
GEOGRAPHICAL DYNAMICS OF THE 1950-1980 PERIOD IN TURKEY URBANIZATION

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Introduction

The concept of the city, shaped by the human hand and shaping humanity, is a phenomenon that enlarges civilizations in its bosom. Cansever (1996), defines the city as an the most important, the biggest physical product created by man to regulate his life and the structure that directs and surrounds human life.

The most important reference geographic areas for the first urban settlements in the world are; The Euphrates and Tigris Basin (Mesopotamia) are the Nile, Indus and Sarırmak valleys. These areas are the areas where the first city settlements occur due to the presence of water. However, although the physical geography factor appears to be a major factor in the emergence of the first urban settlements, another effective factor is the concepts of religion and power. As a matter of fact, we observe these two elements frequently in the architectural structures of these early cities. Bookchin (1999) emphasizes that the first urban settlements are ideological spaces. In contrast to the earlier widespread belief Collins (2016), opposed the settlement of agricultural activities in the Neolithic age, his urbanization, and the idea of religious structures in cities in the last step. He argued that temples were first built in the first cities and then created agriculture in order to meet the needs of crowded people who came together for the maintenance and repair of such enormous structures. The next step after the emergence of the first cities is undoubtedly the concept of urbanization, which is completely dependent on it but expresses more than that.

Undoubtedly the most important milestone in the history of urbanization is the industrial revolution. “With the industrial revolution, the concept of the city gained an identity that was accepted and preferred by society as a development, progress, economic growth and a fully organized social life (Pustu, 2006; Sever, & Koçoğlu, 2014). This change not only changed the city but also the rural structure, the social structure as a whole, the political structure, a life that had lasted for centuries, and it meant a displacement of a keystone that kept an established world order (Şahin: 2008). Prior to this, urbanization movements in the world have progressed at different speeds with a focus on trade. There has been a significant increase in the rate of urbanization with the Industrial Revolution. Göney (1995) states that as of 1800, the proportion of those living in cities with a population of 20,000 and more constitutes only 2.4% of the world’s population, up to 4.3% in the following fifty years, and in 1900 It indicates that it has increased to 9.2%. In the next century, the factor that triggered urban development was the developments in the service sector. The most important key of today’s cities and urban development is the

phenomenon of globalization. Together with globalization, urbanization movements have changed their functions and continued their development in a different way. Information, which was formerly guided by states, capital mobility is now carried out by cities (Sen, 2018; Koçoğlu, 2015). Due to the bordering of the global economy, geographic spaces, which are mounted to the transnational economic structure, especially emphasize the cities performing global functions and take the direction and speed of urbanization to a completely different dimension.

Between 1923-1950 Urbanization Movements in Turkey

Turkey's urbanization adventure at the same time the Republic of Turkey's is a history of the development. This historical development line, which affects the social transformation related to urbanization processes, not only determines the pattern of development of Turkish cities, but also determines the cultural, class and economic shaping of Turkish society on this line (Arlı, 2005). Turkey's urbanization can periodization in their movements. Between 1923 and 1950, we can state the period of stagnation, between 1950 and 1980 as the eruption period, and after 1980 as a period of confusion and exploration.

In the period between 1923 and 1950, the rate of urbanization was low and cities moved with their own internal dynamics. In the first census conducted in 1927, the population of the country is 13 million 660 thousand 275 people and there are 18 people per square kilometer. About three quarters of the population live in villages. There were only two cities with a population of more than 100 thousand. In this period, the cities bearing the identity of the city are Istanbul, the capital of the Empire, Ankara, the capital of the Republic, and Izmir, Adana and Bursa (Table 1).

Table 1. Cities with Most Population According to 1927 Census in Turkey.

City	Population
İstanbul	690.857
İzmir	153.924
Ankara	74.553
Adana	72.577
Bursa	61.690
Konya	47.496
Gaziantep	39.998
Kayseri	39.134
Eskişehir	32.341
Erzurum	31.457
Diyarbakır	30.709

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute TUIK

In this period, the urban population has found direction with birth and death rates. The only exception of this period in terms of urbanization is Ankara. The reason for this is

that urban planning, zoning activities and new laws and practices related to the city were first implemented in Ankara (Sağlam, 2016). As a matter of fact, Özoğuz (1986) states that the growth rate of the urban population does not differ from the general population growth rate.

Therefore, it can be said that the reason for the increase in the urban population in these years is largely due to its own development (increase) dynamics, not to the migration attracted by the countryside (Çalışkan, 2006). In 1927, the number of people living in settlements with a population of 10,000 or more was 2.2 million, in other words, 16% of the population lived in cities. In the last 23 years until 1950, this number increased to 3,910,000, constituting only 19% of the country's population proportionally (Table 2). In this period, when urbanization is progressing heavily, as Niray (2002) states, urban areas; they were engaged in agriculture, supervising limited non-agricultural production and providing services.

Table 2. 1923-1950 Rural-City Population Change.

Year	Total Population (000)	Rural Area Population (000)	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population (000)	Urban Population (%)
1927	13.648	11.412	84	2.236	16
1935	16.158	13.474	83	2.684	17
1940	17.821	14.618	82	3.203	18
1945	18.790	18.790	82	3.442	18
1950	20.947	20.947	81	3.910	19

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

Although the urbanization movements that took place in this period have progressed in the natural flow, it has created the spark of the next period which will initiate the actual urbanization movements with the increase in the industrial facilities in the cities. Indeed Ardel (1943), refers to this situation as follows: young Turkey's empire in 1923 left over in a small number (342) had large and small industrial facilities. In the first decade, in 1932, not only did it rise to more than four times (14731), but after that date there were great attempts to industrialize with an increasing pace. Undoubtedly, this move of industrialization had an impact on the mobility of the rural population.

Explosion Period: 1950-1980 Period Rapid Urbanization

Yücel (1960) refers to the dizzying urbanization speed that began in the 1950s, referring to Tanoğlu as follows: There was a dam that kept the majority of the population in the countryside and protected the cities. The name of this dam was the state of attachment to the land and enduring everything. There are now infiltrations from this dam, even overflows, and they have already begun to fill cities. Really turkey 1950 'is also a period where the urbanization movement gained momentum seriously. Before going into the

causes of this situation, it would be appropriate to look at the general political and economic situation of the period.

While the wounds of the 1929 Great Depression waves, which had caused economic destruction, were still wrapped, World War II erupted in less than a decade. 1940 'li years in Turkey have to enter the Second World War, but the war is drawing to a country landscape living economy by taking extraordinary measures. Decisions taken by the government, which had to meet military needs, put additional burdens on the people living in rural areas. With the economic effects of the war, the people had to go through a very difficult period. Erođlu (1998) stated that the prices that quadrupled in this war economy had a negative impact on a large part of the population. Batmaz and Erdem (2016) claimed that it was the oppressed peasants who brought the Democratic Party to power and that the forces that benefited the most from it were the big trade bourgeoisie and the landowners. These two forces, instead of industrial-based economic development as in the west, have targeted a land-based economic development in the countryside.

In 1950, the 27-year single-party power came to an end. And this was a turning point in Turkish political history. Together with the Democratic Party, statist approaches to the economy have been replaced by liberal economic approaches. After the years of World War II all over the world with the exigency of Turkey has also begun a relative period of prosperity.

Turkey's rapid urbanization the start of the period adopted in 1950 by the geographical dimensions of urbanization occurring until 1980, geo-dynamics, causes, if we examine the factors that determine the direction and speed of striking first concern is rapid increase in the total population. The population, which was around 21 million in 1950, doubled in 1980 and reached 45 million (Table 3). What is even more striking is the rapid increase in the urban population. The urban population, which was approximately 5 million at the beginning of the period, increased approximately four times and increased twice as fast as the country's population (Table 3). They emphasize that this process (İçduygu et al.) Is becoming widespread in cities and that migration is almost institutionalized. The main reasons for the rapid increase in population during this period are the high birth rates after the war and the improvements in health and death rates at the beginning of declining births. Again in this period, with the increase in welfare, there was a decrease in mortality and an increase in the average life expectancy. 1950-1960 period to 8% of immigrants from the Balkans from Turkey on the population like even if there is a share (Geray, 1970). Kasarcı (1960) draws attention to this situation and connects the reason for the increase in population growth rate to more than 20% in 1950-1960 period in Thrace where there is a decline between 1940-1950.

Table 3. Country and Urban Population Growth Rate by Years.

Census Year	Country Population	Annual Population Growth Rate (in thousands)	Urban Population	Increase Rate (in Thousands)
1950	20.947.188	21.73	5.244.337	22.47
1960	27.754.820	28.53	8.885.731	49.21
1970	35.605.176	25.01	13.691.101	47.33
1980	44.736.957	20.65	19.645.007	30.47

Source: DIE Statistical Years

In parallel with the increase in the urban population and the total population of the country, the average size of the cities has also changed. In 1935, the average size of the city was 33,000 and 47,612 in 1960. It rose to 49,312 in 1970 and reached 63,532 in 1980 (Figure 1). In addition, according to Keleş (2012), the share of cities with a population of more than 100 thousand from the urban population increased from 43.8% in 1950 to 63.3% in 1980. In other words, in this period, big cities increased their share in the urban population and the big cities grew even more.

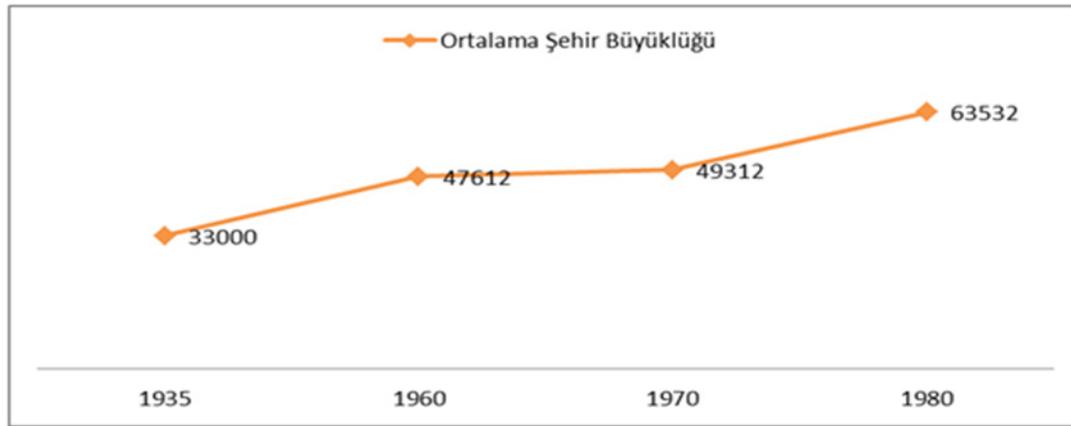


Figure 1. Average City Size Between 1950-1980

Source: It was drawn by the author from Keleş (2012).

Another factor that draws the urbanization dimension of this period is the deterioration of the internal balance of traditional agricultural society in rural areas. The first factor that disrupts this balance in rural areas is population growth based on the reasons explained above. Thus, a flow of migration from the countryside to the city started. The rural population, which has a significant share in the total population, has increased due to the high fertility rate. While the existing agricultural lands remained the same, the number of beneficiaries increased rapidly and there was a migration movement from rural areas to cities, mostly driven by driving factors. During this period of migration from villages to towns and cities, more than one million people left their land (Zürcher, 1998).

Another factor behind this wave of immigration that creates rapid urbanization is the

increase in agricultural mechanization in the countryside due to Marshall Aids. The number of tractors, which was only 1066 in 1940, increased by ten times to 16,585 after 10 years. At the end of the period, this number exceeded 440 thousand. In the same period, the share of the soils cultivated by tractors increased from 0.1% to 51% of the total cultivated agricultural land (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of Tractors and Ratio of Tracted Soils Between 1950-1979

Years	Number of Tractors	Proportion of Tracted Soils To All Agricultural Lands
1940	1066	0,1
1950	16.585	0,9
1960	42.136	14
1970	105.865	33
1979	440.502	51

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

This mechanization in the countryside and the transition to modern agricultural methods have increased the efficiency of the unit area on the one hand and significantly reduced the number of people in the unit area on the other. In addition, it can be added that the soil is now reduced to the extent that it falls below the efficient operating limits. Thus, a considerable rural population, which somehow made a living from its land, was now becoming unemployed. Another noteworthy point here is that not only the landless peasants have left the countryside for the above reasons, but also the small landowners have left their lands and migrated to the city. Small land ownership is a category on the basis of family labor and partially outsourced at harvest time (Erdem and Batmaz 2016; Akman, 2016). Mechanization at this speed has also caused serious unemployment among small landowners. It would not be wrong to say that the steps taken for rural development only developed in favor of the big landowners. Modernization in the field of agriculture in the country, the change of land ownership as a result of the land reform, the increase in rural population and the development of transportation networks accelerated the migration from rural to urban areas in this period (İçduygu&Sirkeci, 1999). This form of migration has not yet completed its industrialization, has not established its infrastructure, has not created a social atmosphere has pushed cities into an unhealthy growth process. This kind of urbanization occurred Keleş (1997); It defines this structure as “agglomeration” or “demographic” urbanization by defining it as population accumulation, which is more than the absorption capacity of the economic and social activities of the city.

Through these driving factors in the countryside, the transportation facilities, which are the driving factors that mobilize the population towards the city and thus to urbanization, have undergone a sharp transformation in this period. Marshall Plan within the framework of Turkey ‘a large part of the funds allocated for transportation to the aid has been spent

on the development of the road network¹. As Kaştan (2016) stated, in this way, the rural area was introduced to the concept of road, and trucks, buses and automobiles started to operate on the roads opened by dozers coming to the country despite soil and stabilization. 47.080 km in 1950 the length of highways reached 61,542 km in 1960. As a result of the large investments made by the state in the highways, the meeting of rural people with the road has also been instrumental in meeting the city. This situation has an undeniable effect on the mobility of the rural population to the city during this period. It contributed to the rapid urbanization process of the period as a forwarding factor. At the same time, the opportunity to move the goods and products obtained from industrial and commercial activities in the city to the countryside was born. However, this situation has made the city an attractive element instead of developing the countryside and stopping the migration and slowing the crooked urbanization. Indeed, Kaştan (2016), in which case the migration flows from town to town aspects, rural to urban areas, from urban, rural and rural areas, it would be for the countryside, but in Turkey the first time in more rural to urban areas because of the relations of production, revealed if the owners of capital as it moved from city to city It puts.

One of the reasons of rapid urbanization in this period is the attractive factors of the city. Tandogan 's (1998), as expressed after the Second World War, the positive developments in the world situation, Turkey's multiparty have started a revival in the economy with democratic life transition and foreign aid and its effects also showed an immediate impact on the demographic structure and hence urbanization. High levels of income, education, health and social opportunities in cities are the phenomenon of attraction that attracts the rural population to the cities. Keles (1997) points out that in 1965, the income per individual in the industrial sector is 4.5 times higher than the income per individual in the agricultural sector in terms of setting an example for this issue. Bulutay et al. (1971) in the same period in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir average household income is 26,470 tl. It states that there are 10,700 tl in cities with a population of more than 500 thousand and this figure decreases up to 8,181 tl in places with a population less than 2000.

Turkey's Ruling against this structure from the 1950-1960 period, urbanization, commercial bourgeoisie and large landowners were shaped in accordance with their own political and economic objectives (Batmaz and Erdem, 2016). Trade-oriented growth of cities rather than industry-based development has brought problems in the city. With the relative prosperity, the resettlement activities in the cities increased and this created the need for relative labor. However, cities were far from employing all those who left their land from the village. As a result, only a small number of immigrants were constantly finding jobs in industry, and most of them were temporary workers or street sellers (Zürcher, 1998). Cities have been shaped in line with the acceleration of industrialization

¹ The total amount of direct Marshall aids used for the railway is 9.882.450 dollars. For the highway, it has used a total of USD 45,372,934 with indirect and direct assistance under the Marshall Plan (Çınar, 2018).

and the redefinition of the strategy of industrialization, the overpopulation of cities, the growth of cities beyond municipal boundaries, and the proliferation of the number and variety of means of urban transport (Osman, 1998; Akman and Meydan, 2018). Urbanization observed in this way; Unemployment, distorted urbanization, infrastructure problems, increase in crime rates, cultural conflicts have created a ball of difficult to solve problems. Again with this rapid urbanization, people who came from the countryside to the city and did not have regular income started the phenomenon of slums. And this effect has started a process that will extend to the present. As Tekeli (2009) states, they have started to make shanty slums, which can easily be reconstructed when they are demolished, in the areas close to the labor market of the city, extending to unfavorable areas with topographical conditions.

The 1960-1970 period was a period in which urbanization continued. The population, which was 27,754,820 in 1960, reached 35,605,176 in 1970. The urban population reached to 13.691.101 with an increase of 65% from 8,885,731 (Table 5).

Table 5. Country Population and Rural-City Population Growth Between 1960-1970

Census Year	Country Population	Rural Population	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population	Urban Population (%)
1960	27.754.820	18.895.089	68	8.859.731	32
1965	31.391.421	20.585.604	66	10.805.817	34
1970	35.605.176	21.914.075	62	13.691.101	38

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

The urban development of this period, like many other cases, was shaped by the May 27 Military Coup and the 1961 constitution. The new constitution emphasizes the social and welfare state. The State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in line with a planned development target. In the first five-year development plan of the State Planning Organization, a balanced development proposal has been put forward between the metropolitan regions defined as big city regions and the scattered and small-scale village settlement structure to eliminate regional disparities (Yılmaz, 2011). In line with the planned development target, the workplaces and industrial facilities in the city centers were moved out of the city. For this purpose, the first Organized Industrial Zone was established in Bursa in 1962 with the support of the World Bank. In this way, industrial facilities within the cities which caused problems such as transportation, settlement and air pollution were moved out of the city collectively. Small industrial estates have started to be built increasingly since the middle of the period.

Although urbanization continues in this period, there is a decrease in the rate of urbanization. There are two factors that cause this situation. The first is the relatively reduced migration to the city by means of various supports from rural areas and the

decrease in birth rates as a result of women entering the business life. The second is that Işık (2005) states that the migration of workers to European countries, particularly Germany, constitutes a separate option for the rural population (Yener, 1974). In 1966, with the law no. 775, the formalization of the slums had a profound impact on the urbanization of the period and the next period (1970-1980). Mutlu (2007) emphasizes that with this law and the laws and amnesties enacted in the 1960s and 1970s, the shanty houses gained infrastructure and became a means of earning rent by gaining legitimacy.

1970-1980 is the period where urbanization rate is the lowest compared to the other two periods (Table 6). The increase rate which was %52.4 in the period of 1950-1960 was %43.5 in the period of 1960-1970. In the 1970-1980 period, this ratio decreased to %36.1.

Table 6. Country Population and Rural-Urban Population Growth Between 1970-1980

Census Year	Country Population	Rural Population	Rural Population (%)	Urban Population	Urban Population (%)
1970	35.605.176	21.914.075	62	13.691.101	38
1975	40.347.719	23.478.651	58	16.869.068	42
1980	44.736.957	25.091.950	56	19.645.007	44

Sources: DIE Statistical Years

In this period, the economic problems experienced since the beginning of 1970s can be cited as the reason for the decrease in the rate of urbanization. After the 1969 general elections, there were government crises, followed by the March 12 Military Memorandum. 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation and after Turkey's 1980 military coup at the end of the embargo applied for the period to again quashed the economic outlook and the country has undergone a period of instability. Undoubtedly, this unstable environment has had quantitative and qualitative effects on urbanization. In this period, the stagnation in the industrial sector which started with the oil crisis and the decrease in labor need caused a decrease in the rate of urbanization (Kapluhan, 2014). As a result of the economic crises, the slowdown in investments and the fall in non-agricultural employment rate decreased the urbanization rate. In addition, the reasons such as unemployment, lack of infrastructure and lack of increase in public services in line with population growth had negative effects on the quality and quantity of urbanization. In the second five-year development plan of the SPO (1968-1972), the idea of supporting urbanization was expressed. It is thought that economic development will be achieved in this way. In addition, cities were evaluated based on employment. Industrialization, urbanization and modernization in agriculture have been evaluated as a whole. In the third five-year development plan (1973-1977), it was emphasized that cities should be a socio-cultural integration area instead of growth in the form of population agglomeration. As Taşdelen (2011) points out, even though the intensification of the industry is only valid for a short

period of time, the demographic urbanization process that occurs only in the form of a population accumulates large infrastructure needs and leads to the shifting of larger shares from these limited investment resources to unproductive areas. This situation causes some problems in terms of economic development. Urbanization that occurs at certain points in the form of accumulation of population, capital and economic activity and which is not generally based on industrialization; the environment, economic and social development process, and the environment can integrate the social and cultural change of the national economy is not qualified.

Conclusion

The concept of the city is one of the most important milestones of human development. Urbanization means more than that. It has much deeper meaning than just a population build-up. The first urban settlements in the world were found in the Middle East, China and Indian basins. There are two different questions: whether agriculture has created and expanded cities, or if masses of people gathered on the axis of religion and power have created agriculture and therefore the city. There are many studies that give different answers to this question. However, it is the Industrial Revolution that accelerates urbanization. To put it more accurately, the city form in the real sense was the first time with the Industrial Revolution. With the Industrial Revolution, fundamental changes have occurred in the scientific, technological, cultural and political structure of humanity. Since the 21st century, globalization has taken urbanization to a different place and the cities of the states have been replaced by city states. Cities are no longer just geographic units performing their classic duties, but they have become independent trade, industry and service-oriented centers.

Turkey's urbanization adventure also refers to the development process of the country. urbanization in Turkey; We can examine the period of stagnation between 1923-1950, the period of explosion between 1950-1980, and the period of complexity and exploration in 1980 and after. In the period covering 1923-1950, the rate of urbanization is not high and the cities have grown with their own internal dynamics. The increase in the urban population is shaped by birth and death rates. Contrary to this situation, the only developing city; Ankara is the capital city where new zoning plans are implemented and the centers of public institutions are moved. During this period, there were only two cities (Istanbul and Izmir) with a population of more than 100 thousand. However, in the context of the etatism principle, the rapid moves seen in industrialization had a sparking effect on the urbanization of the next period. Turkey's rapid population growth from 1950 to 1980, migration, urbanization and rapid recovery seen in the Second World War After living conditions also began a dizzying pace. The urban population, which was around 5 million at the beginning of the period, has increased approximately fourfold. It has also increased twice as fast as the country's population. In parallel with the increase

in the urban population and the total population of the country, the average size of the cities has changed, and the average city size has increased from 63,000 in 1935 to 63,532 in 1980. Another factor affecting the rapid urbanization of this period is the deterioration of the structure of traditional agricultural society in rural areas. Due to the high fertility rate in the rural population, which has a significant share in the total population, the number of people benefiting from agricultural land has increased rapidly and there has been a migration movement from rural areas to cities.

Another issue that supports this situation is the rapid expansion of mechanization and intensive farming methods developed in rural areas through foreign aid funds. The number of tractors, which was only 1066 in 1940, increased by tenfold to 16,585 after 10 years. In addition, it can be added that the soil is now shredded to the extent that it falls below productive operating limits. Thus, a considerable rural population, which somehow made a living from its land, was now becoming unemployed. This form of migration has not yet completed its industrialization, has not established its infrastructure, has not created a social atmosphere has pushed cities into an unhealthy growth process. With these driving factors in the countryside, it has mobilized a serious population towards the city and thus towards urbanization. The transportation facilities, which are the factors that will transmit this population to the cities (transmitting factors), have also undergone a sharp transformation in this period. Turkey in the framework of the Marshall Plan 'to transport a large part of the separated portion of the aid had been spent on the development of the road network. As a result of the large investments made by the state in highways, it became a means of meeting with the rural areas. This situation has an undeniable effect on the orientation of the rural population towards the city in this period. The phenomenon of attraction, which accelerates urbanization, is due to the high level of income, the high level of education, health and social facilities. Turkey was also shaped by political and economic objectives of the 1950-1960 period, the urbanization of the mercantile bourgeoisie and large landowners. Cities have shown trade-oriented growth, not industry-based. Settlement activities in cities have been increasing, which in turn led to the need for relative labor. However, cities were far from employing all those who left their land from the village. Urbanization observed in this way; Unemployment, distorted urbanization, infrastructure problems, increase in crime rates, cultural conflicts have created a ball of difficult to solve problems. Again with this rapid urbanization, people coming from rural to city and not having regular income have started a shantytown phenomenon whose effects will extend until today.

The 1960-1970 period was a period in which urbanization continued. The military coup of 27 May and the 1961 constitution made after it emphasized the social and welfare state. The State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in line with a planned development target. Urbanization activities are shaped accordingly. In line

with the planned development objective, workplaces and industrial facilities in the city centers were moved out of the city through OIZs and Small Industrial Sites. Although urbanization continues in this period, there is a decrease in the rate of urbanization. There are two factors that cause this situation. The first is the relatively reduced migration of the countryside to the city through various supports. In addition, birth rates have decreased as a result of women entering the business life. The second is labor migration to European countries. 1970-1980 is the period when urbanization rate is the lowest compared to the other two periods. The reason for the decrease in the rate of increase in this period is the economic problems experienced since the beginning of 1970s. Military Memorandum of March 12, 1974 and after the Cyprus Peace Operation in Turkey to the embargo and the 1980 military coup overturned the economic outlook and the country has undergone a period of instability. Undoubtedly, this unstable environment has had quantitative and qualitative effects on urbanization. In the second five-year development plan of the SPO (1968-1972), the idea of supporting urbanization was expressed. It is thought that economic development will be achieved in this way. In addition, cities are evaluated on employment basis. Industrialization, urbanization and modernization in agriculture have been evaluated as a whole.

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