

The Slum and Urbanization Challenges: The Case of Gazi Baba¹

“For long time I've traveled through the province of Rumelia and I have visited many a beautiful city. I was impressed by the blessings of God, but nothing has impressed, surprised and excited me so much as the wonderful city, Skopje, through which passes the river Vardar”.

(The Turkish travel writer Deliger Zede, XVII-th century)

“Gazi Baba, just like Chair municipality is a ghetto. It is Balkan's Gaza.”

(Gazi Baba resident, September 2013)

1. Introduction

In the literature of urban sociology slum is defined as a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing, as a squalid section of a city, characterized by inferior living conditions and usually by overcrowding, usually a densely populated urban area marked by dirty run-down housing, poverty, and social disorganization. This description is in total accordance with the reality of Skopje's non-urbanised or shanty neighborhoods, Gazi Baba (Chair Municipality) one of the capital's lifespaces where people live in very low life conditions, where the urban planning and quality of life are only imaginary syntagms. Substandard housing and unsanitary conditions are the *differentia speciffica* of Gazi Baba, an urban zone mainly populated by ethnical Albanians.

In this paper, by using different methods, we will try to focus on the status and perspectives of real urbanization of this non-urbanized urban geography. Qualitative and quantitative data will be used to make proper analysis and solutions will be offered to the public opinion and institutions in order to improve the policies toward urban revitalization, toward objective

* Associate Professor, South East European University, Tetovo, Macedonia. (a.pajaziti@seeu.edu.mk, alipajaziti.net)

** Researcher, M.A. in international relations, NGO “Fluent”, Skopje (muhammed_j88@hotmail.com).

¹ Paper presented at XI. Public Administration Forum (KAYFOR XI), Samsun, Turkey, October 31-2 November, 2013 (Published in XIth KAYFOR Book of Proceedings, TODAİE, Ankara, p. 314-323, ISBN: 978-975-8918-62-1)

and subjective quality of life for the inhabitants of Gazi Baba and Skopians in general.

Keywords: *slum, Gazi Baba, fake urban planning, discrimination, urban revitalization*

2. The slum and urbanization

The slum implies a crowded urban area with nonstandard residential conditions and impurities. It represents a severe form of urban segregation, of the grouping of residents of an area or neighborhood-based on class basis, as opposed to the ghetto that is a type of ethnic grouping. Slums can be found in all cities, whether they are old or new, planned or unplanned, big or small, and the bigger the city the bigger the slums are. It would be wrong to presume that slums are found in poor, developing countries only, for they are to be found in equal measure in some of the most developed countries of the world like the US, Canada, France, Italy (see: Whyte, 1943) etc. The word slum is a 'catchall' for poor housing of every kind as well as a label for the environment (Rao, 1990:2-3). The United Nations characterises slums/informal settlements by one or more of the following:

- Poor structural quality and durability of housing
- Insufficient living areas (more than three people sharing a room)
- Lack of secure tenure
- Poor access to water
- Lack of sanitation facilities

Other terms signifying slum in various world languages include: *shanty town, favela, rookery, gecekondü, skid row, barrio, ghetto, bidonville, taudis, bandas de miseria, barrio marginal, morro, loteamento, barraca, musseque, tugurio, solares, mudun safi, karyan, medina achouaia, brarek, ishash, galoos, tanake, baladi, hrushebi, chalis, katras, zopadpattis, bustee, estero, looban, dagatan, umjondolo, watta, udukku, chereka bete* etc. (Tibajuka, 2003:30) As examples of slums, the first of which was formed in New York in 1925, we can mention: Dharavi (India), Kibera (Kenia), Makoko (Nigeria), Tai Hang (Hong Kong), Rocinha (Brazil), Cardboard City (Serbia), Azbat al-Hijana (Egypt), Gaziosmanpaşa (Turkey), Lapraka (Tirana), Shuto Orizari (Macedonia)... The largest slum in the world is to be found in Mexico City. There is not a definition accepted by all for slums as a

specific phenomenon, as unorganized areas which, according to Queen and Thomas, are synonymous with "destroyed area". Some say that the term "destroyed" should be used only for uninhabited spaces, whereas slums should indicate inhabited ones. They can be regarded as living spaces of substandard and deplorable living conditions. David Hunter says that the main features of these neighborhoods are poverty, overcrowding, racial concentration, criminality and isolation. An abandoned house, even in the highest degree of destruction, doesn't fit the description. The term "living conditions" has more to do with living standards than with the physical appearance of a building.

There are three types of slums: (1) The "originator slum", an area in which buildings unfit for living were built from the beginning and can not be repaired but have to be demolished. An example of this is the Mexican neighborhood in Wichita.

(2) The second type is created with the migration of middle and high class families to other regions, following the deterioration of the region. South End in Boston City is typical for this type, which is difficult to plan for rehabilitation, but not in condition for overall demolition. Rehabilitation is a matter of administrative and social organization (liability of owners to renew their homes, to clean yards, to remove waste, to reduce the number of rooms for rent, limiting the number of people, of tenants, limiting permits for alcohol bars to a reasonable number).

(3) The third type, the most unfit for living, constitutes a short-lived phenomenon. In this kind of neighborhood one encounters houses in decay, one-night shelters, public houses, illegal alcohol bars. A neighborhood of this type is peopled by bystanders, sluggards, thugs, wanderers, vagabonds, chronic alcoholics, beggars, incorrigible criminals. The "economic" activities here are run by owners of bars and gambling clubs, pawn owners, drug dealers, prostitutes. This type of neighborhood poses strong resistance to rehabilitation. These areas of disorganized lifestyle or informal social organization, with severe living conditions, are ruled by underground gangsters; there lives the lowest social class, poverty and loud noise (from screams, laughter and loud music), filth and misery prevail. According to Anna Tibaijuka around a billion people in the world today live in slums, while after 2030 this number could double. (Aceski, 1995: 400-406 in Pajaziti, 2009)

One of the features of every slum is the "shanty", a house built quickly and without order, without taste, almost without any infrastructure, set up on public or private land without permission from the relevant authorities. The occurrence of these buildings that are born overnight is

specific to areas where urbanization is fast and unsystematic. This faulty structuring that occurs in suburban areas and shelters the so-called new citizens, is a consequence of the lack of housing, one that causes physical damage among other things. Constructions with no plan and tasteless undermine tourism too. The shanty represents neither the city nor the village. People living in these settlements have problems with employment, infrastructure, education of children and adaption to the new environment. They try to imitate the consumer citizen ways of clothing and usually tend to be volatile and highly politicized. Residents of these settlements, which are intermediate zones between the town and the country, retain ties to rural areas of origin, forming small communities with geographical origin as a starting point. The “shanty style” is related to internal displacement and brings along many social troubles, from economic problems to the terror of big cities. (Erkal, 1997: 119-120 in Pajaziti, 2009)

3. Gazi Baba: A little history

Like any large settlement, Skopje also consists of numerous municipalities and neighborhoods. Among the most popular neighborhoods in Skopje is the extraordinarily dense neighborhood called Gazi Baba. Speaking or writing about Skopje without mentioning Gazi Baba is nonsense. Gazi Baba is "Catena Mundi"; Ali, Marko, Senad, Damir, Taner played together until recently in this neighborhood bring together Albanians, Macedonians, Turks and Bosniaks, Muslims and Christians.

The neighborhood lies on the left bank of river Vardar and is located at the heart of the old Skopje. From the center of the city one can see the green hill over the neighborhood, known as the Mount Gazi Baba among the population. It is worth noting that the hill was used as a cemetery in the past, until '60s, by residents of the neighborhood of Gazi Baba as well as of other neighborhoods of Skopje. A part of the Muslim population of Skopje even used to grow livestock and crops on the hill of Gazi Baba. The hill today belongs to the municipality of Gazi Baba.²

The oldest document that talks about Gazi Baba neighborhood, dates from 1544. (Богоевиќ-Кумбараџи, 1998:64) The great

² The municipality of Gazi Baba, is one of 10 municipalities of the City of Skopje. It was formed in 1976, and was called with that name precisely because of the hill it includes. Except for the greybearded hardly would anyone think that a cemetery lied on the hill of Gazi Baba once, any trace having been erased.

neighborhood of Gazi Baba - populated mainly by Muslim Albanians - bears the name of one of renowned scholars and fighters in the history of Islam who lived at the time of the Ottoman Empire. It is about Muhammad Ali Netai, a native of Baghdad, whose lineage is supposed to go back to the Messenger of God, Muhammad (SAW). During the Ottoman period, in XVI-th century, Muhammad Ali Netai's family migrated from Baghdad to Bursa. After completing higher education in religious scholarship, Muhammad Ali Netai was appointed as *qadi* in the capital of Kosovo Vilayet, in Skopje, and later in Prishtina.

After some time Muhammad Ali Netai turns back to Skopje as *qadi* again. When the need appeared to take part in a battle, Muhammad Ali Netai directly participated in the war under the Ottoman army. After coming back to Skopje as a *ghazi* (veteran), he retook the position he had, but thereafter was called Gazi Baba, and sometimes also Qadi Father (Baba) as well. After he died Muhammad Ali Netai, known as Gazi Baba, was buried in the small hill in Skopje which later took the name of Gazi Baba. The tomb of Muhammad Ali Netai is known as *türbe* (the mausoleum) to the old citizens of Skopje.

4. Gazibabans: The youth of urban troubles

During the fifty years of the one party system, and even after the '90s, after the independence of Macedonia, from the central government there was almost no investment at all in the neighborhood of Gazi Baba, as well as in other neighborhoods³ of Chair municipality⁴. The narrow streets of Gazi Baba are like bee nests and the houses low (Mehmeti, 2011:223), without any proper urban adjustment.

Unlike other neighborhoods⁵ of Skopje that meet all requirements and standards, with parks and space for children, the children in Gazi Baba never had that luxury!! Over time the youth of Gazi Baba were adopted to those neighborhoods and narrow streets, where everyone who passes around them will likely hear the the most strange events stories that make one laugh and cry. Many young people of this neighborhood did not live a youth as their Macedonian peers. Since a young age, in order to ensure their living, these guys used to spend the day in the streets of Bitpazar to sell their "merchandise", mainly cigarettes, soft

³ Serava, Dijon, etc.

⁴ One of Skopje's 10 municipalities.

⁵ Neighborhoods like Aerodrome, Karposh, Kisela Voda, etc.

drinks or chewing gum! Such experience is the lot of many a boy in the neighborhood to this day.

In most cases those children would go back home crying, because they had just come out of the Bitapazar police station, while the "merchandise" was, of course, confiscated. Simply, they grew up without a childhood.

But despite all this, they took pride on their origin. "Gazibabans" as Gazi Baba young people prefer to be called, were recognized as the best and most courageous in Skopje and elsewhere, because they had had to reckon with many difficulties since their childhood.

5. The sacral objects: Mosques as neighborhood's distinctive

Although today Gazi Baba probably is one of the most deficient areas in infrastructure, it is very rich in the cultural heritage which dates back to the Ottoman Empire and earlier.

When it comes to cultural and historical objects in Gazi Baba, we mainly have to do with mosques or some other object with a religious character. The neighborhood of Gazi Baba is considered as the one with the biggest number of mosques in Skopje. Five mosques are found there that are built in different periods of time: *Kapiji Kara Bash* Mosque, *Haji Yunus*, *Kapiji Hamza* Mosque, *Tutunsiz* Mosque and *Hatunjuk* Mosque. Unfortunately the exact dates of construction of these mosques are unknown. It is assumed that four of these mosques were built in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, while *Tutunsiz* Mosque was built in the seventeenth century (Богоевиќ-Кумбараџи, 1998:64-83).

As a result of the disastrous earthquake that struck Skopje in 1963, these mosques had the same fate as many others in Skopje. However the mosques were restored and rebuilt over time. It is worth mentioning that today, with the exception of the *Tutunsiz* Mosque, all other have been built during the recent years on their original foundations.

Hatunjuk Mosque which is located on the western part of Gazi Baba remained in ruins for a long time after it was destroyed in the earthquake, but after several decades it was rebuilt thanks to donations from within the country and from the Republic of Turkey. The mosque finally opened its doors to believers in 2008, with the attendance of the President of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Abdullah Gül among others.

the municipality is 8.36%, which is very low compared to EU countries (16.9%) (Eurostat, 2009:136)⁷.

The settlements (households) are distributed throughout 13 urban units of the physical organization of the municipality. The density of households in the municipality of Chair is 48.6 per hectare, i.e. 184 inhabitants per hectare, which represents the highest density in the region and in Europe. The average of people living in an apartment is 3.79, which is greater than the average in the Republic of Macedonia: 3.35 people. It should be noted that these averages relate to the urbanized parts of the municipality, while in terms of unurbanized parts the density is much higher. According to legal norms of Republic of Macedonia for building housing facilities, the standard is 20 m² per person, while in Chair this average is 16.24 m² (cair.gov.mk), higher than that in Shuto Orizari (13.19 m²), but lower than in Karposh municipality (22.76 m²), Center (24.71 m²) and Resen (27.94 m²), not to make comparisons with standard in western European countries (2007), like Germany (41.3 m²), Sweden (43.6 m²), Austria (50.39 m²) and specially Luxembourg which has the highest standard (65.9 m²). These are standards that can hardly be achieved any soon. (statinfo, 2010, in Pajaziti & Rustemi, 2010)

Table 1. The population makeup in Chair municipality according to ethnic belonging

Table 1. Population makeup according to ethnic belonging		
Ethnicity	Number	Percentage
Albanians	36 921	57 %
Macedonians	15 628	24,13 %
Turks	4 500	6,95 %
Roma people	3 083	4,76 %
Bosnians	2 950	4,55 %
Serbs	621	0,96 %
Vlachs	78	0,12 %
Others	992	1,53 %
Total	64 773	100 %

Gazi Baba is a neighborhood that until 2004 was part of the Center municipality, and of Chair municipality from 2004 on. It is a typical suburban neighborhood, a slum with many residents, with catastrophic living conditions as if it was in the '30s. The houses built in this neighborhood are mostly decades old, lacking proper urban

⁷ The percentage of +64 in Germany and Italy is 20 %.

infrastructure, with narrow streets, allowing for no normal breathing space to residents due to the contiguous building system, with houses covered with tin and other construction materials like bricks and mudbricks some of which are challenged by the tooth of time risking destruction and damage to their residents. Gazi Baba is a tin neighborhood, an area without normal living conditions where two or three families live in one house. The number of residents of Gazi Baba according to the 2002 census was 15.182 (Попис 2002:18).



Photo 1. Typical street (sokak) in Gazi Baba

Gazi Baba neighborhood is a *Vila Miseria*, inhabited by people displaced from different areas of Macedonia and further away from Karshiaka, Derven, Karadak, Kosovo, the Preshevo Valley, Sanjak and others. It is a Muslim neighborhood inhabited by Albanians, Turks, Bosniaks and Torbeshs. The Albanian-Turkish-American scholar B. Akan Ellis describes it as follows: "Dust, confusion, clamor, poverty and pride were the foundation of the neighborhood which most of Macedonian taxi drivers did not want to enter at all." (Ellis, 2013)

The common feature of the residents of this neighborhood is low quality of life, substandards, living in non-European conditions within Europe, the economic crisis which may cause increased crime etc. We could verify the latter through a media analysis: "Attempted murder in Gazi Baba" (Almakos, 13/03/2013), "Boy killed in Gazi Baba" (koha.tv, 23.04.2010), "4-year-old boy saved from hijackers in Gazi Baba" (radiobledi, 23.04.2010) ... Another feature of the neighborhood are deviant and pathological social activities, represented by the counterculture of drug trafficking, a growing tendency for involvement in gambling, betting etc. Another evident phenomenon is the seeking for an existence outside Macedonia, especially after visa liberalization; many young people would go to European countries for the quarter period while leaving forever is also a trend.

8. Empirical findings: Analysis and interpretations

This research was conducted through qualitative (historical and descriptive) and quantitative (a survey with 19 questions, with closed questions involving 119 households and interviews with 7 persons) methods. The field research was made during the latter part of September 2013. The sample consists of respondents from different parts of this neighborhood. It should be noted that respondents and the interviewed, thanks to our implementation of the research ethical principle of guarding the discretion of the respondents, offered us unstinting willingness to become part of this research project.

"Quality of life is closely related to the satisfaction and happiness of an individual. People with a high quality of life are more likely to be part of a healthy and stable society. Study on life quality often makes the difference between subjective and objective aspects. The subjective aspect refers to feelings and pleasures, while the objective aspect has to do with social and cultural demands for material wealth, social status and physical well-being." (Bartlett, 2011:33-66) The findings of this research indicate that gazibabans face serious problems of life, that they live in poor conditions and that the objective conditions make them have problems with subjective satisfaction.

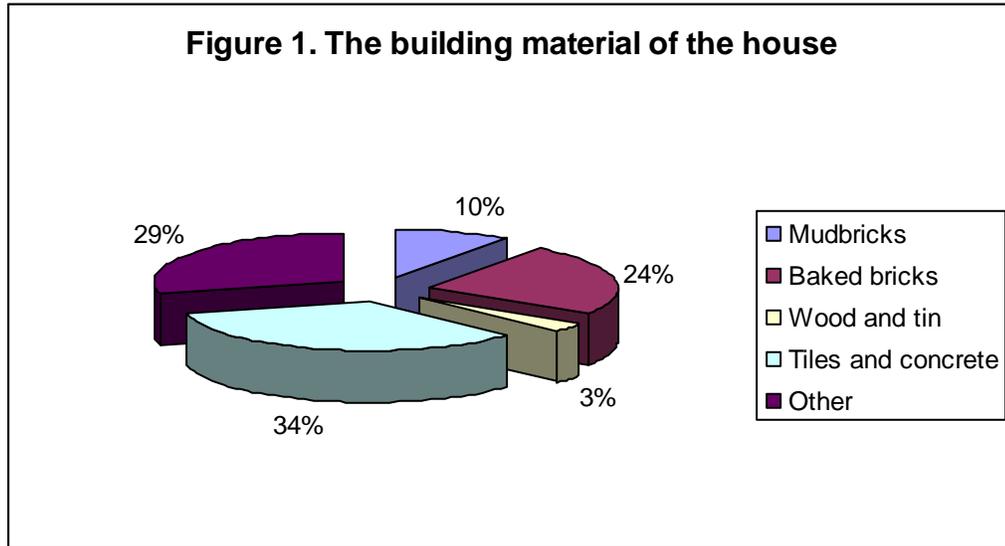
According to the findings of this study, 80.7% of Gazi Baba residents live in private households, and 16% in flats, 3.4% in spite makeshift houses (shacks) covered with carcinogenic tiles. It is very interesting that mudbrick (10.1% unbaked) and wood and tin houses are still to be found in the middle of Europe in the XXI century.



Photo 2. and 3. A view of Gazi Baba's reality: City houses with bricks and stones

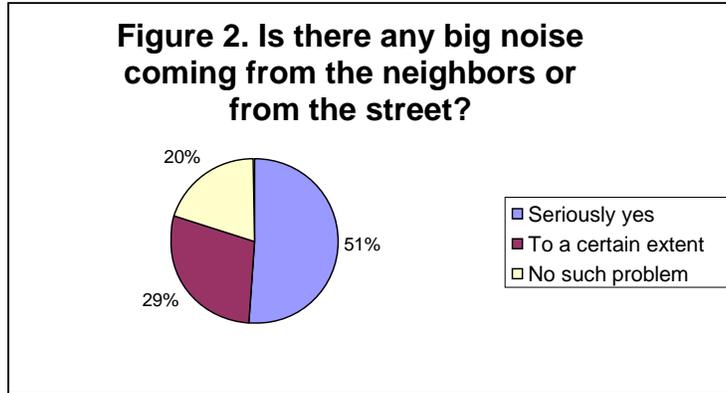
30.03% live in houses of up to 50 m². 39.5% of this neighborhood's residents live in households of five or more individuals.

When we consider this fact we can conclude that a good part of gazibabans live in too narrow space. Only ¼ of respondents said they have no problems with space for living. Only 6 (5%) of the total 119 households said they were very satisfied with accommodation or housing, with the conditions of the space on which they live. In only 13.4% of households each child has a room to one's own.



A good portion of households have problems with ceiling runoff (45.4%); more than half (53.7%) have problems with the deterioration of windows, doors and floors; slightly more (58%) still have problems with moisture in walls or floor; about ¼ does not have access to sanitation; about 70% have problems with adequate heating.

One of the indicators of quality of life is noiselessness, which implies the absence of noises or voices that hamper one's concentration on his activities or disrupt the family atmosphere, psychological disposition, etc. 4/5 of the population of Gazi Baba feel they are affected by everyday noise.



63.9% of respondents complain about problems with roads which are either unpaved or bumpy and that a discharge of rain transforms them into mini creeks or marshes. 53.8% complain about problems with public lighting, which is surprising for a neighborhood that is only 3 km away from Makedonija Square which offers a postmodern view of Skopje (2014) with neon lights, giant sculptures, with Baroque and neoclassicistic manifestations, where hundreds of millions of euros are spent in order to create a Legoland, a Neverland with a little antiquity, a little Rome, a little Paris, a little Vienna, the "Expo 2014".



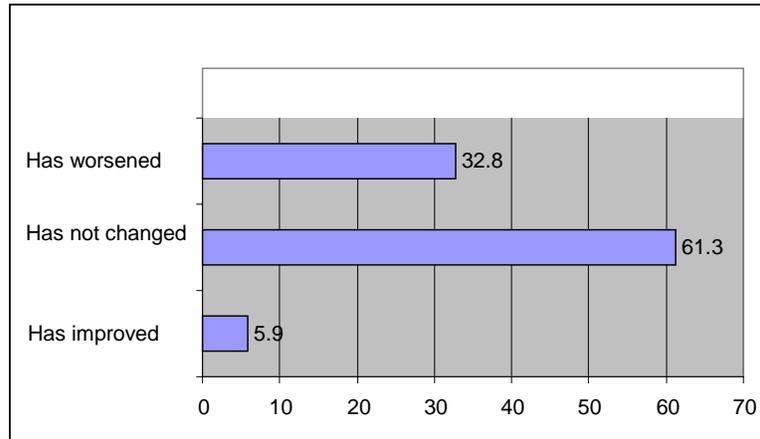
Pictures 4, 5, 6. AntiSkopje: "Other face" of the Capital



Photo 7, 8, 9. Skopje 2014 + highly urbanized Skopje

95.1% of respondents indicate that their life in the municipality where they live has worsened or not changed at all. A third are convinced that life in their municipal environment follows a negative curb that goes from bad to worse.

Figure 3. How has life changed during the last 12 months in the municipality you live?



Services offered by local governments are factors that make citizen be happy or disappointed. In the case of our research we conclude that in general people are not satisfied with the work of Chair municipality. Only 11% are somewhat satisfied with the services provided by the local self-government unit, which is a red mark about the management of the institution. Strange is the absurd correlation between civil dissatisfaction and the voting *pro* the management staff that rules the institution since 2004. Strange is also the fact that the "window of the municipality", the official website offers no information at all for local as well as global citizens about the urban planning of the municipality in question.

Very dissatisfied	58	48.7 %
Dissatisfied	29	24.4 %
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	19	16 %
Satisfied	9	7.6 %
Very satisfied	4	3.4 %
Total	119	100 %

Table 1. How satisfied you are with services offered by the local government?

The second part of our empirical research consists of the analysis of semi-structured interviews consisting of five questions, through which we have asked households to speak about various problems relating to the neighborhood. The respondents' description about the neighborhood of Gazi

Baba is very negative: "... a place in Africa, not in Europe" (int. no. 1 and 5); "...one of the most backward quarters in Europe", "Gazi Baba, just like Chair municipality is a ghetto. It is Balkan's Gaza" (int. no. 7); " ...if it is a wasteland in Africa or Afghanistan (Kandahar)", " ...even the taxi drivers don't want to enter this neighborhood, complaining their cars have been damaged there..." (int. no. 6).

They complain of the "negligence of state institutions" which apply "double standards" (int. no. 2); the central government "never invested there like it invests in Macedonian neighborhoods", i.e. Aerodrome, Karposh (int. nr. 5). They say the monistic regime as well as the democratic one "have left them at the mercy of fate" (int. no. 4); that "no minister has visited us so far" (int. No. 7). They mention unemployment, broken roads, lack of lighting, lack of parks for children, inability to pay bills, discrimination (... "on the other part of the bridge people live just like residents of Europe and with a high infrastructure and economic standard, which unfortunately we are far from"- int. no. 3)

Most respondents are defeatist about the future; they see no solution. One of the interviewees said: "We currently see no prospect for young people, and the only solution currently offered is flight from this country and migration to European countries, perhaps even farther. The dire economic situation and the unemployment that has gripped the country forces young people to migrate." (Interview no. 1). Only a few respondents think there is a solution: "Awakening people to speak up, to protest for everything; it is a form of democracy." (int. no. 5); "The central and local governments should attract investors..." (int. no. 6); "Media should play its role in alerting the population about situation in Gazi Baba" (int. no. 4).

9. Conclusions and recommendations

As consequences of industrialization slums make for one of the most tangible and ever-present problems of urban life. They are a metaphor of social disorganization, substandard housing, culture of poverty and urban crowding. Today approximately one billion people live in slums, in dilapidated conditions and civil amenities. That's one in seven of us. Unless urgent action is taken, 1.4 billion people will live in slums by 2020.

Gazi Baba is a unique neighborhood, a specific case which bears the name of a municipality it has never been a part of: two identical

toponyms, one a neighborhood, the other a municipality, sharing nothing more than the name while differing in living standards. It is a suburban area, a blind gut of the capital of RM, Skopje; a “rurbane” life space, a terrain that continues to be the target of urban sociology and habitat experts.

From the research we have reached the following main conclusions:

- Full compliance of data from surveys and interviews, including a large group and a smaller one. Closed questions as well as open ones lead to the same results related to urban problems in the neighborhood of Gazi Baba.
- Gazibabans live in substandard living conditions in houses built without plan and with old building materials that endanger life with problems like ceiling runoff, decay of windows, doors and floors, humidity, inadequate heating, etc.
- The infrastructure (roads, public lighting, sanitation) do not fulfill the requirements of the time we live in.
- The traditional, broad family is dominant.
- The perception of residents is that the most adequate description for the neighborhood is “a ghetto”.
- The residents express complaints about and pleas to the local government, the commune, being dissatisfied with the social services it offers.
- The population appears defeatistic, seeing no future. This makes people look for a better lot abroad (even those with high education).

We suggest the government in general must deal with real scars of urban life, with the neighborhoods in need of financial, infrastructural "first aid". It should channel investments to proper places and must find solutions through local and foreign investment, through various donations and projects in order to improve the quality of life in suburban areas of the country. In this regard, contribution is expectable from NGOs which would raise the voice of reason in favor of the citizen, from scientific institutions that would produce an action map for local and central government officials through exact scientific discourse.

10. References

- Ацески, Илија. (2000). *Социологија*. Скопје: “Saint Ciril and Methodus” University.
- Bartlett, William. (2011) *Analizat e përqendruara tek mendimet e qytetarëve (Raport): Cilësia e shërbimeve sociale*, Tetovo: UNDP & UEJL.
- Богоевиќ-Кумбураци, Лидија. (1998). *Османлиски споменици во Скопје*. Скопје: Исламска Зеадница во РМ.
- Ellis, Burxhu Akan. (2013). *Prejardhjet hije: Kujdesa dhe identiteti i muslimanëve qytetarë të Maqedonisë*. Скопје: Logos-A.
- Europe in Figures: Eurostat Yearbook 2009.
- Flanagan, William G. (1993). *Contemporary Urban Sociology*. Oxford University Press.
- Mehmeti, Kim (2011). *Shkupi - Ese historike*. Скопје: Logos-A.
- Pajaziti, Ali. (2012). *Culturological Studies: Education, Politics, Identity*. Скопје: Dauti Foundation & ISPN.
- Pajaziti, Ali. (2009) *Fjalor i sociologjisë*. Скопје: Logos-A & UEJL.
- Pajaziti, Ali & Rustemi, Agron. (2010). “Housing in Rural Municipalities: Case of Zelino”, *Review for Social Politics*, FES & Institute for Social Work and Social Politics, Faculty of Philosophy: St Ciril and Methodius Скопје, no. 6.
- Philpott, T. L. (1978) *The Slum and the Ghetto: Immigrants, Blacks, and Reformers in Chicago, 1880 1930*. New York Oxford University Press.
- *Попис на населението, домаќинствата и становите во РМ*. (2002). книга XI. Скопје.
- Rao, Ratna N. (1990). *Social Organization in an Indian Slum: Study of a Caste Slum*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Suttles, G. (1968). *The Social Order of the Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Tibaijuka, Anna Kajumulo. (2003). *Slums Of The World: The Face Of Urban Poverty In The New Millennium?*. Nairobi: UN-HABITAT.
- Whyte, W. F. (1943). *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- http://www.stat.gov.mk/PublikaciiPoOblast_en.aspx?id=54&rbrObl=31
- <http://www.yllpress.com/78756/kulm-mbi-koke-per-nje-familje-ne-lagjen-gazi-babe-.html>
- <http://statinfo.biz/Data.aspx?act=1762&lang=2/> 25.11.2010.
- <http://www.homeless-international.org/About-Slums/24.09.2013>
- <http://www.nacionalalbania.al/2011/08/cairi-dhe-gazi-baba-lagjet-me-me-shume-foshnja/24.09.2013>
- http://cair.gov.mk/popullsia_cair.html/25.09.2013
- http://cair.gov.mk/historia_komuna.html/25.09.2013
- <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/pajaziti-skoplje-simbol-podijeljenog-grad/26.09.2013>