

LIVED SPACE OF WHITE COLLAR INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES: A CASE
FROM KOCAELI

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ABSTRACT

LIVED SPACE OF WHITE COLLAR INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYEES: A CASE FROM KOCAELI

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The aim of this study is to discuss white collar industrial employee's alienation to urban life in Kocaeli. In this context, *Lived Space* of white collar industrial employees in a selected factory in the city is examined in terms of employees' use and perception of the urban space. To this end, several expert interviews (local media representative, head of chamber of industry and head of the department of human resources of the selected factory) and subject group interviews were carried out and analyzed in combination with an application of a questionnaire conducted with 62 employees. At the micro level, the study shows that white collar industrial employees only feel limited "urban attachment" and perceive Kocaeli as a place they have put up with in order to gain a living. At the macro level, it is suggested that a spatial regime in which Kocaeli is the industrial periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region is an important determinant of the assumed alienation of the subject group. In this context, the results attained from the field study show that although the white collar industrial employees use the urban space partially in their

daily activities and establish some community relations, they are still alienated to the city in terms of their perception of the urban space and stuck in the centrifugal structure between the metropolitan centre and the industrial periphery.

Key Words: Lived Space, Everyday Life, White Collar Industrial Employees, Kocaeli/Turkey, Industrial Periphery.

ÖZ

BEYAZ YAKALI SANAYİ ÇALIŞANLARININ YAŞANAN MEKANLARI: KOCAELİ'DEN BİR ÖRNEK

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Bu tezin amacı Kocaeli’de yaşayan beyaz yakalı sanayi çalışanlarının kente yabancılaşmalarını tartışmaktır. Bu bağlamda, Kocaeli’de örnek olarak seçilen fabrikada çalışan beyaz yakalıların ‘yaşanan mekan’ları (lived space), kentsel mekanın kullanımı ve algılanışı açısından incelenmiştir. Bu amaçla, çeşitli uzman görüşmeleri (yerel medya temsilcisi, sanayi odası başkanı ve seçilen fabrikanın insan kaynakları müdürü ile) ve fabrika çalışanları ile yapılan ön görüşmeler, 62 beyaz yakalı çalışan üzerinde uygulanan bir anket çalışması ile birlikte değerlendirilmiştir. Mikro düzeyde bu çalışma, Kocaeli’deki sanayi kuruluşlarında çalışan beyaz yakalı çalışanların yalnızca sınırlı düzeyde kentsel aidiyet hissettiklerini ve Kocaeli’yi yaşamlarını kazanmak için katlanmak zorunda kaldıkları bir yer olarak algıladıklarını öne sürmektedir. Makro düzeyde ise, Kocaeli’nin İstanbul Metropolitan Bölgesi’nin endüstriyel çevresi olarak konumlandığı mekansal rejimin, çalışmada varsayılan yabancılaşmanın önemli bir belirleyicisi olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, saha çalışmasından elde

edilen sonuçlar göstermektedir ki, beyaz yakalı sanayi çalışanları sınırlı da olsa kentsel mekanı kullanmalarına ve yerel toplumla ilişki kurmalarına rağmen, kentsel mekanı algılayışları bakımından kente yabancıdır. Aynı zamanda, endüstriyel çevre ve metropolitan merkez arasında sosyal ve mekansal açıdan sıkışmışlardır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yaşanan Mekan, Gündelik Hayat, Beyaz Yakalı Endüstri Çalışanları, Kocaeli/Türkiye, Endüstriyel Çevre.

To My Parents and My Brother

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

White collar workers can be defined as the group of people in a factory or in an office who do non-manual work. As the definition itself reveals “the boundary for distinguishing proletarian and nonproletarian class positions is the division between manual and nonmanual occupations.” (Burris, 1990, p.56) As Dahrendorf puts it, the occupational variety of these people includes “post-office clerks as well as senior executives, shop supervisors as well as hospital doctors, typists as well as prime ministers.” (Cited in Burris, 1990, p.52) The position of this group in social stratification, however, is a great point of discussion in the literature and mostly centred around the group’s class characteristics.

Twentieth century faced a dramatic rise of the white collar employee both in the industrial and post-industrial regions of the world. At the beginning of the century, Mills studied this non-manual working population for the first time under the name of the *white collar*. He argued that the rise of the white collar worker was parallel with the decline of the independent employee and the rise of the “little man” as the dependent worker in America. (Mills, 1923) Probably the most important characteristic in Mill’s study is that his conception of the white collar as the class creating stability in society. Since Mills’ landmark study, it can be argued that it became almost a common theme to define white collar as middle class “in terms of income, lifestyle, culture and affluence” (Sobel, 1989, p.14) and accept that it has a stabilizing function in society “as a major force for stability in the general balance of the different classes” (Mills cited in Sobel, 1989, p.14)

When we come to the 70's, from a Marxist point of view, Poulantzas defined the white collar population as the dominant group in contemporary capitalist societies. To Poulantzas, the white collar group was

supposed to form the stew in which classes are mixed together and their antagonisms dissolved, chiefly by forming a site for the circulation of individuals in a constant process of 'mobility' between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This group thus appear as the dominant group in contemporary capitalist societies. (Poulantzas, 1974, p.197)

He as well drew the line between classes as separation between manual and non-manual (or mental) labours or "productive" and "non-productive" wage earners. To him, the manual workers were "commercial and bank employees, office and service workers etc., in short all those who are commonly referred to as 'white collar' or 'tertiary sector' workers. (Poulantzas, 1974, p.193) He argued that this division also reproduced the subordination of the working class by excluding them from the "secret knowledge" of the production process and thereby reinforcing their dependence upon capital. For this reason, professionals, technicians, and even routine office workers were seen by Poulantzas as occupying positions antagonistic to the working class. (Cited in Burris, 1990, p.58) However, because the white collar workers were doing unproductive labour, Poulantzas argued that they belonged instead to what he calls the "new petty bourgeoisie", namely the "non-productive wage earners", different from the "traditional petty bourgeoisie" characterized by "small-scale production and ownership". (Poulantzas, 1974, p.206)

A position hold by Braverman, on the other hand, questioned the common argument accepting the white collar employees as part of the middle class. He suggested that lower non-manual occupations were more close to the working classes since "many of these jobs have become degraded and deskilled; their income average has eroded; their exercise of authority is negligible; and their claims to status are increasingly tenuous." (Cited in Burris, 1990, p.57) Sobel summarizes Braverman's thesis as follows:

More proletarianization oriented theories see the new working class as emerging from the declining position, status, and conditions of white collar employees whose labor process is being fragmented and whose

jobs are being “deskilled.” These changes are associated with loss of decision making, declining conditions of work, and the degradation of the labor process in general. (Braverman, 1974). This general process occurs specifically in the white collar work were once more autonomous and skilled, the lowered status is a new situation. The conditions of employment have declined so that white collar employees are experiencing proletarian conditions at work. On the other hand, technicians in automated industries are in newly strategic positions in the political economy. (Sobel, 1989, p.23)

Burris also emphasizes this ambiguity by stating that “in the case of lower nonmanual employees there is considerable question as to whether these positions have more in common with higher non-manual employees than they do with manual workers.” (Burris, 1990, p.57) Lane, on the other hand, opposes Braverman’s thesis and proposes that “significant differences remain between the labour process of the office and the factory and that proleterianization, in the sense Braverman describes it has not occurred.” (Lane, 1985, p.300)

Third force theories are another theoretical strand explaining the class characteristics of the white collars. Exemplifying Coyner and Oppenheimer, Sobel states that “Third force” theories hypothesize that white collar labour occupies a third position, neither middle class nor working class (Coyner and Openheimer cited in Sobel, 1989, p.24) He suggests that “White collar employees constitute a third force due to a combination of contrasting factors” and explains that:

On the one hand, white collar tend to be in the same economic position as blue collar employees: Most white and blue collar are dependent employees, working for wages and salaries, and share, at least at the lower levels, pay and work conditions. On the other hand, white collar employees tend to identify with the middle class, see themselves as middle class, and aspire to upward mobility. In short, the combination of essentially working class conditions but the middle class identification puts white collar labour in a third position. (Sobel, 1989, pp.24-25)

This explanation of Sobel is also descriptive of the situation in the industrial plant where the field analysis of this study is conducted. In the selected factory, although there is a definite gap between the manual and non-manual workers in terms of status, class identification and life style, the gap between wages among the manual employees and the lower level manual employees is not so high. The main reason

for this is probably that while there is a strong establishment of trade unionism among manual workers, there is no such a mechanism established for the white collar employees in the factory.

In this study, because of this complexity and also for practical reasons, the study will accept the institutional description of the Department of Human Resources of white collar as “non-unionized employees” and will not concentrate on the social stratification problematic within the factory and the subject group. Instead, the study will divide the white collar employees into three categories in terms of their use of the urban space and will problematize the position of this group in an urban context. In this respect, the subject group is divided into three groups according to their relation with the urban space in Kocaeli; local employees, migrant employees (people who moved to Kocaeli after getting a job there, non-locals), and commuters (people who reside in Istanbul and stay in Kocaeli during working hours.)

Kocaeli was chosen as the area where the case study is conducted because it is one of the oldest industrial settings in the country, habituated by a large population of white collar industrial employees. The city has been an industrially attractive region due to its physical location by the Marmara Sea and around the gulf of Izmit, neighbouring Istanbul on the Asian side, on the main transportation routes connecting Asia Minor and Europe. The central position of Istanbul in all Marmara Region and even in Turkey determines, to a great extent, the spatial characteristics of the social and economic structure surrounding Kocaeli. Circulation of highly educated professionals within this centrifugal structure is a social phenomenon in the region since the early periods of untamed industrialization in the 1960's.

The study about this group is especially important given the fact that the qualified work population in the city is composed of “25% of university graduates, %4 of postgraduate degree holders, 14% of vocational trainees, 54% of vocational high school graduates and 3% of skilled craftsman.”¹ 30 % per cent of the population working in the industry is white collar workers. These white collar workers are

¹ “Economic Figures” presented in Kocaeli Chamber of Industry official website, retrived April 18, 2007, available at <http://www.kosano.org.tr/eng/sayfa.php?sayfa=55>

composed of 23% of administrative staff, 5% of engineers and 2% of research and development staff.²

From the perspective of the local authorities, this highly skilled and high-income earning population is a dynamic force carrying the potential of changing the peripheral image of the city by increasing the demand and supply of high quality services in both public and private domains. Within this perspective, the head of the Kocaeli Chamber of Commerce Mr Kambak explains their future plans for the city as follows:

We, as Kocaeli Chamber of Industry, do not want any labour-intensive jobs here. Labour-intensive industry must not come here. If it does, it leads to migration. But if we establish high-tech companies which will generate high added value, people working in such companies have to be highly qualified. Well-paid people who can improve quality of life. Then Kocaeli's face can change in one moment. (Expert interview)

On the community level, however, this picture is reversed. Although the city is inhabited by such a great amount of highly skilled and high-income earning population, the impact of this population on shaping the urban life in the city is very limited. The reason for such a limited effect is the alienation that the white collar industrial employees experience in the city. Alienation in question here is widely framed in an urban context to include subject group's physical and social detachment in the city. In this respect, alienation that the white collar industrial employees experience in Kocaeli resembles to "a state of detachment" as the case in Simmel's Stranger;

If wandering, considered as a state of detachment from every given point in space, is the conceptual opposite of attachment to any point, then the sociological form of "the stranger" presents the synthesis, as it were, of both of these properties." (Simmel cited in Levine, 1971, p.143)

That is to say, white collar industrial employees in Kocaeli have some limited attachment to the city since the city is their place of habitation or work, but at the same time, they are detached from it since they feel they do not belong there. A

² *Ibid.*

local newspaper columnist describes the white collar industrial employees' situation in Kocaeli as follows:

Some time later, people working in such institutions feel that they are strangers to the city. They begin to see themselves in a separate identity. They start to keep a distance with the culture of this city. There is such a danger, a disconnection. thus, he breaks from the people of his habitat. People are breaking from their siblings. This situation kills community action, which is the culture and consciousness for gathering for common interest and moving together. (Expert interview with Mustafa Kupcu)

In this context, the aim of this study is to discuss the *extent* and *basis* of this alienation to the city by focusing on the white collar industrial employees' *lived space*. Lived space is simultaneously a material space in everyday use and an ideal space in the memory and therefore the place where each individual identifies himself/herself with. For this reason it is suggested in this study that, to understand the *extent* of alienation to the city, lived space provides the necessary theoretical and practical grounds. In this respect, it will be argued that white collar industrial employees working in large-scale industrial plants in Kocaeli only feel limited "urban attachment" and perceive the city as a place that they have put up with in order to gain a living.

On the other hand, to understand the *basis* of white collar industrial employees' alienation in urban life, putting the subject matter in an urban context is also necessary, because during the preliminary interviews with the subject group and expert interviews, it became explicit that a theory that would explain the initial hypothesis of the study has to be related with structural dynamics in Kocaeli and in the Istanbul Metropolitan Region. The internal dynamics of Kocaeli as an Industrial City and its condition as the Industrial periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region were found to be the most influential structural determinants of the assumed alienation of white collar employees to urban life.

Therefore, the current study is divided into 6 chapters. The second chapter explains the research rationale and demonstrates in what respects the white collar industrial employees' are alienated to the city. The focus, in this chapter was mainly on the

content and organization of the field work; namely the case study conducted in a large-scale industrial manufacturing firm in Kocaeli. The third chapter clarifies the theoretical orientations of the study with reference to urban theory. Here, the special emphasis is given to Lefebvre's works on social space and the theoretical structure is based on the white collar industrial employees' everyday use and perception of the 'lived space'. The fourth chapter, on the other hand, deals with the structural reasons for the concentration of white collar industrial employees in the city. In this chapter, urban characteristics of Kocaeli as an industrial city on the periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region are defined and decentralization of urban industrial jobs and employees is analyzed. The fifth chapter demonstrates the results of the fieldwork. In this chapter 'lived space' of white collar industrial employees in the selected factory is investigated in two categories. Firstly, the subject groups' *use* of the urban space is analyzed under the categories of Residential Use; Everyday Rhythms, Social Network and Downtown Use; Leisure; Consumption; and Political Life. Secondly, the participant's *perception* of the urban space is examined by looking at the group's level of satisfaction with living in the city; will to live another city and perception of the city image. Finally, the results are summarized and evaluated in the conclusion part with reference to the theoretical orientations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH RATIONALE

The initial hypothesis investigated in this study concerned the white collar industrial employee's alienation in Kocaeli with respect to the use and perception of the urban space. Therefore, it will be argued that the white collar industrial employees do not use the urban space actively and they perceive the city not as a place of habitation but an industrial periphery and the place of work.

2. 1. Research Purpose

“In the past, we used to pass by Izmit on the way to Istanbul by train, we used to think that it was a cute little place, but we never thought of living there.”

(Interview participant 1)

“Izmit is like a temporary place, that's how you explain it to yourself, to the people around you, to your family. It is a step for having an occupation and gaining experience.”

(Mrs. Taskin-Head of the Department of Human Resources)

“Industrialization” has always been a word with positive connotations signifying development, prosperity and competitiveness in the Turkish collective memory, since the early periods of the Turkish Republic when the nation's relative backwardness was associated with its rural economy and its export dependency on manufactured goods. This positive impression however, is challenged as the impacts of 1960's and 1980's movements of rapid industrialization were observed such as uneven urbanization and environmental degradation.

Kocaeli, as one of the most densely industrialized and second most densely populated province of Turkey is probably the best area of research, where these impacts can be observed at the urban level. As one of the consequences of these impacts, the current study focused on the concentration of white collar industrial employee's and their alienation to urban life in the city.

In this context, it is proposed that the study is significant in three ways. First, the research on white collar industrial employees is useful, to understand the consequences of industrialization on urban life at community level. Second, the study illustrates the problems both the industrial employees suffer as a result of alienation and the disadvantages this alienation creates on local life. Third, the study provides a case study for the studies on internal migration in Turkey since it also deals with the migration of high-income earners and migration to a non-major city, different from the migration literature in Turkey that generally focuses on migration of low income groups to the metropolitan areas.³

2. 2. The Case Study; a High-Scale Industrial Firm⁴

The high-scale industrial firm where the study is conducted is the number one tire manufacturer in Turkey and the sixth biggest tire producer in Europe. (The name of the firm was not pronounced throughout the study inline with the confidentiality policy of the factory.) It was first established in 1974, by a Large Turkish Group as a result of %100 Turkish investment and licence agreement signed with a leading American company in the sector. The production in the company started at 1977, on an area of 90.000 m² which is located in a village area very close to the city centre of Kocaeli. In 1988, a joint venture agreement was signed between the Turkish group and a Japanese Corporation, each part having an equal share. In 1990, mass production has started within an area of 196.000m². It says in the official web site of the company that the new plant also symbolized a new concept of management,

³ Tanfer suggests that “the primary focus of many studies has been on migration to major cities or the capital only, whereas evidence suggests a significant volume of migration occurring outside the primate cities.” (Tanfer, 1983, p.78)

⁴ The information in this part is retrieved from the official website of the company, however, to keep the company's confidentiality, internet sources will not be given.

production and quality which has been as important as the advanced technology and the new machinery.

2. 3. The White Collar Industrial Employees in the Selected Factory

As stated in the introduction, in the industrial plant where this study is conducted, the white collar employees are the employees who do non-manual work. Together with that, they are also categorized in the institutional structure as the non-unionized employees. Their position ranged from the supervisors and foremen to the managers and experts. Though, the majority of the group consists of engineers. The departments that these people work in are:

- 1) Sales and Marketing
- 2) Finance, Planning and Control
- 3) Industrial Relations and Human Resources
- 4) Technical Groups (Departments of Production and Technology)

According to the information gathered from the Human Resources Department of the factory in August 2006, there were 331 white collar and 1105 blue collar employees in the plant. Among these, there were 65 experts, 67 engineers, 52 supervisors and foremen, 9 directors and vice president, 32 Sales Chiefs, 18 Chiefs and 29 Managers. Only %12 of the white collars was female. As the Human Resources manager of the factory said most of the engineers in different positions were Middle East Technical University Mechanical Engineering Department graduates.

2. 4. Data Collection

The data collection procedure followed in this study consists of three stages. Three different techniques applied at these stages were semi-structured interviews with the subject group, expert interviews and questionnaire application. At the first stage, several semi-structured pilot interviews with the subject group members were conducted. At the second stage, several expert interviews were held with the Department of Human Resources, a local newspaper in Kocaeli and the Head of the

Kocaeli Chamber of Industry. At the final stage, a questionnaire was constructed and applied in order to attain statistical knowledge about the variables that effect the white collar industrial employees' alienation to the urban life in Kocaeli.

The preliminary interviews were conducted with 8 employees working in the factory between August-October 2007. Most of the interviews were conducted in office environment in a room alone with the participant. Three of the interviews were conducted outside the work environment. Interview participants were selected from different age groups and positions working in different departments. List of the participants are shown in the following table:

Table 1 Preliminary Interview Participants

	Age	Department	Position	Years spent in the factory	Place of Residence	Place of Origin
1	32	Technical Groups	Engineer	7 years	Kocaeli	Corum
2	25	Technical Groups	Engineer	2 years	Kocaeli	Kocaeli
3	36	Technical groups	Chief	6 years	Kocaeli	Ankara
4	42	Industrial Relations and Human Resources	Manager	15 years	Istanbul	Eskisehir
5	29	Technical Groups	Engineer	1 year	Kocaeli	Corum
6	26	Technical Groups	Engineer	1 year	Kocaeli	Kirikkale
7	26	Finance, Planning and Control	Expert	2 years	Kocaeli	Kocaeli
8	27	Technical Groups	Engineer	2 years	Kocaeli	Ankara

Among the three expert interviews, one of them was conducted with Mustafa Kupcu-a local newspaper journalist and a local of Kocaeli- in April 2006. His insights were important since they reflect observations on the white collar industrial employee's alienation in Kocaeli on the community level. Another interview was conducted with Mr. Yilmaz Kambak-Head of the Kocaeli Chamber of Commerce- in May 2006. His comments provided valuable information on the general outlook and future planning of the industrial development in Kocaeli. Finally the last expert interview was conducted with the Manager of the department of Human Resources Mrs. Taskin (name was changed to protect the confidentiality of the participant) in August 2006. The observations the manager made was significant since they pointed the fundamental difficulties the white collar employees face about living in Kocaeli.

The questionnaire, on the other hand, was applied on 62 white collar employees working in the selected factory. The questionnaires were applied between November 2006 and January 2007. Most of the questionnaires were handed out via heads of the departments and they were collected in closed envelopes. Among a total of 62 white collar employees, 50 of them were living in Kocaeli while 12 of them were living in Istanbul. Within the group of employees living in Kocaeli 31 were non-local Kocaeli residents and 17 of them were locals, with 2 missing data on the place of origin. According to the information gathered from 61 respondents, the range of ages among the subject group is from 23 to 58 years with a mean of 33.10 and mode of 26. About the gender distribution of the subjects we know that there are 48 males and 12 females in the sample. Concerning the marital status of the sample group we have information from 61 respondents and we know that there are 36 married and 25 single participants. Concerning the departmental distribution of the respondents within the factory, as results presented below show, the highest number of respondents work in Technical Groups with 36 employees. This is followed by 18 employees working in the department of Finance, Planning and Control, 3 working in Industrial Relations and Human Resources, 1 working in Marketing and Sales and 4 in other places.

Table 2 Departmental Distribution of the Subject Group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Industrial Relations and Human Resources	3	4,8	4,8	4,8
	Marketing-Sales	1	1,6	1,6	6,5
	Finance, Planning and Control	18	29,0	29,0	35,5
	Technical Groups	36	58,1	58,1	93,5
	Other	4	6,5	6,5	100,0
	Total	62	100,0	100,0	

Again giving a total of 62 respondents, we know from the table below that 40 of them had an undergraduate degree, 19 of them had a postgraduate degree, 2 had an associate degree and 1 was graduated from MYO (Occupational Higher Education). Concerning in which province the university graduates completed their undergraduate educations, we know from a detailed examination of the

questionnaire data that 26 of the respondents were graduated from universities in Ankara, 27 of them were graduated from Istanbul, 2 of them were graduated from Kocaeli and the rest was graduated from universities in various other cities. METU had the highest number of graduates working in the factory with 21 employees.

Table 3 Educational Status of the Subject Group

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Post-graduate Degree	19	30,6	30,6	30,6
Undergraduate Degree	40	64,5	64,5	95,2
Associate Degree	2	3,2	3,2	98,4
MYO	1	1,6	1,6	100,0
Total	62	100,0	100,0	

2. 5. Practical Constraints

It has to be mentioned here that since the white collar workers in the selected plant were working very hard and the time they spent on filling the questionnaire would mean a break from work, the time the participants could spend on filling the questionnaire was very limited. Therefore, the questionnaire was organized in the best way to get the necessary information within the shortest time period. To this end, most of the open-ended questions in the draft of the questionnaire were eliminated. The estimated time spent on filling the questionnaire is approximately 5-10 minutes.

The expected rate of return was also estimated having in mind the busy atmosphere of the company in general. With the advice of the department of Human Resources and several experienced researchers who work in the company, the expected number of return was calculated as 50 people at least, which is the % 15 of the total population of white collars. At the end of the study, as stated earlier, there were 62 subjects who replied the questionnaire.

2. 6. Questionnaire Construction

The survey questions can be categorized under 16 headings according to different patterns of use and perception of the urban space. Most of the questions in these categories were formed based on the evaluation of the results of the preliminary interviews with the subject group. Apart from the demographical questions (Questions 1-16, 27, 51) the questionnaire included the following categories;

Investment and Residential Use (Qs:18, 19, 20)

Decision of investment and residential use are important indicators of one's identification with his/her place of habitation. During the preliminary interviews, it was realized that the subject group demonstrated various different patterns of investment decisions and residential use practices. While some residents have reported that they had investments in Kocaeli, some said they were planning to invest in another city or they already had a place in their use in another city. Therefore, some questions were organized in order to learn whether the white collar workers had any investments or any place in their use in another city, they were also asked to explain the reasons for it.

1999 Earthquake and Its Impacts on the Use of the Urban Space (Qs: 21, 22, 23, 24, 25)

The 1999 Earthquake is a catastrophic moment in the history of Kocaeli and in the memories of its residents. More than 20.000 people of the city were lost in this natural disaster. It is assumed in this study that such a traumatic experience would have serious impacts on the use and perception of the city space both on the individual and collective levels. Therefore, several questions were added in the questionnaire to measure these impacts. These questions focused on the changes that the earthquake made in the everyday lives of the city dwellers right after the earthquake and the ongoing psychological effects that prevents people from fully participate in the local life by avoiding being in risky places such as old buildings or big malls.

Downtown Use (Q: 26)

The use of the downtown is an important indicator of the subject's use of the urban space and his/her participation in the local life. Here the subjects were asked whether they use downtown and if so, frequency of this use. It has to be mentioned here that the urban space in the case of Kocaeli is shaped by the separation of local and industrial realms. In this spatial duality, downtown Izmit is the historical core of the city where mostly inhabited by the locals. The white collar life in the city, on the other hand, is centred mostly on the industrial realm. In this sense, downtown is the main point of confrontation of the white collar workers and the local people. Thus, its use is an important indicator of the white collar employee's participation in local life in Kocaeli.

Consumption (Qs: 28, 29, 30)

There is a common assumption in Kocaeli that the more educated and better off people move to the city, the richer the city will get since these people will increase the level of demand in goods and services. To check whether this assumption is true, subjects were directed three different questions asking where they make their daily consumption, clothing consumption and larger consumptions. As oppose to the common assumption in the city, this study argues that the white collar industrial employees do not contact with the local tradesman and do most of their shopping from super markets and malls. The revenues gathered from these super markets and malls are collected by the centres in Istanbul or Ankara. Therefore, most of the consumption made in the city does not have any contribution to the local economy.

Questions on Social Network (Qs: 31, 32)

During the preliminary interviews it was realized that most of the migrant employees did not know any local people outside their work environment. Therefore, the question asking the white collar's degree of interaction with the

locals aimed at whether the subject group was detached from the local community

Use of Health Services (Q: 33)

During the preliminary interviews it was realized that some white collar employees hesitated having any health treatment in the city because they did not trust the health services in the city. Since the use of the health services is an important sign of participation in public life, a question asking whether the subjects would use the healthy services in the city in terms of a serious health issue was added in the questionnaire. The subjects who replied 'no' to this question were also asked the reason of their refusal to use the health services in the city.

Leisure (Qs: 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41)

Leisure plays a significant role in the life of the white collar employees. It is also an important domain of interaction with community. Mills suggests that:

If white-collar people are not free to control their working actions they, in time, habitually submit to the orders of others and, in so far as they try to act freely, do so in other spheres...If their way of earning a living does not infuse their mode of living, they try to built their real life outside their work. Work becomes a sacrifice of time, necessary to building a life outside of it. (Mills, 1923, p.228)

Since leisure is so important in the lives of the white collar people, it was also questioned in this study whether the white collar industrial employees' used the city space and interacted with the locals during their leisure activities.

Question on Number of Visits to Istanbul (Q: 36)

During the interviews it was revealed that many white collar employees, especially younger ones, spent their weekends in Istanbul. Istanbul was a favourite destination for these people to spend their leisure time. It is a known

fact in the city that the proximity of such a culturally and socially fascinating metropolis puts Kocaeli in a secondary position in terms of leisure activities. In this sense, it was suggested that the results attained from the question would reveal out the cultural domination of Istanbul on the residents of Kocaeli.

Questions on Political Participation (Qs: 42, 43, 44, 45)

The section on political participation in the questionnaire was centred on the voluntary participation in public life in the city. A direct question on participation in political parties was avoided since such a question was regarded as “too personal” by the subject group. Instead, the section was organized in order to measure subject’s participation in voluntary associations and their interest in the local political and social news and events.

According to the Head of Chamber of Industry Mr Kambak, in Kocaeli, there are over 3000 NGOs. 250-300 of these Non-governmental Organizations are Countrymen associations. These organizations are diffused throughout neighbourhoods and villages. There are Lions clubs, rotary clubs, and professional bodies. There are chambers of industry and commerce which are attended representing companies. There is an NGO called KYOD (Kocaeli Yuksek Ogrenim Dernegi/Kocaeli Higher Education Association) which only accepts as members the university graduates living in Kocaeli. Mr Kambak says that in fact they enjoy high levels of participation. However, to what extent the white collar industrial employees participate in these organizations is a major question to be answered.

About the white collar participation in political life there are two different standpoints. Mills argues that “the white-collar people are probably no more or less politically alienated than other large strata; in fact, judging from the indices available, they seem to be in-between.” (Mills, 1923, p.331) On the other hand, Dunkerly suggests that “there is a direct relationship between membership and membership and participation of voluntary associations and

occupational status. Taking a National opinion Research Centre (NORC) study reported by Hausknecht (1964) it was found that the degree of participation was 53 percent of professionals and managers, 41 percent of clerical and sales workers, 32 percent of manual workers with varying types of skill, and 21 percent for labourers.” (Cited in Dunkerly, 1975, p.71) Although it is not possible in this study to show whether the white collar participation in public political life is differentiated from the other segments in the society, the results would show the degree of the subject group’s participation in the political life in the urban scale.

Satisfaction with Community Services (Q: 46) ⁵

The question on this section is a version of Question 21 of the questionnaire on “Benchmark Study on Civic Engagement and Social Networks of Youth in Hong Kong” conducted in The University of Hong Kong. It measures the level of satisfaction in public services such as environmental quality, law and order, transportation, educational facilities, social facilities and medical services.

Perceived Level of Satisfaction with Living in Kocaeli (Q: 47)

One of the major assumptions of this study is that there is a mutually effective relationship between satisfaction with life in the city and alienation to the city. In this sense, it is hypothesized that most of the participant’s would show low satisfaction with living in Kocaeli and there is a large difference between local and migrant in terms of levels of satisfaction.

⁵ This question is a version of Question 21 of “Benchmark Study on Civic Engagement and Social Networks of Youth in Hong Kong”, (2005) questionnaire presented in Commission on Youth official web site, by Policy 21 Ltd: The University of Hong Kong, retrieved December 25, 2006, available at http://www.info.gov.hk/coy/eng/report/doc/2005study/2005Questionnaire_e.pdf.

Will to Live in Another City (Q: 50)

During the preliminary interviews it was observed that many employees, due to their dissatisfaction with living in Kocaeli, expressed their will to live in another city. Before the interviews, it was expected that Istanbul would be the first place where white collar employees would want to live because of the centrality of the city in Turkey socially and culturally. However, contrary to what was expected, white collars showed a variety of cities as the place where they would prefer to live. The reason why these people wanted to live in these places was also asked. By looking at the results of this question it is hoped that why Kocaeli is far from meeting the expectations of its white collar residents would be understood.

Perceived Level of Adaptation (Q: 52)

It is realized during the interviews that many migrant employees have serious difficulties adapting to community life in Kocaeli. In the factory where the case study was conducted, there were people coming from different parts of the country from Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Kayseri, Malatya, Corum etc. Most of these people had their university education in the metropolitan centres such as Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir. During the preliminary interviews most of the participants-regardless of their place of origin-complained that they could not adapt themselves to life in Kocaeli. Especially the young and single employees showed great dissatisfaction with living in Kocaeli and admitted that they did not even show any effort to adapt life in Kocaeli since they think it would be a useless effort anyway. Therefore, learning whether the white collars were really not adapted or adapted had special importance.

Migration (Qs: 53, 54, 55, 56)

It was observed during the preliminary interviews that some of the migrant white collar employees and their families were very isolated from the community life in Kocaeli and therefore visited their hometown frequently at

the weekends and on holidays. Therefore, in the questions on migration, the respondents were asked about the reasons about their migration and their frequency of contact with their hometown.

Questions for People who reside in Istanbul (Qs: 57, 58, 59)

These questions were posed to commuters who work in Kocaeli but live in Istanbul. In these questions the aim was to understand the reasons why these people chose to live in Istanbul although they have to spend hours everyday coming to Kocaeli. It is hoped that their answers would reveal out why Kocaeli is not an attractive place for these people.

Attitude Questions (Qs: 17, 48, 49)

Attitude questions are designed to learn the image of Kocaeli in the minds of the industrial employees. It is believed that the results attained from these questions would demonstrate the reasons why the subject group was alienated to urban life in the city.⁶

⁶ The Results chapter of the study does not include the results of all sub-categories and all the results of the questions presented here and in the questionnaire.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETHICAL ORIENTATIONS

The fundamental theoretical assumption of the study is that the socio-spatial character of Kocaeli-as a *spatial regime*-has a fundamental role in shaping the ‘lived space’ and therefore, the everyday practices of white collar industrial workers’ in the urban life. For this end, this chapter is divided into seven parts.

The first part explains why the city or the urban space was chosen as the main theoretical focus of the study. Second part defines the main theoretical stand point and discusses the relation between the spatial and the social. The third part introduces Lefebvrian understanding of space as a ‘regime’ in the general relations of production. The fourth part gives a brief definition of Lefebvre’s three categories of space in order to show the place of the ‘lived space’ in urban theory. The fifth and sixth parts propose the ‘lived space’ and the ‘everyday’ life as the main theoretical concepts of the actual case study. Finally the seventh part proposes the white collar industrial employees are the Strangers in Kocaeli.

3.1. City as a Medium of Socio-spatial Reality

“The alienation of the city embraces and perpetuates all forms of alienation. In it, and through it, segregation becomes general: by class, by district, by profession, by age, by ethnic group, by sex.”

(Lefebvre cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.143)

“Why start with the city?” is the first question to be answered to outline the theoretical orientations of this study. From an anthropological perspective, ‘city’ might be the best possible medium of socio-spatial reality where one can simultaneously observe the ‘process oriented micro level’ and the ‘structure

oriented macro level' of social practices which has an everyday quality.⁷ As stated by Low:

The city as a site of everyday practice provides valuable insights into the linkages of macro processes with the texture and fabric of human experience. The city is not the only place where these linkages can be studied, but the intensification of these processes-as well as their human outcomes-occurs and understood best in cities. (Low, 1996, p.384)

It is also argued by Lefebvre that the urban level is an intermediary level between the large scale structures such as state, society or the global and everyday human experience. Lefebvre suggest that:

It (the urban level) is nothing but the (mixed) intermediary between, on the one hand, society, the State, powers and knowledges on the global scale, institutions and ideologies, and on the other, habitation. If the global seeks to govern the local, if generality aspires to absorb particularities, then the middle (mixed, M) level may act as: the terrain for attack and defence, for struggle. It is still a means. It cannot become an end, except provisionally and for a strategy that means spreading out its cards and showing its hand. (Lefebvre cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.141)

When the white collar industrial employees' alienation to urban life in Kocaeli is concerned, putting the subject matter in an urban context was necessary, because during the preliminary interviews with the subject group and expert interviews, it became explicit that a theory that would explain the initial hypothesis of the study has to be related with structural dynamics in the city of Kocaeli and in the Istanbul Metropolitan Region. The internal dynamics of Kocaeli as an Industrial Centre and its condition as the Industrial periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region were found to be the most influential structural determinants of the assumed alienation of white collar employees to the urban life.

⁷ The division between 'process oriented micro level' and 'process oriented micro level' 'quotations is cited from (Rogers, 1867, p.108)

3. 2. The Theoretical Framework

The common perception divides the human built environment into two categories; social and spatial. While the spatial structure is perceived as location and material organization such as a city's central and peripheral parts, its urban planning and housing patterns, the social structure is experienced as a hierarchical combination of social practices that are "inevitably and everywhere imbued with power, meaning and symbolism". (Massey, 1994, p.3) In this physical/social dichotomy, what is spatial is usually associated with the physical domain. As Soja suggests:

While such adjectives as "social," "political," "economic," and even historical generally suggest, unless otherwise specified, a link to human action and motivation, the term spatial typically evokes the image of something physical and external to the social contexts and to social action, a part of the "environment," a context *for* society-its container- rather than a structure created *by* society. (Soja, 1980, p.210)

There is, however, a mutually dependent relation between spatial and social. As Soja puts it "the structure of organized space" "represents, instead, a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production, relations which are simultaneously social and spatial." (Soja, 1980, p.208)

For the theoretical purpose of the study, namely demonstrating the impacts of the socio-spatial organization of the city on the everyday lives of the white collar industrial employees, a theoretical position which takes the organized space as "a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production" will be favoured which also regards these relations as "simultaneously social and spatial." Such an understanding of the socio-spatial dimension is useful for this study since it links up dialectically the structural and case-oriented sections of the study; namely the socio-spatial structure of Kocaeli and the field work on white collar industrial employees' alienation to urban life, within a broader context of relations of production.

3. 3. Lefebvrian Space: Space as Topography and Space as a Regime

Shields states that Lefebvre in his works takes social space as “a system of spatial divisions – a *system* of lots and property of which the city is only one element. This system which functions as a ‘second nature’ is “laid over the natural topography: a *socially produced* system of capitalist space.” (Shields, 1999, p.149) This second nature is not only a passive container of social relations but also a dynamic entity that transforms itself to meet the changing needs of the capitalist relations and therefore a determinant of social relations. In other words, there are two conceptualizations of social space in Lefebvre which are useful for the purpose of this study; one is ‘space as location ’and the other is the ‘space as regime ’. As Shields puts it, “First, social space is the location of the reproduction of relations of production and of ‘society’ in all its complexity. Second, the internal contradictions of capitalism have been managed through the development of a mediating system of spatiality and of modes of occupying geographical space.” (Shields, 1999, p.153) These two different functions of space can also be observed in the distinction Lefebvre makes between the empirical and the metaphorical meanings of space. When he uses the term space (*l’espace*):

Lefebvre is referring to not only the empirical disposition of things in the landscape as ‘space’ (the physical aspect) but also attitudes and physical practices, his metaphoric *l’espace*, might be better understood as the *spatialization* of the social order. In this movement to space, abstract structures such as ‘culture’ become concrete practices and arrangements in space. Social action involves not just a rhythm but also geometry and spacing. Spatialization also captures the processual nature of *l’espace* that Lefebvre insists is a matter of ongoing activities. That is, it is not just an achieved order in the built environment, or an ideology, but also an order that is itself always undergoing change from within through the actions and innovations of social agents. In short, all ‘space’ is social space, and a systemic approach is necessary that avoids a partial, discipline-based analysis (for example, planning, geography) and keeps the intersections of space with an overarching regime or spatialization in sight: ‘It is no longer a matter of the space of this or the space of that: rather it is space in its totality or global aspect that needs not only to be subjected to analysis scrutiny...but also to be *engendered*. (Lefebvre cited in Shields, 1999, pp.154-155)

This understanding of space both as a material organization and a regime of power attaches a meaning to space as both “relational and constitutive of social relationships.”(Massey, 1994, p.29) While the materiality of space is in relation with and effected by the social relationships, its hegemonic order as a regime is constitutive of social relationships. Following the novel theoretical expansion Lefebvre brought to social theory; urban space therefore, is interpreted as a two-fold mechanism that simultaneously functions both as topography shaped by capitalist power relations and as a regime that shapes human activity. For understanding the impacts of socio-spatial organization of space on white collar industrial life in Kocaeli, a more dynamic approach on space as Lefebvre suggest both as a ‘topography’ and a ‘regime’ is necessary.

A critical point to mention here is that, the socially constitutive function of the urban space is not an abstraction on the theoretical level. On the contrary, the regime of space is experienced and perceived by the subject during everyday practices through the construction of lived space as a part of the construction of corporeality. As Grosz put it:

[T]he form, structure and norms of the city seep into and affect all the other elements that go into the constitution of corporeality. It affects the way the subject sees others (an effect of, for example, domestic architecture as much as smaller family size), the subject’s understanding of and alignment with space, different forms of lived spatiality (the verticality of the city, as opposed to the horizontality of the landscape-at least our own) must have effects of how we live space. (Grosz, 1995, p.108)

The current study attempts to make more visible one of these multiple faces of the “lived spatiality” particular to the city of Kocaeli; a developing country industrial city on the periphery of the Istanbul metropolitan area.

3. 4. Spatial dialectics: ‘Spatial Practice’, ‘Representations of Space’ and ‘Lived Space’

Lefebvre’s three categories of space are fundamental to understand the complexity of both the knowledge *of* and *on* space. These categories are *spatial practice*, *representation of space* and *spaces of representation*.

The level of spatial practice is the stage where the socio-spatial order is *perceived* in a “commonsensical mode”. (Shields, 1999, p.160) At this level space is organized in order to provide the continuity of economies of power such as class or gender. As the subject perceives this organization, the power and domination is diffused in the social realm.

Representations of space, on the other hand, is the level where the space is conceptualized and functionalized as scientific knowledge. Representations of space is the *thought* space of geographers or planners. A “scientific” discourse *on* space is produced with the creation of geographical and demographical topographies and used by the planner to shape the physical environment for the production or power relations; which corresponds to capitalist relations in the works of Lefebvre.

Finally, the spaces of representation are the *lived* spaces of the everyday users and the utopian spaces of the artists or seekers of alternative imaginations. The two dimensions of this level may seem contradictory since the first case refers to a lived experience and the second to an imaginary construction. However, the key to understand the common understanding in these two different examples is the subject position in the process of meaning construction. Independent of the constraints of the social order or the planner, the everyday users of space may transform the function and meaning of the space as they use it. According to Shields, “Spatial *praxis*, such as that of squatters, illegal aliens, and Third World slum dwellers” are paces of this sort. (Shields, 1999, p.160)The ‘ideal’ places of the artists and the utopian spaces, on the other hand, are also spaces free of domination. In both cases, subject plays a crucial role in the construction of meaning attached to place.

3. 5. The Lived Space

The fundamental theoretical assumption of the study is that the socio-spatial character of Kocaeli as an industrial periphery has a fundamental role in shaping the ‘lived space’ and therefore, the everyday practices of white collar industrial workers’ participation in the urban life.

In this study, Lefebvre’s concept of the ‘lived space’ will be utilized in order to identify with the everyday spatial practices and the ‘mental worlds’ of ‘the white collar industrial employee in Kocaeli as the everyday user’s of the urban space. Pallasmaa’s interpretation of the ‘lived space’ is fundamental to understand how the lived space is functionalized in the study:

Lived space resembles the structures of dream and the unconscious, organized independently of the boundaries of physical space and time. Lived space is always a combination of external space and inner mental space, actuality and mental projection. In experiencing lived space, memory and dream, fear and desire, value and meaning, fuse with the actual perception. Lived space is space that is inseparably integrated with the subject's concurrent life situation. We do not live separately in material and mental worlds; these experiential dimensions are fully intertwined. Neither do we live in an objective world. We live in mental worlds, in which the experienced, remembered and imagined, as well as the past, present and future are inseparably intermixed. (Pallasmaa, 2000)

Lived space, therefore is the place where each individual identifies himself/herself with. It is simultaneously a material space in the everyday use and an ideal space in the memory. The third section of the study will focus on how this ‘lived space’ is experienced in the everyday practices of Kocaeli by white collar industrial employees in both a material and mental levels.

3. 6. Why focus on Everyday Life?

In *Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre criticizes the position of the philosopher as concentrating only on macro level political phenomena and undervaluing the role of everyday life. He argues that:

Thinking people were obsessed with the political drama. Rightly so. But they were forgetting that although the political drama was being acted out or decided in the higher spheres - the State, parliament, leaders, policies – it still had a ‘base’ in matters relating to food, rationing, wages, the organization and reorganization of labour. A humble, everyday ‘base’. (Lefebvre, 1958, p.6)

To him, only through the analysis of this ‘humble’ everyday base, the patterns of alienation in social practices could be eliminated. For that reason, subordination of everyday to the macro level political analysis should be eliminated. He argues that:

A very remarkable and strange form of analytical thinking identifies the small with the simple, the large with complex. Habitation can no longer be studied as a residue, the trace or product of ‘supposedly’ superior levels. It must be – it can already be – seen as a source, a foundation, an essential functionality and transfunctionality. Theoretically and practically, we are moving towards a removal of the situation, an inversion of meanings; what seemed subordinate comes, or comes back, into the foreground. The predominance of the global, the logical and the strategic is still part of the ‘upside down world’ which we have to put back. We are attempting from urban reality here a form of *decoding* which is the opposite of the usual one, starting from *habitation* and not from the *monumental* (which is, however, not dismissed, but reconsidered). (Lefebvre cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.139)

In this study, urban space was taken as the starting point for the analysis of *habitation* and the socio-spatial regime is employed to make the necessary connection between habitation and the *monumental*; namely the more general relations of production.

The content of this analysis on habitation is composed of the subject’s ordinary and rhythmic daily activities. ‘Rhythms’ have special significance for understanding the daily activity since they allow one to observe the social phenomena on the individual and social levels. Lefebvre suggests that “The rhythms we have acquired are both internal and social. During one day in the modern world, everyone does roughly the same thing at roughly the same times, but each person is really doing it alone.”(Lefebvre and Régulier cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.192) Therefore, in the fourth section of the study, rhythmic movements such as the time the white collar employee wakes up, what way she/he uses going to work, what

she/he does in the leisure time, how he spends and what kind of daily relationship she/he establishes and what kind of mental associations she/he makes about the urban space were also included. In this study, such a focus on rhythms of everyday life is believed to be fundamental in understanding how the white collar industrial employee is isolated in the industrial periphery and alienated from the local life both physically and mentally.

However, concerning the ‘rhythms’ there are two critical points one has to be aware of. Firstly, the rhythmic movements have to be repetitive and should have strong and weak beats:

For there to be rhythm, there has to be repetition in the movement, but not just any repetition. ...For there to be a rhythm, the movement has to have strong and weak beats, which recur according to a rule or law – long and short beats, repeated in a recognizable way – pauses, silences, blanks, recommencements and intervals, all with regularity. (Lefebvre and Régulier cited in Elden, Lebas, and Kofman, 2003, p.194)

Secondly, the difficulty of grasping all the dimensions of what is actually ‘lived’ by the subject should be realized. As Lefebvre mentions “in fact, everyone perceives it [rhythm] in an empirical way that is very different from knowledge; rhythm is part of the ‘lived’, but that does not mean that it is part of the ‘known’.” (Lefebvre and Régulier cited in Elden; Lebas; Kofman, 2003, p.193) Therefore, the mental dimension of what is lived and how it is discursively constructed in the daily language should also be evaluated during the study of the rhythms. In this study, this will be achieved by the interpretation of the results of the attitude questions in the questionnaire.

3. 7. White Collar Employee; the Stranger in the City

It will be argued in the following chapters that the white collar industrial employee is “the Stranger” in the city, trapped within the industrial settlement and its residential extension which is both physically and socially separated from the local settlement. Here, special emphasis is given to “detachment” from space as it is described by Simmel as both “nearness and remoteness simultaneously” in the city.

(Cited in Levine, 1971, p.147) From this perspective, it can be suggested that the white collar industrial employees are simultaneously experiencing a sense of nearness to Kocaeli in their use of urban space and a sense of remoteness in their perception of it. Therefore, the white collar industrial employees can only feel limited attachment to the city of Kocaeli.

On the other hand, the need to change places in the modern world is also a factor eliminating one's attachment to a particular place. As Lefebvre argues "the taste for nomadism and the ephemeral, the need constantly to travel, will replace the old, settled existence in the home, the traditional attachment to one's place of birth." (Lefebvre cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.145) This holds true for the case of Kocaeli since we can observe that traditional attachment to one's place of birth weakens even among the people who are born in Kocaeli and resettled there after a period of university education in a higher rank city such as Istanbul or Ankara. Lefebvre calls this the end of the urban:

From above and below, this would mean both the end of habitation and the end of the urban as places and as collections of opposites, centers. This ending of the urban would result from industrial organization as a system of acts and decisions – from the end of historical value, as far as values are concerned – and from the transformation of everyday life as far cultural or models are concerned. (Cited in Elden, Lebas and Kofman, 2003, p.145)

Therefore, it can be argued that there is no perception of the 'urban' for the white collars in Kocaeli since there is no feeling of urban attachment because of the limited use and negative perception of the urban space.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN KOCAELI

Rogers points out to two levels of socio-spatial reality that one has to focus when studying the urban spatial structure; a “system-oriented” macro level and a “process-oriented” micro level. (Rogers, 1867, p.108) While the macro level analysis reveals out the larger social, economic and political settings in which the particular urban phenomena comes into being, the micro level analysis concentrates on the particular factors that “give rise to the phenomena by their collective influence on the decision making of societal units.” (Rogers, 1867, p.108)

In this context, there are two explanatory levels that the study on the white collar industrial life in Kocaeli is constructed on. At the macro level (chapter 4), the chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section-at a regional scale-the study focuses on the centrifugal relationship between Istanbul and Kocaeli. In the second section, regional decentralization of the manufacturing activity in the industrial zone around Istanbul is explained. In the third section, migration of the white collar industrial employees in this decentralization process is demonstrated.

At the micro level, on the other hand (Chapter 5), the regularities that shape man’s lived space-namely the use and perception of the urban space-are analyzed with special focus on the everyday lives of the white collar industrial employees in Kocaeli.

4. 1. Kocaeli’s Place; an Industrial City on the Periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region

4. 1. 1. Industry in Kocaeli

Kocaeli is located by the Marmara Sea around the gulf of Izmit. Neighbouring Istanbul on the Asian side, it is located on the main transportation routes connecting

Asia Minor and Europe. There are 5 ports and 35 docks in Kocaeli which allows Kocaeli for functioning as Turkey's giant metropolis' logistic centre and industrial backyard. Kocaeli is populated by 1,300,000 and it is the second most densely populated city of Turkey with 344 people per km² after Kirikkale.

The attempts for industrialization in Kocaeli dates back to the Ottoman era, when the city was the place for Cuha manufacturing (Cuha was a material used for producing clothing for the army). In 1880s, the city was famous for its large manufacturing on timber products. However, the mile-stone that marks Kocaeli as an industrial city is the opening of Sumerbank Paper-Production Plant in 1936. In 1952, this factory enlarged its scope of production including cellulose production and was renamed as SEKA. This state-owned industrial complex met all the country's need for cellulose products. The 60's and 70's on the other hand, faced the start of a period of rapid industrialization and the implementation of the state-controlled development plans. This was a period when industry was pointed as the leading sector in Turkish economy. "The region is a front runner in development due to increasing investment especially during 1960-75. During this period also, a rate of 577% was recorded in the expansion of number of enterprises in Turkey."⁸ At this period, IPRAŞ was established in 1960 in Kocaeli with the joined venture of TPAO. Then again in 1980's, the city faced a second period of rapid industrialization which was conditioned by the liberalization of the national economy. At this period several partnership agreements were signed between the large national industrial groups and technologically more developed international companies. Presently, the leading sectors operating in Kocaeli are automotive industry including Ford, Hyundai, Honda and Isuzu tire and rubber sector including Goodyear, Pirelli, Lassa and Bridgestone and also chemicals industry. (The table below illustrates the number of foreign investments in the city by 2005.)

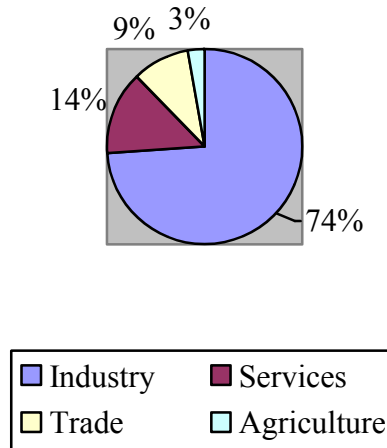
⁸ "Economic Figures" document presented in Kocaeli Chamber of Industry official website, retrieved April 18, 2007, available at <http://www.kosano.org.tr/eng/sayfa.php?sayfa=55>

Table 4 Foreign Investments in Kocaeli (2005)⁹

	Country	Number of Investment		Country	Number of Investment
1	Germany	28	10	Korea	3
2	USA	17	11	Norway	2
3	Holland	11	12	Sweden	1
4	France	10	13	UAE	1
5	Italy	8	14	Luxembourg	1
6	Belgium	6	15	France-Germany	1
7	Japan	6	16	Lebanon	1
8	Switzerland	5	17	Monaco	1
9	England	5			
				Total	107

The role of industrial production is so great in the city that according to the data gathered from Kocaeli Chamber of Industry, Kocaeli's manufacturing industry provides 75% of Kocaeli's GDP and since the end of the 1970's Kocaeli comes the second after Istanbul in both the manufacturing industry production and the value-added produced in Turkey¹⁰. The following table illustrates the distribution of provincial GDP by sectors in year 2000:

Figure 1 Distribution of Provincial GDP by Sectors in Kocaeli (%)¹¹



⁹ Table retrieved on April 12, 2007 from *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Figure retrieved on April 18, 2007 from *Ibid.*

The export rates and tax revenues of the city are also very high. According to the information gathered from Kocaeli Chamber of Industry official web site, “the export figure of the provincial industry surpasses 7-8 billion USD and its imports equal to 17-18 billion USD.” And the city’s foreign trade share in 2003 is 13%. Meanwhile, the national tax revenues of the city are 17% of the country total in the same year.”¹² There are 7 active and 8 developing Organized Industrial Zones, 3 technologic parks and 2 free zones in the city and most importantly. The provincial GDP per capita numbers are also the highest in Kocaeli. The numbers between the years 1998-2001 are as follows:

Table 5 Provincial GDP Per Capita (\$) ¹³

	Province	1998	Province	1999	Province	2000	Province	2001
1	Kocaeli	7.501	Kocaeli	6.236	Kocaeli	7.556	Kocaeli	6.165
2	Yalova	4.769	Istanbul	4.135	Bolu	5.687	Bolu	4.216
3	Mugla	4.736	Yalova	4.133	Yalova	4.665	Kirklareli	3.590
4	Istanbul	4.658	Kirklareli	4.098	Istanbul	4.416	Yalova	3.463
5	Kirklareli	4.585	Izmir	4.019	Kirklareli	4.341	Mugla	3.308
	TURKEY	3.176		2.847		2.941		2.146

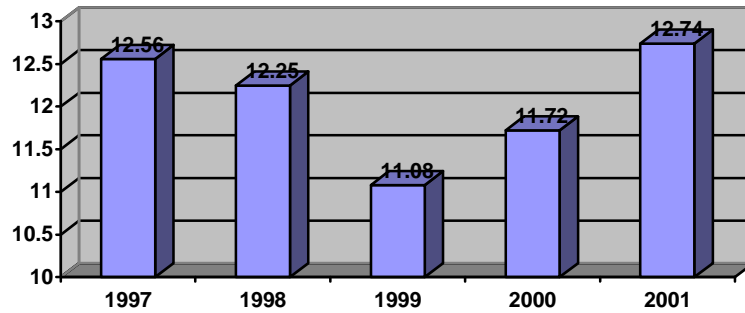
The share of Kocaeli’s industrial production in the national manufacturing production is great as well. According to the statistical data gathered in the last 10 years, 13-14 % of the industrial production of Turkey is supplied in the province.¹⁴ (Figure 3 illustrated the yearly shares of manufacturing sector of Kocaeli in national manufacturing sector between 1997 and 2001)

¹² “Kocaeli Imalat Sanayi” document presented in Kocaeli Chamber of Industry official website, retrieved on 16, 2007, available at <http://www.kosano.org.tr/paylasim/Image/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20KOCAELI%20IMALAT%20SANAYI%20URETIMI%202001.pdf>

¹³ Table retrieved on April 18, 2007 from *Ibid.*, and updated by the 2001 data presented at Turkish Statistical Institute official website, retrieved on April 18, 2007, from “Per Capita Gross Domestic Product by Provinces”, available at http://www.tuik.gov.tr/ulusalhesapp/UlusalHesap_Rapor.do

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

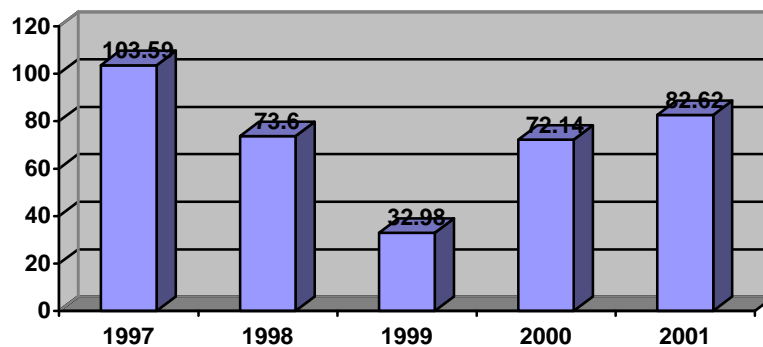
Figure 2 Yearly Shares of Manufacturing Sector of Kocaeli in National Manufacturing Sector (%) between 1997 and 2001. ¹⁵



Among this industrial production, “22% of Turkey’s intermediate goods, 10% of its investment goods and 3% of the nation’s consumer goods are produced in the province.”¹⁶

And today, as the president of the chamber states during the interview “the province is now preparing for investments involving higher technology and higher value added instead of just heavy industry.” (Expert Interview) The city’s economy seems to have the potential to meet such a target with a dynamic manufacturing industry with high numbers of growth rates. The development rates between the years 1997 and 2001 can be seen in the following table:

Figure 3 Annual Growth Rates in Manufacturing Sector in Kocaeli (%) ¹⁷



¹⁵ Figure retrieved on April 18, 2007 from *Ibid.*

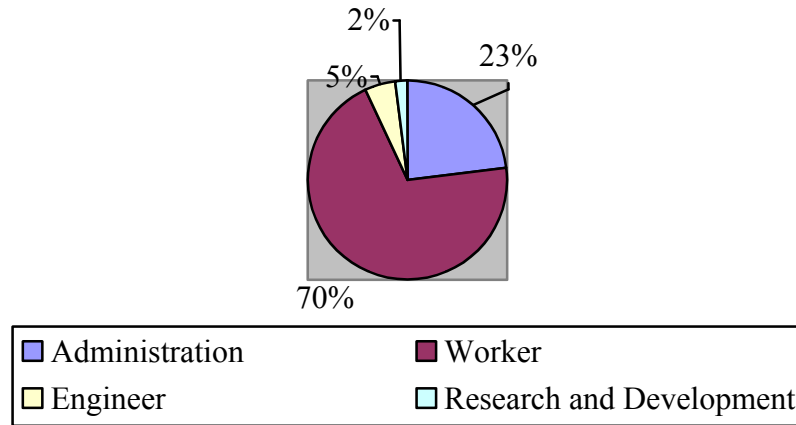
¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Figure retrieved on April 18, 2007 from *Ibid.*

4. 1. 2. Characteristics of Working Population in the Industrial Sector

As it is stated in the official website of Kocaeli Chamber of Industry “with its 171.714 workforce and an average of 8,8 % unemployment rate Kocaeli provides sufficient human resources that is able to meet the intermediate personal demand of enterprises that are planning to invest in the province.”¹⁸ The working population in the industrial sector Kocaeli is composed of 70% of workers, 23% of administrative staff, 5% of engineers and 2% of research and development staff as presented in the figure below:

Figure 4 Personnel Distribution (%) (2000) ¹⁹

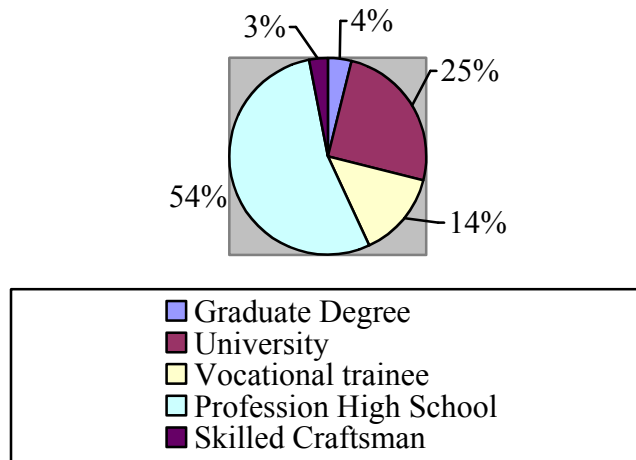


The high education level of the qualified workforce is also an important characteristic of the industrial sector in the city. According to the numbers provided by the Chamber of Industry in 2000, the qualified work force in Kocaeli is composed of 25% of university graduates, %4 of postgraduate degree holders, 14% of vocational trainees, 54% of vocational high school graduates and 25% of skilled craftsman as illustrated on the figure below:

¹⁸ “Kocaeli; the City that Lives and Nurtures” document presented in Kocaeli Chamber of Industry official web site, retrieved on April 18, 2007, available at <http://www.kosano.org.tr/eng/sayfa.php?sayfa=54>

¹⁹ “Economic Figures”, retrieved on April 18, 2007.

Figure 5 Current Distribution of Qualified Workforce (%) (2000) ²⁰



4. 1. 3. Industry, Industrialism and the Industrial City

Before going into details of the industrial decentralization process in Istanbul-Kocaeli zone, it is important to remark on the concept of industry and understand the changing meaning of the Industrial City from Industrial Metropolis to the Industrial Periphery.

Industry can classically be defined as “factory-based mechanized fabrication of raw materials into intermediate components or finished products, downplaying the relevance of social characteristics” which, with special emphasis of Holzberg and Giovannini, “becomes operative only within the context of definite social relations.” (Holzberg and Giovannini, 1981, p.318) These social relations are organized in such a way as to maximize profit through the efficient use of both the material and human resources. At the centre of this optimum organization of resources is the machine and machinery production. As Holzberg and Giovannini argue the *sin qua non* of the industrial society is the organization of relations around the machine. (Holzberg and Giovannini, 1981, p.326)

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Industrialism on the other hand, according to Moore is “the particular kind of rational, technically precise, adaptation of means to ends”. (Cited in Holzberg and Giovannini, 1981, p.322) The definition addresses a more general context, the context of modernity, in which not only the site of production but also the site of habitation is organized in such a way to attain optimum conditions for production. Industrial in this context does not only refer to the site of production, but to the human habitat in general where multiplicity of everyday domains and practices intersect.

A more technical definition of the industrial area is also made by several authors. According to Slater “Industrial Area” is “sets of counties which comprised an integrated and self-contained industrial organization, each set having 40,000 or more workers in manufacturing employment in 1939.” (Slater, 1961, p.75)

The meaning attached to Industrial City is both time and space bound. During the early years of industrialization, urban life was associated with the Industrial Metropolis and favoured as the centre of economic progress and advanced cultural life as opposed to the dull and backward life of the rural. The issues in urban sociology were centred around the main dichotomy of urban versus rural and the mutually exclusive characteristics attributed to each domain. While the latter term was given a secondary position and a negative meaning implying backwardness and defined by kinship relations and feudal ties, the former was privileged as having the characteristics of modernity and the replacement of primordial ties with occupational identification and nuclear family.²¹

Within this perspective, Industrial metropolis was associated with the process of Urbanization that signalled a change not only in economy but also in culture. In “The Changing Culture of the City” Walter Matherly states that “The inhabitants of the United States in recent decades have largely shifted from farm to factory, from agrarian to industrial forms of economic support, from rural to urban modes of living. (Matherly, 1935, p.349) He also suggests that:

²¹for a further discussion of the issue see (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1979) and (Harevan, 1978)

The culture of the city is constantly undergoing changes; it is subject to continuous ebb and flow; it is dynamic rather than static. The city differs from the country. The city moves swiftly; the country moves slowly. The city is characterized by feverishness; the country is characterized by placidness...The city is a fleeting product of man; the country is a lasting product of nature. The city looks upon the world as a passing show, the country looks upon the world as a permanent abiding place. (Matherly, 1935, p.354)

In most developed countries today however, the meaning of the Industrial City have shifted to a more negative direction as a result of the transformation of the Urban Economy from the Fordist stage to Post-Fordist stage and the evolution of culture of modernity to a post-modern state of being. In this context, as Short, Benton and Walton suggested:

We can identify a number of polarities in the division between industrial and postindustrial. Industrial cities are associated with the past and the old, work, pollution and the world of production. The post industrial city, in contrast is associated with the new, the future, the unpolluted, consumption and exchange, the world of leisure as opposed to work. (Short, Benton and Walton, 1993, p.208)

Therefore, both the daily level perception of the post-industrial city and the discursive construction of the term within the sociological field had positive connotations within the industrial-post industrial dichotomy which replaces the previous one of industrial/non-industrial.

4. 1. 4. Kocaeli as an Industrial Centre on the Periphery of Istanbul

Metropolitan Region

Within this framework, it will be argued in this study that Kocaeli is an Industrial City on the periphery of the Istanbul metropolitan Region. In Eraydin and Armatli-Koroglu's work Kocaeli was categorized within "growth areas located in the periphery of metropolises" in the map showing New Growth Regions Located in Different Parts of Turkey. (Eraydin and Armatli-Koroglu, 2005, p.246) In the same map Istanbul Metropolitan Region was defined as the "main industrial core" in Turkey (Eraydin and Armatli-Koroglu, 2005, p.244) As Ciraci and Kerimoglu also put it "Istanbul CBD is the business center not only for Istanbul Metropolitan Area

but also of the Metropolitan Region.” (Ciraci and Kerimoglu, 2006, p.3) Moreover, “in the Metropolitan Region Istanbul is the only dominant centre”. (Ciraci and Kerimoglu, 2006, p.14) On the other hand, about the industrial clusters outside the metropolitan areas Kocaeli is a good example. Referring to these clusters Eraydin and Armatli-Koroglu argues that:

There are, however, considerably successful ones especially in manufacturing activity in terms of income growth and access to international markets. These clusters are located in different parts of the country; some of which are located in the periphery of the metropolitan areas and others in the inner parts of Anatolia. These industrial clusters change their earlier positions by using their existing local capacities quite effectively and benefited from the opportunities provided by global relations. (Eraydin and Armatli-Koroglu, 2005, p.260)

In this context, it can be argued that Kocaeli is an industrial city and an industrial cluster on the periphery of Istanbul Metropolitan region. Being an industrial city puts Kocaeli in an advantageous position economically in terms of the GDP per capita and the rates of employment relative to the other cities and regions in the country. However, the city can not benefit correspondingly from this situation due to the central position of Istanbul in the region financially and culturally. On the other hand, Kocaeli is also disadvantageous in the sense that it suffers from all the negative impacts of industrialization such as environmental pollution and uneven urbanization.

4. 2. Industrial Decentralization

4. 2. 1. Decentralization

The word Decentralization can be used in several different contexts depending on the area in which the process of decentralization takes place. Slater defines two types of decentralization:

[A]t least two kinds of decentralization must be distinguished: diffusion (or suburbanization) refers to (relative) movements from the centre to the periphery of large cities; and dispersion refers to (relative) movements from larger to smaller cities and from satellite communities to independent ones. (Slater, 1961, p.72)

In this study, the issue of decentralization is used to refer to the dispersion of the industrial activity in the Istanbul Metropolitan Region. Istanbul Metropolitan Region, however, is used not as a title (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality) representing a municipal administrative territory but as a wider metropolitan area in which Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality is also a unit.

4. 2. 2. Industrial Decentralization

The literature on Industrial Decentralization dates back to the 1930's in United States. Slater states that:

In the 1930's there was a great deal of argument about the desirability, possibility, and history of decentralization of manufacturing industry in the US; President Roosevelt considered the problem so important that in his first inaugural address he urged a programme of decentralization.” (Slater, 1961, p.73)

In 1935, Matherly described industrial decentralization process in the United States as follows:

The shifting of manufacturing from the metropolis to suburbs, to districts beyond, and even to rural localities is a development which is destined to benefit greatly both country and city. The movement of urban population today is from central cities of metropolitan areas toward the peripheries. This movement is taking place because residents living in central cities desire to escape the rigors of thickly settled interior neighbourhoods, because small diversified industries are arising in small rural or semi-rural districts and because large scale industrial enterprises are exhibiting a tendency to fabricates parts in small factories located at will and then to assemble the finished product in large plants near the centers of population. (Matherly, 1935, p.355)

Based on the evidence from M. Hall's work on the New York Metropolitan Region (1959), Zelinsky argues that industries that need “immediacy of contact” such as clothing and printing “can even be moved out and only the service function such as dress design need remain in the city centre.” (Zelinsky, 1962, p.35) On the contrary, Slater suggests that:

Contrary to the predictions, there is no indication that urban populations or jobs became dispersed in the US or the UK during this century. However, in both countries, a massive and more or less continuous diffusion or suburbanization of population and jobs within city units has taken place. (Slater, 1961, p.73)

The reason for this is that “[d]ecentralization of manufacturing could take place simultaneously with centralization of non-manufacturing employments.” (Slater, 1961, p.73)

On the third world context, industrial decentralization is viewed as one of the results of globalization. According to Sassen there are two main effects of economic globalization on Latin America; “decentralization of urban agglomerations as export manufacturing zones” or the “polarization of economy in a primate city.” (Sassen, 1994, p.37) In this sense, Turkey faces a similar trend with the Latin American countries where places like Kocaeli becomes the centre of export manufacturing zone on the periphery of the primate city economy of Istanbul.

4. 2. 3. Decentralization in the Istanbul-Kocaeli Industrial Zone

As stated in the pervious chapters, although the cities of Istanbul and Kocaeli are administratively different entities, they are tied together with an industrial belt starting from the European edges of Istanbul, passing through the most densely industrialized regions of Izmit; Gebze and Dilovasi, including the central area of Kocaeli around the Izmit gulf and reaching to the neighbouring cities of Adapazari and Bursa. Nichols, Sugur and Demir define the location of Kocaeli in this area as “the Izmit triangle, an area that runs from Istanbul at its apex to Izmit and Bursa.” (Nicols, Sugur and Demir, 2002, p.70)

This area according to the authors “expanded in the 1980’s as industry spilled out of Istanbul in a second phase of development.” (Nicols, Sugur and Demir, 2002, p.70) Not only the area expended after the 1980’s but the density of industrial configuration have also increased with the proliferation of industrial investments both national and multinational, and migration of vast numbers of employees from different educational and occupational backgrounds.

This spill over or decentralization in the 1980's is conditioned by a movement of rapid industrialization that occurred as a result of liberal policies implemented in those years. The liberalization of international trade has increased the speed of industrialization dramatically. Gezici and Hewings state that:

beginning in the early 1980s, the most intensive effects of liberalization and globalization have been seen in Turkey. After the beginning of policies supporting export activities, there has been considerable structural change and the share of exports in GNP has increased. (Gezici and Hewings, 2004, p.118)

As a result, the number of export-based industrial investments in the area has increased through the flow of national capital and foreign direct investments to the area. This, of course caused the decentralization of industrialization from the metropolitan core to the developing industrial periphery. As Gezici and Hewings put it:

After the 1980's the spatial reflections of the new policies on export base development and decentralization policy of industrial activities from metropolitan cities caused industrial expansion in the adjacent provinces of metropolitan regions. Moreover, there have been new industrial nodes that are specialized in certain sectors due to comparative advantages while the role of metropolitan cities (especially Istanbul), have increased to constitute and control the capital and business-services sector with respect to increasing international relations and receipts of foreign trade. (Gezici and Hewings, 2004, pp.114-115)

To put it differently, economic growth through industrialization caused decentralization of manufacturing activity from the metropolitan areas to the regional periphery. Zelinsky observes a similar trend in the United States between 1939 and 1947. (Zelinsky, 1962, p.251) During these years he measures "a significant relative dispersion of industrial activity out from the metropolitan areas into the adjacent, relatively unindustrialized regions, from the eastern to the western portions of the Manufacturing Belt, and from the Manufacturing Belt in general to the reaches of the nation." (Zelinsky, 1962, p.251) Although in the Turkish case we can not observe a nationwide dispersal of the manufacturing activity, we can observe the diffusion of industrialization from the Istanbul metropolitan core to the adjacent city of Kocaeli. Zelinsky's argument is also supported by the work of Manson, Howland and Peterson which presents the evidence for industrial

suburbanization proving that “the process of metropolitan decentralization depends upon rates of national economic growth .” Moreover, they go on to say that:

The rate of suburbanization accelerates during expansions in the national economy and then declines when the national economy is sluggish. The uneven process of suburbanization occurs because during periods of strong national economic growth net investment raises. Investors, those considering both expansion at outside location and new business formations, favor suburban locations. When national economic growth contracts, aggregate investment stagnates and the process of suburbanization slows. (Manson, Howland and Peterson, 1989, p.71)

The result of such a rapid acceleration in the process of industrialization is the increasing demand for space. The cost of keeping manufacturing in the city centre is very high compared to the cost in the periphery. Therefore, the large-scale industries prefer making their manufacturing investments in the periphery and also decentralize their existing manufacturing complexes to the peripheral areas. Ford-Otosan and the Sabanci industrial plants in Kocaeli are the biggest examples of this process.

4. 3. Migration of White Collar Industrial Employees

According to Slater, “A common theme is that the distribution of urban peoples depends on the distribution of urban jobs.” (Slater, 1961, p.72) The previous section showed how industry was decentralized from Istanbul to Kocaeli. This section will focus on the dynamics of concentration of white collar manufacturing employees in Kocaeli and migration to the city.

4. 3. 1. Migration

Long asserts that “there are no universal migration differentials for at least three reasons.” These reasons are as follows:

First, different countries define internal migration in different ways...Second, the very character of migration changes over time; for example, a generation or two ago a large part of migration in the United States was best characterized as rural-to-urban (or nonmetropolitan-to-

metropolitan), while today most internal migration is interurban in character. Third, the meaning of the variables by which the differentials studies changes... (Long, 1973, p.243)

In this respect, we can say that, differentials determining the characteristics of a particular type of migration are both time and space bound and should be organized in conformity with the case-specific conditions.

However, it is possible to talk about two main factors effecting migration; structural and psychological. In “Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration” Graves and Graves assert that the “determinants of decisions to migrate can be divided into two broad classes: structural and psychological.” (Graves and Graves, p.1974) Concerning the psychological determinant, Ned Levine states that about the Turkish context “while the total movement of migrants is determined by economic and social factors, each migrant’s decision to move and his consequent acculturation is a function of his motives and resources.” (Levine, 1973, p.356) These motives and resources are also conditioned by the individual’s psychological tendencies.

Among the several structural explanations Graves and Graves demonstrated, the one which investigated “the migrant’s potential place within the urban opportunity structure” is a useful one concerning the scope of this study. (Graves and Graves, 1974, p.123) According to the explanation regarding the migrant’s potential place within the urban opportunity structure, one of the factors that lead to an increase of demand in the urban job opportunity market is the speeding up of industrialization. This can particularly be observed in the case of Kocaeli where two major periods of rapid industrialization is observed in the second half of the 19th century. The first period starts in the 60’s and the second period starts in the 80’s.

4. 3. 2. Studies on Migration and the Migration of High Income Earners

Most studies on migration focus on the migration patterns of low income groups. The most common types of migration these studies concentrate on are rural-to-urban migration or international migration. The issues covered in these studies are centred on the “urban anomalies” such as over-population, poverty or isolation. On

the other hand, the studies on migration of high-income groups and urban-to-urban type of internal migration occupy a relatively less space. In this section, some of these works produced in the United States will be demonstrated and the migration patterns of the white collar industrial employees will be introduced.

Among these studies, Frey's study on "the impacts of white migration on the population compositions of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas" conducted in the United States, shows that most large northern SMSA's have been experiencing two major new migration patterns since 1950's. First, there have been "out-movements of whites to both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas" and second, intercity migration of "greater numbers of collage graduated and professional workers." (Frey, 1979, p.219)

Berardo's study on a middle class Aerospace related migrant community is one of the few studies conducted as an example of the highly educated middle class internal migration. (Berardo, 1966) In this study, Berardo attempts to measure the relationship between kinship interaction and migrant behaviour on social integration. He concludes that kinship interaction is not a significant factor affecting the adjustment patterns of the migrant community to the migrated urban context.

4. 3. 3. Characteristics of White Collar Migration to Kocaeli

Tanfer suggests that "the majority of the inter-provincial migrants (60 percent) are inter-urban movers and only one-fifth are rural-to-urban migrants." (Tanfer, 1983, p.105) He also adds that "in a country that was still 64 percent rural in 1970, it is very striking to find a high volume of urban-to-urban migration." (Tanfer, 1983, p.105) Concerning the migration of highly-educated population he states that "there exists a large group of repeat migrants moving mainly between urban places. These migrants are relatively older, better educated and skilled, and more likely to be employed in white-collar occupations than their counterparts." (Tanfer, 1983, p.105) Lane also asserts that "It would seem that in any occupation the most highly qualified find their services in demand and are able to advance their careers by moving among employers and from place to place." (Long, 1973 p.249) As a result

of this, as Tanfer suggests “[w]hite collar workers constitute one-third of the repeat migrants, the highest proportion among the three migrant groups (first migrants, repeat migrants and return migrants) who are mostly in professional, technical and administrative occupations.” (Tanfer, 1983, p.102)

For our study as well, it seems that education is an important variable for the selection of migrant white collar employees. As the case study shows there were not large educational differences among the participants. Most of the workers had a university degree, mostly with an engineering formation. According to the data provided by the manager of human resources at August 2006, %50 of the white collar population were university graduates, % 21.7 had a masters degree, % 0.6 had a doctorate degree, % 7.5 had an undergraduate degree of two years, %16.8 were high school graduates and % 1.2 had an education of 8 years or less.

In this context, the head of the Kocaeli Chamber of commerce Yilmaz Kambak and the Director of Industrial Relations of the selected company also emphasized the role of “having a good quality of university education” as the most important criteria for the selection of white-collar employees. When they were asked to explain what they meant by a good quality university education, they mainly referred to the Universities that teaches in English. Dincer, on the other hand, said that they could hire anyone with a good quality of university education but they could not find enough people with such requirements in Kocaeli so they select employees from a wide range of people in Turkey and added that even the well-educated have difficulties in finding satisfactory jobs parallel to their education since Turkey is far from providing enough numbers of employment opportunities. Scarcity of Turkey’s job opportunities together with the increase in the number of university graduates increases competition and unemployment among the well-educated university graduates. A similar trend was also observed in the United States as Lane argues that “increases in the number of colleges and the proportion of persons going to college have meant that college graduates are becoming a less select group and will probably have less distinctive migration patterns” (Long, 1973, p.257)

On the other hand, a presumption about the future tendencies of migration to Kocaeli might also be inferred from the interview with Mr. Kambak’:

We thought it this way: let Istanbul be centre for finance, and Izmit can be a place which attracts investment with high added value and high technology. We, as Kocaeli Chamber of Industry, do not want any labour-intensive jobs here. Labour-intensive industry must not come here. If it does, it leads to migration. But if we establish high-tech companies which will generate high added value, people working in such companies have to be highly qualified. Well-paid people can improve quality of life. Then Kocaeli’s face can change in one moment. This is the target that we have in our minds. This is why we want to deprive municipalities of their authority to allow for investment in any place. In that manner we can direct labour-intensive jobs to Adapazari and Duzce as much as we can. (Expert interview)

If these targets on industrialization are achieved in Kocaeli, a lager wave of white collar industrial migration might be expected in the city. However, as this study suggests, migration of larger groups of “highly qualified” labour might not lead to an increase in the quality of life in the city as Mr. Kambak suggested, since these people would not participate in the urban life in Kocaeli unless a strategy to incorporate them to the urban life in the city is implemented.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The results attained from the preliminary interviews, expert interviews and questionnaire are evaluated in this chapter in two separate sections. Two dimensions of the lived space, namely the *use* and *perception* of space are the two pillars that these sections are structured on.

In this respect, the first section analyzes white collar industrial employees' use of the urban space in Kocaeli. In this section, the participants use of the urban space is analyzed under 6 six categories. These are Residential Use; Everyday Rhythms, Social Network and Downtown Use; Leisure; Consumption; and Political Participation.

The second section, on the other hand, deals with the subject's group's *perception* of the Urban Space in Kocaeli. Here, firstly the subject group's perceived level of satisfaction with living in the city is demonstrated. Secondly, the group's will to live in another city is explained. Later, the subject's comments on the city image are interpreted.

5. 1. Practices of White Collar Industrial Employees' Use of the Urban Space In Kocaeli

5. 1. 1. Residential Use

As it is mentioned earlier, the most striking comment made on white collar employees working in large scale industrial plants in Kocaeli was about the alienation these people start to feel sometime after working in these institutions. To

a local newspaper journalist Mr Kupcu, white collar employees working in large scale industrial plants were isolated from the local life and could not identify themselves with the life in the city.

To Kupcu, reasons of such alienation are conditioned by spatial separation of both the work places and residences of these people from the local community. Starting from the first major industrial investments in the city, Kupcu argues that, these people are kept in a distance from the local part of the city and they lived in gated areas with social facilities provided by the factories. This situation described by Kupcu as follows:

Remoteness from this city began much earlier with institutions like Tupras, Petkim and Seka. For example Izmit residents working in Tupras lived as if they were unconnected to Izmit. They lived in public housings, and a social facility with a pool attached to the public housing. He has his lunch at the social facility, and dinner, too, because it is cheaper than eating at home. He almost does not eat meal at his home and his connection with the city is lost. He even does not shop from his own shopkeepers. (Expert Interview)

The same situation is also observed in the factory where this case study was conducted. The factory is situated in a city-like industrial complex covering 3.000.000 m². This factory-city has a social facility club special to its white collar employees and has a restaurant with a large garden, a swimming pool, a tennis court and a basketball area. There are also 2 large and 1 smaller soccer fields, 2 medical centres, a techno-shop, a bank and a guest house in the area. There are shopping cooperatives in each factory in the area as well. The gates of this area are strictly controlled by private security teams and no-one is allowed in, except for the employees, their families and visitors who have proved their appointments with the personnel inside.

There are three major residential areas where the white collars in this factory are concentrated. These three places Yuvam, Yahya Kaptan and Site X (carries the same name with the name of the industrial complex) are just 5-10 minutes drive away from the factory. Two of these places Yahya Kaptan and Yuvam are mass housing flats and Site X is an area composed of gated apartments built after the

1999 earthquake when the owner of the factories has donated the land to his employees whose houses were damaged during the earthquake. The Human Resources Department manager Mrs Taskin states that most single employees live alone and their social life is limited with the work environment. On the other hand, some of the employees who are in higher positions prefer living in houses again in gated areas. On the other hand, on the issue of home ownership we know that among the total of 50 residents of Kocaeli in the selected group 19 respondents have rented their house, 16 live in their own/spouse's house, 14 live in their parent's house. Results also show that, from a total 50 respondents residing in Kocaeli, 24 of them own a property in Kocaeli.

On the other hand, within the total of Kocaeli residents, 7 have real estate investments outside Kocaeli. Within this group, 2 of the respondents have investments in Istanbul, 2 of them in Ankara, 1 in Adana, 1 in Balikesir and 1 in Izmir. When the respondents were asked the reasons of their investing in another city, 3 of them replied that they chose investing in another province because the other province was their "hometown"; 2 of the respondents replied the reason was because "investing there was more profitable"; another respondent replied he invested outside Kocaeli for "spending there summer vacations", and one respondent invested in another province for another reason. Moreover, among the respondents residing in Kocaeli, 5 have a second residence that they use in another city. Three of these respondents have residences in Istanbul, 1 in Izmir and 1 in Mugla.

5. 1. 2. Everyday Rhythms, Social Network and Downtown Use

An ordinary day of an interview participant (Interview participant 1) who lives in Kocaeli is as follows; he wakes up at 7:00. He comes to work at 7:45, starts working at 8:00 and leaves work at 5:30. However, most of the engineers who worked at technical groups complained about over-work and stated that sometimes they had to go to the factory even at midnights and at the weekends due to problems in production. They expressed that they usually did not have enough time to

socialize in Izmit. Therefore, over-work could be considered as an important reason of inadequate community participation among engineers.

It should also be noted that many of the participants from different age groups complained about the scarcity and low quality of social life in Kocaeli and asserted that they have to go out of town to socialize. Because as one of the participants said “outside of Kocaeli, both the physical and social quality of environment is much better!” (Interview participant 3) This, of course, creates a vicious circle for Kocaeli where demand and supply for social infrastructure can not meet each other.

The same participant also stated that he knew no one from Kocaeli outside work. When he was asked if he knew any locals he said “Are there any local in Kocaeli?” He and his family was so dispatched from the local life around him that he didn’t know anybody even for asking help to find childcare service for his baby and told a very interesting story: “We found the child-carer lady on the street. One day, I and my wife took the baby to a park and my wife started talking to a lady. She told her that we were looking for a trustable child-carer. The lady suggested someone to us and now the lady she suggested is looking after our baby.” This story demonstrates how isolated the participants and their families in terms of social relations and social support.

It seems that there are both structural and personal reasons inadequate socialization. Structural reasons are mainly related to exhaustion at work and impossibility of socializing after working hours whereas the individual reasons range from having to meet different family responsibilities such as the obligation to look after a baby in young families to living in isolated ‘site’ communities in the older and better paid participants.

The data gathered from the questionnaire, on the other hand, shows that the white collar industrial employees are not that socially and physically separated from the local life. The data attained shows that among the 31 non-local residents of Kocaeli, 22 reported that they have local friends except for colleagues. Among the

same group, 23 know someone from Kocaeli except for their colleagues from whom they can ask for help.

The results also show that the respondents who live in Kocaeli use downtown quite frequently. Among the 17 local employees 4 of them use downtown everyday, 8 of them use it a few days a week and 3 of them use it once a week. The following table show the frequency of downtown use for local and residents:

Table 6 Downtown Use of Local Employees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Almost everyday	4	23,5	25,0	25,0
	Few days a week	8	47,1	50,0	75,0
	Once a week	3	17,6	18,8	93,8
	Once a month	1	5,9	6,3	100,0
	Total	16	94,1	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	5,9		
Total		17	100,0		

Non-local white collar residents' use of the downtown is slightly less frequent than the locals. According to the data, among the 31 non-local residents 8 of them use downtown few days a week. 15 of them use downtown once a week and 4 of them use downtown once a month.

Table 7 Downtown Use of Non-local Employees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Few days a week	8	25,8	27,6	27,6
	Once a week	15	48,4	51,7	79,3
	Once a month	4	12,9	13,8	93,1
	Once in every 2-3 months	2	6,5	6,9	100,0
	Total	29	93,5	100,0	
Missing	Missing	2	6,5		
Total		31	100,0		

On the other hand, results show that 1999 Earthquake does not have a significant impact on white collar industrial employees' use of the urban space. The results

show that giving a total of 50 respondents residing in Kocaeli, only 24 of them were living in Kocaeli during the earthquake. Among these 24 respondents, 10 respondent's residence was damaged by the earthquake, 7 changed their residence and 6 changed their district or vicinity due to the earthquake. Again among the 24 respondents, only 9 reported that they avoid being in some places due to the concerns about the earthquake. These respondents expressed that they refrained from being in places such as indoor car parks, old buildings, high buildings, unsafe buildings, damaged buildings, crossovers, underpasses, The Metropolitan Municipality building and its indoor car park and geologically risky areas in the city.

There are also 12 employees in the questionnaire sample who reside in Istanbul. An interview participant (Interview participant 4) who lives in Istanbul says she never thought of living in Kocaeli although she had to put up with the hours she spends on the way between home and work. A daily schedule of this participant who is married with one child is as follows: She wakes up at 5:10 and leaves home at 6:20. She takes the service and comes to work at 8:00; she leaves work at 17:40 and comes home at 19:30. She says "I almost have no life at all at nights"

According to the questionnaire results, there are several reasons why these people choose to live in Istanbul. Among these reasons, 5 of the respondents say they live in Istanbul because they were already living there before getting a job in Kocaeli. Other reasons for living in Istanbul and their percentages are as follows:

Table 8 Reasons of Residing in Istanbul

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	As Istanbul has better social facilities	2	16,7	16,7	16,7
	Because my spouse works in Istanbul	3	25,0	25,0	41,7
	As I was living in Istanbul before I started working in Kocaeli	5	41,7	41,7	83,3
	Other	2	16,7	16,7	100,0
	Total	12	100,0	100,0	

Among the employees who reside in Istanbul, 6 reported that they had lived in Kocaeli before. Within this group, as illustrated below, half of the respondents said they moved to Istanbul because of their spouse's work, 1 said he/she moved because of the earthquake, 1 because of his/her children's education and 1 because the social facilities were better in Istanbul.

Table 9 Reasons of Moving to Istanbul from Kocaeli

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Earthquake	1	16,7	16,7	16,7
	Children's education	1	16,7	16,7	33,3
	Spouses work	3	50,0	50,0	83,3
	Better social facilities	1	16,7	16,7	100,0
	Total	6	100,0	100,0	

As a result it is observed that Kocaeli is far from being an attractive place of residence for people who already reside in Istanbul. Although the long hours spent in traffic coming to work and going back home, these people choose to live in Istanbul.

5. 1. 3. Leisure

Mr. Kupcu who worked in the selected factory before working as a journalist mentions that as the department of public relations they used to organize organizing trips to the major events in Istanbul:

When I was working at Factory X as public relations expert, we used to buy group tickets so that all theatre activities including state theatre and all musicals including Istanbul festivals could be viewed and we used to go to Istanbul in one bus, two buses, three buses to view such kind of activities. Plus our social facility was a place for the staff to recreate. We were considerably far from the city. (Expert Interview)

Today, the company does not organize such group activities to Istanbul. However, from Mr Kupcu's comment it is interesting to see the impact of the factory organization in white collar life in Izmit. Istanbul's domination as the cultural centre in the area can also be seen clearly in his expression.

Questionnaire results, on the other hand, do not show such remoteness from the city socially. Data shows that Kocaeli residents are well informed about the social facilities in the city. However, there is again a difference between the local and non-local residents concerning this issue. While 16 of the local employees reported they were informed about the social activities, 21 of the non-local employees said they were.

Moreover, giving a total of 49 respondents who have answered the question on asking the place where they spend their leisure time, 32 of them said they spend their weekend in Kocaeli, whereas 17 said they spend their time in another city. The respondents who have stated that they spend their leisure time in Kocaeli prefer shopping, going on a picnic or cinema and going to nicer places in the province. Among the respondents who have said they spent their leisure time in another city, the majority with 13 participants stated that they go to Istanbul for leisure activities. On the other hand, among the 50 residents of Kocaeli 40 of them stated that they go to Istanbul in their leisure time. Within this group, 12 reported that they went there every week and 18 said they went there once a month.

The subject group's participation in social life in the city is also measured in the questionnaire. According to the results, participation in artistic events was very low, while participation in sport activities was relatively higher. Among the residents of Kocaeli, only 6 of them regularly participate in an artistic activity in Kocaeli. The most popular activity among the participants is couple dancing courses. There are also employees who are playing instruments.

Yet, most of the Kocaeli residents (27 among 50) do sports regularly. It can be argued that sport is an important way providing white collar industrial employees' participation in local life in Kocaeli. The results show that during their sport activities the employees use various sport facilities in the city. Basketball players use Ataturk Indoor Sport Complex and the factory's social facilities, while the soccer players use several fields in different parts of the city. There are also employees who walk regularly in different parts of the city.

The use of the factory social facilities is also very common. 41 of the employees reported that they use the social facilities of the factory (restaurant and a sport complex). Frequency of this use is shown on figure below;

Table 10 Frequency of the Use of the Factory Social Facilities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Few days a week	6	14,6	15,0	15,0
	Once a week	17	41,5	42,5	57,5
	Once a month	13	31,7	32,5	90,0
	Once in 2,3 months	4	9,8	10,0	100,0
	Total	40	97,6	100,0	
Missing	Missing	1	2,4		
Total		41	100,0		

Finally, the results show that the subject group spend their weekends mostly in Kocaeli and use the urban space during their leisure times especially for sport activities. However, most of them go to Istanbul in their leisure times as well.

5. 1. 4. Consumption

Apart from being a site for industrial production, the urban space in Kocaeli is also a site for consumption. There are currently 6 shopping centres in the city centre; Carrefour, Outlet Centre, Real, Dolphin and Ozdilek which are very crowded especially after 6 o'clock during the week and all day at the weekends. These are the centres mainly for clothing and daily consumption. In most of these centres, there are dealers of international brands and also some shops of well-known Turkish brands. Some of them also have furniture sections and techno shops. Most of them have a small playground made of plastic accessories somewhere in the middle of the building, same as in any shopping centre. These places are apparently the main attraction points for the white collar industrial workers who can not find anything better to do after work than going to these places for shopping, at least for window-shopping, having a snap, or seeing a movie with friends or family. This seems, however, also true for the general population in the city who has some time and money.

For the young white collar migrant workers who do not know any people in Kocaeli except for the friends at work, going to shopping centres seems like a popular leisure time activity. As one of the young interview participant suggested “the most popular social activity here is going to Carrefour, Real, and Outlet Centre”. (Interview participant 6)

As it is shown on the table below, among the 40 residents who replied to the question on daily consumption, the majority with 26 stated that they do their daily shopping from these super markets in these shopping centre whereas only 7 in this group stated that they shop from the local tradesmen.

Table 11 Daily Consumption

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Factory cooperative	2	4,0	5,0	5,0
	Local shops	7	14,0	17,5	22,5
	Market	5	10,0	12,5	35,0
	Super Market	26	52,0	65,0	100,0
	Total	40	80,0	100,0	
Missing	Missing	10	20,0		
Total		50	100,0		

As it is shown in the table below, from a total of 37 Kocaeli residents who answered the question on clothing consumption, 19 of them reported they shop from outlet centre and other big malls, 12 of them said they go Istanbul to shop for clothes, only, 4 said they shopped from local tradesmen.

Table 12 Consumption for Clothing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Local Tradesman	4	8,0	10,8	10,8
	Izmit Outlet	19	38,0	51,4	62,2
	Istanbul	12	24,0	32,4	94,6
	Other	2	4,0	5,4	100,0
	Total	37	74,0	100,0	
Missing	Missing	13	26,0		
Total		50	100,0		

Concerning the subject's bigger expenditures, it is evident that, among the 45 subjects who have responded to the question, 24 of them buy such goods from local tradesmen whereas 12 buy them from Outlet Centre and such big malls.

Table 13 Consumption on Durable Goods and Furniture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Local tradesman	24	48,0	53,3	53,3
	Izmit Outlet	12	24,0	26,7	80,0
	Istanbul	6	12,0	13,3	93,3
	Other	3	6,0	6,7	100,0
	Total	45	90,0	100,0	
Missing	Missing	5	10,0		
Total		50	100,0		

As the results illustrated, it is possible to argue that white collar industrial employees do most of their daily shopping and shopping for cloths in shopping centres owned by companies outside the city. Therefore, other than the larger expenditures, the money white collar industrial employee's spent on consumption does not contribute to the local economy.

5. 1. 5. Political Participation

Results show that participation in the non-governmental associations among the subject group is very low and there is no large difference between the participation of local and non-local employees in these organizations. Among the 16 local participants who responded to this question only 3 of them are members to any non-governmental organizations, whereas only 5 of the non-local residents have such membership giving a total of 31 respondents. Among the three local respondents, 2 of them are members to the KYOD (Kocaeli Higher Education Association) and 1 is a member of MMO while, 2 non-local respondents are members of the METU alumni association, 1 non-local respondent is member of MMO and one has membership to an NGO in another city.

Among the 17 local residents of Kocaeli who responded to the question on local governments, only 5 reported that they directed their complaints about the public services in Kocaeli, whereas only 2 of the non-local respondents among a total of 30 who responded to the question reported that they directed complaints to any local public institutions. Therefore, the results show that generally the white collar employees do not show much reaction to the inconveniences in public administrations.

On the other hand, concerning the issue of reading the local newspapers, among the total of the local residents (17) in Kocaeli, more than half (10) read one of the local newspapers in Kocaeli whereas among the 30 non-local respondents who have answered the question, only 5 of them read a local newspaper.

It is also evident that among the 17 local residents of Kocaeli, almost all of the residents (16) follow the news on Kocaeli at national press and TV, while 23 of the non-local respondents, giving a total of 30, do so.

5. 1. 6. Use of Public Services

During the interviews it was observed that public services were a major reason of dissatisfaction with Kocaeli among the white collar industrial employees. The most striking complaint about the public services came from an interview participant who is married with a baby of 2 years old. This participant said he didn't even once take his baby to a doctor in Kocaeli because he did not trust in the health services in Kocaeli and he did not have good connections in the city. He said "I would not like to have any treatment here. You can not even find any professors here? We don't know anybody here anyway!" (Interview participant 6) The manager of Human Resources also stated that "In terms of health services Izmit is a question mark...even for child delivery. People go to Istanbul for serious health problems like work accidents or cancer. This is especially true for the new employees." (Expert Interview) This was a very surprising statement since in the city there are two state hospitals and a faculty of medicine in Kocaeli University.

The questionnaire results also demonstrate a similar trend about the trust in the health services in the city. However, the results also show that the local residents trust in the health services more than the non-locals. Among the Kocaeli residents, while 12 of the local residents among 17 said they would consider having a treatment in Kocaeli if they had any serious health problems, only 14 of the 31 non-local residents said they would consider having a treatment in Kocaeli under such conditions.

About the participants use of the transportation facilities in the city we know that the participants never use these services during their transportation to/from work. Questionnaire results show that among the 62 respondents 38 of them use the work services and 23 go to work on their own cars. Therefore, it can be argued that white collar industrial employees in the selected factory do not need to use public transport while going to work and coming from work. This can also be seen as a factor preventing this group's chances of interaction with the local community.

To measure the general satisfaction with the public services in the city a separate question is also added in the questionnaire. In this respect, as it is mentioned earlier, Question 21 of the questionnaire is designed to measure the attitudes of the respondents who are living in Kocaeli, towards the services provided in the city. The scale of the question is a Likert type scale. It is five pointed, from strongly unsatisfied to strongly satisfied. In this scale there are 6 items. The items are evaluated as (1) strongly unsatisfied, (2) not satisfied, (3) neither satisfied nor unsatisfied, (4) satisfied and (5) strongly satisfied. To attain a total score of satisfaction with the public services, points of every respondent were summed and for every respondent a point of general satisfaction with the services is calculated. The highest score can be 30 and lowest score can be 5. If the points gathered from the scale is high it means people living in Kocaeli are satisfied with the services provided by the local administrations. Values below 17 can be considered as "dissatisfaction with the services" and values above 18 can be considered as "satisfaction with the services".

According to the reliability test applied, the Cronbach Alpha reliability of the scale questions in general is 0,981, which reflects a high reliability level. As the results on

the below table shows, the overall mean score is 16.70 with a standard deviation of 4,268 and the scores ranged between six and twenty-four (minimum is 6 and maximum is 24).

Table 14 Total Score of Satisfaction with the Public Services

N	Valid	44
	Missing	6
Mean		16,70
Median		17,00
Mode		16
Std. Deviation		4,268
Minimum		6
Maximum		24

The frequency distribution table of the scores showed that dissatisfaction with the public services among the respondents living in Kocaeli is more dominant than satisfaction. According to the applied one-sample t-test, it can be said that the scores of satisfaction with the services have a normal distribution. (Sig. (2-tailed) = 0,648). $p=0,648 > 0.05$.)

Finally, as the table below illustrates, among the residents of Kocaeli the majority with 30 people are unsatisfied with the public services in Kocaeli and 20 are satisfied.

Table 15 Distribution of Satisfaction with the Public Services

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Unsatisfied	30	60,0	60,0	60,0
	Satisfied	20	40,0	40,0	100,0
Total		50	100,0	100,0	

Therefore, as the results illustrated, most of the residents of Kocaeli in the subject group is unsatisfied with the public services in the city. In terms of the trust in health services on the other hand, most of the non-local employees reported that they did not trust in the health services in the city.

5. 2. White Collar Industrial Employees' Perception of the Urban Space in Kocaeli

5. 2. 1. Perceived Level of Satisfaction with Living in Kocaeli

According to the information gathered from the Department of Human Resources, among the white collar employees the most common reason for leaving job is location. The head of the department Mrs. Taskin states that "Kocaeli is not a very unattractive place for people who work in technical departments but for people who work in the departments like marketing, sales or finance, it is." The reason for this is that Kocaeli as an industrial area provides a large variety of engineering positions especially for mechanical engineers. On the other hand, Izmit is a also good step in one's professional life before moving to larger cities like Istanbul. As Mrs. Taskin says "Izmit is appealing for mechanical engineers because they come from a temporary place and they can not adapt themselves to Istanbul immediately." Kocaeli is a convenient place for the newly married as well. The reason for this is that "the focus is mainly on basic needs like housing, or childcare in newly married." (Mrs. Taskin)

The results of the questionnaire show that considering the level of satisfaction with living in Kocaeli, there is a significant difference is between the local and non-local residents of Kocaeli. As it is demonstrated in the figure below; within the group of 17 local residents, more than half of the respondents reported that they were satisfied with living in Kocaeli, while 3 of them showed they were dissatisfied and 3 of them reported they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Only 1 of the respondents reported she/he was not satisfied at all and only 1 of the respondents demonstrated he/she was very satisfied.

Table 16 Level of Satisfaction with Living in Kocaeli among Locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not satisfied at all	1	5,9	5,9	5,9
	Dissatisfied	3	17,6	17,6	23,5
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	3	17,6	17,6	41,2
	Satisfied	9	52,9	52,9	94,1
	Very satisfied	1	5,9	5,9	100,0
	Total	17	100,0	100,0	

On the other hand, the results attained from the non-local residents of Kocaeli were very different from those of the locals. As it is evident in the figure below; among the 31 non-local respondents to the question, only 8 reported satisfaction with living in Kocaeli. The majority of the respondents reported dissatisfaction or neutrality with 12 being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 8 dissatisfied and 3 being not satisfied at all. Moreover, none of the respondents reported they were very satisfied living in Kocaeli.

Table 17 Level of Satisfaction with Living in Kocaeli among Non-locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not satisfied at all	3	9,7	9,7	9,7
	Dissatisfied	8	25,8	25,8	35,5
	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	12	38,7	38,7	74,2
	Satisfied	8	25,8	25,8	100,0
	Total	31	100,0	100,0	

Here, it is also interesting to note that the level of satisfaction was low among the non-locals despite the fact that their perceived level adaptation was higher than expected. Among the 27 employees who have responded to the question on the perceived level of adaptation, 13 of them reported they were adapted to the city, 6 were neither adapted nor not adapted, 6 were not adapted and 2 were adapted completely. The percentages of these levels can be seen in the following table:

Table 18 Perceived Level of Adaptation to Kocaeli

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Adapted	6	19,4	22,2	22,2
	Neither Adapted, nor Not Adapted	6	19,4	22,2	44,4
	Adapted	13	41,9	48,1	92,6
	Adapted Completely,...	2	6,5	7,4	100,0
	Total	27	87,1	100,0	
Missing	Inapplicable	1	3,2		
	Missing	3	9,7		
	Total	4	12,9		
Total		31	100,0		

That is to say, although the migrant employees feel like they are adapted to Kocaeli they are not satisfied with living in the city. The reasons for such a contradiction will become clearer in the section on City Image.

5. 2. 2. Will to Live in another City

During the preliminary interviews it was realized that most of the participants would prefer living in another city if they were provided with the necessary material conditions. Within the total (17) of local residents of Kocaeli, more than half of them (10 people) expressed that they would prefer to live in another province than Kocaeli if satisfactory material conditions were provided. Among this group only 10 of them stated the city of their preference. The cities they would prefer to live in are as follows:

Table 19 Places Where the Locals of Kocaeli are Willing to Live In

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ankara	2	20,0	20,0	20,0
	Istanbul	4	40,0	40,0	60,0
	Izmir	3	30,0	30,0	90,0
	Other	1	10,0	10,0	100,0
	Total	10	100,0	100,0	

As it is shown in the figure below, for the majority (80 percent) of respondents who wishes to live in another city, the reason is that social facilities in the other city are better. The other reasons are as follows:

Table 20 the 1st Most Significant Reason for Preferring to Live in another City for Locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because social facilities in the other province are better	8	80,0	80,0	80,0
	Because my children can get better education in the other province	1	10,0	10,0	90,0
	Other	1	10,0	10,0	100,0
	Total	10	100,0	100,0	

The second most significant reason for the local residents who wishes to live in another city is better education facilities in the other city.

Table 21 the 2nd Most Significant Reason for Preferring to Live in another City for Locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because Kocaeli is an earthquake region	2	20,0	25,0	25,0
	Because social facilities in the other province are better	1	10,0	12,5	37,5
	Because my children can get better education in the other province	4	40,0	50,0	87,5
	Other	1	10,0	12,5	100,0
	Total	8	80,0	100,0	
Missing	Inapplicable	1	10,0		
	Missing	1	10,0		
	Total	2	20,0		
Total		10	100,0		

Among the 31 non-local residents of Kocaeli, on the other hand, almost all (30) of them reported that they wanted to live in another city if the necessary material conditions were provided. As the data shows, compared to the ratio of the local group, the willingness of non-locals to live in another city is obviously much higher. The table below show which cities the non-local employees wish to live in. As it is demonstrated 80% of the employees wish to live in the 3 largest metropolitan provinces in Turkey (Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir).

Table 22 Places Where the Non-locals of Kocaeli are Willing to Live In

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ankara	8	26,7	26,7	26,7
	Istanbul	8	26,7	26,7	53,3
	Izmir	8	26,7	26,7	80,0
	Adana	2	6,7	6,7	86,7
	Other	4	13,3	13,3	100,0
	Total	30	100,0	100,0	

As it is demonstrated on the table below, the first most common reason to live in another city is the same in this group as well. Among the non-local employees who responded to the question properly, for 12 of them the reason is better social facilities in the other city. The second most common reason with 6 people is the other province being the hometown of the respondent.

Table 23 the 1st Most Significant Reason for Preferring to Live in another City for Locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because Kocaeli is an earthquake region	1	3,3	3,4	3,4
	Because social facilities in the other province are better	12	40,0	41,4	44,8
	Because my children can get better education there	1	3,3	3,4	48,3
	Because my spouse is working there	2	6,7	6,9	55,2
	Because it is my hometown	6	20,0	20,7	75,9
	Other	7	23,3	24,1	100,0
	Total	29	96,7	100,0	
Missing	Inapplicable	1	3,3		
Total		30	100,0		

The 2nd reasons that 17 of the non-local residents show for their will to live in another province is as follows:

Table 24 the 2nd Most Significant Reason for Preferring to Live in another City for Locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because Kocaeli is an earthquake region	1	3,3	5,9	5,9
	Because social facilities there are better	3	10,0	17,6	23,5
	Because my children can get better education there	6	20,0	35,3	58,8
	Because it is my hometown	3	10,0	17,6	76,5
	Other	4	13,3	23,5	100,0
	Total	17	56,7	100,0	
Missing	Inapplicable	5	16,7		
	Missing	8	26,7		
	Total	13	43,3		
Total		30	100,0		

Therefore, it can easily be said that a high majority of white collar industrial employees in the selected group want to live in another city. What is surprising here is that this is also the case for the locals of the city. The reasons of this dislike about living in Kocaeli will become clearer with the results demonstrated in the following section.

5. 2. 3. City Image

As it is mentioned earlier, *lived space* is the place where each individual identifies himself/herself with. It is simultaneously a material space in the everyday use and an ideal space in the memory. Therefore, city is also a representation in the mental worlds of its users. As Reitzes puts it “[i]mages provide a reduced or simplified “picture” that highlights the distinctive and salient features of an area. Thus, images enable individuals to organize the vast sensory data emitted from urban place. Images enable individuals to compare and differentiate urban settings and to anticipate characteristic physical, demographic, and social experiences which may aid in the selection of roles and behaviours.” (Reitzes, 1986, p. 168)

In this respect, to understand Kocaeli’s image in the minds of the white collar industrial employees in the city, an open ended question (Question 17) is located in

the questionnaire. In the question, respondents were asked to write a few words on the image of Kocaeli in their minds. There were eight local employees, 30 migrant employees and 8 commuters that responded to the question.

Results show that “Industrial City” is the most common image the employees associated Kocaeli in all three groups. Again in all three groups it is possible to state that the image of Kocaeli is negative. An unexpected result attained from these answers is that environmental pollution is an important reason for the negative perception of the city. Other factors affecting the city image of Kocaeli are proximity to Istanbul, limited social life facilities, cultural backwardness and monotony of social life.

Almost all answers to the question include a reference to the industrial character of Kocaeli. In the first two examples below Kocaeli is described as Turkey’s industrial centre and associated with its “well-off” population by two local respondents. Rest of the examples illustrates a more negative image of industry associated with environmental pollution and physical disfigurement.

Türkiye ’nin endüstri merkezi...

Industrial centre of Turkey... (Subject 37, local, 33 years old)

Sanayi şehri, zengin insanlar...

Industrial city, rich people... (Subject 20, local, spent most of his life in Kocaeli, 32 years old, lives in Kocaeli)

Sanayi, hava kirliliği...

Industry, air pollution... (Subject 4, from Eskişehir, spent most of his life in Eskişehir, 37 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 10 years)

Sanayi şehri. Her tarafı fabrika oldu, aslen ormanlık olduğu için belki de bu kadar fabrika olmasaydı Türkiye ’nin en güzel şehirlerinden biri olabilecek bir şehir.

Industrial city...Full of factories, it could have been one of the most beautiful cities in Turkey because it was originally a forest area, if there weren't so much factories. (Subject 28, from Kayseri, spent most of her life in Kayseri, 28 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 2 years)

E-5 ile Tem arasında kurulmuş bir sanayi kenti. Bu imaj bende fabrikalar, kirli hava ve nüfusun büyük bölümünün işçi olduğu bir şehir.

An industrial city built between E5 and Tem. This image reminds me of a city of factories, air pollution and a population consists mostly of workers.

(Subject 42, from Sinop, spent most of his life in Sinop, 25 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 3 months)

Another strong component of the city image that the participants associated Kocaeli with is the environmental pollution and physical disfigurement in the city. The problems were actually the most common complaint the participants made about Kocaeli. Most of the migrant participants complained that they could not feel the existence of the sea in Kocaeli. Some of the interview participants, especially engineers, had a very detailed knowledge about the size of environmental pollution in the city and they expressed how unfortunate it was for people to live in such extremely unhealthy environmental conditions.

Although it wasn't expected in the study that pollution would be such an important factor in people's perception of the lived space in Kocaeli, both the interviews and the questionnaire results show that environmental pollution is an important factor of why people dislike the city and would prefer living in another city. The following answers from the questionnaire demonstrate how pollution is an inseparable part of Kocaeli's image in the mind of its residents and a major reason of dislike.

The strongest negative expression in all the answers comes from a respondent that defines the city as "a pathetic place that lives an environmental disaster":

Fabrikalarla dolu, endüstri için feda edilmiş, çevre felaketi yaşayan zavallı bir yer.

A pathetic place sacrificed for industry that lives an environmental catastrophe, full of factories. (Subject 8, from Istanbul, spent most of his life in Kocaeli, 38 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 29 years)

Other descriptions that emphasize environmental pollution are as follows:

Renksiz, cansiz ve kirli...

Colourless, soulless and polluted...(Subject 12, from Balıkesir, spent most of her time in Edirne, 29 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 2.5 years)

Kirli, kalabalık, sisli, yağmurlu, E-5 üstü...

Polluted, crowded, foggy, rainy, over the E-5... (Subject 31, from Istanbul, 40 years old, spent most of her life in Istanbul, lives in Istanbul.)

Fabrika bacaları, alışveriş merkezleri ve kirlilik yeterince açıklıyor zannediyorum...

Factory chimneys, shopping malls and pollution explain it enough I guess... (Subject 30, from Izmir, spent most of his life in Izmir, 34 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 9 years)

Sanayi şehri, körfez ve hava kirliliği...

Industrial city, the gulf and air pollution (Subject 21, local, spent most of his life in Kocaeli, 26 years old, lives in Istanbul)

About the built characteristics of the city, on the other hand, an interview participant said he didn't think Kocaeli was a nice place. He said the first things come to his mind about Kocaeli are "inharmoniousness" and "ugliness" (Interview participant 3). The city in general is not in harmony. He also said that he could not feel that he was living by the sea.

During the interviews it was also observed that most of the participants who live in Kocaeli were satisfied with their work in general but not content with living in Kocaeli. Moreover, the interview participants gave the impression that they put up

with living in Kocaeli, because working in the factory in question was rather satisfactory. As an interview participant stated “wage is the most important factor to give a decision to live in Kocaeli. Proximity to Istanbul is another factor.” (Interview participant 5) On the other hand, when the interview and questionnaire participants were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of living in Kocaeli, most of the participants showed proximity of Kocaeli to more beautiful places like Istanbul or Ankara and to the coastal areas on the Black Sea were the most advantageous part of Kocaeli.

The questionnaire results also show that Kocaeli’s proximity to Istanbul is an important reason for people who decided to move to the city. When the migrant residents of Kocaeli were asked whether Kocaeli’s proximity to Istanbul have effected their decision to live and work in the city, 19 said yes to the question while only 8 said no.

Table 25 Was proximity of Kocaeli to Istanbul a Factor When You Decided to Work and Live in Kocaeli?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	61,3	70,4	70,4
	No	8	25,8	29,6	100,0
	Total	27	87,1	100,0	
Missing	Inapplicable	1	3,2		
	Missing	3	9,7		
	Total	4	12,9		
Total		31	100,0		

When the participants were asked about the city image, they also described the city in social and cultural terms. One of the interview participants told that “In the past, we used to pass by Kocaeli on the way to Istanbul by train; we used to think that it was a very cute little place, but we never thought of living there.” (Interview participant 1) The reasons why she, like many other employees who reside in Istanbul, never wanted to live in Kocaeli is because she liked the metropolitan life in Istanbul. To her, Kocaeli is not a comfortable place to live in, because people there are very conservative. She thinks she would not even be able to go to a restaurant without being recognized. Questionnaire participants as well defined the

social characteristics of the city as being conservative, culturally backward and rural.

Tutucu, kimliksiz.

Conservative, lacks identity. (Subject 34, from Adana, spent most of her life in Istanbul, 26 years old, lives in Istanbul.)

Sanayi merkezi olduđu halde kültürel olarak fazla gelişme şansı bulamamış. Kırsal bölge kenti kültürel yapısını muhafaza ediyor. Hizmet ve eğlence sektöründe rekabetsizlik kaynaklı kalitesizlik var.

Although it is an industrial centre, it could not find much chance to develop socially. It still preserves the rural cultural structure. There is an inferiority competitiveness (Subject 52, from Kastamonu, lives in Istanbul)

Sanayi şehri olmasına rağmen kentleşme olarak hiç gelişmemiş, kasaba gibi kalmış, çarpık kentleşme.

Although it is an industrial city, it is not developed at all in terms of urbanization, it remained as a town, awry urbanization. (Subject 40, from Istanbul, spent most of her life in Istanbul, 42 years old, lives in Istanbul)

As a general comment on the relationship the white collar industrial employees establishes with the urban space on the other hand, the head of the Department of Human Resources states that “Izmit, is like a temporary place, that’s how you explain it to yourself, to the people around you, to your family. It is a step for having an occupation and gaining experience” This comment reveals out two important dimensions about the image of the city in the minds of the white collar employees. First, the image of Kocaeli is related with “temporariness” and “in-betweenness”. Second, Kocaeli is such an “unpopular” place to live in that you somehow have to explain “reasons” for being there to yourself and to your family. (These two images of the city will be elaborated in the chapter on city image) Such a perception about the city, obviously, prevents the employees to establish any identification with the city and reduces one’s will to participate in the urban life. As one of the engineers in the factory said “people do not have any efforts about

Kocaeli because it is like they can leave this place any moment.” In line with these arguments the results attained from the questionnaire also show that many respondents associated Kocaeli with boredom, monotony and tranquillity:

Sıkıcı, havasız, renksiz...

Boring, airless, colourless... (Subject 14, local, spent most of his life in Istanbul, lives in Kocaeli)

Sakin, hareketsiz...

Tranquil and static... (Subject 19, from Diyarbakir, 25 years old, have been living in Kocaeli since 3 months)

Küçük, monoton, güvenli...

Small, monotonous, safe... (Subject 50, from Izmir, spent most of his time in Izmir, 28 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 13 months)

Renksiz, fazla sosyal olanakları olmayan; ama bu ihtiyaçlar için İstanbul'a 1 saat uzaklıkta, kirliliği olan; ama çevresinde güzel yerler bulunan acayip bir kent.

A strange city; colourless and without social facilities; but 1 hour away from Istanbul for such needs; its air is polluted but there are nice places around it. (Subject 48, from Ankara, spent most of his life in Ankara, 26 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 16 months)

Zenginliğine rağmen az gelişmiş, sosyal mekanları çok sınırlı olan bir şehir...

Underdeveloped although it is rich; a city with very limited social spaces... (Subject 51, from Kayseri, spent most of his life in Kayseri, 36 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 10 years)

Sosyallikten uzak bir sanayi kenti...

An industrial city far away from socialization... (Subject 54, from Balıkesir, spent most of his life in Istanbul, 27 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 6 months)

Geliri oranında gelişmemiş, sıkıcı...

Not as developed as its rate of income, boring... (Subject 28, from Manisa, 34 years old, lives in Istanbul)

Küçük, sakin, bazen fazla hareketsiz, ucuz...

Small, tranquil, sometimes too static, cheap... (Subject 17, from Bursa, spent most of his life in Bursa, 25 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 7 months)

Kocaeli, Türkiye’de GSMH açısından değerlendirildiğinde 1. ilimiz. Hayati öneme sahip sanayi kuruluşları bu ilimizde yer alıyor. Buna rağmen sosyal açıdan sıkıntılı bir il. İyi vakit geçirmek isteyen insanlara sosyal açıdan fazla alternatif sunamıyor. Dolayısıyla çalışılabilecek ama yaşanılması zor bir yer olarak değerlendiriyorum.

Kocaeli is our first province in terms of GDP per capita. Very important industrial corporations are located in this province. However, it is a socially problematic province. It can not serve much alternative to the people who want to have a good time. (Subject 53, from Istanbul, spent most of his life in Istanbul, 29 years old, lives in Istanbul)

Another part of the city image for the white collar employee’s life in Kocaeli, is proximity to Istanbul. Being very close to such a fascinating metropolis, Kocaeli can not escape from being perceived as an industrial satellite. This is better reflected in one of the interview participant’s words: “It is like Kocaeli have no character at all. It looks like nothing. It does not have any order. Everything is in bits and peaces... It is smashed by Istanbul. It could have some character if it was a bit further from it.” (Interview participant 3) When this participant who is from Ankara and who had completed his military service in Van (a rather less developed, eastern part of Anatolia) was also asked to make a comparison between Kocaeli and Van surprisingly said “Van was even much better. At least it had some texture, it had a lot of historical places, it had the lake...It is a much better place to live in.” But he also added that there are better job opportunities in Kocaeli, so, he’d prefer working

in Kocaeli. In this respect, six of the questionnaire respondents also stated that “proximity to Istanbul” as part of Kocaeli’s city image.

Endüstri kenti, İstanbul’a yakın, havası kirli...

Industrial city, close to Istanbul, its air is polluted. (Subject 2, from Ankara, spent most of his lifetime in Ankara, 28 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 3 years)

Sanayi şehri, İstanbul’a yakın, Anadolu şehri...

Industrial city, close to Istanbul, Anatolian city... (Subject 6, from Eskisehir, spent most of her life in Eskisehir, 43 years old, lives in Istanbul)

Sanayi şehri, İstanbul’a yakınlık, deprem...

Industrial city, proximity to Istanbul, the earthquake... (Subject 3, from Corum, spent most of his life in Corum, 29 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 4 months)

Three of these responses had special significance for this study since they explained “proximity to Istanbul” as a cause for Kocaeli’s social “backwardness”. Those answers are as follows;

Yaşamayı kolay sanayi kenti, zengin topluluk ama İstanbul’a yakınlığı sebebiyle bir türlü yeterince gelişemeyen bir şehir.

An easy-to-live industrial city, a rich community but a city which can not develop sufficiently because of proximity to Istanbul. (Subject 33, local, 29 years old)

Sanayi kenti olması nedeniyle iş imkanlarından dolayı yerlisi olmayanlar tarafından da tercih edilir. İstanbul’a yakınlığın sağladığı avantajların yanı sıra tam da bu nedenle sosyal imkanların gelişemediğini düşünüyorum...

It is also preferred by the non-locals because of the job opportunities it provides as an industrial city. In addition to the advantages proximity of Istanbul provides, just because the same reason I think that the social facilities

are not developed sufficiently. (Subject 49, local, 26 years old, lives in Kocaeli)

İstanbul'a çok yakın olması sebebi ile sosyal açıdan yeterince gelişememiş, Türkiye'nin en zengin illerinden biri olmasına rağmen yeterince güzel değil.

Underdeveloped socially because of its proximity to Istanbul, although it is one of the richest provinces in Turkey, it is not beautiful enough. (Subject 45, from Artvin, spent most of her life in Kocaeli, 30 years old, has been living in Kocaeli since 6 years.)

Finally the results show that the city's industrial image was associated with pollution and physical disfigurement. Social life in the city, on the other hand, was perceived by the subject group as socially inadequate, even backward. Furthermore, the city was described as monotonous and town-like. It is also expressed that this may result from the fact that the city is too close to Istanbul.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was to discuss white collar industrial employee's alienation to urban life in Kocaeli with reference to *lived space*, namely the subject group's use and perception of the urban space. To understand the *extent* of this alienation on the micro level and its *basis* on the macro level, the City or the Urban Space was proposed as the best possible medium of socio spatial reality. On the micro level the initial hypothesis was that the white collar industrial employees in the selected factory felt only limited urban attachment to the city, their use of the urban space was limited and their perception of it was negative. On the macro level, on the other hand, the argument was that the basis of this detachment was conditioned by a *spatial regime* that result from Kocaeli's position as an Industrial City on the Periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Region.

At the micro level, *lived space* was described as a material space in everyday use and an ideal space in the memory. Therefore, the case study was organized in order to attain information on the everyday practices of the subject group through use and perception of urban space. Yet, the focus of the study was limited with an analysis on the *habitation* of the subject group. In order to test the micro level hypothesis, namely the alienation of the subject group, a high scale industrial firm was selected as the sample of the case study. To understand this group's alienation to the urban life, three methods were applied; these were semi-structured interviews with the subject group, expert interview and questionnaire application.

At the macro level, on the other hand, the hypothesis was that white collar industrial employees' alienation to the city was conditioned by the socio-spatial characteristic of Kocaeli as an Industrial Periphery which functions as a *spatial regime*. In the

third chapter therefore it was demonstrated that the socio-spatial structure of the city was shaped by two main periods of industrialization. First of these periods started with the establishment of Seka in the early 1950's and gained pace between 1960 and 1975. A second period of industrialization started after the 1980's and characterized by liberalization of international trade and transfer of international capital to the city. At this period, Kocaeli faced the spill-over of industry from Istanbul and concentration of white collar industrial employees in its territory. As a result of these two periods of industrialization, at the urban level Kocaeli was separated into two different socio-spatially distinct realms as industrial and local. Within this spatial duality it was suggested that white collar industrial employees were segregated in the industrial setting, did not actively participate in the urban life and perceived the city image negatively.

The results, which are demonstrated in the section on the use of the urban space, however, show that the white collar employees in the selected factory were not that detached from the local life in Kocaeli. Contrary to what was expected, the results showed that a majority of the migrant employees knew at least one local person outside the work environment as an acquaintance or friend and the majority of the white collar residents used downtown (historical core) regularly. The level of adaptation was also higher than expected. Among the employees who have responded to the question on the perceived level of adaptation, more than half of the employees reported they were adapted or adapted completely. Considering that most of the participants were newcomers, this level of adaptation could be interpreted as high. Moreover, the majority of the residents reported that they spend their leisure time mostly in Kocaeli. They were also well informed about the social activities in the city and more than half of them participated in a sport activity regularly. It is also revealed that during these activities the participants used several different sport facilities in the city. It is also realized from the data that the 1999 earthquake do not have much impact on the individuals' use of the urban space and participation in daily activities.

On the other hand, concerning the patterns of consumption it is evident that a high majority of respondents do not buy their daily needs from local tradesmen. Instead,

most of them do their daily consumption from supermarkets. The majority of the respondents shop for clothes in big malls or in Istanbul. For bigger consumptions such as durable goods and furniture however, more than half of the respondents choose to shop from local tradesmen, probably because it is easier to transport those items within the province. That is to say, white collar industrial employees' participation in the local economy through consumption is very limited since the places they shop from are not registered locally or owned by local tradesmen. However, it should be mentioned that consumption is an important part of the leisure time of the subject group and a way of socializing.

In terms of political participation, white collar industrial employees' involvement in local life is very low. The results show that membership to non-governmental organizations is very low among the Kocaeli residents and there is not much difference between the scores of the local and non-local residents on this issue. Despite the fact that the scores of satisfaction with the public services in the city were low, the number Kocaeli residents who directed complaints to the local administrations were also very low. While more than half of the locals read a local newspaper regularly, a very small number of the non-local residents do so. Nonetheless, most of the local and non-local residents follow news on Kocaeli on the national media.

The results demonstrated in the section on the perception of the urban space on the other hand, prove that the subject group is not content with living in the city. Concerning the issue of satisfaction with the public services, data shows that most of the white collar employees are unsatisfied with these services. Level of satisfaction among the non-local residents is considerably lower than the level of satisfaction of the locals. About the use of the local health services, on the other hand, while the majority of the local respondents reported they would use the health services in case of a serious health situation, more than half of the non-local respondents stated that they would not. This suggests that the trust in the health services in the city among the migrant employees is very low.

The scores on will to live in another city also show that especially the migrant (non-local) employees are not content with living in Kocaeli. While more than half of the local respondents expressed will to live in another city, almost all of the local respondents reported such willingness. In both of these groups, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir are the three metropolitan centres where the respondents would prefer living in. The most common reasons for living in another city, in both of the groups are better social and educational facilities in the other city. The results also show that Kocaeli's proximity to Istanbul is an important factor effecting the migrant employees' decision to live in the city.

Finally, the results attained from the commuters revealed that most of the employees who reside in Istanbul keep living in Istanbul after getting a job in Kocaeli as well. For others, the reasons for living there were spouses work or better social facilities. On the other hand, half of the employees reported that they have lived in Kocaeli before and among this group, the most dominant reason to move to Istanbul was spouses' work.

On the city image of Kocaeli, it is evident that "Industrial City" is the most common image about Kocaeli in the minds of the white collar employees. This industrial image is in general attributed a negative meaning characterized by production, environmental pollution, chaos, cultural backwardness and monotony as oppose to the image of Istanbul and other metropolitan cities which for the white collar employees represent leisure, variety in cultural facilities and advanced public services. Therefore, the results on the city image of Kocaeli are in line with the argument put forward by Short, Benton and Walton:

Industrial cities are associated with the past and the old, work, pollution and the world of production. The post industrial city, in contrast is associated with the new, the future, the unpolluted, consumption and exchange, the world of leisure as opposed to work. (Short, Benton and Walton, 1993, p.208)

The results also show that Kocaeli is very commonly perceived by the participants as the "City close to Istanbul". Moreover, some participants explained relative cultural backwardness of the city by referring to city's proximity to Istanbul.

Therefore, the results on the city image proves the macro level hypothesis of the study which suggests that the socio-spatial organization of Kocaeli as the Industrial Periphery on the Istanbul Metropolitan Region has a significant impact on the subject's alienation to the urban space.

To sum up, the study shows that although the white collar industrial employees in the selected factory use the urban space partially in their activities and also establish some network relations, they are still alienated to the city in terms of their perception of the urban space. Their use of the urban space is partial because although they participate in the urban life through interaction with locals, downtowns use and use of sport facilities, their participation is very low in terms of political participation and use of public services. Furthermore, the results on the perception of city space reveal that this limited use (basic social relations and leisure time use) of the urban space does not mean that the subject feels any attachment to the city. On the contrary, it seems that the white collar industrial employees in the selected factory were stuck in the centrifugal structure between the metropolitan centre and the industrial periphery. In this structure while Kocaeli represents the area of work, the metropolitan centres represent leisure, advanced public and private services and variety in social and cultural facilities. These are also the places where most of the respondents would prefer to live if the necessary material conditions were provided.

Therefore, it can be argued that the white collar industrial employee in the selected factory is a stranger in the city since he/she is stuck in the city as an inhabitant with a feeling of alienation. As Simmel puts it:

He is fixed within a certain spatial circle-or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries-but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in initially and that he brings qualities into it that are not, and can not be, indigenous to it. (Simmel cited in Levine, 1972, p.143)

Finally, it seems that there are both structural and personal reasons of white collar industrial employees' alienation to the urban life in Kocaeli. While the structural reasons are conditioned by a centrifugal regime that shapes the socio-economic

dynamics in the city and the subject group's use and perception of the city, the individual reasons range from having to meet different family responsibilities such as the obligation to look after a baby in young families to living in isolated 'site' communities in the older and better paid participants. However, to what extent, work life conditions such as work load, exhaustion at work, work satisfaction, level of payment, work relations among colleagues and relation to the employer, and leisure time options etc. effect this alienation is a further question to be answered.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ANKET SORULARI

Elinizdeki anket Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Master Programı çerçevesinde “Beyaz Yakalı Çalışanların Kocaeli Kentsel Yaşamına Katılımı” konulu tez çalışmasında değerlendirilmek üzere hazırlanmıştır. Araştırmanın başarısı, sizin katılımınıza ve vereceğiniz bilgilere doğrudan bağlıdır. Paylaşacağınız bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacak, tez çalışması dışında herhangi bir amaç için kullanılmayacaktır. Yardımlarınız için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederiz.

Anket Brisa çalışanlarının kenti kullanımları göz önünde bulundurularak 5 katagoriye ayrılmıştır. **Birinci** bölüm herkes tarafından doldurulacaktır. **İkinci** bölüm yalnızca Kocaeli’de oturanlar tarafından doldurulacaktır. **Üçüncü** bölüm kente adaptasyonla (uyum) ilgili olduğundan, yalnızca Kocaeli’nin yerlisi olmayanlar(Kocaeli’ne başka bir ilden gelip, yerleşenler) ve Kocaeli’nin yerlisi olup, eğitim vb. sebeplerden dolayı uzun süreli olarak Kocaeli’nden ayrılıp tekrar geri dönenler tarafından doldurulacaktır. **Dördüncü** bölüm yalnızca Kocaeli’nin yerlisi olmayanlar tarafından doldurulacaktır. **Beşinci** bölüm yalnızca İstanbul’da oturanlar tarafından doldurulacaktır.

Lütfen isim yazmayınız.

BÖLÜM 1

1. Kaç yaşındasınız? :
2. Cinsiyetiniz : 1() Kadın 2() Erkek
3. Medeni Durumunuz : 1() Evli 2() Bekar 3() Boşanmış/Ayrı 4() Dul
4. Kaç çocuğunuz var? :
5. Eğitim Durumunuz :
1() Doktora 2() Yüksek Lisans 3() Lisans 4() Ön Lisans
5() MYO 6() Lise 7() EML/Teknik Lise 8() İlköğretim
9() Diğer :

6. En son mezun olduğunuz eğitim kurumunu ve bölümü lütfen doldurunuz.
(Yüksek lisans/doktora mezunu iseniz, lisans ve yüksek lisans derecenizi
aldığınız kurumu ve bölümü de lütfen doldurunuz.)

	Mezun Oldugunuz Kurum	Mezun Oldugunuz Bölüm
1 () Doktora		
2 () Yüksek Lisans		
3 () Lisans		
4 () Ön lisans/MYO		
5 () Lise		
6 () İlköğretim		

7. Doğum yeriniz : (İl/ Yurtdışı ise ülke)
Doğduğunuz yer aşağıdaki yerleşim birimlerinden hangisine girmektedir?
1 () Köy 2 () İlçe 3 () Belde/Kasaba 4 () Kent merkezi
8. Aslen yerlisi olduğunuz yer: (İl/ Yurtdışı ise ülke)
Burada bulunduğunuz süre içinde aşağıdaki yerleşim birimlerinden hangisinde oturuyordunuz?
1 () Köy 2 () İlçe 3 () Belde/Kasaba 4 () Kent merkezi
9. Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü geçirdiğiniz yer: (İl/ Yurtdışı ise ülke)
Burada bulunduğunuz süre içinde aşağıdaki yerleşim birimlerinden hangisinde oturuyordunuz?
1 () Köy 2 () İlçe 3 () Belde/Kasaba 4 () Kent merkezi
Burada bulunduğunuz süre:
10. Nerede oturuyorsunuz? (adresiniz)
İl : İlçe : Mahalle/Köy :
Semt : Site :
11. Şu an oturduğum ev :
1 () Kendime/Eşime ait 2 () Anne/Babama ait 3 () Kiralık
4 () Misafirhane 5 () Diğer :

12. Ne tip bir evde oturuyorsunuz?

1() Apartman dairesi 2() Müstakil ev 3() Diğer :

13. Evinizden işinize nasıl gidiyorsunuz?

1() İş yeri servisi ile 2() Kendi aracım ile 4() Toplu taşıma araçları ile
(otobüs, minibüs) 5() Diğer :

14. Bu iş yerinde ne zamandır çalışıyorsunuz?

15. Hangi departmanda çalışıyorsunuz?

1() Endüstri ilişkileri ve insan kaynakları

2() Pazarlama-Satış

3() Finansman, planlama, kontrol

4() Teknik gruplar

5() Diğer:

16. Şirket'teki pozisyonunuz nedir?

1() Müdür 2() Şef 3() Uzman 4() Mühendis 5() Memur

6() Süpervizör ya da formen 7() Diğer :

17. Aklınızda yer etmiş olan Kocaeli imajını ve bu imajın size çağrıştırdıklarını
birkaç kelimeyle anlatır mısınız?

.....

BÖLÜM 2

(Bu bölüm yalnızca Kocaeli'de oturanlar tarafından doldurulacaktır.

İstanbul'da oturuyorsanız lütfen beşinci bölüme geçiniz.)

18. Kocaeli'de gayrimenkul yatırımınız var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

19. Kocaeli dışında gayrimenkul yatırımınız var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; hangi ilde?

Başka bir ilde mülk edinmeyi neden tercih ettiniz? (Önem sırasına göre

numaralandırarak (1,2,3) en fazla üç seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

() Aslen oralı olmam nedeniyle

() Yatırımın daha karlı olması nedeniyle

() Çocukların eğitimi nedeniyle

() İş nedeniyle

Sosyal olanakların daha çok olması nedeniyle

Yazlık konut edinmek amacıyla

Diğer :

20. Kocaeli’de oturuyorsanız, başka bir ilde kendi kullanımınızda bulunan ikinci bir konutunuz var mı? 1() Evet 2()Hayır

Evet ise; hangi ilde?

Başka bir ilde de konut kullanım ihtiyacınızın sebebi nedir? ((Önem sırasına göre **numaralandırarak** (1,2,3) en fazla üç seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

Aslen orali olmam

Çocukların eğitimi

İş nedeniyle

Sosyal olanakların daha fazla olması

Yaz tatilini geçirmek

Diğer :

21. 17 Ağustos depremi sırasında Kocaeli’de mi oturuyordunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

Hayır ise; 26. sorudan devam ediniz.

22. Deprem sırasında, oturduğunuz ev hasar gördü mü? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

23. Deprem yüzünden, oturduğunuz evi değiştirdiniz mi? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

24. Deprem yüzünden, oturduğunuz semti ya da ilçeyi değiştirdiniz mi?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

25. Deprem tedirginliği nedeniyle Kocaeli’de bulunmaktan kaçındığınız mekanlar var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; nerelerde bulunmaktan kaçınıyorsunuz? (Örn: kapalı otoparklara girmekten kaçınıyorum)

.....

Yukarıdaki seçenekler dışında kentsel yaşama katılım açısından depremden sonra günlük yaşamınızda değişiklikler oldu ise lütfen belirtiniz (Örn:Çocuğum 2 yıl okula başka bir ilde devam etti):.....

.....

.....

26. Şehir merkezine (eski demiryolu caddesi ve civarı) ne sıklıkla gidiyorsunuz?

Hemen hemen her gün	Haftada birkaç gün	Haftada bir	Ayda bir	İki üç ayda bir	Senede bir, iki kez	Hiç Gitmiyorum
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)

27. Eğitim çağında çocuklarınız var ise okula ve dershaneye hangi ilde gidiyorlar?

	Okul	Dershane
1. Çocuk		
2. Çocuk		
3. Çocuk		

28. Günlük tüketim ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılamak için aşağıdakileri ne sıklıkla kullanırsınız?

	Her zaman	Çoğunlukla	Bazen	Nadiren	Hiç
1() Fabrika kooperatifi	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Bakkal	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() Market	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Süper market	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
5()Diğer.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

29. Giyim alışverişlerinizi nerede yaparsınız?

	Her zaman	Çoğunlukla	Bazen	Nadiren	Hiç
1() Kocaeli yerel esnaf	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() İzmit Outlet, Real, Carrefour, vs.	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() İstanbul	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Diğer.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

30. Mobilya ve beyaz eşya gibi diğer büyük harcamalarınızı nerede yaparsınız?

	Her zaman	Çoğunlukla	Bazen	Nadiren	Hiç
1()Kocaeli yerel esnaf	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() İzmit Outlet, Real, Carrefour, vs.	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() İstanbul	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4()Diğer.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

31. İş yerindeki arkadaşlarınız dışında görüştüğünüz Kocaelili arkadaşlarınız var mı? 1()Evet 2() Hayır

32. İhtiyacınız olduğunda yardım isteyebileceğiniz iş yerinden tanıdıklarınız dışında Kocaelili tanıdıklarınız var mı? 1()Evet 2()Hayır

33. Ciddi bir sağlık problemi yaşasaydınız (Örn: kardiyolojik bir sorun) Kocaeli’de tedavi olmayı düşünür müydünüz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
Hayır ise; neden?.....
.....

34. Boş zamanlarınızı ve hafta sonlarınızı genellikle nerede değerlendirmeyi tercih edersiniz?

1() Kocaeli’de 2() Kocaeli dışında

Kocaeli’de ise; ne yaparsınız ve nereye gidersiniz?

.....
.....

Kocaeli dışı ise; ne yaparsınız ve nereye gidersiniz?

.....
.....

35. Eğlenmek için neler yaparsınız, nereye gidersiniz?

.....
.....

36. İş dışındaki boş zamanlarınızda İstanbul’a gidiyor musunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; ne sıklıkla?

Her hafta	Her ay	İki üç ayda bir	Altı ayda bir	Senede bir
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

37. Kocaeli’deki sosyal olanaklardan (konser ve sergi organizasyonları, tiyatrolar, spor klüpleri...) haberdar olabiliyor musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

38. Aşağıdaki seçeneklerden **Kocaeli’de** katıldığınız etkinlikleri ve sıklığını lütfen işaretleyiniz.

	Her hafta	Her ay	İki üç ayda bir	Altı ayda bir	Senede bir
1() Sinema	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Tiyatro	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Sergiler	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
5() Konserler	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
6()Diğer.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

39. Kocaeli’de düzenli olarak devam ettirdiğiniz bir sanat aktivitesi var mı? (Örn: eşli dans kursu, resim kursu vs...) 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; hangi aktiviteyle uğraşıyorsunuz ve nerede?

40. Düzenli olarak yaptığınız bir spor var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; hangi sporu yapıyorsunuz ve nerede (Kocaeli’de ise nerede, Kocaeli dışında ise hangi ilde?.....

41. Fabrika sosyal tesislerini kullanıyor musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; ne sıklıkla?

Haftada birkaç gün	Haftada bir	Ayda bir	İki üç ayda bir	Senede bir, iki kez
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

42. Herhangi bir sivil toplum kuruluşuna üye misiniz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; ismi nedir ve hangi ilde bulunuyor?

43. Kocaeli’de yerel yönetimlerden kaynaklanan herhangi bir sorunuzdan dolayı yazılı olarak hiç başvuruda buldunuz mu? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; nereye? 1() Valilik 2() Büyükşehir Belediyesi 3() İlçe

Belediyesi 4() Belde Belediyesi 5() Muhtarlık 6() Diğer :

44. Kocaeli’de takip ettiğiniz bir yerel gazete var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

45. Ulusal basın ve televizyonda Kocaeli ile ilgili çıkan haberleri takip eder

misiniz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

46. Kocaeli ile ilgili aşağıdaki hizmetlerden memnun musunuz?

	Hiç Memnun değilim	Memnun değilim	Ne memnunum, ne memnun değilim.	Memnunum	Çok memnunum
Çevresel kalite	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Hukuk ve düzen	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Ulaşım imkanları (toplu taşıma)	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Eğitim olanakları	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Tıbbi hizmetler	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Sosyal olanaklar	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

47. Genel olarak Kocaeli’de yaşamaktan memnun musunuz?

Hiç Memnun değilim	Memnun değilim	Ne memnunum, ne memnun değilim.	Memnunum	Çok memnunum
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

48. Sizce Kocaeli’de yaşamının avantajları nelerdir?

.....

49. Sizce Kocaeli’de yaşamının dezavantajları nelerdir?

.....

50. Sizi memnun edecek maddi koşullar sağlansaydı Kocaeli dışında başka bir şehirde yaşamak ister miydiniz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; 1) Öncelikli olarak hangi ilde yaşamayı tercih ederdiniz ?

1() Ankara 2() İstanbul 3() İzmir 4() Adana

5() Diğer :

2) Kocaeli’de değil de bu ilde yaşamayı tercih etme sebebiniz nedir?

(Önem sırasına göre **numaralandırarak** (1,2,3) en fazla üç seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

() Kocaeli’nin deprem bölgesi olması

() Bu şehirde sosyal olanakların daha iyi olması

() Bu şehirde çocuklarım için daha iyi eğitim olanaklarının olması

() Eşimin orada çalışıyor olması

() Memeleketimin orası olması

() Diğer :

BÖLÜM 3

(Bu bölüm kente adaptasyonla (uyum) ilgili olduğundan, Kocaeli’nin yerlisi olmayanlar tarafından ve Kocaeli’nin yerlisi olup, eğitim vb. sebeplerden dolayı uzun süreli olarak Kocaeli’nden ayrılıp tekrar geri dönenler tarafından doldurulacaktır.)

51. Ne zamandır Kocaeli’de oturuyorsunuz?

52. Kocaeli'ne ne kadar adapte olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz? (Aşağıdaki tablo, bir en düşük, beş ise en yüksek adaptasyonu göstermek üzere derecelendirilmiştir.)

Hiç adapte olamadım	Adapte olamadım	Ne oldum, ne olamadım	Adapte oldum	Tamamen oldum, kendimi Kocaeli'li hissediyorum
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

53. Kocaeli'de çalışmaya ve yaşamaya karar verme nedeniniz?

1() Burada iş bulmam 2() Eşimin burada iş bulması 3() Ailemin burada yaşıyor olması 4() Diğer :

54. Kocaeli'de çalışmaya ve yaşamaya karar verirken, Kocaeli'nin İstanbul'a olan yakınlığı bu kararı vermenizde etkili oldu mu? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

BÖLÜM 4

Bu Bölüm yalnızca 'Aslen Kocaeli'nin yerlisi olmayanlar' (Kocaeli'ne başka bir ilden gelip, yerleşenler) tarafından doldurulacaktır.

55. Kocaelili değilseniz, aslen yerlisi olduğunuz ile gider misiniz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; ne sıklıkla?

Her ay	İki üç ayda bir	Altı ayda bir	Senede bir
1)	2)	3)	4)

56. Kocaelili değilseniz, aslen yerlisi olduğunuz ilden sizi ziyarete gelirler mi?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; ne sıklıkla?

Her ay	İki üç ayda bir	Altı ayda bir	Senede bir
1)	2)	3)	4)

BÖLÜM 5

(Bu bölüm İstanbul'da oturanlar tarafından doldurulacaktır.)

57. İstanbul'da oturuyorsanız; Kocaeli'de değil de İstanbul'da oturmayı tercih etmenizin sebepleri nelerdir?

(Önem sırasına göre **numaralandırarak** (1,2,3) en fazla üç seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

- Kocaeli'nin deprem bölgesi olması
- İstanbul'un sosyal olanaklarının daha iyi olması
- Çocuklarım için daha iyi eğitim olanaklarının olması
- Eşimin İstanbul'da çalışıyor olması
- Kocaeli'nde çalışmaya başlamadan önce de İstanbul'da oturuyor olmam
- Diğer :

58. Daha önce Kocaeli'de yaşadınız mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; İstanbul'a taşınma sebebiniz nedir?

(Önem sırasına göre **numaralandırarak** (1,2,3) en fazla üç seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

- Deprem
- Çocukların eğitimi
- Ailemin İstanbul'a taşınması
- Eşimin işi dolayısıyla
- Sosyal olanakların daha iyi olması
- Diğer :

59. Kocaeli'de gayrimenkul yatırımınız var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Evet ise; Kocaeli'de gayrimenkul edinmek istemenizin sebebi nedir?

.....

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is prepared for evaluation for dissertation thesis titled “participation of white-collar workers to Kocaeli local life” within the framework of MA program in Sociology at Middle East Technical University. Success of the study is directly dependent on your participation and information. Information given will be kept strictly confidential, and will not be used for any purpose other than the dissertation thesis. We thank in advance for your assistance.

Survey study is divided into 5 categories depending on the ways that company workers use the city. First section is to be filled by every participant. Second section will be filled only by Kocaeli residents. Third section is related to adaptation with the city, therefore it is to be filled by non-Kocaeli residents (who came to Kocaeli from another province) and those Kocaeli residents who returned after a long period of external settlement due to training etc. reasons. Fourth section is to be filled only by non-Kocaeli residents. Fifth section is to be filled only by Istanbul residents.

Please do not write your names.

PART 1

1. How old are you? :
2. Sex : 1() Female 2() Male
3. Marital Status : 1() Married 2() Single 3() Divorced/Separated
4() Widowed
4. How many children do you have? :
5. Educational Status :
1() PHD 2() Postgraduate 3() Graduate 4() Associate Degree
5() MYO 6() High School 7() Industrial Profession High
School/Technical High School 8() Primary School 9() Other:

6. Please provide the education institution that you graduated finally. (if you are graduated from a graduate program, please provide the relevant HEI and department)

	Graduated HEI	Graduated Department
1 () PhD		
2 () MA/MS		
3 () Undergraduate		
4 () Associate degree		
5 () Secondary		
6 () Elementary		

7. Place of birth : (province/ country(if abroad))

Which is the category of your birthplace?

1) village 2) district 3) town 4) city center

8. Your hometown: (province/country(if abroad))

In which category did you settle during your stay at your hometown?

1) village 2) district 3) town 4) city center

9. Where did you spend most of your lifetime:

(province/country(if abroad))

In which category did you settle during your stay at the foregoing?

1) village 2) district 3) town 4) city center

Period of stay:

10. Where do you reside? (address)

Province: District:

Ward/Village:..... Vicinity:

Site:

11. The house/flat I currently reside :

1() belongs to me/my partner 2() belongs to my parents 3() Hired

4() Guesthouse 5() Other:

12. What is the type of your residence?

1() Flat 2() House 3() Other:

13. How do you commute from/to home to/from work?
 1() on company shuttle 2() in my car 4() on public transport (bus, minibus) 5() Other:
14. How long have you been working in this company?
15. Which department do you work at?
 1() Industrial Relations and Human Resources
 2() Marketing and Sales
 3() Finance, planning and control
 4() Technical Groups
 5() Other:
16. What is your occupational status?
 1() Manager 2() Chief 3() Expert 4() Engineer 5() Officer
 6() Supervisor or foreman 7() Other:
17. Can you summarize with a few words the Kocaeli image in your mind and its connotations?

PART 2

(This section is to be filled only by Kocaeli residents. If you are an Istanbul resident please skip to section five.)

18. Do you have any real estate investment in Kocaeli? 1 () Yes 2 () No
19. Do you have any real estate investment out of Kocaeli? 1 () Yes 2 () No
 If so, in which province?
- Why did you prefer to have real estate in another province? (mark three options maximum by ranking according to their importance (1,2,3))
- () As it is my hometown
 () As investment there is more profitable
 () Due to education of my children
 () Due to work reasons

- As there are more social facilities
- As I wanted to have a summer residence
- Other:

20. If you are living in Kocaeli, do you have a second residence that you use in another province?

If so, in which province?

What is the motive for having residence in another province (mark three options maximum by ranking according to their importance (1,2,3))

- As it is my hometown
- Due to education of my children
- Due to work reasons
- As there are more social facilities
- Spending summer vacations
- Other :

21. Were you living in Izmit during 17 August earthquake? 1 Yes 2 No

If not, move to question 26.

22. Was your residence damaged by the earthquake?

23. Did you move from your residence due to earthquake?

24. Did you move from your district or vicinity due to earthquake?

25. Are there any places in Izmit that you avoid due to concerns about earthquake?

If so, what are these places? (i.e. I am trying to avoid closed car parks)

.....

Except from the above, indicate if any changes occurred in your daily life in terms of participation into urban life after the earthquake. (i.e. my child went to school in another province for years):.....

26. How often do you go to downtown?

Almost everyday	Few days a week	Once a week	Once a month	Once in a few months	Once or twice a year	Never
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)

27. If you have any schooling children, in which province are they attending school or dersshane (special courses preparing for university entrance examination)?

	School	Dersshane
1. child		
2. child		
3. child		

28. How often do you use the following for your daily consumption?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1() Factory cooperative	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Local tradesman	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() Market	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Supermarket	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
5() Other.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

29. Where do you shop for clothes?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1() Kocaeli local tradesman	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Izmit Outlet, Real, Carrefour etc.	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() Istanbul	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Other.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

30. Where do you do your big spending like furniture and durable goods?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1()Kocaeli local tradesman	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Izmit Outlet, Real, Carrefour, vs.	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
3() Istanbul	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Other.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

31. Do you have any friends from Kocaeli except your colleagues?

1() Yes 2() No

32. Do you have anyone from Kocaeli except your colleagues from whom you can ask for help? 1()Yes 2()No

33. If you had any serious health problem (i.e. a cardiologic problem) would you consider being treated in Kocaeli? 1() Yes 2() No

Why if not?.....

34. Where generally do you prefer to spend your free time and weekends?

1() In Kocaeli 2() Out of Kocaeli

If in Kocaeli, what do you do and where do you go?

.....

If out of Kocaeli, what do you do and where do you go?

.....

35. What do you do and where do you go for entertainment?

.....

36. Do you go to Istanbul in your leisure time? 1() Yes 2() No

If so, how often?

Once a week	Every month	Once or twice a month	Once in every 6 months	Once a month
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

37. Can you be informed on social facilities in Kocaeli (concerts and exhibitions, plays, sports clubs etc.)? 1() Yes 2() No

38. On the table below, mark the activities that you attend in Kocaeli and indicate its frequency.

	Once a week	Every month	Once in every two/three months	Once in every six months	Once a year
1() Cinema	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
2() Theatre	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
4() Exhibitions	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
5() Concerts	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
6() Other.....	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

39. Is there any artistic activity that you regularly continue in Kocaeli? (i.e. couple dance course, drawing course etc.) 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, which activity are you dealing with and where?.....

.....

40. Are there any sports that you do regularly? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, what sports do you do and where (where in Kocaeli, or in which province if it is not in Kocaeli)?.....

41. Do you use the factory's social facilities? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, how often?

Few days a week	Once a week	Once a month	Once in 2-3 months	Once-twice a year
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

42. Are you a member of any civil society organization? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, which organization are a member of and where is it?.....

43. Have you filed any written complaint due to any problem attributable to the local government in Kocaeli? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, where to?

1() Governor's office 2() Metropolitan municipality 3() District municipality 4() Town municipality 5() Local headman

44. Do you keep reading a local newspaper in Kocaeli? 1() Yes 2() No

45. Do you follow news on Kocaeli at national press and TV?

1() Yes 2() No

46. Are you content with the following public services in Kocaeli?

	Not at all	No, I am not satisfied	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	Yes, I am satisfied	Yes, I am satisfied
Environmental Quality	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Law and Order	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Transportation facilities (public transportation)	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Educational services	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Health services	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)
Social facilities	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

47. Generally, are you satisfied with living in Kocaeli?

Not satisfied at all	Not satisfied	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied.	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

48. What do you think are the advantages of living in Kocaeli?
.....

49. What do you think are the disadvantages of living in Kocaeli?
.....

50. Would you prefer to live in another province than Kocaeli if satisfactory material conditions were offered? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, 1) which province would you prefer most?

1() Ankara 2() Istanbul 3() Izmir 4() Adana

5() Other:

2) What is the reason that you prefer this province to Kocaeli?

(mark three options maximum by ranking according to their importance (1,2,3))

() Because Kocaeli is an earthquake region

() Because social facilities in the other province are better

() Because my children can get better education in the other province

() Because my spouse is working in the other province

() Because it is my hometown

() Other:

PART 3

(As his section is related to adaptation with the city, therefore it is to be filled by non-Kocaeli residents (who came to Kocaeli from another province) and those Kocaeli residents who returned after a long period of external settlement due to training etc. reasons.)

51. How long have you been living in Kocaeli?

52. To what extent do you think that you are adapted to Kocaeli? (Following chart is ranked from least adaptation-1 to most adaptation-5.)

Not adapted at all	Not adapted	Neither adapted nor not adapted	Adapted	Adapted completely, I feel like a Kocaeli native
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)

53. Why did you decide to work and live in Kocaeli?

1() As I found a job here 2() As my spouse works here 3() As my family lives here 4() Other:

54. Was proximity of Kocaeli to Istanbul a factor when you decided to work and live in Kocaeli? 1() Yes 2() No

BÖLÜM 4

This section is to be filled by people who are not native of Kocaeli (who came from another province and settled in Kocaeli).

55. If you are not from Kocaeli as origin, would you think of returning to your hometown? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, how often?

Once a month	Once in 2-3 months	Once in every 6 months	Once a year
1)	2)	3)	4)

56. If you are not from Kocaeli as origin, are you visited from your hometown folks? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, how often?

Once a month	Once in 2-3 months	Once in every 6 months	Once a year
1)	2)	3)	4)

PART 5

(This section is to be filled by Istanbul residents)

57. If you are living in Istanbul, what are the reasons for preferring Istanbul to Kocaeli? (mark three options maximum by ranking according to their importance (1,2,3))

- As Kocaeli is an earthquake region
- As Istanbul has better social facilities
- As my children can get better education there
- As my spouse works in Istanbul
- As I was living in Istanbul before I started working in Kocaeli
- Other:

58. Have you ever lived in Kocaeli before? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, why did you move to Istanbul? (mark three options maximum by ranking according to their importance (1,2,3))

- Earthquake
- Education of children
- As my family lived in Istanbul
- Due to my spouse's work
- As there are better social facilities
- Other:

59. Do you have any real estate in Kocaeli? 1() Yes 2() No

If yes, why did you want to have real estate in Kocaeli?

.....