

SOCIOSPATIAL SEGREGATION AND CONSUMPTION PROFILE OF ANKARA IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

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1. This study can be considered as the continuation of the series of empirical studies of the Ph.D Thesis, "Social Stratification and Consumption Profiles of Ankara: A Case Study in Ankara Residential Areas" (Akpınar 2005) and the article published in the METU JFA 2008/2, "Class Dimension of Housing Inequalities in the New Era of Liberalization: A Case Study in Ankara" (Akpınar, 2008, 39-69). In the series of compilation, the objective is to unveil the connections between sphere of production and the sphere of reproduction, and explore their spatial dimension in the era of liberalization. The contributions of my advisors Prof. Dr. Sevgi Aktüre and Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç on identifying the topics have been enormous.

"Consumption patterns, although extremely elusive, are just as important to tract as prices on the stock exchange. Douglas and Isherwood (1979, 89)

The "Global City Hypothesis" argues that the economic restructuring of the new global economy produces highly uneven and polarized employment structure in urban society (1). Today, large global cities are marked by unusually high levels of income inequality. The significant increase in foreign investment and the arrival of the multi-national corporations along with the major accounting, advertising, and marketing firms and the fashion, design and entertainment industry caused changes both in spatial and demographic configuration and the internal structure of large metropolitan cities. The consequence of the economic restructuring is 'class polarization' characterized by a number of high income professionals and managerial jobs, and a vast population of low income casual, informal and temporary forms at the bottom. The effects of liberalization policies resulted in unprecedented fragmentation and polarization within the 'middle class' with the worsening public sector functionaries as some employees of the multinational firms had become wealthier (Kandiyoti, 2002, 5). This new wealth has engendered new social groups characterized as 'young professionals' or 'new job elite' with an increasingly educated cohorts of leading business with affluent lifestyles and consumption patterns similar to their global counterparts. Though such changes and processes occur to some extent in most developed world cities, the approach by the global city theorists seems to be accepted as the valid and elucidative pattern in general, and imposes a kind of generalization that in reality there are more counter evidences even in leading world cities and other metropolitan areas of the world which reveal different pattern (Maloutas, 2007, 734).

The objective of the article is to measure empirically the impact of globalization on reconfiguration of the sociospatial segregation trends in Ankara during the late 1990s and beginnings of 2000s. The article examines

2. In the previous article (Akpınar, 2008), the findings reveal that income inequalities can easily be incorporated in the form of different class positions in relation to varying housing conditions. On the other hand, there appears some connections with the global-city hypothesis, nevertheless without strong correlation to what the global-city theory asserts.

3. Pierre Bourdieu, and with one of his major studies, that of cultural discriminations, he examined distinctions between socio-economic classes in French society. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu introduced that class is neither a mobilized group nor it is categorized with class consciousness. The class is an arena of social practices and it is shared by human beings and it can compete with them as well. The individuals make themselves distinct and find their places within the society by means of consumption. The class instead of being predetermined category of social space, is made of real relationship (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]).

the relationship between the material and symbolic inequalities of different social strata by employing the role in which individual (household) engages in the labour market accompanied with a variety of measures as income, expenditure, consumption patterns, for mapping and unmapping the inequalities within its territorial and global context. This study can be considered as an attempt to explain the increasing segmentation and growing socio-economic inequalities brought by the wider economic structuring of the world economy.

Not only income and earnings produced as a consequence of sphere of production, i.e. labour market, but the sphere of reproduction (consumption) and symbolic exchange mechanism is employed for the measurement of sociospatial segregation of urban households living in the Capital of the Nation, Ankara (2). By doing so, I try to create a societal map of the social blocks based on the consumption pattern. This makes the study, to some extent, closer to the wider perspective suggested by Bourdieu (3) in which the social field is evaluated according to the societal relation within the multidimensional space position rather than the perspective that suggests that class relations are formed solely with the social organization of the production (1984 [1979], 197). In the study, the characteristic of the social field is not defined by the attributes of the occupying social-economic classes rather it is defined by the patterns of societal relations formed within the society (Güvenç and Şenyapılı, 2003, 45). Instead of determining class position *ex post*, the attitudes, societal behaviours and choice patterns of the social blocks composed of employment status and occupational-aggregate categories, are of importance in defining social topology. The nature of work, the occupational milieu and its 'economic', 'cultural' and 'organizational specificities' provide a basis of differentiation. The commonalities of their location, their similar conditions of existence and conditioning, might indeed result in similarities of attitudes and practices.

Findings reveal that stratification is heavily influential in urban structure and in a similar vein, different stratum revealed distinctive groupings in the urban space at the intermediary period of the late 1990s and the early 2000s. There does appear some influence of the globalization in the socioeconomic composition of households. There are marked social polarization and rising inequalities between the social groups and this can be measured empirically. The income inequality can easily incorporate itself in the form of different class positions which is parallel with the arguments set forth by the dynamics of the globalization. Additionally, this patterning of stratification has shown highly uneven spatial segregation appeared in the form of north-south division in Ankara. The managers, professionals, big employers have grouped together in relation with high-income part and more consumption in both technical and informational goods, exhibiting a clear relationship between low-end households composed mainly with the unskilled service workers, manual workers and informals at the bottom. However, the presence of the public sector in mid-income position and older-age composition are taken as counter evidences. In the study working for private sector supports "becoming poor" or informality, not the "becoming rich".

For the statistical explanation, Correspondence Analysis (CA) has been used employing the statistics of the 'Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey' (HICES) for Ankara collected by State Institute of Statistics (SIS) in 1994 and 2001.

INTRODUCTION

Economic restructuring implies increasingly dual and unequal employment structure and causes emergence of unfragmented, uneven sociospatial structure, especially in the advanced capitalist countries (Sassen, 1991). Heavily emphasized that this process is not limited solely with the advanced capitalist countries, similar trend has been exercised in many developing economies, indeed "many of the largest global city-regions are located outside of the developed world" (Scott, 2001, 23-8). Two essential dynamics has driven the extreme urban concentration in developing economies: the appearance of large productive clusters and the enforcement of the national policies in favour of the rapid industrial development which resulted in hyper urban regions marked by the huge economic disparities and wide segmentation of the social class, race and income.

Global city theory, just as the strong modernist thinking, assumes that if the movement of events point to a similar pattern, then the same movement would be observed in different parts of the world and the contextual differences enforced by the historical and cultural and structural differences would be abolished in time at the cross points of the evolution process (Fainstein, 2001, 285-6; Maloutas, 2007, 734). Any attempt to explain the detailed causes of the increasing segmentation and socioeconomic inequalities in global city regions seems to be highly controversial and does not follow the similar line all over the world. The main difficulty is to translate the polarization into the sociospatial segmentation since the social processes cannot be easily equated or readable by looking at the spatial configurations (Maloutas, 2007, 733-34). In addition to the difficulty to attach polarization depicted as the extremes between wealthy and poor, there are a series of difficulties in translation of the social polarization into a specific stratification model as I discussed comprehensively in a previous article (Akpınar, 2008, 39-69). The foremost disapproval towards the implications about the global restructuring conceptualized as "polarization", "mismatched" or "disappearing middle" arguments are under heavy critics because of their imprecise and universal claims without adequate empirical tests. Even for the wealthiest global city-regions, there are marked inequalities in the occupational structure however, not only due to the differentials in earnings, heavily due to the changing regime of the welfare state regulations or "professionalization" (Fainstein, 2001, 285-98; Maloutas, 2007, 734). Only a small portion of households is profiting from the growth which is not taken as the sole evidence of the "erosion of the national economy". The critics agree on that there is supposed to be "too much generalization" and empirically undocumentation in the use of polarization thesis (Van Kempen, 1994, 998; Saraçoğlu, 1996, 246; Scott et al., 2001, 19; Maloutas, 2007). However, at least the issue deserves special attention to explore the relation between the long neglected topics of social polarization and segregation.

In the study, the relation and interaction between the production and reproduction processes is taken into consideration in the context of globalization. Instead of a class structure which starts and ends with the social relation of production, I discuss how the social relation of reproduction and redistribution mechanism effects and changes the sociospatial profile in the context of globalization. In the previous article (Akpınar, 2008), I discussed the class dimensions of housing and tried to point out that the increasing social differentiation which has an direct

effect on segregation, is not only stemmed from the income but also can be explained in terms of tenure, housing type, housing age, space per capita, quality measure, etc. Home ownership is an important asset across all class lines, especially due to deficient provision of social rented housing in a country that welfare state regulation is inadequate and marketization is not effective to abolish the historical or traditional family structure (see similar line of discussion for Athens in Maloutas, 2007, 733-58).

If the class factor is the cause for sociospatial segregation, then, the investigation must be rooted in a particular conception of class (Harris, 1984, 28). An ongoing discussion topic without yet any consensus is about which operational criteria to employ to distinguish the different classes and which conceptual schema they map to. The stultifying debate which oscillates between the end of class and the power of class is still persistence in the field and adds difficulty to explore the complex relationship between segregation and social distance. The terminology continues to be vague in definition of class (Scase, 2000, 1). On the other hand, the ineffectiveness of class study in Turkey and the extreme gap the country faces in researching the class formation constituted through the social organization of production and the "how classes become socialized" that demonstrate itself in the form of a "class cultures" as compared to the rest of the world has often been stressed in related literature (Ayata and Ayata, 2000, 151; Ayata, 2002; Kalaycıoğlu, 1998; Erder, 1995; Kandiyoti, 2002). Thereof this study should be considered as a modest approach to close the already inherited gap to a certain extent rather than attempting to close the gap all at once. This study can be considered as an attempt to explain the increasing segmentation and growing socio-economic inequalities caused by the wider economic structuring of the world economy in the city of Ankara. In the limits of the study the objective is to develop a holistic approach to bring "class situation" and "class as a life condition" together. The dimension of inequality between different social blocks, their sociospatial distribution, and the relationship between the material culture and symbolic inequalities in the context of globalization is analyzed and discussed for mapping the inequalities. The effects of the crisscross between the class position and lifestyle characteristics are the topic that awaits the attention of the Turkish researchers. This article, within the limits of the study, offers a new conceptualization that combines the production and reproduction spheres together. In this context, the objective of the article is threefold: in the first part, spatial segregation is measured by employing the income components of the households living in different census enumeration districts to see whether class-based inequalities coincides with the geographical inequalities which draw sharp lines amongst households living in the urban space. Secondly, the income components, savings and investment types of different social blocks are analyzed empirically and the effect of the globalization on the households is discussed to see whether the radical transformation of the global economy hugely impacts household economic and material resources. The second is to find out how the reproduction spheres or lifestyles differences are grouped together on this sociospatial segregation profile. This part examines the relationship between the material and symbolic inequalities of different social strata by employing consumption patterns, material cultures, and welfare levels of the urban households for mapping the inequalities.

OVERVIEW OF THEORY OF CLASS, STRATIFICATION AND SEGREGATION

In today's sociological approach, there is common consensus about the social class positioning, generally defined as the position in the social organization of production, however it is hard to reduce social class positioning narrowly to the relations of economic production. The rich literature is widely available on socialization that demonstrates that class is associated with important socialization differences; important value differences, and about a host of lifestyle differences associated with different classes. This view is highly related with the debates on "how classes become socialized". The ongoing debates between objective-structuralism in which the classes are defined by looking at the position in the social relation of production and, on the other the subjective-constructivists approach heavily focused on the "class cultures" and "class experimentation" (Buğra, 2008, 9). The second is highly related with the class structuring; the active construction of individuals about their positioning, common interests, experiences, etc. The social classes then can be defined as the aggregates of individuals who share similar attitudes and behaviours.

In capitalism, the *market* is intrinsically a structure of *power*, in which the possession of certain attributes for some groupings of individuals is relative to other (Giddens, 1981, 101-2). Thus, the market is a system of economic relationships built upon relative *bargaining* strengths of different groupings of individuals. The social stratification of a population, then, involves the formation of its members into a system of social strata that are distinguished from one another by the particular causal mechanisms, which is in fact responsible for the specific life chances and life styles. Stratification refers to the structured inequalities inherited in the capitalist's societies as a consequence of the class relationships (Scase, 2000, 41). Large scale collectivities in hierarchical relations that stand in the form of a wide range of resources, capacities and possessions reveal the counter of inequalities and, shape and orients people's life chances and life courses (Scott, 1996, 190).

If class becomes social reality, this must be shown in the formation of common patterns of behaviour and attitudes (Giddens, 1981). The differences that stem from different class positions reveal the observable differences in income, wealth and other material benefits (quoted from Turner 1988, 67: [Wright 1979; 1985]). On the other hand, class based segregation suggests that social and spatial distance is overlapped. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in scope of numerous factorial ecologies, the growth of the urban areas was correlated with the social relation by the scholars of the Chicago School. They suggested that the physical distance could easily be mapped with the social distances. However, the relation between class and segregation is more complex than the factorial ecology suggests (Maloutas, 2007, 733). In a similar vein, segregation is difficult phenomena and this is mostly due to the ambiguities in the concept of class (Harris, 1984, 28). Class has been still highly uncontested and controversial issue and its definition connotes different meaning for different scholars.

In Western social sciences, the vibrant and constant debate about the social classes and relentless efforts to map class structures has been continuously exercised. Class relations as a force for change have been, adequately tested empirically (Wright, 1985; Goldthorpe, 1987; Marshall et. al., 1988;

Marshall, 1997). The efforts to investigate dynamics behind the inequalities, deprivation, destitute by looking at voting behaviour, collective identities, social values and attitudes, through either nationwide or cross-national studies have been constantly mapped and remapped. Although class as a concept and class analysis as a form of social inquiry are coming under increasing attack by many, (Saunders, 1986; Pahl, 1989, 710; Clarks and Lispet, 1991; Pakulski and Waters, 1996), individualization theory of Beck's arguments and post-modern theory of social stratification (Beck, 1992, 2007), decades of what have become repetitive empirical pieces evoke justifiable concerns (Mullins, 1994). Despite the inadequacy and unsatisfactory character of the employment-aggregate approach, a body of empirical work provided by the class studies is still widely accepted as an extremely useful to measure the material inequalities, and, to understand the "social change" over the last 40 to 50 years (Crompton and Scott, 2005, 187).

Besides the highly pronounced effect of sociospatial segregation by designing the new kind of inequalities in the post-structuralist era in the winds of the globalization, in parallel with wider intellectual debate about post-structuralism and post-modernism in general, and "cultural turn" in particular seem to be in effect in the social field (Devine and Savage, 2005, 1-2). The social world is formed in "multiple identities" such as ethnicity, age, sexuality has resulted abolishment of the old modernist preoccupation with the class politics and formal institutions (Thorns, 2002, 98-99). The discontentation towards the supremacy of the conventional employment-aggregate approach has defined *a priori* without taking into consideration of the human agency and the primacy of the economic resources which lead to the marginalization of other axis of inequalities such as ethnicity, age, gender (Van Kempen, 1994, 1000).

On the other hand, the similar uneasiness has emerged towards a more "culturalist" view that beside all dramatic efforts after the Second World War, ongoing structural inequalities and huge contrast between different groups, and, a remarkable continuities in the pattern of inequalities have reflected in the field of employment relation, health, education and locales. The "culturalist view" has blurring effects of all the structural inequalities that caused the disadvantageous to still face with unequal freedom and choice (Marshall, 1988; Scase, 2000; Bottero 2005; Crompton and Scott 2005, 198-202). The "culturalism" can be easily mediated and articulated by the neo-liberal capitalism that creates a kind of "false consciousness" which is considered as being conservative rather than being emancipatory (Harvey, 1990, quoted in Thorns, 2005, 99).

In 1980s the role of consumption practices in the process of social differentiation and its refinement in sociological thought became the key issue for social theory in general (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). Bourdieu analyses how various consumer goods, their ways of presenting food and eating meals, home furnishings and interior decoration were used by specific groups i.e. socio economic classes to demarcate their distinctive way of living to distinguish themselves from the others (Bocock, 1993, 61). He seeks for a middle way between the abstract logic of structural determinations and the atomising subjectivity of personal creativity. He tries to find out the necessity of dialectic between the structural conditions of possibility and the actor's use of those possibilities (reflexivity). How people's lives are formed beyond the workplace, which is in sphere *consumption* seems to be an irreversible

4. Habitus are system of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures. It is this mechanism that the objective requirements of cultural order are inscribed as predictable courses of action for individuals. The habitus makes possible the contingencies of local circumstance in an historical context. According to Bourdieu, lifestyles are the systematic products of habitus (1984 [1979]).

account in any class study. There seems to be a tendency towards more emphasis on exploring how the class shapes cultural values, lifestyle practices, identities and “local class habituses” (4) in complex social processes (Vester, 2005, 69-94, 161; Savage et al. 2005, 95-122).

CONTEXTUAL DIFFERENCES: THE TURKISH CASE

At the turn of the 1980s, Turkey’s economic policy went through radical transformation by adopting a new liberal economy based on exports versus the import substitution policy that was exercised after the 1960s which created a strong domestic market and regulated economy, i.e. national developmentalism. The liberalisation policies activated unprecedented fragmentation and polarization within the middle class which resulted in relative slippage in government salaries, whereas some employees of the multinational firms and private business, corporate and financial sectors were able to earn world-class income (Kandiyoti, 2002, 5; Keyder, 2005, 124). During the 1980s, liberalisation and privatisation policies led to the creation of new forms of lifestyles and elites at an increasing pace. The global changes revealed themselves in the urban scale in the form of wealthy enclaves, affluent avenues, and more sophisticated consumption temples. Liberalisation and privatisation has generated an intense *commodification* of informal land and housing markets (Roy and Al Sayyad, 2004, 4; Keyder, 2005), The large areas where the squatters lived have become attractive and offered lucrative potential for construction of large physical complexes as business districts, hyper-towers, marinas, luxury hotels, gentrified neighborhoods and new consumption places. The “Urban Renewal Law” *Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasası* (which has not been enacted yet) has been considered as part of this attempt of liberalisation.

At the other extremity of the social polarization, huge masses living in poverty became naturally inevitable. The continuous attacks of the economic crisis have made the scene worse for the Turkish society where limited redistribution mechanism and lack of welfare state intervention resulted in extreme poverty which provoked the daily discussions in the political arena. It is generally accepted that the Turkish society is currently exercising a social differentiation based on new axes which are hard to explain by the conventional instruments as such rural /urban, traditional / modern (see discussions in Kandiyoti and Saktanber, 2002). The effects of all these transformations cannot be explored by solely concentrating on the elite groups or institutions, or heavily focusing on the deprived or marginal groups. In effect, the physical and societal intersection of both groups should be the focal point (Migdal, 1997, 253-4).

The class-based differentiations, community life and patterns, urban cultures of different stratum have rarely been subjected to scientific investigation in Turkish social sciences. There is a lack of series of investigation concerning social stratification and its related cultural attributes (Kandiyoti, 2002, 2). The decomposition of peasantry, rural-urban controversy, transition from the feudal order to modernism etc. has been the concern of the main axis of dichotomies rather than class division. The dynamic character of the society, low capital accumulation is the reasons for the supremacy of other axis of dichotomies rather than class base differentiation in the social structure (Erder, 1995, 106). The existence of large and diversified informal economy is the marked difference in the context of the developing economy. Because the large majority of population can be considered as marginal, informal sector or *lumpen* with

5. Total population of Ankara which consists of urban population of 3.540.522 along with the village population of 467.338 has reached 4.007.860 (Census of Population, SIS 2000).

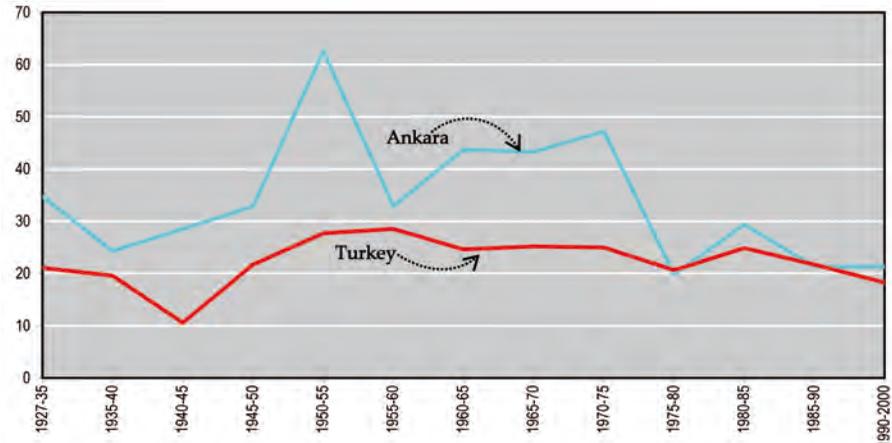
the orthodox Marxist discourse, the intrinsic overlapping of the capitalist and pre-capitalist times cause the primary difficulty in assessing the class structures (Portes, 1985, 9). The peculiar superimposition of capitalist and non-capitalist economic structures puts the developing economies in a very complicated position when Turkey enters the period of the articulation of the new world economic order. In general, the studies have mainly concentrated on particular social process or particular area of the city rather than the whole society or city as a whole.

URBANIZATION, SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY IN ANKARA

When it was declared the capital of new Turkish Republic in 1923, the population of Ankara hardly reached to 25,000 to 30,000 (Ayata, 2002; Bademli, 1990, 36). The population today has passed over 3,5 million (5) according to last census (2000). During the time period of 1923 to 2000, the population has increased 160 times and the city's structure changed completely (Figure 1). The massive flow of rural immigrants especially after the 1950 has deeply transformed the city structure.

The share of the population living in the city in Ankara, which was 24.5 per cent in 1927, has continuously increased and became approximately equal to rural population in 1955. After 1955, the majority of the population used to live in the city. In 2000, the share of the urban population increased to 88 per cent.

Figure 1. Annual growth rate of population (Census of Population, 2000 by SIS). Source: SIS Census of population 2000



Years	Ankara		Turkey	
	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
1927	24.49	75.51	24.22	75.78
1935	28.59	71.41	23.53	76.47
1940	31.25	68.75	24.39	75.61
1945	40.18	59.82	24.94	75.06
1950	42.52	57.48	25.04	74.96
1955	49.19	50.81	28.79	71.21
1960	59.32	40.68	31.92	68.08
1965	65.06	34.94	34.42	65.58
1970	71.87	28.13	38.45	61.55
1975	77.28	22.72	41.81	58.19
1980	78.43	21.57	43.91	56.09
1985	82.79	17.21	53.03	46.97
1990	87.64	12.36	59.01	40.99
2000	88.34	11.66	64.90	35.10

Table 1. Growth of Urban Population

6. With the application of the Urban Rehabilitation Plans, Ankara's population living in the squatter areas has decreased 10 percent (Uzun, 2005, 205).

Until the 1990s, the city revealed dual pattern housing composed of large immigrants' settlement areas around the city periphery and the planned central areas. The poor immigrants invaded the outskirts of Ankara and constructed their dwellings, "gecekondu" by themselves, generally illegally without obtaining building permits. The high pace of urbanization has never accompanied with the sufficient economic development, a process which led ever increasingly expanding informal works. Ignoring the appropriation of the public land at the expense of drawing votes and not taking any steps in creating jobs and dwelling for the new comers were the politicians' answers to the urbanization process in general. The need for urban service is another bargaining issue and provides electoral patronage (Miraftab, 1997, 303). This mechanism serves as an "ersatz institution" to facilitate incorporating rural immigrants into urban fabric (Keyder, 2005, 125). In time, after the application of the Urban Rehabilitation Plans (*Islah İmar Planları*) and populist remission (*imar affi*), squatter areas have been transformed to multi-storey apartment blocks (6). The "immoral economy of housing" has an effect on transferring the valuable property rights to lower-income dwellers and "to produce a direct reflection on the overall redistribution of income" (Buğra, 1998). Urban rents play has a role for masses no to become poor.

The tertiary sector tends to become the largest source of employment in Ankara's economic structure (Figure 2). However, together with the construction sector, industrial sector has also considerable weight on the city economy. The role played by the service sector is due to, rather than the increasing pace of globalization, Ankara's being the capital city and many public sector organizations and their related units being present in the city.

As elsewhere on the planet, the effects of transitioning from national developmentalism to neoliberal capitalism are not limited on the economic unit and the corporations. This transformation has redefined the social roles and social groups and re-identified the status and importance of the city and locality (Eraydın, 2005, 271). All these changes have been remarkable especially in İstanbul whereas Ankara and İzmir have been partly influenced (Tekeli, 2005, 18). In Ankara, gated communities, wealthy enclaves, or highly protected subdivisions and affluent lifestyles have become ever more visible in the city space, especially along with the intercity highway to Eskişehir (Şenyapılı, 2005, 218). Ayata's works are good example of attempts for understanding the economic and cultural underpinnings of the new-form of middle class identity (2000, 2002). As a

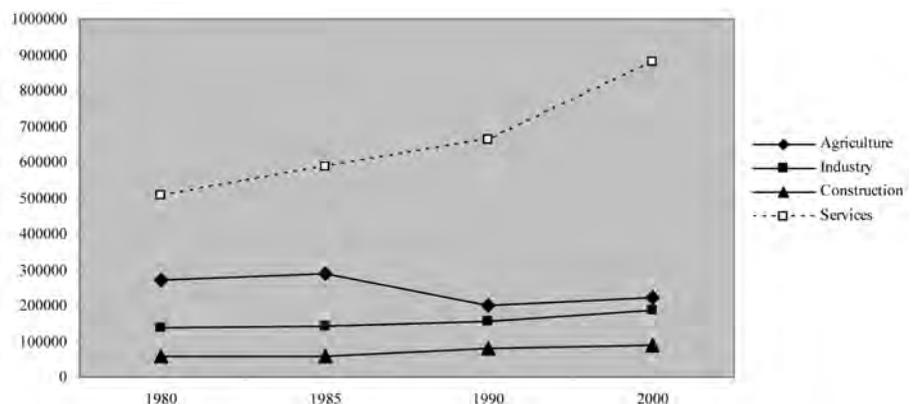


Figure 2. Decline of Primary Sector in Ankara (Census of Population, 2000).

7. After 2002, SIS declared that every year the HICES would be exercised with a limited sample size for all the nation. For this reason, the income distribution survey after 2002 is available for the years 2003, 2004, 2005, and so on. For a baseline comparison I ended the income distribution in 2002.

recent trend in Ankara, in parallel with the accelerated suburbanisation, the segregation has entered a period of differentiation. The more a person climbs up the social ladders, the more s/he wants to have a new and bigger home. The demand for bigger house is increasing especially for the middle class group, who care more for their social standing. New suburban districts far from the city centre are the residents of newly emergent middle classes. In these districts the community ties and solidarity relationships have been weakening and the privacy of family has been gaining more importance (Ayata and Ayata, 2000, 154). Among the middle class families the preferences of living with "his/her own type" is becoming noticeable. The districts, *Gazi Osman Paşa*, *Oran* and *Çay Yolu* are composed of the population with the shared world view expressed as defending secularism, civilized behaviour, using western culture elements, going to the opera, theatre, concerts, etc. And they constantly create and recreate the sense of "us" and "others". After the rapid transition to the neo-liberal economy, the segregation in Turkish cities which was of the "gecekondu" and "apartment" dichotomy is being replaced with the differentiation between "gecekondu" - "apartment"- and "suburbanites". Among the high level professionals the trend to move out of the city centre is increasing. In the middle class districts the traditional communal control is weakening rapidly and the autonomy of the individuals is strengthening (Ayata and Ayata, 2000, 154). Beside all these developments, inner city gentrification uttered mainly with the effects of globalization transforming the urban space, has not occurred in Ankara as in the case of İstanbul (Tekeli, 2005, 20).

It has been long known that, in Turkey the distribution of income has followed an unequal fashion which has not changed since the first income distribution survey conducted in 1963. Despite different methodologies employed, all income distribution studies have pointed out similar inequalities for Turkey, which is summarized in **Table 2**. Declining trend in inequalities between 1968 and 1987 reversed after 1987. For the year 2002, the data reveals that the poorest 20 percent of the population received 5.29 percent of the total income generated in the country whereas the richest 20 percent received 50.05 percent. It seems that in the last eight years, the share of the first three groups have increased which indicates an improvement in inequalities. However, the share of the fourth group also increased which has an adverse effect on inequalities. The richest 20 percent experienced the highest decline in its share which also indicates an improvement in income inequalities.

No matter how it is aggregated, it is commonly accepted that there is much skewed distribution of income in Turkey which has been the case at least in the last 40 years. Although differences in the measurement of the household income and inequalities do not permit sound comparisons

Table 2. Income Distribution in Turkey (7) by Quantiles, 1963-2002 (%)

- Source: Dansuk 1996, 38.
 - DPT: State Planning Organization (SPO)
 - AÜSBF: Ankara University Political Science Faculty
 - TÜSİAD: Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
 - SIS: State Institute of Statistics (SIS)
 - SIS and Y.O: State Institute of Statistics (SIS) and Yükseler and Türkan, 2008, 63.

	DPT	AÜSBF	DPT	TÜSİAD	DİE	DİE and Y.O	DİE and Y.K
Household Percentage	1963	1968	1973	1986	1987	1994	2002
1. 20%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2. 20%	4.50	3.00	3.50	3.90	5.24	4.80	5.29
3. 20%	8.50	7.00	8.00	8.40	9.61	8.20	9.81
4. 20%	11.50	10.00	12.50	12.60	14.06	11.90	14.02
5. 20%	18.50	20.00	19.50	19.20	21.15	17.90	20.83
5. 20%	57.00	60.00	56.50	55.90	49.94	57.20	50.05
P80/P20	12.67	20.00	16.14	14.33	9.53	11.92	9.46

Household Percentage	Income		Expenditure	
	1994	2001	1994	2001
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First income quintile (20%)	6.48	4.91	6.99	5.83
Second lowest income quintile (20%)	11.28	9.31	11.41	10.59
Mid income quintile (20%)	15.97	12.93	15.37	13.96
Fourth income quintile (20%)	22.76	19.11	21.74	19.61
Top income quintile (20%)	43.50	53.74	44.48	50.01
P80/P20	7.33	10.95	6.36	8.57

Table 3. Income and Consumption Expenditure Distribution by Quintiles in Ankara, 1994-2001 Source: SIS Census of population 2000.

between the studies, all equivocally point out the bold reality of skewed income distribution in Turkey.

In Ankara, in parallel with the increasing trends in social polarization, the income inequality has also increased remarkably between 1990s and 2000s. According to my calculations based on the data derived from HICES, it is suffice to note that the poorest 20 percent of the population receives 6.5 percent of the total income while the richest percent gets 43.5 percent of the total income in 1994. When compared with the corresponding percentages for 2001, some deterioration is observed in the income share of the poorest and second poorest 20 percent of the population receives 4.91 and 9.31 percent of the total income respectively. On the other hand the richest 20 percent of population has increased from 43.5 to 53.74 in 1994 to 2001. The highest increase has realized in the highest 20 percent of the population which is responsible for the deterioration of the income inequality in-between 1994 and 2001.

The ratio of the richest (fifth 20%) 20 percent to the poorest (first 20%) 20 percent, the p80/p20 measurement of inequality, has climbed to 11 times in 2001, when it was 7.33 times in 1994. Even though the ratio of consumption spending as compared to income seems less unequal, the consumption spending distribution between the years of 1994 and 2001 points to a breakdown. Inequality of income in Ankara has increased sharply in between 1994 and 2001. There is common tendency to link this development as a result of globalization of the city economy as an endogenous phenomenon, however there requires more in-depth and continuous studies in periods before taking the final decision.

The findings are summarized as follows:

- The rapid urbanization has reached a saturation that the majority of the population lives in urban areas. The 65 percent of the population lives in cities in Turkey whereas 35 percent of the population lives in urban areas according to the last Census of Population conducted in 2000. The urban population has climbed up 88 percent in Ankara. It is not possible to speak about the peasantry society even the decomposition of peasantry or restructuring of the rurality in urban areas still has major implications. Turkey and big metropolitan cities have transformed and becoming more and more urban.
- Dual structure in the cities: informal housing and informal sectors appear as intermediary-transitory forms in the urban structure. The impact of housing is substantial in the social differentiation and sociospatial polarization. This structure has begun to change after the 1980s, which dates back to the restructuring of the global

economy. In 1980s and 1990s the city has become more fragmented and complicated. The middle class has overflowed out of the centre. The spatial segregation based on the dichotomy “squatters” versus apartment blocks has left its place to “squatters”, apartment blocks and suburban axis.

- The Service sector tends to become the largest source of employment in Ankara’s economic structure (**Figure 2**). This cannot be taken as the evidence of the impact of globalization but it is rather due to Ankara’s capital city status that many public sector organizations and their related units are present in the city.
- The distribution of income has followed a trend with ups and down, however since 1963, it showed a much skewed pattern. The improvements detected after the 2002 has of various reasons: decrease in nominal interest rates, decrease in the share of the entrepreneurial income, or the low enumeration of the entrepreneurial income return with the ease of the expansion the new financial tools that give way to easily hide income obtained from interests caused low enumeration in the HICES. Ankara had very unequal income distribution between 1994 and 2001. This trend, to a lower extent valid for the consumption expenditure. Inequality seems to be increasing however, this cannot be taken as evidence of the impact of globalization as an endogenous factor, more detailed and in-depth analysis is required.

DATA AND METHOD

As in the case of previous analysis (Akpınar, 2008, 47-8) in this study, again the social blocks obtained from employment status and occupational-aggregate categories of the household head, without claiming that these categories constitute “classes” in the Bourdieuan sense are employed. Although in the study “class as life condition” is the main preoccupation by identifying different lifestyles associated with different conditions, I try to make approximation using the employment status and occupation as an “effective economic indicator of one’s position in the social life” (Akpınar, 2008, 47). The scheme used in the previous studies has proved justifiable concern which evokes repetitive pattern.

The data employed has been obtained from the “Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey” collected by State Institute of Statistics (8)(SIS) in 1994 and 2001. The design of the survey is representative of the whole community of the city employing multi-stage stratified cluster sample method. The sampling design requires stratifying the country into seven regions at first stage. At the second stage, residential units in each region is divided into population strata such as places with 0-2000 population, 2001-5000, 5001-20000, 20001-50000, 50001-200.000, and places with more than 200.001 population. At the final stage, clusters are selected within each population stratum independently by using random selection technique. Clusters obtained this way are proportional to their size in the population. The objective of the HICES is to determine consumption patterns and income level of individuals and households, and eventually for the calculation of consumer price indices.

The survey was conducted in every month by rotation. Interviewers visited six households once every three days every month i.e. in total ten times in a month to get information about the consumption expenditure and income.

8. In 2002, SIS conducted a survey solely representative of the nation, but not at the city level. After 2003 SIS used three level statistical regions, “Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics” (NUTS) units, in accord with the process of candidacy of the European Union and changed the name of the survey as “Household Budgetary Survey”. The NUTS unit in which Ankara is included at the NUTS-level 3, offers information not distinguishable at the central city but in its whole provinces. Within the limits of the study, I have data distinguishable at the level of the census enumeration districts for the central city between the years 1994 and 2001.

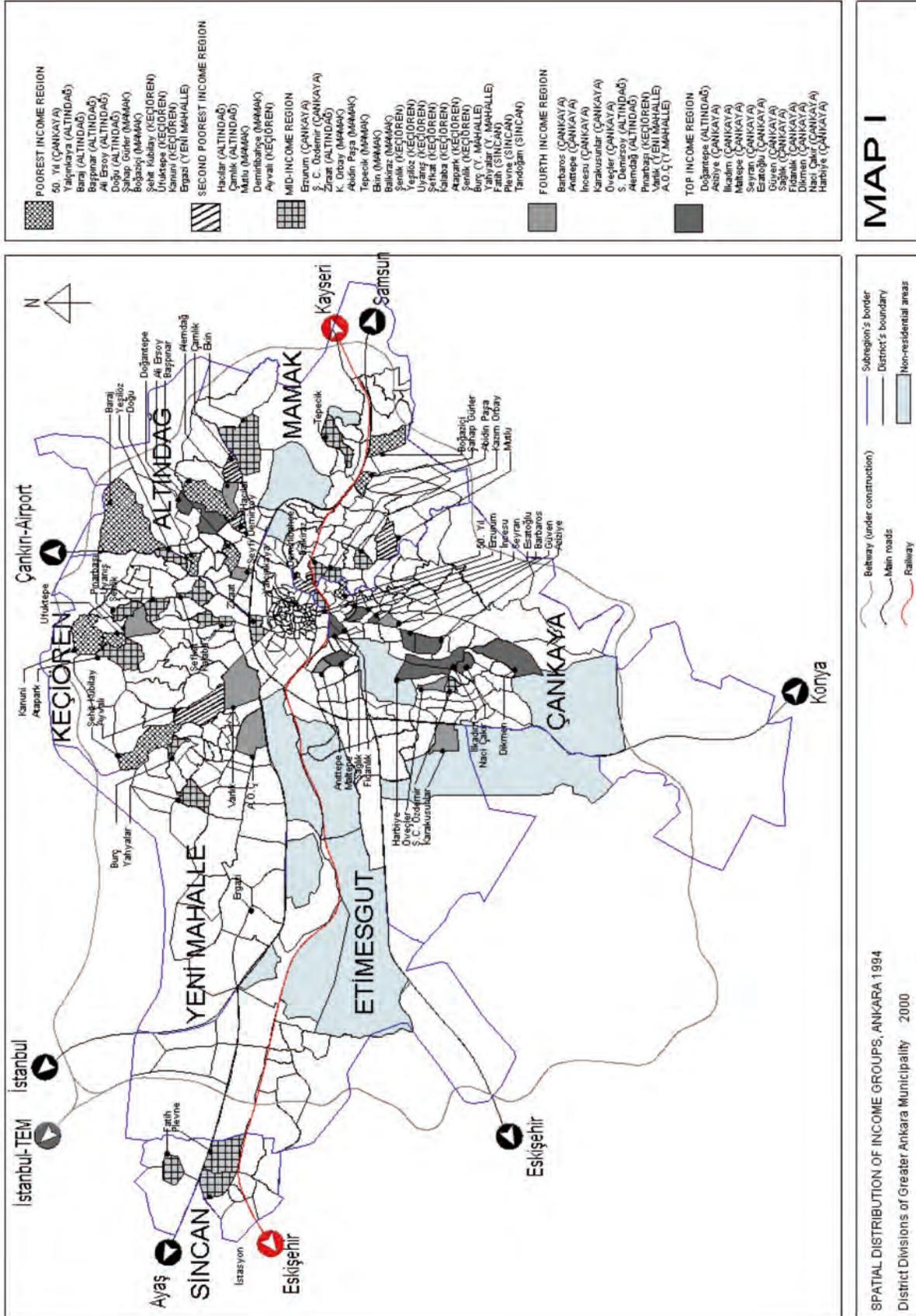
9. Data belongs to the urban households is used in the study, rural settlement is excluded.

The raw data has the information on 650 urban households (9) and 2665 individuals in 1994 for Ankara. The data set offers information as a basis of enumeration districts (*mahalle*, neighbourhood level) that allow us to evaluate the segregation. The second data set is the HICES of SIS conducted by the year 2001. However, the 2001 survey was voided at the end of March due to the economic crisis and its negative effects on consumer price index. The data offers information for the first three months of 2001 for Ankara. I intent to use the data because it is difficult for researchers to find such comprehensive data at the neighbourhood level. The raw data set has information of the 370 households and 1426 individuals of Ankara for the first three month of 2001. For the data 1994, 38 cases and for the data 2001, 53 cases are eliminated during data editing and cleaning phase. Most of the eliminated questionnaires have the problem of too many missing answers, inconsistent information given by the respondents, and eventually the cases which take place outside the Greater Ankara Municipalty. After cleaning and editing, 612 questionnaires (612 households and 2510 individuals) of 1994 and 317 questionnaires (317 households and 1234 individuals) of 2001 remain for the analysis.

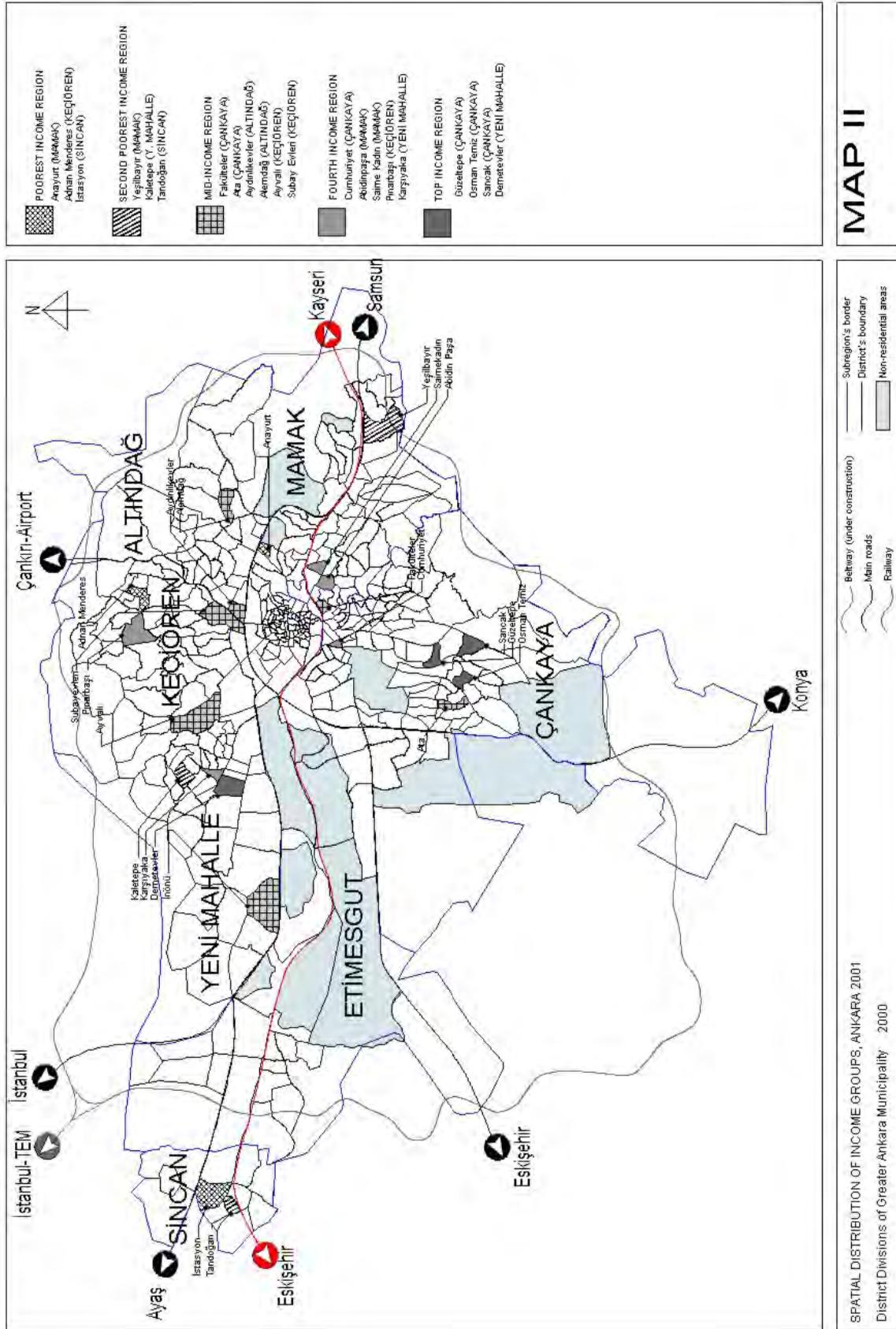
The "level of measurement" is *household* in the study. A household based measure is appropriate for considering of consumption behaviors and attitudes. Class position of the household is equated with the position of the household's head, which is considered the best proxy for a society where women's participation to the employment is very low. In the case where the household head does not work, the working partner's class position is taken as the representative of the class position of the family.

A bundle of multivariate techniques are used in the study: Correspondence Analysis (CA) and Cluster Analysis. The CA, and with the complementary use of Cluster Analysis allows researchers to classify census enumeration districts by the main (chosen) structural element, i.e. income (or education) (Dangschat, 1987, 42). The application of the technique consists of two complementary stages. First, the spatial clusters are obtained by employing both CA and the cluster analysis for the categorization of census enumeration districts with respect to income and then they are inserted into the analysis as a new variable for exploring the class-based segregation in Ankara. I tried to show that class-based inequalities are also the geographical inequalities which draw sharp lines amongst households living in the urban space.

CA is a graphical method of data analysis in which graphical display offers the researcher a *picture*, a visual representation of the data since it allows us to see the row and column variables in the same space. With the ease of the CA, researchers construct a plot that shows the interaction of the two categorical variables along with the relationship of the rows to each other and of the columns to each other. In the exploration of multi-dimensional representation of the structural space, the closer the units situated within this space, the more common properties they have, and the more distant they are, the fewer they have (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]). In the graphical display, the spatial distances coincide with the social distances in relation with the space. The social relationships are used for depicting the spatial representation. The people who are close in the physical space are supposed to have higher probabilities of association (membership of the same class positions). As a technique, CA do not refer causal relationship, which means that researchers do not prescribe to the individuals or the groups subject to investigation, rather it is the



MAP I



researcher's task to identify these attributes *ex post* on the basis of the ultimate configuration of objects. CA is a very useful technique defines as "social topology" which implies a *relational conception* of social reality (Wuggenig and Mnich, 1994, 304).

The complementary use of the cluster analysis is highly recommended for the complex data set (Lebart, 1994, 162). The most significant categories or variables characterizing each cluster are automatically selected and sorted with the use of SPSS for condensation of the data which is composed of the census enumeration districts. This preliminary clustering is useful in order to reduce the complexity of the analysis (163). The successive merging of the rows (or columns), also known as *hierarchical clustering*, can be depicted graphically in a pair of binary trees (dendrogram)(Greenacre, 1993,114). In hierarchical clustering using "Ward's criterion", the successive merging of the rows corresponds exactly to a node of the classification. By employing cluster analysis, the similar profiles are clustered according to the knowledge of the coordinate's points provided by CA. It is assumed that the similar profiles have similar points of coordinates. Each cluster is identified *a posteriori* by the objective characteristics of the respondents (Lebart, 1994, 174).

Census enumeration districts reclassified by using CA and Cluster analysis (see **Map 1** for the data 1994 and **Map 2** for the data 2001) with respect to the level of income and homogenous spatial regions marked as R1, R2, R3, R4 and R5 which goes from the lowest income quintile to the highest income quintile respectively are obtained. The planning districts mapped within the variable space and their position now can be interpreted spatially (Dangschat, 1987). The more the variables and planning districts load on different axes, the more significant are the differences between the districts with regard to the variables of the social groups' income, education and consumption habits and items. At first glance, the railway which runs across the city in east-west direction, separating the city into two parts is again verified as a result of our classification of districts regarding income. The location of the two higher income cluster (R5, R4) covers most of the southern part of the city indicating the traditional strongholds of the upper socio-economic blocks, whereas the lower clusters covers generally in the northern part and at the peripheries of the city. *Istanbul-Samsun* highway can also be taken as a main axis of dichotomy which causes the duality in urban area which can be characterized in the form of *north-south polarization*. The same procedure is applied for the data of 2001. The data of 2001 shows relatively subtler features as compared with the data of 1994, which is due to the fact that the data is incomplete.

The empirical association between measures of different stratum and income inequality is important in exploring the social polarization which is reinforced by the new economic structuring and subsequent changes in post-industrial cities, or more specifically, the global city. The social stratification profile of different groups is systematically interrelated with different income groups. The level of the annual disposable household income was taken as the best available proxy for the assessment of the economic capital of the different groups. The economic capital describes the level of material resources and in the study the level of the household income was taken as the best available proxy for the assessment of the economic capital.

In this study, various measurements are used to show the income inequality between different social groups. The main ones are the income

shares of 20% and 5% income groups. The top five percent income band has been used as detecting the richest group according to their disposable income (Marshall, 1997, 196). The structural conformity programs of 1980s have targeted mainly to deepen the financial system and to bring variety of investment options such as stocks, bonds, treasury bills, currency deposits by causing a shift from industrial capital to financial capital. In the study, I wanted to find out of whether the households headed towards these investment tools or not and to capture the differences between the social groups and utilizing these investment tools.

The types of investment derived from family savings will be included for the exploration of material well-being of the family. The ability to save money and the source of savings are important indicators to draw lines between the different strata. Saving is an investment, but it is also a postponed consumption (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, 11-35). Depositing money in the bank is also typical characteristic of the city dwellers (Yasa, 1973, 150) which necessitates the familiarity of transactions and mastery of information, and at the same time it can be taken as the distinguished form of investment as expected with the increase of the market economy in the urban sphere.

Being employed in public or private sector is included in the study to see the effect of globalization in the form that public sector employees increasingly worse-off, while some employees of the multinational firms and private business, corporate and financial sectors are able to guarantee world-class income.

The section related to the consumption pattern and cultural practices are designed for, whether the social space of a set of consumption items characterized by the different spatial units and social blocks. Consumption as a way of lifestyle is an urban experience. Urbanites are most likely to define and create their lifestyles through consumption. I try to show that what the household consumes is highly correlated with the social standing of that household. Consumption should be taken as an impetus to read the societal relation to distinguish the social classes. Each act of consumption reproduces social differences, and cultural consumption is the most visible part of the variation (1984 [1979]). Selected variables are mostly customary habits like "having dinner out", "drinking alcohol", "reading daily newspaper", "reading magazines", "going to a cinema, theatre, concerts etc.", "going soccer matches", and finally "using credit card".

Food is biologically the basic human existence, however, it is a cultural and social construct as well. Food expenditure can act as a marker of the people's social standing (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, 84-6). According to Engel's law, in the poor households, a higher proportion of the total expenditure is for food than other goods. Whenever the food expenditure in the budget of a household declines, the expenditure on other items increases. In this section food expenditure is taken as the poverty threshold calculated from the food expenditure of household's budgets. Total household expenditure is chosen as a base in our calculation and comparison of the consumption items (10). The ratio of food expenditure to total household expenditure is formed and 40 percent cut-off point is used as the poverty line. In order to allow a detailed analysis, percentage of food in the total household income is calculated and recoded as follows:

10. It is of common practice to use household expenditure in place of household income. Especially for the estimation of the Engel curves, total expenditure is generally used as a common practice of econometricians (Tansel, 1986, 244).

Food ratio as poverty threshold	
Less than 40 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Flw
41 - 60 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Fpoor
61 - 80 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Fprer
81 - 100percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food.	Fprest

Here, respondents who were in the second through fourth categories are defined as poor. For the detailed analysis where gradations among poor are needed, the second group can be termed as being poor, the third being poorer and the fourth being the poorest.

Housing and rent, residential expenses and transportation have been chosen as the main spending categories defined as necessities. In order to distinguish the place of necessity in the total household budget I've put the first three category as first place, second place and third place and the rest has been recorded as a single category labeled as fourth category. For instance, the housing expenditure in the form of percentages has been obtained by dividing each expenditure by the total expenditure and the result has been multiplied by hundred. Afterwards, the ranking scale has been obtained by comparing each percentage that begins with the first place and ends in the tenth. The first three rankings has been picked up as separate category, for example, if a household spends most of the total expenditure on "housing" which means the highest percentage s/he has and at the same time occupies first place we recoded this as "house1". In a similar logic, the second ranking percentage has been recorded as "house2" whereas the third as "house3". A sub category "house4" means that the housing percentage in the total household expenditure occupies either fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth or tenth places.

Besides the selected items, education expenses have been added as in the form of private-public schooling. Striking changes have taken place in the field of education after the 1980s by privatization. Especially the "middle class" members due to their belief that the upward social mobility for their children can be achieved by education, tend to choose the private schools. Eventually the car ownership has also been included whether a household spends money for gasoline or public transportation. Also, the ownership of automobile can be considered as an important luxury in our society which separates the richest regions and richest fractions. The survey allows researcher to recode the number of car owned.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF CLASS POSITION

The empirical association between the measures of employment class and the structures of inequality and/or life chances or between the employment class and the aspects of social attitudes and behaviors is important in any kind of social analysis in a multitude of scientific fields. Therefore, in the first part of the study, the economic capital of the household i.e. income, property and so on, is employed for the measurement of the material well-being of the households. In the second part, consumption pattern and cultural practices are analysed for the measurement of the social attitudes and behaviours.

VARIABLES		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
		k=1	k=2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
ADM	Administrative, managerial workers	-2.266	-.973	.028	.010	.823	.078	.901
PRO	Professionals	-2.129	-.786	.064	.017	.918	.064	.982
SEMI	Semi professionals, clerks	-.100	.856	.000	.048	.024	.897	.921
BIGE	Big employer	-1.227	.091	.008	.000	.899	.003	.901
MIDE	Mid employer	-.091	1.022	.000	.025	.012	.804	.816
SMAE	Small employer	-.455	.615	.001	.003	.318	.300	.619
UNSK	Unskilled service workers	.808	-.446	.022	.013	.753	.118	.872
MAN	Manual workers	.596	-.214	.008	.002	.771	.051	.823
ART	Artisan and informals	.606	-.107	.019	.001	.665	.011	.675
RET	Retired	-.388	-.030	.007	.000	.969	.003	.972
INAC	Inactive	-.020	-.139	.000	.001	.003	.066	.069
inc1	Lowest income quintile (>7.000)	1.674	-1.585	.136	.237	.682	.315	.998
inc2	Second lowest income (7.000-10.000)	.546	1.046	.014	.103	.329	.624	.954
inc3	Mid income quintile (10.000-14.000)	.207	.956	.002	.086	.077	.847	.924
inc4	Fourth income quintile (14.000-21.000)	-.714	.244	.024	.005	.941	.057	.997
inc5	Top income (21.000+)	-1.766	-.653	.149	.040	.928	.065	.994
low5	Lowest 5 percent (>4.000)	1.965	-2.564	.048	.160	.532	.467	1.000
mid5	In-between lw*5 and top 5%	-.012	.193	.000	.016	.007	.993	1.000
top5	Top 5 per cent (36.000+)	-1.948	-.843	.043	.016	.911	.088	.999
urpro1	No investment in urban property	.013	.007	.000	.000	.883	.111	.993
urpro2	Investment in urban property	-.445	-.219	.001	.001	.883	.111	.993
gold1	No investment in gold	.010	-.041	.000	.001	.035	.323	.359
gold2	Investment in gold	-.124	.525	.000	.009	.035	.323	.359
for1	No investment in foreign exchange	.065	-.007	.001	.000	.633	.003	.636
for2	Investment in foreign exchange	-.453	.046	.006	.000	.633	.003	.636
bank1	No investment in form of bank account	.090	.032	.002	.000	.929	.063	.992
bank2	Have investment in form of bank account	-1.680	-.607	.034	.009	.929	.063	.992
share1	No investment in form of stocks and shares	.006	-.003	.000	.000	.838	.090	.928
share2	Have investment of stocks and shares	-1.165	.531	.002	.001	.838	.090	.928
bond1	No investment as type of bonds	.036	.017	.000	.000	.891	.105	.996
bond2	Investment in the form of bonds	-2.392	-1.145	.020	.009	.891	.105	.996
illi	Illiterate	.885	-.637	.008	.008	.615	.164	.779
reandwr	Only read and write	.695	-.597	.004	.006	.551	.210	.760
grade	Grade school	.725	.195	.055	.008	.958	.036	.994
secon	Junior high school	.169	.056	.001	.000	.582	.033	.615
highsc	High school	-.427	.314	.008	.009	.767	.214	.980
univer	University degree	-1.786	-.532	.130	.022	.955	.044	.999
postgr	Post university	-3.092	-2.101	.011	.010	.665	.158	.823
noimmo	No have income from urban property	.131	.028	.003	.000	.847	.020	.868
immo1	Less than 10 percent of additional income	-.223	-.221	.001	.002	.402	.204	.606
immo2	11 - 20 percent of additional income	-1.330	-.050	.026	.000	.852	.001	.852
immo3	21 - 30 percent of additional income	-.395	.598	.001	.002	.293	.346	.639
immo4	31 - 40 percent of additional income	.086	.024	.000	.000	.006	.000	.006
immo5	41 - 50 percent of additional income	-.527	.740	.001	.003	.241	.244	.485
immo6	51+	.535	-2.462	.001	.023	.070	.761	.831
nomob	No have income from mobile property	.285	.053	.014	.001	.944	.017	.960
mob1	Less than 10 percent of additional income	-.502	-.009	.014	.000	.820	.000	.820
mob2	11 - 20 percent of additional income	-2.608	-1.439	.035	.020	.845	.133	.978
mob3	21 - 30 percent of additional income	-2.392	-1.145	.007	.003	.891	.105	.996
mob4	31 - 40 percent of additional income	-1.096	.626	.002	.001	.307	.052	.358
mob5	41 - 50 percent of additional income	-2.043	-.667	.003	.001	.779	.043	.821
mob6	51+	-.790	-.501	.001	.001	.116	.024	.140
other	Other (neither public nor private)	-.188	.160	.004	.005	.630	.237	.867
public	Public sector	-.102	.079	.001	.001	.187	.058	.245
private	Private sector	.444	-.369	.012	.016	.693	.246	.939
0-17	Age group 0-17	.590	2.927	.000	.007	.053	.672	.725
18-30	Age group 18-30	.319	.256	.004	.005	.500	.166	.666
31-45	Age group 31-45	.130	-.190	.002	.008	.278	.307	.585
46-50	Age group 46-60	-.253	.360	.004	.015	.356	.373	.729
61+	Age group 61 and over	-.416	-.408	.005	.010	.354	.175	.529
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 4. Income composition (1994): Overview Row Points(a)

a Symmetrical normalization.

Variables		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
		k = 1	k = 2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	Lowest income region	.670	-.562	.301	.410	.730	.264	.994
R2	Second lowest income region	.511	-.024	.067	.000	.730	.001	.731
R3	Mid-income region	.176	.449	.035	.445	.213	.715	.928
R4	Fourth income region	-.295	.116	.057	.017	.512	.041	.553
R5	Top income region	-.920	-.321	.539	.127	.926	.058	.984
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 5. Income composition (1994):
Overview Column Points(a)

a Symmetrical normalization.

For measuring the economical well-being of the households, Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is applied to a contingency table in which more than two categorical variables are cross-tabulated in which relationship between more than one variables and a single variable is analyzed conjointly (Greenacre, 1993, 141). By doing so, the associations between more than two categorical variables can be used. The use of "multi-way" case is often referred as multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). I construct "concatenated tables", where cross-tabulations of variables with a single variable are analyzed jointly. Input data is the raw frequencies of 60x5 contingency tables (58x5 for the data 2001) of the variables corresponding to the class fractions and economic well-being of the households. The numerical results are given in **Table 4, 5** for the data 1994.

The interpretation of the plane depends on two concepts: absolute and relative contribution. The summary in **Figure 4** shows the items that correspond to the strong absolute contributions indicated in **bold letters** for the first dimension and **bold italics** for the second d axis. The variables in the summary **Figure 4** are installed according to the absolute and relative contribution in each quadrant.

The results of the MCA provides sufficient evidence that the spatial segregation based on the income can act as an axis of dichotomy separating managers, professionals, big-employer and retired as privileged class fractions in terms of income from the "poor" category which consists of unskilled service workers, artisan and informal and blue collar workers (manual workers). This study reveals that market is not the primary source of income for the "wealthy" part of the population. The source and the amount of income show that the "rich" has substantial amount of income from both urban rents and, to a higher extent from the market transactions such as interest from holdings, stocks and shares, bonds, dividends etc. This is mainly because of the new economic instruments in the market introduced especially after the integration of the nation's economy with the global market in 1980s. Moreover, this implies a web of involvement in places where the information circulates mutually. This is also rather risky to make investment to the market transaction that only rich (both in capital and information) may have the ability to compensate their loses (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, 117-8).

The second axis differentiates the mid-income region from the poorest region. The positive part of the vertical axis with the strongest connotation of the "mid-income" or being in "mid-position" corresponds with the semi-skilled professionals and mid-size employer. The small employer was, also loaded weakly in this part of the axis. These three fractions can be depicted as the middle income groups because second weakest income and mid-income quintiles are highly relevant with the positive side of the

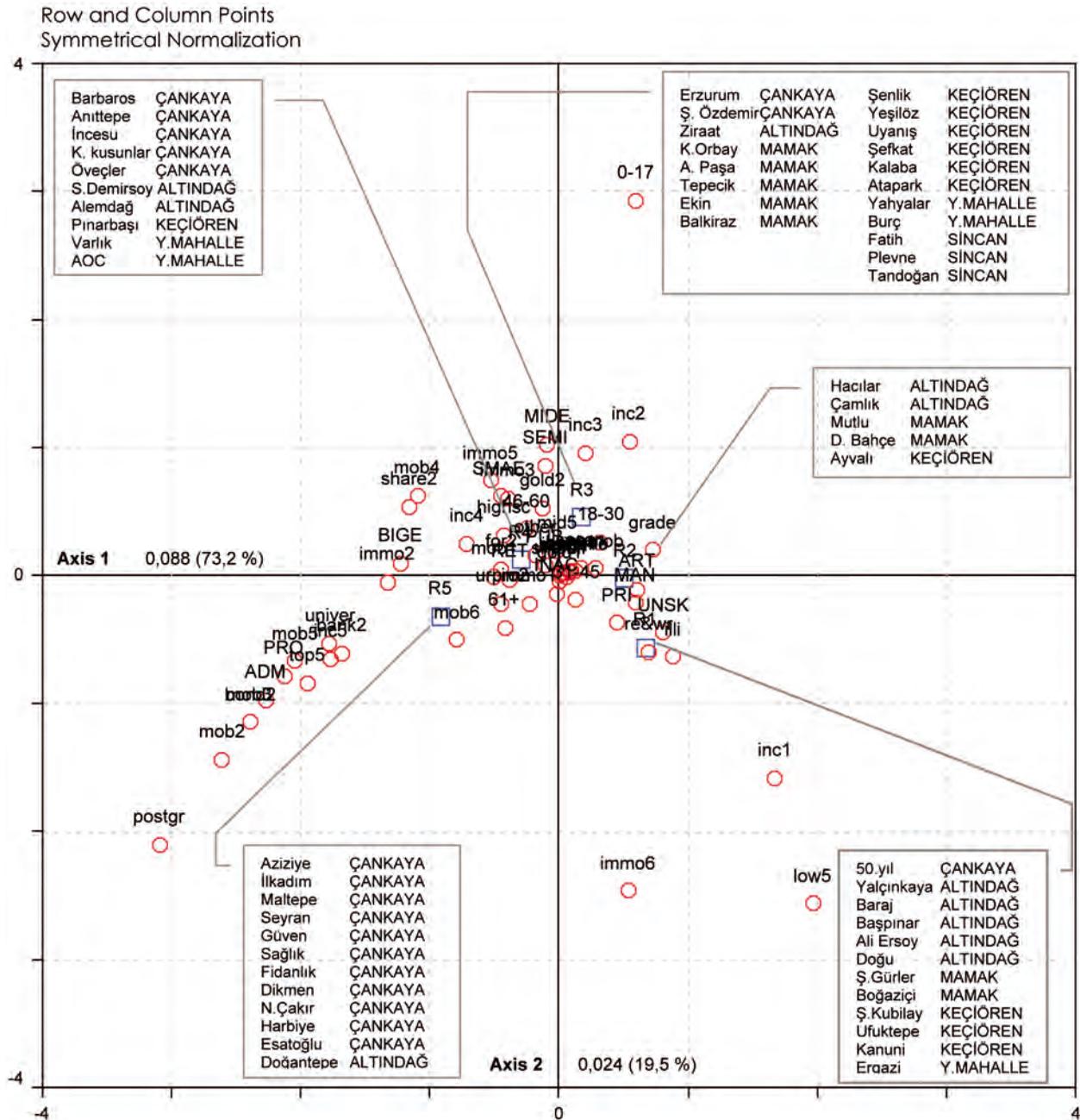


Figure 3. The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 1994.

vertical axis. The households of this quadrant have fairly hold additional income which comes especially from urban rents. And the type of savings in part of semi-skilled professionals and employers is the “gold” which can be evaluated as the traditional type of savings in Turkish society. On the contrary, the negative side of the vertical axis hosts the unskilled service workers as the class fraction together with the lowest income band and lowest five percent.

One important finding is that the level of education has almost exactly paralleled to the income. The more the economic capital raises the more level of education is obtained. Taking into consideration of the income composition of the privileged class fractions, university degree’s absolute

	<p>R3, R4 Semi-skilled professionals Mid employer Small employer (LOW)</p> <p>Second weakest income quintiles 20% Mid-income quintiles 20% In-between lwst5 and top 5%</p> <p>Investment in gold</p> <p>Additional income: 21 - 30 percent from urban property</p> <p>High school</p> <p>Age group 0-17 Age group 46-60</p>
<p>R5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer Retired</p> <p>Fourth income 20% Top income 20% Top 5 percent</p> <p>Investment in urban property Investment in foreign exchange Have investment in form of bank account Have investment of stocks and shares Investment in the form of bonds</p> <p>Additional income: less than 10 percent from urban property Additional income: 11 - 20 percent from urban property</p> <p>Additional income: less than 10 percent from mobile property Additional income: 11 - 20 percent from mobile property Additional income: 21 - 30 percent from mobile property Additional income: 41 - 50 percent from mobile property</p> <p>High school University degree Post university</p> <p>Age group 46-60 Age group 61+</p>	<p>R1, R2 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal</p> <p>Lowest income quintile 20% Lowest 5 percent</p> <p>NO investment in urban property NO investment in foreign exchange NO have investment in form of bank account NO have investment of stocks and shares NO Investment in the form of bonds</p> <p>Have NO income from urban property</p> <p>Have NO income from mobile property</p> <p>Illiterate Only read and write Grade school Junior high school</p> <p>Private sector Age group 18-20</p> <p>R1 Unskilled service workers</p> <p>Lowest income quintile 20% Lowest 5 percent No investment in gold More than 50 percent from mobile property</p> <p>Only read and write Private sector Age group 31-45</p>

Figure 4. The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 1994.

11. The 2001 offers some additional information in which the data for the year of 1994 did not have. The "not having any kind of investment" and "having more than one way of savings" are of this type which can be converted as "no investment" and "multi-level type of investment". The categorization of the ways of investment in 2001 is slightly different than the data set of 1994. In 1994 each category considered as in the form of "having" or "not having" answers, for instance purchasing foreign currency has been divided into "Yes" or "No" type of answers. In 2001 the "yes" or "no" type answers were changed so that if a household does not have one type of investment it does not mean that they do not prefer another type of investment.

contribution is substantially high whereas on the opposite side the grade schooling is dominant. The level of education for middle position is equated with the high school certificate. On the lower part of the vertical axis, valid for the unskilled service workers they can only read and write. And finally, the results reveal that working for private sector and working at a young age are highly correlated with the disadvantageous position.

For the data of HICES OF 2001 (11), once again the administrative-managerial workers, professionals, big employers are economically the wealthiest fractions (Table 6, 7; Figure 5, 6). The high values of correlation of the top five percent income bands and top income quintile have forcefully supported their economically privileged position. The mid and small size employers and inactive population also load slightly negative side of the axis. Substantial amount of additional income in the form of both urban property and from the various market instruments is valid for the richest fractions. For the "materially well-endowed" households, additional income obtained from various market instruments is more dominant and miscellaneous indicating their mastery to use various instruments. The high level of education, having university degree and even post-university degree, also verify the "wealthy" connotation of the horizontal axis.

In opposition, the most deprived groups regarding income are the unskilled service and manual workers together with the artisan and informal workers which confirm the findings of the data for 1994. The lowest income quintile and lowest five percent income bands, they all load to the positive side of the axis. On the other hand, savings in any form is not part of their social reality. However "investment in form of stocks and shares" are also interrelated with these groups. This can be taken as attempts to increase their economic position upwardly. I detected some income decline in professionals and retired people as compared with the results of 1994. Professionals, although highly correlated with the "highest income" region also loads, though slightly, to the "mid-position". This can be taken as an indication of the some sort of economic recession. Retired groups, mid size employer and to a lower extend semi-skilled professionals are grouped together with the professionals holding the "middle position" in the upper side of the vertical axis. There is additional income especially in the form of urban property. In 2001, it seems that the type of investment is diversified for the middle group as compared to the results of 1994: besides "gold" as one can also see "bonds" which is quite not so risky type of investment. On the other hand, the low quality of the "semi-skilled professionals and clerks" category (QLT, 0,132) makes it difficult to compare their position from 1994 to 2001. The junior high school and high school certificates dominate the "mid-position" as the level of education. In opposition to the mid-income position, very few information is obtained. There appears no specific social blocks.

In the analysis, working in private sector has not gained many earnings; on the contrary, workers working in the private sector have become poor as in the case of 1994. Young age is supported the poor position whereas older ages is an attribute of the "wealthy part".

VARIABLES		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
		k = 1	k = 2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	Lowest income region	.738	-.837	.172	.423	.568	.383	.952
R2	Second lowest income region	.523	-.193	.121	.031	.730	.052	.782
R3	Mid-income region	-.103	.349	.008	.176	.083	.499	.582
R4	Fourth income region	.216	.520	.022	.239	.162	.492	.654
R5	Top income region	-1.392	-.443	.677	.131	.945	.050	.995
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 6. Income composition (2001):
Overview Column Points(a)

a Symmetrical normalization.

VARIABLES		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
		k=1	k=2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
ADM	Administrative, managers	-1.394	-.099	.024	.000	.935	.002	.937
PRO	Professionals	-.796	.658	.010	.013	.701	.251	.952
SEMI	Semi professionals, clerks	-.035	.171	.000	.001	.010	.126	.137
BIGE	Big employer	-1.365	.220	.015	.001	.906	.012	.918
MIDE	Mid employer	-.804	.861	.004	.009	.557	.334	.891
SMAE	Small employer	-.666	-.247	.002	.001	.325	.023	.348
UNSK	Unskilled service workers Mid employer	.540	-.355	.010	.008	.723	.163	.886
MAN	Manual workers	.634	-.007	.014	.000	.959	.000	.959
ART	Artisan and informals	.421	-.308	.010	.010	.700	.196	.897
RET	Retired	-.144	.317	.001	.009	.133	.337	.470
INAC	Inactive	-.605	-.293	.006	.003	.433	.053	.486
inc1	Lowest income quintile (>266.000)	1.036	-1.318	.057	.176	.537	.456	.993
inc2	Second lowest income (266.001-406.000)	.553	.224	.015	.005	.848	.073	.921
inc3	Mid income quintile (406.001-537.000)	.091	.572	.000	.032	.033	.687	.720
inc4	Fourth income quintile (537.001-901.000)	.132	.983	.001	.100	.023	.669	.692
inc5	Top income (901.001+)	-1.851	-.462	.177	.021	.953	.031	.984
low5	Lowest 5 percent (>148.250)	.993	-1.364	.027	.096	.502	.496	.998
mid5	In-between lw st 5 and top 5%	.179	.315	.007	.039	.382	.617	.999
top5	Top 5 per cent (1.992.201+)	-2.489	-1.086	.162	.059	.907	.090	.997
urpro	Investment in urban property	-.991	.655	.006	.005	.648	.148	.797
coop	Membership of a building cooperative	-.715	.466	.003	.003	.634	.141	.775
gold	Investment in gold	.131	1.929	.000	.023	.007	.818	.825
for	Investment in foreign exchange	-.535	.399	.005	.005	.623	.182	.804
bank	Investment in form of bank account	-.990	.661	.009	.008	.539	.126	.664
share	Investment in form of stocks and shares	1.145	-.755	.003	.003	.587	.134	.721
bond	Investment as type of bonds	-.240	1.551	.000	.008	.012	.261	.273
multi	Multi-way investment	-1.698	-.408	.040	.004	.965	.029	.994
NOsaving	Not having saving	.285	-.111	.016	.005	.868	.069	.937
illi	Illiterate	1.035	-1.205	.019	.050	.549	.390	.940
reandwri	Only read and write	.912	-.942	.010	.019	.441	.247	.688
grade	Grade school	.611	-.056	.039	.001	.965	.004	.969
secon	Junior high school	-.007	.724	.000	.034	.000	.935	.935
highsc	High school	-.475	.501	.014	.029	.620	.361	.982
univer	University degree	-1.786	-.275	.086	.004	.981	.012	.994
postgr	Post university	-3.239	-1.965	.051	.036	.797	.154	.951
immo1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,	-.822	.516	.007	.005	.678	.140	.818
immo2	11 - 20 percent of additional income,	.069	.271	.000	.002	.106	.848	.954
immo3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,	-1.166	-.463	.010	.003	.741	.061	.802
immo4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,	-.315	-.456	.000	.001	.112	.123	.234
immo5	41 - 50 percent of additional income	-.240	1.551	.000	.008	.012	.261	.273
immo6	51+	-3.239	-1.965	.009	.006	.797	.154	.951
noimmo	No have income from mobile property	.098	-.018	.002	.000	.925	.017	.941
mob1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,	-1.891	-.407	.015	.001	.893	.022	.915
mob2	11 - 20 percent of additional income,	-2.639	-1.262	.028	.012	.885	.106	.991
mob3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,	-1.753	-1.596	.008	.012	.519	.225	.745
mob4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,	-.671	-.900	.002	.008	.447	.422	.870

mob5	41 - 50 percent of additional income	-3,239	-1.965	.009	.006	.797	.154	.951
mob6	51+	-.762	-2.840	.001	.025	.100	.726	.826
nomob	No have income from mobile property	.130	.094	.004	.004	.769	.212	.981
0-17	Age group 0-17	1.109	-.704	.004	.003	.253	.053	.306
18-30	Age group 18-30	.642	-.648	.021	.041	.516	.276	.792
31-45	Age group 31-45	.066	.299	.000	.018	.073	.792	.864
46-60	Age group 46-60	-.235	.087	.003	.001	.453	.032	.486
61+	Age group 61 and over	-.840	-.078	.025	.000	.942	.004	.946
Npubpri	Neither public nor private	-.255	.170	.004	.004	.363	.085	.448
PUB	Public sector	-.130	.300	.001	.008	.135	.374	.509
PRI	Private sector	.153	-.201	.003	.011	.432	.390	.822
KIT		-.003	.341	.000	.001	.000	.548	.548
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 7. Income Composition (2001): Overview Row Points(a) a Symmetrical normalization.

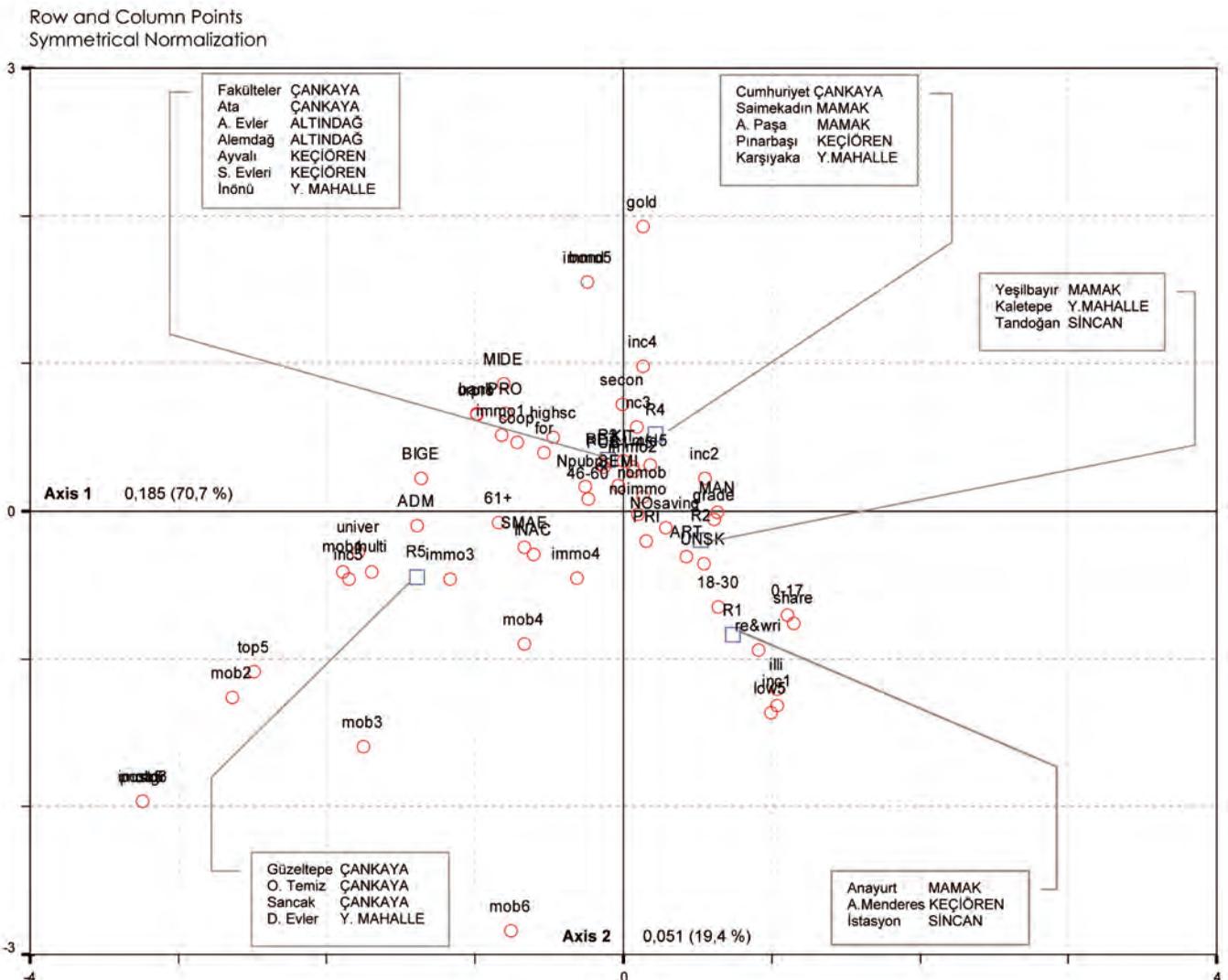


Figure 5. The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 2001.

	<p>R3, R4</p> <p>Professionals (LOW) Mid-employer Semi-skilled professionals (very LOW) Retired</p> <p>Mid-income quintiles 20% Fourth income quintiles 20% In-between lwest 5 and top 5 percent income</p> <p>11 - 20 percent from urban property 41 - 50 percent from urban property (LOW)</p> <p>Investment in gold Investment in bonds (LOW)</p> <p>Junior high school High school</p> <p>Age group 31-45 Public sector KIT</p>
<p>R5</p> <p>Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big-employer Mid-employer (LOW) Small employer (very LOW) Inactive (LOW)</p> <p>Top income 20% Top 5 percent</p> <p>Investment in urban property Membership of a building cooperative Investment in foreign exchange Have investment in form of bank account Multi way investment</p> <p>Less than 10 percent from urban rent 21 - 30 percent from urban property 51+ from urban property</p> <p>Less than 10 percent mobile property 11 - 20 percent mobile property 21 - 30 percent mobile property 31 - 40 percent of additional income 41 - 50 percent mobile property</p> <p>High school University degree Post university</p> <p>Age group 46-60 Age group 61+</p>	<p>R1, R2</p> <p>Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal</p> <p>Lowest income quintile 20% Second lowest income quintiles 20% Lowest 5 percent</p> <p>Investment in form of stocks and shares NO savings</p> <p>NO have income from immobile property NO have income from mobile property</p> <p>Illiterate Only read and write Grade school</p> <p>Age group 18-30 Private sector</p> <p>R1</p> <p>Lowest income quintile 20% Lowest 5 percent</p> <p>31 - 40 percent from mobile property 51+ percent from mobile property Illiterate Only read and write Private sector</p>

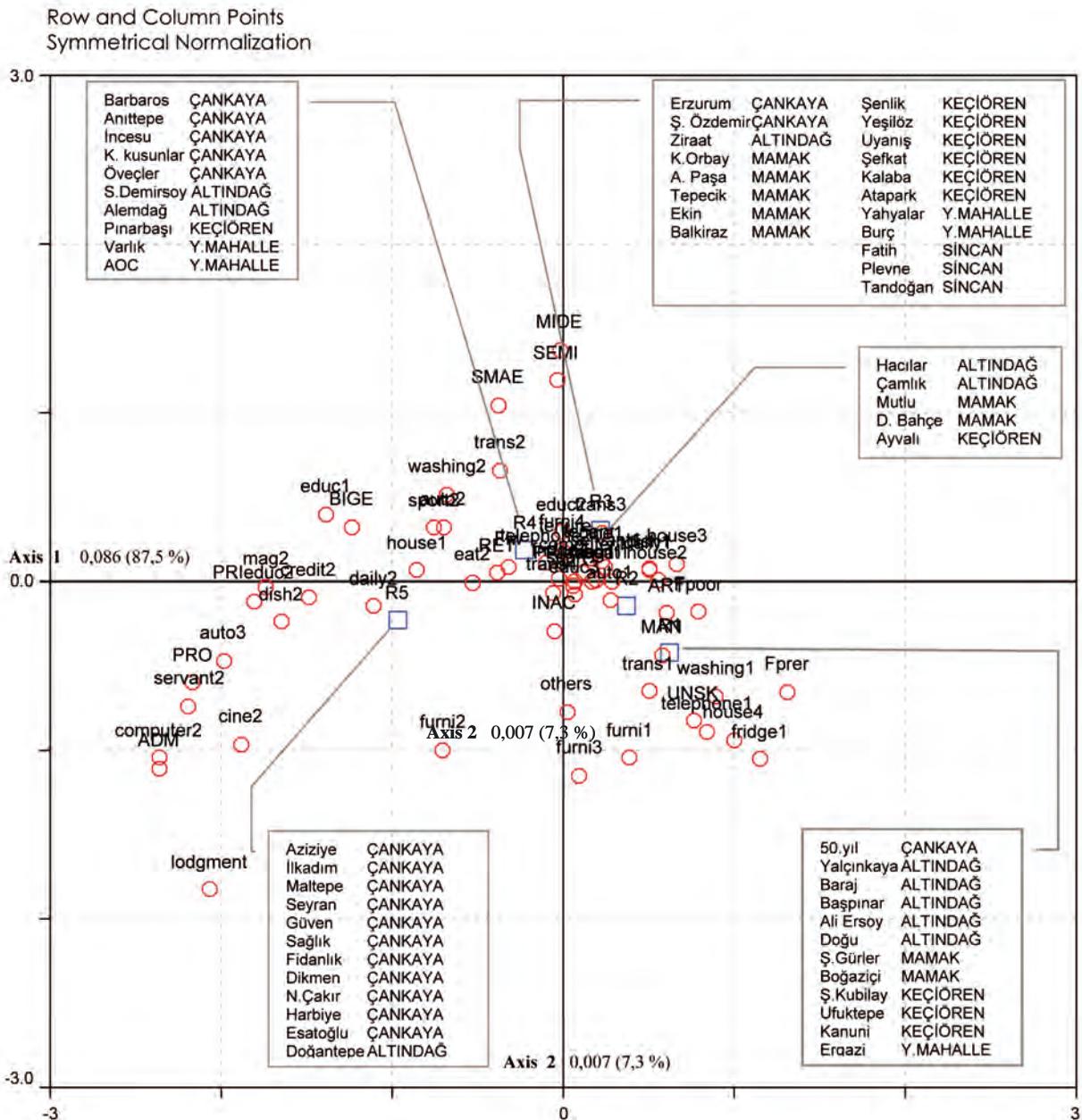
Figure 6. The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

CONSUMPTION PATTERN AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

A great variation concerning the consumption patterns and lifestyle activities among the higher and lower class fractions have been detected (Table 8, 9; Figure 7, 8). There are marked differences between the administrative-managerial workers, professionals, and to a lesser extend big employer and retired people in terms of practicing various kind of cultural activities whereas on the opposite side unskilled, manual workers, artisan and informal workers are immune to any of them.

Upper part of the vertical axis is characterized by the semi-skilled professionals-clerks and mid-small size employer against the unskilled service workers at the lower quadrant of the vertical axis. However I have not detected much variation in lifestyle activities in part of the middle position at the upper part of the vertical axis. The cultural consumption has been marked by only high income part of the graph.

Figure 7. The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the consumption pattern with spatial clusters (1994).



VARIABLES		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
				CTR		COR		
		k=1	k=2	1	2	1	2	OLT
ADM	Administrative, managers	-2.363	-1.105	.021	.016	.883	.056	.938
PRO	Professionals	-2.165	-.599	.045	.012	.935	.021	.956
SEMI	Semi professionals, clerks	-.036	1.189	.000	.113	.003	.957	.960
BIGE	Big employer	-1.237	.319	.005	.001	.901	.017	.918
MIDE	Mid employer	-.020	1.370	.000	.055	.001	.796	.797
SMAE	Small employer	-.377	1.044	.000	.010	.216	.477	.693
UNSK	Unskilled service workers Mid employer	.764	-.826	.013	.053	.663	.224	.886
MAN	Manual workers	.579	-.434	.005	.010	.718	.117	.835
ART	Artisan and informals	.604	-.188	.013	.004	.649	.018	.668
RET	Retired	-.385	.048	.004	.000	.938	.004	.942
INAC	Inactive	-.051	-.291	.000	.003	.017	.159	.176
auto1	Have no automobile	.275	-.111	.009	.005	.920	.044	.964
auto2	Have one	-.700	.323	.021	.015	.904	.056	.960
auto3	Have more than one automobile	-1.987	-.469	.005	.001	.947	.015	.963
tenure	Tenure	.010	.166	.000	.009	.009	.787	.797
tenant	Tenant	.158	.131	.001	.003	.550	.109	.659
lodgment	Lodgment	-2.070	-1.826	.019	.052	.805	.181	.986
others	Others	.024	-.771	.000	.036	.002	.707	.710
fridge1	NOT having fridge	1.150	-1.051	.004	.011	.728	.175	.903
fridge2	Having fridge	-.021	.019	.000	.000	.728	.175	.903
washing1	NOT having washing	.892	-.679	.056	.112	.854	.143	.996
washing2	Having washing	-.677	.515	.042	.085	.854	.143	.996
dish1	NOT having dishwasher	.501	.073	.031	.002	.991	.006	.997
dish2	Having dishwasher	-1.645	-.239	.103	.008	.991	.006	.997
telephone1	NOT having telephone	.843	-.890	.012	.048	.714	.229	.943
telephone2	Having telephone	-.102	.108	.002	.006	.714	.229	.943
computer1	NOT having computer	.117	.052	.002	.001	.929	.052	.982
computer2	Having computer	-2.361	-1.043	.043	.029	.929	.052	.982
servant1	NOT having servant	.247	.083	.009	.003	.963	.031	.994
servant2	Having servant	-2.193	-.737	.079	.031	.963	.031	.994
Flw	Less than 40 percent of total monthly income spent on food	-.317	.086	.012	.003	.962	.021	.982
Fpoor	41 - 60 percent of total monthly income spent on food	.791	-.177	.024	.004	.971	.014	.985
Fprer	61 - 100 percent of total monthly income spent on food	1.308	-.652	.009	.007	.878	.063	.941
PReduc1	Not having private education	.064	.004	.001	.000	.987	.001	.988
PReduc2	Having private education	-1.808	-.115	.018	.000	.987	.001	.988
eat1	NO eating out	.283	.003	.008	.000	.916	.000	.916
eat2	YES eating out	-.527	-.006	.016	.000	.916	.000	.916
daily1	NO daily newspaper	.502	.065	.028	.002	.989	.005	.993
daily2	YES daily newspaper	-1.107	-.144	.062	.004	.989	.005	.993
mag1	NO reading magazine	.172	.003	.004	.000	.909	.000	.909
mag2	YES reading magazine	-1.738	-.030	.044	.000	.909	.000	.909
cine1	NO cine	.231	.119	.008	.007	.919	.070	.989
cine2	YES cine	-1.879	-.965	.063	.057	.919	.070	.989
sport1	NO sport events	.058	-.024	.001	.000	.925	.047	.971
sport2	YES sport events	-.755	.316	.007	.004	.925	.047	.971
credit1	NO credit card	.192	.012	.005	.000	.990	.001	.991
credit2	YES credit card	-1.483	-.093	.041	.001	.990	.001	.991
house1	1 st place	-.857	.066	.049	.001	.956	.002	.958
house2	2 nd place	.551	.005	.021	.000	.909	.000	.909
house3	3 rd place	.668	.103	.009	.001	.634	.004	.638
house4	4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place	.996	-.938	.007	.022	.782	.200	.982
furni1	1 st place	.388	-1.044	.001	.023	.153	.320	.473
furni2	2 nd place	-.702	-.999	.001	.010	.609	.356	.965
furni3	3 rd place	.091	-1.149	.000	.067	.021	.969	.990
furni4	4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place	-.012	.188	.000	.017	.013	.912	.925
trans1	1 st place	.503	-.650	.001	.006	.579	.279	.858

trans2	2 nd place	-.366	.660	.000	.004	.181	.169	.350
trans3	3 rd place	.224	.288	.002	.009	.253	.121	.373
trans4	4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place	-.062	-.064	.000	.002	.263	.083	.346
educ1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place	-1.386	.398	.012	.003	.755	.018	.773
educ2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place	-.011	.291	.000	.008	.004	.839	.844
educ3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place	.067	-.077	.001	.003	.524	.197	.721
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 8. Consumption profile (1994):
Overview Row Points(a)

a Symmetrical normalization

Variables		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
				CTR		COR		
		k = 1	k = 2	1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	Lowest income region	.625	-.421	.265	.418	.877	.115	.992
R2	Second lowest income region	.372	-.146	.036	.019	.644	.029	.673
R3	Mid-income region	.222	.304	.057	.370	.587	.320	.907
R4	Fourth income region	-.226	.181	.034	.076	.514	.095	.609
R5	Top income region	-.969	-.228	.607	.116	.979	.016	.995
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 9. Consumption profile (1994):
Overview Column Points(a)

a Symmetrical normalization.

Owning a refrigerator, washing machine, dishwasher, telephone, computer are the main durable commodities which act as main discriminating agents between high and low income regions. The most influential contribution was brought by the ownership of washing machine, dishwasher and computer. Hiring someone for domestic service is also very indicative within the negative side of the horizontal axis. In a similar vein, car ownership (even more than one car) is related with this part. On the opposite side "not having" quality is very dominant for the poorer fractions and regions.

As for the consumption pattern, to a varying extend "housing expenses" is very important for both "rich" and "poor". The large part of the consumption expenditure goes to the housing expenses in part of the wealthier groups. The lodgment category is relevant with the "wealthier" part of the first axis whereas "tenant" occupied the opposite side. The upper part of the vertical axis hosts "tenure" where "others" category takes place the lower quadrant. It is reasonable to comment high spending on housing in part of the "poor" groups because of the relation with the tenant category however for the other quadrants the relationship is not evident. This might be due to the fact that in Turkey the share of expenditure on necessities (food-apparel-housing expenditure) is high even for the high income households as compared with the average expenditure on necessities of the European Union (EU-25) countries (Yükseler and Türkan, 2008, 69-70). On the other hand expenditure related with the miscellaneous services (entertainment, hotel, restaurant and café, various expenses) is substantially lower than the EU-25.

As expected, the richer fractions spend substantial part of their income on residential expenses and education. Education expenses and private schooling are highly correlated with the high income part. The category of residence expenses which contains spending on furniture, floor coverings, furniture repair, kitchen appliances, etc., is distinctive for the "rich" income region and fractions. The residence expenses occupy the second largest expenditure category for the majority of managers, professionals and retired. This implies a more intensive social use of the home for entertaining and a sign of social standing of the family.

	<p>R3 Semi-skilled professionals, clerks Mid-employer Small employer Tenure Having telephone connection Residence expense (BOTTOM place) Education (MID place)</p>
<p>R5, R4 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer Retired Have one car Have more than one car Lodgment Having fridge Having washing machine Having dishwasher Having telephone connection Having computer Hiring someone for domestic services Food (bottom places) Private education Eating out Daily newspaper Reading magazine Going to a cine Sport matches Using credit card Housing (TOP place) Residence expense (SECOND place) Education (TOP)</p>	<p>R1, R2 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal Don't own a car Tenant Not having fridge Not having washing machine Not having dishwasher Not having telephone connection Not having computer Not hiring someone for domestic services Food poor Food poorer Not having private education Not eating out Not reading daily newspaper Not reading magazine Not going to a cine Not going sport matches Not using credit card Housing (SECOND place) Housing (BOTTOM place) Transportation (TOP place) Education (BOTTOM place)</p> <p>R1 Unskilled service workers Others (Not paying rent) Not having telephone Residence expenses (First place) Residence expenses (Second place) Residence expenses (Third place) Transportation (TOP)</p>

Figure 8. The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption patterns with spatial clusters (1994).

For the poor fractions, the spending on transportation (12) is substantial in their total expenditure. Taking into account that they don't have an automobile, I can interpret this result as the heavy burden regarding

12. Transport division contains (1) purchase of vehicles, (2) operation of personal transport equipments and (3) transport services according to the COICOP classification.

13. Cell phone usage was not included in data 1994.

14. In the data of the year 2001, the consumption habit 'going to the sport events' was not asked so "playing lottery" was replaced.

collective consumption such as inner city transportation services, buses, and train tickets. They consume urban services at a very high ratio which occupies the first place in their total expenditure.

As concerned with the share of food expenditure in the total consumption expenditure, the unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan are the "food poor" families according to the Engel law. For the richer part, food expenditure found relatively at the bottom of the total household spending.

Variations in the ownership of household durables and consumption items are substantial among different segments in 2001 (Table 10, 11; Figure 9,10). Slightly different pattern emerges with respect to the class fraction's location especially for the vertical axis. Semi-skilled professionals did not appear as indicative as in the case of data of 1994 because of the low quality display (quality value 0,078). Instead, professionals (though slightly) and retired took place in the mid-income part of the axis together with the mid-employer. However the fractions loaded on the poor part of both horizontal (right-lower quadrant) and vertical (lower quadrant) stayed the same as the results of the data of 1994. In the first axis, most specific for the highest income feature are of managers, professionals, big-employer, mid-employer and, to a lower extent, small employer and inactive people. In the opposite part of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan and informal workers appeared once more with a high connotation of being poor in terms of material and cultural consumption.

The survey shows that managers, professionals, employers have durable commodities as dish washer and to a lower extent washing machine as necessity items. More importantly ownership of cell phone, computer and having internet connection has the highest contributions on the high income connotation of the horizontal axis. Cell phone usage (13) has spread among the wealthiest and "having more than one cell phone" is specific for the mid- income group. On the other hand, unskilled service workers, blue collar workers and artisans are characterised without having any of these items. Private education and high consumption for education is the distinguishing feature of the wealthy groups.

One of the important result of the data of 2001 is the groupings of professionals together with the "retired" people appeared as "middle-position" regarding income in the upper quadrant of the display. Although they face with the declining wages, their standard of living does not follow this trend. The ownership of "more than one cell phone" and credit card usage can be taken as an indication of this observation. Playing lottery (14) appears as their marked consumption habit.

Once more in 2001, again the wealthy is of "food low" category whereas the poor spends substantial part of their total expenditure on food (fpoor and fprer). One of the most remarkable findings of the data is the increase in the residential expenses as furniture, kitchen appliances, services for keeping up the residence, etc., for the high level of income.

Spending on transportation is rather high in accord with the car ownership which loads more on the negative part of the first axis. Education expenses in accord with the "private education" has substantial correlation with the income, as income rises education expenses also rise because of the "private education". For the poor fractions taken place on the positive part of the horizontal axis, their housing and rent expenditure are also slightly high; this is highly probable because of the spending for electricity, water,

or gas. The cost of urban services is still having considerable share for the lower income households. Residential expenses and transportation did not rank high in their total household budget.

Variables		Score in dimension		Contribution				
		k=1	k=2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
ADM	Administrative, managers	-1.615	-.306	.016	.001	.953	.014	.967
PRO	Professionals	-.930	.842	.007	.013	.722	.245	.967
SEMI	Semi professionals, clerks	-.043	.160	.000	.001	.011	.066	.078
BIGE	Big employer	-1.551	.298	.010	.001	.884	.014	.898
MIDE	Mid employer	-.960	1.100	.003	.010	.598	.325	.923
SMAE	Small employer	-.839	-.524	.002	.002	.389	.063	.452
UNSK	Unskilled service workers Mid employer	.633	-.469	.007	.009	.734	.167	.901
MAN	Manual workers	.734	.012	.009	.000	.954	.000	.954
ART	Artisan and informals	.487	-.389	.007	.010	.689	.182	.871
RET	Retired	-.144	.455	.001	.012	.100	.414	.514
INAC	Inactive	-.653	-.260	.003	.001	.381	.025	.406
auto1	Have no automobile	.306	.120	.008	.003	.917	.058	.976
auto2	Have one	-.375	-.048	.005	.000	.896	.006	.902
auto3	Have more than one automobile	-3.294	-2.334	.040	.048	.821	.171	.991
telephone1	NOT having telephone	.688	-.820	.004	.014	.244	.144	.387
telephone2	Having telephone	-.049	.058	.000	.001	.244	.144	.387
cell1	NOT having cell phone	.729	-.393	.030	.021	.888	.107	.995
cell2	Having a cell phone	-1.331	-.140	.038	.001	.963	.004	.967
cell3	Having more than one	-.232	.471	.003	.028	.351	.596	.947
computer1	NOT having computer	.282	.018	.009	.000	.946	.002	.948
computer2	Having computer	-1.504	-.094	.046	.000	.946	.002	.948
net1	NOT having internet connection	.200	.101	.005	.003	.893	.094	.988
net2	Having internet connection	-2.242	-1.131	.053	.033	.893	.094	.988
fridge1	NOT having fridge	-.190	.083	.000	.000	.117	.009	.126
fridge2	Having fridge	.007	-.003	.000	.000	.117	.009	.126
dish1	NOT having dishwasher	.707	-.162	.040	.005	.972	.021	.993
dish2	Having dishwasher	-1.130	.260	.064	.008	.972	.021	.993
servant1	NOT having servant	.335	.216	.013	.013	.836	.144	.980
servant2	Having servant	-2.985	-1.926	.116	.117	.836	.144	.980
washing1	NOT having washing	1.047	-1.264	.013	.047	.584	.353	.938
washing2	Having washing	-.109	.132	.001	.005	.584	.353	.938
Flw	Less than 40 % of Σ monthly income spent on food	-.163	.209	.003	.012	.537	.369	.906
Fpoor	41 - 60 % of Σ monthly income spent on food	1.124	-1.418	.019	.073	.532	.350	.882
Fprer	61 - 100 % of Σ monthly income spent on food	1.802	-2.852	.003	.016	.483	.501	.984
daily1	NO daily newspaper	.621	-.135	.032	.004	.968	.019	.987
daily2	YES daily newspaper	-1.092	.236	.056	.006	.968	.019	.987
mag1	NO reading magazine	.257	.099	.008	.003	.939	.057	.996
mag2	YES reading magazine	-2.143	-.824	.064	.023	.939	.057	.996
cine1	NO cine	.428	-.057	.018	.001	.974	.007	.981
cine2	YES cine	-1.313	.174	.055	.002	.974	.007	.981
loto1	NO lottery	.193	-.420	.003	.033	.324	.637	.961
loto2	YES lottery	-.285	.620	.004	.048	.324	.637	.961
eat1	NO eating out	.472	-.250	.018	.012	.894	.104	.999
eat2	YES eating out	-.764	.405	.029	.020	.894	.104	.999
PReduc1	Not having private education	.148	.077	.003	.002	.889	.099	.988
PReduc2	Having private education	-2.604	-1.352	.047	.031	.889	.099	.988
credit1	NO credit card	.514	-.346	.019	.021	.828	.155	.983
credit2	YES credit card	-.667	.448	.025	.027	.828	.155	.983
house1	1st place	-.129	.198	.001	.008	.325	.318	.643
house2	2nd place	.181	-.238	.001	.005	.553	.395	.948
house3	3 rd place	.281	-.829	.001	.013	.087	.313	.400
house4	4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place	1.589	-1.138	.003	.004	.190	.040	.230
furni1	1st place	-1.110	-.030	.004	.000	.517	.000	.517
furni2	2nd place	-1.574	-1.407	.006	.012	.666	.220	.887
furni3	3 rd place	-.428	-.314	.002	.003	.676	.150	.826
furni4	4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place	.112	.065	.001	.001	.869	.120	.989
trans1	1st place	-1.875	-2.238	.011	.040	.620	.366	.986

trans2	2nd place	.318	-.181	.001	.000	.038	.005	.043
trans3	3 rd place	.021	.314	.000	.008	.005	.428	.433
trans4	4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place	.040	-.021	.000	.000	.525	.060	.585
tenure	Tenure	.194	.430	.001	.017	.202	.411	.613
tenant	Tenant	-.079	-.268	.000	.014	.164	.784	.948
others	Other	-.109	.355	.000	.004	.027	.117	.143
educ1	1st, 2nd, 3rd place	-1.071	.981	.005	.010	.645	.224	.868
educ2	4th, 5th, 6th place	.129	-1.222	.000	.057	.013	.488	.501
educ3	7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place	.025	.138	.000	.005	.024	.296	.319
commun1	1st, 2nd, 3rd place	.131	-1.049	.000	.042	.027	.701	.728
commun2	4th, 5th, 6th,	.097	.288	.001	.014	.153	.558	.712
commun3	7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place	-.209	-.085	.002	.001	.262	.018	.280
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 10. Consumption Profile (2001): a Symmetrical normalization.
Overview Row Points(a)

VARIABLES		Score in dimension		Contribution				
				CTR		COR		
		k = 1	k = 2	1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	Lowest income region	.648	-.609	.177	.377	.659	.241	.899
R2	Second lowest income region	.512	-.152	.154	.033	.724	.026	.750
R3	Mid-income region	-.068	.328	.005	.262	.068	.653	.720
R4	Fourth income region	.084	.322	.004	.154	.081	.498	.579
R5	Top income region	-1.185	-.391	.660	.174	.955	.043	.998
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 11. Consumption profile (2001): a Symmetrical normalization.
Overview Column Points(a)

In correlation with the mid-income part of the axis, the professionals (although highly correlated with the horizontal axis) and retired and to a lesser extend semi-skilled professionals are taken place. Housing expenditure has the first place in total spending. Taking their ownership status into account which indicates "tenure" so I can comment that this is because the rising price of the urban services as electricity, water and gas which occupy substantial place in their budget. The cost of urban services is quite high even for the mid-income households. On the other, for the lower part of the vertical axis where unskilled service workers are located, the communication expenses occupy top place. In a similar manner, education also has a substantial share in their household budget. This can be explained as an attempt to improve their children's social status and as an attempt not be isolated from the communication network. For both high income and low income households, the share of communication expenses (15) seem to increase in the household budget because of the widespread booming of the mobile phone and internet utility. The data of 2001, which is valid for the poor fractions of the positive part of the horizontal axis, indicates a substantial amount of spending for communication in the total household budget.

15. The transportation and communication expenses are two separate categories for the data of 2001 whereas these two were supplied as one category, 'transportation and communication', for the data of 1994.

	<p>R3, R4 Professionals (LOW) Mid-employer Retired Having more than one cell phone Having washing machine Food Low Playing lottery Using credit card Housing (TOP place) Tenure Transportation (BOTTOM place) Communication (INTERMEDIARY) Education (BOTTOM)</p>
<p>R5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer Mid employer Small employer (LOW) Inactive (LOW) Have one car Have more than one car Having telephone (LOW) Having cell phone Having more than one cell phone (LOW) Having computer Having internet connection Having dishwasher Hiring someone for domestic services Having washing machine Food low Daily newspaper Reading magazine Going to a cine Eating out Using credit card Housing (TOP place) (LOW) Housing (SECOND place) Tenant (LOW) Residence expense (TOP place) Residence expense (SECOND place) Residence expense (THIRD place) Transportation (TOP place) Having automobile Having more than one automobile Communication (BOTTOM place) (LOW) Education (TOP) Private education</p>	<p>R1 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal Not having automobile Not having telephone (LOW) Not having cell phone Not having computer Not having internet connection Not having dishwasher Not hiring someone for domestic services Not having washing machine Food poor Food poorer Not reading daily newspaper Not reading magazine Not going to a cine Not eating out Not using credit card Housing (SECOND place) Residence expense (BOTTOM place) Transportation (BOTTOM place) Communication (INTERMEDIARY) (LOW) Not having Private education R1 Not having washing machine Food poor Food poorer Not playing lottery Housing (SECOND place) Housing (THIRD place) Tenant Transportation (TOP) Communication (TOP) Education (INTERMEDIARY)</p>

Figure 10. The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption patterns with spatial clusters (2001).

As the lifestyle indicator, highly correlated with the negative side of the axis, the categories of reading daily newspapers, reading magazines, going to the cinema and theatre, eating out are marked as well. Using credit card is also a characteristic of the wealthy group whereas none of them is part of the daily reality of the poor section. Credit card usage is also correlated with the richer part of the vertical axis where the mid-income groups have placed.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Cumulative disparities have been found, privileged social classes living in economically better districts whereas low income classes live in poor districts (**Figure 11**). The high income groups which is located in the high-income residential areas of the southern part of the city are of the “service class” or salaried occupations composed of the managers, supervisors and highly qualified professionals (engineers, doctors, professors, etc). To some degree, the employer category oscillates between dominant and mid-position. The size of the employer creates much bigger differentiation as big-employer has reflected its privileged class positioning. It is noted that “big employer’s income composition and consumption patterns show similarities with the managerial workers and professionals.

The “deepening of the financial system” which was one of the main programs of the 1980s structural transformation of the new economic model, aimed at diversifying, directing and expanding the assets with the modern investment choices such as bonds, stocks, shares, and currency deposits. This change has caused a major transformation for the Turkish capitalist economy from the industrial capital to the financial capital and rentier economy. The results of the study demonstrate that professionals and managerial blocks together with the big employers have advanced towards these new investment instruments. The figures of the analysis show that the central question of the recent discussions in the political economy of the nation, whether to invest in stocks and shares, bonds or currency deposits remains largely within these blocks.

The main division of axis between the lowest and top income regions also distinguishes the subordinate and dominant class position whereas the vertical dimension represents the middle class position versus, to a lesser extent, unskilled service workers. The term “middle class” refers to a vast category composed of large collections of people from different occupations or sectors with respect to their standing in the middle position according to the income region. The study reveals that the important feature of the middle class is its extreme *heterogeneity*. Lower-level non-manual employment, i.e. semi-skilled professionals and clerks, mid and small scale employer are the unchanged protagonist of the middle class position. Their income and level of education are relatively low as compared with the advantageous segments however their cultural consumption gives us some clues about their aspiration of the higher strata. They never coincide with the blue collar workers which many Marxists have a tendency to assume their position as the “proletariat”. Although the level of explanation of the second axis is relatively low as compared with the first axis, it clearly shows the multi-dimensional character of the sociospatial segregation of Ankara. One thing that might be becoming clear is that different social groups appear to live differently but with consistent worlds of specific combinations of socio-economic and consumption practices and they can all be mapped according to the spatial distribution.

	<p>INCOME (INTERMEDIARY) EDUCATION (INTERMEDIARY)</p> <p>MIX TYPE URBAN SPACE HIGH INTERMEDIARY CLASS POSION Semi-skilled professionals and clerks Mid employer Not stable social blocks (professionals, small employers, retired)</p> <p>IN-BETWEEN Income from urban property Saving in the form of traditional and not risky type (gold) Mid-level education Having very limited leisure activities and cultural practices</p> <p>MATERIALLY FAIRLY-ENDOWED Main household durables Communication items Not having connection of the global network</p>
<p>INCOME (+) EDUCATION (+)</p> <p>SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY DOMINANT CLASS POSITION Administrative, managerial workers Professionals Big employer</p> <p>ADVANTAGEOUS High level of income Existence of additional income from urban property High level of additional income from market exchange Multiple ways of saving High level of education Older ages</p> <p>MATERIALLY WELL-ENDOWED Having automobiles Main household durables Informational goods Communication items Connection to the global network Using credit card Having various leisure activities and cultural practices Expenses for housing as consumption items Expenses for education</p>	<p>INCOME (-) EDUCATION (-)</p> <p>NORTH- NORTH EASTERN PART OF THE CITY SUBORDINATE CLASS POSITION Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal</p> <p>DISADVANTAGEOUS Low level of income Not having additional income Not having any form of saving</p> <p>Low level education Young ages Private sector</p> <p>MATERIALLY NOT WELL-EQUIPPED Not having main household durables Not having communication items Not having connection of the global network Not having leisure activities and cultural practices Food poor Food poorer</p> <p>LOW INTERMEDIARY CLASS POSION Unskilled service workers Petty-bourgeoisie</p> <p>UNCERTAIN Low level of income Income from urban property Income from market instruments Lowest level education</p> <p>MATERIALLY NOT WELL-EQUIPPED Not having main household durables Not having communication items Not having connection of the global network Not having leisure activities and cultural practices</p>

Figure 11. Simplified scheme about the findings.

Being poor is being distanced from the mainstream of society and being excluded from the resources, opportunities and sources of subjective and objective well-being which are readily available to others. Members of the *lower tiers* frequently face with stagnant incomes. There is sufficient evidence in the study that low level of income, low enumeration, lack of educational facilities in case of finding a place in the labour market are the valid attributes for the poor block. The social blocks which can be coincided with these attributes are the groups of manual workers, informal workers and the unskilled service workers. Poor block is not homogenous and it shows some variation in different dimensions of the model. Government's withdrawal, after the sharp neo-liberal arrangements in part of public sector, of following effective political, economic and institutional policies to integrate the poor block into the society seems to and will be deepening of the problems and predicaments and unhinged the sociopolitical climate of the urban structure.

One of the striking results of the study is the clear correlation between the level of education and income. The level of education shows parallelism with the income. The more economic capital rises the more level of education was obtained. Education, besides being an instrument to attain higher status or become member of the elite group, appears as the main structuring element as income for upward mobility.

The findings prove that there is sufficient horizontal and vertical social differentiation in the sample to assert that class in urban structure is multi-dimensional and it cannot be equated with the dichotomous class model as in the case of property owners versus non-property owners. It can be taken as the evidence that, today the economic power is shaped by market mechanism and its presence is felt more profoundly. After the 1980s, increased participation in a market economy seems to lead the way to the outcomes in class structuring. However, although there do appear to be some clues between globalization and inequality in the sociospatial segregation profile of the city of Ankara, this cannot be easily incorporated with the impact of globalization. The highly qualified managers and professionals have grouped together in high-income part of the axis; however, it is hard to define this service class as a new social group that consists of bankers and young professionals created by the new global economy, introducing new types of employment and level of income as seen in the wealthier areas of world. Professionals sometimes move between privilege and mid-class positions. The presence of the public sector that stands in the mid-position indicates some degree of income decrease, however, in the study working for private sector and young age are the elements supporting "becoming poor" and informality, not "becoming privileged position" as the globalization theory asserts.

It is well-known that, after the 1980s, transitioning from inward-turned import substitution to neo-liberal economy and integration with the world market, the entrepreneurial activities have gained importance and relative reduction in government salaries has been exercised progressively. However, additional non-monetary benefits, and security of employment, incremental advancement, pension rights, etc. are still effective in an unstable economy like Turkish economy. Shortly, I can say that the result of the study do not provide sufficient evidence whether this pattern is a new engendering or is the residue of the previous power relations or is the result of the internal public policies, or can solely be interpreted as the result of modernization.

Our findings reveal that the segregation in the form of northern and southern pattern is coincided with the social distance, however, what processes determine the spatial competition needs further investigation both historically and in comparative ethnographic studies amongst various Turkish cities and even in cross-national studies with similar socioeconomic profiles. On the other hand, the reasons behind measuring the spatial dimension of social distance are indeed more complex than the globalization theory asserts. The reasons are various and can be summarized as follows:

1. Globalization did not proceed at a sufficient rate like the wealthy metropolises of wealthy countries. Even for these metropolises only a small portion of households benefited from the changes and the arguments that middle-class has been exercising continuous decline in terms of earnings is mainly stemmed from the decline in part of welfare state regulations not the process of globalizations (Fainstein, 2001, 286; Maloutas, 2007).
2. Globalization is not the only dynamics which is effective in the city structure in Turkish case. Decomposition of peasantry, rural-urban controversy, pre-capitalist mode of production and modernization efforts, all these axis of dichotomies still “nested” within the city structure. In this context, the informality is not new phenomenon; on the contrary, it has long become substantial part of the economy (Portes, 1985, 30; Mullins, 1994; Bulutay, 1995, 197).
3. Another difficulty stems mainly from the scope and the content of the Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys which are based solely on national data which is collected according to the nation’s needs and requirements. Although the standardization of variables used matches broader criteria, the purpose of these surveys is still to serve the nation’s interests.
4. The contextual differences have blurring effects of measuring the globalization which is more valid measure in societies where class relations formed in the market relations of production are primordial and welfare regulations produce more egalitarian and less socially-discriminating environments (Maloutas, 2007, 755).
5. And finally, the explanation provided by the global-city theorists is not sufficiently incorporated with sufficient empirical evidence. It seems that the reflection of the effects of the globalization on urban space will take time and these reflections should be periodically analysed.

In the study a holistic framework which compromises the social classes, spatial segregation and the reproduction of classes with the act of consumption is developed to observe where Turkish urban structure stands in vast theoretical discussions about the social classes. Throughout the study, consumption is the *integral* part of the exploration of the sociospatial segregation rather than the *independent* quality freed from asymmetrical power relation stemmed from standing different class positioning in Ankara. In a series of studies, I obtained sufficient evidence that the “sphere of reproduction” also reflects the profound inequalities among different fractions and this unequal pattern is also mapped geographically (Akpınar, 2005; Akpınar, 2008). The findings of the study reveal that socio-economic status and income distribution are closely related and hints the importance of the consumption in extensive

16. Consumption patterns is not equivalent of lifestyle, rather it gives sound-base information about the resources and the context in which lifestyle is constructed and maintained (Holt, 1997, 39).

17. Odabaşı and Barış see consumption as something against the 'love and care' and he was named the section 'to be Consumed Whereas Consuming (*Tüketirken Tükennemek*)' (1999, 135-147).

research reinforced by the lifestyle and cultural preferences. I think that the "daily life" and "locale" components should be added to the theory to explain the social differentiation and societal cleavage and in this context; field of consumption would lead to encouraging openings. The analysis of the consumption pattern (16) should be deepened through the lifestyle analysis thus contributing to the closure of the gap in the theory, especially in Turkey's Social Sciences who after the post-industrialist era felt the deficiency of the agent's "way of doing" or "agency" in short and the production and reproduction of the class and status codes and its politicizations.

In recent years in Turkey, there has been an interest in consumption studies. However, most of the studies either use the consumption as the sole object or concentrate on its blurring effects of the class identifications instead of its active role on class formations (Ergür, 2008). The issue is generally approached with the moral judgement that the act of consumption is something negatory, detrimental (17) and damaging to the traditional values of the societies. Exploring the social categories without any ethical and moral judgment, which lies behind the act of consumption, needs to be investigated in more detail. It seems that the idea that the consumption pattern is established socially, and although the goods are neutral, their consumption is widely social (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Bourdieu, 1984 [1979] has not taken its place with adequacy in Turkish Social Sciences.

In the study the household's socioeconomic experience in accord with their social position in the structural space has coincided with the spatial segregation. It is widely known that in Ankara the south-north axes distinguishes the "wealthy" and "poor" groups, however the study reveals empirically that this differentiation has overlapped with standing in different class position. The major contribution of the study is thus obtaining an *analytical framework* to discover the class positing of the households in the urban space. Now, as planners, we have a sound base *criterion* that account for different living conditions to identify the homogenous groupings with respect to total wealth, type of wealth, attitudes and cultural practices, and, they all, are mapped to defining interest and power in any urban structure. Planning as an outcome of the modernization generally defines undifferentiated spatial standards without taking the major societal cleavages into account or without measuring the households' unequal "enabling capacities" which stemmed from standing in the different class positioning (Akpınar, 2008, 59). The formulation and intervention strategy is then the political matter in the planning process.

The beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed vast economic, social and cultural transformation which took place globally. The global restructuring of the economic order has crucial spatial implications in general. This structuring has not been explained by considering its class dimension in the form of asymmetrical power relations and by its imprints in the urban space. These developments force planners to unveil the structural determinants of the urban inequalities within wider socioeconomic and spatial context and to create linkages to "daily life" and sociospatial local pattern. Equally important is conceptualizing an alternative planning approach to stand forcefully against the mechanisms which produce constant inequalities at the expense of most numerous and most affected groups. For the strategic intervention to overwhelm the structural inequalities and management of the sociospatial process in the

act of planning, planners first, has to conceptualize the mechanisms which underlie these structural inequalities. Class study unveils the dynamics of the asymmetrical power relation and “enabling capacities” of different groups in the society. In the social production of the space in the daily life, different group’s political participations and intervention cannot be understood without considering its class dimensions.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: sosyo-mekansal ayrışma; sosyal tabakalaşma; küreselleşme-liberalizasyon; tüketim kalıpları; kültürel pratikler.

KÜRESELLEŞME EVRESİNDE ANKARA'DA SOSYO-MEKANSAL AYRIŞMA VE TÜKETİM KALIPLARI

Küresel kent teorisi, ekonominin yeniden yapılanmasının kentin yerel coğrafyasında tabakalaşma örüntüsünün farklılaşmasına, oldukça eşitsiz ve kutuplaşmış bir istihdam profili oluşturduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Bir yanda, özellikle finans sektörü ve ihtisaslaşmış hizmetlerde çalışan üst düzey profesyonellerden oluşan yeni bir tabakanın ortaya çıktığını, diğer yanda ise niteliksiz işgücü talep eden işlerdeki artışın yeni dönemin bir özelliği olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Eşitsizliğin boyutları daha önce görülmediği kadar artmış ve bu kutuplaşma kent mekanında kendini farklı biçimlerde göstermeye başlamıştır. Liberalleşme politikalarının hayata geçmesiyle, kamu sektörü çalışanlarının ekonomik sermayeleri gerilemiş, çok uluslu şirketlerde, üst düzey yönetici olarak çalışan yeni katmanlar oluşmuş ve bu durum orta sınıflarda önceden kestirilemeyen bir ayrışmaya ve kutuplaşmaya yol açmıştır. Yeni servet “genç profesyoneller”, yada “yeni meslek elitleri” olarak adlandırılan, öncü sektörlerde çalışan iyi eğitilmiş yeni tabakanın elinde birikmekte ve bu kesimin tüketim harcamaları, yaşam tarzları küresel muadilleriyle benzerlikler taşımaktadır. Bu gelişmelerin çoklukla gelişmiş ekonomilere sahip kentlerde ortaya çıktığı vurgulanmakla birlikte bu örüntünün dünyanın diğer kesimlerine de yayılacağı, nüfuz edeceği, zemindeki farklılıkların bu anlamda dönüşeceği türünden bir genelleştirmeye karşı karşıyayız.

1980'li yıllarda Türk ekonomisinin dünya ekonomisine eklenmesi, ithal ikameci politikaların terk edilerek yerine ihracata dayalı liberal politikaların hayata geçmesi, toplumsal katmanlaşmayı etkilemiştir. 1980'lerde bilinçli olarak uygulanan liberalleşme ve özelleştirme, yeni yaşam tarzları ve yeni elit tabakaları oluşturmuştur. Kentsel mekanın üretilmesinde sermaye birikim süreçlerinin ivme kazanmasının gözden kaçırılmayacak sınıf boyutu taşıdığı aşikardır. Uygulanan liberal politikalar sonucunda orta sınıfların ayrışması gündeme gelmiş, tüm bunların sonucunda kentin morfolojisi değişmiş, kent merkezindeki değişikliklerin yanı sıra yeni zenginlerin kent merkezini terk ederek kontrollü sitelerde giderek yer seçmelerini, kentin yeni yaşam tarzlarına uygun alışveriş merkezleriyle, eğlence mekanları ve bunlarla ilintili yeni aktivelerle donanmasına yol açmıştır. Diğer yanda ise yeni ekonominin sunduğu fırsatlardan yararlanamayan geniş yığınların gelirlerinin azaldığı, toplumsal hizmetlerin gerilediği, destek mekanizmalarının çöktüğü ve yoksullaşan göçmen dalgalarının kentte geldiği bir süreç yaşanmaktadır. Bir bölünme, toplumsal farklılaşma eksenini sosyal sınıflar arasındaki eşitsizlikler artmakta ve mekansal boyut kazanmaktadır. Plancılara bu eşitsizliklere müdahale biçimleri geliştirirken öncelikle bu eşitsizliği yaratan süreçler, mekanizmalar hakkında fikirlerinin olması beklenir.

Çalışma, yeni liberalleşme evresinde sosyal sınıf temelli mekansal farklılaşmanın Ankara kenti özelinde sayısal olarak sınılanması girişimidir. Türkiye’de toplumbilim alanında toplumsal örüntü, sınıfsal farklılaşma, sınıf kültürü ve yaşam tarzlarını birlikte ele alan teorik ve ampirik düzlemde gerçekleştirilmiş çok az çalışmanın olduğu genellikle kabul edilmektedir. Bu alanları inceleyen az sayıdaki araştırmacının, kentin bütününe yönelik değil, belli alanları yada belli grupları kapsadığı görülmektedir. Bu eksikliklerin pek çok nedeni bulunmaktadır. Toplumsal farklılaşma eksenleri olarak genellikle Türk modernleşmenin özgüllüğü, kır-kent ayrımı, göç, köylülüğün çözülmesi, düşük sermaye birikimi, sanayileşmeme nedenleri arasında sayılabilir. Diğer tarafta ise sosyal tabakalaşmanın mekansal boyutunun araştırılması ilkiyle kıyaslanmayacak denli bir kısır alan olarak önümüzde durmaktadır.

Çalışma sosyal mekânın tüketim kalıpları bileşeniyle tanımlanmasına dayalıdır. Plancuların gözden kaçırmaması gereken, içerisinde yaşadığımız fiziki mekânın aynı zamanda barındırdığı grubun sosyal değerlerini ve grup kodlarını içerdiği. Coğrafik olarak farklı sosyoekonomik statü grupları kentin farklı mahallerinde yer seçmektedir. Her grubun içinde yaşadığı mekân o grubun değerleri, tercihleri ve isteklerini kısaca dünya görüşlerinden oluşmaktadır. Bu nedenle çalışma grup içi ve gruplar arasında farklılıkların ve benzerliklerin oluşturduğu temsil biçimine odaklanmıştır. Bu bağlamda çalışma, her biri farklı alanlar olarak kuramsallaştırılan; küreselleşme, tabakalaşma, mekansal ayrışma ve tüketim, bir araya getirme kaygısını taşımaktadır. Ankara kentinin, küresel kent söylemi bağlamında sosyal tabakalaşma profilinin haritalanması, farklı sosyal grupların oluşturduğu sosyomekansal farklılıkların, tüketim kalıpları ve maddi yaşam koşullarıyla ilişkisi, etkilişiminin araştırılmasıdır. Liberalleşme evresinde mekansal farklılığın nasıl bir sosyoekonomik dağılıma ve tüketim kalıplarına karşılık geldiği incelenmiştir. Tüketim alanının, bu çalışmanın bir ileri evresi olarak değerlendirilebilecek “gündelik yaşam” ve “yerelleşme” çalışmalarına yol göstereceği bu anlamda cesaret verici açılımlar sunduğunu çalışmanın bulguları ortaya koymaktadır.

Çalışmada Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsünün “Hane halkı Gelir ve Tüketim Harcamaları” anketleri kullanılmıştır. Anketler 1994 yılının tamamı ve 2001 yılının ilk üç ayına aittir. Bu anketler hane halkı ve hane halkını oluşturan bireylerin gelir, tüketim harcamaları ve sosyoekonomik profillerine yönelik ayrıntılı bilgiler içermektedir. Anketlerin mahalle ve ilçe bazında içerdikleri bilgileri kent mekânının sosyomorfolojik analizine imkan sağlamıştır. İstatistiksel modelleme olarak Uyum Analizi (*Correspondence Analysis*) ve Küme Analizi (*Cluster Analysis*) birlikte kullanılmıştır. Küme analiziyle mahalleler gelir dilimlerine göre derecelendirilmiş ve ardından yeni bir değişken olarak Uyum analizinde kullanılmıştır.

Sonuç bulgular, 1990 sonrası ve 2000’li yılların başında Ankara’nın sosyal tabakalaşmanın ve mekansal izleğinin küreselleşme söylemine uygun bazı özellikler taşımakla birlikte, modernleşme ve içsel dinamiklerin baskınlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Geleneksel olarak kenti yoksul kuzey ve varsıl güney yönünde kesen Samsun-İstanbul karayolu çalışmada farklı sosyal katmanların ayrıcalıklı ve bağımlı sınıf konumlarını mekansal anlamda belirlediğini göstermektedir. Önceleri çoklukla gelir değişkenine bağlı olarak ortaya konulan bu coğrafi farklılık çalışmada gelirin yanı sıra iş pazarına katılma, tüketim örüntüleri, tüketim alışkanlıkları ve kültürel pratiklerle. Küreselleşmenin yarattığı sosyal ve mekansal farklılığın etkisinin kentlere yansımalarının zaman alacağı ve kentin mekansal bölünme ekseninin bu zaman süresinde değişeceği öngörüsünde bulunabiliriz.

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