

Comparative Analysis of Socio-Economic Transformations in Affordable Housing Projects

A Case Study of Koşuyolu and Selamsız in Istanbul

Abstract

Following the Second World War, rapid and economical housing production emerged as a key challenge for Istanbul's growing population. In the 1950s, municipal efforts resulted in the construction of affordable housing in Koşuyolu and Selamsız, two neighboring districts. Built with similar aims and designs, these settlements shared common features in their plan layouts, building sizes, and massing characteristics. However, the transformation of these housing projects and their surrounding areas has followed divergent trajectories over time, shaped by distinct socio-economic dynamics. Changes in land use, demographics, and functional or commercial differentiations have altered spatial arrangements, settlement character, and building usage patterns in both districts, with Selamsız largely retaining its original character, while Koşuyolu has undergone significant transformations. This study examines these transformations, highlighting how economic and societal dynamics in both districts and their surroundings influence the preservation of 20th century modern housing heritage.

Introduction

Following the Second World War, Istanbul faced a significant housing crisis, exacerbated by rapid urbanization and population growth. In response, low-cost housing settlements were established in key locations to balance affordability and accessibility. Among these initiatives, Selamsız and Koşuyolu stand out as notable examples of mid-20th century housing projects. Despite their geographic proximity and common roots as affordable housing projects, these neighborhoods have undergone divergent transformations over the decades, shaped by contrasting socio-economic, spatial, and demographic dynamics.

By examining Selamsız and Koşuyolu within the broader framework of Istanbul's urban history and the challenges of preserving modern housing heritage, this study highlights the intersections of socio-economic dynamics, physical transformations, and cultural identities. Through a comparative lens, it investigates how these factors have shaped the trajectories of the two neighborhoods and draws attention to critical aspects

of the preservation and transformation of 20th century housing settlements in rapidly changing urban environments. While there are separate studies on both areas, the main focus of this article is to analyze the socio-economic transformations that have led to their differing trajectories, while also exploring the variable dynamics shaped by their immediate surroundings and offering a comparative perspective for the preservation of 20th century modern housing heritage.

Historical Context and Architectural Development

Selamsız and Koşuyolu, although geographically close, are situated in different districts—Üsküdar and Kadıköy, respectively—and both benefit from strategic locations near major transport routes, connecting them efficiently to central areas. Comparing historical maps from before the housing projects began with more recent ones highlights 60 years of urban transformation in the urban fabric, providing insight into both the strategic positioning of these settlements and the broader changes observed in their surrounding urban context.

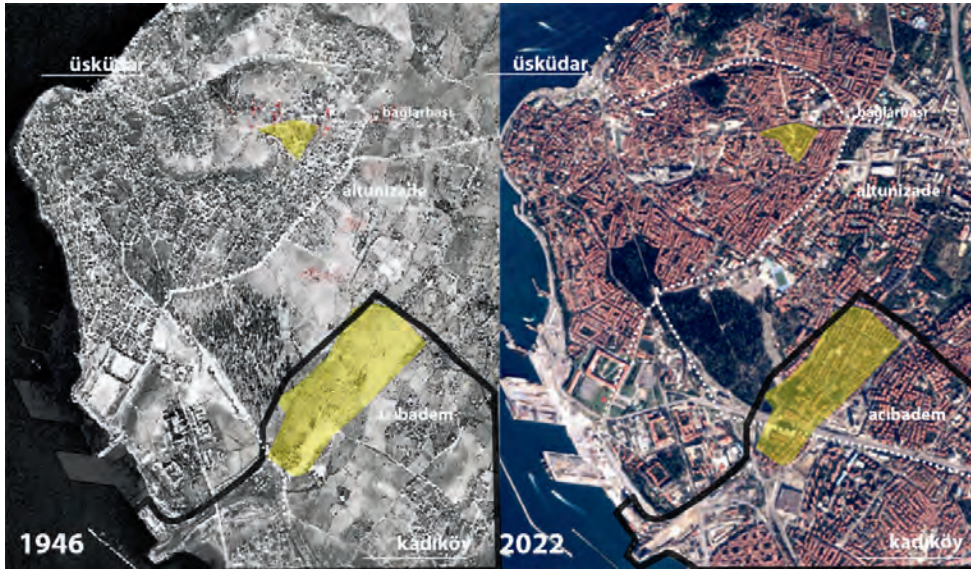


Fig. 1: Location of Koşuyolu and Selamsız before and after the housing projects. Left: orthophoto 1946; Right: satellite image 2022

(Fig. 1). Early 20th century maps depict Selamsız¹ as a distinct area, marked by churches, schools, and cemeteries. Aerial photographs reveal rapid urbanization following the construction of low-cost housing developments. Today, Selamsız' low-cost housing is situated in Üsküdar-Bağlarbaşı, surrounded by notable landmarks such as the Bağlarbaşı Congress and Culture Center, a historical police station, and a high school. This area, which is integrated into Üsküdar's historical urban structure, comprises single- and two-storey houses, each with private gardens. In contrast, Koşuyolu, which takes its name from Ottoman-era horse tracks, began appearing on maps as "Koşuyolu Street" in the early 20th century, gradually evolving into a residential area. Aerial photographs reveal the settlement's well-defined boundaries and the rapid development of surrounding areas. Currently, Koşuyolu, located in Kadıköy, spans both sides of the D100 highway, and the neighborhood is characterized by its organized settlement pattern amidst dense urban development. Major roads such as

Koşuyolu Avenue have shaped its growth and continue to serve as key transport axes.

In fact, the settlements and transformations observed in Selamsız and Koşuyolu are the results of a process that began in the 1940s. By the late 1940s, Istanbul was confronted with a housing crisis, with deteriorating wooden structures and increasing immigration from rural areas.² The growing demand prompted affordable housing initiatives near the city center. During this process, vacant lands in Koşuyolu and Selamsız were identified for residential development. In 1950, the Istanbul municipality convened to address housing and urban planning issues, establishing commissions and passing laws to facilitate affordable housing production. The first plans, announced in 1951, included 100 houses in Koşuyolu, 50 in Selamsız, and another 50 in Fatih (the latter project was later cancelled), with the construction of Selamsız low-cost housing beginning in 1951 and the houses being completed and allocated via lottery by 1952.³ Subsequent phases involved housing co-

- 1 Although the neighborhood is officially named Selami Ali Mahallesi, it is more commonly known as Selamsız, meaning "without a greeting" or "without peace". This name originates from Sheikh Selami Ali, a 17th century Sufi Sheikh of the Celveti Order, who was known for not greeting people in public. His dergah (lodge) was located in the area, and his tomb remains there today. Mustafa Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi* [History of Sufism and Sufi Orders], Istanbul 1990 (Kara 1990); Mustafa Tatçı, *Selâmi Ali Efendi. Hayatı, Tarikat-Nâmesi ve Vakfiyyesi* [Selâmi Ali Efendi. His life, his order's writings and foundation charter], Istanbul 2006 (Tatçı 2006).
- 2 Burak Öztürk, *Selamsız Ucuz Evleri* [Sozialwohnungen in Selamsız], in: *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu XI Bildiriler I* [Proceedings of the 11th International Üsküdar Symposium I], 2023, pp. 601–603 (Öztürk 2023).
- 3 Newspapers: *Ucuz evler* [Social housing], *Milliyet*, 26.04.1951, p. 2; *Ucuz Evlerin Kurası Çekildi* [The Lottery for Affordable Homes Has Been Held], *Cumhuriyet*, 27.09.1952, p. 6.



Fig. 2: Phases of Selamsız low-cost housing, satellite image 2022



Fig. 3: Phases of Koşuyolu housing settlement, satellite image 2022

operatives which constructed single- and two-storey homes based on standardized designs.⁴ In contrast, the Koşuyolu project is divided into three sections, including “Municipality Houses” (which also include the “Workers’ Houses” and “Dock Workers’ Houses”), “Credit Edifice Fund Houses”, and “Bank Houses”. Later phases⁵ of the “Municipality Houses” were developed at various stages by housing cooperatives. These areas accommodated over 400 units and incorporated social amenities such as parks, school, nursery, cinema, and marketplaces. Subsequent phases were executed by housing cooperatives, with construction completed by 1958 (Figs. 2 and 3).

Both settlements are highly valuable in terms of their architectural characteristics, the needs they addressed, and the purposes and qualities they embodied during their respective periods, making them significant for Turkey’s 20th century housing heritage. Selamsız, for instance, reflects the early attempts to address housing needs in Istanbul, showcasing a minimalist architectural style with repeating row-house typologies due to the need for lower construction costs.⁶ By contrast, Koşuyolu reflects the urban planning ideals of its time by integrating housing with social and commercial spaces, while its architectural simplicity was conceived alongside this planning approach to meet the housing

4 After the construction of the initial 50 houses by the Istanbul municipality, the process was carried out by housing cooperatives. In 1957, the *Electricity, Gas, and Motor Vehicle Workers Union Construction Cooperative* published a tender for the construction of 13 single-storey and 12 two-storey houses. In 1958, the *Istanbul Union of Workers Construction Cooperative* announced its plan to build 56 two-storey houses. In the second and third phases, the buildings constructed by housing cooperatives followed identical plan types. The single-storey houses were designed as single-family homes, while the two-storey houses were arranged so that the ground and first floors were designated for different users; Burak Öztürk, *Selamsız Ucuz Evler Yerleşimi [Selamsız Low-Cost Housing Settlement]*, in: *Betonart* 65, 2020, pp. 18–28 (Öztürk 2020).

5 The “Municipality Houses” part of Koşuyolu includes over 400 houses of various sizes, constructed using mixed building techniques to serve lower- and middle-income groups. The smaller houses within the “Municipality Houses” are referred to as “Workers’ Houses”, and construction of these houses was completed in 1955. The “Dock Workers’ Houses”, located on Cenap Şahabettin Street, were built in 1962 by the *Istanbul Dockers’ Labour Union Cooperative*. These two-storey houses, in line with the affordable housing purpose, consist of simple prismatic masses with gable roofs and are accessed by a few steps. The third and smallest part, the “Credit Edifice Fund Houses”, is located to the south of the “Municipality Houses”. They were completed and delivered in June 1958; Hasan Şener / Dilek Yıldız, *Dünden Bugüne Koşuyolu [Koşuyolu – From Yesterday to Today]*, in: *Mimarlık*, 2000, pp. 26–37 (Şener / Yıldız 2000); Yıldız Salman, *Koşuyolu: İstanbul’da Bir Modern Mahalle [Koşuyolu: A modern neighborhood in Istanbul]*, in: *Dosya* 43, 2019, pp. 164–172 (Salman 2019); Yeşim Erdal / Huriye İlke Alatl / Aslı Kırbaş / Yıldız Salman, *Kadıköy’ün Genişleyen Sınırları: Koşuyolu [The growing borders of Kadıköy: Koşuyolu]*, in: *Betonart* 65, 2020, pp. 6–17 (Erdal / Alatl / Kırbaş / Salman 2020).

6 Mehmet Rifat Akbulut and Zafer Akay describe the Selamsız affordable houses as a “*neighbourhood protected from transit traffic by its residential scheme, like an oasis in an otherwise densely populated area*”; Mehmet Rifat Akbulut / Zafer Akay, *Halk İçin Tasarlamak: Seyfi Arkan’ın Şehirciliği ve Ucuz Konut Projeleri [Designing for the People: Seyfi Arkan’s Urban Planning and Affordable Housing Projects]*, in: Ali Cengizkan / Müge Cengizkan / Derin İnan / Seyfi Arkan (Eds.), *Modernist Açılımda Bir Öncü: Seyfi Arkan [A Pioneer of Modern Progress: Seyfi Arkan]*, pub. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2012, pp. 231–248.

needs of low- and middle-income groups.⁷ The involvement of housing cooperatives in both settlements further emphasizes their importance in the history of social housing.

However, data compiled from research conducted between the early 2000s and 2021 reveals striking impacts of negative physical and functional transformations in both areas. By 2019, 81% of buildings in the Selamsız low-cost housing project area remained, with 80% still in residential use and 15% in commercial use. However, by 2021, demolitions had escalated, leaving only 71% in residential use. Adapted buildings such as cafés, clinics, and kindergartens became concentrated along the main streets. In Koşuyolu, in 2000, 28% of buildings retained their original state, but this declined to 21% by 2018. Residential use decreased from 79% to 49%, while commercial use rose from 17% to 40%.⁸ Over 230 houses lost their residential function within 18 years, reflecting rapid and uncontrolled transformation.⁹

Analysis of the Transformation Dynamics

When examining the causes and dynamics of these transformations through the lens of structures that have retained their residential function, two similar yet distinct socio-economic scenarios emerge

(Figs. 4 and 5). The transformations in Selamsız housing are primarily related to evolving household needs. Constructed nearly 70 years ago, during a period when household appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines were uncommon, the original designs lacked space for modern amenities. Over time, residents added extensions to backyards and constructed additional floors. Entrance canopies, absent in the original designs, were widely added. New heating systems were installed, and wooden windows were replaced with PVC frames and steel doors to meet modern performance requirements.¹⁰

In Koşuyolu, by contrast, the transformations are more closely linked to the changing resident profile. Originally built for lower- and middle-income groups, Koşuyolu has transitioned into a residential area for higher-income groups, leading to extensive modifications. Original features have undergone significant alterations, with front gardens converted into parking spaces, balcony enclosures becoming widespread, and façade cladding frequently applied. Many houses have been replaced with new buildings or extensively renovated, rendering the original 1950s designs unrecognizable.¹¹

The socio-economic dynamics and underlying processes behind the transition of structures from residential to commercial use also exhibit notable differences. In Selamsız, buildings have increasingly been adapted for

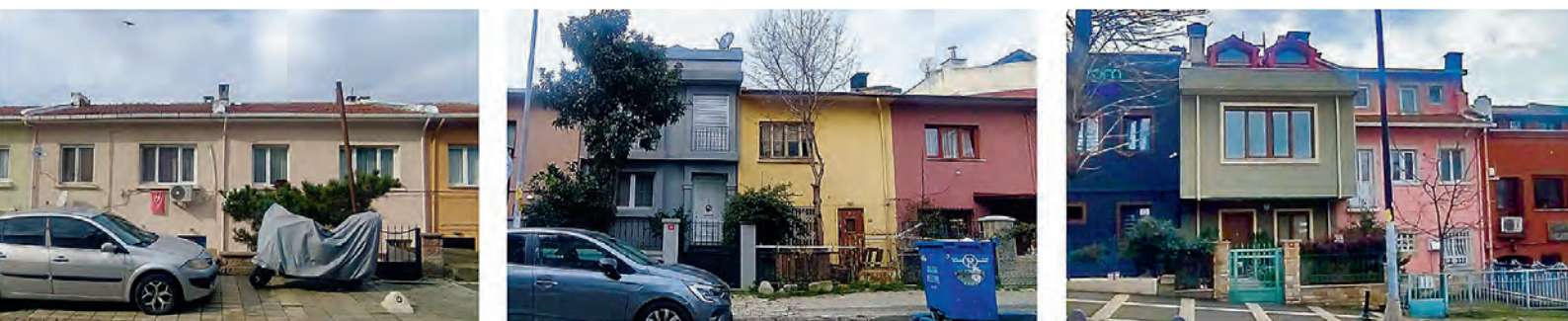


Fig. 4: Transformation of Selamsız housing, residential and commercial uses, 2025

- 7 In various brochures prepared by Emlak Bankası during that period, the Koşuyolu housing was described as: “Built in a beautiful natural setting [...] Amidst fresh air and natural beauty [...] beautifully designed buildings with scenic views, arranged in a way that will offer their residents the opportunity to live in tranquillity and happiness”. Şener / Yıldız 2000, p. 28.
- 8 Moreover, data shared by MAYADER in 2019 further confirms this pattern of uncontrolled transformation. According to their findings, residential use in Koşuyolu had declined to 34%, while commercial use had surged to 49%. The proportion of original buildings stood at just 17%, with newly constructed buildings making up 67%; Nükhet Eren / Nermin Ketenci, Koşuyolu Hatırası [Memories of Koşuyolu], pub. Kadıköy Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2023 (Eren / Ketenci, 2023); MAYADER (Neighbourhood Life Association).
- 9 The analysis used statistical data from research conducted at different times and by different groups, Şener / Yıldız 2000, pp. 33–35; Salman 2019, p. 169; Öztürk 2020, pp. 25 f.; Erdal / Alatlı / Kırbaş / Salman 2020, p. 14; Hatice Yasemin Çakır / Nabi Volkan Gür, Examination of interventions and defects on façades: The case of Selamsız low-cost mass housing in İstanbul, Türkiye, in: Journal of Architectural Sciences and Applications 8, Issue 2, 2023, pp. 847–864 (Çakır / Gür 2023).
- 10 Öztürk 2023, p. 610; Çakır / Gür 2023, pp. 857–860.
- 11 Şener / Yıldız 2000, p. 37.



Fig. 5: Transformation of Koşuyolu housing, residential and commercial uses, 2025

commercial purposes, hosting preschools, dental clinics, and cafés. This trend is particularly noticeable on Gazi and Yeniocak Street, where detached houses provide favorable conditions for small businesses. In Koşuyolu, however, the shift is closely tied to infrastructure investments in the surrounding area. The construction of the Bosphorus Bridge in the 1970s integrated Koşuyolu into Istanbul's broader urban fabric. On old mansion lands in its vicinity, such as Validebağ and Acıbadem, dense apartment complexes began to develop. Rising land values and increased demand for commercial activities, driven by a growing population, accelerated the shift from residential to commercial functions, especially along Koşuyolu Avenue. Today, the area is dominated by small-scale businesses, including offices and preschools, with commercial activity spreading deeper into the neighborhood. Unfortunately, throughout this process, due to the lack of legal protection, the preservation of original structures and attempts to control urban development pressures have been achieved through zoning regulations only.¹²

Impact of Surrounding Context on Urban Change

However, to fully understand these processes, it is essential to examine not only the area itself but also the dynamics of its surrounding context. Historically,

Selamsız has been recognized as a neighborhood predominantly inhabited by Romani communities. While rapid urbanization has transformed much of the area's traditional fabric, the neighborhood and its surroundings retain the character of the original Romani settlement, despite the declining Romani population.¹³ For centuries, Selamsız has been known as one of Istanbul's Romani settlements, with its origins believed to date back to the mid-18th century.¹⁴ Although there is no clear information about why the Romani people settled in this area, demographic data found in court records indicates that the neighborhood has a heterogeneous structure in terms of religious affiliation and ethnicity. Before the Romani settlement, this area was historically inhabited by Armenians and Greeks during the Ottoman period, and this diversity is still reflected in the remaining churches and schools. It is probable that this heterogeneous environment influenced the Romani's choice to settle in the area.¹⁵

Over time, Selamsız became recognized as a Romani slum. Although mass housing projects such as the Selamsız low-cost housing were intended to improve living conditions, they ultimately failed to fully resolve the underlying issues. Today, the Bağlarbaşı region continues to be home to a Romani population facing urban decay, unhealthy houses, insecure land tenure, and ongoing challenges. However, the area's low educational

¹² In Selamsız, zoning limits imposed by the Üsküdar municipality restrict new constructions to a maximum height of 6.5 meters, mitigating profit-driven development despite the absence of legal protection. However, the loss of structures highlights ongoing risks. In Koşuyolu, while the 1997 zoning plans limited building heights to 6.5 meters in interior parts, they allowed additional storeys along Koşuyolu Avenue, contributing to the loss of original structures. The 2022 plans now aim to limit commercial uses to preserve the neighborhood's character, Öztürk 2020, p. 26; Yıldız / Şener 2000, p. 33; Kadıköy district 1/5000 scale revised master zoning plan for Koşuyolu, Acıbadem, and Hasanpaşa neighborhoods, approved in 2022, <https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/kadikoy-ilcesi-acibadem-kosuyolu-ve-hasanpasa-revizyon-nazim-imar-planı-ibb-meclisince-onaylandı/> (21.01.2025).

¹³ Tuna Baltacıoğlu, Bağlarbaşı, in: *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopaedia of Istanbul from Past to Present], Vol. 1, İstanbul 1993, p. 534.

¹⁴ Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar* [Üsküdar in the course of the centuries], Vol. 1, İstanbul 2001, p. 448.

¹⁵ Fatıma Kübra Akyüz, *Üsküdar Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında XVII. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Çingeneler* [Die Roma im İstanbul des 17. Jahrhunderts im Licht der Gerichtsakten von Üsküdar], Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul 2020.

and income levels, combined with its associations with drug abuse and crime, have contributed to its isolated character and negative public perception. Considering the community profile and user dynamics in the area, this situation explains why, despite its advantageous location, Selamsız did not become a speculative investment hub and managed to maintain its cultural identity as one of the established Romani neighborhoods in Üsküdar, with vibrant street weddings and outdoor social activities. On the other hand, as most buildings (with the exception of historical structures) are illegal and ageing, the displacement of the Romani community due to upcoming physical transformations appears inevitable.¹⁶ With expected changes in the surrounding area, Selamsız faces the risk of becoming a new site for profit-driven development.

In Koşuyolu, the dynamics of the surrounding area progress along a different axis. The Koşuyolu housing settlement emerged as a distinct neighborhood amidst wheat fields and meadows in the early 1950s, subsequently transforming the area into a residential settlement. Before infrastructure developments triggered urban growth, nearby areas such as Validebağ and Acıbadem had vacant lands and old mansions. The Acıbadem area, once known for its meadows, vineyards, gardens, and mansions, was revitalized with the settlement of Koşuyolu and the construction of houses in the 1950s. This development accelerated after the mid-1960s with the opening of new roads and the Bosphorus Bridge, raising land and rent prices.¹⁷ By the 1980s, the expansion of Acıbadem Street and rapid development transformed the area into a densely populated residential region. After the 1990s, increasing apartment complexes and gated communities further altered the area's social structure. Many Koşuyolu residents moved away, and commercial activities replaced housing functions. In recent years, buildings originally meant for residential use have been converted into offices and commercial properties due to increasing commercial demand. The settlement, now surrounded by multi-storey blocks, rapidly transformed to accommodate the growing service sector. Over the past 50

years, building density has increased, green spaces have diminished, land use has changed, and the social profile has shifted from lower-income to higher-income groups.¹⁸ As a result, street patterns, building types, and architectural styles have evolved.

Following these intense and powerful influences, Koşuyolu faces a much more profound transformation compared to Selamsız. The shift from residential to commercial use, with buildings being converted into offices, cafés, and restaurants, has irrevocably altered its architectural character. Enhanced transportation and the influx of higher-income residents attracted by new functions have led to increased land and rent prices, as well as a shift in the social profile. Koşuyolu's emergence as a central point in the city has increased its commercial value, resulting in the conversion of residential buildings into profitable commercial properties. This transformation has displaced lower-income residents and attracted new investors, particularly around major transportation routes. An interesting fact is that, like Selamsız, Koşuyolu also had an old Romani neighborhood dating back to the Ottoman period. However, with the area's rapid transformation, the Romani residents were displaced in the 1990s due to concerns that their presence would lower property values.¹⁹ This highlights the different paces of transformation in both areas and also offers insights into the potential future of Selamsız.

Current Realities and Conservation Challenges

In the aftermath of all these developments, it is hardly possible to refer to any comprehensive study of the current residents (owners or tenants) of either Selamsız or Koşuyolu. Information about the initial inhabitants of the low-cost housing in Selamsız is limited, and there is a lack of data on the current residents and building uses. However, certain elements become apparent when attempting to understand the social classes in these areas. Field observations reveal that most residents belong to low-income groups, as indicated by the

16 Gökhan Gelişen / Duygu Bircan, *Kentsel Dönüşüm ile Sürdürülebilir Kent Önerileri ve Selamsız Örneği* [Proposals for a Sustainable City in the Context of Urban Transformation: The Example of Selamsız], in: *Kent Akademisi* 12, Issue 3, 2019, pp. 501–518.

17 Mehmet Rifat Akbulut, *Koşuyolu*, in: *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5, İstanbul 1994, p. 79.

18 Reyhan Suoğlu, *Koşuyolu Yerleşiminin Oluşumu ve Gelişimi* [The Formation and Development of the Koşuyolu Settlement], İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul 2009.

19 Gamze Bayhan Ihringer / Nermin Ketenci, *Sekenesi Şen Bir Mahalleydi Koşuyolu* [Koşuyolu was a lively neighborhood], in: *İstanbul Dergisi* 58, 2007, pp. 128–131; Egemen Yılıgür, *İstanbul Çingeneleri: Karşılıksız Bir Aşk Hikayesi* [İstanbul's Roma: An Unrequited Love Story], in: *İstanbul Dergisi* 57, 2007, pp. 34–39.

condition of the building façades, construction materials, and added garages. While the area increasingly assumes a mixed-use character with the emergence of small-scale businesses such as preschools, dental clinics, and cafés, the fact that these businesses primarily serve low-income clientele reinforces assumptions about the area's socioeconomic profile.

In Koşuyolu, by contrast, middle- and low-income residents²⁰ have moved away, replaced by more profitable commercial functions such as cafés, bars, and offices, which has driven up land and rent values. The nature of structural and material modifications to residential buildings further confirms their appropriation by higher-income groups. The proliferation of high-rise complexes in Koşuyolu and its surrounding areas has led to an increase in commercial establishments, while the changing social fabric and the growing needs of higher-income residents have driven the rise of large-scale chain stores in the region.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that these class-based transformations and mobilities present both advantages and disadvantages. Analyses of preservation and deterioration reveal significant insights when considering both residential and commercial functions. Selamsız's reputation as an "unsafe" and isolated area has served to limit external interventions, in turn keeping land and rental values low. This has attracted lower-income residents, whose limited resources result in fewer structural alterations and thus a slower transformation of the original architectural fabric.

In contrast, Koşuyolu's increasing demand for commercial spaces has led to rising land values, attracting middle- and high-income groups. These wealthier residents, with greater economic power, have made extensive structural modifications, accelerating architectural transformations. This situation defines an interrelated relationship between rising rents, high-income groups, commercial activities, and the pace of architectural modifications. Thus, Koşuyolu's visibility and desirability can be seen as disadvantages, driving rapid physical changes. Meanwhile, Selamsız's marginalized status

has kept it largely unchanged, as the lower-income groups have limited capacity for major modifications, thereby helping preserve its architectural character. This outcome presents a remarkable and noteworthy observation.

Conclusions and Further Considerations

As a swift and decisive measure, legal mechanisms may be considered as a means of preserving these areas, such as declaring them protected sites. To secure legal protection, these areas could be designated as urban conservation sites with specific conservation approaches for existing buildings, along with new detailed regulations and restrictions for any new construction in these areas.

However, beyond such proposals, these areas invite us to consider deeper questions regarding the preservation of modern housing settlements in conjunction with their social and economic dynamics, not only within the settlements themselves but also in their broader contexts. For instance, what socio-economic turning points has Koşuyolu experienced, and how have these turning points affected the preservation of its modern housing heritage, its residents, and its immediate surroundings? Alternatively, how has its surrounding environment played a role in Koşuyolu's transformation? Has the resident profile of Selamsız and the social perception it generates (which might be deemed unattractive by profit-driven investors) contributed to the preservation of the area?

Moreover, has Selamsız's self-contained character, by preventing or delaying its transformation, turned into a form of advantage? Engaging with these questions can provide critical insights into the future trajectory of these neighborhoods. Moreover, such discussions emphasize that conservation and intervention efforts should extend beyond the physical structures to encompass the broader socio-economic and cultural dimensions of these settlements.

20 The original inhabitants of Koşuyolu houses included middle-income groups such as teachers and civil servants, as well as lower-income worker groups who became homeowners, particularly through processes managed by cooperatives. Insights into both the lifestyles and class characteristics of these early residents can also be gleaned from the content of the study titled "Koşuyolu Hatırası" (Memories of Koşuyolu), which features the recollections of the area's first residents; Eren / Ketenci 2023, p. 93.