities.

Thus, examining the particular features of the context within which the housing consumption of gecekondu dwellers takes place leads us to argue that the household's own socio-economic conditions, life-cycle stages, housing priorities, and housing satisfaction are unlikely to determine their (im)mobility behaviour within and between tenure status. (i) It has been established that the tenants' accessibility to ownership is constrained to a great extent. Moreover (ii) rent paying is expected to be a problem, particularly for wage earners given their shrinking budget within an inflationary economy. Therefore we would expect most of the (im)mobility decisions within the rental stock to be forced responses. (iii) We would

expect opportunities for obtaining reconstruction rights and better services in the gecekondur stock on the one hand, and the decreasing saving power of the masses for attaining a better unit on the other, to be important determinants of the owners' (im)mobility decisions.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter state intervention in the housing sphere, housing credit programmes, forms of housing provision, and the consequent evolution of rents and prices both in the authorised and unauthorised parts of the stock have been examined. The conditions of land and housing supply, together with the income policies and labour market conditions which were discussed in the previous chapter, enable us to understand the context within which the housing consumption behaviour of households takes place.

After the crisis in the authorised housing sector in the early 1980s the State's intensive credit programmes, and the collapse of bankers (who were offering higher interest rates than the banks) led to an increase in effective demand for housing among the middle income groups towards the mid 1980s. Housing production started to increase at high rates again. However increasing housing production has resulted in rising production costs - primarily in the prices of construction materials - which were increasing at a rate higher than inflation. This caused credits to become increasingly ineffective for the finance of housing. Credits in fact were not extended to the low income groups. While at the same time rents continued to rise at a rate at least equal to inflation - even surpassing inflation in some years. Given the lack of rent controls (due to the fear of jeopardising the demand for housing as an investment), the private ownership of 92% of the rented stock, and the growing demand for housing, high rates of increases in rents are not surprising at all.

Rising rents and house prices combined with limited and gradually decreasing credit availability are taken to constrain the housing consumption of households, particularly for the wage earning masses given the decreases in real wages since 1979. Considering these features of the context it is hypothesised that: (i) Forced immobility in units which are not satisfactory at all, cutting down on other expenses and/or taking extra jobs to help pay the rent burden, or forced moves into cheaper units to eliminate the rent burden, are expected to

be common among the tenants. Adjustment moves are expected to be confined to households in the upper echelons of the labour markets where those with the qualifications to run businesses would be receiving extra premiums. (ii) Accessibility to ownership would be constrained. Furthermore those who managed to become homeowners may not have been able to obtain units which satisfy their needs. (iii) Many of the owner-occupiers' opportunities to make adjustment moves are limited, hence forced immobility among the owner-occupiers may not be negligible.

Unauthorised land and housing - which houses around 50% of the big cities' populations - was commercialised and became a subject of speculation through the State's legalisation and redevelopment programmes. While owners and speculators were making gains from state intervention in the unauthorised stock, existing tenants and newcomers (new entrants to this market) must have been prevented from becoming home owners. Given the lack of rent controls and increasing demand for rental stock, rents would not be decreasing as much as the real wages of the masses - even if they were not increasing in real terms. Moreover those workers in the informal sector may not have job security. Hence we would expect forced immobility or even forced moves to be quite common among the tenants in response to the constraints on their housing consumption in this part of the stock as well. We would expect owners of *gecekondu* stock to have been immobile in the 1980s. Not only the limited saving power of the wage earning masses to buy a better unit, but also expectations of acquiring redevelopment rights and the increasing speculative potential of their unit can lead them to remain immobile.

In short it is argued that the particular context makes it unlikely that parallel changes will be found between changes in household characteristics and residential mobility, and likely that it has imposed constraints of varying extents on the majority of households in both parts of the stock in the 1980s in the major Turkish cities. In other words it is argued that in the case of Turkey changes in household characteristics and housing priorities are not the principal determinants - for the majority of households - of (im)mobility behaviour.

## 4 Profile of Households and Area Types in Ankara

---

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide an outline of the socio-economic characteristics of the different types of residential area in Ankara, and to present the patterns of income changes and the social and residential mobility levels of the households in these areas. Such a profile will illustrate certain trends, highlighting the specific characteristics and housing market behaviour of the households in each area. Hence it will constitute an essential background for our analyses in the following parts of this study.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The socio-economic characteristics of the different types of residential district in Ankara will be presented in the first section. In the second section, after establishing a methodology for the measurement of changes in the socio-economic characteristics of households, the patterns of income change and social mobility in each area type will be identified. In the last section both the past residential mobility (within the 5 years between 1983 and 1988) and the planned residential mobility (in the near future) of these households will be presented.

These analyses are based on data collected through a field survey in Ankara carried out in 1988. The survey interviewed a sample of 518 households from 4 different types of residential area. The districts comprising authorised housing stock were classified into three categories according to the housing values (prices and rents) and income levels of the households, and the *gecekondu* areas were taken as a fourth category (further explanations of the field survey and questionnaire form are given in the Methodological Appendix).

Although rents and house prices may overlap between the area types to some extent each area type represents a given range of housing values within the broad spectrum of rents and house prices in the city. Furthermore whilst it is recognised that each area type comprises

households with different income levels, certain income groups are dominant in each area type.

Two prestige districts where rents, house prices, and incomes are the highest in the city are classified as area type 1. Six districts where rents and prices represent a middle-range value, and where the middle income households constitute the bulk of the population are classified as area type 2. Area type 3 comprises 11 districts where rents and prices are lowest within the authorised part of the stock, and where the bulk of the households can be considered within the low income group. Twelve districts which comprise the unauthorised housing stock were classified as area type 4. The population distribution between the four types of housing area is given in the table below.

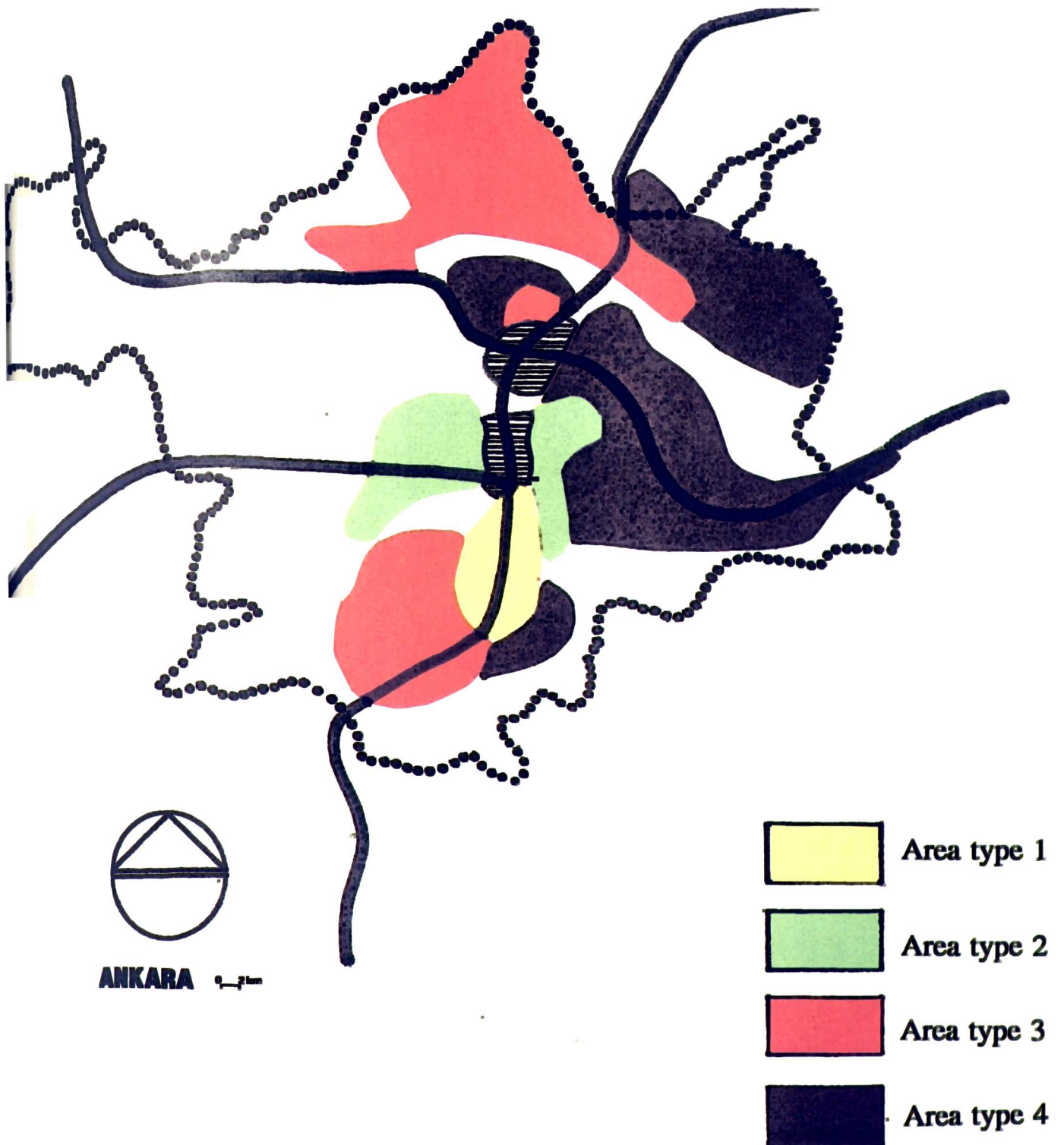
TABLE 4.1      Distribution of Actual and Sample Number of Households  
Between Four Area Types

Area Type	Actual Population Size	No. of Households	% of Households	Sample Size (No. of Interviews)
1	75,000	25,000	5	33
2	300,000	86,000	17	92
3	500,000	125,000	24	143
4	1,400,000	280,000	54	250
Total	2,255,000	516,000	100	518

Source: 1985 Population Census, Ankara Issue; and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Records and Master Plans 1988

As shown in the table 4.1 above the survey was designed so that the percentage of households in each category within the total sample reflects the ratio of the actual population of these area types. Hence the total data is proportionally representative of the whole of Ankara.

Map Showing the Location of Different Area Types in Ankara



## Views of Housing from Different Area Types of Ankara

Area type 1 high income





Area type 2 middle income



**Area type 3 low income authorised**



Area type 4 unauthorised (gecekondu)



## 4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOUSING AREA

In this section, after a general overview of each type of housing area (e.g. owner-occupancy ratio, value of units, location of districts and so forth), the socio-economic characteristics of the households (such as income, education levels, work position and the sectoral distribution<sup>1</sup> of householders) will be outlined.

### 4.2.1 Area type 1

Two prestigious districts where the housing values are the highest in the city constitute area type 1. Through the field work the average actual monthly rent of the units in this area was found to be TL 350,000. However in the survey the owner occupiers' own evaluation of the rent value of their unit was included - here described as "imputed rent" - and the average imputed rent in this area type was found to be TL 650,000. The owner-occupancy ratio is highest within this part of the stock; 75% of the units are owner-occupied.

These two districts are located next to each other, bordering the president's palace in the South of the city. Development of these neighbourhoods started in the 1940s. In the beginning there were a few villas and houses in this area, then during the "housing boom" in the 1960s luxurious apartments were built in this part of the city. A significant proportion of the existing stock in this area was developed in the late 1970s.

Now let us look at the socio-economic characteristics of the households in these prestigious districts.

---

<sup>1</sup>For sectoral distribution five categories were defined: (i) public sector employees; (ii) private sector employees; (iii) professionals e.g. self employed medical doctors, architects, solicitors and so forth; (iv) entrepreneurs - including both owners of large companies, and self-employed artisans and shop owners; (v) those who are self-employed but do not own the "means of production" - eg street vendors, freelance construction labourers, street porters. However this last category is not the only one which represents the informal sector. As discussed in Chapter 3, two groups of criteria can be used to define the informal sector: (a) type of activity, volume of business, and production techniques, or (b) legal position of employees and the employer. Hence in terms of both groups of criteria, the second and fourth categories can also include informal workers. Thus for practical reasons we did not aim to classify informal sector workers under a separate category.

The average monthly income of the men is TL 3,100,000. None of them have a second job. Around 50% of the households in this area have incomes from sources other than the men's income. In 25% of the families women work professionally and the mean of their monthly income is TL 420,000<sup>2</sup>. 39% of the households receive additional incomes in the form of rents, interests, etc, and the monthly average of such kinds of income is TL 657,000. Hence the average total monthly income of the households in this area is TL 3,460,000.

25% of the men are public sector employees. Most of these public sector salary earners are high level bureaucrats, university professors, state hospital doctors and so forth. 16% of the men are private sector employees and most of these work as managers, business executives, technical and financial advisers, etc. In total 41% of the men in this group are salary earners and the remaining 59% are entrepreneurs, or self-employed. Professionals constitute 17% of the men in this area and 42% are owners of businesses in trade and production. Within this group we did not come across any shop owners or self-employed producers. The median occupational prestige score is 70. The occupational prestige score scale used in this study ranges from 10 to 90 (for grading work positions both the international occupational prestige scores and scores for Turkey by Treiman, 1977 were used - see Appendix 4.1), hence the median prestige score 70 indicates that a significant proportion of the men in the area have prestigious occupational positions. 65% of the men in this area have university degrees; 20% have high school (Lycee) education; 3% have only secondary school education; and 12% have only primary school education.

50% of the working women in this area are public sector employees (generally high and middle level bureaucrats and school teachers). 36% are private sector employees, and 9% are professionals. The median occupational prestige score of the women is 60. 36% of the women in this group have university degrees; 39% have completed high school (Lycee); 10% have only secondary school education; and 15% have only primary school education.

---

<sup>2</sup>Not more than 3% of the women live alone in any of the area types

## 4.2.2 Area type 2

Six districts of the city were classified as area type 2. In these districts the average actual monthly rents of the units is TL 120,000 whereas the average imputed rent is TL 230,000. Nearly 60% of the housing stock is owner-occupied.

These districts are generally not far away from the modern city centre. One of them is next to the centre, and the others are 5-7 km away. Three of these districts were planned and started to develop in the 1930s. However since the 1960s housing stock in these settlements has changed dramatically. Most of the one or two storey houses were demolished during the construction boom and 5-6 storey apartments have replaced them. The other three districts in this group started to develop in the late 1950s. Today almost all of the housing stock in these districts consists of 3-5 storey apartments.

The average monthly income of the men (from their main job) in this group is TL 860,000. Nearly 50% of the households have additional incomes. 3% of the men have a second job and their average monthly income is TL 250,000. In 43% of the households women are employed and their average monthly income is TL 350,000. 28% of the households receive additional income in the form of rents, interests, etc. and the mean of these incomes is TL 300,000 per month. The average total monthly income of the households is TL 1,000,000.

37% of the men in this category are employed in the public sector, generally as middle and high level civil servants, officers, university tutors and so forth. 22% are employed by the private sector as middle managers and technical and administrative staff. In total 59% of the men in this area are salary earners. On the other hand 29% of the men are business owners in production and trade, and 9% are working as professionals. The median men's occupational prestige is 58. 60% of the men have university degrees; 22% have completed high school (Lycee); 9% have secondary school education; and a further 9% have primary school education only.

75% of the working women are employed in the public sector. Most of them work as school teachers, executive secretaries, and middle level civil servants. 15% of the women are

employed in the private sector and 2% are professionals. 7% own a business and are generally shop owners, or owners of businesses in the service sector - e.g. restaurants, job recruitment offices. The median occupational prestige of the women is 60. 32% of the women have university degrees; 40% have completed high school; 14% have secondary school education; and 12% have only primary school education. 1% of the women in this group are literate only and another 1% are illiterate.

### 4.2.3 Area type 3

Eleven districts of Ankara where the housing values are lowest within the authorised housing stock in the city were classified as area type 3. The average actual monthly rent in these areas is TL 68,000, and the average imputed rent is TL 120,000. The owner occupancy ratio is lowest within the authorised stock; 43% of the housing stock in these districts is owner occupied.

Two of the districts in this area type are adjacent to the old (traditional) city centre. A large part of the housing stock within these two districts is very old (70-100 years). Other neighbourhoods of this type are relatively new settlements which have been developed since the 1950s on the outskirts of the city in former gecekondu areas. Today almost all the stock in these settlements consists of 3-6 storey apartment blocks. These low valued authorised housing districts (together with gecekondu districts in Ankara) generally constitute a kind of belt around the high and middle income housing areas.

In type 3 areas the men's average income from their main job is TL 350,000 per month. 38% of the households in this group receive income from additional sources. 14% of the men have a second job and the mean of earnings from these second jobs is TL 98,000 per month. Only 10% of the women are working and the mean of their monthly income is TL 118,000. 20% of the households receive incomes from rents, children's work etc. and the mean of these incomes is TL 92,000 per month. The average of the households' total monthly income in this area type is TL 380,000.

42% of the men are employed in the public sector. Most of this group work as middle and low level civil servants, drivers, building caretakers, primary and high school teachers. 18% of the men are employed by the private sector, usually as office clerks, maintenance workers, drivers and so forth. In total 60% of the men in this group are salary earners. 27% are owners of shops and small production businesses, and only 2% are professionals. 11% are self-employed but they do not own any means of production. They work as drivers, free construction labourers, and street vendors etc. The median occupational prestige level of the men is 39.

14% of the men in this area have university degrees; 25% have high school (Lycée) education; 15% have completed secondary school; and 40% have only primary school education. 4% of the men are only literate and 2% are illiterate.

Amongst the working women 85% are public sector employees. They work as typists, nurses, school teachers, cleaners etc. 15% are private sector employees - in similar occupations to the public sector employees. The median occupational prestige of the working women in this group is 41. 6% of the women in this area have university education; 18% have completed high school; 10% have secondary school education; and 54% have only primary school education. 5% are literate and 5% are illiterate.

#### 4.2.4 Area type 4

The fourth area type in this study comprises gecekondu housing districts. The value of units within this part of the housing stock is not very much lower than the value of units in the previous area (type 3). The average actual monthly rent is TL 46,000 and the average imputed rent is TL 55,000. The owner occupancy ratio is similar to that of area 3; 40% of the households are owner occupiers.

Except for a few districts which are very close to the traditional city centre, gecekondu housing stock constitutes a kind of belt around the legal housing stock in the eastern part of the city (15-20 km from the centre). Those gecekondu districts which are close to the



traditional centre are relatively older settlements (inhabited by the first wave of migrants in the 1940s) whereas the others emerged more recently.

Now let us consider the socio-economic conditions of the gecekondu households.

The men's average monthly income from their main job is TL 200,000. 24% of the households receive income from additional sources. 7% of the men have a second job, earning them on average an additional TL 53,000 per month. 11% of the women are in employment and the mean of their monthly earnings is TL 100,000. 16% of the gecekondu households receive income from rents, children's work, rural properties etc. and the mean of this type of income is TL 85,000 per month. The average household's total monthly income is TL 228,000 per month.

45% of the men are public sector employees. Lower rank civil servants, building caretakers, cleaners, and drivers etc constitute a large part of the public sector employees, although there are school teachers and policemen within this group as well. 18% of the men work for the private sector as janitors, waiters, office clerks etc. In total 63% of the men in employment are wage earners while the other 34% are self-employed and/or small entrepreneurs. 18% of the men are the owners of production and service businesses such as mechanic workshops, small shops, kiosks, tailors, shoe repairers etc. In the survey we came across only one professional. Self-employed workers such as drivers, freelance construction workers, street vendors etc constitute 15% of the men in this area. 3% of the men are unemployed. The median occupational prestige among the men is 30 which is quite close to the average score of 39 in area 3. Only 2% of the men in this group have university degrees; 24% have completed high school; 17% have completed secondary school; and 50% have only primary school education. 5% are literate only and 2% are illiterate.

57% of the working women in this area are public sector employees. There are typists, nurses, office clerks as well as cleaners within this group. 33% of the women in employment work as maids or child minders in private houses and 9% are employed by private companies. The median occupational prestige among the women is 28. 1% of the women in squatter areas have university degrees; 8% have high school education; 9% have secondary school

education; and 54% have only primary school education. 14% are literate and another 14% are illiterate.

In view of the socio-economic indicators outlined so far certain broad trends and patterns between the households in the different types of housing areas can be discerned. These may be summarised as follows:

- (i) There are sharp differences in income level (both in terms of the men's monthly incomes and the total family income) as one moves from the low income area types to the high income areas. As shown in Table 4.2 the mean of the total family income in area 3 is 1.6 times greater than in gecekondu areas; the mean of the total income in area type 2 is 2.6 times greater than that of area type 3; and the mean of the total family income in area type 1 is three times greater than in area type 2.

TABLE 4.2 Total Family Income and the Males' Monthly Earnings (From their Main Job) by Area Type (TL 000)

	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
Mean total family income per month	3,460	1,000	380	228	590
Mean of males monthly earnings (main job)	3,100	860	350	200	500

Source: Fieldwork

- (ii) Secondly the percentage of wage earners, particularly of public employees is higher in lower income type areas (shown in Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3 Percentages of Wage Earners and Public Sector Employees (Male)<sup>3</sup>

	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
% of male wage earners	41	59	60	63	60
% of male public employees	25	37	42	45	42

Source: Fieldwork

(iii) Thirdly while the average rent is lower in the lower income areas, the rent/income ratio is higher (shown in Table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4 Averages of the Actual Rents and Rent/Income Ratios by Area Type

	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4
Mean of actual rents (TL 000)	350	120	68	46
Rent/income %*	13	12	18	23

Source: Fieldwork

\* Total family income of tenants.

<sup>3</sup>Only the sectoral distribution of the male labour force is taken into consideration as the percentage of working women is very low, especially in area types 3 and 4.

- (iv) Finally, the owner-occupancy/tenancy ratio is lower in the lower income area types: 75/25 in area type 1; 58/42 in area type 2; 44/56 in area type 3; and 40/60 in the gecekondü areas.

In terms of all the criteria considered so far the three areas in the authorised part of the stock exhibit significant differences. On the other hand despite their differences in legal status area type 3 and area type 4 (the gecekondü area) exhibit similar profiles (not only in terms of their socio-economic characteristics, but in their rent/income and tenancy ratios as well).

Through the analyses so far we have established a general profile of the socio-economic structure of households and the differentiation of socio-economic conditions between the four types of housing areas. In the following section the correlations between the socio-economic characteristics of the households will be analysed. This will provide a complementary perspective on the social structure and socio-economic differentiation in Ankara.

### 4.3 STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS

In this study work position, income, and education level are identified as the components of "social class" - as the key variables to understand the social stratification in housing areas. Income can be in the form of either wages or profits, interests, rents etc. Wages are supposed to be determined principally by the relation between the supply of certain labour qualifications and the demand for them - i.e. the demand created by vacant positions at different levels of the occupational prestige hierarchy. Education is supposed to have an important function in the provision of qualifications.

The differentiation of households in terms of each of these components has already been established in the previous section. Besides differentiation it is important to consider the extent to which these components are consistent with each other in order: (i) to arrive at a broader understanding of social stratification in housing areas; (ii) to evaluate the impact of household characteristics on their housing consumption behaviour.

We start by examining the correlation between the components of social class, income, education, and prestige. Table 4.5 shows the correlations found in our study.

TABLE 4.5 Correlations Between the Components of Social Class<sup>4</sup> by Area Type

Correlation Coefficients	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
Between Income & Prestige	-0.34*	0.01	0.17	0.16*	0.28
Between Income & Education	-0.32*	0.01	0.12*	0.14*	0.19*
Between Education & Prestige	0.48*	0.62*	0.71*	0.65*	0.78*

Source: Fieldwork

\* Statistically significant coefficients at the 90% level

In all the area types the correlation between education and occupational prestige is strong and positive which indicates that those with relatively higher education levels are more likely to secure work positions at the higher levels of the prestige hierarchy. However the correlation coefficients between occupational prestige and income, and between education and income are lower, and present interesting variations between area types.

In the high income area (type 1) the correlation between occupational prestige and income is relatively strong, but negative. This shows that within this area people who have relatively lower incomes are more likely to occupy higher prestige work positions. As was outlined in the previous section 25% of the males are public sector employees, and 16% are private sector employees. Almost all these wage earners occupy work positions at the higher levels of the job hierarchy. Their average prestige score is 76, whereas their monthly salaries vary

---

<sup>4</sup>For the sake of simplicity only the men's income level (from their main job), occupational prestige, and education levels are taken into consideration.

from TL 1,000,000 to TL 3,000,000. There may be some wage differences between similar positions in the public and private sectors (as discussed in Chapter 3). However at these upper echelons of the job hierarchy such wage differences would not be significant, and it is unlikely that such a strong negative correlation would be generated by this factor alone. On the other hand 59% of the men are business owners. In general terms their occupational prestige is not as high as that of the wage earners, and is especially lower than the high level bureaucrats. Their average prestige score is 65, but their incomes are much higher than the wages of high level bureaucrats, managers and business executives. Hence the particular occupational composition of this group appears to be responsible for the negative correlation coefficients between the variables in question. Furthermore the negative and relatively strong correlations between education and income can be further explained by the fact that business owners do not necessarily have high educational levels. We even came across some respondents in this group who have very high incomes but only primary and secondary school education. On the other hand all of the public and private sector employees in this area have university degrees. Therefore it is not surprising that negative and relatively strong correlation coefficients exist between education and income levels.

In middle income areas (type 2) the coefficients show that there is barely any correlation between income and occupational position, or between education and income. Referring to the sectoral and occupational composition of the area may help us to determine the causes of the weak correlation. As outlined earlier wage earners in this area constitute 60% of the male labour force. They generally occupy middle management positions and technical and financial consultancy jobs both in the public and private sectors. Certain conditions of the labour markets in Turkey may account for the weak correlation between income and occupational position for this wage earning group. As discussed in Chapter 2 some qualifications are in far greater demand than others of the same prestige, especially those of middle management and executive cadres. Wage differences between occupational positions of similar prestige must have continually increased since 1980 - after the liberalisation of the Turkish economy - due to dramatic changes in the demand for certain qualifications. Moreover private sector employees in Turkey, particularly those in management positions, generally receive higher wages than public sector employees (who are in similar positions with equivalent educational levels). These factors may help to explain the inconsistencies

between occupational prestige and the incomes of wage earners who constitute 60% of the male labour force in this area type. On the other hand 40% of the males in this area are entrepreneurs and business owners. Their prestige scores are not very different from those of wage earners and their education levels are not much lower than those of public and private sector employees. However these entrepreneurs generally earn more than the wage earners. This might therefore be regarded as another factor contributing to the inconsistencies between work prestige and income, and between education and income.

For both area types 3 and 4 the coefficients between income and occupational prestige, and between income and education are weak but positive. So in contrast to the previous areas there is a degree of positive correlation between the variables in question for both areas. In both areas 60% of the men are wage earners who comprise essentially two different groups in respect of their work positions in each area: (i) those who have low education levels and who work at the lowest levels of the occupational hierarchy as unskilled labourers; and (ii) those who have relatively more prestigious jobs than the previous group - e.g. middle level civil servants, office clerks, and school teachers. This group has higher education levels and on average they earn slightly more than the previous group.

Nevertheless there is some overlapping of wages between and within the above groups; many cases were found in the survey of a waiter or a street vendor earning more than a school teacher or a civil servant though the latter have higher work positions. Although such cases would distort the relation between income and work positions and between education and income levels to some extent, the differences in wages, work positions, and educational levels between these two subgroups is clear. This may be considered an important factor in explaining these weak but positive correlations.

A third group comprises small businessmen, shop owners, artisans and the like. This group is of a similar prestige level to the second group (small and middle level office clerks, civil servants). However monthly incomes within this group of small entrepreneurs vary considerably. Some earn much more than civil servants. This factor could increase the inconsistencies between work prestige and income. On the other hand this group and the unskilled wage earners comprise two relatively distinct groups in terms of their

incomes and work prestige (though not education) in these two types of area and this would be a factor accounting for the positive correlation between incomes and job prestige.

The correlations between income, work prestige, and education are not sufficiently strong in any of the area types to suggest that they are consistent with each other. Correlations between the socio-economic characteristics of households were also examined for the whole sample. This showed that the correlation between education levels and occupational prestige is positive and strong. On the other hand although the correlation coefficients between education and income, and between income and occupational prestige imply a degree of positive correlation (stronger than those for each area type), they are not strong enough to suggest that the socio-economic characteristics of households are consistent with each other. Aral (1980) in her research in Ankara arrived at the same conclusion (see Chapter 2).

As indicated earlier, one's position among the respective hierarchies of education, income, and occupational prestige are together supposed to constitute one's "social class position". But if the positions that one occupies within each of these socio-economic hierarchies are not consistent with each other it is difficult to identify the social class positions. There are inconsistencies between the different constituents of social stratification, and hence the difficulty of locating people within a particular social class. Lenski's work (which was the first to recognise status inconsistencies) was discussed in Chapter 2.

Thus through our analysis so far an interesting socio-economic stratification profile emerges in Ankara. Although the differentiation of households in terms of each of these socio-economic characteristics is sharp, through these differences it is not possible to classify the households into specific socio-economic categories, and social class positions are "ambiguous". Such lack of consistency between the socio-economic conditions of households will lead us to discuss the impact of each of these characteristics on the housing consumption patterns of households separately, rather than expecting to uncover links between the social class positions of households and their position in the housing consumption sphere.



#### 4.4 CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS

It is argued in most of the literature that changes in the households' socio-economic positions are expected to have a significant impact on their housing consumption patterns and accessibility in the housing arena. Therefore having established the socio-economic characteristics of households and the patterns of stratification, examination of the rates and patterns of changes in the socio-economic positions of households will be central to our understanding of the causes of householders' behaviour in the housing sphere, particularly with regard to residential (im)mobility patterns.

If the components of social class are quite inconsistent with one another then the extent to which the changes in the components can be correlated with one another raises an important question which will be addressed first. Then based on the result of this analysis a methodology for the estimation and presentation of household socio-economic change will be established. If the changes in the economic and occupational positions of householders are consistent with each other then a "change index" can be implemented which represents the changes in a composite form.

Changes in income and in the occupational prestige of households were estimated for the 5 year period between 1983 and 1988. In estimating income change only the incomes of males from their main job were considered. In order to eliminate the impact of inflation and to arrive at real changes in income, figures for 1983 were multiplied by the price index for the period between 1983 and 1988 (5.69); then the difference between the 1988 income and the adjusted 1983 income as a percentage of the adjusted 1983 income was taken to represent income change. Similarly, for the changes in occupational prestige again the difference between occupational prestige in 1983 and 1988 as a percentage of the 1983 level was taken as the measure of "social mobility". Here it is important to note that although the term "Occupational Prestige" is used in this study, in the majority of cases - i.e. wage and salary earners - the prestige scores refer to their particular work positions (see Appendix 4.1; Occupational and Work Prestige Scale). Because householders with the same occupation might have been employed at different levels within the work hierarchy, for the purpose of

examining the correlations between social prestige and income levels it is more meaningful to consider work position prestige rather than occupational prestige. At the same time the description "Occupational Prestige Change" (Social Mobility) includes changes in work positions. Most of the householders did not change their occupation, but moved within the hierarchies of work positions. As very few households in the sample had experienced an increase in their educational level (5%), and moreover since it is difficult to evaluate these kinds of increases empirically, only the correlation between changes in income levels and occupational prestige levels is considered here.

As shown in table 4.6 below although the correlations are positive both for each area type (except for area 1) and for the whole sample, all are so weak that it would be invalid to establish an index of change based on the changes in these two characteristics.

TABLE 4.6 Correlations Between Income Change and Changes in Occupational Prestige By Area Type

Correlation Coefficients	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
Between Income Changes and Occupational Prestige Changes	-.06	.10	.18	.20	.15

Source: Fieldwork

\* None of the coefficients were statistically significant

Hence it will be more relevant to consider changes in income and occupational prestige separately.

#### 4.4.1 Rates and patterns of income change

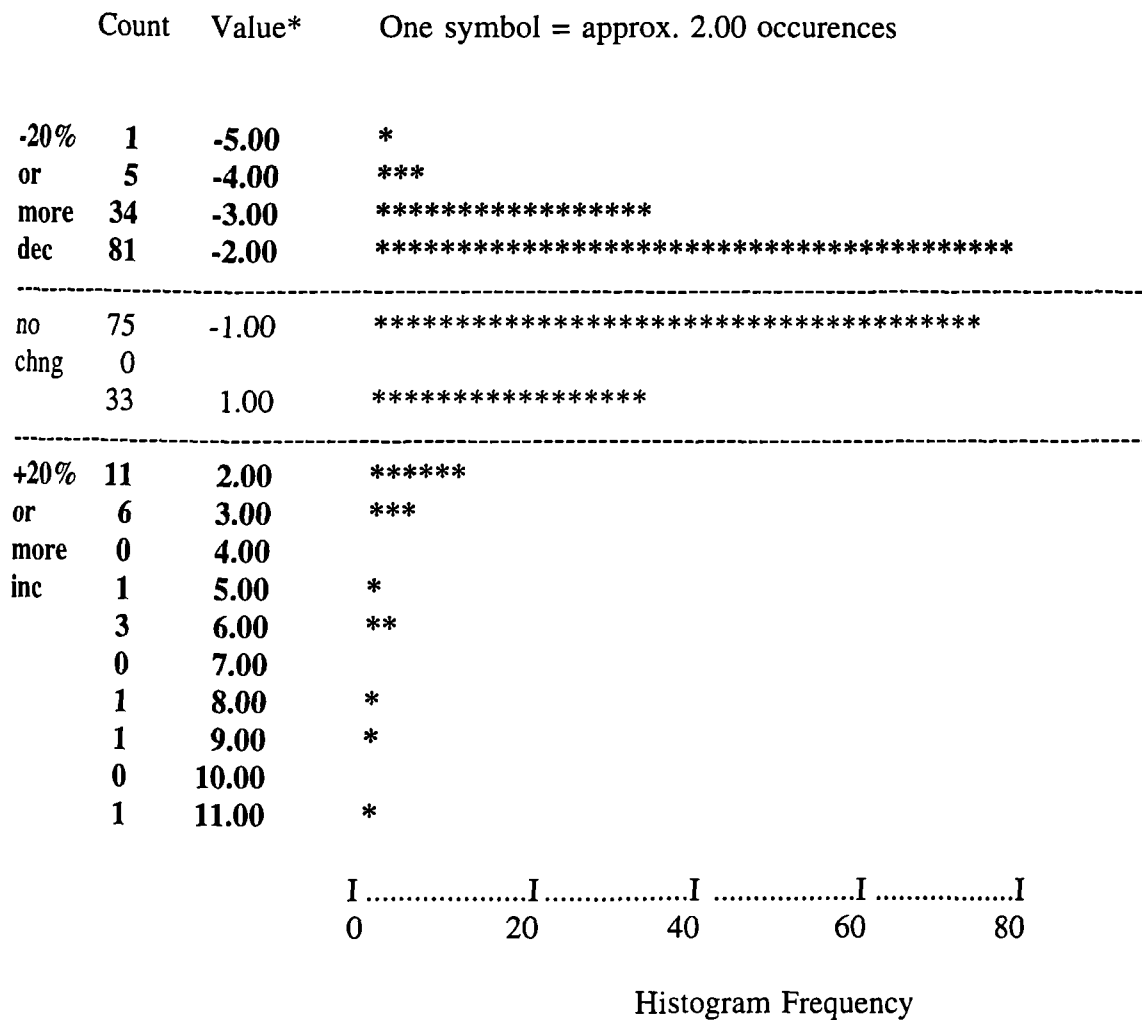
Here the income changes in different area types will be examined both in terms of the men's income (from their main job) and the total family income (including additional sources such as women's income, income from second jobs, incomes from rents, and interests etc).

As explained in Chapter 2, since 1979 real wages in Turkey have been decreasing. In view of this fact, in analysing changes in men's income it will be more relevant at the outset to consider the income changes of wage earners separately from the others (professionals, business owners etc).

Percentages of income changes are classified in 20% intervals. +20% and -20% changes are taken as the thresholds. Householders within the +20% and -20% change intervals were considered not to have changes in their incomes.

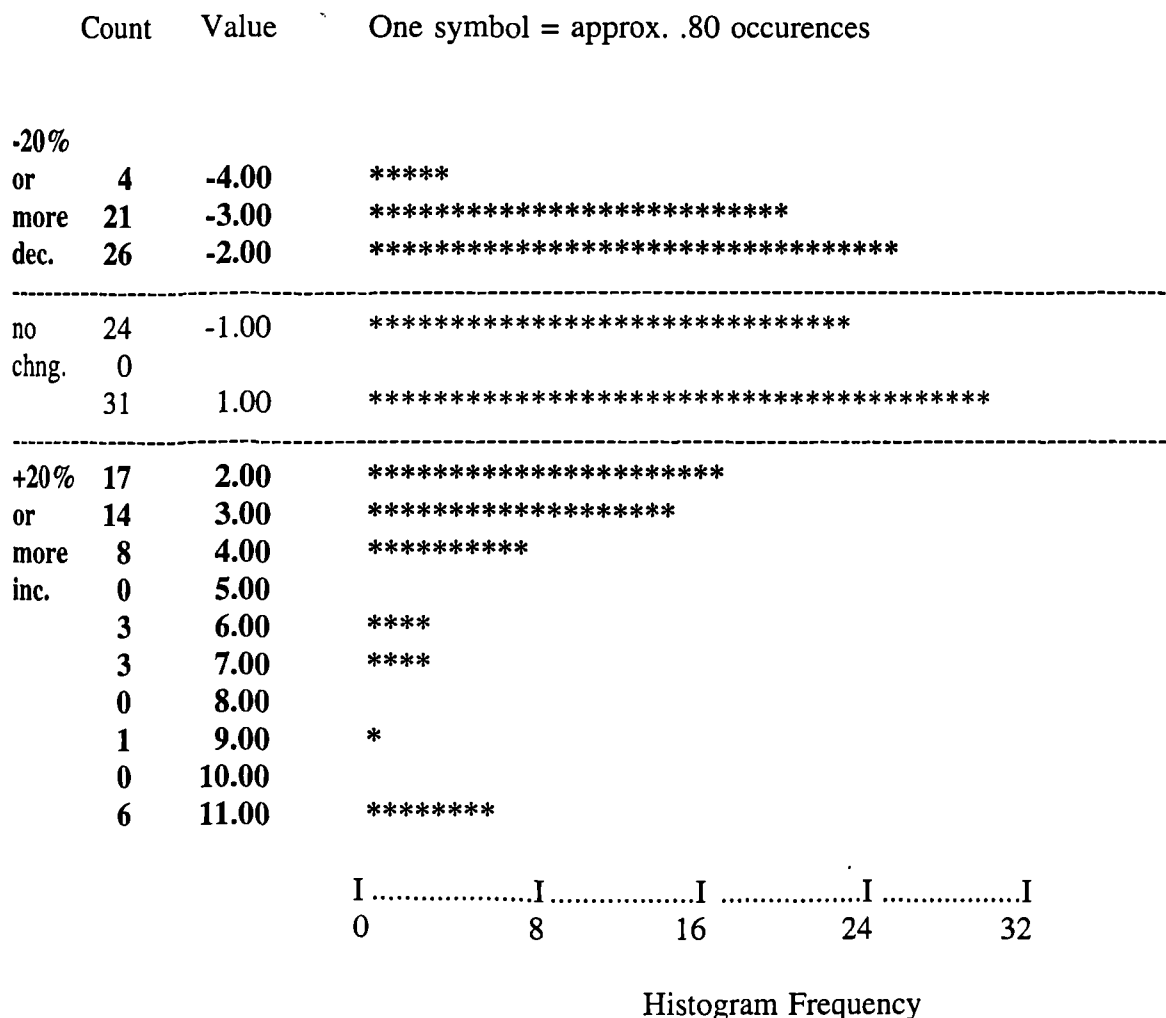
As illustrated in Figure 4.1 below the rate of change in the incomes of wage earners is quite high; 57% of all the wage earners in the sample experienced changes in their incomes of more than (+) or (-) 20%. However those whose wages or salaries fell by 20% or more constitute a far higher percentage than those whose incomes increased by +20%. 48% of the wage earners in the sample experienced decreases in their incomes. 67% of this downwardly mobile group falls within the -20% and -40% change interval. Conversely only 10% of the wage earners' increased their income by more than 20%.

FIGURE 4.1 Income Changes of Wage Earners (1983 - 1988 Adjusted for Inflation)



\* Value +/-I presents 0 - (+/-)20% interval, and each integer both in positive and negative directions represents 20% intervals. This is relevant for all the rest of the figures as well.

FIGURE 4.2 Income Changes of Non-Wage Earners - Mostly Entrepreneurs (1983 - 1988 Adjusted for Inflation)



The income change profile of non-wage earners (professionals, business owners, etc) is quite different from that of the wage earners. As seen in Figure 4.2 the percentage of those who experienced decreases is relatively low; 32% of these householders' incomes had decreased (over the -20%). The -20% to -40% change interval constitutes the highest percentage (51%) of those who had falling incomes. On the other hand 33% of this group experienced increases in income. Within this upwardly mobile sector there are several households who reported increases of more than 100% of their original income.

Nevertheless the income change patterns of wage earners and entrepreneurs (non-wage earners) display differences across the different income areas. We will now look firstly at the income changes of wage earners, and secondly at the income changes of non-wage earners by area type.

TABLE 4.7 Summary of the Income Change of Wage Earners and Non-Wage Earners (Male's Monthly Income)

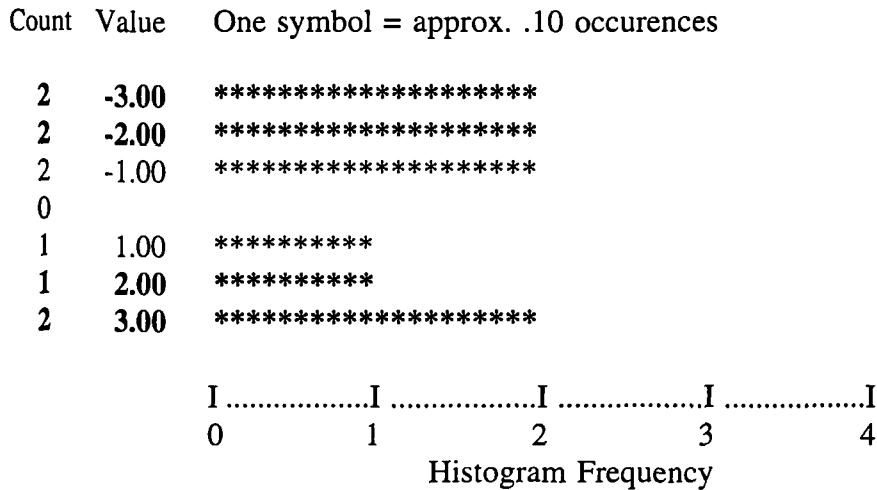
	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample
<b>WAGE EARNERS</b>					
% householders with:					
rising incomes	30	24	5	5	9
unchanged incomes	30	40	39	47	43
falling incomes	40	36	56	48	48
<b>NON-WAGE EARNERS</b>					
% householders with:					
rising incomes	57	30	46(38)*	46(32)*	33*
unchanged incomes	36	35	18(24)*	32(42)*	35*
falling incomes	7	35	36(38)*	21(26)*	32*
<b>TOTAL</b>					
% householders with:					
rising incomes	46	26	17(18)*	13(13)*	18*
unchanged incomes	33	39	33(33)*	44(45)*	40*
falling incomes	21	35	50(49)*	43(42)*	42*

Source: Fieldwork

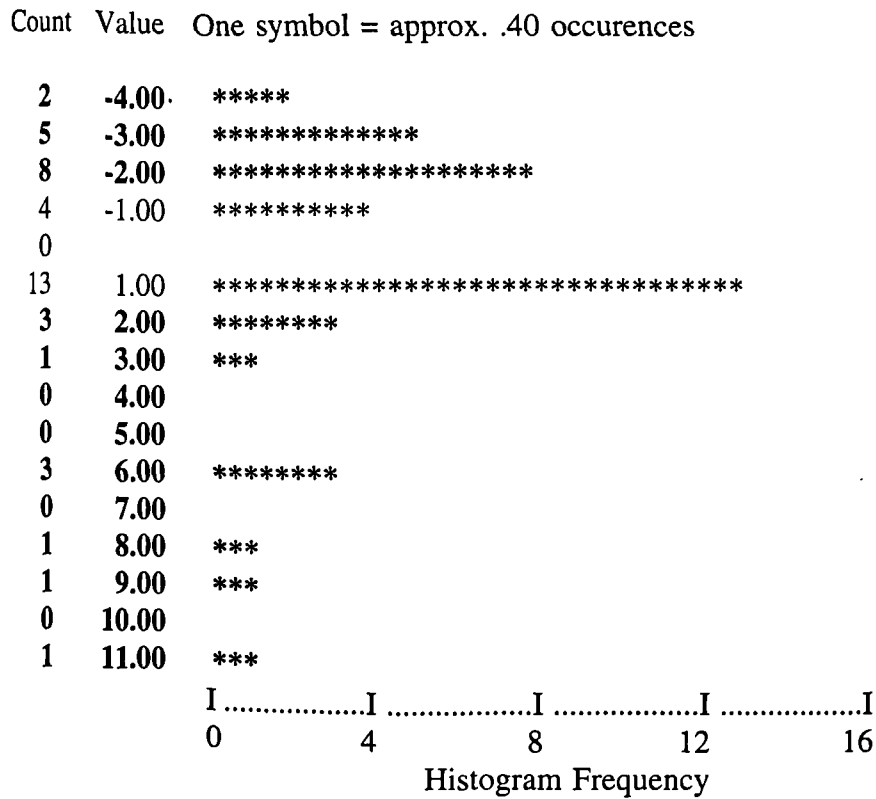
\* Those who are self-employed but do not own the means of production are included in the sample.

FIGURE 4.3 Income Change of Wage Earners in Different Area Types

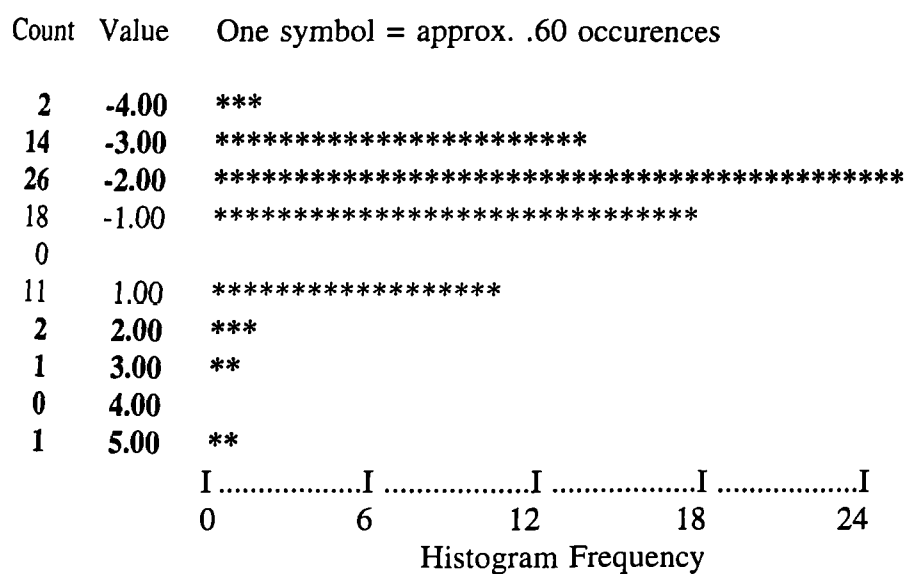
3(a) High Income Area



3(b) Middle Income Area



## 3(c) Low Income Area



## 3(d) Gecekondu Area

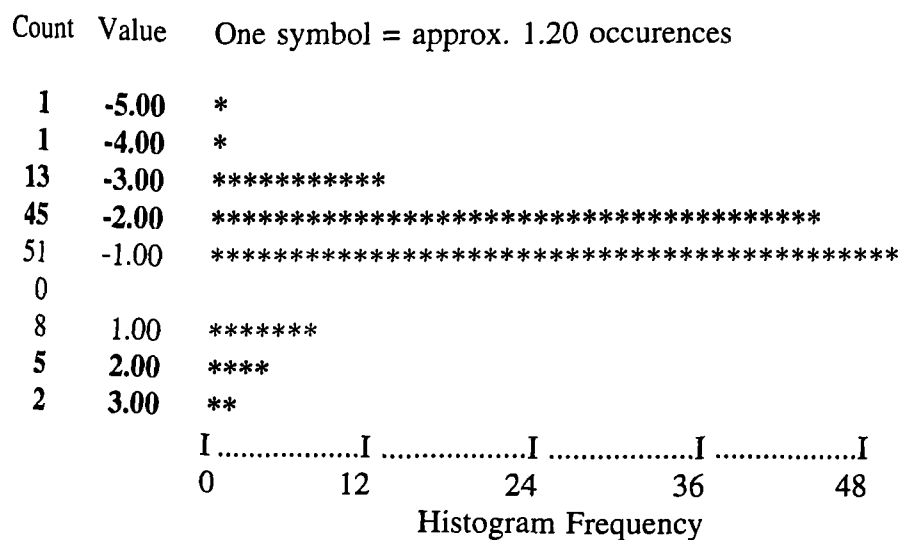
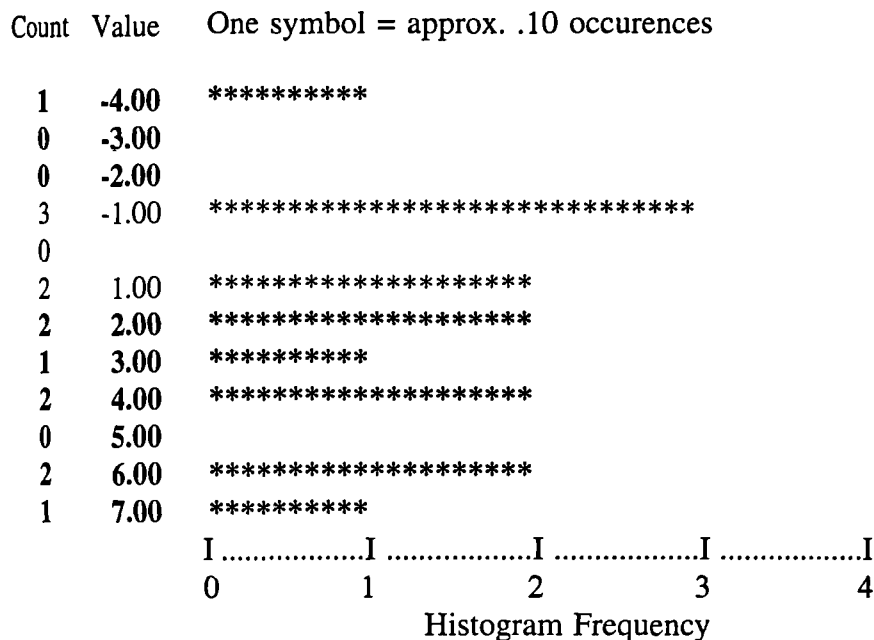


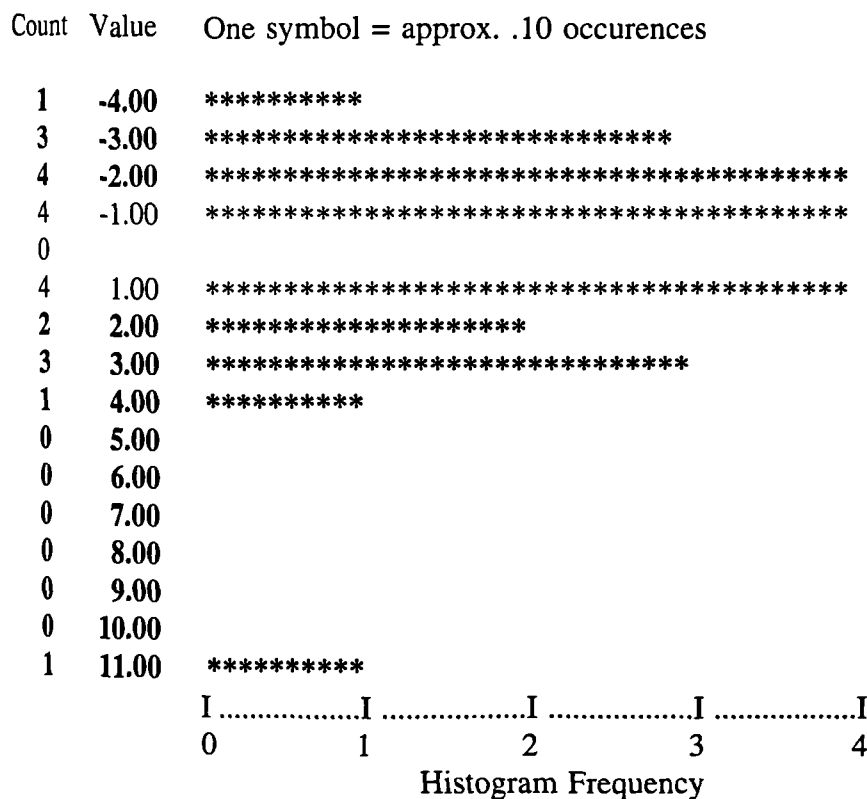


FIGURE 4.4 Income Change of Non-Wage Earners in Different Area Types

4(a) High Income Area



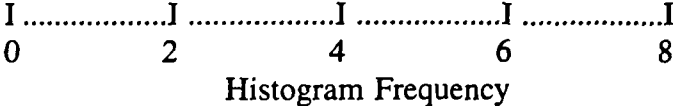
4(b) Middle Income Area



4(c) Low Income Area

Count Value One symbol = approx. .20 occurrences

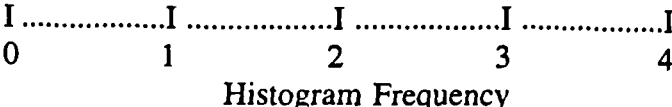
5	-3.00	*****
5	-2.00	*****
3	-1.00	*****
0		
2	1.00	*****
6	2.00	*****
2	3.00	*****
1	4.00	*****
0	5.00	
0	6.00	
1	7.00	*****
0	8.00	
0	9.00	
0	10.00	
3	11.00	*****



4(d) Gecekondu Area

Count Value One symbol = approx. .10 occurrences

2	-3.00	*****
4	-2.00	*****
4	-1.00	*****
0		
5	1.00	*****
5	2.00	*****
5	3.00	*****
2	4.00	*****
0	5.00	
0	6.00	
0	7.00	
0	8.00	
1	9.00	*****



Considering the four areas separately, amongst wage earners the percentage of those whose incomes increased is lower in the lower income areas, whilst the percentage of those who experienced decreases in their incomes is much higher in the lower income areas (see Figure 4.3 and Table 4.7).

This shows that in a period when wages have been continuously decreasing in real terms in Turkey, people in different income areas do not experience this decline to the same extent. Those with higher wage levels (who generally retain occupational positions of higher prestige) are less likely to be influenced by the policies which keep real wages at low levels than those who are receiving low wages at the lower echelons of the hierarchy.

Unlike the case of wage earners the income change pattern of entrepreneurs and business owners does not exhibit a specific pattern in relation to area types. In other words there does not appear to be any relationship between the income change pattern and income levels within the non-wage earning group. Nearly 46% of the entrepreneurs and business owners in low income and gecekondü areas reported an increase in their earnings - over 20%. While within the middle income area one third of the non-wage earners had increases in their incomes. The percentage of non-wage earners whose incomes decreased is similar in low and middle income areas. Furthermore the percentage of non-wage earners whose incomes decreased within the gecekondü areas is even lower than that of the non-wage earners in the middle income area type. This pattern of income change may be explained with reference to market conditions - i.e. profit opportunities for entrepreneurs. Although we do not have explicit data on the particular conditions that affect the entrepreneurs within each area type the above pattern can be tentatively explained with reference to two factors: (i) the various impacts of the economic precepts in Turkey on different scales and types of business in general; (ii) the scales and types of businesses owned by the entrepreneurs in our sample.

As discussed in Chapter 2 the trade and production precepts of the liberal economy exerted different impacts on different types and scales of businesses. Companies which had investments and equity shares over a certain amount - i.e. large scale businesses and multinationals - managed to establish themselves on the international and local markets, thereby qualifying for State incentives. This gave them advantages within the highly

competitive market conditions. The precepts of the liberal economy were not so favourable towards middle and small scale firms (in the formal sector) who could not achieve certain levels of production, equity share, and export capacity. The continually decreasing purchasing power of local consumers on the one hand, and increasing credit interest rates on the other, would be expected to generate a particularly disadvantageous climate for them within that competitive environment. Hence one would expect their profit rates to be seriously constrained. On the other hand small workshops and self-employed artisans (businesses in the informal sector) have been operating completely outside the rules and precepts of the liberal economy. Therefore one would not expect their business and profit opportunities to be constrained - like those of the medium scale investors. On the contrary they might have experienced greater opportunities. The constrained and risky market conditions existing for relatively larger scale businesses may have created better opportunities for these small businesses (in the informal sector). In order to reduce market risks it is common for many companies to sub-contract production jobs to small entrepreneurs (workshops) rather than leasing more equipment and employing more personnel on a long-term basis. In short it may be argued that the large and small scale businesses experienced relatively favourable conditions in comparison with medium scale businesses in Turkey.

Hence the profit opportunities and earnings of the entrepreneurs in area type 2 (generally comprising owners of middle scale businesses, sellers of luxury goods and home equipment, distributors, and so forth) would have been affected negatively. While in type 3 and 4 areas most of the non-wage earners are owners of small shops, workshops, freelance repairers, etc and their opportunities and profit rates are less likely to have been influenced negatively. In the high income area on the other hand we came across a couple of big company owners and several representatives of multinational production and accounting firms. It would seem that many entrepreneurs in area type 1 are dealing primarily in those businesses which are more likely to enjoy less risky and more favourable market conditions.

Finally, taking the sample as a whole our conclusion can be summarised as follows: (i) Changes in income are quite frequent; more than half of the householders experienced changes in their incomes. In particular the percentage of those with falling incomes is very high whilst the percentage of those whose incomes have increased is quite low. (ii)

The percentage of householders with increasing incomes is greater in the higher income areas, whereas the percentage of those with falling incomes is greater in the lower income areas.

Having examined changes in income in terms of men's income we conclude by examining changes in terms of the total family income (including additional earnings from women's work, second jobs, interests, and rents, etc). Changes in total family income are particularly relevant in evaluating the choices available to households and their accessibility in the housing markets. Since men's income is the principal and in most cases (particularly in low income areas) the only source of family income, the figures given below are not significantly different from those in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.8 Changes in the Total Family Income

	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
% OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH:					
increasing incomes	44	25	20	14	19
unchanged incomes	33	42	37	48	43
falling incomes	22	33	43	38	38
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork

Thus with respect to total family income it is argued that in Ankara most households experience changes in their incomes. The percentage of households with falling incomes however is much higher than those with rising incomes. This is particularly true for the lower income areas where increases in household income are much less frequent than falls.

#### 4.4.2 Social (occupational prestige) mobility rates and patterns

The aim of this section is to analyse the rates of social mobility between 1985 and 1988 by area type and to pursue the causes of the particular patterns amongst the area types. At the same time reference will be made to income patterns in order to understand the low correlation coefficients (given in Table 4.5) between income changes and social mobility

The percentage change in the occupational prestige of householders is taken as the measure of social mobility. +/-10% of change is taken as the threshold; and those between the +10% and -10% change interval are considered to be socially immobile. For the reasons given

earlier (i.e. a small percentage of working women in the sample) and for the sake of simplicity we only concentrate on men's occupational prestige here.

TABLE 4.9 Changes in Occupational Prestige (1983 - 1988 by Area Type)

	Area Type 1	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Whole Sample
% OF HOUSEHOLDS:					
upwardly mobile	3	10	14	13	10
immobile	87	87	77	81	83
downwardly mobile	10	3	9	6	7
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork

With reference to the above figures the main features of the prestige (social) mobility pattern can be summarised as follows: In contrast to the frequent income changes - both for the whole sample and for each group - social mobility is quite low; on average one fifth of the men have experienced change in their occupational prestige. Of all the groups the percentage of upwardly mobile householders is lowest and downward mobility is highest in area type 1 where occupational prestige and income levels are highest. Conversely in other areas the percentage of upwardly mobile householders is higher than the percentage of downwardly mobile householders. A closer look at the occupational and sectoral composition of each area and the particular conditions of the labour markets may help us to explain these particular patterns of social mobility.

In area type 1 it was found that the bulk (60%) of the males (household heads) own businesses. Among those who became business owners prior to 1983 vertical prestige mobility is quite rare. There would have to be a considerable change either in the scale or in the sector of their businesses for these owners to experience any change in occupational prestige. Recent developments in economic policies such as incentives and export quotas are more likely to have generated new production processes, profits, business connections, etc. and consequently some degree of change in the scale of production. But such developments would not generate any significant change in these business owners' job titles, nor hence in their social prestige. However we encountered some quite interesting cases of social mobility in this area type. Some of the bureaucrats and managers in the private companies established their own businesses as legal and financial consultancy firms, branch and liaison offices of multinationals, and so forth. Using their connections with bureaucratic networks, these managers may find it more appropriate to establish their own such businesses, rather than staying in their previous jobs where positions requiring new skills and qualifications are generated. In the above mentioned cases although their incomes either increased in real terms or remained the same, their job prestige showed decreases. Hence given that 60% of household heads are business owners and among those who were already in business prior to 1983 occupational prestige (job title) would not change easily although changes in income were quite frequent, and given that there were several cases of transfers from manager to business owner in which income and occupational prestige changed in opposite directions, it is not surprising to find that social mobility is low and there is a slight negative correlation between income changes and social mobility. Those cases of transfer from manager to business owner appear to account for the 10% downward social mobility in this area type.

On the other hand as indicated above in area types 2, 3 and 4 the percentage of upwardly mobile householders is higher than the percentage of downwardly mobile householders. When the occupational structure of each area type is considered it is revealed that (as shown in section 1) the two low income areas present similar sets of occupational profiles, and the social mobility patterns in type 3 and 4 areas are assumed to be formed through similar conditions. Area type 2 however presents a completely different range of occupational positions, which presumably would have involved different circumstances in the labour markets from those experienced in areas 3 and 4.



In area type 2 the bulk of the male labour force (60%) are wage earners, mainly comprising executives, middle managers, and middle to high level civil servants. As discussed earlier, in response to the recent drastic changes in production processes and management modes in Turkey, changes in demand for certain labour qualifications - particularly within the management cadres - are expected. In view of these circumstances do the very low rates of social mobility in area type 2 seem contradictory to our expectations? The emergence of the demand for new qualifications need not necessarily bring about the downgrading of an existing executive. Even if the qualifications of some of the existing administrative cadres became incompatible with the new requirements they may be moved into positions defined as having similar prestige, but which have less decision making power in practice. Such moves would either generate very small differences in prestige scores, or would not reflect any change at all whereas their wages can decrease in real terms. At the same time although it is argued that market conditions have probably constrained the profit opportunities of most of the non-wage earners in this area type, these constraints need not necessarily bring about much change in occupational status - unless there is a drastic change in the scale of their businesses. Considering these possibilities the low rates of downward mobility in area type 2 should not seem surprising nor contradictory to the conditions of the labour markets. Such cases must have contributed significantly to the weak correlation between income changes and social mobility (see Table 4.6). Furthermore as was discussed in Chapter 2, decreases in the real incomes of wage earners (through the liberal economy precepts), in many cases without any changes in their occupational position, would be expected to create inconsistencies between income change and social mobility. Particularly in this area type where 60% of the males are wage earners, such a factor should also be considered in explaining the inconsistencies. (As was shown in table 4.7 although more than one third of the household heads (35%) have falling incomes, only 3% of the households are downwardly mobile in terms of occupational status - Table 4.8).

While the percentage of those who experienced upward mobility is comparatively high. New positions together with existing ones requiring new qualifications within the administrative and technical cadres would have been filled both by the already existing staff in the labour market and by new entrants. Existing staff who are appointed to fill these positions have probably contributed considerably to the upward mobility rate in this area.

In both the low income area types again the bulk of the samples are constituted by wage earners (60%). Let us start by analysing the conditions that might effect changes in the occupational prestige of wage-earners. A large number of the wage-earners in these two area types are in service jobs and most of them are employed by the public sector<sup>5</sup>. Although there are a few cases of upgrading from an unskilled labourer to a qualified labourer (i.e. a better work position) in industry, generally the opportunities for upgrading for those working at the low levels of the job hierarchy, and particularly in service jobs (i.e. drivers, caretakers, janitors, small level office clerks), are quite limited. On the contrary, due to the recent transformations in management and production modes, demand for unskilled labour is expected to decrease. Hence transfers from the formal to the informal sector are expected to increase, but in terms of changes in work prestige such transfers would have a negligible effect - they would be doing more or less similar jobs of parallel prestige in the informal sector. In view of the above, amongst employees transfers to jobs of similar status are likely to have been high, but vertical changes have probably been low. However here it should be remembered that while the occupational prestige of wage earners does not change much, the real wages of many of them were decreasing under the precepts of the liberal economy. Hence this situation should be taken as an important factor accounting for the quite weak correlations between income change and social mobility in these two areas where the bulk of household heads are wage earners.

On the other hand several cases of upward prestige mobility from an unskilled labourer to a small entrepreneur (owners of small repair shops, kiosks, workshops) were encountered in the survey. These cases must have contributed to a large extent to the comparatively higher percentages of upward mobility in area types 3 and 4. More importantly these people do not only upgrade in terms of occupational prestige, but their incomes increase at high rates as well. Hence these cases can be considered an important factor in determining the relatively stronger correlations between social mobility and income changes in these two low income areas, than in area types 1 and 2.

---

<sup>5</sup>This may be explained by the particular characteristics of the city. Ankara is the administrative capital of the country so administrative and related service activities constitute an important part of the city's economic activity. There are few industrial developments in the city.

What then would be the conditions that could affect the prestige mobility of entrepreneurs in these low income areas? Fluctuations in access to product markets in general, and consequent changes in the demand of larger companies for services by these small scale businesses, were expected to make it necessary for some of these small entrepreneurs to alter their activity type. But such shifts would not make any significant difference to the prestige score of these small entrepreneurs - though their incomes may change considerably. Despite the fact that these small businesses are flexible in changing their activity type, since they have limited access to state credits and incentives they have limited chances to make substantial increases in their scale of work, or production modes which could then lead to changes in their occupational prestige.

In short our analysis of socio-economic mobility shows that most of the householders across all the different socio-economic areas in Ankara experience changes in their incomes without experiencing parallel changes in occupational prestige. It seems that the recent changes in Turkey's economic policies and the ensuing conditions of the labour markets have influenced the income levels of households, but have not affected occupational status very much, nor generated high rates of social mobility.

Thus our analyses so far results in an interesting socio-economic profile in Ankara:

- (i) There is a sharp differentiation between households in terms of incomes and occupational prestige in authorised housing areas, but the low income area type in authorised area and the gecekondü areas share similar socio-economic characteristics.
- (ii) The socio-economic characteristics of householders are not consistent with each other, either in each area type or for the whole sample. Thus it can be argued that their social class positions are "ambiguous".
- (iii) Changes in householders' occupational prestige and incomes are inconsistent both for each area type and for the sample as a whole.

- (iv) The percentage of households with falling incomes is quite high and is highest in the low income type of areas whereas the percentage of households with increasing incomes shows an opposite pattern.
- (v) On the other hand the social mobility rate is quite low. In particular the downward mobility rate is lower than the upward mobility rate in all of the areas except the high income area.

## 4.5 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY LEVELS

Levels of both the past residential mobility (moves within the 5 years between 1983 and 1988) and planned residential mobility (whether the household is thinking of moving out of the existing unit into another one in Ankara) will be established here for different tenure groups in different area types. It is important to note that the residential mobility of households in particular area types does not only mean moves which took place within that area type, but also includes moves from other area types.

### 4.5.1 Past residential mobility

In analysing the level of residential mobility within the previous 5 years both the percentage of mobile households - "mobility rate" (shown in Table 4.10) - and the number of moves by each household - "frequency of mobility" (shown in Table 4.11) - are taken into consideration.

TABLE 4.10 Past Residential Mobility Rates by Area Type (Between 1983 and 1988)

	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample
% of households moving once or more	28% (32)*	43% (92)	47% (141)	38% (241)	41% (506)
% of tenants (TT subgroup)** moving once or more	29% (7)	54% (37)	63% (75)	52% (141)	55% (260)
Mobility from rented to owner-occupied stock (TO subgroup)	36% (11)	23% (48)	12% (85)	11% (158)	14% (302)
% of owner-occupiers (OO subgroup)*** moving once or more	10% (20)	15% (41)	8% (50)	1% (82)	7% (193)
Mobility from owner-occupied to rented stock (OT subgroup)	5% (21)	7% (44)	7% (54)	0% (82)	4% (201)

Source: Fieldwork

\* Figures in parentheses are the base number of households in each category on which the percentages are calculated

\*\* TT subgroup: households who were tenants in 1983 and who remained tenants in 1988

\*\*\* OO subgroup: households who were owner-occupiers in 1983 and who remained owner-occupiers in 1988

First we will consider residential mobility for the whole sample, and then for the tenure groups separately as well as together in different area types.

As shown in Table 4.10, 41% of all the households in Ankara had moved at least once within the 5 year period from 1983 to 1988. Comparison of this rate with rates that have been recorded for different countries will provide us with a standard to determine the extent of residential mobility in Ankara. Two separate researchers reported two different levels of mobility in U.S. cities during the late 1950s and early 1960s; Simmons (1967) indicated that 50% of the urban population in the United States had moved at least once within the same metropolitan area during the previous 5 years<sup>6</sup>. Winnick (1960) reported that again within a 5 year period 60-70% of the urban population in U.S. cities had moved at least once. These rates are considered to be very high<sup>7</sup>. Johnstone (1967) recorded that 45% of the households in Melbourne had moved at least once within a 5 year period. In view of this rate he argued that the Melbournians appear to be generally very mobile. Compared with these findings, although the 41% mobility rate in Ankara is significantly lower than that in Winnick's research, it is quite close to the rates reported in the two other studies - which were also considered high. Hence a 41% residential mobility rate in Ankara does not indicate a low level of mobility at all; it can even be considered fairly high.

However the residential mobility rate varies among the different tenure groups and area types. Examination of the mobility rate and frequency of moves for different tenure groups in different area types should provide us with a more detailed residential mobility profile in Ankara.

The main features of residential mobility for different tenure groups can be defined as follows:

- (i) On average the residential mobility rate amongst the "TT" group - households who were tenants in 1983 and remained tenants in 1988 - was found to be 55% in Ankara. Ozo (1986) reported that in Benin City (Nigeria) the residential mobility rate amongst tenants during a five year period was 25%, and he considers this rate to be quite low.

---

<sup>6</sup>Simmons reported that the data presented in that study includes inter-county moves since many metropolitan areas include more than one county.

<sup>7</sup>See Johnstone (1967).

On the other hand Johnstone (1967) reported that the mobility rate amongst tenants for a 5 year period in Melbourne was 53%, and argued that the tenants were highly mobile. Hence in comparison to the findings of these two researchers the residential mobility rate amongst the tenants in Ankara may be considered high.

- (ii) Generally homeowners are expected to be less mobile than tenants. In our study it is shown that the difference is particularly sharp (Table 4.10). The residential mobility rate of the "OO" group - households who were owner-occupiers in 1983 and remained owner-occupiers in 1988 - is very low. On average only 7% of the households within the "OO" group moved during that period.
- (iii) Residential mobility among those moving from rented to owner-occupied stock can also be considered quite low; only 14% of the total households in Ankara who were tenants in 1983 had become owner-occupiers by 1988.
- (iv) Mobility from owner-occupied stock to rented stock is very low as well at a level of 4%.

Having examined the variation in residential mobility levels among different tenure groups we will now consider the variation among the different area types.

- (i) Of all the area types the residential mobility rate is lowest among the high income area households. By comparison the rate is much higher among households in the middle income area. Although the mobility rate is even higher among households in the lower income areas (type 3), its difference from the middle income areas is not nearly so striking. The mobility rate among gecekondü residents is also high but does not show any difference over, and is even slightly lower than the rate for households in area type 3 (see Table 4.10).

Frequency of moves was also examined in our survey (see Table 4.11, Part 1). This showed gecekondü households moved more frequently relative to those in the authorised stock, but the difference is not very significant (since the number of mobile households in the high

income area type is small we do not take the figures obtained from this area type into consideration here).

TABLE 4.11 % of Mobile Households Making a Specified Number of Moves

	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample
1. No. of moves made by all the mobile households:					
1	78	87	76	62	72
2	22	13	18	27	21
3	0	0	4	8	5
4	0	0	2	2	2
5+	0	0	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No. of all the mobile households	9	40	67	93	209
-----					
2. No. of moves made by the mobile tenants*:					
1	0	80	81	60	69
2	100	20	15	30	25
3	0	0	4	6	4
4	0	0	0	3	1
5+	0	0	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
No. of mobile tenants:	2	20	47	74	143

Source: Fieldwork

\* Here only the frequency of tenants' moves is taken into consideration, since almost all the households who were mobile within the owner-occupied stock, and between different tenure status made one move.



- (ii) The residential mobility rate of tenants does not show much variation among the different area types. On the other hand as shown in table 4.11, Part II tenants in gecekondü areas move more frequently than tenants in other area types, though the difference is not very striking.<sup>8</sup>
- (iii) The residential mobility rate of owner-occupiers is low generally, but extremely low among the owner-occupiers in the gecekondü area (table 4.10 row 4).
- (iv) Mobility from rented to owner-occupied stock is lower among the households in lower income areas (Table 4.10 row 3), and the difference between the two low income area types and the other two area types is quite striking.
- (v) Mobility from owner-occupied stock to rented stock is very low among the households in all of the areas, though no such move was evident among the gecekondü households.

Thus with regard to these particular features of residential mobility the following questions and/or arguments are raised:

- (i) It is evident that the residential mobility of tenants is high - in comparison to the levels of mobility found in other countries. It has also been shown that the percentage of those with falling incomes is quite significant, particularly in the low income areas. Moreover as was seen in chapter 3, rents in Ankara were rising rapidly. These factors would be likely to impose considerable constraints on the housing choice and consumption of households. Therefore is it possible to explain the high levels of

---

<sup>8</sup>Due to the small number of tenants in area type 1 the figures found for this area type in tables 4.10 and 4.11 are not taken into consideration.

residential mobility as due to the adjustment of housing needs? Or is it the case that most of the moves were forced responses to the constraints?

- (ii) It was also shown that the probability of becoming an owner-occupier is lower for households in lower income areas. Taking into account the high percentage of households with falling incomes in the lower income areas, together with the non-availability of credit facilities for these low income tenants and increasing housing prices, this pattern is not surprising at all. Thus in view of these constraints we raise the question: to what extent could those who managed to become homeowners attain units suitable for their needs?
- (iii) Homeowners are expected to be less mobile than tenants, and this can be explained as primarily due to the higher satisfaction of homeowners with their unit relative to tenants. In this survey homeowners were found to be much less mobile than tenants, but particularly in the two low income areas the low residential mobility rates lead us to ask whether their immobility is a matter of choice, or bearing in mind the unfavourable conditions of housing supply, is it a matter of constraint - in other words a kind of forced immobility?

These preliminary questions and corresponding arguments will be further discussed in the following chapters in order to understand the extent to which the (im)mobility of households in Ankara is a matter of choice.

#### 4.5.2 Planned residential mobility

Besides past residential mobility, we also analysed planned residential mobility in this study. Comparing past and planned residential mobility in terms of the impacts of households' own characteristics and dynamics - in terms of the extent to which they are influenced by the households' housing needs - and examining whether there is any correlation between past and planned mobility, will broaden our perspective on the matter of residential mobility in the case of Turkey. At this stage of the study we shall look at the percentages of those who are

planning to move. Variations in planned mobility between area types, and between tenure groups will provide us with a preliminary picture.

In the survey householders were asked whether they were thinking about changing their residence in Ankara. Householders could respond to this question either with reference to their exact plans of (im)mobility, or to less certain plans based on some future prospects and/or expectations. In addition householders (both tenants and homeowners) were also asked whether they were attempting to buy a house, or if they had a house currently under construction in Ankara. Since this question refers to actual situations rather than wishes and preferences the answers will provide us with relatively realistic measures of planned moves from tenancy to owner-occupancy and from owner-occupancy to owner-occupancy. Hence it will enable us to view the probability of becoming home-owners for households in different area types in the near future.

TABLE 4.12 Planned Residential Mobility: "Whether the households are thinking of moving out of an existing unit to another one in Ankara"

	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample
Planned mobility among all the households	27% (32)*	25% (92)	30% (143)	28% (240)	28% (507)
<hr/>					
TENANTS					
Total planned mobility among tenants	37% (8)	31% (39)	30% (82)	36% (142)	33% (271)
Tenants planning to buy a unit and move into it	12% (8)	12% (39)	6% (82)	7% (142)	8% (271)
Tenants who have no plans to buy a unit, but planning to move	25% (8)	19% (39)	24% (82)	28% (142)	25% (271)
<hr/>					
OWNER-OCCUPIERS					
Total planned mobility among owner-occupiers	25% (24)	21% (53)	29% (61)	18% (98)	22% (236)
Owner-occupiers planning to buy to buy a unit and move into it	12% (24)	4% (53)	8% (61)	5% (98)	6% (236)
Owner-occupiers who have no plans to buy a unit, but planning to move	12% (24)	17% (53)	20% (61)	12% (98)	16% (236)

Source: Fieldwork

\* Figures in parentheses represent the base number of households in each category

In view of the above figures the main features of "planned residential mobility" in Ankara can be described as follows:

### The planned residential mobility of tenants

- (i) The percentage of tenants who are planning to buy a unit is lower in the low income area (see Table 4.12). Thus not only for the previous 5 years, but for the near future as well the probability of becoming an owner-occupier is lower among tenants in lower income areas.
- (ii) By contrast the percentage of tenants who have no plans of becoming a homeowner, but are planning to move is higher in low income area types than in the middle income area type<sup>9</sup>. This leads us to ask whether the tenants' housing consumption in the low income area types was subject to more constraints than in the middle income area type, so that they would be more likely to plan to move in order to adjust needs which have so far remained unadjusted? Or is it the case that since their housing consumption was subject to more constraints, they were more likely to move due to these constraints - as forced responses?

### The planned residential mobility of owner-occupiers

The planned mobility level of the owner-occupiers does not show any particular pattern of differentiation between the area types. The percentage who are planning to move without any exact plans of buying another unit is higher than those with already established plans. It seems that most of these plans are based on their desires rather than any realistic plans.

---

<sup>9</sup>Due to the small number of sample (tenants) in area 1 the percentage found for this area is not taken into consideration.

## 4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the socio-economic profiles of different area types in Ankara, the patterns of changes in income levels and in the occupational prestige of households in different area types, and their past as well as planned residential mobility have been examined.

The main contours of the socio economic characteristics of the four areas, and the patterns of change in income levels and in the occupational prestige of households in these areas can be summarised as follows:

- (i) Levels of average household income vary considerably between the four area types. The differences between income levels in area types 1 and 2, and area types 2 and 3 are particularly sharp. While the low income area in the authorised part of the housing stock and the gecekondü area exhibit similar income levels.
- (ii) The rent/income ratio is higher in lower income areas.
- (iii) The socio-economic characteristics of households; income, occupational prestige, and education - which are supposed to define social class position - are not correlated with one another in any of the areas or within the whole sample. Social class positions are thus ambiguous.
- (iv) It was found that the majority of households in all the area types had experienced changes in their incomes in the previous 5 years. But particularly in the low income areas the percentage of households with falling incomes is higher than the percentage with rising incomes. The percentage with falling incomes is greater in lower income areas, whereas the percentage with rising incomes is greater in higher income areas.

- (v) Not only for the whole sample, but for each area type as well, the upward and downward social mobility rate (percentage of households whose occupational prestige had changed) is negligible compared with the income change rate. Social mobility (changes in occupational prestige) is not correlated with income changes.

When the level of past residential mobility is examined a global picture presents itself:

- (i) The past residential mobility of tenants (the "TT" group) is found to be high - comparable to the levels found in other countries.
- (ii) Mobility from the rented stock to the owner-occupied stock is lower in lower income areas. It is also found that the percentage of those who became owner-occupiers is quite negligible in the two low income types of area.
- (iii) In contrast to the tenants, owner-occupiers appeared to be immobile in all the area types, but those in the low income areas were found to be more immobile. In the gecekondu stock in particular, almost all the owner-occupiers were found to have been living in the same unit for at least the previous 5 years.

Given the particular conditions of the context, one of the possible interpretations of the observed high residential mobility of the tenants (the "TT" group), and the low levels of mobility of the owner-occupiers (the "OO" group) is that in the majority of cases choice is probably not the primary factor - particularly in the low income area types. In the following chapters we shall seek to examine this hypothesis.

Analysing the levels of planned mobility brings further points concerning the tenants to our attention:

It is found that although the percentage of tenants who have already taken initiatives or made specific plans to become an owner-occupier is lower in the lower income areas, the percentage of those planning to move out of their existing units, though with no exact plans of buying a unit, is higher. Is it the case that they were subject to more severe constraints than the tenants in the middle income area type, and are planning to move in order to adjust

needs which have remained unadjusted so far? Or is it the case that their higher levels of planned mobility are again primarily forced responses to the constraints that they are experiencing?

While in the case of owner-occupiers, it was found that most of the mobility intentions were not based on already established, concrete plans for buying a unit. Hence in their case the planned moves are expected to be reflecting a desire to adjust needs which have remained unadjusted so far, rather than realistic plans.

Examining these points and the correlation between past and planned mobility for the different tenure groups in different area types, will shed further light on the subject of residential mobility in the case of Ankara, Turkey.



## APPENDIX

Treiman (1977) provides both international and Turkish prestige scores. The international score list gives details which enable us to see the prestige levels not only for specific occupations but for work positions as well. Since there is no appreciable difference between them, in this study the international score is used.

## APPENDIX A Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale

Occupation	Prestige Score			
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	Occupation
<u>00 PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND RELATED WORKERS</u>	58			
001 PHYSICAL SCIENTISTS AND RELATED TECHNICIANS		66		
<u>0011 Chemists</u>			69	
00110 Chemist				69
<u>0012 Physicists</u>			76	
00120 Physicist				76
<u>0013 Physical Scientists n.e.c.</u>			72	
00130 Scientist				78
00131 Geologist				67
00132 Astronomer				71
00133 Weatherman <sup>1</sup>				49
<u>0014 Physical Science Technicians<sup>2</sup></u>			46	
002 ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS AND RELATED TECHNICIANS		56		

Occupation	Prestige Score			
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	Occupation
<u>0021 Architects and Town Planners</u>			72	
00210 Architect				72
<u>0022 Civil Engineers</u>			70	
00220 Engineer, Civil Engineer				70
<u>0023 Electrical and Electronics Engineers</u>			65	
00230 Electrical Engineer				65
<u>0024 Mechanical Engineers</u>			66	
00240 Mechanical Engineer				66
<u>0025 Chemical Engineers</u>			66	
00250 Chemical Engineer				66
<u>0026 Metallurgists</u>			60	
00260 Metallurgist				60
<u>0027 Mining Engineers</u>			63	
00270 Mining Engineer				63
<u>0028 Industrial Engineers</u>			54	
00280 Industrial Engineer				54
<u>0029 Engineers n.e.c.</u>			55	
00290 Engineer n.e.c.				55
<u>0031 Surveyors</u>			58	
00310 Surveyor				58
<u>0032 Draftsmen</u>			55	
00320 Draftsman				55
00321 Tracer <sup>3</sup>				26
<u>0033 Civil Engineering Technicians</u>			39	
00330 Surveyor's Assistant				39
<u>0034 Electrical and Electronics Engineering Technicians<sup>2</sup></u>			46	
<u>0035 Mechanical Engineering Technicians<sup>2</sup></u>			46	
<u>0036 Chemical Engineering Technicians<sup>2</sup></u>			46	
<u>0037 Metallurgical Technicians<sup>2</sup></u>			46	
<u>0038 Mining Technicians</u>			54	
00380 Mining Technician				54
<u>0039 Engineering Technicians n.e.c.</u>			46	
00390 Engineer's Aide				46
004 AIRCRAFT AND SHIPS' OFFICERS		59		
<u>0041 Aircraft Pilots, Navigators and Flight Engineers</u>			66	
00410 Airline Pilot				66
00411 Astronaut <sup>1</sup>				80

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0042 Ships' Deck Officers and Pilots</u>			50	
00420 Ship's Officer				63
00421 Small Boat Officer <sup>27</sup>				36
<u>0043 Ships' Engineers</u>			60	
00430 Ship's Engineer				60
005 LIFE SCIENTISTS AND RELATED TECHNICIANS	61			
<u>0051 Biologists, Zoologists and Related Scientists</u>			69	
00510 Biologist				69
<u>0052 Bacteriologists, Pharmacologists and Related Scientists</u>			68	
00520 Medical Researcher				79
00521 Dairy Scientist				56
<u>0053 Agronomists and Related Scientists</u>			56	
00530 Agronomist				58
00531 Agricultural Agent				55
<u>0054 Life Sciences Technicians</u>			52	
00540 Medical Technician				58
00541 Agricultural Technician				47
006 MEDICAL, DENTAL, VETERINARY AND RELATED WORKERS <sup>26</sup>		60		
<u>0061 Medical Doctors</u>			78	
00610 Physician				78
00611 Chief Physician in Hospital				80
<u>0062 Medical Assistants</u>			50	
00620 Medical Assistant				50
<u>0063 Dentists</u>			70	
00630 Dentist				70
<u>0064 Dental Assistants<sup>4</sup></u>			44	
<u>0065 Veterinarians</u>			61	
00650 Veterinarian				61
<u>0066 Veterinary Assistants<sup>5</sup></u>			48	
<u>0067 Pharmacists</u>			64	
00670 Pharmacist				64
<u>0068 Pharmaceutical Assistants</u>			44	
00680 Uncertified Pharmacist				44
<u>0069 Dietitians and Public Health Nutritionists</u>			52	
00690 Dietitian				52

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0071 Professional Nurses</u>			54	
00710 Professional Nurse, Nurse				54
00711 Head Nurse <sup>1</sup>				58
<u>0072 Nursing Personnel n.e.c.</u>			44	
00720 Uncertified Nurse				44
<u>0073 Professional Midwives</u>			46	
00730 Professional Midwife, Midwife				46
<u>0074 Midwifery Personnel n.e.c.<sup>6</sup></u>			42	
<u>0075 Optometrists and Opticians</u>			60	
00750 Optometrist				62
00751 Optician				57
<u>0076 Physiotherapists and Occupational Therapists</u>			51	
00760 Physiotherapist				67
00761 Occupational Therapist				57
00762 Masseur				30
<u>0077 Medical X-Ray Technicians<sup>7</sup></u>			58	
<u>0079 Medical, Dental, Veterinary and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			50	
00790 Osteopath				62
00791 Chiropractor				62
00792 Herbalist				29
00793 Sanitary Officer				48
008 STATISTICIANS, MATHEMATICIANS, SYSTEMS ANALYSTS AND RELATED TECHNICIANS		56		
<u>0081 Statisticians</u>			55	
00810 Statistician				55
<u>0082 Mathematicians and Actuaries</u>			69	
00820 Mathematician				69
<u>0083 Systems Analysts<sup>8</sup></u>			51	
<u>0084 Statistical and Mathematical Technicians</u>			51	
00840 Computer Programmer				51
009 ECONOMISTS		60		
<u>0090 Economists</u>			60	
00900 Economist				60
011 ACCOUNTANTS		62		
<u>0110 Accountants</u>			62	
01100 Accountant				55
01101 Professional Accountant				68

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
012 JURISTS		73		
<u>0121 Lawyers</u>			73	
01210 Lawyer, Trial Lawyer				71
01211 Public Prosecutor				75
<u>0122 Judges</u>			76	
01220 Judge				78
01221 Supreme Court Justice <sup>1</sup>				82
01222 Local Court Judge				73
<u>0129 Jurists n.e.c.</u>			71	
01290 Non-Trial Lawyer				71
01291 Legal Advisor Without Degree <sup>3</sup>				52
015 TEACHERS		61		
<u>0131 University and Higher Education Teachers</u>			78	
01310 University Professor				78
01311 University President, Dean <sup>1</sup>				86
<u>0132 Secondary Education Teachers</u>			60	
01320 High School Teacher				64
01321 Middle School Teacher				57
<u>0133 Primary Education Teachers</u>			57	
01330 Teacher, Primary Teacher				57
<u>0134 Pre-Primary Education Teachers</u>			49	
01340 Pre-Primary Teacher				49
<u>0135 Special Education Teachers<sup>9</sup></u>			62	
<u>0139 Teachers n.e.c.</u>			62	
01390 Vocational Teacher				57
01391 Principal, Primary Principal				66
01392 Education Officer				68
01393 Teacher's Aide				50
01394 Secondary School Principal				72
014 WORKERS IN RELIGION		46		
<u>0141 Ministers of Religion and Related Members of Religious Orders</u>			54	
01410 Clergyman				60
01411 High Church Official <sup>1</sup>				83
01412 Religious Reciter				46
01413 Evangelist				50
01414 Missionary				49
01415 Member of Religious Order				56
01416 Assistant Priest				61

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0149 Workers in Religion n.e.c.</u>			39	
01490 Religious Teacher				56
01491 Faith Healer				22
<b>015 AUTHORS, JOURNALISTS AND RELATED WRITERS</b>		58		
<u>0151 Authors and Critics</u>			62	
01510 Author				62
01511 Pulp Writer <sup>1</sup>				35
<u>0159 Authors, Journalists and Related Writers n.e.c.</u>			56	
01590 Journalist				55
01591 Newspaper Editor				65
01592 Advertising Writer				47
01593 Public Relations Man				57
<b>016 SCULPTORS, PAINTERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS AND RELATED CREATIVE ARTISTS</b>		51		
<u>0161 Sculptors, Painters and Related Artists</u>			57	
01610 Artist				57
<u>0162 Commercial Artists and Designers</u>			49	
01620 Commercial Artist				54
01621 Designer				56
01622 Window Display Artist				38
<u>0163 Photographers and Cameramen</u>			46	
01630 Photographer				45
01631 TV Cameraman				47
<b>017 COMPOSERS AND PERFORMING ARTISTS</b>		48		
<u>0171 Composers, Musicians and Singers</u>			45	
01710 Musician, Classical Musician				56
01711 Jazz Musician				38
01712 Musical Entertainer				32
01713 Music Teacher				53
<u>0172 Choreographers and Dancers</u>			40	
01720 Dancer				45
01721 Dancing Teacher				36
<u>0173 Actors and Stage Directors</u>			57	
01730 Actor				52
01731 Star Actor <sup>1</sup>				63
01732 Dramatic Director				62
<u>0174 Producers, Performing Arts</u>			68	
01740 Dramatic Producer				68

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0175 Circus Performers</u> <sup>10</sup>			33	
<u>0179 Performing Artists n.e.c.</u>			42	
01790 Radio, TV Announcer				50
01791 Entertainer				33
<b>018 ATHLETES, SPORTSMEN AND RELATED WORKERS</b>		49		
<u>0180 Athletes, Sportsmen and Related Workers</u>			49	
01800 Professional Athlete				48
01801 Coach, Manager				50
<b>019 PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND RELATED WORKERS n.e.c.</b>		57		
<u>0191 Librarians, Archivists and Curators</u>			54	
01910 Librarian				54
<u>0192 Sociologists, Anthropologists and Related Scientists</u>			68	
01920 Sociologist				67
01921 Psychologist				66
01922 Archeologist				69
01923 Historian				67
01924 Social Scientist n.e.c.				69
<u>0193 Social Workers</u>			52	
01930 Social Worker				56
01931 Group Worker				49
<u>0194 Personnel and Occupational Specialists</u>			56	
01940 Personnel Director				58
01941 Job Counselor				55
<u>0195 Philologists, Translators and Interpreters</u>			62	
01950 Translator				54
01951 Philologist				69
<u>0199 Other Professional, Technical and Related Workers</u>			51	
01990 Technician				58
01991 Diviner				37
01992 Fingerprint Expert				54
01993 Explorer				49
01994 Peace Corps Member				53
01995 Advertising Executive				57
<b>02 ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL WORKERS</b>		64		
<b>020 LEGISLATIVE OFFICIALS AND GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATORS</b>		64		

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0201 Heads of Government Jurisdictions</u>			63	
02010 Chief of State <sup>1</sup>				90
02011 Provincial Governor <sup>1</sup>				82
02012 District Head				66
02013 Head, Large City				75
02014 Head, City or Small City				68
02015 Village Head				42
<u>0202 Members of Legislative Bodies</u>			64	
02020 Leader of House <sup>1</sup>				86
02021 Member Upper House <sup>1</sup>				85
02022 Member Lower House				72
02023 Member Provincial House				66
02024 Member Local Council				55
<u>0203 High Administrative Officials</u>			66	
02030 Government Minister <sup>1</sup>				79
02031 Ambassador <sup>1</sup>				87
02032 Diplomat				73
02033 High Civil Servant, Dept. Head				71
02034 Dept. Head, Provincial Government				74
02035 Dept. Head, Local Government				63
02036 Chief's Counselor				50
021 MANAGERS		63		
<u>0211 General Managers</u>			65	
02110 Member Board of Directors				75
02111 Head of Large Firm				70
02112 Head of Firm				63
02113 Head of Small Firm				52
02114 Banker				67
02115 Banker, Large Bank				76
02116 Building Contractor				53
<u>0212 Production Managers (Except Farm)</u>			64	
02120 Factory Manager				64
<u>0219 Managers n.e.c.</u>			60	
02190 Businessman				58
02191 Branch Manager				52
02192 Department Manager				60
02193 Department Manager, Large Firm				63
02194 Business Executive				67
02195 Politician, Party Official				63
02196 Union Official				50
02197 High Union Official				63



Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<b>03 CLERICAL AND RELATED WORKERS</b>	<b>41</b>			
030 CLERICAL SUPERVISORS		55		
<u>0300 Clerical Supervisors</u>			55	
03000 Office Manager				55
031 GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS		55		
<u>0310 Government Executive Officials</u>			55	
03100 Middle Rank Civil Servant				66
03101 Civil Servant, Minor Civil Servant				54
03102 Government Inspector				61
03103 Customs Inspector				44
03104 Tax Collector				52
032 STENOGRAPHERS, TYPISTS AND CARD- AND TAPE-PUNCHING MACHINE OPERATORS		46		
<u>0321 Stenographers, Typists and Teletypists</u>			48	
03210 Typist, Stenographer				42
03211 Secretary				53
<u>0322 Card- and Tape-Punching Machine Operators</u>			45	
03220 Key punch Operator				45
033 BOOKKEEPERS, CASHIERS AND RELATED WORKERS		38		
<u>0331 Bookkeepers and Cashiers</u>			41	
03310 Bookkeeper				49
03311 Cashier				31
03312 Head Cashier <sup>13</sup>				65
03313 Bank Teller				48
03314 Post Office Clerk				39
03315 Ticket Seller				36
<u>0339 Bookkeepers, Cashiers and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			34	
03390 Financial Clerk				42
03391 Bill Collector				27
034 COMPUTING MACHINE OPERATORS		49		
<u>0341 Bookkeeping and Calculating Machine Operators<sup>11</sup></u>			45	
<u>0342 Automatic Data-Processing Machine Operators</u>			53	
03420 Computer Operator				53
035 TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS SUPERVISORS		50		
<u>0351 Railway Station Masters</u>			56	
03510 Railway Stationmaster				56
<u>0352 Postmasters</u>			58	
03520 Postmaster				58

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0359 Transport and Communications Supervisors n.e.c.</u>			37	
03590 Dispatcher, Expeditor				37
036 TRANSPORT CONDUCTORS		32		
<u>0360 Transport Conductors</u>			32	
03600 Railroad Conductor				39
03601 Bus, Streetcar Conductor				26
03602 Sleeping Car Porter				30
037 MAIL DISTRIBUTION CLERKS		30		
<u>0370 Mail Distribution Clerks</u>			30	
03700 Mail Carrier				33
03701 Office Boy, Messenger				26
038 TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH OPERATORS		44		
<u>0380 Telephone and Telegraph Operators</u>			44	
03800 Telephone Operator				38
03801 Telegraph Operator				45
03802 Radio Operator				49
039 CLERICAL AND RELATED WORKERS n.e.c.		38		
<u>0391 Stock Clerks</u>			30	
03910 Stockroom Attendant				32
03911 Shipping Clerk				29
<u>0392 Material and Production Planning Clerks<sup>12</sup></u>			44	
<u>0393 Correspondence and Reporting Clerks</u>			44	
03930 Office Clerk				43
03931 Government Office Clerk				44
03932 Law Clerk <sup>1</sup>				59
<u>0394 Receptionists and Travel Agency Clerks</u>			34	
03940 Receptionist				38
03941 Transportation Agent				37
03942 Railway Baggage man				23
03943 Travel Agent				43
03944 Floor Walker				27
<u>0395 Library and Filing Clerks</u>			36	
03950 Library Assistant				41
03951 Filing Clerk				31
<u>0399 Clerks n.e.c.</u>			37	
03991 Proofreader				41
03992 Political Party Worker				48
03993 Meter Reader				21
<u>04 SALES WORKERS</u>	40			
040 MANAGERS (WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE)		45		

Occupation	Prestige Score			
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	Occupation
<u>0400 Managers (Wholesale and Retail Trade)</u>			45	
04000 Retail Manager				47
04001 Service Station Manager				38
04002 Credit Manager				49
041 WORKING PROPRIETORS (WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE)		48		
<u>0410 Working Proprietors (Wholesale and Retail Trade)</u>			48	
04100 Shop Keeper				42
04101 Large Shop Owner				58
04102 One-Man Stand Operator				38
04103 Automobile Dealer				44
04104 Broker				55
04105 Livestock Broker				40
04106 Wholesale Distributor				58
04107 Smuggler <sup>1</sup>				9
04108 Labor Contractor				49
042 SALES SUPERVISORS AND BUYERS		49		
<u>0421 Sales Supervisors</u>			52	
04210 Sales Manager				52
<u>0422 Buyers</u>			46	
04220 Buyer				49
04221 Purchasing Agent				51
04222 Agricultural Buyer				39
043 TECHNICAL SALESMAN, COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS AND MANUFACTURERS' AGENTS		46		
<u>0431 Technical Salesmen and Service Advisers</u>			46	
04310 Sales Engineer				51
04311 Utility Co. Salesman				42
<u>0432 Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents</u>			47	
04320 Traveling Salesman				47
044 INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE, SECURITIES AND BUSINESS SERVICES SALESMEN AND AUCTIONEERS		46		
<u>0441 Insurance, Real Estate and Securities Salesmen</u>			50	
04410 Insurance Agent				44
04411 Real Estate Agent				49
04412 Stock Broker				56
<u>0442 Business Services Salesmen</u>			42	
04420 Advertising Salesman				42
<u>0443 Auctioneers</u>			45	
04430 Auctioneer				39

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
04431 Appraiser				48
04432 Insurance Claims Investigator				49
<b>045 SALESMEN, SHOP ASSISTANTS AND RELATED WORKERS</b>		<b>28</b>		
<u>0451 Salesmen, Shop Assistants and Demonstrators</u>			32	
04510 Sales Clerk				34
04511 Automobile Salesman				36
04512 Gas Station Attendant				25
04513 Model				36
04514 Sales Demonstrator				28
<u>0452 Street Vendors, Canvassers and Newsvendors</u>			24	
04520 Market Trader				36
04521 Street Vendor, Peddler				22
04522 Telephone Solicitor				26
04523 Newspaper Seller				14
04524 Routeman				24
04525 Narcotics Peddler <sup>1</sup>				6
<b>049 SALES WORKERS n.e.c.</b>		<b>15</b>		
<u>0490 Sales Workers n.e.c.</u>			15	
04900 Money Lender <sup>16</sup>				15
<b>05 SERVICE WORKERS</b>	<b>27</b>			
<b>050 MANAGERS (CATERING AND LODGING SERVICES)</b>		<b>40</b>		
<u>0500 Managers (Catering and Lodging Services)</u>			40	
05000 Bar Manager				32
05001 Hotel Manager <sup>13</sup>				53
05002 Apartment Manager				47
<b>051 WORKING PROPRIETORS (CATERING AND LODGING SERVICES)</b>		<b>37</b>		
<u>0510 Working Proprietors (Catering and Lodging Services)</u>			37	
05100 Restaurant Owner				48
05101 Lunchroom, Coffee Shop Operator				35
05102 Hotel Operator				46
05103 Boardinghouse Keeper				22
05104 Pub Keeper				33
<b>052 HOUSEKEEPING AND RELATED SERVICE SUPERVISORS</b>		<b>37</b>		
<u>0520 Housekeeping and Related Service Supervisors</u>			37	
05200 Steward				46
05201 Housekeeper				28

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
053 COOKS, WAITERS, BARTENDERS AND RELATED WORKERS		26		
<u>0531 Cooks</u>			31	
05310 Cook				31
05311 Master Cook <sup>3</sup>				38
05312 Cook's Helper <sup>28</sup>				22
<u>0532 Waiters, Bartenders and Related Workers</u>			21	
05320 Waiter				23
05321 Bartender				23
05322 Soda Fountain Clerk <sup>29</sup>				16
054 MAIDS AND RELATED HOUSEKEEPING SERVICE WORKERS n.e.c.		22		
<u>0540 Maids and Related Housekeeping Service Workers n.e.c.</u>			22	
05400 Servant				17
05401 Nursemaid				23
05402 Hotel Chambermaid				14
05403 Hotel Concierge				33
055 BUILDING CARETAKERS, CHARWORKERS, CLEANERS AND RELATED WORKERS		22		
<u>0551 Building Caretakers</u>			25	
05510 Janitor				21
05511 Concierge (Apartment House)				24
05512 Sexton				30
<u>0552 Charworkers, Cleaners and Related Workers</u>			20	
05520 Charworker				16
05521 Window Washer				19
05522 Chimney Sweep				25
056 LAUNDERERS, DRY-CLEANERS AND PRESSERS		22		
<u>0560 Launderers, Dry-Cleaners and Pressers</u>			22	
05600 Launderer				22
057 HAIRDRESSERS, BARBERS, BEAUTICIANS AND RELATED WORKERS		32		
<u>0570 Hairdressers, Barbers, Beauticians and Related Workers</u>			32	
05700 Barber				30
05701 Master Barber <sup>3</sup>				37
05702 Beautician				35
05703 Operator of Hairdressing Salon <sup>3</sup>				45
058 PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS		35		
<u>0581 Fire-Fighters</u>			35	
05810 Fireman				35

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0582 Police and Detectives</u>			40	
05820 Policeman				40
05821 Police Officer <sup>3</sup>				60
05822 High Police Official <sup>1</sup>				75
05823 Specialized Law Officer <sup>3</sup>				52
<u>0589 Protective Service Workers n.e.c.</u>			30	
05890 Watchman				22
05891 Prison Guard				39
05892 Bailiff <sup>1</sup>				47
059 SERVICE WORKERS n.e.c.		31		
<u>0591 Guides</u>			29	
05910 Museum Attendant				29
<u>0592 Undertakers and Embalmers</u>			34	
05920 Undertaker				34
<u>0599 Other Service Workers</u>			29	
05990 Medical Attendant				42
05991 Entertainment Attendant				20
05992 Elevator Operator				24
05993 Hotel Bell Boy				14
05994 Doorkeeper				27
05995 Shoe Shiner				12
05996 Airline Stewardess				50
05997 Bookmaker				34
05998 Bell Captain in Hotel				41
05999 Illegal Lottery Agent <sup>1</sup>				6
<u>06 AGRICULTURAL, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND FORESTRY WORKERS, FISHERMEN AND HUNTERS</u>	34			
060 FARM MANAGERS AND SUPERVISORS		48		
<u>0600 Farm Managers and Supervisors</u>			48	
06000 Farm Manager				54
06001 Farm Foreman				41
061 FARMERS <sup>26</sup>		40		
<u>0611 General Farmers</u>			40	
06110 Farmer				47
06111 Large Farmer				63
06112 Small Farmer				38
06113 Tenant Farmer				30
06114 Share Cropper				32
06115 Collective Farmer				35
06116 Settler				39
06117 Unpaid Family Farm Worker				34

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0612 Specialized Farmers</u>			55	
06120 Specialized Farmer				55
062 AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY WORKERS		22		
<u>0621 General Farm Workers</u>			20	
06210 Farm Hand				23
06211 Migrant Worker				18
<u>0622 Field Crop and Vegetable Farm Workers</u>			21	
06220 Field Crop Worker				21
<u>0623 Orchard, Vineyard and Related Tree and Shrub Crop Workers</u>			21	
06230 Palmwine Harvester				21
<u>0624 Livestock Workers</u>			26	
06240 Livestock Worker				26
<u>0625 Dairy Farm Workers</u>			23	
06250 Milker				23
<u>0626 Poultry Farm Workers<sup>14</sup></u>			21	
<u>0627 Nursery Workers and Gardeners</u>			21	
06270 Gardener				21
<u>0628 Farm Machinery Operators</u>			31	
06280 Tractor Driver				31
<u>0629 Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Workers n.e.c.</u>			14	
06290 Skilled Farm Worker				30
06291 Gatherer				-2
063 FORESTRY WORKERS <sup>26</sup>		24		
<u>0631 Loggers</u>			18	
06310 Logger				19
06311 Whistle Punk				18
<u>0632 Forestry Workers (Except Logging)</u>			42	
06320 Forester				48
06321 Timber Cruiser				38
06322 Tree Surgeon				40
064 FISHERMEN, HUNTERS AND RELATED WORKERS		28		
<u>0641 Fishermen</u>			32	
06410 Fisherman				28
06411 Fisherman With Own Boat				37
<u>0649 Fishermen, Hunters and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			23	
06490 Whaler				40
06491 Hunter				6

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>07 PRODUCTION AND RELATED WORKERS, TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT OPERATORS AND LABORERS</u>	32			
<u>070 PRODUCTION SUPERVISORS AND GENERAL FOREMEN</u>		46		
<u>0700 Production Supervisors and General Foremen</u>			46	
07000 Foreman				39
07001 Supervisor				52
<u>071 MINERS, QUARRYMEN, WELL DRILLERS AND RELATED WORKERS</u>		32		
<u>0711 Miners and Quarrymen</u>			34	
07110 Miner				32
07111 Specialized Mine Worker				36
07112 Quarry Worker				24
07113 Instructor in Mine				44
<u>0712 Mineral and Stone Treaters<sup>15</sup></u>			32	
<u>0713 Well Drillers, Borers and Related Workers</u>			31	
07130 Oil Field Worker				31
<u>072 METAL PROCESSERS</u>		38		
<u>0721 Metal Smelting, Converting and Refining Furnacemen</u>			45	
07210 Steel Mill Worker				45
<u>0722 Metal Rolling-Mill Workers</u>			36	
07220 Rolling Mill Operator				36
<u>0723 Metal Melters and Reheaters<sup>15</sup></u>			38	
<u>0724 Metal Casters</u>			33	
07240 Metal Caster				33
<u>0725 Metal Moulders and Coremakers<sup>15</sup></u>			38	
<u>0726 Metal Annealers, Temperers and Case-Hardeners<sup>15</sup></u>			38	
<u>0727 Metal Drawers and Extruders<sup>15</sup></u>			38	
<u>0728 Metal Platers and Coaters</u>			28	
07280 Galvanizer <sup>16</sup>				28
<u>0729 Metal Processers n.e.c.<sup>15</sup></u>			38	
<u>073 WOOD PREPARATION WORKERS AND PAPER MAKERS</u>		29		
<u>0731 Wood Treaters<sup>17</sup></u>			29	



Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0732 Sawyers, Plywood Makers and Related Wood-Processing Workers</u>			30	
07320 Sawyer in Saw Mill				30
07321 Lumber Grader				31
<u>0733 Paper Pulp Preparers<sup>18</sup></u>			28	
<u>0734 Paper Makers</u>			28	
07340 Paper Maker				28
074 CHEMICAL PROCESSERS AND RELATED WORKERS	40			
<u>0741 Crushers, Grinders and Mixers<sup>19</sup></u>			43	
<u>0742 Cookers, Roasters and Related Heat-Treaters<sup>19</sup></u>			43	
<u>0743 Filter and Separator Operators<sup>19</sup></u>			43	
<u>0744 Still and Reactor Operators<sup>19</sup></u>			43	
<u>0745 Petroleum-Refining Workers</u>			37	
07450 Petroleum Worker				37
<u>0749 Chemical Processers and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			30	
07490 Chemical Worker				43
07491 Charcoal Burner				16
075 SPINNERS, WEAVERS, KNITTERS, DYERS AND RELATED WORKERS		29		
<u>0751 Fiber Preparers<sup>15</sup></u>			29	
<u>0752 Spinners and Winders</u>			34	
07520 Spinner				34
<u>0753 Weaving- and Knitting-Machine Setters and Pattern-Card Preparers</u>			30	
07530 Machine Loom Fixer, Operator				30
<u>0754 Weavers and Related Workers</u>			32	
07540 Weaver				30
07541 Cloth Grader				33
<u>0755 Knitters</u>			29	
07550 Knitting Machine Operator				29
<u>0756 Bleachers, Dyers and Textile Product Finishers</u>			25	
07560 Cloth Dyer				25
<u>0759 Spinners, Weavers, Knitters, Dyers and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			26	
07590 Textile Mill Worker				26
076 TANNERS, FELLMONGERS AND PELT DRESSERS		22		
<u>0761 Tanners and Fellmongers<sup>20</sup></u>			22	
<u>0762 Pelt Dressers<sup>20</sup></u>			22	

Occupation	Prestige Score			
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	Occupation
<b>077 FOOD AND BEVERAGE PROCESSERS</b>		<b>34</b>		
<u>0771 Grain Millers and Related Workers</u>			33	
07710 Grain Miller				33
07711 Grain Mill Owner-Operator <sup>1</sup>				42
<u>0772 Sugar Processers and Refiners</u>			45	
07720 Sugar Boiler				45
<u>0773 Butchers and Meat Preparers</u>			24	
07730 Butcher				31
07731 Packing House Butcher				18
07732 Master Butcher <sup>3</sup>				45
<u>0774 Food Preservers</u>			35	
07740 Cannery Worker				35
<u>0775 Dairy Product Processers<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
<u>0776 Bakers, Pastrycooks and Confectionery Makers</u>			33	
07760 Baker				33
07761 Master Baker <sup>3</sup>				48
<u>0777 Tea, Coffee and Cocoa Preparers<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
<u>0778 Brewers, Wine and Beverage Makers<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
07780 Moonshiner <sup>1</sup>				6
<u>0779 Food and Beverage Processers n.e.c.</u>			34	
07790 Fish Butcher				34
<b>078 TOBACCO PREPARERS AND TOBACCO PRODUCT MAKERS</b>		<b>34</b>		
<u>0781 Tobacco Preparers<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
<u>0782 Cigar Makers</u>			28	
07820 Cigar Maker				28
<u>0783 Cigarette Makers<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
<u>0789 Tobacco Preparers and Tobacco Product Makers n.e.c.</u>			39	
07890 Tobacco Factory Worker				39
<b>079 TAILORS, DRESSMAKERS, SEWERS, UPHOLSTERERS AND RELATED WORKERS</b>		<b>34</b>		
<u>0791 Tailors and Dressmakers</u>			40	
07910 Tailor				40
07911 Custom Seamstress				39
<u>0792 Fur Tailors and Related Workers</u>			35	
07920 Fur Coat Tailor				35
<u>0793 Milliners and Hatmakers</u>			32	
07930 Milliner				32

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0794 Patternmakers and Cutters</u>			41	
07940 Garment Cutter				41
<u>0795 Sewers and Embroiderers</u>			26	
07950 Sewing Machine Operator				26
<u>0796 Upholsterers and Related Workers</u>			31	
07960 Upholsterer				31
<u>0799 Tailors, Dressmakers, Sewers, Upholsterers and Related Workers n.e.c.<sup>15</sup></u>			34	
080 SHOEMAKERS AND LEATHER GOODS MAKERS	26			
<u>0801 Shoemakers and Shoe Repairers</u>			28	
08010 Shoemaker, Repairer				28
<u>0802 Shoe Cutters, Lasters, Sewers and Related Workers<sup>21</sup></u>			28	
<u>0803 Leather Goods Makers</u>			22	
08030 Leather Worker				22
081 CABINETMAKERS AND RELATED WOODWORKERS	36			
<u>0811 Cabinetmakers</u>			40	
08110 Cabinetmaker				40
<u>0812 Woodworking-Machine Operators<sup>15</sup></u>			36	
<u>0819 Cabinetmakers and Related Woodworkers n.e.c.</u>			31	
08190 Cooper				28
08191 Wood Vehicle Builder				34
082 STONE CUTTERS AND CARVERS		38		
<u>0820 Stone Cutters and Carvers</u>			38	
08200 Tombstone Carver				38
083 BLACKSMITHS, TOOLMAKERS AND MACHINE-TOOL OPERATORS		36		
<u>0831 Blacksmiths, Hammersmiths and Forging-Press Operators</u>			35	
08310 Blacksmith				34
08311 Forging-Press Operator				36
<u>0832 Toolmakers, Metal Patternmakers and Metal Markers</u>			40	
08320 Tool and Die Maker				40
08321 Metal Patternmaker				39
<u>0833 Machine-Tool Setter-Operators</u>			38	
08330 Machine Set-Up Man				40
08331 Turner				37
<u>0834 Machine-Tool Operators</u>			38	
08340 Machine Operator in Factory				38

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0835 Metal Grinders, Polishers and Tool Sharpeners</u>			27	
08350 Saw Sharpener				19
08351 Polishing Machine Operator				35
<u>0839 Blacksmiths, Toolmakers and Machine-Tool Operators n.e.c.</u>			40	
08390 Locksmith				40
<b>084 MACHINERY FITTERS, MACHINE ASSEMBLERS AND PRECISION INSTRUMENT MAKERS (EXCEPT ELECTRICAL)</b>		43		
<u>0841 Machinery Fitters and Machine Assemblers</u>			42	
08410 Machinist or Fitter				43
08411 Aircraft Worker				42
08412 Millwright <sup>13</sup>				40
<u>0842 Watch, Clock and Precision Instrument Makers</u>			47	
08420 Watch Maker, Repairman				40
08421 Fine Fitter				42
08422 Dental Mechanic <sup>27</sup>				60
<u>0843 Motor Vehicle Mechanics</u>			44	
08430 Garage Mechanic				43
08431 Garage Operator <sup>3</sup>				47
<u>0844 Aircraft Engine Mechanics</u>			50	
08440 Airplane Mechanic				50
<u>0849 Machinery Fitters, Machine Assemblers and Precision Instrument Makers (Except Electrical) n.e.c.</u>			30	
08490 Mechanic, Repairman				43
08491 Bicycle Repairman				28
08492 Mechanic's Helper				31
08493 Assembly Line Worker				30
08494 Unskilled Garage Worker				18
<b>085 ELECTRICAL FITTERS AND RELATED ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONICS WORKERS</b>		41		
<u>0851 Electrical Fitters</u>			38	
08510 Electrical Fitter				38
<u>0852 Electronics Fitters<sup>22</sup></u>			48	
<u>0853 Electrical and Electronic Equipment Assemblers</u>			48	
08530 Electronic Assembler				48
<u>0854 Radio and Television Repairmen</u>			42	
08540 Radio, TV Repairman				42
<u>0855 Electrical Wiremen</u>			44	
08550 Electrician				44
08551 Master Electrician (Own Shop) <sup>3</sup>				48

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0856 Telephone and Telegraph Installers</u>			35	
08560 Telephone Installer				35
<u>0857 Electric Linemen and Cable Jointers</u>			36	
08570 Power Lineman				36
<u>0859 Electrical Fitters and Related Electrical and Electronics Workers n.e.c.<sup>15</sup></u>			40	
086 BROADCASTING STATION AND SOUND EQUIPMENT OPERATORS AND CINEMA PROJECTIONISTS		44		
<u>0861 Broadcasting Station Operators</u>			53	
08610 Broadcasting Station Operator				53
<u>0862 Sound Equipment Operators and Cinema Projectionists</u>			34	
08620 Motion Picture Projectionist				34
087 PLUMBERS, WELDERS, SHEET METAL AND STRUCTURAL METAL PREPARERS AND ERECTORS		38		
<u>0871 Plumbers and Pipe Fitters</u>			34	
08710 Plumber				34
08711 Master Plumber (Own Business) <sup>3</sup>				45
<u>0872 Welders and Flame-Cutters</u>			39	
08720 Welder				39
<u>0873 Sheet-Metal Workers</u>			34	
08730 Sheet-Metal Worker				36
08731 Copper, Tin Smith				32
08732 Boilermaker				31
08733 Vehicle Body Builder				36
<u>0874 Structural Metal Preparers and Erectors</u>			44	
08740 Structural Steel Worker				44
088 JEWELRY AND PRECIOUS METAL WORKERS		43		
<u>0880 Jewelry and Precious Metal Workers</u>			43	
08800 Jeweler, Goldsmith				43
08801 Master Jeweler, Goldsmith <sup>3</sup>				57
089 GLASS FORMERS, POTTERS AND RELATED WORKERS		31		
<u>0891 Glass Formers, Cutters, Grinders and Finishers</u>			37	
08910 Lens Grinder				41
08911 Glass Blower				33
<u>0892 Potters and Related Clay and Abrasive Formers</u>			25	
08920 Potter				25
<u>0893 Glass and Ceramics Kilnmen<sup>15</sup></u>			31	
<u>0894 Glass Engravers and Etchers<sup>15</sup></u>			31	

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0895 Glass and Ceramics Painters and Decorators<sup>15</sup></u>			31	
<u>0899 Glass Formers, Potters and Related Workers n.e.c.<sup>15</sup></u>			31	
090 RUBBER AND PLASTICS PRODUCT MAKERS		30		
<u>0901 Rubber and Plastics Product Makers (Except Tire Makers and Tire Vulcanizers)<sup>23</sup></u>			30	
<u>0902 Tire Makers and Vulcanizers<sup>23</sup></u>			30	
091 PAPER AND PAPERBOARD PRODUCTS MAKERS		28		
<u>0910 Paper and Paperboard Products Makers<sup>18</sup></u>			28	
092 PRINTERS AND RELATED WORKERS		41		
<u>0921 Compositors and Typesetters</u>			42	
09210 Printer				42
09211 Master Printer <sup>3</sup>				51
<u>0922 Printing Pressmen</u>			41	
09220 Printing Pressman				41
<u>0923 Stereotypers and Electrotypers<sup>15</sup></u>			41	
<u>0924 Printing Engravers (Except Photoengravers)</u>			41	
09240 Metal Engraver				41
<u>0925 Photoengravers</u>			46	
09250 Photoengraver				46
<u>0926 Bookbinders and Related Workers</u>			32	
09260 Bookbinder				32
<u>0927 Photographic Darkroom Workers</u>			36	
09270 Photograph Developer				36
<u>0929 Printers and Related Workers n.e.c.</u>			52	
09290 Graphics Printer				52
093 PAINTERS		30		
<u>0931 Painters, Construction</u>			31	
09310 Building Painter				31
09311 Master Building Painter <sup>3</sup>				39
<u>0939 Painters n.e.c.</u>			29	
09390 Automobile Painter				29
094 PRODUCTION AND RELATED WORKERS n.e.c.		31		
<u>0941 Musical Instrument Makers and Tuners</u>			33	
09410 Piano Tuner				33
<u>0942 Basketry Weavers and Brush Makers</u>			21	
09420 Basketweaver				21
<u>0943 Non-Metallic Mineral Product Makers<sup>23</sup></u>			30	

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<u>0949 Other Production and Related Workers</u>			41	
09490 Quality Checker				39
09491 Ivory Carver				33
09492 Taxidermist				50
09493 Calabash Maker <sup>13</sup>				23
<b>095 BRICKLAYERS, CARPENTERS AND OTHER CONSTRUCTION WORKERS</b>		31		
<u>0951 Bricklayers, Stonemasons and Tile Setters</u>			34	
09510 Mason				34
<u>0952 Reinforced-Concreters, Cement Finishers and Terrazzo Workers</u>			34	
09520 Cement Finisher				34
<u>0953 Roofers</u>			31	
09530 Roofer				31
<u>0954 Carpenters, Joiners and Parquetry Workers</u>			37	
09540 Carpenter				37
09541 Master Carpenter <sup>3</sup>				48
09542 Carpenter's Helper <sup>28</sup>				23
<u>0955 Plasterers</u>			31	
09550 Plasterer				31
09551 Master Plasterer <sup>3</sup>				39
<u>0956 Insulators</u>			28	
09560 Insulation Installer				28
<u>0957 Glaziers</u>			26	
09570 Glazier				26
<u>0959 Construction Workers n.e.c.</u>			28	
09590 Paperhanger				24
09591 Master Paperhanger <sup>3</sup>				38
09592 Maintenance Man				28
09593 Skilled Construction Worker				46
09594 Construction Laborer n.e.c.				26
09595 Unskilled Construction Laborer				15
09596 House Builder <sup>13</sup>				36
<b>096 STATIONARY ENGINE AND RELATED EQUIPMENT OPERATORS</b>		38		
<u>0961 Power-Generating Machinery Operators</u>			42	
09610 Power Station Operator				42
<u>0969 Stationary Engine and Related Equipment Operators n.e.c.</u>			34	
09690 Stationary Engineer				34

Occupation	Prestige Score			Occupation
	Major group	Minor group	Unit group	
<b>097 MATERIAL-HANDLING AND RELATED EQUIPMENT OPERATORS, DOCKERS AND FREIGHT HANDLERS<sup>26</sup></b>		22		
<u>0971 Dockers and Freight Handlers</u>			20	
09710 Longshoreman				21
09711 Warehouse Hand				20
09712 Porter				17
09713 Railway, Airport Porter				18
09714 Packer				22
<u>0972 Riggers and Cable Splicers<sup>24</sup></u>			32	
<u>0973 Crane and Hoist Operators</u>			32	
09730 Power Crane Operator				39
09731 Drawbridge Tender <sup>27</sup>				25
<u>0974 Earth-Moving and Related Machinery Operators</u>			32	
09740 Road Machinery Operator				32
<u>0979 Material-Handling Equipment Operators n.e.c.<sup>15</sup></u>			28	
<b>098 TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT OPERATORS</b>		28		
<u>0981 Ships' Deck Ratings, Barge Crews and Boatmen</u>			29	
09810 Seaman				35
09811 Boatman				23
<u>0982 Ships' Engine-Room Ratings</u>			25	
09820 Ship's Engine-Room Hand				25
<u>0983 Railway Engine Drivers and Firemen</u>			34	
09830 Locomotive Engineer				43
09831 Locomotive Fireman				33
09832 Ore Train Motorman in Mine				27
<u>0984 Railway Brakemen, Signalmen and Shunters</u>			29	
09840 Railway Switchman, Brakeman				29
<u>0985 Motor Vehicle Drivers</u>			31	
09850 Taxi Driver				28
09851 Bus, Tram Driver				32
09852 Driver, Truck Driver				33
09853 Small Transport Operator				39
09854 Truck Driver's Helper				15
09855 Driving Teacher				41
<u>0986 Animal and Animal-Drawn Vehicle Drivers</u>			22	
09860 Animal Driver				18
09861 Wagoneer				26
<u>0989 Transport Equipment Operators n.e.c.</u>			24	
09890 Pedal-Vehicle Driver				17
09891 Railway Crossing Guard				30



<u>099 MANUAL WORKERS n.e.c.</u>	32		
<u>0995 Skilled Workers n.e.c.</u>		46	
09950 Skilled Worker			42
09951 Independent Artisan			50
<u>0997 Semi-Skilled Workers n.e.c.</u>		33	
09970 Factory Worker			29
09971 Apprentice			37
<u>0999 Laborers n.e.c.</u>		18	
09990 Laborer			19
09991 Unskilled Factory Laborer			18
09992 Contract Laborer			8
09993 Itinerant Worker			20
09994 Railway Track Worker			33
09995 Street Sweeper			13
09996 Garbage Collector			13
09997 Road Construction Laborer			20
<u>10 MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES</u>	42		
<u>100 MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES</u>		42	
<u>1000 Members of the Armed Forces</u>		42	
10000 High Armed Forces Officer <sup>1</sup>			73
10001 Armed Forces Officer <sup>3</sup>			63
10002 Non-Commissioned Officer			44
10003 Soldier			39
<u>11 NEW WORKERS SEEKING EMPLOYMENT<sup>25</sup></u>	32		
<u>110 NEW WORKERS SEEKING EMPLOYMENT<sup>25</sup></u>		32	
<u>1100 New Workers Seeking Employment</u>		32	
11000 New Worker Seeking Employment			32
<u>12 UNCLASSIFIABLE OCCUPATIONS</u>	40		
<u>120 UNCLASSIFIABLE OCCUPATIONS</u>		40	
<u>1200 Unclassifiable Occupations</u>		40	
12000 Unclassifiable Occupation			40
<u>13 NOT IN LABOR FORCE</u>	41		
<u>130 NOT IN LABOR FORCE</u>		41	
<u>1300 Not in Labor Force</u>		41	
13000 Lives Off Stock-Bond Income			55
13001 Lives Off Income from Property			57
13002 Lives Off Inheritance Income			48
13003 Agricultural Land Owner			65
13004 Lives Off Social Security			30
13005 Lives From Public Assistance			16
13006 Beggar			15

## APPENDIX B Occupational Prestige Scale for Turkey

ISCD Number	Occupational Title	Prestige Score	Score Minus Std Score
<b>Professional, Technical and Related Workers</b>			
00130	Fen Adami/Scientist	75.0	-3.4
00220	Muhendis/Engineer	78.3	8.0
00610	Doktor/Physician	81.6	3.7
00630	Disci/Dentist	66.9	-3.6
00650	Veteriner/Veterinarian	59.9	-1.4
00670	Eczaci/Pharmacist	69.6	5.5
01100	Munhasip/Accountant	51.3	-3.3
01210	Avukat/Lawyer	76.4	5.8
01220	Hakim/Judge	78.0	0.3
01310	Universite Profesoru/University Professor	80.6	3.0
01320	Lise Ogretmen/High School Teacher	70.3	6.1
01330	Koy Ogretmeni/Village School Teacher	59.6	2.6
01410	Imam/Leader of Moslem Congregation	47.1	-12.5
01412	Hafiz/Religious Reciter	45.7	0.0
01490	Hoca/Religious Teacher	50.0	-6.2
01510	Muharrir/Professional Writer	67.6	5.9
01590	Gazeteci/Journalist	58.5	3.5
01610	Ressam/Painter	57.1	-0.1
01710	Konser Piyanist/Concert pianist	57.1	1.0
01730	Teatro Artisti/Dramatic Actor	46.3	-5.2
<b>Administrative and Managerial Workers</b>			
02011	Vali/Chief Provincial Administrator	79.7	-2.2
02012	Kaymakam/Chief County Administrator	70.7	4.9
02015	Koy Muhtari/Village Headman	44.6	2.7
02022	Mebus/Member of Parliament	80.3	8.2
02030	Vekil/Cabinet Minister	79.3	0.6
02111	Fabrikator/Manufacturer	71.8	1.4
02114	Banka Muduru/Bank Director	70.2	3.2
02195	Politikaci/Politician	61.2	-1.5
<b>Clerical and Related Workers</b>			
03101	Memur/Civil Servant	54.7	1.1
03102	Mufettis/Official Inspector	69.1	8.0
03211	Sekreter/Secretary	55.1	2.2

## Sales Workers

04100	Bakkal/Grover (43.8)	31.4	-11.0
	Kucuk Dukkanci/Shop Keeper (34.5)		
	Eskurbaci/Used Clothing Dealer (15.9)		
04101	Buyuk Dukkanci/Retailer, Large Store	52.3	-6.2
04521	Sokak Saticisi/Street Vendor	18.9	-3.1

## Service Workers

05101	Keeapci/Small Short-Order Restaurant Proprieter	26.5	-8.4
05104	Meyhaneci/Tavern Keeper	15.2	-17.6
05320	Garson/Waiter	22.0	-1.3
05400	Hizmetci/Servant	12.0	-5.2
05510	Kapici/Janitor	14.0	-7.1
05700	Berber/Barber	36.2	5.8

## Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters

06112	Koylu Ciftci/Village Farmer, Peasant	43.4	5.8
06240	Coban/Shepherd	16.5	-9.1
06270	Bahcevan/Gardener	29.1	7.7
06410	Balikci/Fisherman	28.1	0.5

## Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers

07730	Kasap/Butcher	32.0	0.7
07910	Terzi/Tailor	44.4	4.9
08010	Kunduraci/Shoemaker	36.8	8.7
08420	Saatci/Watch Repairer and Maker	43.6	3.8
08430	Otomobil Tamircisi/Auto Mechanic	41.8	-1.1
08731	Bakirci/Coppersmith	30.7	-1.4
09310	Bina Boyacisi/House Painter	29.7	-1.4
09540	Marangoz/Carpenter	40.4	3.2
09712	Hammal/Porter	11.1	-5.7
09810	Gemici/Seaman	42.5	7.8
09852	Sofor/Driver	33.4	0.8
09860	Deveci/Camel Driver	15.0	-3.1

## Members of the Armed Forces

10000	Albay/Colonel	79.6	6.6
10001	Tegmen/Lieutenant	66.3	3.0
10003	Er/Soldier, Private	50.6	11.8

## Sources of Livelihood other than Labour Force Activity

13003	Ciftlik Sahibi/Agricultural Landlord	58.8	-6.3
13006	Dilenci/Beggar	9.6	-5.0

## 5 Impacts of Household Characteristics and Dynamics on Past Residential Mobility

---

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed previously, the conventional argument in the literature on residential mobility is that it is an adjustment mechanism enabling households to meet the changing needs arising from their household dynamics. Therefore it is expected that the households' own dynamics - particularly life-cycle changes, upward social mobility, and increases in their income level - are the primary factors that lead households to be mobile.

However our analyses of the particular conditions of the context within which residential mobility occurs in Turkey here raised doubts about the relevance of the conventional argument in explaining residential mobility in the unauthorised as well as the authorised parts of the stock.

We will begin our analyses of residential mobility in the particular case of Ankara by examining whether household dynamics - which are supposed to generate changes in housing needs - lead households to move and whether there are any socio-economic or demographic household characteristics independent of household dynamics which have an impact on residential mobility. Besides the impacts of dynamics, examining the impacts of existing characteristics will give us a broader understanding of residential mobility. The analyses in this chapter will provide us with a preliminary perspective on the extent to which mobility is an adjustment mechanism.

Analyses are carried out not only for the four area types, but for the whole sample as well, which is designed to be representative of the total population. Also tenure groups - tenants and owner-occupiers - are examined separately as well as together in the analyses.

The reason for undertaking separate analyses for the tenure groups is that the housing consumption of tenants and owner-occupiers is affected by different supply conditions. Moreover belonging to a specific tenure status is assumed to have different psychological impacts on a household's residential mobility decisions - e.g. owner-occupiers might be more attached to the area and/or unit, or may be more satisfied with their unit than tenants. As such the impacts of these two groups' own characteristics and dynamics on their (im)mobility decisions will be different.

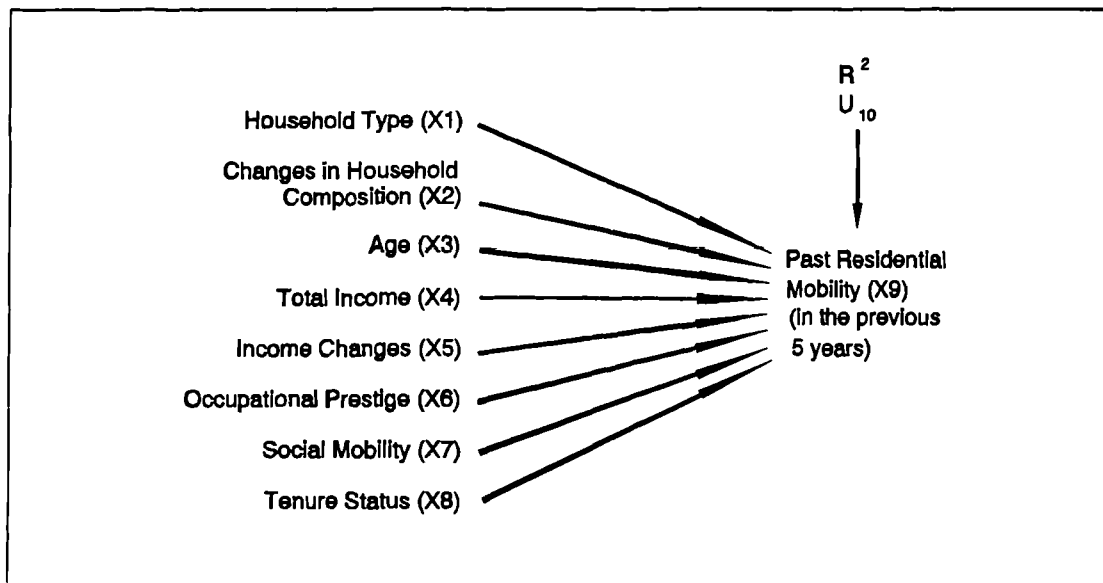
This chapter is divided into three main sections. First the methodology used and the measurement of household characteristics and dynamics will be described. The analyses will then be presented in two further sections. The first of these will comprise analyses of all the tenure groups together (tenants, owner-occupiers, and those who transferred between tenure status during the previous 5 years) and then the tenants (those who have remained tenants during that period - the "TT" group) will be considered separately. In the last section of the chapter, since a different statistical evaluation technique had to be used for households who have been owner-occupiers for at least the last 5 years - the "OO" Group -they will be considered separately.

## 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF METHODOLOGY AND THE MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

For these analyses a causal model is used. The causal model is a set of structural equations representing the postulated causal and non-causal relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Such analysis does not purport to be a method for discovering causes but only enables a postulated model to be put to the test. Here the impact of household characteristics and the changes in those characteristics (defined as household dynamics) on past residential mobility are put to the test. There may be several ways of postulating the relations between these variables. In our model the relationships are presented in the simplest way: residential mobility is taken as the dependent variable; and the total monthly income of the household, the head of household's occupational prestige, changes in income level and in social mobility (changes in the occupational prestige of the head of

household), household type, changes in the composition of the household, and the age of the household head are taken as the independent (exogeneous) variables.

FIGURE 5.1 Path model of Past Residential Mobility



The variables included in the model were measured as follows.

Household Type In the literature on residential mobility several researchers have identified a number of life-cycle phases: pre-marriage, married without children, married with children, child bearing, child rearing, post child, etc. However as indicated by some researchers it is difficult to measure these stages (see Pickvance, 1974). The first problem is that not all households pass through the complete cycle. The second difficulty is in defining at what point a family moves from child bearing to child rearing stage. Furthermore due to the particular cultural and economic conditions of Turkey a significant minority of households, particularly in low income and gecekondu areas, have extended families embracing up to three generations (i.e. the couple, their children and sons or daughters in law, together with their grandchildren - or alternatively the couple with or without children but with their parents). It is almost impossible to determine the life-cycle stage of these households. Therefore in this research, instead of life-cycle stages "household types" are defined. To start with households were classified into the following categories: (i) single, divorced, widowed; (ii) couples without children; (iii) couples post child; (iv) couples with children; (v) extended families: (a) couples living with their parents (with or without children); (b) couples living with a son and/or daughter in law (with or without grandchildren); (vi) single parents with children.

However, several of these categories are expected to be similar in terms of the priorities and constraints that affect their (im)mobility decisions. Regression of the above categories with residential mobility (or propensity to move) would therefore not achieve very meaningful results and any relevant interpretation of the outcome would be almost impossible. Therefore two main criteria were used to reclassify the above categories. Both the household size and whether it comprises children or not are expected to have important impacts on one's housing choices and priorities for adjusting housing needs - when all the other variables are kept constant. Therefore two main categories were used for the household types in our statistical analyses: (A) Small households without children - categories i, ii and iii were classified in this group; and (B) Large households, generally with children - categories iv, v and vi were classified in this group. Category vi (which may comprise only a few households) was also included in group B. Even if the size of these households is small (e.g. 2) having a child or children is expected to lead to similar constraints and priorities to the other categories in this group, rather than to those in group A<sup>1</sup>.

Changes in Family Size and Formation Respondents were asked whether they had experienced any change in the size and composition of their households within the previous 5 years. Any changes in household size and formation were taken into consideration irrespective of whether such changes entail a change in the category that the household is currently classified under. For example the birth of a second or third child may change the need of a household for space and/or for some other qualifications of the unit or environment and hence may lead them to move, though the category of this household as a "couple with children" would not alter<sup>2</sup>.

Age The age of the household head (male) was taken into consideration<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cases recorded under the "other" category are classified into one of these groups according to their size and whether they have children or not.

<sup>2</sup>By defining household type in this way we avoided the statistical association between household type, age, and changes in household composition, which can occur when age is made part of the definition of life cycle stage or household type.

<sup>3</sup>In cases of extended families the interviews were made with the main breadwinner of the family, hence the age and occupational prestige of that person were taken into consideration. In cases of single women, their ages are considered as the household head's age.



Income The total monthly income of the household for 1988 was considered. This includes the men's monthly income and income from secondary jobs, women's income, and income from other sources.

Changes in Income The difference between the 1988 and 1983 income levels as a percentage of the 1983 income level was taken to represent changes in income. The income for 1983 was multiplied by the general price index for the 5 years between 1983 and 1988 to eliminate the impact of inflation and to measure the "real" changes in incomes.

Occupational Prestige According to their work position each household head was given a prestige score from a scale ranging between 10 and 100 (see Appendix in Chapter 4). As explained in Chapter 4 since most of the women do not work professionally but are housewives, only the occupational prestige of the men is considered. In the case of single women, if they are working their occupational prestige is taken into consideration, but if the single woman is a housewife and receiving a widow's pension, family help, or other income, these cases are not included in the sample.

Social Mobility (Occupational Prestige Change) The difference between occupational prestige in 1983 and 1988 as a percentage of the 1983 prestige score was taken as the measure of social mobility.

Tenure Status All housing in Turkey is either rented from private landlords or occupied by households who own the unit. Hence two categories of tenure were used in the analysis; tenants and owner-occupiers<sup>4</sup>.

Residential Mobility The number of moves made by the households since 1983 was taken as the measure of residential mobility.

Apart from the dichotomous variables all the other variables in the past residential mobility model were used in continuous form - i.e. without recoding or the creation of intervals.

---

<sup>4</sup>A few exceptional cases were eliminated from the sample.

### 5.3 ANALYSES OF THE IMPACT OF HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AND DYNAMICS ON THE RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF (A) ALL HOUSEHOLDS AND (B) TENANTS ONLY

In this section firstly we consider the tenure groups together - tenants and owner occupiers, including those who transferred between tenure status within the previous 5 years - and then the "TT" group - those who have remained tenants for the previous 5 years - separately. Analyses are carried out for each area type as well as for the whole sample<sup>5</sup>.

In this section a version of the regression technique path analysis is used. Before describing the evaluation of the coefficients let us briefly explain this technique.

#### 5.3.1 Description of path analysis

Direct causal relationships between the independent variables and dependent variable are represented by path coefficients ( $P_{ij}$ ). Mathematically the size of path coefficients represents the change in  $X_j$  which would be produced by a standardised unit change in  $X_i$ . Correlation coefficients ( $r_{ij}$ ) on the other hand represent the total causal and non-causal relationships between each pair of variables in the model. The basic theorem of path analysis can be written in the general form:  $r_{ij} = \sum_q P_{iq} r_{jq}$  (Blalock, 1964) where  $i$  and  $j$  denote two variables in the system and the index "q" runs across all the variables from which paths lead directly to  $X_i$ . The indirect non-causal relationship between  $i$  and  $j$  is equal to the difference between  $r_{ij}$  and  $P_{ij}$ . Here however we will concentrate on direct causal relationships ( $P_{ij}$ ). Because of the structure of our model - there are no intermediary variables - all the indirect relationships consist only of the correlations between the independent variables which are defined as "spurious".

Besides the size of the coefficient, in order to determine the causal impacts its statistical significance level has to be taken into consideration as well. In this study an 80%

---

<sup>5</sup>Due to the limited sample size of the "TT" group in Area Type 1 - there were only 4 cases - regression analyses could not be carried out for this group separately.

significance level was established as the threshold for considering the coefficient in the interpretations. But in cases where the sample size is small ( $n < 30$ ) the criterion of statistical significance may not be met by the coefficients. Instead we have adopted a relatively arbitrary criterion whereby coefficients which lie outside the range  $\pm 0.15$  are also considered.

Ideally the variation of the dependent variable is wholly determined by the other variables in the model. However in almost all cases complete determination is impossible. Therefore a residual variable, uncorrelated with other determining variables, has been introduced. The residual path is a measure of the extent to which the variation in the dependent variable is explained by variables not included in the model. The closer the residual path is to 1.00, the less adequately the model explains the variation within the dependent variable.

For convenience the meaning of the positive path coefficients discussed in this chapter in the model of residential mobility are given below:

- P9,1 = Small households without children are more likely to move than households which are large in size and/or include children.
- P9,2 = Households who experienced no change in their composition are more likely to move than those who did.
- P9,3 = Older households are more likely to move than younger households.
- P9,4 = Higher income households are more likely to move than lower income households.
- P9,5 = Households with increasing incomes are more likely to move than those with decreasing incomes.
- P9,6 = Households with higher social (occupational) prestige are more likely to move than those with lower social (occupational) prestige.
- P9,7 = Upwardly mobile households are more likely to move than downwardly mobile households.
- P9,8 = Tenants are more likely to move than owner-occupiers.

In this chapter and the following chapters our aim in the regression analyses is to examine the impacts of all the variables postulated in the model together, rather than to arrive at a

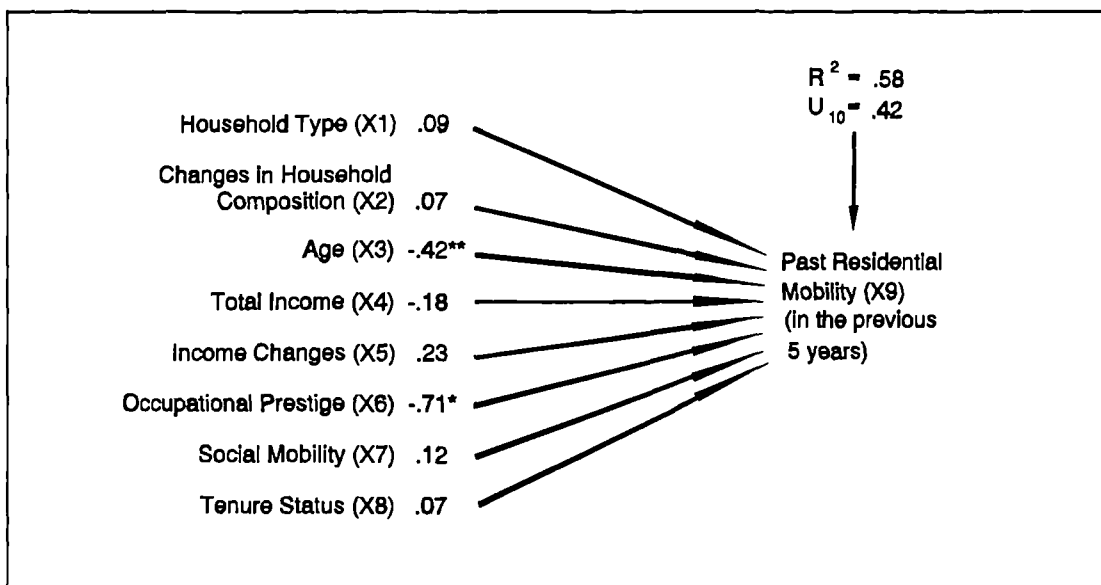
perfect model by selecting only the statistically significant ones and leaving the others outside the equation. In the former method the postulated variables are entered all at once. However for some groups where the sample size is small the regression analyses may not be able to achieve results when the postulated variables are entered all at once. In such cases the latter method - "F-step" (forward stepwise) - was used where each variable is entered into the regression at separate stages and according to its statistical level, either remains in the equation or is deleted from it. The statistical threshold level for being entered into the equation is called "pin" and the level for remaining in the equation is called "pout". The general (default) significance level is 95% for pin and 90% for pout, but in order to keep as many variables as possible in the equation the criteria for our analyses in this study are set at 90% for pin and 80% for pout.

### 5.3.2 Evaluation of the results of model - path coefficients

Here we present the results of this model for each of the four area types in Ankara.

#### Area type 1 (high income areas)

FIGURE 5.2 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for All the Households in High Income Areas (Type 1)



\* Coefficients Significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients Significant at the 80% level

Occupational prestige has a very strong causal impact on the residential mobility of households;  $P_{9,6} = -.71$ . The negative coefficient indicates that households with higher occupational prestige are less likely to have been mobile in the previous 5 years. A unit increase in occupational prestige leads to a decrease in residential mobility by .71. Why are households with higher occupational prestige more likely to be immobile? Is it the case that their housing needs have already been satisfied? On the other hand what leads the lower prestige groups to be more mobile?

Almost all the households at the top of the prestige hierarchy have been owner-occupiers in the area for more than 5 years - many of them became owner-occupiers in the 1970s. They have all been immobile for the previous 5 years or longer. The higher occupational prestige range in this area type (around 80) includes top level bureaucrats and university professors. With the exception of one case all the moves within the owner-occupied stock and moves from tenancy to owner-occupancy were made by households in the lower ranges of the occupational prestige scale of the area (between 60 and 50). Only one case - one move from tenancy to owner-occupancy - involved a household whose occupational prestige score was in the medium range (70).

Changes in housing market conditions in Turkey after 1980 and the consequent changes in production strategies and in the quality and style of houses - particularly in this area type - will need to be referred to in order to explain the strong negative causal relationship between residential mobility and occupational prestige.

As indicated in chapter 3, after 1980, in order to overcome the crises in the housing sector (in response to decreasing demand), constructors changed their production and marketing strategies. They started to channel their production into relatively higher quality units for comparatively higher income buyers. Particularly within the upper segment of the housing market very luxurious units started to be built. Constructors themselves indicated that they have been building extravagant units in terms of design and decoration in this area type. Furthermore, as was also discussed previously, regulations of payment have changed in the market. At least 50% of the total price has to be paid in advance and instalments must be paid in hard currencies. Alternatively instalments can be paid in Turkish liras at very high interest rates. For the finished units in particular more than half the total price has to be paid in advance.

It should be noted that in this area type we can basically define two different household categories in terms of their socio-economic characteristics: those with high occupational prestige and high education levels; and those who have relatively lower occupational prestige but sufficiently high income levels to enable them to live in this area type - some of whom

have higher income levels than those in the first group<sup>6</sup>. The high prestige households in the area may conceive of moving into those new units as conspicuous consumption and furthermore might think it unnecessary to take on high financial burdens for just more fashionable designs and stylish decorations. They probably consider their existing units sufficient for their housing needs - bearing in mind that these units are of a much higher standard than those in other areas of the city. By contrast the middle prestige groups may have greater ambition to own these stylish units. Several moves from area type 2 into area type 1 were also encountered in the survey. Owning a house in these districts has come to represent a certain degree of power and status for many people.

Besides this, some recent non-profit making housing projects on the outskirts of the city, organised by particular occupational groups (e.g. members of parliament, chamber of architects, university members) may also have contributed to the immobility of high prestige groups in recent years. Some of these households, if they were considering moving, might prefer to postpone their move until the completion of these projects - which are promising a selective social environment and a new suburban life.

In short: (i) changes in housing production and marketing strategies, and consequent changes in the style of houses in the prestige districts of the city; and (ii) new housing developments outside the city are assumed to be the main factors accounting for the negative causal relation between occupational prestige and residential mobility in area type 1.

Age is the second variable which has quite a strong impact on mobility;  $P_{9,3} = -.42$ . The negative coefficient shows that younger households are more likely to be mobile than older households. A unit increase in the age of the household head causes a decrease in mobility by .42. This causal impact can be simply explained by the assumption that younger people are generally more amenable to change. Dissatisfaction with their units and/or new opportunities in the market would probably be more likely to persuade them to change their unit and the environment, whilst for older households the prospect of searching for another

---

<sup>6</sup>As was established in Chapter 4 the income level and occupational prestige of the household heads in this area type were inversely correlated with each other.

unit and finding a convenient one may prove to be more daunting and hence less attractive as an alternative to remaining where they are.

Apart from the impacts of occupational prestige and age, the causal impacts of the other variables are not statistically significant at the 80% threshold level. However in view of the very small sample size ( $n = 20$ ), it is worth discussing other path coefficients which appeared to be quite strong, irrespective of their statistical significance levels. Interpretation of the impacts of these variables should give us a better understanding of the reasons for residential (im)mobility in this area type.

Income change has a positive relationship with residential mobility. Those with increasing incomes are more likely to be mobile than those with decreasing incomes. But the relationship is not strong at all;  $P_{9,5} = .23$ .

The total monthly income of the household has a negative impact but it is also weak;  $P_{9,4} = -.18$ . A unit increase in income level decreases residential mobility by .18. It appears that very high income households were more likely to be immobile during the previous 5 years. Their immobility is likely to be due to their already adjusted housing needs. Households with relatively lower income levels in this area type seem more likely to be mobile. Nevertheless, when the diagram of the correlation between income and mobility was examined it was seen that those at the middle levels of the income scale in the area were more mobile than those at very low levels of the income scale. High prices of units and high rates of interest for instalments have probably led a significant proportion of households with relatively low levels of income (or decreasing incomes) to remain immobile rather than commit themselves to heavy financial burdens. On the other hand it would appear that households in the middle income levels of the area were more likely to move to adjust their housing needs.

Although very weak, a positive causal relationship was found between upward social mobility and residential mobility. Those who experienced increases in their occupational prestige were more likely to move.



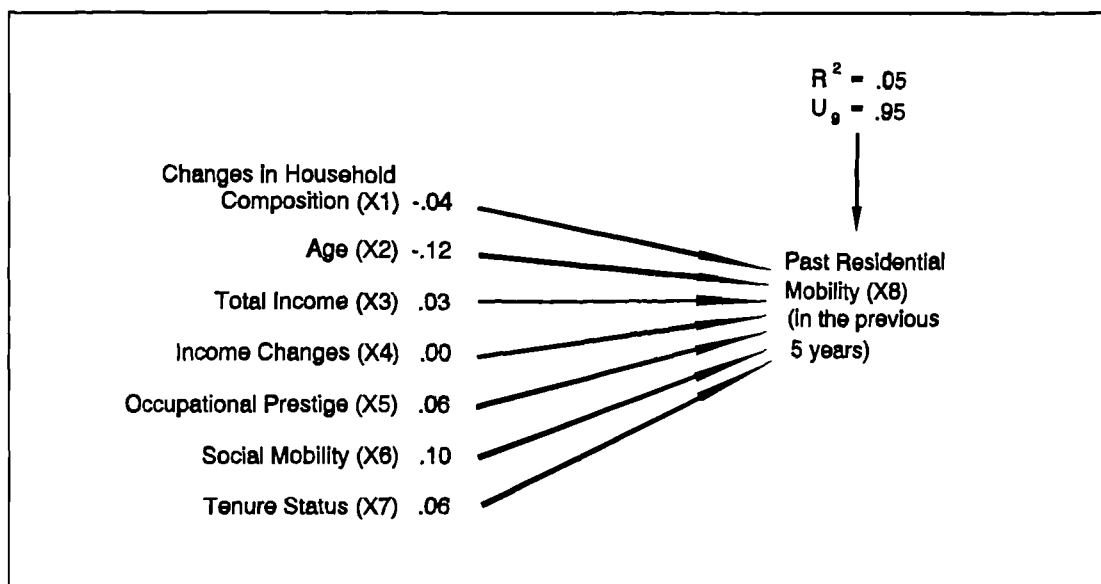
Figure 5.2 shows that household type and changes in household composition have no impact on residential mobility. Nevertheless in this high income area type - where almost all the households live in large flats and houses even if their household size does not require it - it is not surprising that changes in household composition and size do not have any particular impact on their residential mobility.

In conclusion, in area type 1 the household characteristics and dynamics postulated in the model explained a very significant proportion (58%) of the variation in residential mobility;  $R^2 = .58$  where the residual path is .42. Household occupational prestige and age are the main factors contributing to this quite high proportion of explained residential mobility. In other words occupational prestige and age appear to be prime determinants of the (im)mobility decisions of these households. In particular the impact of occupational prestige is assumed to be a reflection of the households' housing preferences. Although the housing consumption decisions of households with decreasing incomes and with relatively low incomes have been constrained to some extent - the impacts of income changes and income levels are trivial - it is argued that most of the (im)mobility decisions of households in these high income districts of the city resulted from their own needs and tastes.

We will now look at the extent to which the residential mobility of households living in middle income areas is influenced by their own conditions and dynamics.

## Area type 2 (middle income areas)

FIGURE 5.3 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for All the Households in Middle Income Areas<sup>7</sup> (Type 2)



\* None of the coefficients are statistically significant at the 80% level

As shown in Figure 5.3 none of the household characteristics and dynamics have more than a weak impact on the residential mobility of middle income area households. This shows a marked contrast to the model for type 1 areas.

The coefficients in Figure 5.3 suggest that the residential mobility of middle income area households is quite independent of their own conditions and dynamics. However in order to test this conclusion we will apply the model to the "TT" group (those who remained tenants during the last 5 years) who were found to be quite mobile, and owner-occupiers separately. (This was not possible for type 1 areas due to the small number of tenants.) This will reveal

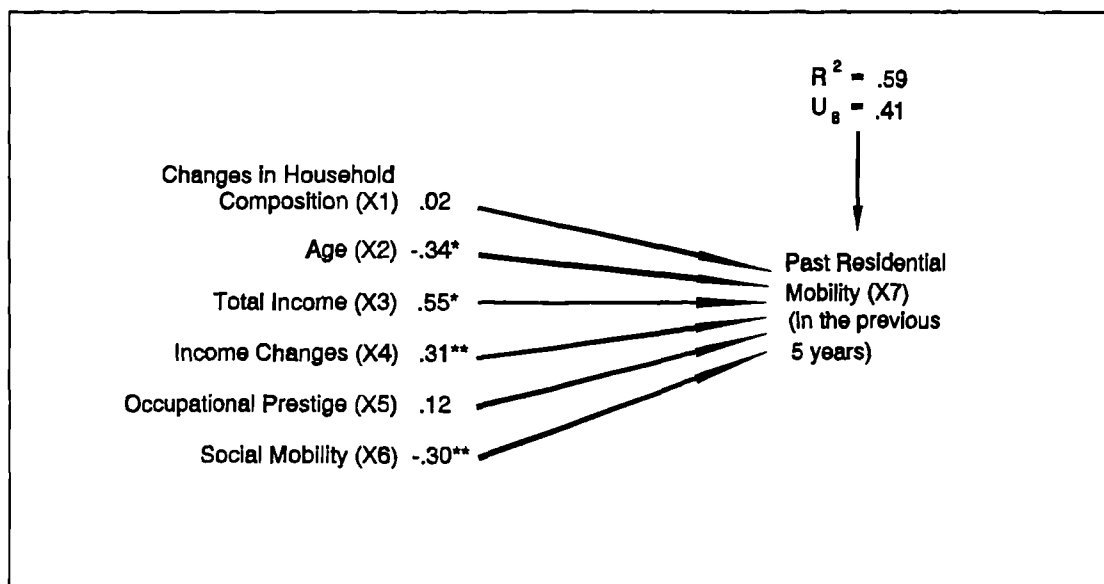
<sup>7</sup>As a rule for all dichotomous independent variables, when a category constitutes less than five cases and less than 10% of the sample it is cancelled from the sample. Due to its closeness to the constant such a variable may lead to distorted results. For type 2 areas the dichotomous independent variable "Household Type" is close to the constant. There were 3 observed cases of small households for the total sample of area type 2 and only one case of a small type household for tenants. Therefore these cases were cancelled from the samples and the variable "Household Type" was dropped from the equations when running the model for both the two tenure groups together and separately.

whether there are different patterns of impact on the residential mobility of these two groups that can provide us with a more detailed understanding of the motives behind the mobility of these households.

### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

Now let us to look at the results of the model for the "TT" group.

FIGURE 5.4 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in the Middle Income Areas (Type 2)



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

In contrast to the model for the whole sample in type 2 areas the value of  $R^2$  (.59) is much higher, indicating that the included variables have considerable explanatory power - around 60% of the variation of the residential mobility is explained by the model.

Income has the strongest impact on residential mobility;  $P_{7,3} = .55$ . This positive coefficient shows that among the "TT" group those with higher incomes were more likely to be mobile than those with lower incomes. This result would seem to suggest that since the higher income households can more easily afford to exercise their choice they have probably been

moving in order to satisfy (to adjust) their housing needs and preferences. Tenants with relatively lower incomes on the other hand, would obviously have limited opportunities to move into better units and adjust their housing preferences. Furthermore since they are supposed to be at the lower edge - around the threshold - of this segment of the housing market (and/or of this segment of the housing stock), they would also have less opportunity to move within this area type in order to reduce the increasing share of the rent and rebalance their budget.

The age of the household head is the second variable that influences the residential mobility of tenants;  $P7,2 = -.34$ . The negative coefficient indicates that younger households have been more mobile than older ones. As discussed earlier it would probably have been difficult for the older households to change their unit and/or environment. But in the case of younger households, dissatisfaction with the unit and/or with rents, plus some better opportunities in the market, are expected to be more persuasive in terms of providing an impetus to move into another unit.

Changes in household income is the third variable which has a causal impact on residential mobility;  $P7,4 = .31$ . Tenants with increasing incomes were more likely to be mobile than tenants with decreasing incomes. It can be argued that most of the moves induced through increases in the households' income probably reflect adjustment mechanisms for their housing needs and preferences.

Social mobility also has some causal impact on residential mobility;  $P7,6 = -.30$ . The negative causal relationship indicates that households whose occupational prestige increased were less likely to be mobile than those whose occupational prestige did not increase. This result is contrary to the adjustment argument where upward social mobility is assumed to be one of the main factors motivating households to move into better units. Nevertheless, in an environment where rents are increasing rapidly and advance payments and deposits are generally required by landlords it would be unrealistic to expect tenants to move solely because of increases in their social prestige, unless their financial position was sufficiently strong for them to be able to afford to move. Moreover some of these households might have specifically tried to avoid moving even if other factors - such as changes in work place, or

difficulties in affording the rent - had generated a need to move. Under the influence of the quite unfavourable conditions of the rental housing markets they might have avoided moving in order to prevent a possible decrease in their housing standards - which they would probably consider incompatible with their rising prestige. Whilst those whose social prestige did not increase may not be so sensitive to a decrease in housing standards. Hence they might have been more inclined to move for other reasons, such as difficulties in affording the rent, etc.

Occupational prestige is positively related with residential mobility, but the relationship is weak;  $P_{7,5} = .12$ . Changes in household composition which are supposed to be one of the main determinants of residential mobility according to the adjustment argument, do not have any causal impact on the residential mobility of middle income area tenants in Ankara. This is an important finding which we shall return to later.

The results showing the impact of the households' own conditions and dynamics on the residential mobility of middle income area tenants can be summarised as follows: (i) The income level of households and changes in income have considerable causal impacts on the residential mobility of tenants. These coefficients showed that tenants enjoying relatively better economic conditions, i.e. higher incomes and/or rising incomes, were more likely to be mobile; (ii) On the other hand higher occupational prestige and upward social mobility do not motivate the households to be more mobile. Occupational prestige has a negligible positive impact on residential mobility. Moreover those with rising occupational prestige were less likely to be mobile; (iii) Changes in household composition - which are usually considered to be a decisive factor - have no impact on residential mobility among tenants in middle income areas.

As has already been established, rental housing market conditions were unfavourable. The high rates of increases in rents probably imposed constraints on the housing consumption of tenants. Considering this together with the results of our model the following arguments are arrived at: (i) Given that tenants with higher incomes and/or with rising incomes are more likely to be mobile than those with low incomes and/or decreasing incomes, a considerable proportion of moves in the middle income type areas are expected to be adjustment moves. On the other hand household dynamics - i.e. changes in household composition and upward

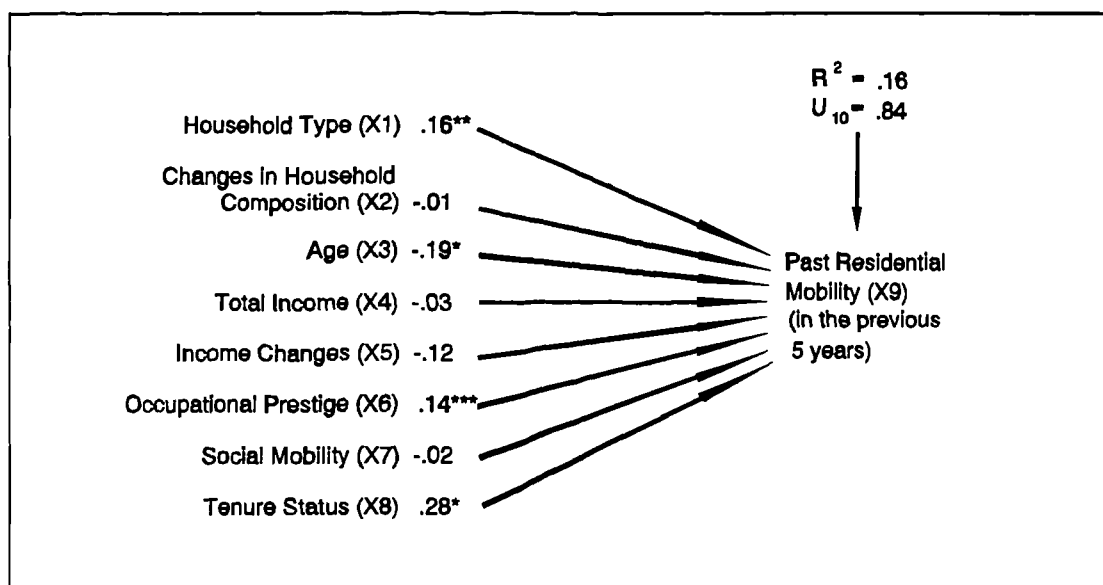
social mobility - which are supposed to be decisive factors, have no impact. On the contrary those who experienced downward social mobility were more likely to be mobile than those who were upwardly mobile. It can therefore be argued that the tenants' economic ability to offset the unfavourable supply conditions of the rental housing market is more likely to induce adjustment moves than their social and demographic characteristics and dynamics. In other words it would seem to be the case that under the influence of constraints formed by the particular conditions of housing supply, the households' social and demographic dynamics and the consequent changes in their housing needs do not induce adjustment moves unless their financial conditions are sufficient to cope with the unfavourable supply conditions of the rental stock. Many tenants, particularly those with low incomes and/or decreasing incomes, have probably been forced to be less mobile or immobile. (ii) On the other hand, given the unfavourable supply conditions the adjustment of housing needs and preferences may not be the only reason accounting for the greater mobility of higher income tenants. They may also have been more disposed to move due to extraordinary increases in rents and/or other inconvenient conditions in the renewal of their rent contracts. Through their advantageous financial position in the market they are expected to have more options which would enable them to secure a comparable unit with relative ease. Therefore they may be less hesitant to move out when faced with a problem of rent increases and/or other inconvenient conditions in the renewal of their rent contracts. Such moves may satisfy their housing needs at least as much as the previous unit, though they need not be regarded as an improvement. (Changes in housing standards and changes in the housing satisfaction levels of mobile tenants will be examined at a later stage of the study. These will shed light on the above point which will be returned to later).

Such kinds of move might even include moving away from the prestige districts (type 1 areas). The origins of the moves of these middle income area tenants showed that one household moved from area type 1 to area type 2. The income level of this household is thus relatively high compared to the average income in area type 2. In short, besides the adjustment of housing needs, in an environment where rents are increasing at high rates additional motives such as rebalancing the budget or avoiding the harsh conditions of rent contracts may also contribute to the greater residential mobility of higher income tenants.

Now let us see to what extent the residential mobility of lower income area tenants is influenced by their own characteristics and dynamics.

### Area type 3 authorised housing low income area

FIGURE 5.5 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for all the Households in the Low Income Areas<sup>8</sup> (Type 3)



- \* Regression coefficients significant at the 95% level
- \*\* Regression coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\*\* Regression coefficients significant at the 80% level

Overall this model has relatively low explanatory power;  $R^2 = .16$  - a point we shall return to later. Of all the variables tenure status has the strongest causal impact on the residential mobility of these low income area households;  $P_{9,8} = .28$ . Tenants were more likely to be mobile than owner occupiers.

<sup>8</sup>In type 3 areas the past mobility model showed that for all the households the correlation between income levels and income changes was high;  $r_{4,5} = .76$ . Since such a high correlation might have led to multicollinearity which would result in distorted regression coefficients, changes in income were divided into 20% change intervals and recoded from -5 to +5 - although as a rule all the variables apart from the dichotomous ones were used in continuous form in all the regression analyses in this study. In the past mobility model of tenants this problem did not arise. Results of either continuous forms or recoded forms of income change did not differ from each other.

The second variable with a causal impact on residential mobility is the age of the household head:  $P_{9,8} = -.19$ . As outlined earlier, younger households were more likely to be mobile than older households.

Household type has a slight causal impact on the residential mobility of the households in this area;  $P_{9,1} = .16$ . The coefficient indicates that small households (single people and couples without children) were more likely to be mobile than large households (extended families and couples with children). It may be difficult for large households, particularly for extended families, to secure another unit sufficient for their space needs. Moreover households with children might be compelled to stay in certain locations in terms of being close to schools and/or to parents and relatives who provide care of the children.

Occupational prestige is positively related to residential mobility, showing that households with higher occupational prestige were more likely to be mobile than those with lower prestige. But the impact is quite weak;  $P_{9,6} = .14$ . Since households with higher prestige are supposed to be more ambitious for better units, this positive relationship could be due to the efforts of these households to satisfy their aspirations for a better quality unit.

Income change has a very slight causal impact on residential mobility;  $P_{9,5} = -.12$ . The negative coefficient shows that households with decreasing incomes were more likely to be mobile than those with increasing incomes. However it should be indicated that the statistical significance level of this coefficient is 70% - lower than the 80% statistical significance threshold.

Income level, changes in household composition, and social mobility do not have any causal impact on the residential mobility of the households in this low income area type.

The household characteristics and dynamics postulated in the model explained only a low proportion (16%) of the variation in residential mobility. None of the variables in the model - including those which are supposed to be decisive for adjustment moves - appeared to have any significant impact on the mobility of these households in the previous 5 years. Most of



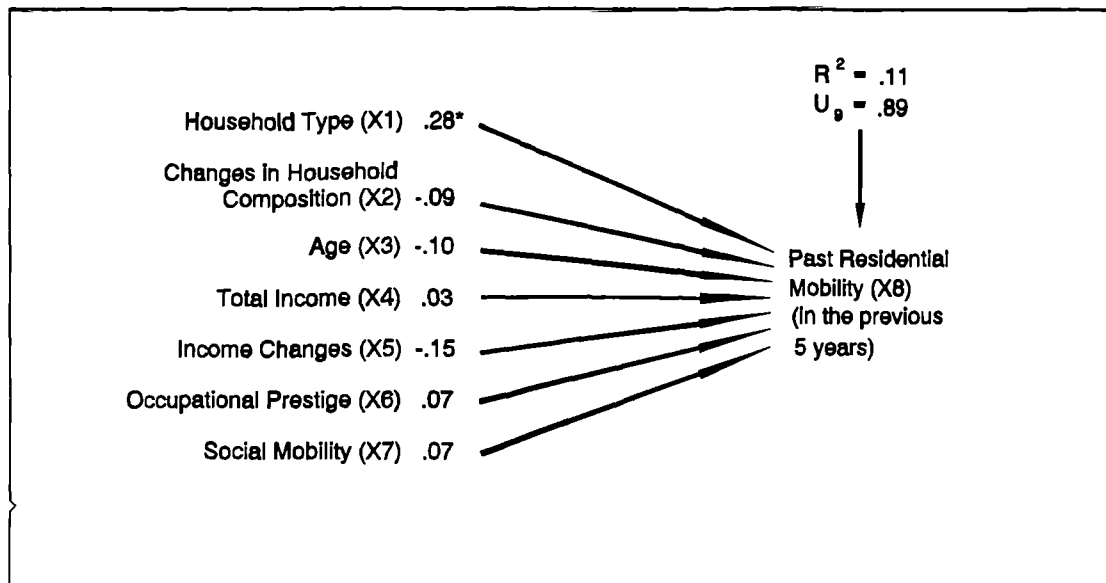
the variation in their residential mobility remains to be explained through factors external to the model.

The results for this area type do not really allow us to support the conventional argument that mobility is an adjustment mechanism for housing needs arising from the households' own characteristics and dynamics. Furthermore it was already established in Chapter 3 that the particular conditions of housing supply in this part of the stock have probably been constraining housing consumption. Therefore the results obtained through the model are not surprising at all. It is unlikely that much of the (im)mobility was determined by housing needs arising from the households' own characteristics and dynamics.

Nevertheless having reached these results we will consider the tenure groups separately. This will reveal whether there are different patterns of impacts on the residential mobility of these groups and will provide a broader perspective through which to clarify our argument. Here we will apply the model for the "TT" group who have been highly mobile within the previous 5 years.

## Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

FIGURE 5.6 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in Low Income Areas (Type 3)



- \* Regression coefficients significant at the 90% level  
 \*\* There are no coefficients significant at 80% level

When the "TT" group is considered on its own the explanatory value of the model falls to 11%. Except for the causal impact of household type which rose to .28 for tenants, the rest of the variables postulated in the model do not present any causal impact on the residential mobility of tenants in this area type.

There may have been several factors external to the model which affected the residential mobility decisions of tenants. But as has already been noted, rents in the big cities of Turkey have been increasing at high rates. As was seen in Table 3.11 in Chapter 3, in Ankara rents never decreased in real terms throughout the whole of the 1980s. On the contrary they

increased in real terms up until 1986<sup>9</sup>. Hence it would seem that the particularly adverse conditions of the rental housing markets impose significant constraints on the housing consumption of tenants in this area type and influence their residential mobility decisions.

It was found that the tenants in this area type were highly mobile; 62% of them made at least one move during the previous 5 years (see Table 4.10 Chapter 4). Considering the results of the model obtained above, together with the unfavourable conditions of the context, it would be unrealistic to expect much of the tenants' (im)mobility to be due to housing needs arising from the tenants' own characteristics and dynamics. It can be argued that a significant proportion of their high mobility is more likely to have been forced than to have comprised adjustment mechanisms for housing needs and preferences. This is in striking contrast to the conventional view of the role of residential mobility.

Having seen the results of the model in different area types of the authorised stock for tenants and for both tenure groups together, we shall now apply the model to gecekondü dwellers.

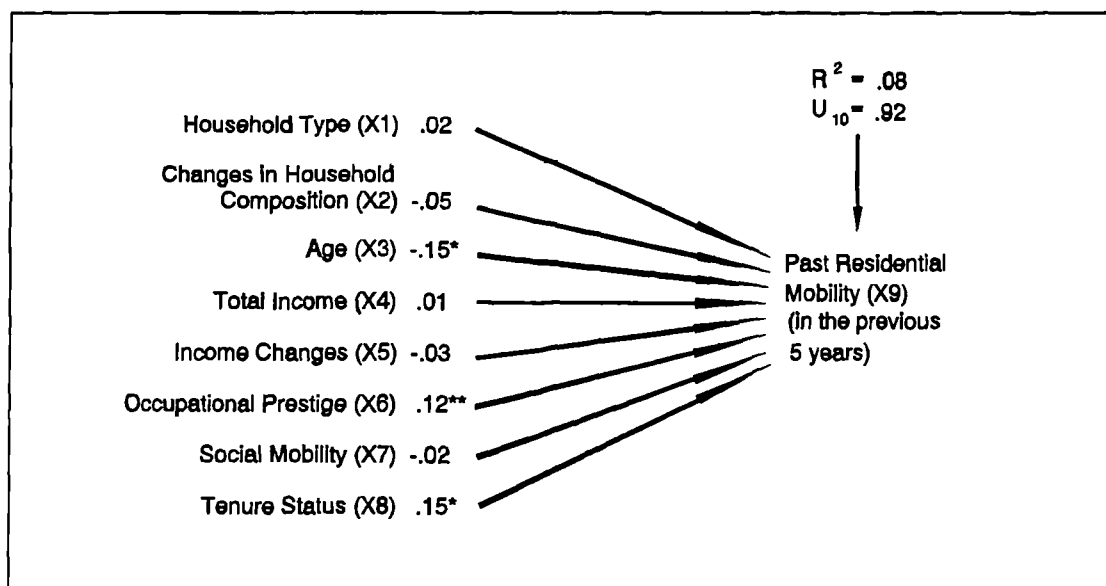
#### Area type 4 unauthorised (gecekondü) stock

As discussed in chapter 4 the socio-economic characteristics of households in type 3 areas (authorised, low income areas) and in gecekondü areas are not very different from each other. Similarities and/or differences between the results of the model for these two groups will provide us with an important perspective on the factors affecting the residential mobility of low income households in different area types of the city.

---

<sup>9</sup>Given that the constraints on the accessibility of lower income groups to ownership would have been more severe and that it is indicated by the producers that they decreased their production of relatively low cost housing, the rates of rent increase may even be above the city average in the lower segments of the market.

FIGURE 5.7 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for All the Households in Gecekondu Areas (Type 4)



- \* Path coefficients significant at the 95% level
- \*\* Path coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

As in Figure 5.5 the percentage of the variation in residential mobility explained by the model is very low, a point which we will discuss later.

Age, tenure status, and occupational prestige are the variables which have statistically significant causal impacts on the residential mobility of gecekondu households. However they all have relatively small path coefficients. As in other area types, the age of the household head is inversely related to residential mobility;  $P_{9,3} = -.15$ . Younger households were more likely to be mobile than older households. As explained earlier, better opportunities in the housing markets, dissatisfaction with the present unit and so forth, were probably more influential in persuading younger households to move than older households.

As in area type 3 the positive path coefficient between tenure status and residential mobility ( $P_{9,8} = .15$ ) indicates that tenants were more likely to be mobile than owner-occupiers. By contrast there was no causal relationship between tenure status and mobility in type 1 and 2 areas.

Occupational prestige is positively related to residential mobility;  $P_{9,6} = .12$ . The coefficient shows that higher prestige households were more likely to be mobile than lower prestige households. Assuming that households with relatively high occupational prestige may be more ambitious for better quality units, the positive relationship between social occupational prestige and residential mobility can be interpreted as due to the efforts of these households to adjust their housing needs and/or aspirations - as was also argued for the positive relationship between prestige and residential mobility found in type 3 areas. Nevertheless it was revealed in this area type that in some cases mobile households moved from outside, particularly from type 3 areas. With the exception of one case - who became an owner-occupier in the gecekondur area - they are all tenants, some of whom had also moved within the authorised stock in the previous 5 years. The occupational prestige of these households is at the upper and upper middle ranges of the gecekondur area. To what extent can these moves be interpreted as an adjustment of their housing aspirations? These households have probably been unable to satisfy their needs (for larger units etc.) within the authorised part of the stock at affordable rent levels. Alternatively they may have wanted to decrease the share of rent within their budget, which they might have been unable to do within the authorised part of the stock. Moving into the gecekondur stock where rents are relatively lower would probably be their only means of rebalancing the budget. In a sense the purpose of these moves can be described as a "trade off" between cheap rents/prices and the legal as well as the social status of the housing environment. Such moves would account for the causal relationship between social prestige and residential mobility.

Other household characteristics and dynamics - i.e. household type, changes in household composition, income level, income changes, and social mobility - do not have any causal impact on the residential mobility of gecekondur dwellers.

As shown by the residual path in the model, almost all the variation in the residential mobility of gecekondur dwellers is explained by factors other than household characteristics and dynamics;  $U_{10} = .92$ . Only 8% of the variation is explained by the model.

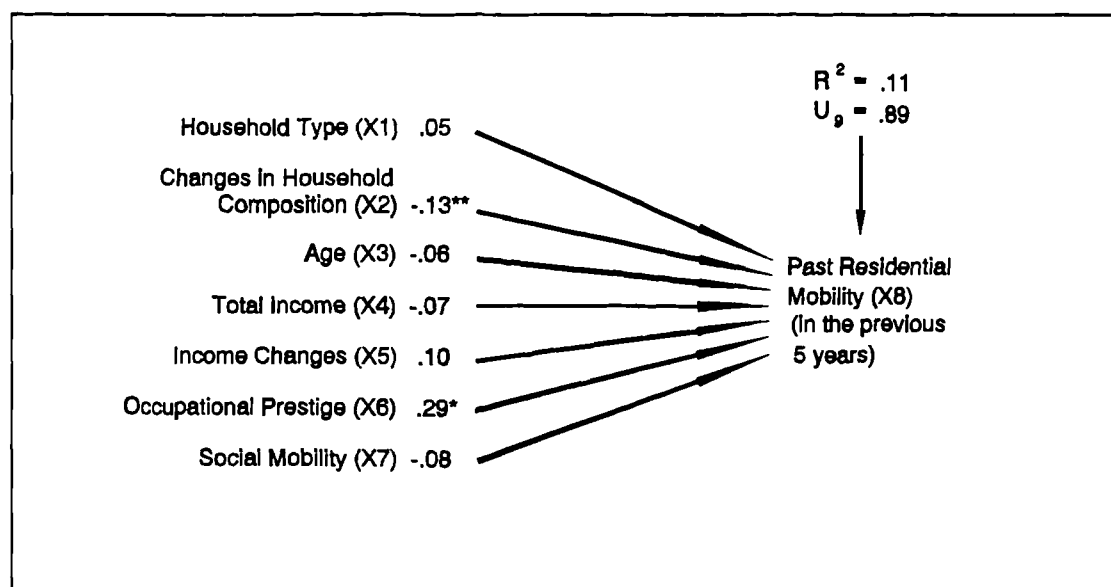
Thus the results of the model for the unauthorised housing areas present a picture which is similar to the low income type areas of the authorised housing stock. The above results do

not support the argument that residential mobility is an adjustment mechanism for housing needs arising from household dynamics for the unauthorised housing area type either. In other words it would be untenable to argue that the (im)mobility of most of the gecekondu households' is likely to be determined by housing needs and choices arising from their own characteristics and dynamics.

### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

Examination of the path model (Figure 5.8) for the "TT" group - which constitutes 60% of the households in type 4 areas - does not alter this conclusion. As shown in Table 4.10 in the previous Chapter, 53% of this group have been mobile within the last 5 years and 40% of these made more than one move. The mobility of the "TT" group constitutes 80% of the residential mobility of the total gecekondu households.

FIGURE 5.8 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the "TT" Group in the Gecekondu Areas (Type 4)



\* Coefficients Significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

There are some small differences in the values of the path coefficients between Figures 5.7 and 5.8 but the two main conclusions remain the same. The model has very low explanatory

value ( $R^2=.11$ ) and with one exception (P8,6) none of the path coefficients is greater than .13 in value. The causal impact of social prestige (P8,6) is stronger for the tenants' mobility than for the whole sample in this area type. This must be because its impact on owner-occupiers is close to zero (as was indicated earlier, with the exception of one case all the moves from area type 3 were made by tenants).

Change in family composition is negatively related to residential mobility. This shows that tenants who experienced changes in their household composition within the previous 5 years were more likely to be mobile than those who did not. Although changes in household composition do have some impact, given the quite small size of the coefficient it would be wrong to assume that changes in household composition and consequent changes in housing needs were an important determinant of the moves by gecekondü tenants.

This separate examination of tenants in type 4 areas, who have been highly mobile during the previous 5 years, reinforces the earlier conclusion that a very significant proportion of the residential mobility of gecekondü tenants cannot be defined as an adjustment mechanism which enables households to adjust housing needs arising from their own characteristics and dynamics.

As discussed in Chapter 3, due to the legalisation and upgrading process, over the last two decades gecekondü land and housing have been commercialised and have become the subject of speculation in the big cities in Turkey. Under such conditions accessibility to ownership is limited and the ratio of tenants is quite high and probably increasing. Furthermore there is no rent control. Therefore rents have probably been increasing at high rates and are expected to impose constraints on the tenants' consumption.

In short the results of the model and the particular conditions of the unauthorised housing markets complement each other, supporting the argument that the high residential mobility of tenants in gecekondü districts in Ankara is *not* an adjustment mechanism. A considerable proportion of these moves are likely to have been forced.

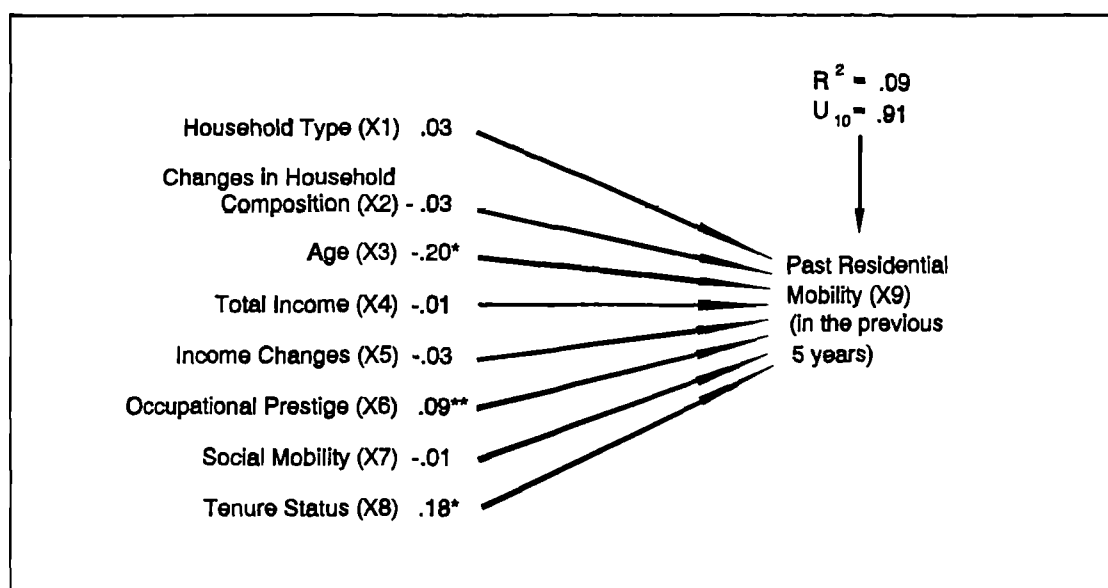
As was discussed in Chapter 3, the unfavourable supply conditions of the rental stock could either decrease the level of mobility by forcing most tenants to be immobile, or alternatively generate forced moves. The tenants' mobility levels showed that low levels of mobility were not the case in Ankara, either in the authorised or in the unauthorised stock. On the contrary residential mobility levels were quite high and the results of the model suggest that in both types of low income area forced moves have comprised significant proportions of the moves. At the same time, among the tenants who have been immobile for at least the previous 5 years, the percentage of those who were forced to remain immobile has probably not been negligible.

### All area types

So far we have presented the results of path models of residential mobility for the different area types in Ankara. We now examine the results of the model for the whole sample and for the "TT" group in the whole sample. Quite considerable proportions - 30% and 50% of the total sample - are comprised by households in type 3 and 4 areas respectively.



FIGURE 5.9 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the Whole of Ankara



- \* Path coefficients significant at the 95% level
- \*\* Path coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\*\* There are no path coefficients significant at the 80% level

Of all the independent variables presented in the model, age has the strongest causal relationship with the residential mobility of the total households in Ankara;  $P_{9,3} = -.20$ . As is consistent with the results for each of the area types, younger households were more likely to be mobile than older households in the city. Tenure status is the second variable that has a causal relationship with residential mobility;  $P_{9,8} = .18$ . Tenants were more likely to be mobile than owner-occupiers. Occupational prestige has a very slight causal relationship with residential mobility;  $P_{9,6} = .09$ .

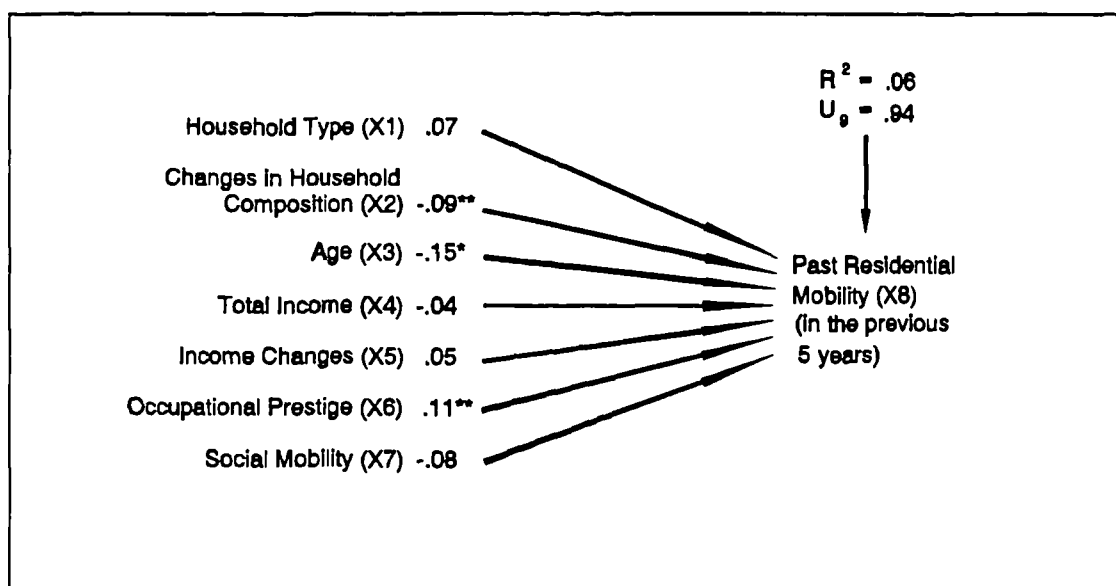
The other variables presented in the model; household type, changes in household composition, the monthly income level of the household, changes in income level during the previous 5 years, and social mobility, have no causal effect on residential mobility. The households' own dynamics and socio-economic characteristics postulated in the model explained only 9% of the variation in the residential mobility of the total households in the city. Almost all the variation (91%) remains unexplained by the households' own characteristics and dynamics.

Since the populations in area types 3 and 4 comprise considerable proportions of the total sample, the above path coefficients and the low explanatory power of the model reflect the patterns found there rather than the patterns in other areas.

### Whole sample of tenants

Now we shall look at the results of the model for the "TT" group in the city.

FIGURE 5.10 Path Model of Past Residential Mobility for the Whole Sample of "TT" Groups in Ankara



\* Path coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

As shown in the figure above none of the household characteristics and dynamics have a strong impact on the residential mobility of the "TT" group in Ankara. Of all the variables presented in the model age has the strongest impact;  $P_{8,3} = -.15$ . Occupational prestige and changes in household composition show weaker impacts;  $P_{8,6} = .11$  and  $P_{8,2} = -.09$  respectively.

The model explained only 6% of the variation in the residential mobility of tenants in Ankara. This is lower than was found for individual areas. Owing to the relatively large number of

tenants in type 3 and 4 areas (30% and 60% of the total sample of tenants respectively) Figure 5.10 reflects the relations found there - particularly in type 4 areas - much more than the relations found in the middle income area type. Nevertheless the fact that the  $R^2$  for the whole sample of tenants is smaller than for individual areas can be explained by the different results of the model for each area type - particularly the striking differences between type 2 areas and the two low income area types. In other words different social processes and different degrees of constraint on the housing decisions of households operate in different area types, resulting in the relatively lower explanatory power of the model for the whole sample.

Thus when the whole sample and all the "TT" groups in the whole sample are considered none of the variables postulated in the model present any causal impact on the residential mobility of households. The lack of any impact by socio-economic characteristics - i.e. income level and social prestige - can be explained by the different housing needs of different socio-economic groups and by the varying degrees of constraint in different segments of the housing market. The model also shows the causal impacts of household dynamics on residential mobility, independently from the impact of the households' socio-economic characteristics. Household dynamics which are supposed to be decisive in adjustment moves - i.e. changes in household composition, increases in income levels, and upward social mobility - did not have any causal impact on residential mobility either. The explanatory power of our model when applied to the whole sample and to the total "TT" groups in the whole sample showed that very significant percentages of the variation in residential mobility are explained by factors external to the model. It should be reiterated that these results primarily reflect relations found in the two low-income areas which comprise considerable proportions of the city's total population. In short the results obtained so far indicate that only an insignificant proportion of the mobility of households in the previous 5 years is likely to have been due to housing needs arising from their own dynamics, hence preventing us from supporting the traditional argument for residential mobility in the particular case of Ankara.

Having established the results for the total households and for the tenants, both by area type and for the whole sample, in the following section we shall apply the model to the "OO" group (continuing owner-occupiers) separately.

#### 5.4 ANALYSES OF THE IMPACTS OF HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AND DYNAMICS ON THE RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF OWNER OCCUPIERS

As shown in the previous chapter owner-occupiers (the "OO" group - those who were owner-occupiers throughout the 1983 to 1988 period) were quite immobile during those 5 years; only 7% of them made a move (see Table 4.10). The rate of mobility among the owner-occupiers in the two low income area types is no higher than that average. Particularly in the *gecekondu* stock almost all the owner-occupiers were found to be immobile. Thus whether the low residential mobility of owner-occupiers in Ankara - particularly in the low income area types - can be explained as due to their already satisfied (adjusted) housing needs, or whether there are any other factors which cause low levels of residential mobility within the owner-occupied stock, is an important question that we will examine in detail in the forthcoming chapters. At this stage of the study we shall examine whether household characteristics and dynamics have had any particular causal impact on the owners' (im)mobility in the previous 5 years and whether owner-occupiers with particular household characteristics and dynamics are more likely to be mobile than others. This will provide us with some clues which can be combined with the findings of the forthcoming analysis to understand the lack of mobility among owner-occupiers in Ankara.

The model we used earlier for the tenant group remains the same but the statistical technique used to measure the regression coefficients was changed. Since almost all the owner-occupiers who were mobile within the last 5 years made only one move, the dependent variable of the model became dichotomous: either the household had been immobile, expressed by the value 0; or had moved once, expressed by the value 1. With a dichotomous dependent variable it is not possible to use the "Ordinary Least Squares" technique used so far for the regressions. Assumptions necessary for hypothesis testing in regression analyses are violated by dichotomous dependent variables in ordinary linear regressions and thus can lead to unreliable estimates (see Aldrich and Nelson, 1985). Therefore a different type of regression technique - logistic regression - is used here.

Before embarking on the evaluation of results let us explain the regression method used throughout the rest of the chapter and in the analyses in the forthcoming chapters.

#### 5.4.1 Description of logistic regression technique

Logistic regression estimates the probability of an event occurring. The formula can be written as:

$$\text{Prob (event)} = \frac{e^z}{1 + e^z}$$

or equivalently:

$$\text{Prob (event)} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-z}}$$

Prob (no event) = 1 - Prob (event) where z is the linear combination.

$$z = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + \dots + B_pX_p$$

where  $B_0 \dots B_p$  are coefficients estimated from data; "X"s are the independent variables and "e" is the base of natural logarithms.

The logistic model can be written in terms of the probability of an event occurring:

$$\log \frac{\text{Prob (event)}}{\text{Prob (no event)}} = B_0 + B_1 X_1 + \dots + B_p X_p$$

From the above equation the logistic coefficient can be interpreted as the change in the log probability (odds) associated with a one-unit change in the independent variable. Nevertheless it is easier to think and interpret probability rather than logs of probability. Hence the above equation [Exp (B)] is written as:

$$\text{odds} = \frac{\text{Prob (event)}}{\text{Prob (no event)}} = e^{B_0 + B_1 X_1 + \dots + B_p X_p}$$

Then  $e$  raised to the power  $B_i$  is the factor by which the odds change when the  $i^{\text{th}}$  independent variable increases by one unit. In other words the  $\text{Exp}(B)$  is the measure of the impact of an independent variable on the dependent variable. An increase in the value of the independent variable from 0 to 1 alters the odds from one level of probability to another, that is they increase or decrease by a factor, giving the value of  $\text{Exp}(B)$  for that particular independent variable. For negative correlations  $\text{Exp}(B)$  is smaller than 1 and for positive correlations it is greater than 1. When  $\text{Exp}(B)$  is equal to 1 this means there is no relationship between the two variables.

Theoretically any variation in the dependent variable should be completely determined by other variables in the model. However in almost all cases complete determination is impossible. In the ordinary linear regression the value  $R^2$  shows the extent to which the independent variables explain the variation in the dependent variable. In logit analysis the statistics do not give the value of  $R^2$ . In the logit model "- 2LL" [i.e. "L(B)"] log-likelihood compares the present model with the perfect model - where all the variation in the dependent variable is explained. The logit analysis gives two log-likelihood functions:  $L(0)$  represents the initial likelihood function before the entering each variable into the model - with only one constant; and  $L(B)$  is the representative of the complete model, after all the independent

variables have been entered into the equation. Nevertheless from these initial and final likelihoods it is possible to derive an equivalent of  $R^2$  through the formula:

$$R^2 = 1 - \frac{L(B)}{L(0)}$$

There are other ways of assessing how well the model fits - e.g. showing the percentages of the correct classification of cases relative to the perfect model in logit analyses. Nevertheless in order to maintain consistency between the interpretations of the results of ordinary linear regressions and logit analyses we will use the equivalent of  $R^2$  for assessing how well the model fits.

For convenience the meaning of the positive relationships in our analysis of residential mobility -the meaning of  $\text{Exp}(B)$  greater than 1 - should be explained<sup>10</sup>:

- $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,1}$  = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for large families than for small ones.
- $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,2}$  = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for those who experienced a change in their household composition than for those who did not.
- $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,3}$  = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years increases with the age of the household head.
- $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,4}$  = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for higher income level households than for lower income households.
- $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,5}$  = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for households with increasing incomes than for those with falling incomes.

---

<sup>10</sup>It is necessary to keep in mind that in logistic analyses the original coding of the categorical independent variables is different from the values given to the variables within the programme called "parameter coding".

- Exp(B)8,6 = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for households with higher occupational prestige than for households with lower occupational prestige.
- Exp(B)8,7 = The probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is higher for households with rising occupational prestige than for those with falling occupational prestige.

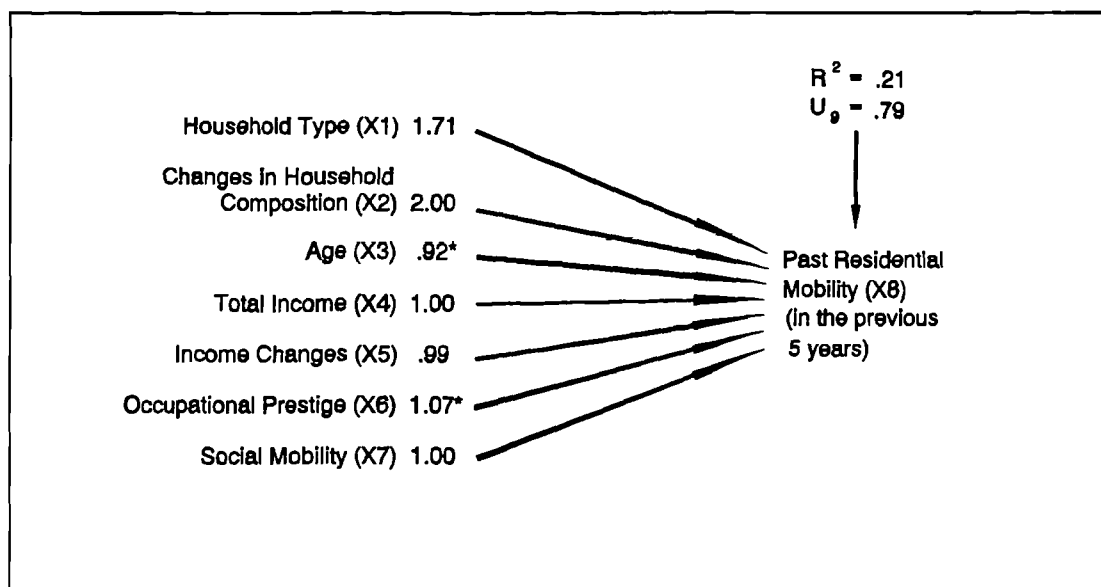
#### 5.4.2 Evaluation of the results of the model - regression coefficients

The results presented here are for the whole sample of owner-occupiers. Separate analyses could not be done for the owner-occupiers in each area type. In area type 1 the dependent variable was close to the constant; there were only 2 cases of mobile owner-occupiers. Moreover the sample size was small; 12. Under these conditions, since the results would not be reliable, the regression model was not run for area type 1. In area type 2 since the sample size was small as well - 22 - analyses could only be done through the "F step" method (see section 5.3.1). None of the independent variables were found to be statistically significant at the 80% level sufficient to remain in the equation. This shows that none of the households' own dynamics and characteristics had any statistically significant impact on the (im)mobility of the owner-occupiers in the middle income area type. Whilst in type 3 and 4 areas the dependent variable - residential mobility - was almost constant. In area type 3 out of 36 cases only 2 owner-occupiers were mobile, and in area type 4 there was only one case of a mobile owner-occupier out of a total of 53. Therefore the analyses were not done for these two area types.

The results of the postulated model on the (im)mobility of owner-occupiers for the whole sample are presented in Figure 5.11.



FIGURE 5.11 Logit Causal Model of Past Residential Mobility for the Whole Sample of "OO" Groups in Ankara



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at 80% level

Though it seems that household type and changes in household composition have fairly strong impacts on the residential (im)mobility of owner-occupiers, these coefficients are not statistically significant. Their significance level is around 60%. Considering that the sample size is quite large ( $n= 125$ ), coefficients less significant than the 80% threshold are not considered relevant for the interpretations. The causal impacts of age and social prestige are the only statistically significant ones, but their impacts are quite weak. Age is inversely related with residential mobility;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,3} = .92$ . As discussed earlier younger households are more likely to be mobile than older ones. But for a unit increase in the household heads' age the probability of being mobile within the previous 5 years is multiplied by .92. In other words for a unit decrease in age the probability of being mobile increases by 8%.

Occupational prestige is positively related with residential mobility;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,6} = 1.08$ . A unit increase in the occupational prestige score of the household head increases the probability of moving by 8%. This slight positive causal relationship between occupational prestige and the residential mobility of owner-occupiers can be explained through the aspirations of higher prestige households for better quality units that are more convenient for their needs.

The equivalent of  $R^2$  is not high. At .21 it shows that around one fifth of the variation could be explained through the variables postulated in the model.

Hence with reference to these results it cannot really be argued that there is any apparent difference between the immobile majority and the rest of the mobile owner-occupiers in terms of their household characteristics and dynamics. Apart from age and occupational prestige - which do not have strong impacts at all - no other particular characteristics lead the households to be more likely to be mobile. Moreover those who experienced changes in their household characteristics - and hence whose housing needs are supposed to have changed - do not have a higher probability of being mobile than those who did not.

As explained in Chapter 3 the cost of housing production in the authorised sector was increasing faster than the rate of inflation, while the saving power of households has been falling due to decreasing real wages. Furthermore the ratio of production of low cost housing to housing need has probably been decreasing since the 1980s. All these particular conditions are likely to have imposed constraints on the housing consumption and mobility decisions of owner-occupiers, particularly in the low income areas of the authorised stock. The very low rates of mobility of owner-occupiers are therefore likely to be due to these particular market conditions. In other words a significant proportion of the immobile owner-occupiers within the formal part of the housing stock must have decided to stay in the same unit because of lack of opportunity to move, rather than already satisfied dynamics and housing needs.

On the other hand in *gecekondu* areas the reasons leading owner-occupiers to be predominantly immobile are probably different. The improvement and redevelopment plans, or more precisely the decision taken by the State to transform the *gecekondu* land into authorised land (see Chapter 3) and hence expectations of reconstruction rights and better services, and the rocketing prices of *gecekondu* land, have probably been crucial factors affecting the decision of many owner-occupiers in this part of the housing stock to remain immobile.

Hence the low levels of residential mobility and the absence of any impact by the households' characteristics and dynamics on their (im)mobility in Ankara is not surprising. The likely reasons for this lack of mobility are expected to be found in the particular conditions of housing supply and land development in different segments of the market. In the following chapters we will attempt to clarify this hypothesis.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter comprises the first stage of a set of analyses at household level, aimed towards explaining residential mobility in the particular case of Ankara, Turkey. In this first stage we examined the causal impacts of the households' own characteristics and dynamics (changes in household characteristics) on their residential mobility during the previous 5 years in order to establish some preliminary criteria through which to understand and evaluate the extent to which mobility is an adjustment mechanism - i.e. the extent to which the conventional argument is relevant to the particular case of Ankara.

Analyses were done for: (i) all households - both tenure groups together including those who transferred between tenure status - by area type as well as for the whole sample; (ii) continuing tenants ("TT" groups) by area type and in the whole sample; and (iii) continuing owner-occupiers ("OO" groups). Due to the very low levels of mobility in area types 3 and 4, and the small sample size in other areas, the model could only be run for the whole sample of "OO" groups.

The results are summarised as follows:

(i) The results of the model for all the households (both tenure groups together) by area type showed that only in high income areas (type 1) did the households' own characteristics and dynamics have causal impacts on their past residential mobility (see Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 Path Coefficients and the Residual Paths for All the Households by Area Type

Area Type	HH Type	Changes in HH Comp.	Age	Income Changes	Social Prestige	Social Mobility	Tenure Status	Residual Path	
1	.09	.07	-.42***	.18	.23	-.71**	.12	.07	.42
2	-	-.04	-.12	.03	-	.06	.10	.06	.95
3	.16**	-.01	-.19*	-.03	-.12	.14***	-.02	.28*	.84
4	.02	-.05	-.15*	.01	-.03	.12**	-.01	.15*	.92
Total	.03	-.03	-.20*	.01	-.03	.09**	-.01	.18*	.91

\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

In Area Type 1 where most of the households are owner-occupiers a significant proportion (58%) of the variation in residential mobility was explained by the households' own characteristics and dynamics. The impacts of the postulated variables - particularly the impact of social prestige - indicated that most of the (im)mobility decisions of these households were determined by their needs and preferences.

By contrast the variables - household characteristics and dynamics - postulated in the model did not have any notable impact on the residential mobility of households in other area types. The residual paths (showing the proportion of variation in mobility which remains unexplained by the model) present a sharp difference between high income areas and the other area types.

However the above figures represent the impact of the households' own dynamics on all the different types of moves together, i.e. moves by the "TT" group (from one rented unit to another), moves from rented to owner-occupied units, moves by the "OO" group (from one owner-occupied unit to another), and moves from owner-occupied to rented units - though the

latter are very rare. Since the variables postulated in the model may have different impacts on different types of move, analysing the results for the "TT" and "OO" groups' (im)mobility separately provides a clearer picture. This is shown in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2 Path Coefficients and the Residual Paths for "TT" Groups' by Area Type

Area Type	HH Type	Changes in HH Comp.	Age	Income	Income Changes	Social Prestige	Social Mobility	Residual Path
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	.01	-.34**	.55**	.31***	.12	-.30***	.41
3	.28**	-.09	.10	.03	-.15	.07	.07	.89
4	.05	-.13***	-.06	-.07	.10	.29*	-.08	.89
Total	.07	-.09***	-.15*	.04	.05	.11***	-.01	.94

\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

(ii) The main difference between Tables 5.1 and 5.2 is in type 2 areas where the path model turns out to have considerable explanatory value ( $R^2 = .59$ ) for the "TT" group, whereas it had little value ( $R^2 = .05$ ) when the whole population was included. In area type 2 (middle income areas) nearly 60% of the variation in the tenants' ("TT" group) residential mobility is explained by their own conditions and dynamics. The other difference is due to the initial absence of tenants in type 1 areas. In area types 3 and 4 the explanatory value of the model remains negligible when tenants are isolated.

The application of the model for tenants, particularly in the low income areas, did not provide us with any evidence to support the traditional argument for residential mobility. Considering the results for these two area types it would be difficult to argue that the (im)mobility decisions of many of these tenants in the previous 5 years were due to housing

needs arising from their own characteristics and dynamics. The particular conditions of the housing markets (explained in Chapter 3), which were found to be quite unfavourable, complement the results of the model. These two independent analyses comprising (a) the conditions of the housing markets - derived from macro scale data; and (b) the results of our statistical analyses at household level, complement each other in supporting the argument that for the majority of tenants their (im)mobility was not due to their own needs, but is more likely to have been forced. Given that the tenants in both these area types were highly mobile, the proportion who were forced to move is probably significant. In other words forced moves have probably been common during the previous 5 years. In the middle income area types on the other hand it cannot be argued that a considerable proportion of tenants were forced to be mobile. Yet the results suggest that it has been quite difficult even for the middle income area tenants to adjust their changing needs unless their economic conditions are sufficiently favourable. Given that those with decreasing incomes and those with relatively lower incomes were more likely to be immobile, it would appear that many cases of immobility were forced.

It seems that the particular conditions of housing supply impose constraints on the housing consumption of tenants in each of the three types of area. However considering the differences between the results of the model for type 2 areas and for the other two area types, it is apparent that the extent of the constraints, and the responses to them, are different in different segments of the market.

(iii) Finally the results of the analyses for the "OO" groups in the whole sample showed that the households' own dynamics and characteristics explained only a limited proportion of the variation in their (im)mobility during the previous 5 years. The likely reasons for the owner-occupiers' lack of mobility are to be found in the particular conditions of housing production and land development. Lack of opportunities to move, particularly in the lower segments of the authorised market, and expectations for higher construction rights and speculative gains in the unauthorised part of the stock, have probably been crucial factors influencing the (im)mobility decisions of households within the previous 5 years.

## 6 Current Satisfaction with Housing and Changes in Satisfaction through Mobility

---

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Having established in the previous chapter that much of the (im)mobility of households does not conform to the adjustment model proposed by the conventional view, we turn in this chapter to the questions: (i) How far is the high residential mobility of tenants a forced response to the particular features of the context? We also ask whether, even if mobility does not emerge as due to household dynamics, tenants still adjust their needs by moving? And (ii) How far is the lack of mobility among the owners a matter of constraint - or do they remain in their units primarily due to their satisfaction?

The conventional housing adjustment model implies that since households choose to move they will be more satisfied with the new dwelling than with the old. On the other hand, if it is the case that the move is a constrained (forced) one we would not expect satisfaction with the new dwelling to be greater than the previous one, and it may well be less. However neither argument allows a specific prediction about the level of satisfaction - i.e. the extent to which mobiles attain satisfactory units, and the extent to which immobles are satisfied with their units. In order to decide the question of how far residential mobility is a forced response, current levels of housing satisfaction need to be examined, together with changes in satisfaction levels. Furthermore current levels of housing satisfaction among the immobile households will provide us with an important indication of the extent to which immobility is a matter of choice.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. First we look at both tenure groups together and then at tenants separately to examine their current housing satisfaction. After analysing current satisfaction with housing, in the following section we examine changes in satisfaction levels and in the housing standards of mobile tenants with a view to building up an argument

about their high residential mobility. In the last section of the chapter we concentrate on the current levels of housing satisfaction of homeowners. Firstly the "OO" group (owner-occupiers throughout the 1983 - 1988 period) is considered separately, and then the "OO" group and the "TO" group (those who were tenants in 1983 and became owner-occupiers between then and 1988) are examined together.

## 6.2 ANALYSES OF CURRENT HOUSING SATISFACTION OF BOTH TENURE GROUPS TOGETHER AND TENANTS SEPARATELY

The current housing satisfaction levels of mobile and immobile households comprise the basis for our discussions here. In addition <sup>to</sup> this we examine the impacts of past residential mobility, household characteristics and dynamics, and housing quality on current housing satisfaction through a causal model.

The impact of past residential mobility on the current housing satisfaction of tenants - who were found to be highly mobile during the previous 5 years - together with the current satisfaction levels of the mobile tenants will provide an important indication of the extent to which tenants adjust their needs by moving. If the causal relationship between residential mobility and current housing satisfaction is positive - in other words if the more mobile tenants are more likely to be satisfied with their current units than those who are less mobile or immobile - even if their level of satisfaction is low, the adjustment factor will have to be considered in evaluating the high residential mobility of the tenants. In other words it could not be argued that the majority of moves are forced.

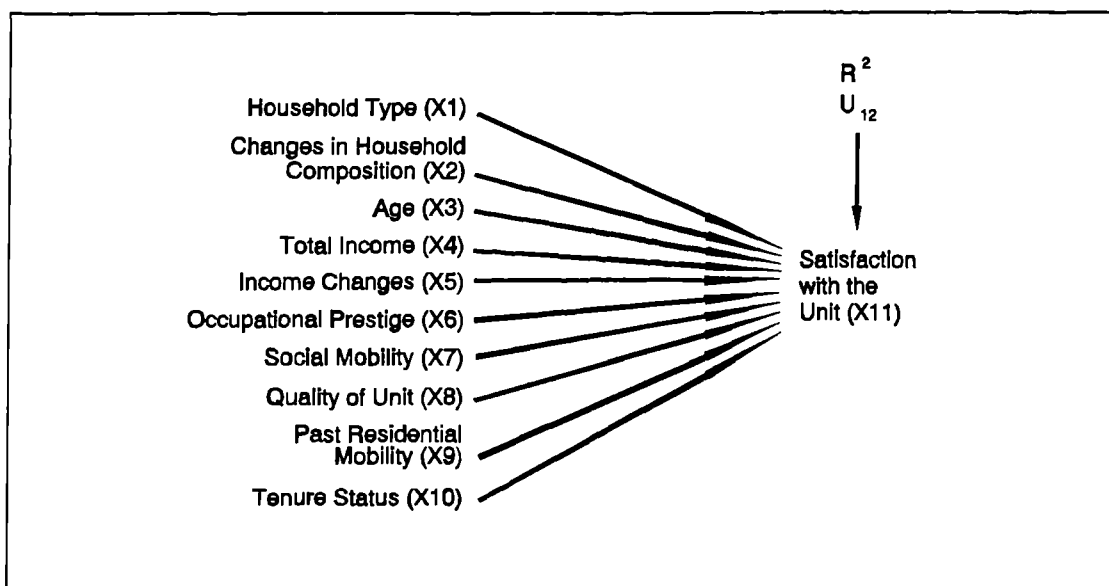
As regards the impact of other independent variables postulated in the model, we have not set out any hypothesis to be tested. However since household characteristics and dynamics are supposed to be influential on housing consumption and hence on consequent housing satisfaction, and since housing quality is also assumed to be influential on one's evaluation of housing satisfaction, these variables are included in the analyses. The particular impacts of these variables will obviously broaden our perspective on the housing consumption and consequent housing satisfaction of the different socio-economic groups in the city.



Since the housing consumption decisions, and housing satisfaction levels of tenants and owner-occupiers may be quite different we include tenure status as an independent variable in the analysis considering both tenure groups together. The impact of tenure status on satisfaction and differences in the degree of impact between area types will contribute to our understanding of housing satisfaction.

Analyses are undertaken for each area type individually as well as for the sample as a whole. Firstly we examine both tenure groups together and then tenants are considered separately. The causal relationships in question are estimated through the model shown below (Figure 6.1). After describing the measurement of the variables we will present the results.

FIGURE 6.1 Model of Current Housing Satisfaction



### 6.2.1 Description of variables and meaning of positive relationships

All the variables relating household characteristics and dynamics, and past residential mobility were measured in the same way as in the previous chapter. The additional variables in the model are measured as follows:

Quality of Unit An index of housing quality was formed comprising number of rooms, age of building, type of unit and area type. The number of rooms was taken as the actual number which ranges from 1 to 7. Type of unit was classified into four categories: villas coded as 7; apartments and ordinary houses coded as 4; traditional Ankara houses in two historical districts of the city (considered to be "slum" areas) which comprise 15 cases in area type 3 coded as 2; and gecekondus coded as 1. The age of the building was divided into four categories: 0 - 10 years coded as 4; 11 - 20 years coded as 3; 21 - 50 years coded as 2; and over 50 years coded as 1<sup>1</sup>. Area type is intended to represent not only the prestige of the district, but also the level of infrastructure and services. Area type 1 was coded as 7; area type 2 coded as 5; area type 3 coded as 3; two districts in the old centre of the city where we interviewed 15 households were coded as 2 since although they are in the authorised part of the stock, the level of infrastructure and the prestige of these districts are lower than the rest of the neighbourhoods in area type 3; and area type 4 (gecekondus areas) coded as 1. Hence for the whole stock the quality index ranges from 4 to 25.

Satisfaction with the unit (dependent variable) Households were asked whether the unit that they currently occupy satisfies their needs or not. The answer was either yes or no; hence this variable is dichotomous.

### Meaning of positive relationships in the model

Since the dependent variable here is dichotomous the Logit Regression technique is used. For convenience the meanings of the positive relationships (coefficients greater than 1) are given below.

Exp(B)<sub>10,1</sub> = The probability of being satisfied with the unit is higher for large households than for small households.

Exp(B)<sub>10,2</sub> = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those who experienced a change in their household composition than for those who did not.

---

<sup>1</sup>Because Ankara is a recently developed city with no valuable historic buildings, this coding reflects the higher value attributed to new buildings in the city.

- Exp(B)10,3 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for older households than for younger households.
- Exp(B)10,4 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for higher income households than for lower income households.
- Exp(B)10,5 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those whose incomes are rising than for those whose incomes are decreasing.
- Exp(B)10,6 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those who have higher occupational prestige than for those who have lower occupational prestige.
- Exp(B)10,7 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those who are upwardly mobile (in terms of occupational prestige) than for those who are downwardly mobile.
- Exp(B)10,8 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those who occupy higher quality units than for those who occupy lower quality units.
- Exp(B)10,9 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for those who were mobile than for those who were immobile.
- Exp(B)10,10 = The probability of being satisfied is higher for owner-occupiers than for tenants.

## 6.2.2 Presentation and evaluation of results by area type

### Area type 1 high income area type

It was not possible to run the model for the high income type of areas. Only 17 cases remained in the regression analyses after the deletion of cases lacking complete sets of information, which was too small for the logit analyses to produce conclusive results. Therefore the "stepwise" method was attempted (see Chapter 5 for the explanation of the technique). As was done previously, the statistical significance levels were set as 90% and 80% for inclusion of variables into the equations, and for remaining in it, respectively. None of the postulated variables were found to be statistically significant for remaining in the equations. Nevertheless, as can be seen in table 6.1 below, level of satisfaction for the full sample is very high at more than 70%, and there is no significant difference between mobile and immobile groups. Considering that the results of the model in the previous chapter led us to conclude that residential (im)mobility decisions are mostly influenced by the needs, preferences, and tastes of the households in this area type, the high ratios of satisfaction found here for both mobile and immobile households are quite consistent with those results.

TABLE 6.1 Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among All Households in Area Type 1

	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	72	78	73
Dissatisfaction	28	22	27
Number of Cases	21	9	30*

\* Whole set of sample including cases where the information was incomplete

## Area type 2 middle income area type

As shown in the figures below the bulk of the households in this area type are satisfied with their current units. The percentage of satisfied households is actually higher among those who have been immobile in the previous 5 years, although the percentage of satisfied cases among mobile households is quite considerable as well.

TABLE 6.2      Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among All Households in Area Type 2

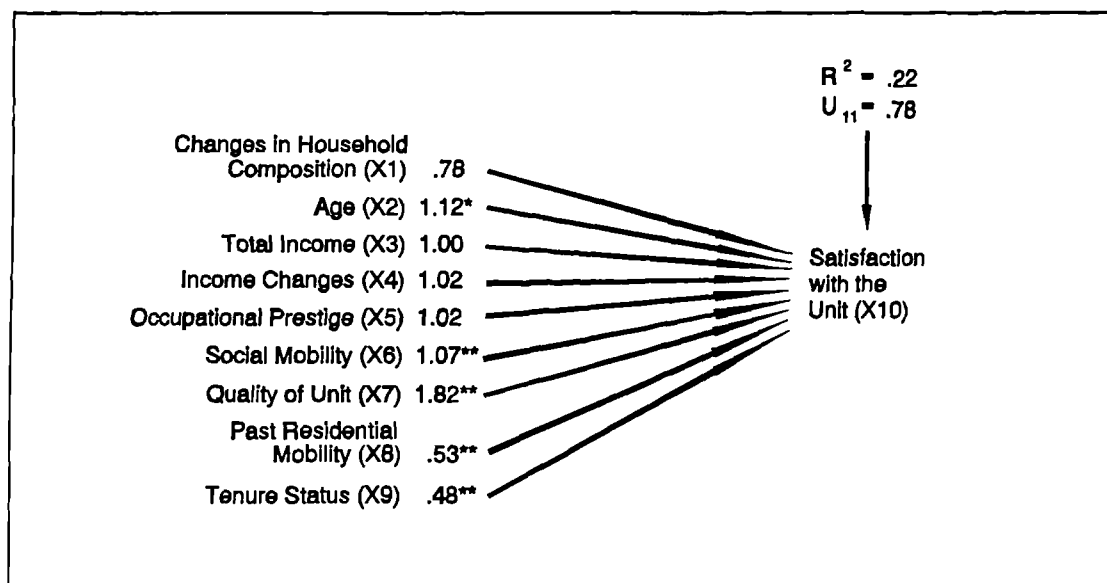
	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	67	56	62
Dissatisfaction	33	44	38
Number of Cases	27	23	50*

\* The same cases included in the logit model after those with incomplete information were omitted. It should be indicated that the proportions are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those figures are not given here.

Given the considerable ratio of satisfied cases it seems that the housing consumption of households in this area type is not subject to any serious degree of constraint.

Now let us look at the results of the model to see: (i) whether the higher satisfaction of the immobile households indicates that residential mobility has a causal impact on satisfaction; and (ii) whether households with particular characteristics are more likely to be satisfied than others.

FIGURE 6.2 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for All the Households (Both Tenure Groups Together) in Area Type 2<sup>2</sup>



- \* Coefficients significant at the 95% level
- \*\* Coefficients significant at the 70% level
- \*\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 90% and 80% level

As shown in the figure above the age of the household head has the most statistically significant impact on satisfaction. Nevertheless the coefficient is quite weak.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,2} = 1.12$  shows that for a unit increase in the age of the household head the probability of being satisfied increases by 12%.

Quality of unit has a considerable causal impact on satisfaction and the causal relationship is positive.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,7} = 1.82$  shows that for a unit increase in housing quality the probability of being satisfied increases around 80%

Tenure status appears to be negatively related with satisfaction.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,9} = .48$  shows that the probability of owner-occupiers being satisfied is around two times lower than tenants.

<sup>2</sup>As in the previous analysis (Chapter 5), due to the limited number of small households observed in this area type (only 3 cases) these were cancelled from the sample, and the household type variable was dropped from the model.

This is quite surprising since homeowners are generally found to be more satisfied than tenants. It may be that since tenants tend to occupy their units on a more temporary basis they have evaluated their satisfaction in terms of their short term needs, whereas owners, aware that they would not be able to change their units so easily - particularly in view of the housing market conditions - have probably evaluated their satisfaction with reference to their long term needs (and/or their ultimate level of housing satisfaction) and may have higher criteria for satisfaction.

Figure 6.2 shows that past residential mobility (the number of moves that the household made in the previous 5 years) is inversely related with satisfaction.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,8} = .53$  indicates that for each move in the past, the probability of being satisfied with the current unit decreases nearly twofold. However at 70%, the statistical significance level of these causal impacts by quality of unit, tenure status, and past residential mobility is not very high - below the 80% threshold.

A weak positive causal relationship between upward social mobility and being satisfied with the current unit was found;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,6} = 1.07$ , which is statistically significant at 70%. Given the small size of the regression coefficient, and the low statistical significance level we do not consider this relationship relevant for our interpretations.

The variables postulated in the model account for around one fifth of the variation in the dependent variable ( $R^2 = .22$ ) which is not very high. There may be different patterns of impacts by the postulated variables on the satisfaction of the two tenure groups, and/or different subjective evaluations of the households' satisfaction could have caused the low level of explanation by the model. The results for the tenure groups considered separately should provide us with a clearer picture.

### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

Again since the sample size of the "TT" group in this area type is quite small (19 respondents when those with incomplete information were omitted), it was not possible to arrive at regression coefficients when all the independent variables were entered into the equation together. Therefore the "stepwise" method was attempted but none of the variables were statistically significant. Nevertheless the cross tabulation of past residential mobility and satisfaction for the full set of 35 respondents gives some indication of the extent to which being mobile in the past and being satisfied with the existing unit are correlated with each other (see Table 6.3).

TABLE 6.3      Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 2

	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	70	56	63
Dissatisfaction	30	44	37
Number of Cases	17	18	35

Given the reasonably high percentage of satisfied cases among mobile tenants it would appear that a considerable proportion of the mobile tenants in this area type managed to attain satisfactory units. This is consistent with the results of the analysis in the previous chapter where it was found that the tenants' income level was the key determinant of their residential mobility, and those with higher incomes were more mobile than those with low income levels. Furthermore increases in incomes was also found to be an important factor which induced moves (see Figure 5.4). In view of these findings it was argued that a considerable proportion of the moves made by middle income area tenants would have been for housing adjustment purposes, and even if adjustment was not the primary reason for moving, many of the mobile tenants were expected to have secured units which are convenient for their housing needs.

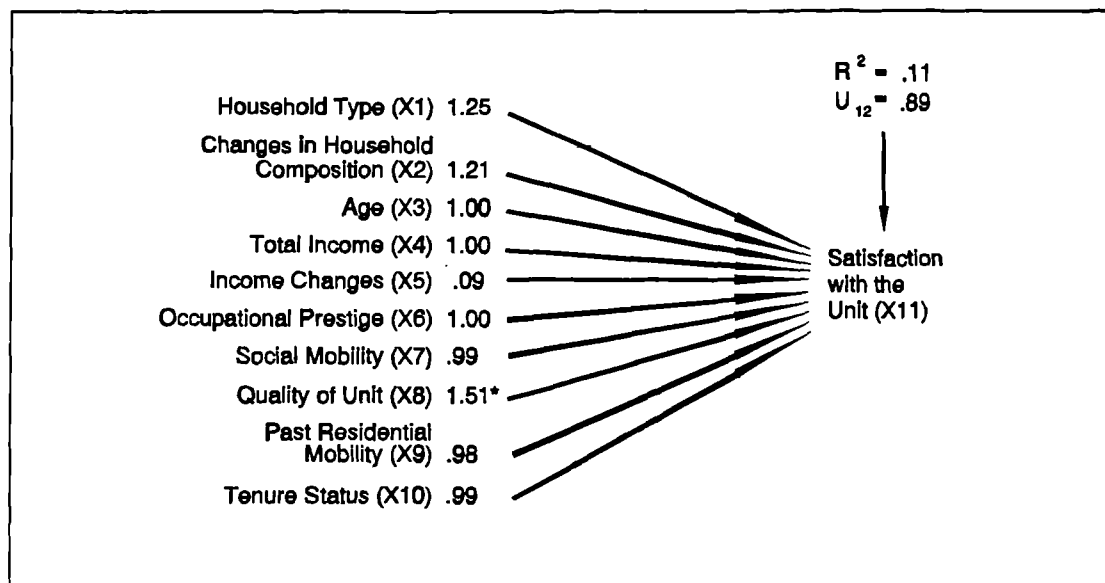


Results of the analysis in Chapter 5 also show that those with less economic power were more immobile. This might be interpreted as due to lack of choice and hence in the majority of cases immobility would have been forced. However, here it is found that among the 17 immobile tenants 12 are currently satisfied with their units (which corresponds to 70% satisfaction among immobile cases - Table 6.3). This suggests that immobility among the middle income area type tenants is unlikely to have been forced, and that their satisfaction is more likely to be a rational assessment of their relatively limited opportunities for finding a better unit.

### Area type 3 low income area type of authorised stock

We shall now look at the results for the low income area type of the authorised stock. The level of dissatisfaction among all the households in this area type (both tenure groups together) is higher than in the middle income type areas. The majority (62%) of households in this area type are dissatisfied with their current units. The results of the model showed that its explanatory power is quite low at a level of 11% (see Figure 6.3 below). Neither tenure status nor past residential mobility, and none of the household characteristics and dynamics, have any causal impact on current housing satisfaction.

FIGURE 6.3 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for All Households (Both Tenure Groups Together) in Area Type 3



\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at 80% level

Quality of unit is the only independent variable to have a causal impact on satisfaction.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,8} = 1.51$  shows that a unit increase in the quality index increases the probability of being satisfied by 50%. As was indicated earlier, the postulated variables in the model may have different patterns of impacts on the satisfaction of different tenure groups. Separate analyses for the tenure groups may therefore provide us with different scenarios. We now analyse the housing satisfaction of tenants (the "TT Group").

### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

As shown in the table below there is no significant difference in the level of satisfaction between mobile and immobile tenants, and in both groups quite high percentages are currently dissatisfied with their units.

TABLE 6.4 Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 3

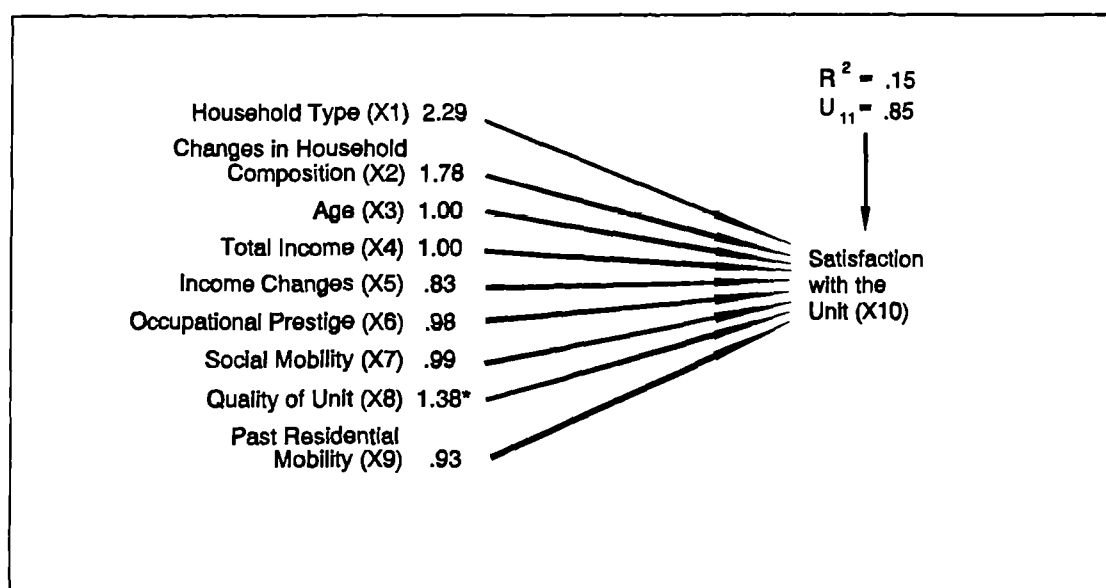
	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	38	33	35
Dissatisfaction	62	67	65
Number of Cases	21	30	51*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those figures are not given here.

When the model is run for this group separately (see Figure 6.4 below) it is found that among the postulated independent variables, again the quality of unit is the only one which has any causal impact on satisfaction.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,8} = 1.38$  shows that a unit increase in the housing quality index increases the probability of being satisfied by 38%. The value of  $R^2$  is quite low; .15 indicating that the model explained only 15% of the variation in the satisfaction of ongoing tenants<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>The lack of influence of the tenants' own characteristics and dynamics on their current housing satisfaction deserves some comment. In our view it is not surprising given that their past residential (im)mobility was independent of their own characteristics and dynamics, and that most tenants are currently dissatisfied with their units. The lack of impact by household dynamics on housing satisfaction within a group majority of which are dissatisfied, shows that there are several dissatisfied cases among both those who experienced changes in their own characteristics (and whose housing needs are supposed to have changed), and those who did not experience any changes (whose housing needs are supposed to have remained the same) during the previous 5 years. Among those who appeared not to have had any changes in their own characteristics within that period some might have had changes prior to 1983 but may not have been able to adjust their needs since. Households' different subjective criteria in evaluating their housing satisfaction may be a factor accounting for the weak relationship found here between the socio-economic characteristics of tenants and their housing satisfaction, and hence for the low level of the model's explanatory power.

FIGURE 6.4 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for "TT" Group in Area Type 3



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at 80% level

As has already been established the tenants in this area type have been highly mobile in the previous 5 years. Nevertheless here it is found that there is no causal relationship between past residential mobility and satisfaction<sup>4</sup> - the more mobile tenants are not more likely to be satisfied. Moreover, the percentage of dissatisfied cases among mobile tenants is quite high; 67%. Since we have no information relating to the satisfaction of tenants when they first moved into the unit, it is not possible to determine the extent to which residential mobility allowed them to move into satisfactory units. Nevertheless the very high proportion of dissatisfied cases amongst the mobile group suggests that at most a minority were able to move into satisfactory units.

These two conclusions: (i) that mobile tenants are not more likely to be satisfied than immobile tenants; and (ii) that only a minority of mobile tenants were able to attain

<sup>4</sup>An analysis of satisfaction using residential mobility as a categorical variable was also run. Tenants were classified into two groups: (a) mobiles (those who made at least one move); and (b) immobiles. The results of this model are not very different from the ones arrived at above. Again there was no apparent relationship between mobility and satisfaction.

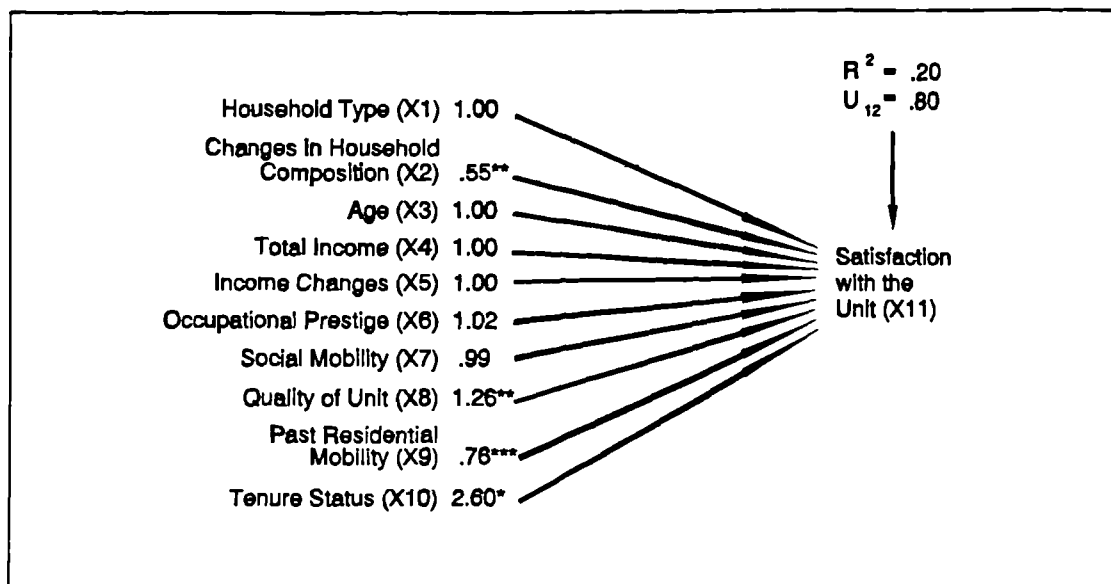
satisfactory units, are consistent with the results of the previous chapter which showed that the residential mobility of tenants in type 3 areas was independent of their own characteristics and dynamics (see Figure 5.6). This makes it even harder to explain their high rates of mobility as due to an adjustment process.

We shall now consider housing satisfaction in the gecekondü stock.

#### Area type 4 gecekondü area type

In this area type the bulk (65%) of the total sample (both tenure groups together) were found to be dissatisfied with their units. This ratio is not very different from the one found in the low income area type of the authorised stock. Nevertheless the results of the model (see Figure 6.5 below) present a different picture from that of the authorised part of the stock.

FIGURE 6.5 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for All the Households (Both Tenure Groups Together) in Area Type 4



\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\*\* Coefficients significant at the 70% level

Contrary to the situation in the low income area type of the authorised stock, tenure status has a fairly strong impact on the satisfaction of gecekondü households. It was found that the probability of being satisfied with the units is nearly 3 times higher for owner-occupiers than for tenants in this area type;  $\text{Exp}(b)_{11,10} = 2.60$ . As discussed earlier, legalisation and redevelopment projects promise considerable gains to the owners of gecekondü stock, while the context for tenants has probably not been favourable, and this must be one of the main factors accounting for the strong positive relationship between being an owner-occupier and being satisfied.

Changes in household composition is the second variable which influences the housing satisfaction of gecekondü households.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,2} = .55$  shows that the probability of being satisfied is nearly two times higher for those whose household composition did not change during the previous 5 years.

Housing quality is positively related with satisfaction but the coefficient  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,8} = 1.26$  shows that the impact is not very strong at all. For a unit increase in housing quality the probability of being satisfied increases by 26%. In fact the impact of quality of unit is lower here than in the authorised stock. The redevelopment projects planned by the State, and the considerable opportunities which have subsequently emerged for the owners of gecekondus, must have been influential factors on the owners' evaluation of their current housing satisfaction, and have probably decreased the influence of quality of unit on their evaluations, and at the same time they may also have led different patterns of the impact of housing quality on the satisfaction of the two tenure groups.

The households' socio-economic conditions, social mobility and income changes do not influence housing satisfaction at all. Past residential mobility has a certain inverse relationship with satisfaction. But, the coefficient is not strong; and its statistical significance level is 74% - which is lower than the 80% threshold level.

In this area type again the equivalent of  $R^2$  indicates that the model has limited power to explain the variation in the satisfaction of households. Here it should be reiterated that satisfaction is a subjective concept, hence among the external factors (which do not take place in the model as variables) individual household tastes and preferences must have been influential. In addition to this, in the gecekondus area type the particular supply conditions and the considerable opportunities emerging for the owner-occupiers through state urban redevelopment projects, must have influenced the owners' evaluation of their current satisfaction with the unit. This could be a major contributor to the lack of impact by other household characteristics, and as was indicated above, to the low impact of quality of unit - which is lower here than in other areas. Hence separate analyses of the tenure groups should provide us with different pictures.

Let us now look at the results for the "TT" group in this area type.

### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

In this area type the percentage of dissatisfied cases among the "TT" group is very high at 73% - even higher than in the low income area type of the authorised stock. Moreover (as seen in Table 6.5 below) the percentage of dissatisfied cases is higher among the mobile tenants than among the immobiles.

TABLE 6.5      Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Area Type 4

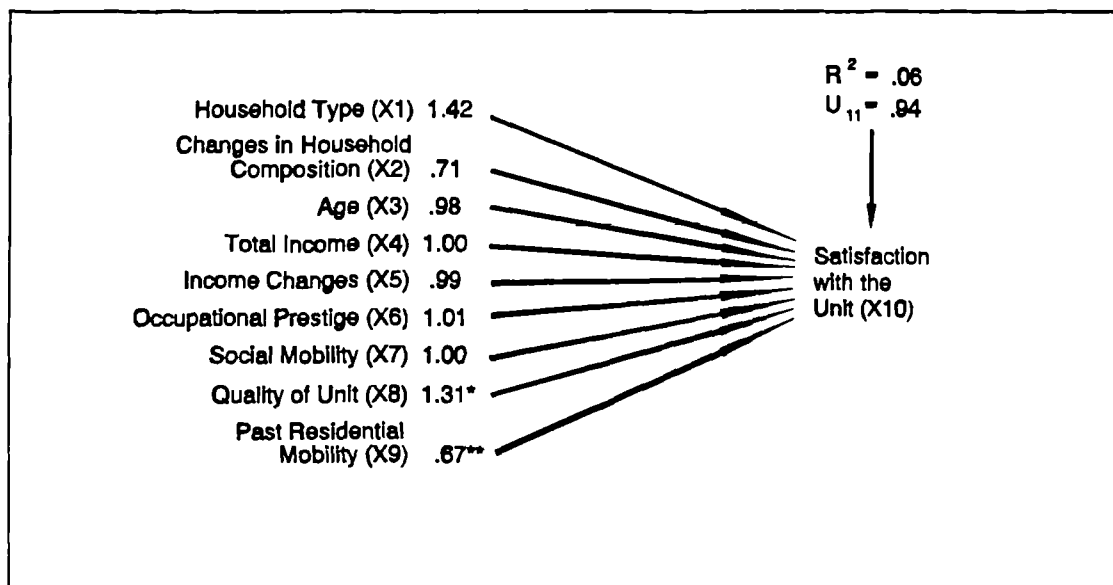
	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	31	23	27
Dissatisfaction	69	77	73
Number of Cases	55	53	108*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete set of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

When the model was run for this group it was also found that past residential mobility has a negative causal impact on satisfaction (see Figure 6.6 below).



FIGURE 6.6 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for -  
"TT Group" - in Area Type 4



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

The coefficient  $\text{Exp}(b)_{10,9} = .67$  indicates that the probability of being satisfied with the existing unit decreases by around  $\frac{1}{1.50}$  <sup>5</sup> for each move in the past<sup>6</sup>. Quality of unit is the second variable which has an impact on the satisfaction of tenants. Nevertheless the coefficient is not very strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,8} = 1.31$ . For a unit increase in the housing quality index of the area type the probability of being satisfied increases by 30%. As was the case for area type 3, the tenants' own characteristics and dynamics have no influence on their

<sup>5</sup>  $1/.67 = 1.49$ ; the probability of being satisfied increases by 49% for each move less in the past.

<sup>6</sup>As for the other area types another model was run in which tenants' mobility was treated as a categorical variable, separating mobiles (who had made at least one move) and immobiles. The results were no different from the ones arrived at above.

current housing satisfaction<sup>7</sup>. The equivalent of  $R^2$  is very low, showing that almost all the variation in the dependent variable is explained by factors external to the model.

Our main discussion will focus on the effect of past residential mobility on satisfaction. Firstly, as shown in Table 6.5 above, a very high percentage of mobile tenants (77%) are dissatisfied with their units. These may include cases of households who were satisfied at first but who became dissatisfied later. However given the very high percentage of dissatisfied mobile tenants it would be unrealistic to expect that any considerable proportion of tenants would have moved into satisfactory units. In a context where the bulk of tenants are dissatisfied, the negative causal relationship between past residential mobility and housing satisfaction, provides us with solid evidence to support the argument that the high levels of mobility by these tenants cannot be construed as a matter of choice. In addition to the above findings, it has already been established in the previous chapter that the gecekondü tenants' own household characteristics and dynamics did not have any causal impact on their past residential mobility (see Figure 5.8). Thus if (i) mobile tenants are more likely to be dissatisfied than immobile tenants; (ii) the proportion of dissatisfied cases among mobile tenants is very high and it seems unlikely that they were able to attain satisfactory units, and (iii) the tenants' own household characteristics and dynamics, particularly those assumed to be decisive on residential mobility, do not have any causal relationship with their past residential mobility, it is clear that the majority of moves made by the gecekondü tenants were not an adjustment mechanism for their housing needs. On the contrary it is likely that they were forced moves.

On the other hand, although the immobile tenants appeared less likely to be dissatisfied, the proportion of dissatisfied cases among this group was not negligible at all at nearly 70%.

---

<sup>7</sup>As was the case in area type 3, the absence of any impact by the tenants' own household dynamics on housing satisfaction in this area type - where a very considerable proportion of households are currently dissatisfied with their unit - showed that not only are many of those who experienced changes in household characteristics (whose housing needs are supposed to have changed) dissatisfied, but so are many of the tenants who did not experience any change. Nevertheless, given that the tenants' past residential mobility appears to have been independent of the housing needs arising from their household dynamics, the above situation is not surprising at all. Moreover the absence of (or weak) impacts of the households' characteristics on their housing satisfaction can mainly be explained as due to the different priorities each household has in allocating their budget between rent and other expenses, as well as due to the subjective criteria used by households with different income and occupational prestige levels to evaluate their housing satisfaction.

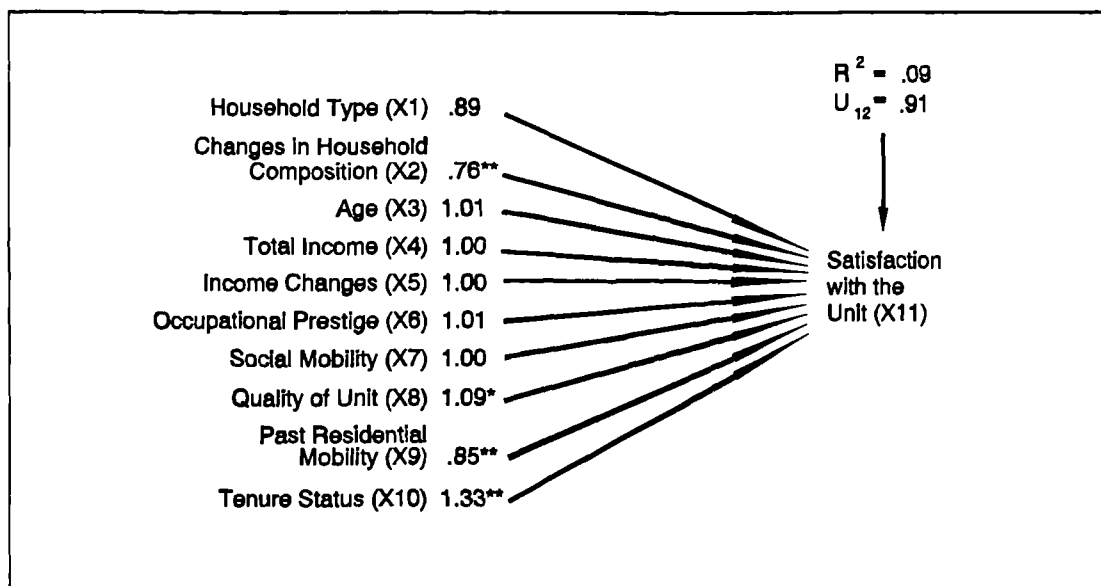
Hence one cannot argue that the housing consumption of these tenants is not constrained. Nevertheless, since we do not know for how long they have been dissatisfied, it is not possible to determine the extent of the constraints at this stage of the study. We will return to this matter in the following chapter.

### The whole sample

Having examined the housing satisfaction for each area type, we shall now analyse the results for the whole sample (both tenure groups together). Since the sample is proportionally representative of the whole city the results are valid for the total population of Ankara.

It was found that the proportion of households in the city who are dissatisfied with their units is considerable at a level of 58%. Now let us look at the impacts of the postulated variables.

FIGURE 6.7 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for the Whole of Ankara



- \* Coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\* Coefficients significant at the 70% level
- \*\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

As shown in the figure above quality of unit is the only variable with an impact on satisfaction which is statistically significant above the 80% significance threshold. However, the coefficient is quite weak;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,8} = 1.09$ . For a unit increase in the quality spectrum of the entire stock of the city the probability of being satisfied increases by only 9%. As previously established the impact of housing quality in each area type was much higher than for the whole sample - 1.80 in the middle income area type, 1.50 in the low income area type of the authorised stock, and 1.26 in the gecekondü area type. It would appear that households assess the quality of their unit with reference to the quality spectrum of the particular area type - the particular segment of the housing stock - that they are resident in, rather than with reference to the quality spectrum of the whole stock.

Amongst the other variables, changes in household composition, past residential mobility, and tenure status also have some impacts. But these impacts are only significant at the 70% level. Considering the quite large sample size; ( $n=338$  cases with complete information), these coefficients are not considered relevant for the discussion here<sup>8</sup>.

### Ongoing tenants (the "TT" Group)

We now look at the results for the "TT" group in the whole sample. Since a very considerable proportion of the "TT" group in the city is comprised by tenants in the two low income area types - particularly in the gecekondü areas - the results shown here are not noticeably different from those obtained for the gecekondü areas.

It is found that the bulk (65%) of the tenants in Ankara are currently dissatisfied with their units. The level of dissatisfaction is higher among mobile tenants than among those who had remained immobile during the previous 5 years (see Table 6.6 below).

---

<sup>8</sup>The coefficients show that those who experienced changes in their household composition ( $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,2} = .76$ ); those who were more mobile in the past ( $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,9} = .85$ ); and those who are tenants ( $\text{Exp}(b)_{11,10} = 1.33$ ) are less likely to be satisfied.

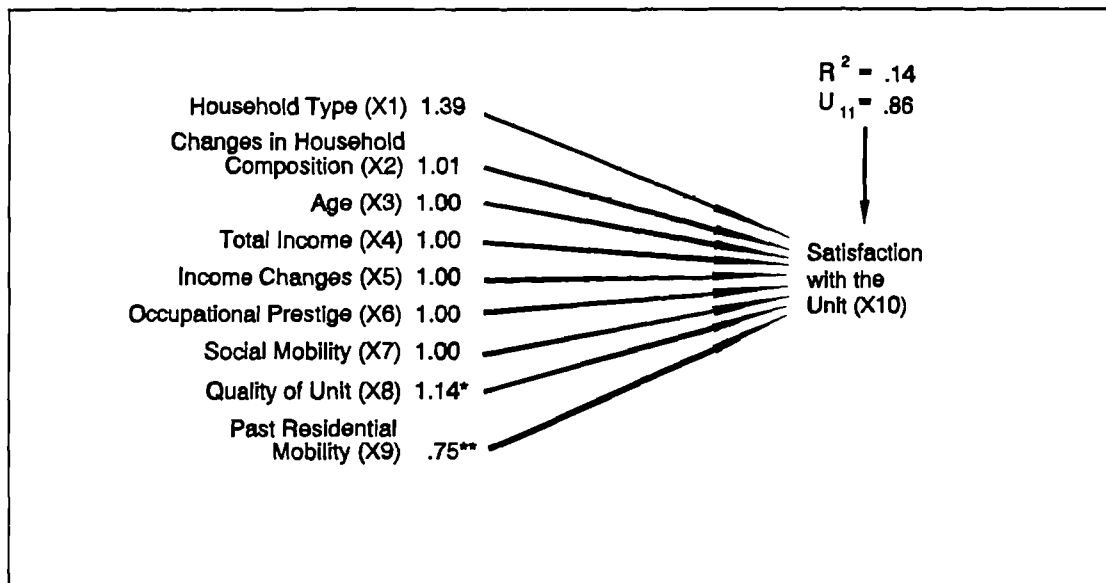
TABLE 6.6 Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the "TT" Group in Ankara

	Immobile (%)	Mobile (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	40	31	35
Dissatisfaction	60	69	65
Number of Cases	90	93	183*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete set of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

When the model is run it is also confirmed that there is a negative causal relationship between past residential mobility and current housing satisfaction (see Figure 6.8).

FIGURE 6.8 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for the Whole Sample of "TT" Group in Ankara



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Of all the postulated variables, past residential mobility has the strongest impact on the current housing satisfaction of all the tenants in the city;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{9,10} = .75^9$ . For each move in the past the probability of being satisfied with the existing unit decreases by around 30%. Hence the negative causal relationship between past residential mobility and current housing satisfaction, together with the very high percentages of dissatisfied cases, provide us with strong evidence that residential mobility in Ankara cannot be an adjustment mechanism for the housing needs and preferences of tenants; it does not lead the majority of tenants to satisfactory units.

Quality of unit has a negligible impact on satisfaction;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,8} \approx 1.14$ . As was the case for the individual area types, household characteristics and dynamics did not influence the

<sup>9</sup>As was done for each of the area types, the model was also run by classifying the tenants into two groups: (a) mobiles; and (b) immobiles. The results did not change though the inverse relationship between mobility and satisfaction became stronger.  $\text{Exp}(b)_{9,10} = 1.77$  shows that the probability of immobile tenants being satisfied is nearly two times higher than for mobile tenants.

housing satisfaction of tenants in the city as a whole. Hence the model explained only a very limited proportion of the variation in the satisfaction of tenants in Ankara.

As indicated earlier "satisfaction with the unit" involves several subjective issues: (i) the particular tastes and expectations, and hence the subjective criteria of each individual household for evaluating satisfaction; (ii) the household's evaluation of its own position, available alternatives, and potential in the market; and (iii) the household's individual decisions in allocating its budget between rent and other household expenses and investments. This can even cause the satisfaction to differ between households who have the same tastes and financial means, and the same opportunities in the market. These issues - which could not be included in the model - probably account to a large extent for the lack of impact by the socio-economic characteristics of the households, and for the low explanatory power of the model in each area type and in the whole sample.

As was established housing quality has appreciable impacts in individual area types, but when the whole sample is considered for the tenants and for both groups together, the impact of this objective indicator is much lower. In a context where the supply conditions in different segments of the stock are quite different, and where there are sharp differences in the socio-economic characteristics of the households and where there must have been considerable differences in their tastes, the low impact of housing quality - which is in fact associated with the striking differences in housing quality across the spectrum of the whole city - further supports the idea that subjective evaluations by households are an important factor external to the model.

### 6.3 CHANGES IN THE HOUSING STANDARDS AND HOUSING SATISFACTION OF MOBILE TENANTS BETWEEN 1983 AND 1988

Having examined the current levels of satisfaction and the impact of past residential mobility on satisfaction - which together provide us with important evidence for developing an argument concerning the high mobility of tenants in Ankara - we shall now consider the changes in the housing satisfaction and housing standards of mobile tenants.

Changes in the housing standards and housing satisfaction of mobile tenants can be taken as a further indicator of the extent to which residential mobility is a mechanism for the adjustment of housing needs. If it is an adjustment mechanism then significant proportions of these mobile tenants would be expected to have experienced improved housing conditions and better satisfaction levels over the previous 5 years.

To identify changes in housing conditions two kinds of data were considered: (i) an "objective" index of changing housing conditions based on the age and type of building, number of rooms, and area type of the current unit compared with the one occupied 5 years' previously<sup>10</sup>; and (ii) households' subjective evaluations of the conditions of their existing unit compared with their conditions 5 years previously.

We will begin by analysing the changes in terms of the objective index.

---

<sup>10</sup>The formation of this housing quality index and the value of each variable in the formula were explained in the previous section.



TABLE 6.7 Changes in the Housing Conditions of Tenants Who Were Mobile in the 5 Years Prior to 1988 - Using the Objective Index\*

	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Total Sample
% who Experienced Improved Housing Conditions	20	20	12	16
Score 1988	16	14	10	
Score 1983	15	11	8	
-----				
% Who Experienced No Change	60	45	45	47
Score 1988	15	12	8	
-----				
% Who Experienced Worsening Housing Conditions	20	35	43	37
Score 1988	16	12	8	
Score 1983	17	13	10	
-----				
Number of Cases	15	34	51	100

\* Percentages could not be calculated for Type 1 areas since there were only 2 cases of mobile tenants.

The figures in the first row show that the proportion of mobile tenants with improved housing conditions is low in all the area types. In the two area types of the authorised stock they comprise 20% of the observed cases and in the gecekondü area type the figure is even lower at 12%. By contrast the percentage of those with worsening housing conditions is much higher in the two lower income area types. In the middle income area type the percentage of those who experienced worsening conditions is 20% - no different from those experiencing improved conditions. The percentage of those who maintained their housing standards is

quite substantial (45% - 60%) in all the area types, but particularly in the middle income area type where 60% of the mobile tenants appeared to have experienced no change in their housing standards over the 5 years prior to 1988.

Before embarking on an interpretation of the above figures, let us look at the tenants' subjective evaluations of the changes in their housing conditions.

TABLE 6.8                      Changes in the Housing Satisfaction of Tenants Who Were Mobile in the 5 Years Prior to 1988 - Using the Subjective Evaluations\*

	Area Type 2	Area Type 3	Area Type 4	Total Sample
% who Experienced Improved Housing Conditions	33	24	12	19
-----				
% Who Experienced No Change	40	35	51	44
-----				
% Who Experienced Worsening Housing Conditions	27	41	37	37
-----				
Number of Cases	15	34	51	100

\* Again percentages could not be calculated for Type 1 areas since there were only 2 cases of mobile tenants.

The proportions of tenants in each category are not significantly different from those shown in the objective index in the previous table. As shown in the table above, in no area type do those who experienced improved housing conditions constitute more than 33%. In area types 3 and 4 they represent under a quarter, and particularly in area type 4 the proportion is negligible. Only in the middle income area type is the figure (33%) higher than the

percentage shown in the objective index. By contrast the proportion of mobile tenants who experienced worsening conditions is higher in the lower income area types. In both low income area types around 40% of the mobile tenants indicated that their housing conditions have worsened over the past 5 years, while in the middle income area type less than one third of the mobile tenants reported worsening conditions. In general the subjective and objective indexes show similar patterns for those who experienced worsening conditions.

Now we will consider this new set of results in relation to our previous findings in order to further clarify the character of residential mobility in different area types.

Our previous analyses showed that in the middle income area type those with higher income levels, and those whose incomes had increased in real terms within the previous 5 years were more likely to be mobile, and a quite significant percentage of the mobile tenants were found to be satisfied with their existing units. Given these results it is not possible to argue that the majority of these moves were forced. Here the low percentages of mobile tenants who experienced worsening conditions - in terms of both the objective index and subjective evaluations - complemented our previous findings. This may be taken as further empirical ~~evidence~~ *evidence that the housing consumption of the mobile tenants was not constrained to any significant degree in the middle income area type.* On the other hand the percentage of those who experienced improved housing conditions was not high enough for us to conclude that the majority of moves were for the adjustment of housing needs, in order to attain better units. Is it the case that the principal reason behind many of the moves by these middle income area type tenants was not to attain better units ?

Even if housing adjustment was not the primary factor inducing the move, it is apparent that a significant proportion of the mobile tenants were able to attain satisfactory units, and/or maintain their housing quality level. When the interaction between categories of current housing satisfaction and categories of change in the levels of satisfaction is considered, those who are satisfied with their current unit while maintaining their satisfaction level comprise

the largest number of cases at around a quarter of all the mobile cases<sup>11</sup>. Hence the most common types of moves among the tenants of the middle income area type are: (i) adjustment moves to attain units which are better suited to their housing needs - whether or not the households are currently satisfied; and (ii) moves in which the adjustment of housing needs does not appear to be the principal factor, but the households attain satisfactory units while maintaining their level of satisfaction. Although the adjustment purpose is not evident in the latter case, constraints are obviously very low on these tenants' housing consumption. Such moves can be described as an "alternative type of adjustment move" or a "successful move".

The low percentages of mobile tenants who experienced improved conditions in the two low income area types - in terms of both objective and subjective criteria - are entirely consistent with the results obtained previously. As was established, in these two area types the past residential mobility of the tenants was independent of their own dynamics and characteristics. Furthermore there was no positive causal relationship between being mobile in the previous 5 years and being satisfied with the current unit. On the contrary the causal relationship was negative in the gecekondu area type. Additionally, in both area types the percentage of dissatisfied cases among mobile tenants is very high. Hence the low percentages of those who experienced improved conditions should be considered as further support for the argument that the residential mobility of low income area type tenants does not conform to the housing adjustment model.

On the other hand the percentage of those who experienced worsening housing standards is not very high, in the range of 35% - 43%. The percentage of those whose subjective satisfaction level decreased is in a similar range, from 37% - 41%. A comparable percentage of mobile tenants appeared to have experienced no change either in their housing conditions or in their level of satisfaction. Does this imply that not all mobile tenants are subject to severe constraints? The question of the extent of these constraints will be discussed in the next chapter.

---

<sup>11</sup>The interaction between categories of current housing satisfaction and categories of changes in housing standards (in terms of objective criteria) also shows that the largest number of cases are currently satisfied while maintaining their housing quality level. This cell comprises one third of all the mobile tenants.

## 6.4 ANALYSES OF CURRENT HOUSING SATISFACTION OF OWNER-OCCUPIERS

As was established, lack of residential mobility is a common feature among the "OO" group (those who were owner-occupiers throughout the 1983 - 1988 period) in area types 2, 3, and 4. The levels of current housing satisfaction among these households will be fundamental to the question of whether their immobility is a matter of choice, or a forced response to the constraints.

In area types 3 and 4 almost all the "OO" groups were immobile (apart from a couple of mobile cases), whereas in area type 2 mobile cases comprise a significant minority. In addition to the current level of satisfaction, the impact of past residential mobility on the satisfaction of the "OO" group in type 2 areas will provide us with complementary information. For example, even if the level of satisfaction is high, if the immobile owners are found to be less likely to be satisfied then the constraints on their housing consumption should be counted among the reasons which lead the owners to be immobile - although they may not be the principal reason. In area types 3 and 4 on the other hand - given that there were only three mobile cases in area type 3 and in area 4 only one - the level of satisfaction will be the only indicator of the extent to which immobility is a matter of choice. In addition to examining the level of satisfaction, a couple of questions were raised, answers to which can further clarify our understanding of the housing consumption of these immobile owner-occupiers. Are owner-occupiers with particular household characteristics more likely to be satisfied than others? And are the immobile owner-occupiers who experienced change in their household characteristics (and whose housing needs are supposed to have changed) more likely to be dissatisfied? Therefore in these areas we examined the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics and housing quality on the current housing satisfaction of the immobile "OO" groups.

In this section we also examined the current housing satisfaction of those who were tenants in 1983 and who became owner-occupiers between then and 1988 (the "TO" group). Considering the unfavourable conditions of housing supply, the question of whether those who became homeowners after 1983 were able to attain satisfactory units - a question that is raised

in Chapter 3 - appears to be important. The level of housing satisfaction among the "TO" group will shed further light on this question.

Finally the impact of past residential mobility on current housing satisfaction is examined for all the owner-occupiers (both the "OO" group and the "TO" group together) through the causal model where household characteristics and dynamics and housing quality comprise the other independent variables. Here it should be recalled that in the case of owner-occupiers past residential mobility is considered as a dichotomous variable. Homeowners were classified as either mobile or immobile since all the mobile cases in the "OO" group made only one move in the previous 5 years, and since none of the "TO" group made another move after becoming homeowners and their previous moves as a tenant do not concern us here (see Chapter 5 model for the past residential mobility of owner-occupiers). Hence the impact of past residential mobility on satisfaction will in fact provide a comparison of the housing satisfaction of two groups (cohorts) of house buyers - those who were in the market either in the pre or post 1983 periods. In other words the impacts of past residential mobility will reflect the impacts of buying the unit in different periods when the supply conditions are likely to have been different. As explained in Chapter 3, after 1983 the restructuring of the authorised housing supply started and in 1983 and 1985 the laws passed which pardoned *gecekondus* and allowed redevelopment plans in the unauthorised housing areas. Hence the causal impact of (im)mobility on housing satisfaction should provide us with an interesting perspective on the extent to which the housing market positions of housebuyers in the pre and post 1983 periods is different - in other words whether there have been any significant changes in the market positions of housebuyers.

The causal relationships in question will be estimated through the same model established in the previous section (see Figure 6.1). All the variables except for past residential mobility will be measured in the same way as in the analyses described there. Hence the meanings of the positive coefficients, except for the one concerning the impact of residential mobility, remain the same. As was indicated earlier past residential mobility is a dichotomous variable. Households were classified as mobiles (coded as 1) and immobiles (coded as 0).

In the logit analyses the "internal" coding of dichotomous independent variables is changed. While the mobiles which were coded as 1 are taken as the base category and obtain 0 as their internal coding, immobiles obtain 1. Therefore in the analyses both for the "OO" groups separately, and for the "OO" and "TO" groups together, the meaning of positive coefficient  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,9}$  is: The probability of being satisfied with the unit is higher for immobile owners than for mobile owners.

### Area Type 1 : high income area type

In this area type, after omitting cases with incomplete information from the regression analyses, due to the small sample size it was not possible to run the model for the owner-occupiers and, as was seen previously it was not even possible to run the model for both tenure groups together. Consequently here we only consider the level of housing satisfaction for the full sample of immobile owner-occupiers, without omitting the cases with incomplete information. It is found that the bulk (70%) of immobile households are currently satisfied with their units. This result suggests that their immobility should be primarily explained as a matter of choice, rather than constraint. Since the number of mobile cases is very small - there are only 2 "OO" cases who moved within the owner-occupied stock, and 4 "TO" cases - it is not possible to calculate percentages. Both of the "OO" cases who moved within the owner-occupied stock were found to be satisfied, and 2 out of 4 "TO" cases were satisfied.

## Area Type 2 : middle income area type

Let us look first at the levels of satisfaction.

TABLE 6.9                      Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 2

	Immobile (%)	Mobiles "OO" + "TO" (%)**	Total (%)
Satisfaction	62	46	55
Dissatisfaction	38	54	45
Number of Cases	16	13	29*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete sets of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

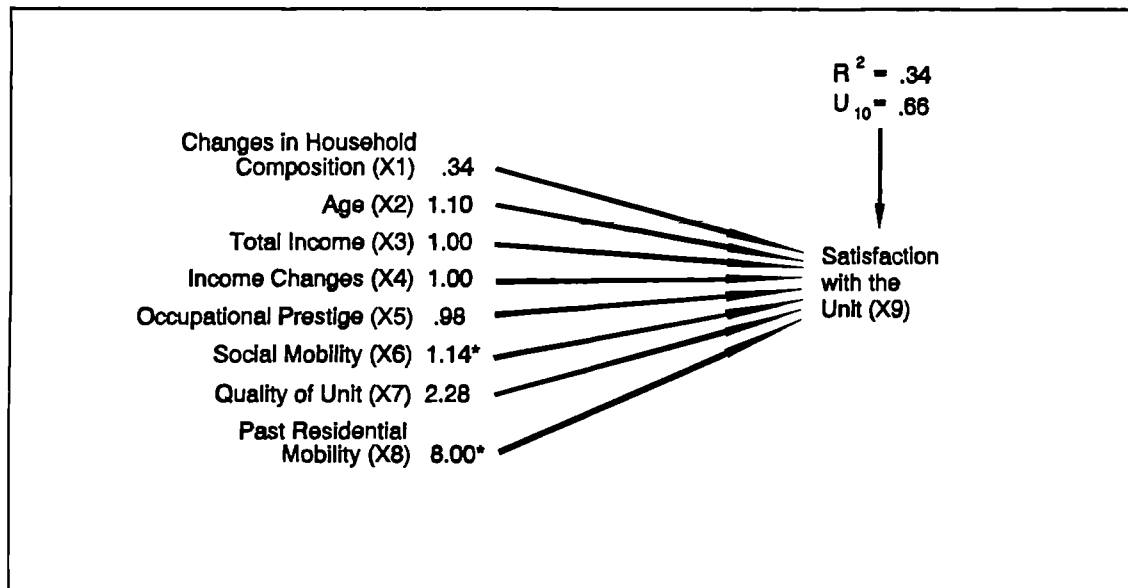
\*\* Since the numbers of the mobile "OO" group and "TO" group with full sets of information are quite small (6 and 7 respectively) the levels of satisfaction are not given separately.

Given that a considerable proportion (62%) of immobile owner-occupiers are satisfied, the low levels of mobility among the owner-occupiers in this area type cannot be explained as due to constraints on their housing consumption. Although the proportion of cases who are currently dissatisfied is not negligible at 38%, immobility seems more likely appears to be a matter of choice.

We now examine the causal impact of (im)mobility on the satisfaction of the "OO" group - to see whether the probability of being satisfied is lower for the immobile owner-occupiers than for those who were mobile. The impacts of household characteristics and dynamics, and of housing quality are also examined in the model.



FIGURE 6.9 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 2<sup>12</sup>



Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Figure 6.9 shows that residential mobility has an extremely strong impact on the satisfaction of the owner-occupiers.  $\text{Exp}(B) = 8.00$  indicates that the probability of being satisfied for owner-occupiers who have been immobile during the previous 5 years is eight times higher than for those who were mobile.

Social mobility is the second variable which has a statistically significant causal impact on current housing satisfaction. Nevertheless the impact is quite weak;  $\text{Exp}(B) = 1.14$  shows that the probability of being satisfied increases by only 14% for a unit increase in the social mobility score of the household.

Coefficients for the impacts of changes in household composition and of housing quality also show that these two variables have some impact on satisfaction. Those who experienced changes in their household composition are less likely to be satisfied than those who did not. In a context where the bulk (around 70%) of the households were immobile this result is not

<sup>12</sup>As was done in Chapter 5 and in the first section of this chapter, due to the very limited number of observations of small households in this area type the "household type" variable was dropped from the model and such cases were eliminated from the sample.

surprising. The coefficient of the impact of housing quality shows that those who have higher quality units are more likely to be satisfied. Although neither of these coefficients are statistically significant at the 80% threshold level - they are only significant at the respective levels of 50% and 60% - considering the small sample size ( $n=22$ ) these coefficients can be considered relevant. Household age and socio-economic characteristics do not show any impact at all.

The  $R^2$  of the model is .34 which is considerable, indicating that more than 30% of the variation in satisfaction is explained by the model and showing that past residential mobility is an important determinant of current housing satisfaction. Quite interestingly however, mobile owners who are usually assumed to have adjusted their needs by their moves and hence who are expected to be at least as satisfied as the immobile households, are found to be less satisfied. Although they may have adjusted their particular, immediate needs it appears that many of them were unable to attain complete satisfaction.

The strong positive relationship between being immobile and being satisfied further supports the view that for most of the owner-occupiers immobility is unlikely to have been forced. Moreover this result also implies that housebuyers in the post 1983 period did not have as many opportunities as those who bought their units prior to 1983.

The level of satisfaction among those who became owner-occupiers after 1983 is not high. 8 out of 12 "TO" cases (full set of respondents) and 4 out of 7 cases of respondents with complete information were found to be dissatisfied, indicating that many of the "TO" cases were unable to buy units that satisfied their needs. The above model was also run in the sample, including the "TO" group. The results are not significantly different from those obtained for the "OO" group separately.<sup>13</sup>

Past residential mobility is again the main determinant of satisfaction. The impact is even stronger than for the the "OO" group separately.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{9,8} = 12.00$  indicates that the probability of being satisfied is 12 times higher for immobile households than for mobile

---

<sup>13</sup>Due to the space limitations the figure for this model is not presented here.

households (who bought their units either as first time buyers, or who moved from one owner-occupied unit to another after 1983). The impact of housing quality became stronger -  $\text{Exp}(B)_{9,7} = 4.00$  - and was also statistically stronger. The  $R^2$  of the model is still considerable at a level of .30.

Hence in both cases (both samples) it is clear that buying units in either the pre or post 1983 period has a strong impact on satisfaction.

The drastic changes in housing market conditions for housebuyers in the 1980s probably constitute the principal factor explaining the above picture. As discussed in Chapter 3, until 1980 conditions were extremely favourable for middle income housebuyers who were thus both the main beneficiaries of and contributors to the "housing boom" experienced up until that time. But after 1980 conditions changed drastically. After the early 1980s in particular, housing production costs began to increase in real terms at high rates, and hence house prices started increasing; the availability of credit relative to prices began to decrease and could cover only a limited proportion of prices; loan conditions got tougher and either interest rates on the debts (in TL) to the seller increased or the debts had to be paid in hard currencies; and real wages started decreasing for many wage earners. Hence the strong relationship between being immobile and being satisfied is a reflection of the worsening position of middle income groups in the housing markets after the 1980s relative to the 1970s<sup>14</sup>.

We now turn to the housing satisfaction of owner-occupiers in area type 3.

---

<sup>14</sup>Before 1980 it has been argued that middle income groups in particular bought units which were larger than they needed (Balamir 1975). Hence there may have been several cases among the immobile owners where although they had changes in their housing needs their unit continued to meet their needs.

### Area Type 3 : low income area type of authorised stock

In contrast to the situation in middle income types of area, in this area type it is found that the bulk of immobile owners are dissatisfied (see Table 6.10 below).

TABLE 6.10                      Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 3

	Immobiles (%)	Mobiles "TO" Group Only (%)	Mobiles Incl. "OO" (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	37	50	55	42
Dissatisfaction	63	50	45	58
Number of Cases	32	8	11	43*

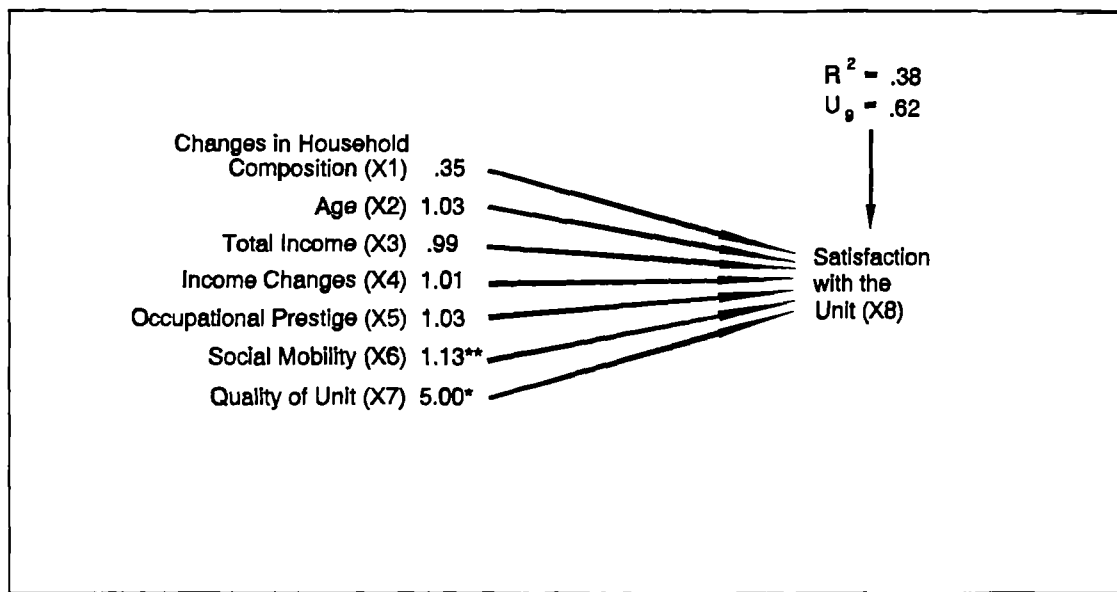
\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete set of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

Given that the bulk of immobile cases are dissatisfied with their units one cannot explain lack of mobility as a matter of choice for majority of the owner-occupiers. Lack of choice is the more likely reason for the lack of mobility - though it is not possible to determine the extent of the constraints since we do not know how long these households have been dissatisfied.

The immediate questions raised are: Is the dissatisfaction among this immobile group more likely to be because of changes in their household characteristics and hence changes in housing needs within the previous 5 years which have remained unadjusted? And are those with particular socio-economic and household characteristics more likely to be dissatisfied? The answers to these questions should broaden our understanding of the extent of the

constraints and the lack of mobility. Now let us examine the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics and of housing quality on the satisfaction of this group.

FIGURE 6.10 Logit Causal Model of Current Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 3<sup>15</sup>



\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Figure 6.10 shows that the explanatory power of the model is quite high.  $R^2 = .38$  indicates that nearly 40% of the variation in the satisfaction of the immobile "OO" group is explained by the model. But quality of unit is the only variable in the model which shows a strong and statistically significant causal impact.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,7} = 5.00$  indicates that the probability of being satisfied increases 5 times for a unit increase in the housing quality index. Social mobility also has a positive causal impact on satisfaction, but it is quite weak.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{8,7} = 1.13$  shows that the probability of being satisfied increases by only 13% for a unit increase in the social mobility score. Changes in household composition seem to have a negative impact on satisfaction, indicating that the probability of being satisfied is lower for those who

<sup>15</sup>Due to the small number of mobile cases (only 3 out of 36), the "residential mobility" variable was dropped from the model and mobile cases were eliminated from the sample. Household composition is another variable where the observed number of small households was very small (2). Hence it was also dropped from the model and small households eliminated from the sample.

experienced changes in their household composition. But statistically this coefficient is not significant enough to be considered relevant<sup>16</sup>. Given that the dissatisfied cases constitute a majority, the lack of any notable impact of changes in household characteristics on housing satisfaction shows that not only many of the owners who experienced changes in their housing needs in the previous 5 years, but also many of those who did not experience any changes and whose housing needs can be assumed to have remained the same, were dissatisfied as well.

There have probably been cases where a household's needs changed prior to the 5 year period that we measured which they have been unable to adjust since. There may also have been cases of households who bought units which did not meet their needs. Hence the number of cases whose housing needs have remained unadjusted for longer than the last 5 years may not be negligible. The existence of such cases can be considered as an indication of the quite severe constraints on the housing consumption of owner-occupiers in this area type.

We now turn to Table 6.10 to see the level of satisfaction among the "TO" group. It is found that the level of dissatisfaction among those who became owner-occupiers after 1983 - 50% - is not negligible, but it is not very high either. Although accessibility to ownership may not have been been easy, and market conditions were unfavourable - out of all the households who were tenants in 1983 only around 10% became owners in this type of area in the next 5 years - it seems that the number of households who failed to attain satisfactory units is not unduly high.

We also examined the impact of past residential mobility on the satisfaction of all the owners (both the "OO" and "TO" groups together). The results of the model showed that there is no causal relationship between past residential mobility and current satisfaction with the unit. The coefficient is very close to 1;  $\text{Exp}(B) = .96$ . At the same time household characteristics and dynamics do not have much impact on satisfaction either. Housing quality is the only postulated variable to have a considerable causal impact on satisfaction;  $\text{Exp}(B) = 1.73$ . However its impact is lower than was found for the immobile "OO" group. Hence the  $R^2$  of

---

<sup>16</sup>The coefficient was only significant at the 45% level, and the sample size (32) was not too small to ignore the question of statistical significance.

the model is lower at .17, indicating that less than a fifth of the variation in satisfaction is explained by the model. The weaker impact of housing quality can be explained by differences in the evaluation of housing satisfaction between mobile owner-occupiers - most of whom became homeowners within the previous 5 years - and those who have remained in the same unit during that time, a point which we will return to later.

The lack of impact that residential mobility has on the satisfaction of all the owner-occupiers is worth considering in more detail. The absence of any impact shows that buying a unit either in the pre or in the post 1983 period does not have any causal impact on a household's current housing satisfaction. In this area type apart from 3 cases out of 11 the majority of mobile households had become owner-occupiers within the previous 5 years. In other words most of the residential mobility was undertaken by the "TO" group. Hence the lack of impact of past residential mobility also shows that there is no difference between the satisfaction of those who became owner-occupiers after 1983 and those who became owners prior to that<sup>17</sup>. This contrasts with the case in type 2 areas where there was a difference between the satisfaction of mobile and immobile households, and where the negative causal relationship between being mobile and being satisfied was even higher when the "TO" group was included in the sample. This implies that the market position of middle income housebuyers worsened drastically. In contrast to the middle income housebuyers low income housebuyers did not benefit from the so-called "housing boom" in the 1970s. In other words they were not one of the main actors in the formation and operation of that housing boom or "miracle" (see Danielson & Keles 1985, Oncu 1985, and Isik 1992). Therefore they were probably not affected by the changes in 1980 as much as the middle income groups, and hence it is not surprising to find that their current housing satisfaction bears no relation being mobile or immobile (in other words it is not related with buying their units - becoming a homeowner - in the pre or post 1983 period).

Furthermore as has already been established, when the mobiles were included in the sample (most of whom became owner-occupiers in the previous 5 years), whereas residential mobility

---

<sup>17</sup>The model was also run incorporating subcategories of ownership. Instead of past residential mobility being either mobile or immobile the independent variable became either "TO" or "OO". Again this variable does not show any impact on current housing satisfaction.

showed no impact on satisfaction the impact of housing quality on satisfaction was lower than for the immobile cases alone. This implies that the mobile households' evaluation of satisfaction in terms of quality of unit was different from the immobile "OO" group in the area. Since becoming a homeowner is probably quite important for low income households, even if their market position worsened relative to those who became owners in the same area type prior to 1983, their awareness that conditions are getting tougher probably meant that several of them considered the units they owned to be satisfactory. They may have had lower criteria for evaluating satisfaction than those who were already homeowners. In other words tenants who became owners after 1983 may be less sensitive to the physical defects of their units than households who became owner-occupiers prior to 1983. On the other hand no such evidence was found in the middle income area type.

We shall now analyse the housing satisfaction of owner-occupiers in the gecekondur stock.

#### Area Type 4 gecekondur areas

As was established residential mobility among the "OO" groups is lowest in the gecekondur areas. Out of the 49 households who have been owner-occupiers since 1983 or before only one was found to be mobile. As seen in the table below the satisfaction level of this group - 52% - is quite significant. Considering this figure one cannot explain their immobility as being primarily due to lack of choice or to constraints. The level of satisfaction among the immobiles (the "OO" group) in the gecekondur stock is significantly higher than in the low income areas of the authorised stock where it was found to be 37%.



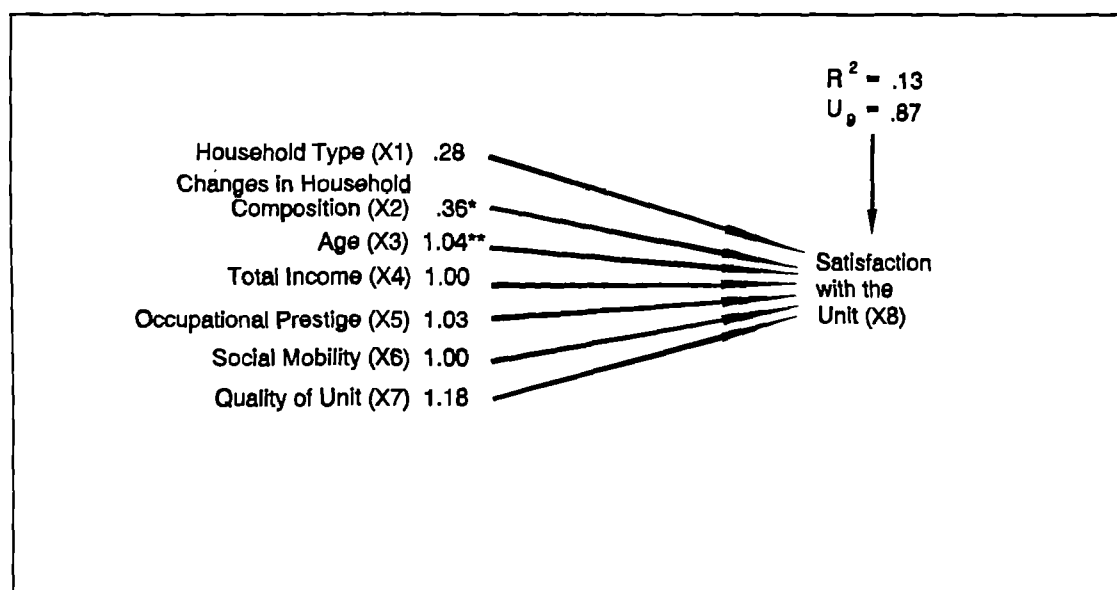
TABLE 6.11 Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Area Type 4

	Immobile (%)	Mobiles "TO" Group Only (%)**	Total (%)
Satisfaction	52	47	50
Dissatisfaction	48	53	50
Number of Cases	48	14	62*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete set of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

Let us now examine the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics and of housing quality on the satisfaction of this immobile group.

FIGURE 6.11 Logit Causal Model of Housing Satisfaction for the "OO" Group in Area Type 4<sup>18</sup>



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

The results of the model show that changes in household composition have the strongest impact on housing satisfaction.  $\text{Exp}(B)8.2 = .36$  indicates that those who experienced changes in their household composition over the previous 5 years are nearly three times less likely to be satisfied than those who did not. Age is the second variable which has a statistically significant impact on housing satisfaction, nevertheless it is very weak. For a unit increase in the household head's age the probability of being satisfied increases by only 4%. Household type also has an impact; larger households are nearly four times less likely to be satisfied with their units than small households. However this coefficient is significant only

<sup>18</sup>When all the originally postulated independent variables were entered into the logit analyses for squatter owners, a very high level of "multicollinearity" was found (.74) between the income level and income change variables. Since such a strong correlation between independent variables can cause distortions in the regression coefficients of the other variables, one of these highly correlated variables should be dropped from the model. As a general rule the one which has the stronger impact on the dependent variable should remain. But in this particular case, neither of these variables had much impact. When the model was run for all the owner-occupiers ("OO" and "TO" groups) the income change variable had strong correlations with both social mobility and total income. Therefore to maintain uniformity between the two models for this area type the "income change" variable was dropped from both of the models. The results did not alter significantly, only the impact of household composition was stronger and had a higher statistical significance level.

at the 70% level - lower than the 80% threshold. Housing quality and the socio-economic characteristics of households appear to have no impacts on current housing satisfaction.

The model has a very low  $R^2$  at .13, indicating that nearly 90% of the variation in satisfaction is explained by factors external to the model.

Although the socio-economic characteristics of households in the two low income area types are not strikingly different (see Chapter 4), and lack of mobility among owner-occupiers is a common feature in both area types, the results of the analyses of their satisfaction are significantly different.

As shown above in gecekondu areas dissatisfaction is related with changes in housing needs resulting from changes in household composition which emerged within the previous 5 years and which have remained unadjusted. On the other hand in the authorised low income area type there was little relationship between satisfaction and any of the household dynamics. In explaining this lack of impact it was argued that there may have been cases of households who experienced changes in their own conditions before the allocated 5 year period and who have not been able to adjust their needs since. In addition some households may have had to buy units which did not satisfy their needs. Hence besides the fact that the level of dissatisfaction is lower in gecekondu areas, there seem to be fewer dissatisfied cases among households whose housing needs have remained unadjusted since before 1983. In other words in gecekondu areas dissatisfaction is more likely to be a matter of recent changes in housing needs than in the authorised low income area type.

However gecekondu land and housing market conditions have not been particularly favourable since the 1970s either. Why is it that dissatisfaction is more likely to be a matter of recent changes in housing needs? By virtue of the physical structure of the stock owners of gecekondu units are assumed to have greater flexibility to adjust their need for extra space by reconstructing their units or building extensions. This option is practically impossible within the apartment blocks that constitute a considerable proportion of the authorised stock in the low income area type. Therefore in the gecekondu areas there may be cases of households who experienced changes in their household conditions before 1983, who were

able to raise money to repair or extend their units. More recent changes in housing needs seem more likely to be unadjusted since within that shorter period there may be households who have been unable to raise money for repair work, or more importantly they may prefer to wait for the redevelopment schemes which are expected to provide better construction rights, rather than undertake repairs or reconstruction work immediately.

Moreover while housing quality is a quite significant determinant of satisfaction in the low income authorised housing area type, in the *gecekondu* areas housing quality has no impact on the satisfaction of owner-occupiers. This can also be explained by the fact that *gecekondu* stock promises more opportunities and speculative gains than ever to the owners through the redevelopment plans issued under the laws in 1983 and 1985 - a situation which does not exist for owner-occupiers in the authorised stock. Many *gecekondu* owners, aware that they will obtain better infrastructure and greater reconstruction rights, have probably evaluated their satisfaction with the unit in terms of the its long term potential or prospects rather than the existing conditions, and they may not be as sensitive to deficiencies in their units as the owners in the authorised low income stock. Furthermore as was indicated earlier *gecekondu* owners have greater flexibility to repair their units, and the repair or renewal of units was not reflected in our quality index. This may also be a factor accounting for the absence of a causal impact of housing quality on satisfaction in the *gecekondu* areas.

Thus differences between the two low income area types in terms of the legal status of stock and the consequent particular conditions of these housing markets and in terms of the physical structure of the stock, are probably the principal factors accounting for the different perspectives on the housing consumption and immobility of the "OO" groups in these two types of area. From the results of our analyses in this section it can be argued that the lack of mobility in the *gecekondu* stock is much less likely to be a matter of constraints than in the authorised low income area type.

Assuming that the redevelopment plans and consequent emerging opportunities have an important influence on the housing consumption decisions and evaluations of owners in *gecekondu* areas, these opportunities and the potential of the stock must have been the main

factors among those which are external to the model accounting for its low level of explanatory power in this area type.

Around 50% of those who became owner-occupiers within the previous 5 years (the "TO" group) were found to be dissatisfied (see Table 6.11). It seems that the housing choices of many of the "TO" group were constrained, while the proportion of those who are satisfied with the existing unit is not negligible either. Nevertheless even if some of the latter could not acquire units which were suitable for their needs, taking into consideration the prospects and potential of their property due to the redevelopment plans, they too may have evaluated their unit as satisfactory according to its potential rather than its actual physical qualities, or their immediate housing needs.

As in the analyses of the previous area types, here we examine the impact of past residential mobility on the owner-occupiers' current housing satisfaction as well. As was indicated earlier almost all the "OO" group were immobile - with the exception of one case - and when all the owner-occupiers (the "TO" and "OO" groups together) are considered, all the mobility was undertaken by the "TO" group. Therefore the impact of past residential mobility (being (im)mobile in the previous 5 years) on satisfaction will reflect the extent to which the housing satisfaction of these two groups of owners is different. If any drastic changes occurred in the market position of housebuyers after 1983 (after the law allowing the redevelopment plans was passed) they are expected to be reflected in the current housing satisfaction of housebuyers.

It was found that being (im)mobile in the previous 5 years has no considerable impact on current housing satisfaction;  $\text{Exp}(B) = 1.17$  and this coefficient is not statistically significant at all. This shows that there is no difference between the housing satisfaction of those who became owner-occupiers within the previous 5 years and the satisfaction of those who bought their existing unit earlier and have remained in the same unit since. Given that gecekondu stock promises increasing speculative gains to its owners and this has probably been influential on their evaluation of their property and their housing satisfaction, any difference in the accessibility of housebuyers between the two periods may not be reflected in their current satisfaction. Furthermore, considering that the first law concerning the redevelopment

plans was passed in 1983 and the preparation of the plans started after that, the period which we examined after 1983 may not be long enough to see the impact of the plans. There may have been households who became owner-occupiers before or shortly after the law was passed, prior to the drastic increases in land and house prices.

In this run of the model the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics and of housing quality are not significantly different from those found for the "OO" group alone. Changes in household composition had the strongest impact on satisfaction;  $\text{Exp}(B) = .37$ , and the  $R^2$  is low indicating that nearly 90% of the variation should be explained by factors external to the model. As was indicated previously, increasing opportunities and the speculative potential of the gecekondü stock must have been the primary external factors.

### Whole sample of owner-occupiers

Now we will look at all the area types together to obtain a global view of the housing consumption and satisfaction of all the owner-occupiers in the city. Let us start by analysing the satisfaction of the "OO" group - 90% of whom were immobile between 1983 and 1988.

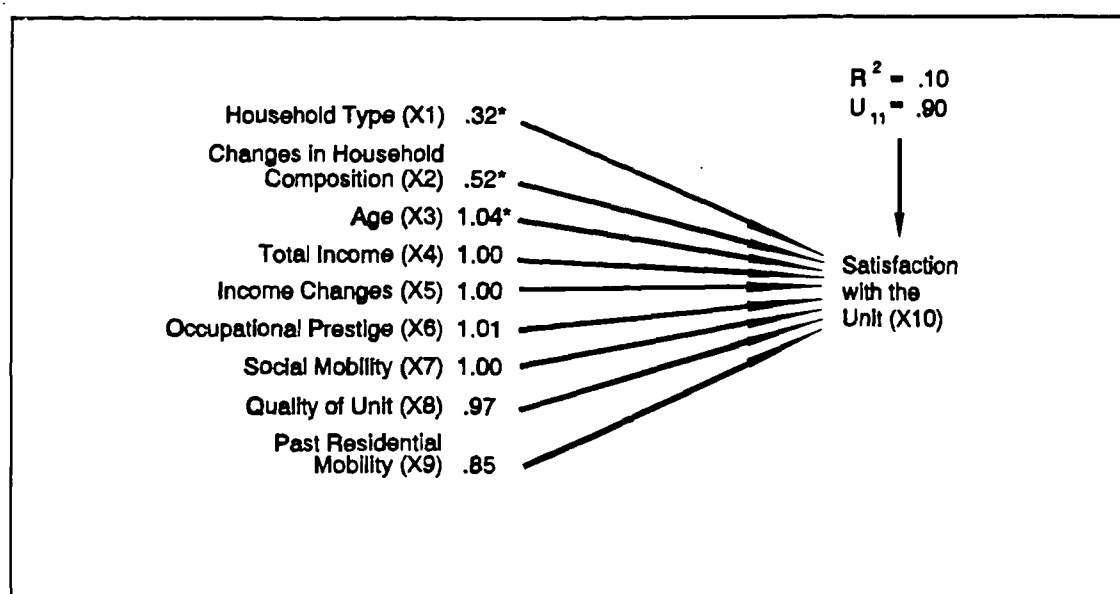
TABLE 6.12 Relation Between Housing Satisfaction and Residential Mobility Among the Owner-Occupiers in Ankara

	Immobiles "OO" Group (%)	Mobiles "OO" Group (%)	"TO" Group (%)	Total (%)
Satisfaction	51	58	47	50
Dissatisfaction	49	42	53	50
Number of Cases	107	12	30	149*

\* The same cases included in the logit model when those with incomplete set of information were omitted. It should be indicated that the ratios are not significantly different from the full set of respondents, therefore those ratios are not given here.

As shown in the table above half of the immobile cases were found to be satisfied with their units. Although it cannot be argued that their immobility fits a constrained model given that around 50% of the owners are satisfied, choice is apparently not the prime factor either. Lack of choice appears to have contributed to some extent to the owners' lack of mobility in the city as a whole. The level of satisfaction is considerable among those moved within the owner-occupied stock where 7 cases out of 12 were found to be satisfied. But the level of dissatisfaction is not negligible as well. It appears that some of the owners who were mobile moved due to their particular, immediate needs but were unable to attain satisfactory units. When we ran the model for the "OO" group (as shown in Figure 6.12) it was found that there was no causal relationship between being mobile and being satisfied.

FIGURE 6.12 Logit Causal of Current Housing Satisfaction for the Whole Sample of the "OO" Group in Ankara



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

Of all the variables postulated in the model it is found that household type has the strongest impact on the satisfaction of owner-occupiers in Ankara. Large households are nearly 3 times less likely to be satisfied than small households;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,1} = .32$ . Changes in household composition is the second variable to have an impact on satisfaction. It is also inversely related with satisfaction. Households whose composition remained the same during the

previous 5 years are nearly twice as likely to be satisfied as those whose composition changed;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,2} = .53$ . Hence the housing needs of large households and changes in housing needs related to changes in family composition and size seem to have remained unadjusted. By contrast the socio-economic characteristics and dynamics of households do not influence housing satisfaction at all. Moreover quality of unit has no impact on the satisfaction of owner-occupiers although this variable had fairly strong impacts in individual area types. The explanatory power of the model is quite low;  $R^2 = .10$ , indicating that 90% of the variation is explained by factors external to the model<sup>19</sup>. This is lower than the  $R^2$ s found in individual area types.

External factors not only include the households' individual tastes and preferences, but also their access to lump sums of money and credits which enable them to buy units that suit their needs. These factors can vary a lot - even within the same socio-economic group - and can influence their evaluation of housing satisfaction. Besides this, as has been discussed, particular supply conditions and policies in different parts of the market can also be influential on their evaluation. Since there are sharp differences between area types both in terms of the households' socio-economic characteristics and in terms of housing policies and supply conditions, when the whole sample is analysed it is not surprising that the explanatory power of the model is quite limited, and lower than in individual area types. In a context where there are striking differences in the housing quality of the whole stock, the lack of impact of housing quality on satisfaction is a good example of how different subjective criteria - which are supposed to be the consequence of individual tastes and preferences as well as particular policies - influence the housing satisfaction of different income groups.

When the satisfaction of the "TO" group is considered, it is found that more than half of them are dissatisfied (see Table 12). It would appear that in Ankara the number of the "TO" cases (recent owners) whose housing choice is constrained, and who could not afford units which

---

<sup>19</sup>The model was also run for the immobile "OO" group separately. In terms of the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics and of housing quality the results were not significantly different from those arrived at above. Again large households and households who experienced changes in their household composition in the previous 5 years were less likely to be satisfied and the explanatory power of the model was quite limited.



suited their needs, is not negligible at all. Given the unfavourable supply conditions over the whole market after the early 1980s this is not an unexpected finding.

The model was also run with the "TO" group included in the sample. These results were not significantly different from those of the "OO" group. Large families, and households who experienced changes in their composition were again found to be less satisfied. Past residential mobility has no causal impact on satisfaction - i.e. there was no difference between the satisfaction of the owners in Ankara who bought their units within the previous 5 years and those who bought them earlier. Nevertheless, as has already been discussed, the results showing the impact of residential mobility for the individual area types were very distinctive. Only in area type 2 was there a sharp difference between the satisfaction of cohorts. No such difference in the two low income area types was found. The diverse ways in which different income groups in the whole stock experience policy changes should be considered in order to understand the results for each separate area type.

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

Having established the levels of past residential mobility and the extent to which household characteristics and dynamics influenced their past residential mobility, in this chapter we focused on the housing satisfaction of both tenure groups.

### 6.5.1 Concluding remarks concerning the tenants

The results concerning the housing satisfaction of tenants and the results of the model in the previous chapter complement each other, broadening our perspective on the extent to which their high rates of residential mobility conform to the choice or constraint models. These results can be summarised as follows:

In the middle income area type with reference both to the previous model where it was found that those with higher incomes and with increasing incomes were more likely to be mobile, and to the quite considerable proportion of satisfied cases among the mobile tenants, one cannot argue that the majority of moves were forced. But the proportion of tenants who

attained units which are better suited to their needs is not high enough to imply that adjustment reasons are the principal factors that led the tenants to be mobile in this area type. Nevertheless it was found that many of the mobile households attained satisfactory units while maintaining their housing standards. Apparently the housing consumption of these mobile tenants is not subject to any serious degree of constraint. The residential mobility of the middle income area tenants, though not perfectly fitting the adjustment model, is closer to the adjustment model than a constraint scenario.

On the other hand, since those with lower incomes and those with decreasing incomes were more likely to be immobile in the middle income area type, their immobility might have been thought to be forced. But the high levels of current housing satisfaction shed further light on the matter, leading us to revise the above argument. These tenants' satisfaction with the unit should be considered as a rational assessment of their relatively limited opportunities for finding a better unit, and their immobility cannot really be argued to have been forced.

Our conclusions for the two low income area types present a very different picture. Firstly, although the past residential mobility rate was high among tenants in both of the low income area types, in neither of them is residential mobility positively related to housing satisfaction. In other words in neither area type are the more mobile tenants more likely to be satisfied with their existing units than those who are immobile. On the contrary for the *gecekodu* area type it was found that those who are immobile are more likely to be satisfied. Secondly, in both area types the proportion of dissatisfied cases among mobile tenants is very high. Although it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which tenants failed to move into satisfactory units, the high proportion of dissatisfied cases indicates how difficult it is for them to attain satisfactory units. Thirdly, the percentage of mobile tenants who attained units which are better suited to their needs is low. Moreover as we saw in Chapter 5 the tenants' household characteristics and dynamics have no causal impact on their past residential mobility. Hence in view of these results it is not possible to argue that the high rates of residential mobility among low income area tenants are an adjustment mechanism. On the contrary the majority of cases have probably been induced (or forced) through the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets. Nevertheless the fact that the percentages of those who experienced decreases in their housing standards or in their housing satisfaction are not

high, raises the question: Whether it is possible that the constraints on these mobile tenants are not severe.

### 6.5.2 Concluding remarks concerning the owner-occupiers

Our analyses of the housing satisfaction of mobile and immobile "OO" groups and of the "TO" group, and comparison of the satisfaction levels of these groups presented quite different pictures of the housing consumption of owner-occupiers in each area type.

In the middle income area type the level of satisfaction among the immobile owner occupiers is quite considerable. It seems that although constraints may have been a factor to some extent, choice must have been a primary factor in explaining the low levels of mobility among the owners. Furthermore although as we argued in Chapter 3 residential mobility among owner-occupiers in Turkey is more likely to be an adjustment mechanism due to the absence of mortgages<sup>20</sup> it was found that the probability of being satisfied is much higher for immobile households than for households who made a move within the owner-occupied stock within the previous 5 years. (Im)mobility was found to be the prime determinant of the variation in satisfaction, and the explanatory power of the model was fairly high.

The positive causal relationship between being immobile and being satisfied becomes even stronger when the "TO" group is included in the sample. The sharp difference in the probability of being satisfied between mobile and immobile owners in the middle income area type suggests a drastic change in the market position of middle income housebuyers. This can be explained as due to the changes in supply conditions after the early 1980s. In short while choice appears to have been one of the principal factors influencing the housing consumption decisions of immobile owner-occupiers, constraints were much more evident on the consumption of buyers in the post 1983 period.

---

<sup>20</sup>Hence in Turkey forced moves due to inability to keep up mortgage payments do not occur in the owner-occupied stock.

On the other hand in the low income area type of the authorised stock the bulk of immobile cases were found to be dissatisfied. This suggests that constraints are quite important factors leading the owners to be immobile in this area type. Although we do not know how long they have been dissatisfied, it was found that the high levels of dissatisfaction are not particularly related to changes in household characteristics and dynamics in the previous 5 years. Consequently it appears that there are many households whose housing needs have remained unadjusted for longer than this period. (The extent of these constraints will be further clarified in the following chapter when we analyse the reasons for choosing the current unit and district.)

The lack of any difference in the level of satisfaction between those who bought their units in the pre and post 1983 periods indicates that there have been no notable changes in the market position of low-income housebuyers. Firstly, given that the low income housebuyers did not benefit from the so-called housing boom in the 1970s, it may not be surprising to find that their market position did not change considerably between the pre and post 1983 periods. Secondly, even if the accessibility of those who bought their units in the post 1983 period was lower than those who bought their units prior to 1983, the former cohort might have employed quite different subjective criteria from those who were already owner-occupiers. Hence the difference in the market position of these two cohorts may not be reflected in any difference in their housing satisfaction levels. The drastic fall in the impact of housing quality on satisfaction and hence in the explanatory power of the model when the "TO" group is included in the sample also suggests that those who bought their units within the previous 5 years have quite different criteria for evaluating satisfaction. The difference in the evaluation criteria of these two groups of owner-occupiers seems to be a major factor external to the model, accounting for the low levels of the model's explanatory power.

In the unauthorised area type around half of the immobile owner-occupiers were found to be satisfied. It seems that although constraints have not been negligible it would be incongruent to argue that the lack of mobility is primarily a matter of constraints, or that it conforms to the "constraint model". Choice also has an important role in explaining the lack of mobility among the gecekondü owners.

Apart from the changes in household composition, other variables postulated in the model have no impact on the satisfaction of gecekondü owners, and the explanatory power of the model was very low. Emerging opportunities for being transformed into authorised stock and hence for further speculative gains must have been important external factors accounting for the model's low level of explanatory power.

Compared to the low income area type of the authorised stock the housing consumption of immobile owner-occupiers in the gecekondü stock appears to be less constrained. In other words the lack of mobility among the gecekondü owners seems to be less a matter of constraints than among the owner-occupiers in the low income area type of the authorised stock. This contrast between these two types of low income areas - where there are no significant differences between the socio-economic characteristics of households - should be explained as due to differences in the physical structure and legal status of the two stocks, and the opportunities that emerged for the owners.

Although the redevelopment plans have increased the speculative potential of unauthorised land and housing, our analyses did not show any difference between the satisfaction levels of those who bought their gecekondüs in the pre and post 1983 periods. This implies that the market position of these two groups of gecekondü buyers did not change to any considerable degree. Given that the speculative potential and emerging rights for better services and infrastructure are probably influential on the evaluation criteria of owners in this area type, any differences in their accessibility in the market may not be reflected in their satisfaction levels.

## 7 Respondents' Reasons for Choosing Their Existing Unit and District

---

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

So far our understanding of residential mobility processes in Ankara has been obtained through analyses of: (i) the causal impact of the households' own characteristics and dynamics on their past residential mobility; (ii) the level of current housing satisfaction, and the causal impacts of past residential mobility and household characteristics and dynamics on satisfaction with the existing unit; and (iii) changes in the housing standards of mobile tenants over the 5 years prior to 1988. We now present an analysis of the reasons households gave for the choice of their existing unit. This will complement the previous analyses and will enable us to throw further light on the extent of constraints on their decisions.

Factors influencing the decisions of mobile tenants in renting their existing unit will be examined in the second section of this chapter. This will reveal the processes of residential mobility in greater detail. In the third section which concerns immobile tenants, our examination of the factors influencing their decision to choose their existing unit - or the extent to which their choice is constrained - will give further indication of the degree to which their immobility is a matter of choice (i.e. because the dwelling meets their needs). This will also provide us with a basis to compare the constraints on the housing consumption of mobile and immobile tenants.

Finally, the last section of the chapter concerns the owner-occupier group whose residential mobility has been shown to be very low (only 15% of the owner-occupiers in the middle income area type were mobile within the previous 5 years, and in the two low income area types almost all the "00" group were immobile during the same period - see Table 4.10). This raised the question of whether in the case of Ankara the lack of mobility among owner-occupiers can be explained as due to their satisfaction with the unit, or whether the particular conditions of the markets imposed constraints which prevented them from adjusting their

changing housing needs? In addition to the level of current housing satisfaction (examined in the previous chapter), the extent to which their choice of existing unit was constrained will be an important indicator of the answer to the above question.

The analyses in this chapter are based on the reasons given by households for their choice of dwelling and district. These reasons were classified into seven main categories: (i) Budget constraints (affordability). This includes two types of reason: (a) the household could not afford a better unit, and (b) it was the only unit that the tenant could afford; (ii) The location of the unit was convenient in terms of closeness to the work place, travel facilities, and/or central activities; (iii) The quality of the unit was attractive; (iv) Better environmental conditions - e.g. less pollution, more peace and quiet; (v) Being close to relatives and to friends; (vi) The landlord is a relative or a friend; (vii) Other. Households were asked to indicate if there was more than one reason which determined their decision.

We will begin our analyses with the mobile tenants.

## 7.2 MOBILE TENANTS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING THEIR EXISTING UNIT AND DISTRICT

As shown in Table 7.1, the percentage of mobile tenants who reported that budget constraints - either as the sole factor or one of a number of factors - influenced their decision to rent their existing unit comprise the largest category in all the area types. Most notably in the two low income area types the bulk of the tenants indicated that their decisions were constrained by their budget. Accessibility - in particular closeness to the workplace and to transport facilities - proved to be the second most important factor influencing the decisions of mobile tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. In the middle income area type accessibility is also mentioned by a considerable percentage of households. In the unauthorised housing stock however, the accessibility factor was indicated by only around 10% of the tenants as being influential on their decision to rent the unit. Most of the other factors reflecting the households' own preferences - i.e. environmental qualities, the social conditions of the neighbourhood, and being close to friends and relatives - seem not to have had any significant influence on the tenants' decisions in any of the area types. Among the

factors which reflect the households' preferences housing quality was only mentioned by a significant proportion of the mobile tenants (more than 40%) in the middle income area type.

TABLE 7.1 Mobile tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Unit and District (%)

Area Type	Affordability	Accessability	Like the House	Env. Conditions	Social Conditions	Being Close to Rels.	Know the Owner	Other	No. of Cases
2	55	39	44	11	22	-	6	6	18
3	63	37	25	2	9	12	7	2	43
4	85	12	14	2	14	6	5	1	72
Total Sample	74	24	22	5	13	7	5	2	133

Having established that the percentage of households whose decisions were influenced by budget constraints is quite significant, the tenants were re-classified into three main categories: (i) cases in which the budget constraints were the sole determinant; (ii) cases in which the budget was a constraint but the household's own preferences contributed towards the choice of unit as well; and (iii) cases in which the household's own preferences were the sole determinant. These categories are intended to represent decreasing degrees of constraint from i to iii. The distribution of cases among these categories will therefore provide us with a firm basis for understanding the extent of the constraints and will enable us to compare the area types in this respect.



TABLE 7.2 Summary of Mobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing Their Unit and District (%)

Area Type	Budget Constraints	Mixed Reasons	Own Choices	Know the* Owner	Other	No. of Cases
2	22	28	39	5	5	18
3	30	33	28	7	2	43
4	63	19	12	5	1	72
Total Sample	46	25	21	6	2	133

\* Knowing the owner is kept as a separate category since it is neither a matter of choice nor a matter of constraint. In a sense it implies a degree of security against rent increases and evictions.

The proportion of cases for whom budget constraints were the sole determinant (who we consider to have experienced the most severe constraints<sup>1</sup>) is higher in the two low income area types, while the percentage of those whose decisions were only influenced by their preferences (who are assumed to have experienced the least constraints) is lower in lower income area types. Nevertheless the differences between the middle and low income area types of the authorised stock are not striking and the three areas show a gradation of differences.

In the middle income area type, cases in which budget constraints were the sole determinant and cases in which budget was a constraint but the household's own preferences contributed as well constituted 22% and 28% of the tenants respectively. Although budget constraints

---

<sup>1</sup>Here it should be remembered that these remarks by the households - that their present unit was the only one they could afford, or that budget constraints were the only factor they were able to consider - represent their own personal assessments, derived from their subjective evaluations. In other words, according to their subjective view of the minimum acceptable standards of housing and the environment, these units were the only ones they could afford. Obviously, even in the low income area types households could have chosen relatively cheaper and lower quality alternatives. Nevertheless the distribution of households among these three main categories will still provide us with a basis for comparison, since it shows the different extent of constraints among respondents in the three areas on a relative basis.

appeared to affect the tenants' decisions to some extent one cannot argue that most of their decisions were severely constrained. On the contrary their own choices affected a significant proportion (40%) of the mobile tenants' decisions to rent their existing unit. Results of the previous analyses for this area type described a mobility process that does not conform to the "forced mobility" argument.

Although the percentage of those who attained units which were better suited to their needs was not high enough to lead us to conclude that adjustment purposes are the primary causes of moves, the percentage of those who secured convenient units for their needs while maintaining their housing satisfaction level was not negligible at all, at around a quarter of the mobile cases<sup>2</sup>. Even if adjustment purposes were not the principal factor which induced the move, since housing needs seem to be an important consideration of households such moves can be described as an "alternative type of adjustment move" or "successful move". These "successful movers", together with those who attained units which were better suited to their needs - "housing adjusters" - comprised a significant percentage of the mobile tenants (see Chapter 6). The figures obtained here are consistent with this finding and confirm that most of the tenants seem to have exercised their choices and secured convenient units for their needs.

In the low income area type of the authorised stock the percentage of those whose preferences were the sole determinant in renting their units is not negligible, although it is not high either at 26%, and the cases in which budget constraints were the only determinant comprise a third of all the cases. In more than a third of the cases budget was a constraint but the household's own preferences contributed towards the choice of unit as well.

The results of the earlier analyses for the low income areas of the authorised stock - i.e. the lack of any considerable impact of household characteristics and dynamics on their residential mobility, high levels of dissatisfaction with the present unit among the mobile tenants, and the lack of any causal impact of past residential mobility on current housing satisfaction, led

---

<sup>2</sup>As was indicated previously, the percentage of those who attained satisfactory units as well as maintaining their housing standards was also found to be considerable at a level of 30%.

to the argument that most of the moves do not conform to the choice model, but on the contrary are forced.

On the other hand our findings in chapter 6 that a considerable proportion of mobile tenants were able to maintain their standards during the previous 5 years raised the question of whether the constraints on their housing consumption were not severe? It can be seen here that the tenants' own choices were effective to some extent on their decisions regarding the unit and district. This sheds more light on the above question. Taken together these results suggest that although moves do not conform to the housing choice (or adjustment) model but are forced through the adverse conditions of the context, there is still room for the tenant to exercise some choice<sup>3</sup>. In other words it seems that in the low income area type of the authorised stock, although there are many cases in which residential mobility was virtually forced and the tenants were unable to attain satisfactory units, there is a range of choices - albeit a very limited one - which enables tenants to make a decision in terms of some aspects of their housing needs, and at the very least to avoid their housing conditions being worsened. These cases may be viewed as a particular category among the forced moves.

Finally we examine tenants' decisions in the gecekondu area type. These prove to be sharply different from those obtained in the low income area type of authorised stock. As shown above (Table 7.2) 63% of the mobile tenants' decisions in renting their existing unit were determined solely by budget constraints. By contrast cases in which the tenants' own choices were the sole determinant comprise only 12% of the mobile tenants. The percentage of cases in which budget was a constraint but the household's preferences contributed towards the choice of unit as well comprise 19% of mobile tenants. Through these figures then it is quite evident that the housing choice of the mobile tenants in this area type was severely constrained. This is in line with the previous results which showed that there was no causal impact of household characteristics and dynamics on the tenants' past residential mobility and that the causal impact of past residential mobility on current housing satisfaction was negative. These results reinforce one another and describe a mobility process which does not

---

<sup>3</sup>Gilbert & Varley (1991) wrote that there can be cases where neither the complete choice nor the completely constrained models fit. They described the cases where constraints are evident but households exercise their own choices to some extent as "constrained choice".

fit the "housing adjustment" model at all. The fact that the percentage of those with worsening conditions in terms of objective and subjective criteria (see Tables 6.7 and 6.8) was not terribly high, could have led us to argue that the constraints on the housing consumption of mobile tenants were in most cases not drastic - although the majority of moves were not *for the adjustment of housing needs*. Nevertheless the results obtained in this section show quite clearly that the bulk of mobile tenants were prevented from considering their preferences in renting their existing unit. This clarifies our perspective, indicating that in geceköndü areas the constraints on the mobile tenants' housing consumption were quite severe. It appears that several of the mobile tenants were probably able to avoid moving into a worse unit, but were unable to meet any of their housing needs or preferences.

Although in both low income area types it has been established that the majority of moves were not adjustment mechanisms, the results obtained here reveal that constraints on the tenants' housing consumption in the geceköndü area type were much more severe than those experienced by mobile tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. In the latter, as was indicated earlier, although the constraints are not negligible and most of the moves cannot be described as involving adjustment mechanisms, there seemed to be some room for their needs to be taken into consideration - if only to a very limited extent. By contrast in the geceköndü area type this opportunity appears to have been even more constrained.

Thus drawing all the results together it is possible to define four types of move which are more likely to be common among the tenants of different area types in Ankara. Among the tenants of the middle income area type adjustment moves and moves in which the tenants were able to attain satisfactory units, even if their main reason for moving was not the adjustment of housing needs, appeared to be the dominant types of move. For the tenants in both of the low income area types mobility should be defined as a type which does not fit the "adjustment model" at all but is forced. There are cases in which, although the move was forced and the tenant probably failed to attain a satisfactory unit, there was a limited range of choice enabling certain needs to be met. These cases can be defined as the "constrained choice" type. Examples of such moves are more likely to be seen among tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. Cases in which the tenant had practically no chance

of considering any of the aspects of the existing unit apart from the rent are more likely to have occurred among the gecekondü area type tenants.

### 7.3 IMMOBILE TENANTS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING THEIR EXISTING UNIT AND DISTRICT

In the previous chapter it was established that high percentages of immobile tenants were dissatisfied with their units in 1988, particularly in the low income area types. Nevertheless this did not reveal when their dissatisfaction started or how long it had lasted for. By examining their subjective evaluation of the degree to which their choice was constrained we will clarify the matter.

The proportions of immobile tenants whose decisions were influenced by each of the specified factors are not significantly different from those of the mobile tenants (Table 7.1).

TABLE 7.3 Immobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Unit and District (%)

Area Type	Afford-ability	Access-ability	Housing Quality	Env. Condit-ions	Social Condit-ions	Being Close to Rels.	Know the Owner	Other	No. of Cases
2	41	41	47	12	29	12	-	6	17
3	74	41	22	-	15	7	4	-	27
4	90	8	15	2	16	6	9	3	67
Total Sample	78	21	22	5	18	7	6	3	111

The percentages of households who pointed out that budget constraints influenced their decisions are very high, particularly in the two low income area types. This percentage is quite significant in the middle income area type, though not excessively high. Those who indicated accessibility to their work places, to transport facilities, and/or to central activities, comprise quite significant groups in both area types of the authorised stock, whereas in the

unauthorised housing stock the accessibility factor influenced the decisions of only 8% of the tenants. The percentage of households whose decisions were influenced by quality of unit and the social conditions of the neighbourhood was not negligible in the middle income area type. Nearly half of the cases who rented their units before 1983 indicated housing quality and more than a third pointed out the social conditions of the neighbourhood as being influential on their decisions. In the two low income area types neither housing quality nor the social conditions of the neighbourhood was mentioned by any significant proportion of tenants. The percentages of those who indicated other factors - ie. environmental conditions, being close to relatives, knowing the owner - are low in all of the area types.

Having seen that across the whole of the city budget constraints were mentioned by the largest proportion of immobile tenants, particularly in the two low income area types, we now look more closely at the extent of constraints on the housing choice of immobile tenants in each area type. For this purpose the immobile tenants were re-classified as before (see Table 7.4).

TABLE 7.4 Summary of Immobile Tenants' Reasons for Choosing their Dwelling and District (%)

Area Type	Budget Constraints	Mixed Reasons	Own Choices	Know the* Owner	Other	No. of Cases
2	12	29	53	-	6	17
3	41	33	22	4	-	27
4	58	25	5	9	3	67
Total Sample	46	26	16	6	3	111

The proportion of cases in which budget constraints were the sole factor determining tenants' decisions is higher in the lower income area types, whereas the proportion of cases in which the tenants' own choices are the only determinants is lower. There is a particularly sharp

difference between the middle and low income area types of the authorised stock, whereas the difference between the two low income area types is less striking.

More than half of the immobile tenants' decisions in the middle income area type were determined solely by their own preferences. These choices were particularly related to accessibility, quality of unit, and the social conditions of the neighbourhood. While those whose decisions were completely determined by budget constraints - who are assumed to have experienced the most severe constraints - only comprise around 12% of the tenants who have been in the same unit since 1983 or before. Hence it is apparent that the majority of the immobile tenants in this area type were able to consider their own needs in renting their existing units. Besides, as was established in Chapter 6, the majority of the immobile tenants (more than 60%) were still satisfied with their units in 1988. Given these two compatible sets of results it is difficult to argue that being immobile is a matter of constraint. Nevertheless reference back to the results of the causal model in Chapter 5 (where the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics on residential mobility were examined) will clarify the matter to a great extent. There it was found that those who have lower incomes and those with decreasing incomes were more likely to have been immobile within the previous 5 years. It is obvious that their housing consumption - whether it involves moving into a better unit, or finding an alternative unit in order to achieve a better balance in their budget without reducing their housing standards - is constrained relative to the mobile tenants. Nevertheless since these immobile tenants rented their units initially in response to their needs and have remained satisfied with them, one cannot argue that their immobility was due to lack of choice. Their original preference for renting the unit and their current satisfaction with it must be a rational assessment of the relatively limited opportunities available to them for finding a better unit.

In the low income area type of the authorised stock the proportion of tenants whose decisions were solely determined by budget constraints is quite significant at 41%. Since this group is considered to have rented their units without being able to take into account their own needs and preferences - in other words they are assumed to have experienced the most severe constraints - their immobility should be explained as due to lack of choice. Those cases in which budget was a constraint but the households' own preferences contributed towards the

choice of unit, comprise one third of the cases. It appears that although their choices are quite limited and they have been prevented from adjusting their needs, their immobility cannot be completely explained as due to constraints. It may be supposed that they have been satisfied with some aspects of the unit - particularly location. In other words the extent of constraint on their decisions may not have been as severe as the constraints that the previous group experienced. Only in one fifth of the immobile tenants' decisions were their own preferences the sole determinant in renting their units. Furthermore, as established in the previous chapter, around 60% of the immobile cases in this area type were dissatisfied with their units in 1988. In view of the figures obtained here it seems that for many of these tenants, dissatisfaction with the unit is not a recent phenomenon but they initially had to rent units which did not meet their needs. In short lack of choice appears to have been a factor which led most of these tenants to remain in the same unit.

As in the case of mobile tenants in the gecekondu area type, figures for the immobile tenants there show more severe constraints than in area type 3. Here in 58% of cases the decisions seem to have been determined completely by budget constraints. Cases in which budget was a constraint but the households' choices were effective as well comprise 25% of the cases, and those whose decisions were entirely determined by their own preferences comprise only 5%. Furthermore, as previously established, 72% of the immobile tenants were dissatisfied with their units in 1988. Accordingly if a significant percentage of immobile tenants' decisions were constrained in renting their existing units, and the bulk of immobile tenants were dissatisfied in 1988, it becomes quite evident that for the majority of immobile tenants the decision to remain in the same unit over the previous 5 years has been a matter of force (or constraint).

As a result, while the high rates of mobility among the tenants in the two low income area types cannot be described as being due to adjustment mechanisms but are forced by the adverse conditions of the context, in most cases the housing consumption of the immobile tenants was constrained as well. Their immobility cannot be described as being due to their already satisfied (adjusted) housing needs. It is also seen that there is no striking difference between the extent of constraints that the mobile and immobile tenants experience.



#### 7.4 IMMOBILE OWNER-OCCUPIERS' ("OO" GROUPS) REASONS FOR CHOOSING THEIR EXISTING UNIT AND DISTRICT

In the previous chapter we examined the level of current housing satisfaction and the causal impacts of household characteristics, dynamics and consequent changes in housing needs on housing satisfaction. Together with the results of these analyses, understanding the factors influencing the owner-occupiers' decision to buy their unit will enable us to clarify the extent to which the lack of mobility among the owner-occupiers in Ankara is a matter of constraint.

As shown by the figures in Table 7.5 below there is a sharp difference between the proportions of those whose decisions are influenced by budget constraints in the two low income area types and those in the high and middle income area types. Apparently in the two low income area types the choices of the vast majority of owner-occupiers were influenced by budget constraints. Factors relating to the households' own preferences - i.e. housing quality, social conditions of the neighbourhood, and properties of the physical environment - were mentioned by a quite negligible percentage of the households in these area types. By contrast, in the middle and high income area types housing quality, the social conditions of the neighbourhood, and accessibility to work places were mentioned by quite significant proportions of the households as influential on their decisions. The percentage of those whose decisions were influenced by environmental conditions is also quite significant in the high income area type.

TABLE 7.5 Immobile "OO" Groups' Reasons for Choosing Their Existing Unit and District (%)

Area Type	Afford-ability	Access-ability	Housing Quality	Env. Condit-ions	Social Condit-ions	Being Close to Rels.	In-herited	Other	No. of Cases
1	11	32	58	37	32	-	11	11	19
2	33	27	61	12	27	6	6	12	33
3	77	20	27	5	7	-	5	5	44
4	83	11	16	8	19	10	6	6	79
Total Sample	63	15	32	11	19	6	7	9	175

Table 7.6 shows a summary of the reasons using the same categories as before.

TABLE 7.6 Summary of Immobile "OO" Groups' Reasons for Choosing their Existing Unit and District (%)

Type	Budget Constraints	Mixed Reasons	Own Choices	Other	No. of Cases
1	-	10	68	21	19
2	12	21	48	18	33
3	54	23	14	9	44
4	49	34	5	13	79
Total Sample	38	26	22	14	175

As shown in the figures above, the housing decisions of owner-occupiers' in the high income areas (type 1) were almost entirely determined by their own choices and as was seen in the previous table housing quality was a factor in the majority of cases. In none of the cases were budget constraints the sole determinant. Furthermore it was seen in the previous chapter

that the majority (70%) of immobile owner-occupiers are currently satisfied with their units. These two findings complement each other in showing that the immobility of owner-occupiers fits the choice model in this area type. This gives further support to the argument reached through the results of the causal model in Chapter 5 that the tastes and preferences of the households (most of whom were owner-occupiers) in this area type were the principal determinants of their past residential (im)mobility decisions.

Figures for the middle income area type also indicate that a significant proportion (48%) of the owners' choices were not constrained, while in 12% of cases budget constraints were the sole determinant. Moreover the majority of cases pointed to housing quality as a factor influencing their decisions. Studies concerning housing market conditions before 1980 and related data (presented in chapter 3 - see Oncu 1985, and Isik 1992) give support to the above figures by indicating that middle income housebuyers experienced quite favourable conditions up until 1980. Nevertheless, as explained earlier, conditions after 1980 were no longer particularly favourable for the middle income housebuyers. This situation could have prevented the owners from selling their existing unit and buying another one to satisfy their needs. But given the quite high percentage (60%) of cases who were still satisfied with their existing units in 1988 (see chapter 6) - it seems that the majority of owner-occupiers who bought their units prior to 1983 are not subject to the need to move. Hence the figures showing the factors which have influenced the decisions of owner-occupiers in buying their units and the levels of housing satisfaction in 1988 complement each other, showing quite clearly that for the majority of these owner-occupiers being immobile is likely to be due to satisfaction rather than constraint. Hence the lack of mobility by the middle income owner-occupiers cannot be explained as a matter of constraint.

On the other hand in the two low income area types around half of the owner-occupiers' decisions were determined solely by their budget constraints, whereas cases in which the households' decisions were entirely determined by their own preferences comprise very low percentages; 14% in the low income authorised areas (type 3), and as little as 5% in the gecekondü areas (type 4). Hence in view of these figures it is apparent that the choices of a significant proportion of the owner-occupiers in both low income area types were constrained to a great extent.

Now let us reconsider the previous findings concerning the current housing satisfaction of owner-occupiers in area types 3 and 4. For area type 3 it was found that more than 60% of immobile owner-occupiers were dissatisfied with their existing unit in 1988. Those who experienced changes in their household characteristics within the previous 5 years and whose housing needs are assumed to have changed did not appear more likely to be dissatisfied than those whose characteristics did not change and whose housing needs are supposed to have remained the same.

The two findings: (i) that the bulk of the owner-occupiers were constrained by their budgets in choosing their units; and ii) that the existing level of housing dissatisfaction bears no particular relation to household dynamics, reinforce each other, indicating that in many of the dissatisfied cases housing needs have probably remained unadjusted since they moved into their units. If in addition to the high percentage of dissatisfied cases it is likely that in many of these cases dissatisfaction is not a recent phenomenon, we are led to conclude that the likely reasons for the lack of mobility among owner occupiers in this area type are the severe constraints imposed by the adverse conditions of housing markets, rather than their own choices or their satisfaction with the present unit.

For the gecekondu area type it was found in the previous chapter that the level of housing dissatisfaction in 1988 was not unduly high, although quite significant at 48%, and those who experienced a change in their household composition within the previous 5 years were more likely to be dissatisfied in 1988 than those who did not. Compared to the results obtained for the immobile owner-occupiers in the low income area type of the authorised stock, it was argued that the lack of mobility among the gecekondu owners was less likely to be a matter of constraints than in the low income area type of the authorised stock. In other words the results of our analyses in the previous chapter led us to conclude that the immobility of gecekondu owners was not as close to the constrained model as was the immobility of owners in the low income area type of authorised stock. The particular conditions of the gecekondu market and the structure of gecekondu stock were argued to be the possible reasons for these differences. The results obtained in this chapter brought an interesting point to our attention. Figures concerning the factors influential on their decisions in buying their units showed that the initial decisions of gecekondu owners were subject to no fewer constraints than those of

owners in the low income area type of the authorised stock. On the contrary the percentage of households whose own choices were the sole determinant is less than the percentage found for the owners in the other low income area and only a very small percentage pointed out that housing quality was influential on their choice. In short the constraints on the initial decisions of gecekondü owners were severe. Hence some of the owners who could not initially attain units which suited their needs have probably evaluated their current satisfaction by taking into consideration the prospects and potential of their unit, rather than its actual capacity to meet their needs. At the same time the flexible structure of the housing stock which enables the households to modify their units to some extent should also be taken into consideration. Although many households could not afford units which would meet their immediate needs, they may have extended their units over the course of time to adjust their needs.

Thus the common denominator - lack of mobility - among owner-occupiers has been caused by different factors relating to the particular conditions of the land and housing markets in each area type.

## 7.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter respondents' reasons for choosing their unit (i.e. the households' subjective experience of the constraints on their housing choice) have been analysed to further clarify the arguments about (im)mobility set out in the previous chapters.

Concerning the residential mobility of tenants we defined four types of moves in Ankara. Among the middle income area type tenants, adjustment moves and moves in which the tenants were able to attain satisfactory units and to exercise their choice significantly - even if their main reason for moving was not the adjustment of housing needs - appeared to be the dominant types of move. By contrast in both the low income area types mobility should be defined as a type which does not fit the "adjustment model" but is more likely to have been forced. Nevertheless although there are moves which have probably been forced and the tenants failed to attain satisfactory units, there was a limited range of choice enabling certain needs to be taken into consideration. Such moves are more likely to be seen among the tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. In the gecekondü stock cases in

which the tenants had almost no chance of considering any of their needs are more likely to have occurred.

While on the one hand the high rates of mobility among tenants in the low income area types cannot be described as a result of adjustment mechanisms and moves are more likely to have been forced, on the other hand in most cases the housing choices of immobile tenants were constrained as well. Their immobility cannot be described as due to their already adjusted housing needs. By contrast in the middle income area type, although compared to the mobile tenants the immobile tenants were found to have relatively constrained opportunities to move into units which are better suited to their needs, since they initially rented their units in response to their needs and have remained satisfied with them, it cannot be argued that their immobility was due to lack of choice.

The owner-occupiers' experiences of constraints in choosing their units (to the extent their choices are constrained) further clarifies that the common fact of lack of mobility among owner-occupiers has a different explanation in each area type and is the outcome of different contexts. It was established that many of the owners in the middle income area type exercised their choices initially in buying their units. This finding, together with the high ratio of current housing satisfaction, provides us with solid evidence that the lack of mobility by these owner-occupiers is more likely to be a matter of choice. The adverse conditions of the housing markets after 1980 seem not to have contributed to any significant degree to the reason for the middle income owner-occupiers' lack of mobility.

In the low income area type of the authorised stock on the other hand, it was found that constraints played a major role in most of the owner-occupiers' decisions. This result together with the high ratios of current dissatisfaction with the unit complement each other, showing that in this part of the stock lack of mobility is a matter of quite severe constraints. In the gecekondu areas although the owner-occupiers' initial decisions were found to be severely constrained the current dissatisfaction ratio is not unduly high. The particular conditions of the housing markets - the speculative potential of the stock and the anticipation of better services and infrastructure - and the particular structure of the stock might have been influential on their evaluation of their current housing satisfaction. Consequently some of

those whose units did not meet their needs originally may currently consider their units satisfactory. In short, although the gecekondü owners' lack of mobility does not seem to be a matter of satisfaction at all, it would be a mistake to describe their lack of mobility as a matter of constraint such as was seen to be the case in the low income area type of the authorised stock.

## 8 Case Studies of Mobile Tenants

---

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

The main body of argument in this study has been supported by statistical analyses so far. It has already been established that in the case of Ankara the housing consumption of many households has been constrained and most of the moves do not conform to the "choice model". Nevertheless the following questions can be posed to further clarify the picture of the mobility process attained so far: (i) What particular forces did the tenant experience, and for which specific reasons did individual households move? (ii) What are the terms of negotiations and disagreements with the landlord? (iii) Is mobility an action taken by the household to eliminate the rent burden and/or any other inconvenient conditions of their tenancy agreements, or is it a kind of last resort that the tenant turns to?

Since information on these questions was not obtained in the first phase of our field work, we carried out a series of "follow-up" interviews two years after the first field survey. Out of the original sample of 142 mobile tenants, 43 were found at their 1988 addresses and agreed to be re-interviewed. The main issues addressed in these interviews were: (i) Tenants' reasons for moving out of the units they had occupied within the 1983 and 88 period; (ii) Their relationships with their former and existing landlords, and the causes of disagreements (if any); (iii) Conditions pertaining to rents - i.e. the contract periods and percentages of increase; (iv) Tenants' own evaluations and comments concerning the level of their rents and the rate of increases; (v) Whether the rent constituted a burden on their budget in the previous and existing tenancies, and if so, whether this was a temporary situation or not, and for how long the tenant experienced difficulties in paying rent and ways of coping with this; (vi) Whether finding another house was difficult, and for how long they had searched; (vii) The household's evaluation of the conditions of the rental housing market.



## 8.2 EVALUATION OF CASE STUDIES

The interviews are set out and evaluated in two sections. The first section focuses on the specific reasons that induced the tenants to move. In the second section we attempt to understand whether or not residential mobility is the first alternative that the tenant considers to eliminate the rent burden and/or any other problems concerning the rent agreement. Moreover we try to determine how the tenants cope with rent paying difficulties if they did not or could not move out as a first action in response to rent paying difficulties.

### 8.2.1 Reasons for moving

Through our interviews with the 43 mobile tenants we learned the causes of 67 moves which occurred within the 1983 - 88 period. 11 of the moves were by tenants from the middle income area type, 22 were by tenants from the low income area type of the authorised stock, and 34 of the moves were by the gecekondu area type tenants. The factors which induced these moves can be classified into four basic categories<sup>1</sup>: (i) Tenants' own choices (including dissatisfaction with the previous unit or its location); (ii) Disagreements with the landlord, particularly about the rate of rent increase, or difficulties in paying rent which did not involve disagreement with the landlord; (iii) Demands by the landlord and/or disagreements concerning issues other than rent; (iv) Other external factors - e.g. demolition or sale of the unit and so on.

As indicated earlier, all the households who were found to be still living at their 1988 addresses and who agreed were reinterviewed. Although the proportions of households that we interviewed from each area type did not reflect the exact proportions of the original sample, they were not significantly different. Consequently although the moves that we learned the causes of, comprise a quite limited sample (67), the percentage of moves induced by each of the four categories of reasons given above will provide us with a rough picture of the distribution of moves in relation to their causes within the whole of Ankara (see Table 8.1).

---

<sup>1</sup>Tenants were asked to indicate only the most important reason for each of their moves.

TABLE 8.1 Reasons for the Moves by the "TT" Group Between 1983 and 1988

	Choice (%)	Rent Problems (%)	Demands by the Landlord/ Disagreements Other than Rent (%)	Other External Factors (%)	Number of Moves (%)
AREA 2	45	18	10	27	11
AREA 3	36	32	14	18	22
AREA 4	38	35	15	12	34
TOTAL	39	31	16	14	67

Source: Fieldwork

In conformity with our analyses so far the above figures also show that quite significant percentages of the moves were induced by factors other than the tenants' own choices in the individual area types<sup>2</sup>. Moves which were caused by rent paying problems constitute the largest group within the moves induced by factors other than the tenants' own choices, particularly in the two low income types of area.

Here we will present and discuss case studies of moves which were formed in response to rent burdens and moves which were induced by disagreements with the landlord concerning issues other than rent. Firstly we shall present data from the interviews concerning moves induced by rent paying problems (second category factors according to the classification given above), and then we will present the parts of the interviews relating to moves induced by the third category of factors - i.e. demands by the landlords to vacate the house, and/or disagreements over factors other than rent. Interviews relating to moves in these two specific categories will provide us with a very detailed picture of forced mobility due to the adverse

<sup>2</sup>Since the number of moves by the middle income group is small (11) the percentages found in that area may not be very reliable. Therefore we do not compare the figures for this area type with the other area types.

conditions of the housing markets in Ankara. We will be able to see how the individual household acts and what decisions are made when faced with such adverse conditions, as well as the extent of the forces which militate against the household's will.

Before describing the interviews it should be noted that in Ankara a significant number of tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock were found not to have any official rent contracts. In the unauthorised stock none of the tenants have official rent contracts<sup>3</sup>. In cases where the tenancy was set without any official rent contract, disagreements between the tenant and landlord are not subject to any legal regulations. While in cases where there is an official rent agreement there are rules to protect the rights of both tenants and owner-occupiers<sup>4</sup>. Explanation of the relevant rules will make it easier to understand some of the arguments advanced by the tenants during the interviews and will help us to evaluate the differences between the positions of tenants who have rent contracts and those who have no protection against evictions and rent increases.

(i) The tenant has the right to extend his stay in the unit. In other words by law the tenant is given the priority to decide whether to renew the contract. Unless the tenant wants to vacate the unit and informs the landlord one month in advance, the rent contract is subject to renewal on the basis of the conditions agreed by the tenant and the landlord. On the other hand (ii) the landlord has the right not to renew the contract if either he or a member of his family needs to occupy the unit. (iii) There is no official rent control in Turkey, but in cases taken to court due to disagreements over the rate of rent increases the annual inflation rate is accepted as the upper limit for rent increases by the court. However (iv) even if the rate of increase in the rent is equal to the rate of inflation the landlord has the right to apply to

---

<sup>3</sup>In Turkey through *gecekondu* legalisation schemes each de-facto owner was given one deed for one *gecekondu* house for his own use - it seems that the law has the aim of preventing commercialisation and large-scale landlordism in the unauthorised stock. Such a rule implicitly makes official rent contracts irrelevant in the *gecekondu* stock.

<sup>4</sup>The author would like to thank solicitors Mr. Haluk Unsal and Mr. Kemal Safak for their help in gathering and interpreting the Supreme Court regulations.

the court for a revaluation of the rent value of his property with reference to examples of units which have the same characteristics and are in the same location<sup>5</sup>.

Through the interviews it became apparent that a considerable number of tenants have been faced either with quite high rates of rent increases every couple of years, or with demands to move out. We came across cases, even among those who had rent contracts, of tenants who were forced to move as a result of the pressures exerted by their landlord to increase their rent over the rate of inflation. In a context where there is excess demand for housing, where the rate of inflation is very high, and where consequently each time the unit is let its rent level increases drastically and can provide a rate of increase which surpasses that of inflation, it is not surprising that many landlords try to ensure a rapid turnover of tenants, or to impose high rent increases that are at or above the rate of inflation<sup>6</sup>.

We now present data from interviews explaining the moves induced by rent paying problems.

Interview 1 This is a couple in the middle income area type who were both working as civil servants<sup>7</sup>. They moved once between 1983 and 1988 due to the landlord's demands to increase the rent at very high rates. They stayed in the previous unit for three years. Their initial contract was for two years with an annual rent increase of around 25-30%. After two years they wanted to renew the contract but the landlord was not very willing to renew. Faced with a 40% increase in their rent - according to the tenants this was above average at that time - they renewed their contract for one more year. At the end of the third year the landlord demanded a rent nearly 80% higher than they were paying. They said "this time he did not even attempt to bargain, and told us that he would prefer his mother to live in the flat instead of letting it at such a low rent" (sic). According to the tenants they did not have any choice. Either they had to accept the increase - which was impossible for them - or the

---

<sup>5</sup>It should be indicated that court cases for the revaluation of the rent, or for the eviction of a tenant due to either the landlord or a member of his family needing to occupy the unit are quite common in big cities.

<sup>6</sup>Comparison between the rate of increases in rents and the rate of increases in the consumer price indices (in Ankara & Istanbul) in Chapter 3 reveals that the rate of increases in rents did not fall below the rate of inflation during most of 1980s. On the contrary in most of the years - particularly in Ankara - rents increased in real terms (see Table 3.11)

<sup>7</sup>Household composition and occupations are given for 1988.

landlord could take legal action against them. The tenants observed that "his mother was a good excuse to evict us ... if he took us to court we were going to be evicted anyway". This couple had to pay a 14 month advance payment in order to rent their current unit. At first they made a two-year contract. Since then they renew the contract annually. They said that in some years they had to increase their rent at quite high rates in order to prevent any conflict with the landlord. Last year they agreed to a 50% increase which was difficult for them to cope with.

Nevertheless in cases where there is a rent contract tenants seem to be protected at least during the contract period against evictions or extra rent increases. But in cases where the tenancy is not secured by any official agreement, the tenants' position can be much more unpredictable and vulnerable.

Interview 2 This interview was held with a woman who is a housewife. Her husband was working as a truck driver for a private firm. They were living in a district in the low income area type of the authorised stock and had moved twice within the previous 5 years. Their first move in 1985 was due to the high rate of increase in their rent. The interviewee said "in the newspapers it was written that rent increases wouldn't be higher than this or that, who pays any attention? ...our landlord was demanding increases according to his own estimations". They stayed in that unit for nearly 4 years and paid an increased rent annually. She could not remember the amount of rent they paid when they first moved into the unit but she indicated that in their last year they were paying TL90,000. One year later the landlord wanted to increase the rent to TL140,000. She said "he was considering re-renting the unit". This term refers to the making of a new contract at a higher rent with the current tenant rather than extending the contract with a rate agreed previously. They would not have been able to cope with such a high increase and tried to convince the landlord to accept a lower rate. He refused and told them either to pay the increase or move out. Since they could not find a cheaper unit in that district, they moved to an area outside the city - a sort of working class suburb. However that place was far away from the city and presented practical difficulties for this family. After living there for 2 years they returned to the city where they have been living in their existing unit since 1987. She said "we've managed to

cope with the rent up till now ...not only me and my husband but even our children are waiting anxiously every year to hear what amount of rent the landlord will claim".

Interview 3 A case from the gecekondur area is also an example of the unpredictable and vulnerable position of tenants. This particular case shows that the landlord's pressure to make the tenant move out can be quite ruthless.

The household was an extended family. The couple and their son and daughter-in-law were living together. Father and son were working together running a shoe repair shop. They had moved once within the previous 5 years. The interview was held both with the daughter-in-law and the mother. The daughter-in-law explained that for the first couple of years they did not have any problem with the landlord and paid an increased rent annually. Then the landlord's brother took over the house and took control of their rent. Seven months after they had increased their rent this new (de-facto) landlord demanded a further increase, claiming that their rent level was below the average. The mother continued and told us that they did not even negotiate 7 months before, and had increased their rent to the amount that the landlord had requested. She said "we were paying TL45,000 which was no lower than other rents in the district. He wanted TL15,000 more. It was out of the question". They refused to pay any increase before a year. The landlord then wanted them to move out, but since they were unable to find another unit at such short notice they continued to stay in the unit for 2 more months. The landlord cut off their electricity and water to force them to move.

In the above cases residential mobility is forced through the landlords' pressures to increase the rent at very high rates. In other words these moves were induced through the landlords' exploitative attempts to maximise their rent incomes - probably in excess of the rate of inflation. Moves forced by such a factor were encountered quite often. On the other hand there were relatively few cases in which the tenants decided to move because they were unable to cope with the rent where there was no pressure exerted by the landlord to increase their rent at excessively high rates.

In the next case not only increases in rents, but rises in prices in general were pointed out by the tenants as the reason for their inability to cope with the rent.

Interview 4 This household was from a gecekondu district. The household head was working as a sales assistant in a shop - in 1983 he was working as a waiter. His wife was not working and they had three children aged 15, 13, and 8. They had moved twice during the previous 5 years and both moves were due to their inability to cope with the rent. In the second house where they stayed between 1984 and 1987 their rent increases were no higher than the average level. He indicated that they were negotiating with the landlord and deciding on an average rent, but it was still difficult for him to afford. He said "you have to pay the rent, you have to send the children to school, you have to buy coal for winter - you know the price of coal is doubling every year - you cannot buy anything at the same price the next day ... of course the landlord does not let you stay without increasing the rent ... my wage was not enough to afford all these, so we moved like a nomad from one house to another - we need help from the Father State<sup>8</sup>". In their previous unit (where they stayed for 6 years until 1984) their landlord had decided to repair the house (which was also a gecekondu house). The tenant said that it was already difficult to cope with the rent and it was obvious that the rent increase would be very high after the repairs. He also had debts owing to his boss. Finally they moved out. It was apparent that the household's consumption power within an inflationary economy was not capable of coping with the non-housing expenses plus rent. It may well be the case that besides the pressures exerted by landlords to increase the rent at high rates, in many instances the decreases in real wages have exacerbated the tenants' inability to cope with the rent. In fact in some cases where the tenants pointed out the high rates of increase in their rents as the cause of their moves, it was found from the previous survey records that their incomes had decreased in real terms within the 5 year period.

Now we shall go on to consider the moves induced by the second category of forces. As stated previously a quite significant minority of moves - around 15% - were induced by disagreements with the landlord concerning matters other than rent, or were induced by the landlord's claim that either he or a member of his family needed the unit. As was indicated previously the need for the landlord or for a member of his family to occupy the unit is a legal basis on which to evict the tenant.

---

<sup>8</sup>An expression in Turkish to indicate the protective function of the State.

Interview 5 In one of the cases from the low income area type of the authorised stock the tenant told us that the landlord wanted them to move out because his daughter was going to live in the flat. Later on the tenant learned from a previous neighbour that the flat was rented a few months later at a rent twice the level that they were paying. Hence it is clear that landlords may use such reasons to conceal their actual intentions - i.e. to rent the unit again and to increase the rent quite drastically - in order to prevent possible objections by the tenant and to avoid conflict, particularly in those cases where the tenancy was officially (contractually) agreed.

Interview 6 This tenant in the low income area type of the authorised stock argued that the landlord deliberately refused to enter into an agreement in order to make her move out. She was working as a midwife in a state hospital and lived together with her two grown-up children. They had moved once within the previous 5 years. She told us that in the building where they were living previously the sewage pipe was blocked. Other residents in the building were not interested in the problem but since this household was living on the ground floor they could not use the bathroom and toilet. Their landlord did not accept responsibility for the repair. She said that since their situation was terribly urgent they decided to pay for the repair themselves, even though it would cost a lot. Therefore they asked the landlord to let them pay the next month's rent at a later date, or to allow them to pay it in instalments. She said "at first he accepted, but then the following month we received a letter from the court. The landlord made a complaint about us that we did not pay the rent according to the terms of our contract. It was a set up ... we could not do anything. We were evicted".

In view of the fact that there is significant excess demand for housing it is not surprising that the landlords make use of opportunities (or even create reasons) to get their tenants to move out. Through such tactics landlords try to increase the turnover of tenants in order to maximise the increases in their rent incomes and to obtain increases above the rate of inflation. In other words it seems that there can be cases of moves where the intentions of landlords to increase the rents at very high rates are concealed factors. Two such cases (interviews 5 and 6) lead us to suggest that the actual proportion of forced moves due to the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets is possibly higher than the figures for moves said to be induced by rent paying problems and/or disagreements between the tenant and



landlord over the rent - which were presented earlier and which referred only to reasons stated by respondents.

Hence the tenants' explanations about their moves make it even more clear that rises in rent and their shrinking budget within an inflationary economy are important factors which need to be considered in order to understand residential mobility in the case of Ankara, Turkey. It is also seen that the pressures exerted by landlords to increase the rents at high rates are not uncommon and can sometimes be quite severe.

### 8.2.2 Ways of coping with rent

In the case of Ankara where the residential mobility rate has been quite high and where the residential mobility does not in general correspond to the "choice model" and housing choices have been constrained, one of the questions posed was whether moving out of the unit is the first alternative chosen by the household to escape the rent burden and/or any other problems concerning the rent agreement. In the previous section the tenants' explanations of the causes of their moves and the particular pressures they experienced already suggest that in several cases moving out of the unit is probably not the first alternative that the tenant considers as a means of eliminating the rent burden.

In the interviews households who experienced forced moves were asked how long they had experienced difficulties in affording the rent before they moved out, how they coped with the rent during that time, whether it was difficult to find another house, and whether it was difficult to cope with the rent in their next unit.

In light of the answers to these questions, household behaviour when faced with rent burdens is further discussed in order to understand more fully the circumstances under which residential mobility is formed and the extent of the forces that the tenants experienced<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Due to time constraints and financial limitations the follow-up interviews could not be extended to the immobile tenants. Their housing consumption strategies would have provided us with a broader comparative perspective on the matter.

In many of the interviews although the households could not recall precisely how long they had experienced difficulties in coping with their rent, they told us that it had been a burden on their budget for quite a long time. There were also cases of tenants who said that their rent had always been a burden for them. It was found that in 16 cases out of the 21 moves which were due to rent paying difficulties and/or disagreements with the landlord over rent increases, rent had already been a burden on the tenants' budget for quite a long time before they moved. They coped with the rent burden mostly by reducing non-housing expenses, taking extra jobs, working for longer hours, and in two cases tenants indicated that they were receiving help from members of their family.

In case 3 (previously discussed) where the landlord cut the electricity and water to force the household to move out, the tenant told us that the rent was already high for them before the landlord demanded a second increase within the same year, and they had experienced difficulties in reserving rent from their budget for a long time. She says "we hardly bought anything new for ourselves, we even had to cut our food expenses ...we were always paying for our shopping late to the local shops to save for rent ...my sister-in-law is still sending food for winter from our home town - of course it's a relief". She also indicated that it had been difficult to find their existing unit, and that their eldest son was sending money from time to time to contribute towards their budget in the existing house. In some interviews it became further apparent that in addition to the high levels of rents, the advance payments and deposits required by most of the landlords made it difficult for these tenants to find another unit and move in immediately in order to eliminate the increasing share of rent within their budget.

As was seen in interview 2, the household stayed in their first unit (the one they remained in until 1985) for around 4 years, although they had to pay quite high rent increases. The tenant indicated that for a couple of years her husband had worked extra hours. He got work from taxi stations for night hours or he took on extra inter-city transport jobs from the company where he was working as a truck driver. She says "half of his monthly wage was for the rent. Then there was hardly anything left for food, heating ...he was working 12 hours a day ...many times without a rest he carried loads to other cities". She told us that they looked for other houses but for most of them deposits and advance payments were obligatory and since they could not find anything within their budget they finally had to move outside

the city since there rents were cheaper. As was indicated earlier, the environment and location of that unit was very unsatisfactory for this household. They later moved back to the city.

Interview 7 A tenant interviewed in the low income area type of the authorised stock, whose husband was working as a technician in a public organisation, told us that in their previous unit the landlord was increasing the rent every year. Although it was difficult for them to cope with, until they found their friend's flat they stayed in that unit for 3 years. She said that it would not have been possible for them to find a house if their friend had not rented his flat. There they made an agreement on convenient terms. She says "we did not have to pay any deposit, and even if we delay the rent he is not on our backs like other landlords".

Interview 8 This case is from a middle income district. The household head was an accountant, working for a private firm. His wife was not working (she was a retired civil servant) and the interview was held with her. They had two children, one of whom was at high school and the other was a university student. This household had moved from the previous unit because the rent and running expenses of the building together were a burden for them. She said that her husband was getting accountancy jobs from small firms and was working at the weekends. In the original survey it was recorded that their previous unit was better than their current one and in this second interview their reason for moving into a less satisfactory unit was asked. She said that it was difficult to find anything better within their budget. They reached an agreement with the landlord even before the flat was vacated by the previous tenant and had to wait for a couple of months before moving in. Nevertheless even in this unit it has not been easy for them to cope with the rent. She told us "we have no social life, we have decreased our expenses to a minimum but we cannot move to a lower class district ...all our efforts are for our children".

It seems that in the case of Turkey the particularly adverse conditions of the housing markets create a paradoxical situation for tenants' housing consumption behaviour. On the one hand rises in rents and decreases in real incomes make it difficult for many tenants to continue to afford their existing unit, while on the other hand the high levels of rents for other units in the market and advance payments and deposits make it difficult for them to move out of the

unit in order to escape from the problem of affording their existing units. Instead they struggle with the rent burden, making use of several coping mechanisms, and mobility is delayed. Such efforts to cope with the rent can be described as "strategies", or in other words this housing behaviour can be defined as "strategic". Pickvance & Pickvance (forthcoming) used a "strategic approach" to explain the housing behaviour of young people in the south-east of England. They argue that households adopt strategies in the face of constraints on their housing consumption. Working longer hours, taking a second job, more family members taking a job, use of skills by household members in order to substitute for market transactions, restraints on spending for non-housing items, and getting help from the wider family are all defined as "resource strategies". The assumption is that particularly in restricted housing markets households are likely to try and improve their resources, and/or to reduce their non-housing expenditure.

As was explicitly expressed in some of the interviews above - i.e. cases 2 and 8 - efforts by the households to avoid any significant decreases or to minimise the decreases in their housing and environmental standards must have been a factor which led several tenants to continue to cope with their rent through different resource strategies. In case 8 although the rent has not been easy for the household to cope with in their current unit they did not move into a cheaper area. Whilst in case 2 the tenant tried to cope with the rent for some time before moving away from the city.

Moreover it was also found that in 12 out of the 21 cases of forced moves tenants indicated that rent continued to be a burden on their budget in the next unit and that they have had to adopt strategies to cope with the rent. This situation may have two possible explanations: (i) some tenants may not have been able to move into affordable units; or (ii) in some cases, although the tenants were able to secure units that they could afford without difficulty, in the course of time they have become unable to cope since their consumption power has been decreasing within the inflationary economy.

### 9.3 CONCLUSION

The aim of the follow-up interviews was to provide more detailed information on the housing behaviour of mobile tenants, and hence to further clarify the residential mobility picture obtained through the statistical analyses. The results derived from the interviews can be summarised as follows: (i) more than half of the moves (that were examined through the interviews) were induced by factors other than the tenants' own needs (or dissatisfaction with the previous unit); (ii) Pressures by the landlords to increase the rents - in some cases in excess of the high rates of inflation - and decreases in the tenants' own consumption power within an inflationary economy were stated by tenants as the causes of more than one third of the moves that they made within the period between 1983 and 1988; (iii) In some cases moving out of the unit was delayed since the adverse conditions of the housing market made it difficult for the tenant to find another unit; (iv) Many tenants expressed their position as weak or even helpless against the landlords, and the pressures exerted by landlords over their tenants can be quite severe; (v) The proportion of tenants who use different strategies to enable them to afford the rent before moving out is not negligible. Moreover in several cases after making a forced move tenants continued to have difficulties in affording the rent - even though many of them experienced decreases in their housing standards.

These points concerning the housing consumption of mobile tenants further confirm the limited capability of the "Choice Model" to explain the high levels of residential mobility in Ankara.

## **9 Planned Residential Mobility - the Relevance of the Household Adjustment Model for Understanding Mobility Plans**

---

### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

So far we have shown that the past residential (im)mobility of households in Ankara is more likely to be a forced response to the adverse conditions of the context. Having arrived at this conclusion in this last chapter we address a remaining major question, namely whether or not the household adjustment model is relevant to the households' planned mobility. If it is not this would suggest that both past and planned residential mobility are severely affected by constraints. But if planned mobility can be understood in terms of household adjustment this would mean that constraints affect past but not planned mobility, and we would be able to see which household dynamics and consequent needs are most in need of adjustment.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first section, using the same framework of analysis as in Chapters 5 and 6, we examine the causal impacts of household characteristics and dynamics, housing satisfaction, housing quality, and past residential mobility on residential mobility plans. The results of this analysis will provide us with a preliminary view of the extent to which household adjustment is relevant for planned mobility. Furthermore this causal analysis together with the previous two models will provide a complete perspective where sequential snapshots of the households' mobility decisions are examined within the same analytical framework - through the same variables.

In the second section we will examine the households' own reasons for their plans either to move out, or to stay in the same unit. This will provide us with further details of the picture obtained through the causal analyses in the first section.

## 9.2 CAUSAL ANALYSES FOR PLANNED RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Household type, changes in household composition, age of the household head, total household income, income change over the previous 5 years, occupational prestige of the household head, social mobility over the 5 years prior to 1988, tenure status, housing quality, past residential mobility, and the household's housing satisfaction are postulated as the independent variables of our causal model for planned mobility.

After explaining the statistical technique and the meaning of the positive coefficients we shall present and discuss the results of the model.

### 9.2.1 Explanation of statistical technique and meaning of positive coefficients

Household characteristics and dynamics, past residential mobility, housing quality and housing satisfaction were all measured in the same way as in the previous analyses described in Chapters 5 and 6. The additional variable in the model is planned mobility (dependent variable). Households were asked whether they were thinking of moving out of their existing unit into another one in Ankara. The question did not distinguish between those who had concrete plans and those who were thinking of moving but did not have any concrete plans. Hence the answers can include both concrete plans as well as uncertain ones.

Since the dependent variable here is also dichotomous, conforming to either of the two values yes (0) or no (1), the logit regression technique will again be used. For convenience the meaning of the positive relationships (coefficients greater than 1) are given below.

Exp(B)<sub>12,1</sub> = The probability of planning to stay is higher for large households than for small ones.

Exp(B)<sub>12,2</sub> = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those who experienced a change in their household composition over the previous 5 years than for those who did not.

Exp(B)<sub>12,3</sub> = The probability of planning to stay is higher for older households than for younger ones.

- Exp(B)12,4 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for higher income households than for lower income households.
- Exp(B)12,5 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those who experienced increases in their incomes over the previous 5 years than for those with falling incomes.
- Exp(B)12,6 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those with higher occupational prestige than for those with lower prestige.
- Exp(B)12,7 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those with upward social mobility than for those who experienced decreases in their social prestige over the 5 years prior to 1988.
- Exp(B)12,8 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for owner-occupiers than for tenants.
- Exp(B)12,9 = The probability of planning to stay increases with increases in housing quality.
- Exp(B)12,10 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those who have been more mobile over the previous 5 years. Nevertheless here it should be remembered that owner-occupiers' past residential mobility is considered as a dichotomous variable. As was done in Chapters 5 and 6, owner-occupiers were classified as either mobiles or immobiles since all the mobile cases in the "OO" group made only one move in the previous 5 years, and since none of the "TO" group made a move after becoming homeowners and their previous moves as a tenant do not concern us here. Hence the meaning of the positive coefficient for owner-occupiers is: The probability of planning to stay is higher for those who were immobile over the previous 5 years.
- Exp(B)12,11 = The probability of planning to stay is higher for those who are not satisfied with their unit than for those who are satisfied.

As in our analyses of past residential mobility and housing satisfaction, our aim here is to examine the impact of all the variables postulated in the model rather than attempting to arrive at a perfect model by selecting the most significant independent variables. Consequently the variables presented in the model were entered into the regression analysis



all at once. But as indicated earlier, in logistic analysis when the sample is below a certain size it is not possible to determine the impact of all the variables postulated in the model. Therefore for a small sample size the "F Step" (forward stepwise) method was used where each variable is entered into the regression analysis step by step and according to its statistical significance level either remains in the equation or is deleted from it. The same criteria for statistical significance levels were used with the previous models (see Chapter 5 for further details of the method).

### 9.2.2 Presentation and evaluation of results

As was done previously, here the model is applied to both tenure groups together as well as to each area type separately. For the planned residential mobility of tenants only the continuing tenants (the "TT" group) were considered. Those who transferred from ownership to tenancy between 1983 and 1988 were not included in the analysis. In fact there were few such cases in any area type and none at all in area type 4. For the planned residential mobility of owner-occupiers analyses were done for all the owner occupiers (including those who transferred from tenancy to owner-occupancy - the "TO" group) and for the "OO" group (those who were already owner-occupiers in 1983 and remained so in 1988) separately.

After considering each area type, analyses were also done for the whole sample, and for each of the tenure groups in the whole sample in order to arrive at a general argument about the mobility plans of all the households in the city.

#### Area type 1 high income areas

For area type 1 again it was not possible to determine the impacts of all the variables on planned mobility due to the small sample size. There were only 17 cases for regression analyses after the listwise deletion of missing cases. Through the stepwise method it was revealed that the age of the household head is the only variable which has a statistically significant causal impact on the planned mobility of these high income area residents. Nevertheless the impact is not strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,3} = 1.22$ . This coefficient indicates that for

a unit increase in the age of the household head the probability of not moving increases by 22%. In other words the probability of not moving is multiplied by 1.22.

It was not possible to determine the impact of other variables postulated in the model, since none of them was found statistically significant enough to be remained in the equation. Nevertheless given that (i) their past residential mobility was an adjustment mechanism for their preferences, housing needs and aspirations<sup>1</sup>; and moreover that (ii) housing market conditions did not undergo any drastic changes in the late 1980s, showing no signs that the housing consumption of these households in the upper segments of the housing stock will be constrained in the near future, it can be argued that the (im)mobility plans of these households will continue to be under the influence of their preferences - as has been the case so far within the previous 5 years. This argument will be verified through the reasons for the (im)mobility plans that the households indicated themselves in the interviews.

The analysis was not done for tenure groups separately since only 4 cases of tenants were encountered in our survey in this area type.

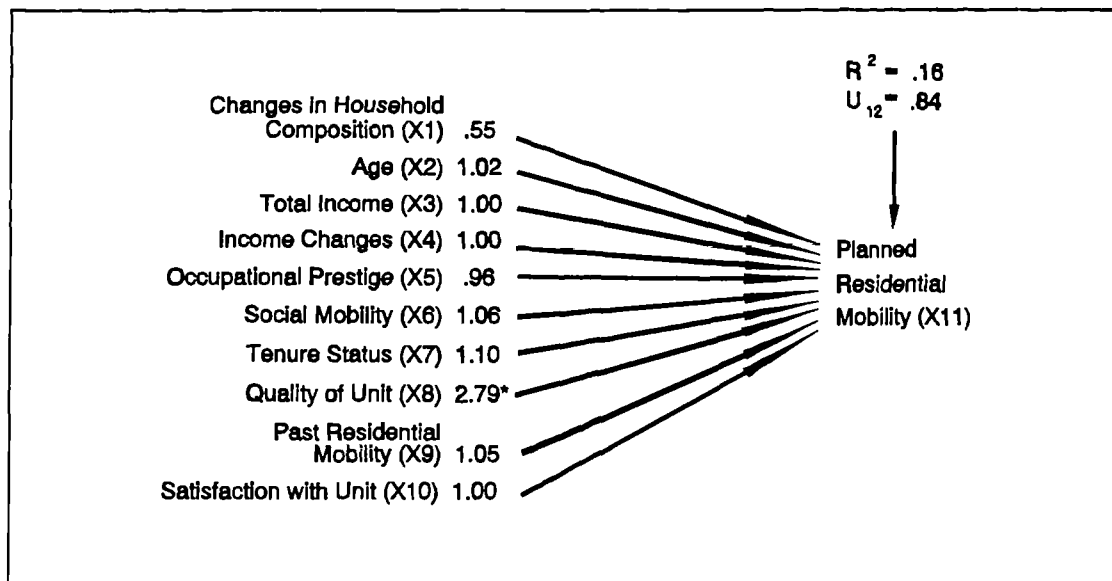
### Area type 2 middle income areas

Now we will look at the results of the planned residential mobility of the middle income area households.

---

<sup>1</sup>It was discovered that households' tastes and preferences were influential on their past residential (im)mobility, and that more than 70% of the households in this area type were satisfied with the units they currently occupy.

FIGURE 9.1 Model for the Planned Residential mobility of all the Households in Area Type 2<sup>2</sup>



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

Of all the variables presented in the model, quality of unit is the only one which has an impact on the residential mobility plans of the households in this area type. The causal relationship is positive, which shows that households occupying relatively higher quality units are less likely to be mobile than those occupying lower quality units.  $\text{Exp}(b)_{11,8} = 2.79$  shows that the probability of planning to stay (not to move) is multiplied by 2.79 - almost triples - for a unit increase in the housing quality index.

The households' own characteristics and dynamics, and their past residential mobility do not have any appreciable impact on planned residential mobility. Although changes in household composition show a certain degree of impact it is significant only at the 50% level. The apparent lack of influence of household dynamics on planned mobility does not necessarily indicate that the households' own dynamics and consequent housing needs do not influence their housing consumption decisions. It may be the case that a significant proportion of the

<sup>2</sup>As was done in the models in Chapters 5 and 6, due to the limited number of observations of small households ( $n=3$ ) in this area type, small household cases were cancelled from the sample and the variable "household type" is dropped from the model.

households have already adjusted their housing needs through their past residential mobility. As we saw in the analyses of past residential mobility in the previous chapters, the residential (im)mobility of many of the tenants and owner-occupiers in this area type was due to their own needs and preferences. Therefore even if the rest of the households (those who were unable to adjust their household dynamics and consequent housing needs in the previous 5 years) planned to move to adjust their needs, it would not lead to a strong causal relationship between household dynamics (which are supposed to be decisive on mobility) and planned mobility. However, besides the lack of influence of their own dynamics, satisfaction with the unit does not have any impact at all on the households' mobility plans in this area type. Are these then indications that the households' (im)mobility plans are independent of their own needs and preferences? Moreover if satisfaction does not have any impact on residential mobility plans, why does quality of unit have a fairly strong impact? These results may be an indication of two different factors. Firstly, despite the fact that they are not happy with their units, some of the households who occupy good quality units may not be planning to move out since it would be difficult to find a better unit under the unfavourable conditions of housing supply. In other words although they are not fully satisfied with the unit, in view of its better quality relative to others within that particular segment of the housing market, it might be preferable for them to stay in the near future rather than to move. Secondly, some households who indicated that they are satisfied in relation to their immediate needs may be planning to move in the future because of their aspirations for better quality units. Analyses of the separate tenure groups in this area type may provide us with a clearer insight into the impact of these postulated factors.

Here again, due to the small sample size of both tenure groups the "stepwise" method had to be used. For the tenants (the "TT" group) it was found that none of the variables in the model had a statistically significant impact at the 80% level on planned mobility. While for the owner-occupiers (the "OO" group and those who became owner-occupiers within the previous 5 years) it was revealed that the age of the household head and satisfaction with the unit have some causal relationship with planned mobility. Satisfaction with the unit is inversely related with planned mobility, and the relationship is strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,11} = .11$ . This coefficient shows that the probability of planning to stay is 9 times lower for those who

are dissatisfied with their current units<sup>3</sup>. In other words the probability of planning to stay is 9 times greater for those who are satisfied with their units. The age of the household head is positively related with planning to stay in the unit. Nevertheless the coefficient is not very strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,3} = 1.19$  indicates that the probability of planning not to move increases only slightly (19%) with the age of the household head. The equivalent of  $R^2$  is considerable at a level of .34.

These results show that for the owner-occupiers in this area type their own needs and preferences (satisfaction represents the fulfilment of their housing needs and preferences) constitute one of the main determinants of their planned mobility. The particular conditions of the housing markets - i.e. decreasing credit availability and the rising production cost of units - are probably the prime determinants among the external factors responsible for the variation in planned mobility which remained unexplained by the model.

Although it was not possible to see the impact of the variables presented in the model on the planned mobility of tenants in this area type, comparing the results for all the households with the ones obtained for the owner-occupiers should make it possible to derive some results concerning the possible impacts of the variables - as would have been the case if the sample size had been large enough to permit regression analyses for this group.

Quality of unit was the strongest and only statistically significant variable for the planned mobility of all the households in this area type, although it did not have any appreciable impact on the owner-occupiers' mobility plans. It therefore seems that quality of unit would have been quite influential on the tenants' residential mobility plans if the sample size had been large enough to derive the impacts of each independent variable. While satisfaction with the unit was found to have a significant and strong impact on the planned mobility of owner-occupiers, the results for all the households in the area show that satisfaction did not have any causal relationship with planned mobility. Therefore if it had been possible to obtain regression results for the tenant group, satisfaction with the unit would probably not have had any appreciable impact on their mobility plans. As was seen for both tenure groups together,

---

<sup>3</sup> $\text{Exp}(B) = .11 - ^1/.11 = 9$ . In other words the probability of planning to stay is multiplied by (.11) for those who are dissatisfied with their units.

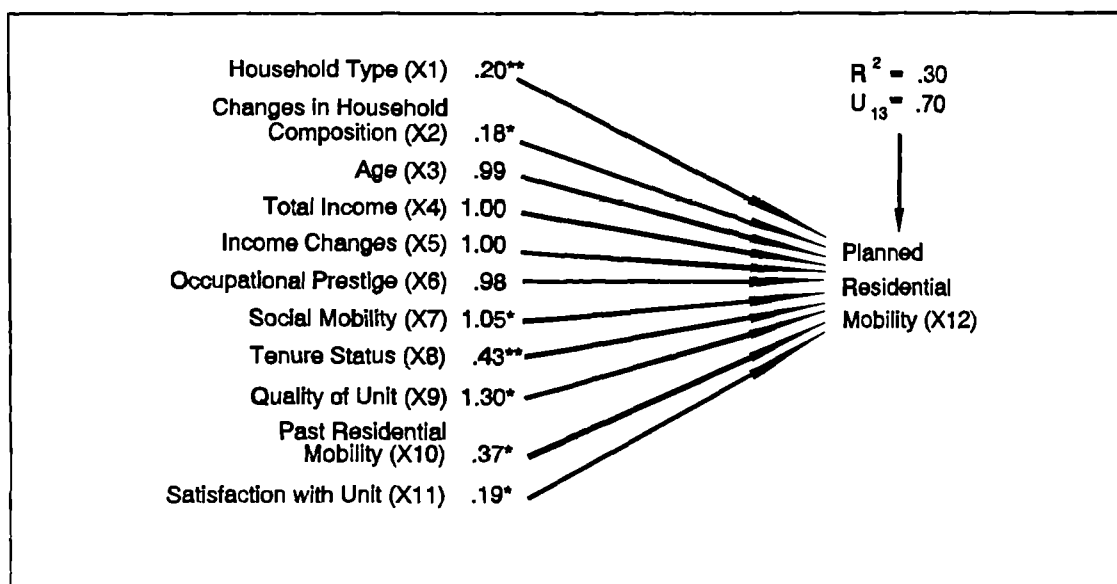
in the case of the tenants it also appears that although satisfaction has no particular impact on their planned residential mobility, housing quality does have some impact. It may be the case that some tenants occupying relatively better quality units are planning to stay irrespective of their satisfaction. In view of the better quality of their units they may have considered it preferable to stay even if they are not currently satisfied. On the other hand although some tenants in considering their immediate needs might have indicated that they are satisfied, they may be planning to move in the near future because of their aspirations for better quality units, particularly those occupying relatively lower quality units. At this stage of the study it is not possible to put forward any argument about the extent to which the planned residential mobility of middle income area tenants is due to their own needs and preferences. The households' own description of the causes of their residential mobility plans, which will be analysed later in this chapter, will clarify the matter.

### Area type 3 low income area type of the authorised stock

We now look at the determinants of planned residential mobility among households in the low income authorised housing areas.

As shown in Figure 9.2 changes in household composition and satisfaction with the unit have the strongest impacts on planned residential mobility in area type 3 which are statistically significant at the 90% level. Both of these variables are inversely related with planning to stay in the unit.

FIGURE 9.2 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of all the Households in Area Type 3<sup>4</sup>



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

The inverse relationship between changes in household composition and planning to stay in the same unit shows that for those who experienced a change in their household composition within the previous 5 years, the probability of planning to move is nearly five times higher than for those who did not;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,2} = .18$ . Changes in household composition were measured for the previous 5 years. However, as shown in Chapter 5 such changes had no impact on the past residential mobility of households in this area type. The strong impact of household composition changes on planned mobility can thus be seen as a need to move into another unit which emerged within the previous 5 years as a result of changes in family composition, but which could not be realised due to the housing market constraints discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>4</sup>Due to the high levels of correlation ("multicollinearity") between income level and income change in this area type for the previous models in Chapters 5 and 6, the income change variable was categorised for both tenure groups together and separately. In order to maintain consistency with the previous models, we ran this model by categorising the income variable for both tenure groups together and separately. The results are not significantly different when the income change variable is taken without categorising. In fact the level of correlation was not very high in this model between those two variables.

The inverse relationship between satisfaction with the unit and planned mobility means that the probability of planning to move is around five times higher for those who are dissatisfied with their units than for those who are satisfied;  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,11} = .19$ .

Past residential mobility has a fairly strong causal impact on planned residential mobility. Those who have been more mobile in the past are nearly three times more likely to plan to move than those who have been less mobile<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,10} = .37$ .

Quality of unit is positively related to the probability of planning not to move;  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,9} = 1.30$ . For a unit increase in the quality of unit the probability of planning to stay increases by 30% - or the probability of not moving is multiplied by 1.30.

Family type is also related with planned mobility. Large households are five times more likely to plan to move than small households;  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,1} = .20$ . This contrasts with our analyses of the past residential mobility of households in this area type where it was found that small families were more likely to be mobile, particularly among the tenants. This was explained as due to their experiencing less constraints compared to large households. Large families are likely to have needed to move - e.g. their large size may require a larger unit, or rises in rents might require them to move - but they may have been prevented from doing so due to the greater constraints they experience. As such their mobility needs would not have been realised but would have remained as planned mobility.

Tenure status also has a relationship with planned mobility; owner-occupiers are more than twice as likely to be planning to move as tenants;  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,8} = .43$ . This contrasts with the fact that tenants are more likely than owner-occupiers to have been mobile in the past (see Chapter 5), adding weight to the earlier argument that the past residential mobility of tenants was much greater than their desired level and was due to constraints rather than to meeting their housing needs.

---

<sup>5</sup>The coefficient  $\text{Exp(B)}_{12,10} = .37$  means that the probability of staying in the same unit is multiplied by .37 for every move that the household made within the 5 years between 1983 and 1988, or that the probability of planning to move increases around three times.



The equivalent of  $R^2$  is .31 showing that one third of the total variation in planned mobility is explained through the model, which is a fairly good level of explanation of the variation in planned mobility.

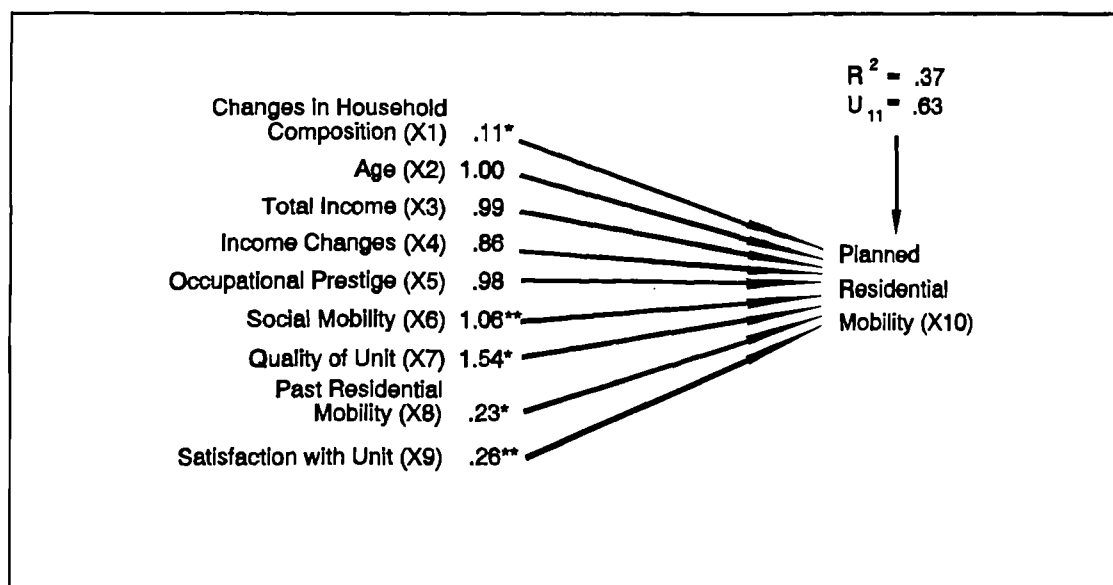
The results arrived at for area type 3 lead us to conclude that the considerable impacts on planned mobility of satisfaction with the unit, changes in household composition, and quality of unit, complement one another since they show the influence of the households' own preferences and housing needs.

On the other hand the fairly strong (and statistically significant) impact of past residential mobility on planned residential mobility raises an interesting question. Since it has already been established that the past residential mobility of the households - particularly the high rates of mobility by tenants - was not an adjustment mechanism for their housing needs but was more likely to be forced, then is it the case that those who have been forced to move into units which do not satisfy their needs are planning to move again to meet their housing needs? Or is there any other explanation for this causal relationship between the past and planned residential mobility of low income area residents?

Analysing the results of the model for the tenure groups in this area type separately should clarify this and identify whether the preferences and dynamics of each tenure group influence their mobility. First we will look at the results for the tenants ("TT" group).

## Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

FIGURE 9.3 Model for the Planned Residential mobility of the "TT" Group in Area Type 3<sup>6</sup>



\* Coefficients significant at the 95% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

As shown in the figure the results arrived at for the tenants are not significantly different from those of the whole sample in this area type. Strong causal impacts by changes in household composition (tenants experiencing change are nine times more likely to plan to move compared with five times for the whole sample), dissatisfaction (four times as likely for tenants to plan to move compared to five times for the whole sample), and by low quality

<sup>6</sup>In this particular model for the planned mobility of tenants "Household Type" (a dichotomous independent variable) has a very high correlation with the constant value of the model (.99). The significance level of its impact is close to zero which indicates that this variable does not have any function in the regression equations, and hence does not have any impact on planned mobility. When this variable was dropped from the equations and those cases cancelled from the sample, the impacts of other independent variables remained the same. Here the model is presented without this particular variable.

When the model was run taking income change as a continuous variable, there was a correlation of .54 between income level and income change. Although it was not very high it might have some distorting impacts on the results. The model was run again by categorising the income change variable as was done in Chapters 5 and 6. The correlation between the two variables decreased to .34 and though not to any considerable degree, some of the coefficients changed. Since the results with a lower correlation between the variables are more healthy we present the results of the latter version by categorising the income change variable.

(1.5 times more likely for tenants compared to 1.30 times for the whole sample) were found. As for the whole sample in type 3 areas a respectable level of explanation was achieved (37%).

Thus the results arrived at for the planned residential mobility of low income area tenants can be interpreted as follows:

(i) In view of the fact that changes in household composition, satisfaction with the unit, and quality of unit have considerable impacts on planned residential mobility, and they contribute to the explained proportion of the variation in planned mobility - which is considerable at 37% - significantly, households' needs and preferences are considered among the main determinants of planned mobility. While on the other hand, in view of the fact that rental market conditions are not favourable, the particular conditions of the housing market are probably among the main factors responsible for the proportion of the variation in planned mobility which is unexplained by the model.

(ii) The strong relationship between past and planned residential mobility is an interesting point that requires explanation. Those who have been more mobile in the past are more likely to plan to move again<sup>7</sup>. Before embarking on an interpretation of this causal relation the model was run again, this time eliminating the tenants who are planning to buy a house. It was important to see the extent to which the causal impact of past residential mobility on planned mobility was relevant for those who have been tenants within the previous 5 years and who do not have any plans to buy a house (who will probably remain tenants in the near future). Those who are planning to buy a house - though there were only two such cases - may have been specifically influencing that causal relationship. The possibility that there might have been tenants among those planning to move who did not indicate that they would be buying a house, although they had such an intention, is assumed to be very low. The

---

<sup>7</sup>Since the results of the past mobility analyses did not present a strong impact by any of the household characteristics, and since there is no "multicollinearity" problem between past residential mobility and any of the household characteristics taken as independent variables for the planned mobility model, technically it is not possible that there could have been certain household characteristics that would have led the households to be mobile both in the past and in the future, but which did not appear as causal impacts in both models - i.e. in both past and planned mobility.

results arrived at for this version are no different from the ones arrived at above. In particular the causal relationship between past and planned residential mobility is again found to be negative and strong at .23.

It was concluded in the previous Chapters that a considerable proportion of the past residential mobility of the tenants (the "TT" group) in this area type was not an adjustment mechanism for their own dynamics and consequent housing needs, but was more likely to have been forced. Therefore to start with it can be argued that several tenants who were mobile in the previous 5 years are not satisfied with the units that they currently occupy and hence some of them may be planning to move again in order to adjust their housing needs. However no apparent causal relationship was found between being dissatisfied with the unit and being more mobile in the past (see Chapter 6).

On the other hand it is also possible that the adverse conditions of housing markets, which are assumed to be responsible for a considerable proportion of residential (im)mobility over the previous 5 years, will continue to influence the housing consumption decisions of tenants. In other words, as long as these particular conditions of the rental housing markets do not change - i.e. rents continue to increase at high rates and landlords still dominate the terms of rent contracts - many of the tenants may continue to be influenced in much the same way as during the previous 5 years. Moreover it will probably be extremely difficult (perhaps impossible) for them to secure a long-term balance in their budget. Therefore many of the tenants who have been mobile so far and are planning to move again, may be doing so to rebalance their budget under the influence of continuously rising rents. Thereby such a causal relationship between the past and planned residential mobility of tenants may be an indication of the fact that for some tenants being mobile may well have become a kind of compulsory, ongoing procedure and/or a "strategy"<sup>8</sup> for survival under the adverse conditions of the rental housing market. Alternatively some of those who have been less mobile or immobile in the past have probably coped with the rises in their rents through various household strategies - e.g. reducing household expenditure, decreasing consumption etc. - and it is likely that they

---

<sup>8</sup>The term "strategy" firstly does not deny constraints but refers to "constrained choices", and secondly does not refer to long term solutions but to short term ones.

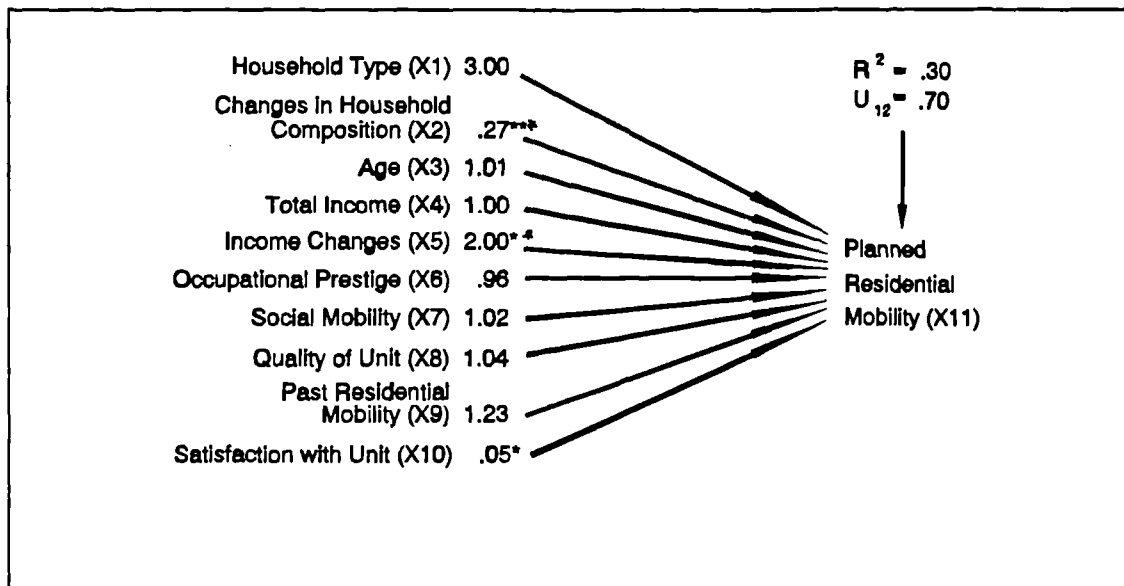
will continue to do so in the future for as long as possible - probably to avoid decreases in their housing standards and housing satisfaction. We will return to this matter later.

In short it is seen that to a considerable extent the residential (im)mobility plans of tenants in area type 3 are the outcome of their housing needs and preferences. However these plans do not seem to be completely independent of the adverse conditions of the housing markets. The strong causal relation between past and planned residential mobility may well be an indication of the impact of constraints. The adverse conditions of the markets are probably the primary ones among the external factors which are responsible for around 60% of the variation in planned residential mobility.

## Owner-occupiers

Now let us look at the results for the planned mobility of owner occupiers.

FIGURE 9.4 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of all the Owner-Occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together) in Area Type 3<sup>9</sup>



- \* Coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level
- \*\*\* Coefficients significant at the 70% level

Of all the variables presented in the model, satisfaction with the unit has the strongest impact on the residential (im)mobility plans of the owner-occupiers in area type 3. The inverse relationship between these two variables ( $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,10} = .05$ ) indicates that those who are dissatisfied with their units are 20 times more likely to be planning to move than those who are satisfied.

The second variable which has a fairly strong impact on the mobility plans of the owner-occupiers (at a 80% level of significance) is changes in income level within the previous 5 years. The probability of planning to stay increases with increases in the income level of the

<sup>9</sup>Due to the high levels of correlation between income level and income change (.78), the model was run by categorising the income change variable.

households. The coefficient  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,5} = 2.00$  shows that a unit increase in the income change of the household doubles the probability of planning to stay in the same unit. In other words those whose income levels have decreased are twice as likely to plan to move. There are no particular policies or circumstances that could lead owner-occupiers with decreasing incomes to move out of their units. Nevertheless there may have been some cases of households having to sell off other assets which previously constituted a source of secondary incomes to make an investment for a better house. There may also have been cases where the household head took a second job, or some other member(s) of the household worked, in order to supplement the cost of a better unit. After saving a certain amount they might have quit - which would reflect a decrease in the income level of the household. In a market where house prices are increasing and credit facilities are non-existent - particularly for the low income households - such strategies might have been employed to obtain sufficient funds to buy a better unit. Hence such cases may have accounted for the causal relationship between income change and planned residential mobility.

Changes in household composition also have a causal impact on the planned mobility of owner-occupiers;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,2} = .27$ . The probability of planning to stay in the same unit and changes in the household composition within the previous 5 years are inversely related with each other. The probability of planning to move is nearly four times greater for those who experienced a change in their household composition. Although this coefficient is only statistically significant at the 75% level, in view of its quite strong impact it cannot be ignored.

The equivalent  $R^2$  is .30 which shows that the percentage of variation in planned residential mobility explained by the model is considerable<sup>10</sup>.

Thus the results of our statistical analyses for the low income area type within the formal housing stock suggest that the households' housing needs and/or preferences are influential

---

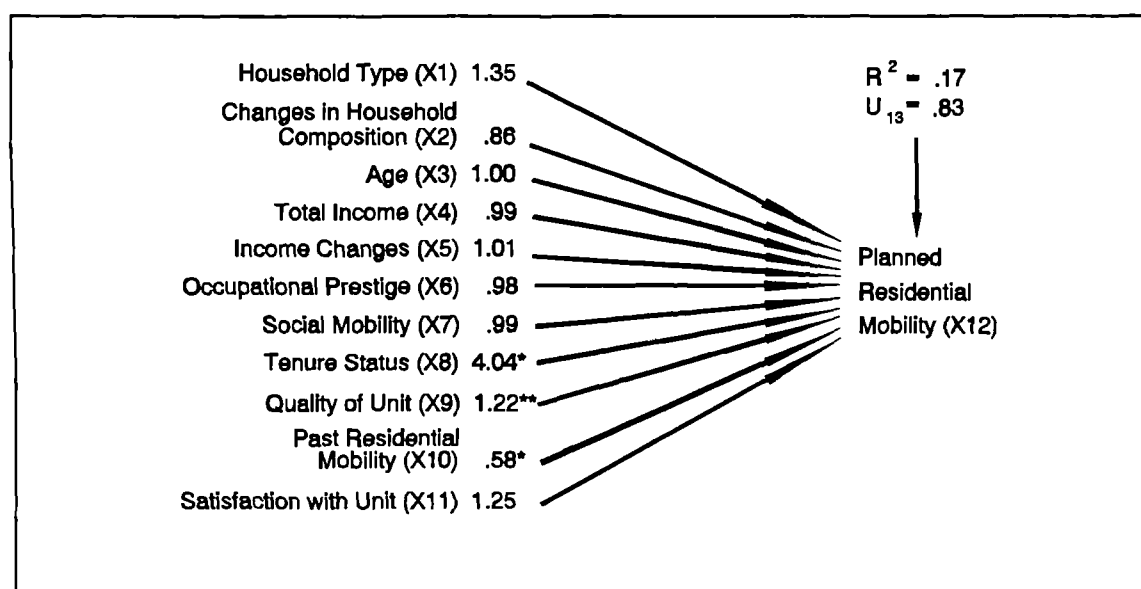
<sup>10</sup>When the "OO" group - those who have been owner-occupiers throughout the previous 5 years - was considered separately the results of the analyses were not significantly different from the ones arrived at above for all the owner-occupiers in this area type, including those who became owner-occupiers within the 5 years prior to 1988. Satisfaction with the unit and changes in household composition proved to have strong impacts in different runs of the model with and without categorising the income change variable.

over the residential mobility plans of both tenants and owner-occupiers to a considerable extent.

### Area type 4 gecekondü area

We now look at the results of the analyses concerning the planned residential mobility of gecekondü households.

FIGURE 9.5 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of Gecekondü Households



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Tenure status has the strongest impact on the households' planned residential mobility;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,8} = 4.00$ . The probability of planning to move is four times higher for tenants than for the owner-occupiers.

The second variable that has a causal impact on planned residential mobility is past residential mobility.  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,10} = .58$  indicates that for each move in the past the probability of planning to move is nearly doubled. In other words the probability of staying in the same



unit decreases for households who have been more mobile within the 5 years between 1983 and 1988.

Quality of unit is positively related to the probability of planning to stay, but the coefficient is not very strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{12,9} = 1.22$ . For a unit increase in housing quality the probability of planning to remain in the same unit in the future increases by 22%.

None of the households' own characteristics or dynamics, or satisfaction with the unit have any impact on the planned mobility of gecekondü dwellers. Overall the model explained only 17% of the variation in planned (im)mobility. These results, particularly the lack of impact of satisfaction, show that the households' housing needs and preferences do not influence the residential (im)mobility plans of most of the gecekondü dwellers.

As was indicated previously the redevelopment plans for the unauthorised stock are assumed to have influenced the housing consumption decisions of the gecekondü owners, hence their (im)mobility plans have probably also been influenced by such an external factor, rather than by their immediate actual housing needs and preferences. Furthermore in contrast to the gecekondü owners, the tenants of this stock do not obtain any benefits from these redevelopment plans. There may be different patterns of impacts on the planned (im)mobility of these two tenure groups which possibly neutralise each other in the above model where both groups were considered together.

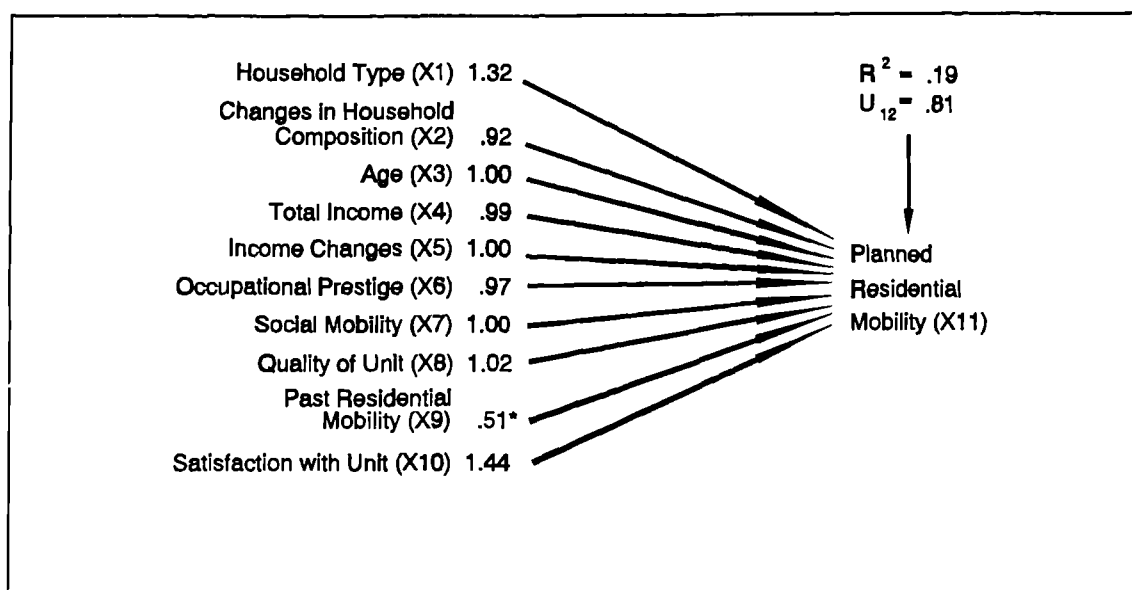
### Ongoing tenants ("TT" group)

Now let us look at the results for the tenant group separately, whose probability of planning to move is higher than that of the owner-occupiers.

Figure 9.6 shows no significant departure from the coefficients for all the households (both tenure groups together), though past residential mobility is the only statistically significant variable and has quite a strong impact on planned mobility;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{11,9} = .51$ . The probability of planning to move increases about twofold for each move that the tenant made in the 5 years between 1983 and 1988. Other variables postulated in the model - household

characteristics and dynamics, satisfaction with the unit, and quality of unit - do not have any identifiable or statistically significant impact on the residential (im)mobility plans of gecekondtu tenants. The explanatory power of the model is quite low at the 19% level.

FIGURE 9.6 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of Gecekondtu Tenants



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

The interpretations and arguments based on these results can be summarised as follows:

(i) As was shown in the previous chapters the gecekondtu tenants' past residential mobility (which was quite high) was almost entirely independent from their own dynamics, needs, and preferences. Here it is found that the tenants' own dynamics and satisfaction with the unit do not influence their mobility plans either. This suggests that neither the past, nor the planned residential mobility of gecekondtu area tenants has the effect of allowing an adjustment of housing needs.

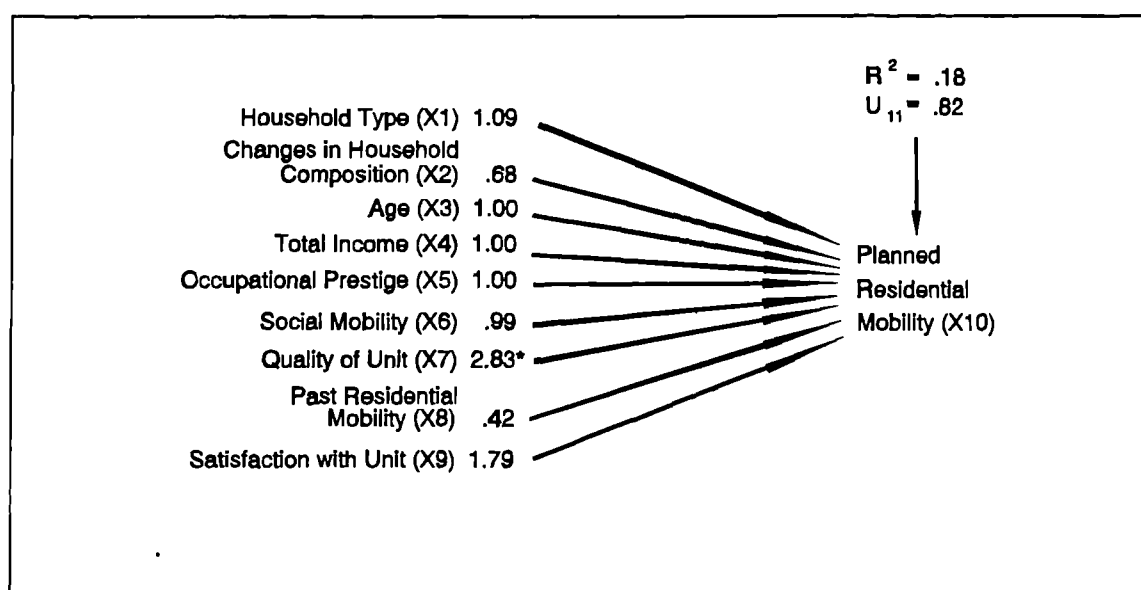
(ii) The past and planned residential mobility of gecekondtu area tenants are found to be related. Tenants who have been more mobile in the past are more likely to plan to move. The causal relationship between past and planned residential mobility strengthened from .51

to .45 when those tenants who were planning to buy a house were removed from the sample. As was indicated earlier for area type 3 there are two possible explanations for such a causal relationship. In view of the fact that past residential mobility was not an adjustment mechanism for the tenants' housing needs, it is possible that the tenants who were mobile in the previous 5 years are not happy with their current units and are planning to move again to adjust their needs. Alternatively having been mobile before and planning to move again may also indicate a compulsory "strategy" developed by several tenants in order to survive under the influence of the adverse conditions of the housing markets. As was seen in Chapter 6, among the gecekondü tenants those who were more mobile were more likely to be dissatisfied with the unit. Considering this causal relationship between being mobile in the past and being dissatisfied, one can expect the adjustment purposes of mobile tenants to be a more important factor accounting for the relation between past and planned residential mobility. However it should be remembered that other results of the model - i.e. the absence of any impact of satisfaction, or of household dynamics (which are supposed to be decisive on mobility) - suggest that housing needs and preferences are not influential on the (im)mobility plans of gecekondü tenants to any significant degree.

## Owner-occupiers

Now we will look at the results of the analyses showing the planned residential mobility of the gecekondu owners.

FIGURE 9.7 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of Owner-Occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together) in the Gecekondu Type of Areas<sup>11</sup>



Coefficients significant at the 90% level  
 There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

In the above model quality of unit is the only variable which has a statistically significant impact on the mobility plans of the gecekondu owners and the impact is fairly strong;  $\text{Exp}(B)_{10,7} = 2.83$ . A unit increase in the quality index of the house increases the probability of planning to stay nearly threefold.

Household characteristics and dynamics have virtually no impact on planned mobility and the impacts of past residential mobility and satisfaction are not statistically significant. Finally

<sup>11</sup>As was the case in the model for housing satisfaction (Chapter 6), in this model a very high level of correlation "multicollinearity" was found between income level and income change (.60), and between social mobility and income change (.63). Categorising income change did not solve the problem. Hence in this model as well the income change variable was dropped.

this model is no more successful than the model of planned mobility among the gecekondu tenants; equivalent value of  $R^2$  is .18<sup>12</sup>. Given these results one cannot argue that the (im)mobility plans of gecekondu owners are particularly related to their housing needs. Nevertheless this does not necessarily mean that the constraints are the prime determinants of the gecekondu owners' (im)mobility plans. Many of the owners have probably made plans on the basis of their expectations about the redevelopment plans and the speculative gains that they will obtain, independently of their dynamics and consequent changes in their housing needs, or of their housing satisfaction.

While none of the household dynamics nor housing satisfaction have any impact on the mobility plans, the considerable impact of housing quality is interesting and needs to be discussed further. There are several possible explanations for such a picture. It may be the case that some of the owners of relatively better quality units, in view of the fact that their unit is above average quality in that particular segment of the stock, may consider themselves lucky and might have preferred not to make any plans to move out until the redevelopment plans and their implementation become concrete - even if they are not currently satisfied with their unit. Hence they would be less likely to indicate that they are thinking of moving out. While owners of lower quality units may have a stronger desire to move into better quality units. As such, even if the redevelopment decisions and their implementation are not concrete yet, and hence even if they do not have any concrete plans yet, they would be more likely to be thinking of moving out. Alternatively a particular land use decision taken by the municipality of Ankara through the redevelopment plans may also be a factor accounting for the above picture. Two gecekondu districts which are next to the traditional centre of the city were planned to be recreation areas - due to topographic reasons which made these areas inconvenient for settlement. In fact these districts are the oldest gecekondu settlements in the city. Densities are high and the size of the units are smaller than the other gecekondus in the city. Hence the units in such districts are of the lower levels of the housing quality index relative to gecekondus in the other districts due to their older age and comparatively small size. Some of the owners in these districts, knowing that there is a possibility of being

---

<sup>12</sup>The "OO" group - those who have been owner-occupiers throughout the previous five years - was considered separately. The results of the analyses were not significantly different from the ones arrived at for all the owner-occupiers in this area type.

resettled, may have been more likely to indicate a propensity to move than the owners of gecekondus in other districts.

In addition to the striking differences in the results of the analyses of housing satisfaction between the two low income area type owner-occupiers (Chapter 6), the differences in the results of the planned mobility analyses between these owner-occupiers further confirmed that their housing consumption decisions are influenced by different sets of factors. In view of the fact that the socio-economic characteristics of these two groups are not strikingly different, the differences in the legal status of these two stocks and the emerging opportunities for the gecekondu stock must have been important factors with reference to which the differences between the housing consumption behaviour of these groups should be explained.

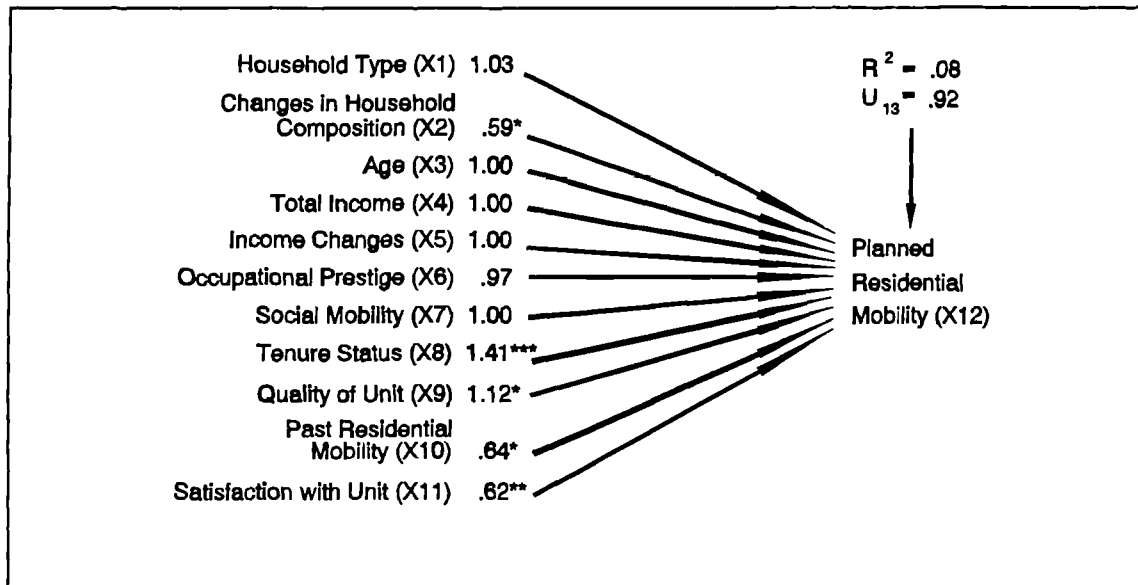
### Whole sample all area types

Having analysed the (im)mobility plans of the households by area type, we now look at the results for the whole sample (including area type 1) and for the tenure groups separately in the whole sample.

### Both tenure groups together

Figure 9.8 shows that among the variables included in the model, changes in household composition, past residential mobility, and satisfaction with the unit are the factors which have an influence on planned residential mobility.

FIGURE 9.8 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of the Whole Sample



- \* Coefficients significant at the 95% level
- \*\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level
- \*\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Those who experienced changes in their household composition and those who are dissatisfied with their unit were found to be more likely to plan to move. The probability of planning to move also increases with past residential mobility. Housing quality is inversely related with planning to move; as the quality of unit decreases the probability of planning to move increases. Planned mobility is also related with tenure status and tenants were more likely to plan to move than owner-occupiers. However none of these impacts are very strong.

Finally the equivalent of  $R^2$  shows that the model explained only a limited proportion of the variation in planned residential mobility. The explanatory power of the model is less than in any of the models for specific areas or tenure groups discussed earlier. One interpretation of this is the distinctiveness of the processes determining residential (im)mobility plans in the different area types. In addition to the differences in the impacts of postulated variables between area types 2, 3, and 4, the inclusion of area type 1 in the whole sample (where the processes determining mobility plans may well be different from the other areas) must also be partly responsible for the limited explanatory power of the model for the whole sample.

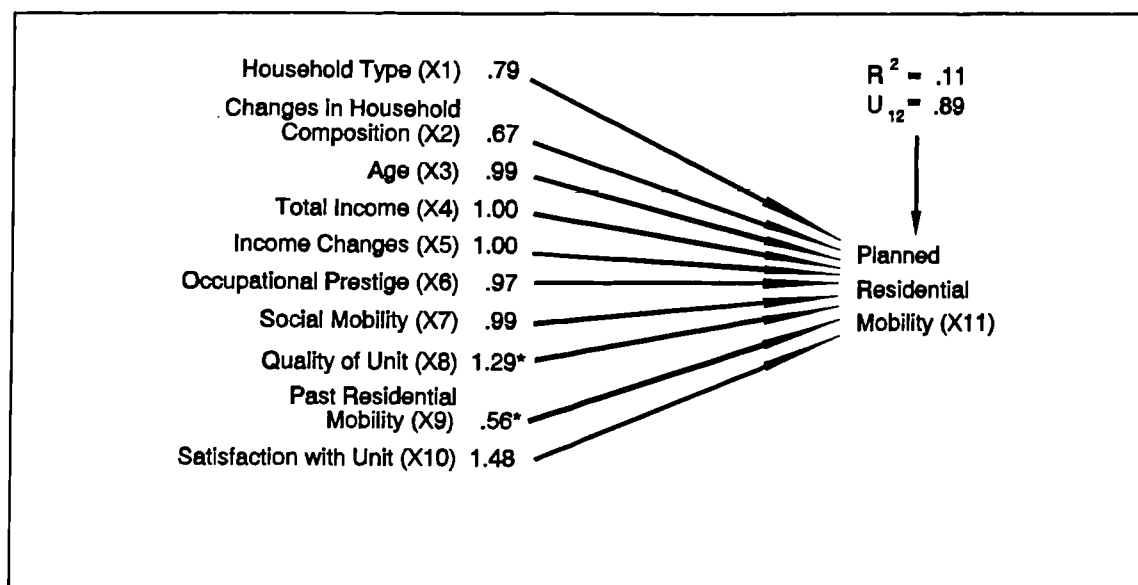
The impacts of satisfaction with the unit, changes in household composition, and quality of unit, complement each other in implying that the households' residential mobility plans in Ankara are not completely independent of their own housing needs and preferences. However considering that these coefficients are not strong, and that the equivalent of  $R^2$  is small, we conclude that the impact of the households' needs and preferences on the majority of their (im)mobility plans are negligible.

### Whole sample of tenants

We now look at the results of the model for the whole sample of tenants. Figure 9.9 shows that past residential mobility and quality of unit are the only variables that have statistically significant causal impacts on the residential mobility of tenants in Ankara. As was established for tenants in type 3 and 4 areas, those who had been more mobile in the past are more likely to plan to move again. The probability of planning to move is inversely related with the quality of unit; those occupying lower quality units are more likely to plan to move. Satisfaction with the unit, household type, and changes in household composition also have appreciable effects, but they are not statistically significant. Households' socio-economic characteristics and related dynamics have no impacts on their (im)mobility plans.



FIGURE 9.9 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of All the Tenants in the Sample



- \* Coefficients significant at the 90% level  
 \*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

The equivalent of  $R^2$  is low, showing that the model did not explain the variation in the dependent variable to any considerable degree. Furthermore it is also lower than the equivalent of  $R^2$  found for area types 3 and 4 individually. This should principally be explained as due to the distinctiveness of the socio-economic processes determining mobility plans in different segments of the market. Tenant populations in areas 3 and 4 comprise significant percentages of the whole tenant population in the city and the above seen coefficients basically reflect the relations found in those areas, particularly those found in area type 4. Nevertheless as was seen previously the impacts of the postulated variables are different in these two low income area types, indicating that different processes are influential on mobility plans in these two areas. Moreover area type 2 tenants and the four cases of tenants in area type 1, where the processes influential on the tenants' mobility plans are probably different from area types 3 and 4, are included in the total sample of tenants. These cases would also have impacts on the coefficients found for the whole sample, although to a limited degree.

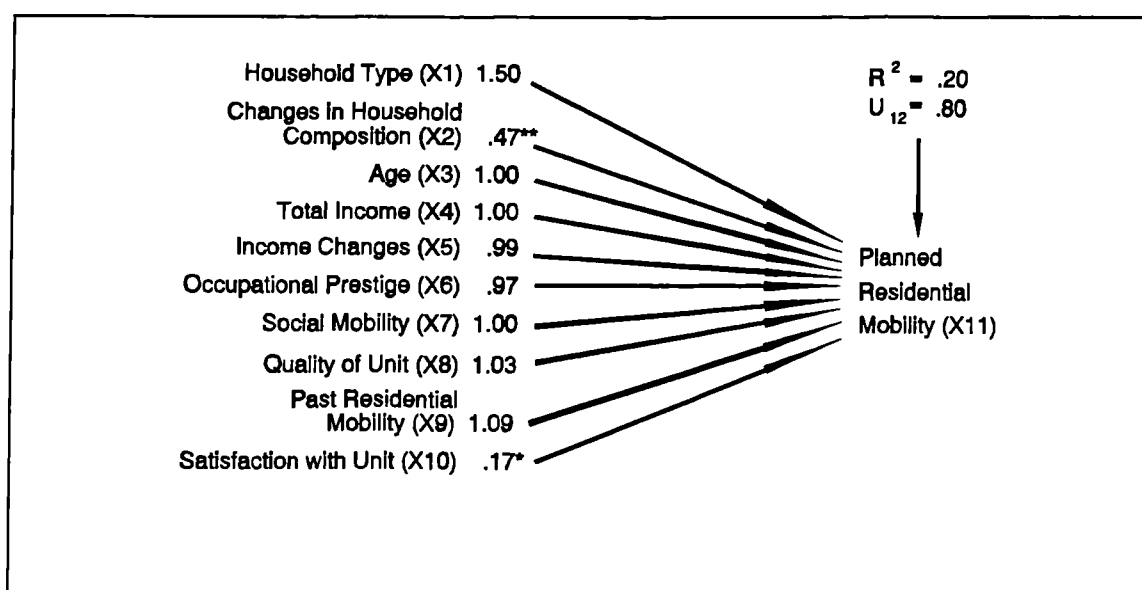
The results of the model lead us to two arguments. Firstly, given the absence of any statistically or substantively significant impact by satisfaction with the unit, or by any of the household dynamics, to start with it seems that the majority of the tenants' residential mobility plans in Ankara cannot be explained as due to their housing needs and preferences. Nevertheless the striking differences in the results between the individual area types - it was not possible to obtain the results for area types 1 and 2 but there are sharp differences in the results between the two low income area types - remind us that such an argument cannot be generalised for all the area types. Since the gecekondtu tenants comprise a significant percentage of the city's tenant population, the results obtained for all the area types together reflect the relations found in the gecekondtu area type more than those in other types of area.

Secondly, the causal relationship between past and planned residential mobility is an interesting point and raises a question. Can such a link be explained as due to the adjustment plans of tenants who were forced within the previous 5 years to move into units which do not satisfy their needs? In fact the results of the model in Chapter 6 for the whole sample of tenants showed that there is a positive relation between being more mobile and more dissatisfied. Although this positive relation was not strong, it supports the above argument to some extent. Nevertheless as was already seen the same causal relation between past and planned mobility was found in both of the low income area types, but only in area type 4 was there a positive relation between being more mobile and more dissatisfied. No such relation was found in area type 3. It may well be the case that the same finding is due to different factors in these two different area types. Hence the causal relation found between past and planned residential mobility for the whole sample of tenants may have more than one explanation. Being mobile can be a kind of "strategy" developed by tenants in order to survive under the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets. Besides (or rather than) adjustment purposes, coping with the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets can be a factor which also accounts for the causal relation between past and planned residential mobility. We will attempt to clarify this matter in the following section of the chapter.

## Whole sample of owner-occupiers

Let us now see the results of the analysis for the residential mobility plans of all the owner-occupiers in the city.

FIGURE 9.10 Model for the Planned Residential Mobility of All the Owner-Occupiers in the Sample



\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* There are no coefficients significant at the 80% level

As shown in the figure above the probability of planning to move is nearly six times higher for those who are dissatisfied with their units in Ankara than for those who are satisfied. The second variable which has an impact on the mobility plans of the owner-occupiers is changes in household composition. Those who experienced changes in their household composition appeared to be around two times more likely to plan to move than those who did not experience any change. Other household characteristics and dynamics, quality of unit, and past residential mobility have no appreciable and statistically significant impact on the mobility plans of the owner-occupiers, and although household type has an appreciable effect it is not significant either.

The equivalent of  $R^2$  shows that the percentage of the variation in planned residential mobility explained through the model is not high (.20). Hence a considerable proportion (80%) of the variation remains unexplained by the model<sup>13</sup>.

Thus the results of the above model suggest that although the residential mobility plans of the owner-occupiers in Ankara are not independent of their housing needs and preferences, factors external to the model have a strong impact over their (im)mobility plans. As was also discussed previously for the tenants, the results obtained here for the whole sample of owner-occupiers cannot be generalised for all the area types in the city. As was seen there are sharp differences between the area types. In the middle and low income areas of the authorised stock satisfaction with the unit had strong impacts on the planned mobility of owners and the models' explanatory powers were quite considerable. The results for the unauthorised stock were strikingly different from those found in these two area types of the authorised stock, and one cannot argue that the households' housing need is the prime determinant of the gecekondü owners' (im)mobility plans.

#### 9.4 HOUSEHOLDS' REASONS FOR THEIR RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PLANS

So far the results of the model, particularly the causal impacts of household dynamics and satisfaction, have presented a global picture of the extent to which planned residential (im)mobility is a matter of adjusting housing needs and preferences which have mostly remained unadjusted - particularly in the low income areas - within the previous 5 years. Having seen this we now take a closer look at the matter and examine the households' own reasons for their (im)mobility plans. This will illuminate further details of the picture obtained so far and will enable us to attain the answers to the questions raised in the previous section with reference to the results of the model.

---

<sup>13</sup>The model was re-run for the "OO" group - those who have been owner-occupiers for the last 5 years and excluding those who became owner-occupiers during that time. The results are not significantly different from those arrived at above. Satisfaction with the unit and changes in household composition again have considerable impacts.

In the survey, after being asked whether they were thinking of moving out of their current unit (within Ankara), households were asked to indicate the reasons behind their intention of either staying in the same unit or moving. The reasons for planning to move were categorised as follows: (i) reasons relating to the unit - too small, inconvenient, etc. (ii) reasons relating to the physical conditions of the environment - noise, traffic, pollution, etc; (iii) reasons concerning neighbours, and the social conditions of the district; (iv) reasons concerning the location of the unit - problems with accessibility to work places, transport facilities, etc; (v) difficulties in paying the rent and/or disagreements with the landlord concerning the rent; (vi) plans or initiatives for becoming homeowners<sup>14</sup>; (vii) other e.g. demolition, sale, demands by the landlord in relation to reasons other than the rent, etc.

The reasons for planning to stay in the same unit were categorised as follows: (i) being happy with the unit; (ii) although not happy with the unit, difficulties of finding and affording another unit within the limits of their budget; (iii) happy with the unit, but even if not happy it would not be possible to move out due to financial limitations; (iv) other. Interviewees were asked to indicate more than one reason if applicable.

Now let us look at the figures concerning the plans of the tenants. We will start by analysing the reasons for planning to move out.

---

<sup>14</sup>This category is relevant only for tenants. Since plans for buying a house can comprise a reason by itself - without any dissatisfaction with the unit and/or with environment - for tenants to move out, it is classified as a separate category.

TABLE 9.1 Tenants' Reasons for Planning to Move Out (%)\*

Areas	Hsing Conds	Env Conds (Phy)	Env Conds (Soc)	Rent Rsns	Buy Hse	Access	Close to Rels	Other	No of Cases
2	18	9	-	18	36	9	9	-	11
3	36	-	9	23	23	18	5	5	22
4	33	14	16	18	20	16	2	10	51
Total**	33	9	11	18	23	15	3	7	87

\* Since the interviewees were asked to indicate more than one factor which led them to plan to move (if applicable) in area types 3 and 4 the summation of percentages of each cause are more than 100%.

\*\* Three cases of tenants in area type 1 who are planning to move are included in the total.

With reference to the figures for type 2 areas one cannot argue that the mobility plans of middle income area tenants are influenced by constraints, or are forced to any serious degree. A considerable percentage of those planning to move have plans of becoming homeowners. However as seen above the number of observations of tenants in area type 2 who are planning to move is small, therefore one should be careful in considering the above interpretations. In type 3 areas the percentage of households who indicated factors external to their own choices or preferences is not negligible: 23% of those planning to move referred to rent paying problems and another 5% cited the sale of the unit (a case which was classified under the category "other"). Nevertheless as is obvious such factors are not the prime determinants of mobility plans. Factors concerning the tenants' own needs and preferences were indicated by much higher percentages of tenants. In particular, dissatisfaction with the unit is cited by a considerable proportion of tenants as the reason for their intention to move. In the gecekondu area type again the percentage of those who indicated factors external to their own preferences and choices is not negligible, although it is not significantly high - 18% referred to rent paying problems, and another 10% cited demands by the landlord to vacate the house, and demolition or sale of the unit (cases which were classified under the category "other"). In the gecekondu stock as well it cannot be argued that constraints are the prime

determinants of the tenants' plans to move. Rather the households' own choices seem to be influential.

The reasons given for planning to remain in the same unit will enhance our view of the tenants' housing consumption plans.

TABLE 9.2 Tenants' Reasons for Planning to Remain in the Same Unit (Percentages)

Areas	Happy with Unit	Happy but Fin. Limits	Not Happy but Fin. Limits	Good Land-lord	Other	No of Cases
2	48	11	33	4	4	27
3	33	9	53	7	3	57
4	10	11	76	6	-	90
Total*	24	11	60	6	2	179

\* Five cases of tenants in area type 1 who are planning to stay are included in the total.

\*\* The summation of percentages for area types 3 and 4 are not equal to 100 since a couple of people indicated more than one reason

The figures in the above table show that the percentage of those who indicated satisfaction with the unit is higher in higher income area types. Particularly in the middle income area type the majority of tenants who are planning to remain in the same unit were found to be satisfied with their unit, whereas those who pointed out difficulties of finding another house and financial limitations as the reasons for their immobility plans, despite the fact that they are not satisfied with the unit, comprise around one third of the cases. Hence the tenants' own choices and preferences appear to be the principal factors behind their intention to remain in the same unit. Although it was not possible to obtain the results of the model for middle income area type tenants (in the previous section), with reference to the figures obtained here concerning their reasons for planning to move (Table 9.1) and for remaining in the same unit (Table 9.2), it is possible to conclude that these tenants' (im)mobility plans

seem to be influenced by their own needs and preferences to a considerable degree. In order to elaborate on this conclusion we also looked at the proportions of those who are planning to stay, and those planning to move among the satisfied and dissatisfied groups. It was found that while 70% of the satisfied cases were planning to stay, only 35% of those who are dissatisfied were planning to move. In the previous section it was deduced that housing satisfaction would not be related with (im)mobility plans, while housing quality would have a considerable impact. A quite low percentage of those planning to move among the dissatisfied group would be a factor accounting for the absence of impact by satisfaction. It seems that the adverse conditions constrain mobility intentions to some extent, however such cases do not comprise an appreciable proportion of the middle income area tenants. Overall - considering all the results together - one can not argue that these tenants' (im)mobility plans are influenced by constraints to any serious degree, although their own preferences are not the sole determinants.

In the low income area type of the authorised stock those who pointed out financial limitations as their reason for planning to stay in the same unit, despite the fact that they are not happy with it, is considerable at a level of 53%. While those who are planning to remain in the same unit due to their satisfaction comprise a significant proportion as well at around 40% (one third of the cases cited their satisfaction without referring to constraints, and another 9% while acknowledging the constraints cited their satisfaction as the main reason for their immobility plans). Through these figures it appears that the adverse conditions of housing markets are influential on many of the immobility plans, yet an appreciable percentage of immobility plans are determined by preferences. In short, in view of all the results obtained so far it is concluded that the (im)mobility plans of low income area type tenants are determined by their own preferences to a considerable degree. Yet the adverse conditions of the markets are also influential to some extent. Through the figures concerning the causes of (im)mobility plans it is discovered that compared to the plans for staying in the same unit, plans for moving out are more strongly influenced by the tenants' own choices and preferences. In other words the adverse conditions of the markets seem more likely to lead the tenants to plan to be immobile than to plan to move.



In the gecekondu stock the vast majority of plans to remain in the same unit were found to be determined by the adverse conditions of the market (see Table 9.2). By contrast (as was seen in Table 9.1) plans for moving out are primarily related to choices and needs, yet rent increases and evictions are influential to some degree. Examining the tenants' own reasons for their (im)mobility plans enabled us to discover some further details which were not detectable through the models in the previous section. From the model it was seen that household characteristics and dynamics and housing preferences of gecekondu tenants were not influential on their (im)mobility plans. Here it is seen that the majority of plans for moving out are not forced. In other words unfavourable conditions do not have impacts on planned moves, whereas the majority of plans for remaining in the same unit appear to have been the outcome of unfavourable conditions. It was also found that the majority of dissatisfied cases were planning to remain in their unit. Given that such cases comprise quite considerable percentages of the gecekondu tenants, it is not surprising that the results of the causal model showed that the needs and preferences of the tenants are not influential on their (im)mobility plans to any significant degree - although plans to move were primarily due to the tenants' needs.

Here we should also add that among the reasons given for immobility, having a good relationship with the landlord, or having a fair landlord, were encountered in each area type in several cases. Consideration of the landlord factor as a reason for remaining in the same unit by several tenants in each area type is quite interesting, and can be taken as an indication of the powerful position of landlords in rent agreements - in the rental housing markets.

As was found through the models of planned mobility in the previous section there were causal relations between past and planned residential mobility; those who were more mobile in the past were more likely to plan to move. Does this causal relation indicate that those who were forced to move into units which do not satisfy their needs are planning to move again? Or is moving out a "strategy" for survival under the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets? And is this causal relation caused by different factors in these two low income area types? These were the questions raised in the previous section. The above tables do not provide many clues to the answers. In order to obtain a more detailed picture

we looked at the reasons for the (im)mobility plans of those who have been mobile in the previous 5 years and those who were immobile separately.

The percentages found did not prove whether "strategy" or "adjustment purposes" is the principal factor accounting for the above mentioned causal relation; both factors seem to account for the relation in both the low income area types. Nevertheless it should be added that in area type 3 it was found that the five cases who indicated rent difficulties as the reason for their plans to move were all mobile in the past. This seems to suggest that being mobile as a "strategy" for survival under the adverse conditions of the housing markets may be a relatively more important factor contributing to the causal relation in area type 3 than in area type 4.

Now let us look at the reasons for planning to move and for remaining immobile among the owner-occupiers. We shall start with those who are planning to move.

TABLE 9.3 Owner-Occupiers' Reasons for Planning to Move Out (%)

Areas	Hsng Conds	Env Conds (Phy)	Env Conds (Soc)	Access	Close to Rels	Other	No of Cases
2	45	27	-	18	9	27	11
3	55	28	22	11	-	17	18
4	33	11	17	11	-	33	18
Total*	38	28	13	11	2	26	53

\* Six cases of owner-occupiers in area type 1 who are planning to move are included in the total.

Of all the reasons for planning to move, factors relating to the conditions of the unit comprise the highest percentages in all the area types. The physical and social conditions of the environment are also indicated by a considerable number of owner-occupiers as a reason for planning to move. Among the reasons categorised as "other", agreements with constructors to build a new block (which means the owner will acquire around 50% of the units to be

constructed) is the factor encountered most in both area types of the authorised stock. Such a reason was not encountered in the gecekondü stock. Expropriation and resettlement decisions by the authorities and reasons related to heritage issues are the factors categorised as "other" in the gecekondü area type. Factors external to the households' own needs and preferences were not pointed out by any appreciable percentage of owner-occupiers in any of the area types, but particularly in both area types of the authorised stock no such cases were encountered. As was already explained in Chapter 3 the danger of losing the house once having bought it is very low since there is no mortgage system. In other words by virtue of the system forced mobility among the owner-occupiers, particularly in the authorised stock, was not expected any way. Although the mobility plans are determined by the owner-occupiers' own needs and preferences, as was established in Chapter 4 (see table 4.12) a vast majority of owners in all the area types were planning to stay in the same unit. Hence the reasons for planning to stay will provide us with a more detailed picture of the matter.

TABLE 9.4 Owner-Occupiers' Reasons for Planning to Remain in the Same Unit (%)

Areas	Happy with Unit	Happy but Fin. Limits	Not Happy but Fin. Limits	Other	No of Cases
1	39	33	11	17	18
2	36	19	40	7	42
3	16	26	49	9	43
4	7	30	42	24	79
Total	19	27	40	16	182

\* The summation of percentages for area types 2 and 4 are not equal to 100 since a couple of people indicated more than one reason

Figures for area type 1 suggest that the immobility plans are principally determined by the owner-occupiers' own needs. Nevertheless an appreciable proportion (33%) cited their own

preferences for mobility while indicating that financial limitations would have prevented them from moving if they needed to. This shows that the adverse conditions of the housing markets are felt by some of the owners in this area type even though they are not actually constrained by them to any considerable degree. In the other two area types of the authorised stock the percentage of those who pointed out constraints as the reason for their plans to stay in the same unit, although they are not happy with the unit or its environment comprise considerable percentages. These figures further confirmed that the adverse conditions and the ensuing constraints on the housing consumption of owner-occupiers are the major external factors responsible for the unexplained proportion of the variation in planned (im)mobility by the model. Nevertheless the percentages of immobility plans based on the households satisfaction with the unit are also considerable, particularly in the middle income area type where more than 50% of the immobility plans are explained by the owners' satisfaction with the unit.

Figures for the gecekondü owners show that the percentage of those citing constraints as the reason for their immobility plans, despite the fact that they are not satisfied with the unit and/or with its environment, is no higher than in the middle and low income area type of the authorised stock. But as was established in the previous section neither the changes in household composition (which are supposed to be decisive on residential mobility and which were found to be influential on the mobility plans of owner-occupiers in the low income area type of the authorised stock), nor satisfaction with the unit (which was found to be influential in both the middle and low income area types) have any causal impacts on the planned immobility of gecekondü owners. It must be the case that the percentage of owners who are planning to move among those who experienced changes in their household composition and who are dissatisfied with their unit - in short those who are supposed to need to move - is lower in this area type. This could be explained as due to the more severe constraints on the housing consumption of gecekondü owners. On the other hand, redevelopment prospects of the gecekondü stock are supposed to be influential on their housing consumption plans, and hence must also account for the absence of impact by their actual housing needs. In fact several cases in this area type indicated the development potential of their district as a reason for their immobility plans. These cases comprise around one fifth of those planning to be immobile (classified under the category of "other" in table 9.4 above). No such reason was

encountered in the other area types. Such cases further confirm that the redevelopment plans are influential on the housing consumption decisions of gecekondü owners, even though the proportion was not high enough to conclude that these prospects are the principal determinants. Nevertheless there may be cases of owners whose immobility decisions are influenced by their expectations for the redevelopment plans and ensuing potential for speculative gains, but who pointed out financial difficulties or satisfaction as the reason for their plans rather than indicating their actual expectations. It is also understood that the prospects of gecekondü stock are among the external factors responsible for the unexplained proportion of the variation in planned mobility by the model in the previous section.

## 9.4 CONCLUSION

Having seen that the majority of (im)mobility decisions in the previous 5 years was more likely to be a forced response to adverse conditions, in this chapter our aim was to examine whether residential (im)mobility plans are more likely to reflect household dynamics and ensuing housing needs which have remained unadjusted, or whether the adverse conditions of the housing markets are influential on (im)mobility plans as well.

Both the causal analyses, and the households' own reasons for their (im)mobility plans provided us with the answers to the above question for different tenure groups in different area types. Our results can be summarised as follows:

### 9.4.1 Results concerning the tenants

Although our previous analyses showed that in both low income area types the past residential (im)mobility of tenants was more likely to be a forced response to the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets, the results of the planned (im)mobility analyses in this chapter presented significant differences between the two low income area types. It was found that the household adjustment model is quite relevant for the (im)mobility plans of tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. In particular changes in household composition within the previous 5 years have a very strong impact on their planned residential mobility

(see Table 9.5 Summary of the Results of the Causal Analyses). These tenants' plans apparently reflect housing needs and preferences which could not be adjusted within the previous 5 years. In contrast the results for gecekondur stock tenants showed that none of the household dynamics, nor satisfaction with the unit have any appreciable impact (Table 9.5). These results suggest that the (im)mobility plans of the majority of gecekondur tenants are formed under the influence of the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets, as was the case for their past residential mobility.

TABLE 9.5 Summary of the Results for the Planned Mobility Model<sup>15</sup>

	"TT" GROUP				OWNER OCCUPIERS				BOTH TENURE GROUPS TOGETHER			
	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Whole Sample
Household Type	-	-	1.32	.79	-	3.00	1.09	1.50	-	.20**	1.35	1.03
Changes in HH Composition	-	.11*	.92	.67	-	.27	.68	.47*	.55	.18*	.86	.59*
Age	-	1.00	1.00	.99	1.19*	1.01	1.00	1.00	1.02	.99	1.00	1.00
Income Level	-	.99	.99	1.00	-	1.00	1.00	.99	1.00	1.00	.99	1.00
Income Change	-	.86	1.00	1.00	-	2.00**	-	.99	1.00	1.00	1.01	1.00
Occupational Prestige	-	.98	.97	.97	-	.96	1.00	.97	.96	.98	.98	.97
Social Mobility	-	1.06**	1.00	.99	-	1.02	.99	1.00	1.06	1.05	.99	1.00
Quality of Unit	-	1.54*	1.02	1.29*	-	1.04	2.83*	1.03	2.79*	1.30*	1.22**	1.12*
Past Residential Mobility	-	.23*	.51*	.56*	-	1.23	.42**	1.09	1.05	.37*	.58*	.64*
Satisfaction With the Unit	-	.26**	1.44	1.48	.11*	.05*	1.79	.17*	1.00	.19*	1.25	.62**
Tenure Status	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.10	.43**	4.00*	1.41**
Equivalent of R <sup>2</sup>	-	.37	.19	.11	.34	.30	.17	.20	.16	.30	.17	.08
Sample <sup>16</sup>	19	55	117	196	27	43	62	147	47	97	171	335

\* Coefficients significant at the 90% level

\*\* Coefficients significant at the 80% level

Examining the tenants' own reasons for their plans to move, as well as for their plans to remain in the same unit, further clarified the above picture. In fact it is not the gecekondü tenants' plans for moving out that are influenced by the adverse conditions of the rental housing markets, but their plans for remaining in the same unit which reflect severe constraints on their housing consumption. In other words it is concluded that the adverse

<sup>15</sup>Since the number of cases were small, analyses could not be done for area type 1.

<sup>16</sup>Cases in area type 1 are included in the whole sample.

conditions of the context were influential on the housing consumption plans of the gecekondu tenants, but these conditions force them to stay in the same unit rather than leading them to plan to move. In the case of authorised low income stock tenants, again it is their immobility plans that are influenced by adverse conditions rather than their mobility plans.

It was not possible to obtain the results of the model for the middle income area tenants. Nevertheless their own reasons for planning to move and for planning to stay in the unit lead us to conclude that their (im)mobility plans are more likely to be influenced by their housing preferences rather than by constraints, even though they are not completely independent of the latter. Their past residential (im)mobility was not subject to any serious degree of constraint either.

#### 9.4.2 Results concerning the owner-occupiers

Results of the model for the owner-occupiers' planned (im)mobility presented similar pictures in the middle and low income area types of the authorised stock. In both types of area household needs and preferences were found to be influential on their (im)mobility plans (see table 9.5). In the case of low income area type owners this is in sharp contrast to their past residential (im)mobility which was more likely to be a forced response to the adverse conditions of the context. *As was the case for tenants in the same area type, the housing needs and preferences which have remained unadjusted in the past determine their plans.* The results of the model for the gecekondu areas presented a completely different picture from the authorised stock. Neither the household dynamics nor satisfaction with the unit were found to have any impacts on planned (im)mobility.

Owner-occupiers' reasons for their (im)mobility plans were also examined. In all the area types household preferences were found to be the principal determinants of plans for moving, particularly in the authorised stock where no cases were encountered in which plan to move were determined by factors external to the household need. By virtue of the system in Turkey forced mobility among the owner-occupiers was not expected anyway. Nevertheless the vast majority of owner-occupiers were found to be planning to stay in the same unit. In both the middle and low income area types of the authorised stock considerable percentages of cases



pointed out their satisfaction with the unit as the reason for their plans to stay, yet adverse conditions were also quite influential - suggesting that the conditions of the context are the prime factors responsible for the variation in planned mobility unexplained by the model. In the gecekondu stock an appreciable percentage of those planning to remain immobile pointed out the development prospects of their district as the reason for their plans, a consideration not encountered in other area types. This was assumed to be further confirmation of the fact that the redevelopment plans and ensuing prospects of speculative gains had some influence on the housing consumption decisions of gecekondu owners. Thus, although the results of the model showed that household needs and preferences had no impacts on the (im)mobility plans of the gecekondu owners, one cannot argue that their plans are subject to severe constraints or are more constrained than the owner-occupiers' plans in the authorised part of the stock. As was the case for the past residential (im)mobility analyses, results for the planned (im)mobility of owner-occupiers presented striking differences between the two low income area types. Our findings also suggested that differences between these two types of area in terms of the legal status of these stocks and in the form of state intervention in land and housing production are among the important factors leading to the differences between the housing consumption decisions of these two groups.

Before concluding this chapter there are a couple of issues which need to be raised.

(i) Although increases in income and upward social mobility are assumed to be important factors leading households to move in order to adjust their housing needs, in our analyses of residential mobility in Ankara they did not appear to be influential either on past or planned residential mobility. The absence of any impact by these factors on past mobility could be interpreted as due to the fact that past residential mobility was not a matter of adjusting household needs anyway. However the absence of any impact by these variables on planned residential mobility, even though household adjustment was found to be relevant for the planned mobility of the majority of households, is interesting. One can conclude that these two factors - increases in incomes, and upward social mobility - do not change the housing needs of many households in the case of Ankara, Turkey. A similar conclusion was also reached through the analyses of housing satisfaction in Chapter 6 (see discussion concerning the owner-occupiers' housing satisfaction). It was also seen that the socio-economic

characteristics of the households had no impact on their mobility plans in any of the area types. This can be explained as due to the different subjective values of households with regard to their housing needs and their position in the market.

(ii) As we have seen the residential mobility plans of the majority of households in both tenure groups are determined by needs and preferences which have remained unadjusted. However one cannot deduce that housing needs will be as influential on actual future moves as they are on planned moves. As long as there is no expectation of change in the adverse conditions of the housing markets which have prevented many of the households from adjusting their housing needs so far - apart from the case of gecekondü owners - most of the (im)mobility plans are probably based on desires and wishes rather than on any concrete arrangements.

## Conclusion

The principal question posed in this study was whether the household adjustment (or choice) model is relevant to residential (im)mobility in the case of Turkey. Accordingly the degree of choice, the extent of the constraints influencing the housing consumption behaviour of households and the consequent forms of (im)mobility were examined for separate tenure groups in different area types of Ankara.

Residential mobility has been the subject of extensive research. In the developed western countries this research has been dominated by conventional theories of residential differentiation and location, in which household demand is taken as the main explanation, and residential mobility is examined with exclusive reference to household characteristics, dynamics, and ensuing needs. This research has led to the view that residential mobility is an adjustment mechanism.

The weakness of this approach is two-fold. Firstly it makes no reference to the decision making context and hence leads to an incomplete understanding of residential mobility. And secondly it offers no explanation of cases where the adjustment of housing needs does not take place through residential mobility as in the third world.

There are some previous studies which explain residential mobility with reference to the conditions of the decision making context, but these are generally confined to particular groups in the city. In third world cities in particular this research has focussed on immigrants and their relocation patterns. To our knowledge there is no study which considers the city as a whole, and explains the residential mobility of households living in different segments of the stock. In the discussions so far the particular conditions, constraints, and/or opportunities; the range of alternatives available to different socio-economic groups in different segments of the stock; and the consequent forms of residential (im)mobility by these different groups in the rapidly urbanising third world cities have remained unexplained.

The present study of the residential (im)mobility of households in Ankara is novel in the following ways. Firstly, its theoretical approach goes beyond household characteristics and dynamics to focus on the context in which household residential decisions are made. In this way it gives the context a more central role than previous studies. It also pays attention to subjective reasons households gave for their behaviour as well as their "objective" characteristics. Secondly, it is probably the most thorough empirical study of residential mobility in any third world city since it covers the whole population rather than migrants only, and because it looks systematically at differences between areas of different types (in terms of income level, and both the authorised and unauthorised parts of the stock) and between different tenure groups.

## 10.1 A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE STUDY AND THE RESULTS

The analytic framework of the study was established in the first chapter through a review of the previous research on residential mobility. It was concluded that a comprehensive analysis of residential mobility requires an understanding of both household demand, and the context in which the individual household's housing decision takes place. Through our examination of the literature it could be seen that the contexts of residential mobility in developed capitalist societies and in third world societies are different. However there is a systematic link between contextual features and residential mobility which enables us to conceive of different forms of residential mobility within a single model. In this model the different forms of residential mobility in the two types of society correspond to different sets of values for the same contextual and household variables. The particular conditions of land and housing supply, forms of State intervention in the land and housing sphere, labour market conditions, and patterns of income distribution and related policies were established as the structural variables of the model, which together enable us to grasp the particular effects of the context. Residential mobility examined at individual household level and the impacts of the household's own socio-economic characteristics, dynamics, and housing needs on their (im)mobility should be interpreted (understood) with reference to these conditions.

In the second and third chapters, in accordance with our model, in order to establish the particular context of decision making in Turkey we analysed development policies, labour

market conditions, income distribution patterns and housing supply conditions in urban areas, the State's interest in the housing sphere, and housing policies.

Two prominent phenomena of Turkey's development process i.e. rural-urban migration, and the liberalisation of the economy, comprised key reference points for our analyses of the conditions and stratification of the labour markets, and income distribution in Chapter 2. We drew attention to (i) the growing masses of semi or unskilled workers with low earnings; (ii) sharp income disparities; (iii) decreases in the real incomes of wage earners; (iv) inconsistencies between occupational prestige, education, and income; and (v) the quite considerable share of the marginal sector in urban employment.

In Chapter 3 the forms of state intervention in land and housing production and its housing policies, and the particular conditions of housing supply were examined. It was seen that the State has always acted as a regulator of housing provision in Turkey, rather than a direct investor. Housing provision was left to the private sector and the share of public housing investments never exceeded 10% of total housing investments. As elsewhere in the third world a significant percentage of the total stock is provided illegally. According to estimations between 40% and 70% of the housing stock in different cities in Turkey is comprised of unauthorised stock, called "gecekondu". We saw that the forms of State intervention in this mode of provision have changed drastically within the last 40 years from demolishing it to upgrading and legalising it, and hence accepting it as a convenient low cost housing provision - convenient in terms of the State's political and economic interests.

It was established that in Ankara in the 1980s the main features of the supply of authorised stock were: (i) increasing costs of production, and hence rising house prices in real terms; (ii) the continually decreasing percentage of the total cost of the units covered by available loans; and (iii) rents were keeping pace with inflation, or even increasing in real terms. The supply conditions of the unauthorised stock were also unfavourable. This form of provision started to be commercialised in the late 1960s and has since become a subject of speculation. In the 1980s the State's redevelopment projects further contributed to the speculative potential of gecekondu land and housing. It was found that during the 1980s the price of gecekondu land was increasing in real terms. Within the last 30 years the ratio of tenants to owners in the

unauthorised stock has also increased. In view of the lack of rent controls and the increasing demand for rental stock it would appear that even if rents did not increase in pace with inflation, they were an increasing burden since the level of wages of the masses fell appreciably in real terms.

These findings in Chapters 2 and 3 led us to conclude that it is likely that the particular conditions of the context have imposed varying degrees of constraint on housing consumption decisions, including residential mobility.

Before embarking on the analyses of the extent to which residential (im)mobility is determined by household needs and preferences a descriptive analysis was carried out in chapter 4, detailing the socio-economic characteristics of the households in our sample. In addition their social mobility, income changes, and the level of their past as well as planned mobility were examined. With regard to their socio-economic characteristics, and changes in their income levels and occupational positions it was found that (i) the majority of the households in all area types experienced changes in their incomes in the previous 5 years, and particularly in the low income areas the percentage of households with falling incomes was higher than the percentage with rising incomes; (ii) social mobility was not correlated with income change, and the percentage of households experiencing either upward or downward social mobility was negligible in all the area types; (iii) household income, occupational prestige, and education were not related with one another in any of the area types. Concerning their residential mobility levels it was found that (i) the tenants were highly mobile during the previous 5 years; whereas (ii) owner-occupiers were quite immobile in all the area types, particularly in the gecekondü stock where almost all the owners have occupied the same unit for at least the previous 5 years; (iii) the percentage of moves from rented to owner-occupied stock was negligible, and was lower in the lower income areas; (iv) the percentage of tenants who are planning to buy a house was also lower in the lower income areas; while (v) the percentage of tenants who are planning to move without becoming an owner-occupier was higher; and (vi) most of the mobility plans of both tenure groups were not based on any already established or concrete arrangements for buying a house.

In view of the unfavourable conditions of the context (established in Chapters 2 and 3) and the fact that quite high percentages of households had experienced decreases in their real incomes in Ankara within the previous 5 years, it seemed likely that the high levels of residential mobility among the tenants and the lack of mobility among the owner-occupiers over the same period were forced responses.

According to the conventional argument, since residential mobility is assumed to be an adjustment mechanism of housing needs, certain household dynamics - i.e. changes in household composition, upward social mobility, increases in income level - are supposed to be decisive on residential mobility. However it seemed that the particular conditions of the context reduce the likelihood of there being any causal relation between residential mobility and changes in household characteristics. In our analyses at household level towards understanding the extent to which residential mobility is a household adjustment, we began by examining the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics on their residential mobility through a causal model in Chapter 5.

The results of the model did not support the adjustment argument as an explanation of the high rates of residential mobility among the majority of tenants. In the two low income area types none of the household characteristics and dynamics showed any impact on their past residential (im)mobility. Hence it would be implausible to explain their high levels of mobility as due to household dynamics and consequent housing needs. Among the middle income area tenants the results of the model suggested that the proportion of moves to adjust housing needs was not negligible. But it appeared to have been difficult for many tenants to adjust their changing needs unless their financial conditions - i.e. their income level, and increases in income - enabled them to do so. Hence it seemed that in many cases immobility was possibly forced. For the case of owner-occupiers it was not possible to perform the analyses for each area type separately. Results were obtained for the whole sample of owner-occupiers. It was found that household characteristics and dynamics had no impact on their past (im)mobility showing that there was no difference between the majority of households who were immobile and those who were mobile in terms of their characteristics and dynamics. In other words mobile cases were no more likely to have experienced dynamics

and changes in their needs than the immobile majority, which is mainly comprised of the lower income area households.

Only in the high income area type did the results of the model showing the causal impacts of household characteristics and dynamics (for both tenure groups together) support the adjustment argument.

The question of housing satisfaction provides the main focus of Chapter 6 where levels of housing satisfaction, the impacts of household characteristics and dynamics on current housing satisfaction, and changes in the satisfaction levels of mobile cases further clarified our perspective on the extent to which residential (im)mobility decisions are determined by household needs and preferences. Analyses of the tenants showed that in the middle income area type, although the percentage of mobile tenants who obtained units which were better suited to their needs was not high enough to argue that adjustment reasons were the principal factors that led them to be mobile, the percentage of those who were satisfied with their current unit was quite high. Furthermore an appreciable number of mobile tenants obtained satisfactory units while maintaining their housing satisfaction level, and their housing standards. The percentage of tenants who were currently satisfied with their units was even higher among those who were immobile. Given these results it was concluded that mobility as well as immobility among the majority of middle income area tenants within the previous 5 years was not subject to any considerable degree of constraint. Results for the low income area types presented a very different picture. Firstly in neither of these area types was mobility positively related to housing satisfaction. Secondly in both area types the proportion of dissatisfied cases among mobile tenants was very high, giving an indication of how difficult it was for them to obtain satisfactory units. Thirdly the proportion of those who obtained units which were better suited to their needs was low. These results provided further evidence that the high levels of residential mobility among the tenants in these two low income area types were not due to household adjustment.

Analyses of the owner-occupiers showed that in the middle income area type the level of satisfaction among immobile owner-occupiers (who comprised the majority) was quite high, indicating that their immobility was more likely to be a matter of choice than constraint. By



contrast, in the low income area type of the authorised stock the immobility of the owner-occupiers cannot be attributed to choice, and constraints are more likely to have been the reason. The level of dissatisfaction was high among these immobile owner occupiers, and household dynamics had no impact on their current housing satisfaction. Although we do not know how long they have been dissatisfied, the absence of any impact of household dynamics on their current housing satisfaction suggested that there were many immobile cases whose housing needs had remained unadjusted for at least the previous 5 years. For the unauthorised stock on the other hand it was found that although the satisfaction level was not particularly high, it was appreciable. Furthermore whilst the causal relation was not strong, it was evident that dissatisfaction was more likely to be related to household dynamics and consequent changes in housing needs within the previous 5 years. It was concluded for this area type that while constraints are probably quite important factors in explaining the immobility of the gecekondü owners, choice should be considered an important factor as well. It was apparent that the lack of mobility among the gecekondü owners was much less a matter of constraints than that of owners in the low income area type of the authorised stock. It was also concluded that differences between these two low income area types in terms of legal status and in the physical structure of the housing stock were likely to be the most important factors accounting for the difference between the results of the analyses of the owner-occupiers there. The flexible structure of the gecekondü stock which enables households to adjust their unit to accommodate changes in their housing needs, and the speculative expectations of gecekondü owners from the redevelopment plans, have probably been influential on their evaluation of their housing satisfaction and on their housing consumption decisions.

Having seen in Chapters 5 and 6 that the (im)mobility of the majority of households within the previous 5 years in Ankara does not fit the "choice model", in Chapter 7 we examined the subjective experience of constraints on housing choice in order to obtain further understanding of the extent of constraints. Respondents' reasons for choosing their existing unit and location were examined. The findings in Chapter 7 complemented the results of the previous two chapters, further clarifying our arguments on the extent of the constraints influencing the housing decisions of different groups in Ankara. Considering the results of the previous analyses together with the respondents' reasons for choosing their existing unit, we defined four types of moves by the tenants -who were found to be highly mobile. Among

tenants in the middle income area type the most common types of move were "adjustment moves" and moves in which although the adjustment of housing needs may not have been the main reason for moving the tenants were able to obtain satisfactory units and to exercise a substantial degree of choice - which can be defined as a "particular type of adjustment move" or a "successful move". By contrast in both the low income area types residential mobility conforms to a type which does not fit the "choice" model, but is more likely to have been forced. Nevertheless it was evident that although most of these moves were probably forced and the majority of tenants failed to obtain satisfactory units, there was still a limited range of choice enabling some household needs to be met. Such moves are more likely to be seen among tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock. There also appear to have been moves where the tenants had virtually no chance of meeting any of their needs. This type of move, which conforms to the "constraint" model, is more likely to occur among gecekondü tenants. It was also clear that in many cases the housing choices of immobile tenants in the low income area types were constrained to a considerable extent. In addition to this, given the high levels of dissatisfaction among the immobile tenants it was concluded that being immobile was more likely to be a matter of constraint in both the low income area types. By contrast in the middle income area type one cannot argue that the immobile tenants' housing consumption was constrained to any significant degree. It appears that they initially rented units in response to their needs and have remained satisfied with them.

As regards the owner-occupiers' experience of constraints on their housing decisions the following arguments were put forward. Many of the owners in the middle income area type exercised choice in buying their units. This result and their relatively high level of satisfaction complemented one another, confirming that the lack of mobility by these owners more likely fits the "choice" model (or is closer to the choice model). The very favourable market conditions that the middle income housebuyers experienced up until the early 1980s were assumed to be the main factors in understanding the position of middle income area owner-occupiers. In the low income area type of the authorised stock on the other hand, it was found that the bulk of the owner-occupiers were constrained by their budgets in choosing their units. In addition to this our previous findings showed that the level of current housing dissatisfaction was quite high and that housing dissatisfaction bore no causal relation to household dynamics. All these results reinforced each other, leading us to conclude that the

consumption of owners has been constrained and that in many cases dissatisfaction was not a recent phenomenon. Hence constraints were the most likely reasons for the lack of mobility among the owner occupiers in this area type. In other words the lack of mobility among the low income area type owners is most likely to fit the constraint model. The reasons given by gecekondü owners for buying their units, together with the analysis of their current housing satisfaction revealed an interesting dimension to the housing consumption of owner-occupiers in the unauthorised part of the stock. Although the owner-occupiers' initial decisions were considerably constrained by their budget, their current level of housing satisfaction was fairly high. It seemed that some of those whose units did not meet their needs originally, currently consider themselves satisfied. This was argued as due to (i) the emerging speculative opportunities for the gecekondü stock through the redevelopment plans - which may have influenced their evaluation of their units, and/or (ii) the flexible structure of gecekondü units - which enables the owners to modify their units according to their needs. Through these analyses of the owner-occupiers it was concluded that the common denominator - lack of mobility - was caused by different factors, relating to the particular conditions of the land and housing markets in different area types.

Having developed the main body of argument relating to past residential (im)mobility through the statistical analyses (both causal and descriptive), in Chapter 8 we turned back to the mobility of tenants, which was found to be high, and used a qualitative technique to obtain further details of the moves made within the previous 5 years. Data was obtained from "follow-up" interviews which were carried out with some of the mobile tenants. The following results are derived from the interviews: (i) 60% of the moves were induced by factors other than the tenants' own needs; (ii) difficulties in paying the rent, and/or disagreements with the landlord over rent increases were the causes of more than one third of the moves in Ankara; (iii) pressure from the landlord to increase the rent in excess of the high rates of inflation was not uncommon; (iv) in some cases moving out of the unit was delayed since the adverse conditions of the housing market made it difficult for the tenant to find another unit; (v) the proportion of tenants who resort to various strategies to enable them to afford the rent is not negligible; and (vi) the pressures exerted by landlords over their tenants can be quite severe. Many tenants expressed their position as weak or even helpless

against the landlords. These results further confirmed the very limited capacity of the "choice" or adjustment model to explain the high level of residential mobility in Ankara.

The last chapter of the thesis turns from actual residential mobility to planned residential mobility. Although past residential (im)mobility was more likely to be a forced response to the adverse conditions of the market, the question posed was whether the adjustment argument is relevant to the households' (im)mobility plans, or whether the adverse conditions influence these as well? In terms of the determinants of mobility, in some area types the planned mobility analyses presented some striking differences when compared with residential (im)mobility.

It was found that both the mobility and immobility plans of tenants in the middle as well as in the low income area types of the authorised stock were principally determined by their own preferences and needs. Particularly in the case of tenants in the low income area type this was in striking contrast to their (past) residential (im)mobility, which was primarily a response to the adverse conditions of the rental housing market. Also in the case of gecekondü tenants plans for moving were found to be principally determined by their own needs and preferences, which is in contrast to their past mobility. Previously (in Chapter 4) it was found that the level of planned mobility was higher among the tenants in the lower income area types - whose housing consumption is likely to have been more constrained - and this raised the question of whether the higher level of mobility was due to needs which could not be adjusted before, or due to more severe constraints on their housing consumption. The answer was given in the last chapter; their mobility plans were reflecting needs which remained unadjusted. Nevertheless further analyses revealed that the majority of gecekondü tenants who needed to move were not planning to move. The vast majority of plans to remain in the unit were described by the tenants as being due to constraints. Gecekondü tenants' housing consumption plans seemed to have been more constrained than those of the tenants in the low income area type of the authorised stock.

As was seen for tenants in the low income area type of authorised stock, the owner-occupiers' planned mobility also showed striking differences from their past (im)mobility. A

considerable proportion of owners were found to be planning to move and plans for both mobility and immobility were considerably determined by the owners' own needs and preferences, whereas in fact their immobility in the previous 5 years was more likely to have been a matter of constraint. For the gecekondü owners on the other hand, it was found that the factors influencing their past and planned immobility were not strikingly different. It was concluded that their expectations of benefitting from future redevelopment plans are influential on the intentions of an appreciable number of households.

## 10.2 MAIN CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown that the particular conditions of land and housing supply, forms of state intervention in the housing arena, income distribution mechanisms, and labour market conditions - which have all been recently influenced by the liberal economy policies in Turkey - together exert considerable constraints on the housing consumption of many households in different parts of the stock in Ankara. Not only among the residents of unauthorised stock, but among residents of the authorised stock as well it was found that the conventional adjustment argument is not relevant, and is unable to explain households' residential (im)mobility (even among the middle income area type households there were some cases of mobility which did not fit the adjustment argument). However a "completely constrained" model would not fit our results. These showed that varying degrees of constraint, and choices within the constraints, were responsible for generating the observed patterns of residential (im)mobility in different parts of the stock. The common denominators - high levels of residential mobility among the tenants and a lack of mobility among the owner-occupiers - in all the area types of the city were found to be responses to various types and extents of constraint and to various alternatives and opportunities in different segments of the stock.

This research and its results also have some quite important implications for theoretical approaches in mobility research which can be summarised as follows. Firstly the necessity of examining both macro and institutional level data and data at an individual level in order to grasp the full picture of residential mobility became evident through this research. Without the contextual information presented in Chapters 2 and 3 it would not have been possible to

understand and interpret the results of our quantitative and qualitative analyses at the household level. Similarly, without analyses at an individual level - particularly the households' own reasons and explanations of the constraints - it would not have been possible to achieve a detailed picture either. The various degrees of constraint, and the different responses to these constraints were grasped through simultaneous reference to both sets of data.

Secondly there were striking differences in the results of our analyses between the different area types, and the results for the whole sample were quite different from those obtained for any of the individual area types. This situation illustrates the fact that by looking at the city as a whole, significant (and distinctive) processes occurring within the different area types (and/or between different segments of the stock or submarkets) may be overlooked.

Thirdly, as was explained in Chapter 1, in much of the previous research the influence of household dynamics and consequent needs was only examined with reference to planned residential mobility. However the striking differences between the determinants of past and planned residential mobility found in some area types of Ankara further verifies the need to study actual and planned residential mobility as different phenomena.

### 10.3 FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE RESEARCH

In the course of this study a number of issues arose which could not be resolved given the nature of the data collected. In this final section we discuss six issues which we feel need to be studied in more detail by future researchers, and consider some implications of our research for future housing policies in Turkey.

The first issue concerns the influence of the constraints of rental housing markets on tenants' behaviour. We found that many tenants were forced to compromise between reducing the rent burden on their budgets, and avoiding a drastic deterioration in their housing standards. This issue appears to be a very important one in terms of understanding household decision-making. Hence with regard to the choice of either moving and having to compromise between housing quality and rent burden, or remaining in the same unit and applying resource strategies to cope with the rent, the possibilities and restrictions on pursuing resource strategies would appear to be critical issues for understanding housing consumption behaviour, and hence need to be further examined. These strategies include reducing non-housing expenses, taking extra jobs, working for longer hours, putting other members of the household into the labour force, getting financial help from relatives.

A second issue concerns the causal linkage between income and residential mobility. The primary aim of our study was to test the relevance of the adjustment model, which argues that residential mobility is a mechanism enabling households to adjust to changes in their housing need. We therefore looked at the impacts of household dynamics, including income changes, on residential (im)mobility and only examined the causal relations starting from household characteristics and dynamics to residential mobility. However it is important to consider the possibility that income is not independent of housing situation and in particular that people adjust their income by taking on extra work or by putting other members of the household into the labour force in order to meet their housing costs. Examining such causal linkages should be an objective in future research.

A third issue concerns the effect of land speculation on housing behaviour. As was shown, particularly in respect of the gecekondu owners' housing consumption decisions, satisfaction

with the unit could be influenced by the speculative potential of the unit. It is possible that speculative interests may have a considerable impact on the low levels of residential mobility of gecekondü owners. Hence the question of land speculation, and the likelihood that housing satisfaction reflects the speculative prospects of the plot rather than the actual quality of the unit, are important issues for consideration in future studies. Such issues are generally neglected by conventional theory.

A fourth topic concerns the possibility of extending the house. As was argued in some previous studies, and also pointed out in this thesis, gecekondü owners have the possibility of modifying and/or extending their house to help meet their needs. This draws attention to another flaw in the adjustment theory which considers moving to be the only way for households to adjust to new needs. However, even in environments where the households' consumption was not constrained to any significant degree, modifying the unit may well be preferable to moving out of the unit. A comparison of modifying the unit to moving out of the unit could not be undertaken in the present study. Such a comparison could throw light on an important aspect of decision making by owner-occupiers. However it should be noted that as redevelopment plans transform a considerable part of the gecekondü stock into apartment blocks (like the rest of the stock) the option for gecekondü dwellers to extend their dwelling to meet their housing needs will disappear, and will cease to be an important object of study.

A fifth topic also concerns gecekondü areas and relates to the impact of the transformation of gecekondü areas on the residential mobility of gecekondü tenants after the completion of the redevelopment plans. The demolition of gecekondü housing and its replacement by authorised stock will cause the gecekondü tenants either to move to new gecekondü areas or to try and increase their disposable income so that they can compete for rented housing in the authorised sector. In both cases forced moves would follow. The present study provides a base line against which future mobility of this kind among gecekondü tenants can be compared. This comparison will provide researchers and policy makers with a useful measure of the impact of the redevelopment plans



A sixth issue concerns the study of landlords. Our qualitative analysis includes the tenants, credit organisations and constructors. However landlords are also major actors in the housing arena, and their evaluations of the rental housing markets, rent levels, and rent agreements with their tenants would obviously provide us with a broader perspective. The future supply of rental housing depends on the incentives of landlords to own rental housing, so a study of landlords would have great relevance to housing policies.

Finally we make some comments on the implications of our research for housing policy. This research showed that there are considerable constraints on tenants' housing decisions in the case of Ankara Turkey, in particular the *gecekondu* tenants' mobility is expected to be constrained further in the near future. This situation suggests an urgent search for a policy solution. Different policy recommendations have been made in different third world countries concerning this matter. Promoting private ownership, or increasing public rental housing are the most commonly recommended alternatives. Previous research has reported different results concerning the policy of supporting private ownership. Some studies have concluded that increasing private ownership not only enables more households to become homeowners but increases the supply of the rental housing stock as well. While others have found that increased private ownership leads to large scale landlordism, increased exploitation and decreases the access of the poor to land. Several different contextual factors - e.g. whether rents are controlled or not, the ratio of land prices to the incomes, the level of credits and subsidies - is likely to be influential on the outcomes of such policies.

The feasibility of both policies needs to be examined for Turkey. Public rental housing was tried only for a limited period of time in the 1940s and abandoned completely after that. The promotion of private ownership both in the authorised and unauthorised parts of the stock comprises the basis of housing policies in Turkey. The unity of interests between land owners, constructors and middle class housebuyers around urban housing - within an environment where demand for urban land and housing is increasing rapidly and where urban real estate is the only hedge against high rates of inflation - can be considered among the reasons for the State to leave the housing supply to the private sector and promote private ownership. At the same time the promotion of rental housing might have only limited political benefits for the State while creating large burdens on its scarce resources.

Furthermore the lack of strong political pressure for rental housing should also be considered as an important factor in explaining the lack of supply of public rental housing. Housing demand has been individualised by prevailing policies and tenants have been led to aspire to homeownership. However whether increasing constraints and hence decreasing access to ownership can lead to a politically organised demand for public rental housing in the future is an important question which needs urgent examination.

## Methodological Appendix

This appendix describes the sources of data used in this study: a field survey of 518 households which supplied the main source of data; a supplementary household survey; and a series of interviews with actors in the housing market.

### 1. The Main Field Survey

#### Principles of Sampling

The sample was designed to represent the whole city. Based on the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality records, the districts in Ankara were at first classified into two major categories: authorised and unauthorised<sup>1</sup>. Districts which comprised the authorised stock were classified into three subcategories according to the housing values (prices and rents) and income levels of the households. A survey conducted by the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau in 1970 to classify the districts in Ankara according to income levels was taken as a starting point. Current rents and house prices collected through newspapers and estate agents were also used to complement the criteria for our classification.

Two prestige districts where rents, house prices, and incomes are the highest in the city were classified as area type 1. Six districts where rents and prices represent a middle-range value and where the middle income households constitute the bulk of the population were classified as area type 2. Area 3 comprises eleven districts where rents and prices are the lowest within the authorised part of the stock and where the bulk of the households can be considered within the low income group. Twelve districts in which the housing stock was unauthorised were classified as area type 4. The populations of each district and "mahalle" (mahalle is the smallest administrative division of settlements in Turkey, and each district is composed of several "mahalles") were obtained from the 1985 census and the number of households in

---

<sup>1</sup>Apart from the districts where almost all the stock was unauthorised, districts where unauthorised houses comprised a considerable proportion of the stock was included into the unauthorised category in the first instance.

each area type was estimated through dividing by household size - which varies between 3 and 5 for different area types. Thus the sample was designed so that the percentage of households in each area type reflected the proportion of the actual population of these area types (see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4). In other words the total sample is representative of the whole of Ankara. In each district "The Stratified Multistage Equal Size Clusters" method was used for sampling (see Kish 1965). The average cluster size was between 15 and 20 in each district. The households to be interviewed in each street were chosen using random sampling. The survey was completed within 3 months from August to November 1988. Since some of the women (housewives) contacted did not know about their husbands' job positions and earnings, interviews were undertaken at the weekend and in the early evenings (around 6 and 7 p.m.) in order to be able to contact the man. In cases where the household refused to answer or in the absence of the household we tried another address in the same district in order to approximate the cluster size which was determined previously for each district. Those who refused to be interviewed and those who could not be contacted, together constituted not more than 15% of the total number of addresses we attempted to contact initially.

#### Topics Covered and Interview Principles

Questions were designed in order to collect data on (i) the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the households and changes in these characteristics within the 5 years between 1983 and 1988; (ii) the number of residential moves made by households within that 5 year period;<sup>2</sup> (iii) the conditions of the units and locations that they had occupied since 1983; (iv) household satisfaction with the units that they occupied within the last 5 years and changes in their satisfaction level during the same period; (v) the reasons for choosing the current unit and neighbourhood; (vi) their residential mobility plans (if any) and the household's own reasons for their plans.

---

<sup>2</sup>Choice of 5 years as the duration within which the residential mobility and changes in household characteristics are measured can be explained as due to the several reasons: i) a longer period extending to the late 1970s or 1980 would lead to the results being meaningless and difficult to interpret since in those years - as was discussed in Chapter 3 - housing and land markets were very different; ii) there were quite a few previous studies where residential mobility was measured within 5 year periods, thus allowing a comparison of the level of residential mobility in Ankara with other places.

Questionnaires were never left with the interviewee to be answered and all the interviews were conducted by interviewers. This was because firstly, several questions might not have been clear to the interviewee and this would have led to inaccurate information (which would distort the accuracy of the data). Also further explanations and clarifications might have been required by the interviewee. Secondly, there were a couple of questions which, although they were prepared with multiple choice answers, we did not want to make available to the interviewee as multiple choice answers, so that their responses would not be influenced by the alternative responses. These multiple choices were prepared as a form of "short hand" for the interviewer. However when a response was given which did not fit any of the alternatives, the complete explanation was recorded by the interviewer.

A copy of the questionnaire is attached.

## 2. Follow Up Household Survey

A second survey was conducted in 1990 with 42 households to gather information on items omitted in the main survey, i.e. data on household's own explanations of their moves, their responses to rent increases, and their relations with their landlord. Since the aim was to obtain detailed information about the moves and market conditions experienced by mobile tenants between 1983 and 1988 we used qualitative interviews.

### Principles of Sampling

Interviews were carried out with households in the original sample who were tenants in 1988 and had been mobile, who could be found at their 1988 addresses and who agreed to be interviewed. Out of the original sample of 142 mobile tenants 43 were found at the addresses and agreed to be interviewed.

To establish whether the current resident at an address in the original sample was included in that sample, the current resident was asked to indicate the month and year of their move into the current unit. If the date was earlier than the date of the first survey but matched the date of commencement of tenancy indicated in the first interview, we concluded that the

current resident was the same as the one interviewed previously. To make this more certain a few items of information were asked concerning the previous units and districts in which they lived or their job(s) in 1988. Only if the household confirmed the information recorded in the previous survey, did the interview take place.

#### The topics covered and the principles of the Interview

The interviews focused on the following points: (i) Reason(s) for moving out of the previous unit(s) since 1983 (the household was asked to indicate only the most important reasons for each move within that 5 year period); (ii) Their relations with the landlord(s) in the unit(s) they had occupied since 1983 and the causes of disagreements (if any); (iii) Details of their official rent contracts or unofficial rent agreements with the landlords, e.g. the amount and periods of increase in the monthly rent; (iv) Whether the conditions of agreements were convenient for them (each of their tenancies was asked about separately); (v) Whether the rent was a burden and if so, whether this was a temporary situation or not, and for how long the tenant had experienced difficulties in paying rent; (vi) If rent was/is a burden, the ways of coping with this; (vii) Whether it was difficult to find another house and how long they had searched; and (viii) The household's evaluation of the conditions of the rental housing market.

As an interview technique we preferred to ask the tenant to relate their tenancy experience since 1983: in particular why they moved out of the previous unit(s), whether they were happy with the conditions of the rental agreements, and what their relationship with their landlord was like, rather than asking each point one by one. We allowed the interviewee to talk about his tenancies without interfering much. Then we continued by asking them their ways of coping with the rent and for how long they had experienced rent burdens (if the tenant had already indicated that the rent was a burden), whether finding another unit was difficult, and some points which were not mentioned by the interviewee or which were not clear.

In many cases this interview technique was successful and the tenant provided all the required information without much prompting. In some cases they even supplied more details than were needed. On the other hand in some cases our interview technique did not work out well

and the interviewee had a tendency to give short answers, some of which were not illuminating at all. In these cases we had to ask each question one by one and required them to be more clear about some questions.

During the field survey some residents of the districts in low income and gecekondu areas in particular asked our purpose in looking for particular addresses and knocking on some doors. When they learned our purpose some of them tried to persuade us to listen and record their problems - although we explained to them that we could only interview households who had taken part in our first survey.

### 3. Interviews With Private Sector Constructors and the Real Estate Bank

Our main source of data on land and housing supply conditions in Turkey (in Chapter 3), was national statistics (including unpublished ones). But in order to clarify some of the data shown by the national statistics, supplementary data was collected through interviews with private sector constructors and Real Estate Bank managers. As was mentioned in Chapter 3 the Real Estate Bank, which is a mixed enterprise, is one of the few institutions providing housing credits in Turkey. The bank also undertakes the production of housing.

Three types of constructor were defined in terms of the scale of their businesses to be interviewed:

- (i) **Large Companies:** These undertake mass housing projects only (i.e. 100 units on average within a single project) and use modern construction methods, e.g. tunnel framework, prefabricated methods. These companies have departments responsible for different aspects of production and do not generally use subcontractors.
- (ii) **Middle Size Companies:** These work on both single plots and larger scale projects, but do not have the capacity to undertake mass housing projects. These companies have several permanent employees such as managers,

accountants, and architects, and they generally work with subcontractors at different stages of the production.

- (iii) **Small Producers (Yap Satci):** These are one man companies or small family businesses only working on single plots. A few of this group of producers have sufficient capital to undertake more than one building at a time. These producers use conventional construction methods. They do not employ permanent staff and always work with subcontractors.

Managers from 4 large companies, the owners or managers of 2 middle size companies, and 5 small producers were interviewed. Those who had been in the construction business for longer than the last 10 years (since before 1980) were preferred. All the middle sized and small producers interviewed had been in the construction business for over 10 years. Among the 4 large companies however only one had been in the housing sector before 1980. As was explained in Chapter 3, before the 1980s large scale Turkish construction companies did not deal with housing production in Turkey but were undertaking civil engineering projects and/or working as contractors in the Middle East.

In selecting large and middle scale companies for interview, apart from their size we did not employ any particular criteria. Those who responded to our request were interviewed. In the case of small scale producers, again no specific criteria were employed. Since many of them do not have permanent offices, visits were made to several construction sites in different districts of the city and in most cases the producer was interviewed on site.

The issues that were raised and examined in the interviews were as follows:

1. Comparison of the demand level before the crisis in the housing sector with the level in the 1980s. Whether the company had observed any changes in demand during the 1980s.
2. Whether the income groups of the customers of the company had changed over time.



3. Whether the dwelling type that they produced had changed or over time. If so since when, and what are the changes and the reasons for them.
4. Was the company using credit before 1980? Did the increases in interest rates for credits affect their business and what was their response?
5. Whether the company had changed the payment terms for customers since the 1970s, and if so when and what were the changes made.
6. The company's strategies for obtaining land: do/did they have land stocks? If not, do they experience difficulties from time to time in finding available land, and what are the terms of agreements with the landowners - in terms of the percentage of the flats to be given to the landowner?
7. How the company evaluates the planning decisions of the local government. Are they involved in the planning decisions?

Questions concerning the level of demand, income levels of customers, type of dwellings produced, payment terms, and land obtaining strategies were raised in the interview with Ankara managers of the Real Estate Bank. In addition to these questions it was also asked which income groups were the beneficiaries of the Real Estate Bank credits during the 1960s and 1970s, and whether the income groups changed during the 1980s?

SIZES OF EFFECTIVE SAMPLES USED IN REGRESSION ANALYSES AFTER LISTWISE DELETION OF ALL THE CASES WITH MISSING INFORMATION COMPARED WITH INITIAL SAMPLES

TABLE A: Both Tenure Groups Together

	INITIAL SAMPLE	MODEL 1 Past Residential Mobility	MODEL 2 Housing Satisfaction	MODEL 3 Planned Residential Mobility
Area Type 1	33	20 (218)*	17**	17**
Area Type 2	92	51 (223)	50 (259)	50 (344)
Area Type 3	143	107 (228)	97 (263)	97 (348)
Area Type 4	250	184 (233)	171 (267)	171 (357)
Whole Ankara***	518	365 (238)	338 (272)	338 (364)

\* Figures in parantheses are the page numbers where the models are presented.

\*\* Due to the small sample sizes Logit analyses could not produce final solutions.

\*\*\* Summation of the cases in each area type does not equal the sample size for the whole of Ankara due to the exclusion small households from the regressions in area type 2.

TABLE B: Ongoing Tenants ("TT Groups")

	INITIAL SAMPLE	MODEL 1 Past Residential Mobility	MODEL 2 Housing Satisfaction	MODEL 3 Planned Residential Mobility
Area Type 1*	7	---	---	---
Area Type 2	37	19 (224)	19**	19**
Area Type 3	75	55 (231)	51 (265)	51 (351)
Area Type 4	141	117 (235)	108 (270)	108 (359)
Whole Ankara***	260	196 (239)	183 (275)	183 (366)

\* Since there were only 4 cases of tenants - after listwise deletion of missing cases - in area type 1 the models were not run.

\*\* Due to the small sample sizes logit analyses could not produce final solutions

\*\*\* Summation the of cases in each area type does not equal the sample size for the whole of Ankara due to the exclusion of small households from the regressions in area type 2.

TABLE C: Existing Owner-occupiers ("OO" and "TO" Groups Together)

	INITIAL SAMPLE	MODEL 1 Past Residential Mobility*	MODEL 2 Housing Satisfaction	MODEL 3 Planned Residential Mobility
Area Type 1	24	---	13**	13**
Area Type 2	53	---	29***	29 (345)
Area Type 3	61	---	43***	43 (355)
Area Type 4	99	---	62***	62 (361)
Whole Ankara	237	---	149***	149 (368)

\* Past residential mobility model was not run for both "OO" and "TO" groups together since they mainly represent two different groups interms of their past residential mobility behaviour.

\*\* Due to the small sample sizes logit analyses could not produce final solutions.

\*\*\* Due to the space limitations these models are not presented in the thesis their results are given in footnotes

TABLE D: Ongoing Owner-occupiers ("OO Groups")

	INITIAL SAMPLE	MODEL 1 Past Residential Mobility	MODEL 2 Housing Satisfaction	MODEL 3 Planned Residential Mobility
Area Type 1	20	12*	11*	11*
Area Type 2	41	22*	22 (286)	22***
Area Type 3	50	**	32 (290)	32***
Area Type 4	82	**	48 (295)	48***
Whole Ankara	193	125 (246)	119 (300)	119***

\* Due to the small sample sizes models could not be run

\*\* Past residential mobility model was not run since the number of owner-occupiers who were mobile in the past was very few.

\*\*\* Due to the space limitations these models are not presented in the text results are given in footnotes.

## Questionnaire used in the Main Survey

---

- I. DISTRICT/NEIGHBOURHOOD (MAHALLE)                      DATE OF INTERVIEW
- II. STREET
- III. BUILDING NO.
- IV. FLAT NO.
- V. TEL. NO
- 

1. For how long have you been living in Ankara continuously?

- a) Less than 5 years                      b) 5 years or more

\* HOUSEHOLDS WHO HAVE NOT LIVED IN ANKARA FOR AT LEAST THE LAST 5 YEARS CONTINUOUSLY SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN AN INTERVIEW.

2. Do you have a job, are you working professionally currently?

\* STUDENTS OR RETIRED PEOPLE WILL NOT BE GIVEN INTERVIEWS. THE BREADWINNER OF THE HOUSEHOLD WILL BE IDENTIFIED AND THE RELATED QUESTIONS WILL BE ASKED WITH REFERENCE TO THAT PERSON, BUT IF THAT PERSON LOST THEIR JOB RECENTLY AND IS CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED, CONTINUE THE INTERVIEW WITH THAT PERSON.

3. When did you start to work professionally and for how long have you been working professionally - including the current job (if employed) and previous jobs?

- a) Less than 5 years                      b) 5 years or more

**\* THIS QUESTION WILL BE ASKED BOTH TO THE MAN AND WOMAN. IF ONE OF THEM HAS BEEN WORKING PROFESSIONALLY FOR AT LEAST THE LAST FIVE YEARS THE HOUSEHOLD WILL BE GIVEN THE INTERVIEW, OTHERWISE THE CASE WILL BE EXCLUDED FROM THE SAMPLE.**

4. Age of the man

5. Age of the woman

6. For how long have you been living as an independent household - when did you establish your home independently from your parent's home?

**\* CASES WHO WERE LIVING WITH THEIR PARENTS PREVIOUSLY AND ESTABLISHED THEIR HOME SEPARATELY WITHIN THE LAST 5 YEARS WILL NOT BE GIVEN AN INTERVIEW.**

7. Which of the following household compositions are you now in, and what is the size of your household (number of people in the household)?

a) Alone (i.e. single, widowed, divorced)

b) Couple without children ( )

c) Couple whose children left home ( )

d) Couple with children ( )

- e) Couple with son-in-law and/or daughter-in-law together ( )
- f) Couple with their parents (and with children) ( )
- g) Alone with children ( )
- h) Other: If your household composition is different from the ones described above, please explain ( )

8. Did any changes occur in your household composition within the 5 years since 1983 (1983 is included)?

- a) Yes
- b) No

9. If yes, what was the change and what was the household size (how many were you) before the change occurred?

- a) Children or one of the children left and established a home separately ( )
- b) Son or daughter-in-law came home ( )
- c) Divorce, or death of a household member ( )
- d) Birth ( )
- e) Marriage ( )
- f) Other: if any changes occurred in the household composition other than the ones listed above please explain ( )

10. The table below will be filled in for children. Those who have left home and established an independent home will not be included.

<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Still in education</b> Primary Secondary Lycee Univ.	<b>If working last education and current job</b> if unemployed indicate

11. Man's education level (indicate if he left the school before graduating)

- a) Illiterate
- b) Literate
- c) Primary school
- d) Secondary school
- e) Lycee

f) University

g) Other

12. Has there been any increase in the man's education within the 5 year period since 1983 (1983 is included)?

a) Yes

b) No

13. If yes, indicate which of the following, and number of years of education.

a) Continue to formal education ( )

b) Specific job courses ( )

c) Education in another subject e.g. second degree ( )

d) Post graduate ( )

e) Other please explain ( )

14. Why did the man continue his education and what was the most important reason for this?

a) To obtain a better position in his job

b) To get better salary

c) To change his job

d) Other: If there is any other reason please explain:



15. Woman's education level (indicate if she left school before graduating).
- a) Illiterate
  - b) Literate
  - c) Primary school
  - d) Secondary school
  - e) Lycee
  - f) University
  - g) Other
16. Has there been any increase in the woman's education within the 5 year period since 1983 (1983 is included)?
- a) Yes
  - b) No
17. If yes, indicate which of the following, and number of years of education.
- a) Continue formal education ( )
  - b) Job courses
  - c) Education in another subject e.g. second degree ( )
  - d) Post graduate ( )
  - e) Other please explain ( )

18. Why did the woman continue her education and what was the most important reason for this?

- a) To obtain a better position in her job
- b) To get a better salary
- c) To change her job - or to be able to find a job
- d) Other: If there is any other reason please explain:

19. Man's occupation

20. Considering the jobs and positions that you had within the 5 years since 1983 (including 1983) please answer the following questions - for the man's job.

	Description of duty and position	Sector, description of activity	Date of commencement	Compare with previous one					
				Much Better	Better	Same	Worse	Much Worse	
Current occupation				Income					
				Status					
Previous occupation				Income					
				Status					
1				Income					
				Status					
2				Income					
				Status					
3				Income					
				Status					

21. Woman's Occupation

22. Considering the jobs and positions that you had within the 5 years since 1983, (including 1983) please answer the following questions - if the woman worked before, even if she is not working currently.

	Description of duty and position	Sector, description of activity	Date of commencement	Compare with previous one					
				Much Better	Better	Same	Worse	Much Worse	
Current occupation				Income					
				Status					
Previous occupation				Income					
				Status					
1				Income					
				Status					
2				Income					
				Status					
3				Income					
				Status					

23. Does the man have a second job?

a) Yes

b) No

24. If yes, how much time does he spend on his secondary job compared with the time for his main job?

a) less than the main job

b) same or more

25. What is his secondary job, explain; and how much does he earn per month on average from this job?

26. Why does he need to have a secondary job

a) To earn more

b) For security - which the person could not get in his main job

c) Not happy with his main job, for job satisfaction

d) Other: if there is any reason other than the ones listed above please explain

27. For how long has the man been working in a second job - include previous ones as well?

28. Average amount of monthly earnings of the man from his main job (exclude the income from the secondary job if has any).

**\* IF THE PERSON DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE THE AMOUNT OF HIS INCOME TRY THE CLASSIFICATION BELOW; ASK HIM TO CHOOSE AN INTERVAL WHERE HIS INCOME STANDS IF POSSIBLE.**

A: 50-100/B: 101-200/C: 201-400/D: 401-700/E: 701-1000/F: 1001-3000/G: 3001-5000/H: 5001-7000/L: 7001+.....

29. Average amount of monthly earning of the woman from her job - if she is working.

**\* IF THE PERSON DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE THE AMOUNT OF HER INCOME TRY THE CLASSIFICATION BELOW; ASK HER TO CHOOSE AN INTERVAL WHERE HER INCOME STANDS IF POSSIBLE.**

A: 50-100/B: 101-200/C: 201-400/D: 401-700/E: 701-1000/F: 1001-3000/G: 3001-5000/H: 5001-7000/L: 7001+.....

30. Does the household have other incomes from i.e. bonds, rents or any other sources (e.g. earnings of the other members of the family, etc.)

a) Yes; Average monthly amount:

b) No

31. What was the monthly average of your following incomes 5 years ago (in 1983):

1. Man's income from his main job

2. Man's income from his second job (if applicable)

3. Women's income (if applicable)
  4. Other incomes (if applicable)
32. Compare your current consumption power with the one 5 years ago:
- a) It was better 5 years ago
  - b) Nothing has changed
  - c) It is worse now
33. Current tenure status

**THE FOLLOWING 3 QUESTIONS WILL BE ASKED TO THE OWNER OCCUPIERS ONLY**

34. For how long have you been an owner-occupier continuously (including your previous residences as well)?
- a) Less than 5 years
  - b) 5 years or more
35. If it is less than 5 years indicate the duration and the number of units that you occupied as an owner-occupier within that duration.
36. Suppose that you were going to rent this unit now, how much rent would you claim?

**THE FOLLOWING 3 QUESTIONS WILL BE ASKED TO THE TENANTS ONLY**

37. For how long have you been a tenant continuously (including your previous residences as well)?
- a) Less than 5 years
  - b) 5 years or more
38. If it is less than 5 years indicate the duration and the number of units that you occupied as a tenant within that duration.
39. How much monthly rent do you pay - net; excluding the running expenses of building<sup>1</sup>?

THE REST OF THE QUESTIONS WILL BE ASKED TO ALL THE INTERVIEWEES

40. How many units in total has the household occupied since 1983 including the existing one?
41. For the units that the household occupied since 1983 the following questions will be answered (see table on following page).

---

<sup>1</sup>In Turkey in authorised stock heating and cleaning expenses of the multi-storey buildings are paid by the tenants.



	Number of rooms	Type of House	Neighbourhood/District	Age of Building	Tenure Status	Rent or price in the year you start to occupy <u>Indicate the date</u>	Are you satisfied with your unit currently/ Were you satisfied with the previous ones (if applicable)	Compare the unit with the previous one in terms of its physical qualities			Compare the neighbourhood with the previous one in terms of both physical and social aspects			
								Better	Same	Worse	Better	Same	Worse	
Current unit							YES NO							
Pre-vious units :							YES NO							
1							YES NO							
2							YES NO							
3							YES NO							







## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Articles and Books

- Abu-Lughod, J. and Foley, M.M. 1960: "The consumer votes by moving" in J. Abu Lughod, M. Foley, N. Foote, L. Winnick (Eds) *Housing Choices and Housing Constraints*, New York McGraw Hill
- Ahmad, N. 1991: "Choice of location and mobility behaviour of migrant households in a third world city" *Urban Studies*, 29, 7, 1147-1157
- Aina, T.A. 1990: "Petty landlords and poor tenants in a low-income settlement in metropolitan Lagos, Nigeria" in P.Amis, P.Lloyd (Eds) *Housing Africa's Urban Poor*, Manchester, Manchester University Press
- Aldrich, J.H. and Nelson, F.D. 1985: *Linear Probability, Logit and Probit Models*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications
- Alonso, W. 1964: *Location and Land use: Towards a General Theory of Land Rent*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press
- Amato, P. 1969: "Environmental quality and locational behavior in a Latin American city" *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, (4), 83-101
- Amato, P.W. 1970: "Elitism and settlement patterns in the Latin American city" *American Institute of Planners Journal*, March, 96-105
- Amis, P. 1984: "Squatters or tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi" *World Development*, 12, 1, 87-96
- Amis, P. 1990: "Key themes in contemporary African urbanisation" in P. Amis & P. Lloyd (Eds) *Housing Africa's Urban Poor*, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press
- Aral, 1980: "Social mobility in Turkey" in E.Ozbudun, A. Ulsan (Eds) *The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Turkey*, New York, Holmes and Meier
- Balamir, M. 1975: "Kat mulkiyeti ve kentlesmemiz" *ODTU Mimarlik Fakultesi Dergisi*, 1, 2, 295-318
- Balamir, M. 1982: "Kentlesme, kentsel surecler ve kent yapisi" *Turkiye I-Sehircilik Kongresi*, 13-54, ODTU, Ankara
- Baross, P. 1983: "The articulation of land supply for popular settlements in third world cities" in S. Angel, A. Tanphiptab, W.Raymon, E.Wegelin (Eds) *Land for Housing the Poor*, Singapore, Select Books

- Basset, K. and Short, J. 1980: *Housing and residential structure-alternative approaches*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Ben-Akiva, M and de Palma, A. 1986: "Analysis of a dynamic residential location choice model with transaction costs" *Journal of Regional Science*, 26,2 321 - 341
- Bickicioglu, H. 1987: *Housing producers in Ankara in 1980s, the effects of stabilization policies on the housing industry*, M.Sc Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Urban and Regional Planning Department
- Birch, D. L. 1971: "Toward a stage theory of urban growth" *American Institute of Planners Journal*, March, 78-87
- Blalock, H.M.Jr. 1964: *Causal Inferences in Non-experimental Research*, Chapel Hill, University of Carolina Press
- Boratav, K. 1989: *Turkiye Iktisad Tarihi*, Istanbul, Gercek Yayınevi
- Brett, S. 1974: "Low-income urban settlements in Latin America: the Turner model" in E. De Kadt and G. Williams (Eds) *Sociology and Development*, London: Tavistock Publications
- Brown, L.A. and Longbrake, D.B. 1970: "Migration flows in intraurban space: Place utility considerations" *Annals of the Association for American Geographers*, 60, 368-384
- Burgess, E.W. 1925: "The growth of the city" in R.D. McKensie (Ed) *The City*, Chicago, Chicago Press
- Burgess, R. 1985: "The limits of state self-help housing" *Development and Change*, 271-312
- Castells, M. 1977: *The Urban Question London*, Edward Arnold
- Castells, M. and Henderson J. 1987: *Global Restructuring and Territorial Development*, London, Sage Publications
- Clapham, D. and Kintrea, K. 1983: "Allocation systems and housing choice" *Urban Studies*, 21, 261-269
- Clark, W.A.V. and Cadwallader, M. 1973: "Locational stress and residential mobility" *Environment and Behavior*, March, 29-41
- Clark, W.A.V. and Moore, E.G. 1980: *Residential Mobility and Public Policy*, Beverly Hills, Sage
- Clark, W.A.V. and Onaka, J.L. 1983: "Life-cycle and housing adjustments as explanations of residential mobility" *Urban Studies*, 20, 47-57

- Clark, W.A.V., Deurloo, M.C. and Dieleman, F.M. 1984: "Housing consumption and residential mobility" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74, 1, 29-43
- Clark, W.A.V. and Onaka, J.L. 1985: "An empirical test of a joint model of residential mobility and housing choice" *Environment and planning (A)*, 17, 915 - 930
- Cohen, M.A. 1990: "Macroeconomic adjustment and the city" *Cities*, 7, 49-59
- Conway, D. and Brown, J. 1980: "Intra-urban relocation and structure: low-income migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean" *Latin American Research Review*, 15, 95-125
- Coupe, R.T. and Morgan, B.S. 1981: "Towards a fuller understanding of residential mobility: a case study in Northampton, England" *Environment and Planning (A)*, 13, 201-215
- Danielson, M.N. and Keles, R. 1980: "Urbanization and income distribution in Turkey" in E. Ozbudun and A. Ulasan (Eds) *The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Turkey*. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers
- Danielson, M.N. and Keles, R. 1985: *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization - Government and Growth in Modern Turkey*, New York: Holmes and Meier
- Danisoglu, B. 1986: "Konut yatirimlerinin bugunku durumu ve finansmanina iliskin bazi oneriler" *Tubitak Dar Gelirlilere Konut Sempozyumuda Sunulan Bildiri*, 19-82
- Deurloo, M.C., Clark, W.A.V. and Dieleman, F.M. 1990: "Choice of residential environment in the Randstad" *Urban Studies*, 27, 3, 335-351
- Doling, J. 1976: "The family life cycle and housing choice" *Urban Studies*, 30, 55-58
- Dowall, D.E. 1992: "A second look at the Bangkok land and housing market" *Urban Studies*, 29, 1, 25-37
- Drakakis-Smith, D. W. 1976: "Slums and Squatters in Ankara" *Town Planning Review* 47, 3, 225-240
- Drakakis-Smith, D. 1981: *Urbanisation, Housing and the Development Process*, Croom Helm, London
- Duncan, D.D. and Duncan B. 1955: "Residential distribution and occupational stratification" *American Journal of Sociology*, 10, 493 - 503
- Durand-Lasserve, D. 1983: "The land conservation process in Bangkok and the predominance of the private sector over the public sector" in A. Angel, A. Tanphiptad, W. Raymon, E. Wegelin (Eds) *Land for housing the poor*, Singapore, Select Books

- Durand-Lasserve, D. 1990: "Articulation between formal and informal Land markets" in P.Baross, J. Van der Linden (Eds) *The transformation of Land Supply Systems in Third World Cities*, Aldershot, Avebury Gower
- Edwards, M. 1983: "Residential mobility in a changing housing market: The case of Bucoramanga, Colombia" *Urban Studies*, 20, 131-145
- Edwards, M. 1990: "Rental housing and the urban poor: Africa and Latin America compared" in P. Amis, P. Lloyd (Eds) *Housing Africa's Poor*, Manchester, Manchester University Press
- Ersoy, M. 1982: *A Critique of the Dual Structure in Urban Economies of Underdeveloped Countries*, Unpublished study prepared at the Royal Danish Academy of Art and School of Architecture, FSD publications series A No 18
- Form, W.H. 1954: "The place of social structure in the determination of land use: Some implications for a theory of urban ecology" *Social Forces*, XXXII, 317-323
- Gilbert, A. and Ward, P. 1982: "Residential movement among the poor - choice or constraint" *Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.*, 7, 129-149
- Gilbert, A. 1983: "The tenants of self-help housing: Choice and constraint in the housing markets of less developed countries" *Development and change*, 14, 449 - 477
- Gilbert, A. and Ward, P. M. 1985: *Housing, the State and the Poor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gilbert, A. 1989: "Housing during recession : illustrations from Latin America" *Housing Studies*, 4, 3, 155-166
- Gilbert, A. and Varley, A. 1991: *Landlord and Tenant, Housing the Poor in Urban Mexico*, London, Routledge
- Gilbert, A. and Gugler, J. 1992: *Cities, Poverty and Development, Urbanisation in the Third World*, New York, Oxford University Press
- Gilbert, A. 1992: "Third world cities: Housing, infrastructure and servicing" *Urban Studies*, 29, 435-460
- Goodman, J.L. 1976: "Housing consumption disequilibrium and local residential mobility" *Environment and Planning*, (A), 8, 855-874
- Guest, A.M. 1978: "Suburban social status: Persistence or evolution?" *American Sociological Review*, 43, 251-264



- Hanushek, E.A. and Quigley, J. 1978: "Housing market disequilibrium and residential mobility" in W.A.V. Clark and E.G. Moore (Eds) *Population Mobility and Residential Change*, Studies in Geography 25. Evanston, IL. Northwestern University
- Harvey, D. 1985: *The Urbanisation of Capital*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Harvey, D. 1989: *The Urban Experience*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Heper, M. 1978: *Gecekondu policy in Turkey: an evaluation with a case study of Rumelihisarustu*, Bogazici University Publications no. 146, Istanbul, Bogazici University Press
- Herbert, J.D. 1979: *Urban Development in the Third World* New York, Praeger
- Hic, S. 1988: *Turkiye Ekonomisi*, Istanbul: Mentek Kitabevi
- Hoover, E.M. and Vernon, R. 1959: *Anatomy of a Metropolis*, New York Metropolitan Region Study, Vol 1, Harvard U.P., Cambridge, Mass.
- Hoyt, H. 1939: *The structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities*, Washington D.C. Federal Housing Administration
- Isik, O. 1992: *The Penetration of Capitalism into Housing Production: Speculative House Building in Ankara, Turkey*, Ph.D Thesis, University College London Bartlett School of Architecture
- Karpat, K.H. 1976: "The Gecekondu" *Rural Migration and Urbanization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Keles, R. 1981: *Kentbilim Terimleri Sozlugu*, Turk Dil Kurumu, Ankara
- Keles, R 1990a: *Kentlesme ve Konut Politikalari*, Ankara, Yayinlari
- Keles, R. 1990b: "Housing policy in Turkey" in G. Shidlo (Ed) *Housing Policy in Developing Countries*, London, Routledge
- Kepenek, Y. 1983: *Turkiye Ekonomisi* Ankara, Savas Yayinlari
- Kish, L 1965: *Survey Sampling*, John Wiley
- Kliest, T.J. and Scheffer, H.R. 1981: "John Turner's theory of intra-urban mobility and the African reality: Examples from East and West Africa" *Tijdschrift voor Econ on Soc. Geografie*, 72
- Korum, U. 1982: "1980-1981 yillarinda konut piyasasi" in R. Keles and I. Tekeli (Eds) *Konut 81*, Ankara, Kent-Koop

- Kuran, T. 1980: "Internal Migration: The unorganised urban sector and income distribution" in E. Ozbudum and A. Ulsan (Eds) *The Political Economy of Income Distribution in Turkey*, New York: Holmes and Meier
- Landale, S. and Guest, M. 1985: "Constraints, satisfaction and residential mobility: Speare's model reconsidered" *Demography*, 22, 2, 199-220
- Lenski, E.G. 1954: "Status crystallization: A non-vertical dimension of social status" *American Sociological Review*, 19, 405-413
- Leslie, G.B. and Richardson, A.H. 1961: "Life-cycle, career pattern and the decision to move" *American Sociological Review*, 26, 894-902
- van Lindert, P. 1991: "Moving up or staying down? Migrant-native differential mobility in La Paz" *Urban Studies*, 28, 3, 433-463
- Linn, J.F. 1983: *Cities in the Developing World*, World Bank Research Publication, Washington, Oxford University Press
- Malpezzi, S. and Mayo, S.K. 1987: "The demand for housing in developing countries: empirical estimates from household data" *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 35, 687-721
- McHugh, K.E., Gober, P and Reid, N. 1990: Determinants of short and long-term mobility expectations for home owners and renters" *Demography*, 27, 1, 81-95
- Menchik, M.D. 1980: Studying residential mobility: Administrative records of the housing assistance supply experiment" in W.A.V. Clark and E.G. Moore (Eds) *Residential Mobility and Public Policy*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications
- Michelson, W. 1977: *Environmental Choice, Human Behaviour and Residential Satisfaction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Michelson, W. 1980: "Residential mobility and urban policy: some sociological considerations" in W.A.V. Clark, E.G. Moore (Eds) *Residential Mobility and public policy*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications
- Mills, E.S. 1972: *Studies in the Structure of the Urban Economy*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press
- Moriarty, B.M. 1974: "Socioeconomic status and residential locational choice" *Environment and Behaviour*, 6, 4, 445-469
- Munro, M. and Lamont D. 1985: "Neighbourhood, perception, preference and household mobility in the Glasgow private housing market" *Environment and Planning (A)*, 17, 1331-1350

- Munt, I. 1987: "Economic restructuring, culture and gentrification: A case study in Battersea, London" *Environment and planning(A)*, 19, 1175-1197
- Murie, A.; Miner, P.; Watson, C. 1976: *Housing Policy and the Housing System*, London, George Allen and Unwin
- Muth R.F. 1968: "Urban residential land and housing market" in S.Harvey, L. Wingo (Eds) *Issues in Urban Economics*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press
- Nelson, J.M. 1979: *Access to Power, Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Nations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Okoye, T.O. 1990: "Historical development of Nigerian housing policies with special reference to housing the urban poor", in P.Amis and P.Lloyd (Eds) *Housing Africa's urban poor*, Manchester, Manchester University Press
- Okroku, I.O. 1971: "The family life-cycle and residential mobility in Puerto Rico" *Sociology and Social Research*, 55, 324- 340
- Oncu, A. 1988: "The politics of urban land market in Turkey, 1950-1980" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies*, 12, 1, 38-63
- Ozo, A.O. 1986: "Residential location and intra-urban mobility in a developing country: Some empirical observations from Benin City, Nigeria" *Urban Studies*, 23, 457-470
- Ozo, A.O. 1990: "The private rented housing sector and public policies in developing countries: The example of Nigeria" *Third World Planning Review*, 12, 261-279
- Pahl, R.E. 1975: *Whose City*, Middlesex: Penguin
- Park, R.E. 1925: "The city : suggestions for the investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment" in McKensie (ed) *The City*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
- Payne, G. 1980: "The gecekondu of Ankara" *Process of Architecture* 15, 78-105
- Peattie, L. 1979: "Housing policy in developing countries: Two puzzles" *World Development*, 7, 1017-1022
- Pickvance, C.G. 1974: "Life-cycle, housing tenure and residential mobility: A path analytic approach" *Urban Studies*, 11, 171-188
- Pickvance, C.G. & Pickvance, K (forthcoming): "Young peoples' housing strategies" *Sociology*

- Rakodi, C. 1988: "Upgrading in Chawama, Lusaka: Displacement or differentiation?" *Urban Studies*, 25, 297-318
- Ramazanoglu, H. 1985: "The politics of industrialization in a closed economy and the IMF intervention of 1979" in H. Ramazanoglu (Ed) *Turkey in the World Capitalist System*, Tyne: Gower Publishing Co.
- Rex, J.A. and Moore, R. 1967: *Race, community and conflict: A study of Sparkbrook*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Roberts, B. 1978: *Cities of Peasants*, Bristol: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd
- Rossi, P.H. 1955: *Why families move*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press
- Sabagh, G., Van Arsdol, H. and Butler, E. 1969: "Some determinants of intrametropolitan residential mobility: conceptual considerations" *Social Forces*, 48, 1, 88-98
- Schnore, L.F. 1965: "On the spatial structure of cities in the two America's" in P.M. Hauser and L.F. Schnore (Eds) *The Study of Urbanization*, New York: John Wiley
- Schuurman, F.J. 1986: "John Turner revisited: An intra urban migration model for colonial-type cities in Latin America" *Tijdschrift voor Econ. en Soc. Geografie*, 77,3 221-230
- Schwirian, K.P. and Rico-Velasco, J. 1971: "The residential distribution of status groups in Puerto Rico's metropolitan areas" *Demography*, 8, 1
- Senses, F. 1985: "Short-term stabilisation policies in a developing economy: The Turkish experience in 1980 in the long term perspective" in H. Ramazanoglu (Ed) *Turkey in the World Capitalist System*, Tyne: Gower Publishing Co.
- Senyapili, T. 1982: *Gecekondu: Cevre Iscilerin Mekani* Ankara, Ortu Dogu Teknik Universitesi
- Senyapili, T. 1986: "Dar gelirlilere konut panel tartismasi" *Dargelirlilere Konut Sempozyumu*, TUBITAK, Ankara
- Simmons, J.W. 1968: "Changing residence in the City: A review of intra urban mobility" *The Geographical Review*, 58, 622-651
- Speare, A. 1970: "Home ownership, life cycle stage and residential mobility" *Demography*, 7, 4
- Strassmann, W.P. 1991: "Housing market interventions and mobility: An international comparison" *Urban Studies*, 28, 5, 759-771
- Tekeli, I. 1981: "On the dynamics of experience of urbanisation in Turkey: Urban Problems and Economic Development" *Sijthoff and Hoordhoff Alphen aarden Ryn*

- Tekeli, I. 1982: *Turkiye'de kentlesme Yazilari*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi
- Tekeli, I. 1984: "Ekonomik bunalim ve bunalimdan cikmak icin izlenen politikalarin toplumsal sonuclari" in I. Tekeli (ed) *Turkiye'de ve Dunyada Yasanan Ekonomik Bunalim*, Ankara: Yurt Yuyinari
- Thorns, D. C. 1980: "Constraints versus choices in the analysis of housing allocation and residential mobility" in C. Ungerson and K. Valerie (Eds) *The consumer experience of housing*, Westmead, Gower
- Tilly, C. 1961: "Occupational rank and grade of residence in a metropolis" *American Journal of Sociology*, 61, 323-330
- Treiman, D.J. 1977: *Occupational prestige in comparative perspective*, New York: Academic Press
- Turel, A. 1986: "Ankara da konut Yapim surecleri" *Ankara 1985 den 2015'e*, Ankara Buyuksehir Belediyesi, ODTU, Sehir ve Bolge Planlama Bolumu Calisma Grubu
- Turel, A. 1990: "1980 sonrasinda konut uretiminde gelismeler" *Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi Dergisi*, 10, 27-43
- Turner, J.C. 1968: "Housing priorities, settlement patterns and urban development in modernising countries" *American Institute of Planners Journal*, 34,6 354-363
- Ungerson, C. and Donnison, R. 1982: *Housing Policy*, Middlesex, Penguin Books
- Uyeki, E.S. 1964: "Residential distribution and stratification, 1950-1960" *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 491-498
- Vaughan, D.R. and Feindt, W. 1973: "Initial settlement and intracity movement of migrants in Monterrey, Mexico" *American Institute of Planners Journal* 39, 388-401
- Ward, P. 1976: "Intra-city migration to squatter settlements in Mexico-city" *Geoforum* 7, 369-382
- Weinberg, D.H. 1979: "The determinants of intra-urban household mobility" *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 9, 219-246
- Wheaton, W.C. 1985: "Life-cycle theory, inflation and the demand for housing" *Journal of Urban Economics*, 18, 161-179
- Williamson, B 1987: *Education and Social change in Egypt and Turkey*, London, The MacMillan Press
- Wingo, L.Jr. 1961: *Transportation and Urban Land*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press

- Winnick, L. 1960: "The housing consumer in 1950" in J.Abu-Lughod, M.Foley, N.Foote, L.Winnick (Eds) *Housing choices and housing constraints*, New York, McGraw Hill
- Wolpert, J. 1965: "Behavioral aspects of the decision to migrate" *Regional Science Association*, 15, 159-169
- Wright, E.O. 1985: *Classes*, London, Verso.
- Yonder, A. 1988: "Gecekondo policies and the informal land market in Istanbul" *Built Environment*, 8, 2, 117-125

## Miscellaneous Publications

OECD Report, 1988: *Regional Problems and Policies in Turkey*

State Institute of Statistics (1989): *Census of Population 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population*, Pub no. 1369, Ankara

State Planning Organisation (1987): *Fifth Five Year Development Plan 1985 - 1989*

State Planning Organisation (1987): *Research on Income Distribution in Turkey*, Pub. no. 2076-SPB401, Ankara

State Planning Organisation (1988): *Research on Social & Economic Characteristics of Population*, Pub. no. 2134-SPB414, Ankara

State Planning Organisation (1989): *Employment Report*, Pub. no. 2170 OIK:341, Ankara

State Planning Organisation (1989): *Sixth Five Year Development Plan 1990 - 1994*

TUSIAD: *The Turkish Economy 1989*

*World Bank Report 1983*