

**SPATIAL CHOICES OF MIDDLE CLASSES IN
ÇAYYOLU AND KEÇİÖREN; ANKARA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

BY

GÜLİZ KORKMAZ TİRKEŞ

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING**

JULY 2007

Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL CHOICES OF MIDDLE CLASSES IN ÇAYYOLU AND KEÇİÖREN; ANKARA

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July 2007, 193 pages

This study is based on a comparison of the spatial choices of two middle class groups residing in Çayyolu and Keçiören in Ankara. Spatial choices include the residences and neighborhood, the consumption of various places and activities in urban space and evaluations of the urban space. To search for the effects of alternative factors on the spatial choices along with well-known economic capital, two upper middle class groups are chosen as the basis of comparison. In line with the effects of Bourdieu's cultural capital and social and symbolic capital on the differentiation of middle class; the location choice, spatial use and evaluation differences of the two groups at hand are investigated. Based on the effects of consumption sphere in class formation, the influence of the concept of 'taste' and the differentiating aspect of lifestyle is discussed and how the resulting spatial tastes and choices may affect the development of urban space is presented in the case of Ankara. The importance of considering theoretically the local variations in studies conducted in urban space based on the daily practices of urbanites is revealed by the discussions of cultural factors that are special to Ankara and Turkey.

Keywords: spatial choice, middle class, cultural capital, Ankara, Çayyolu, Keçiören

ÖZ

ANKARA ÇAYYOLU VE KEÇİÖREN'DE ORTA SINIFLARIN MEKANSAL SEÇİMLERİ

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Temmuz 2007, 193 sayfa

Bu çalışma Ankara Çayyolu ve Keçiören'de yerleşik olan iki orta sınıf grubunun mekansal seçimlerinin kıyaslanmasına dayanmaktadır. Söz konusu mekansal seçimler yerleşilen konut ve mahalle başta olmak üzere, kent mekanında çeşitli yerlerin ve faaliyetlerin tüketimi ve kent mekanına yönelik değerlendirmeleri kapsamaktadır. Mekansal seçimlerde ekonomik sermaye farklılığının bilinen etkisi dışında diğer faktörlerin etkisinin araştırılması amacıyla benzer ekonomik refah seviyesinde iki üst orta sınıf grubu kıyaslamaya temel olarak seçilmiştir. Bourdieu'cu kültürel sermaye, sosyal ve sembolik sermayenin orta sınıf farklılaşmasındaki etkisi ve bunlara bağlı olarak seçilen iki grubun Ankara kent mekanında yer seçim, mekansal kullanım ve değerlendirme farklılıkları ele alınmıştır. Sınıf oluşumunda üretim süreçlerinin yanısıra tüketim süreçlerinin etkileri temel alınarak orta sınıf farklılaşmasında 'beğeni' kavramının etkisi ve yaşam tarzının ayırt edici özelliği tartışılmış ve mekansal beğeni ve seçimlerin de yaşam tarzının bir sonucu olarak kent mekanının gelişimine ne şekilde etki edebileceği Ankara özelinde ortaya koyulmuştur. Kent mekanında yapılan ve kentte yaşayanların gündelik yaşam pratiklerine ve seçimlerine dayanan çalışmaların kuram düzeyinde yerel çeşitlilikleri ele almasının önemine de, Ankara ve Türkiye şartlarına özgü kültürel faktörlerin tartışılmasıyla değinilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekansal seçim, orta sınıf, kültürel sermaye, Ankara, Çayyolu, Keçiören.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay for his support and guidance throughout the research. The valuable contributions of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tarık Şengül is very important to mention for the realization of this study. Also I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok for his careful assessment of the study.

I would like to express my gratitude to the other jury members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan, Prof. Dr. Feral Eke and to former jury member Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç for their contributions to this study.

Meltem Şenol Balaban, Banu Aksel Gürün, Arda Çetin, Ozan Bilge, Ayşe Laçın, Tolga Levent and Cenap have all given their support throughout the study. Olgu has contributed with his photographs. Also I would like to thank Banu Çözgener for her guidance.

All my family have given their supports in completing the study in this long period. I would like to thank Tirkeş and Korkmaz families for their love and faith. Finally I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dear husband Süha Tirkeş who has been with me all the time and supported me morally whenever I needed. Also I would like to thank my son who is still to come, for the motivation he provided in speeding up the finalization process of the study and attending the jury with me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban space is a dynamic accumulation of many factors intermingled with each other. There are various levels of tension among urban groups with different interests or areas of operation. Centrality of urban space for the continuation of capitalism in the contemporary age is acknowledged in recent theoretical considerations on the subject. Space itself as both an arena and a commodity of capitalist production has gained a central position in the functioning of the system. Roles of agents in the production process are defined with the concept of "class" and it is believed that urban space is also an arena where interests of different classes meet and conflict. A well known aspect of this situation is centered on bourgeoisie and proletariat, who are at the two ends of a major conflict as claimed by Karl Marx. However, there is also the middle class in this structure as an in between category whose role in the production process and degree of integration to any kind of conflict is less straightforward. This middle category of agents in the production process is the focus of the current study. While their position in the production process is not sufficient to explain the variety existing within this class, understanding the sources of this variation is very important because the extension and influence of this class and various groups within middle class is very crucial for the development of contemporary cities.

Urban space has much more to offer in class struggles apart from its role as a commodity in the capitalist system. It is the area where different groups' interests meet, interact and conflict both with each other and space itself, transforming, using and attributing meanings to it. Although class is defined as an entity originating and organizing around the production process, it continues its formation in the urban space itself (Şengül 2001). Therefore, it can be suggested that dynamics of class formation cannot be separated from the formation and consumption of urban space. Defining the concept of class based on the production process and drawing boundaries between upper, middle and lower classes, we have acknowledged that relations of production process are central to formation of societal relations and urban space is also integral to economic dynamics. Therefore, differences that exist in the society and cause stratification lead to various

levels and types of conflicts that are intimately bound up with the urban space. Investigating the dynamics of class formation within an urban context then, will provide us opportunities to understand the dynamics of urban space.

Based on this framework drawn above, this study concentrates on this active formation of class based on urban space through an examination and comparison of two middle class groups in Ankara. Middle classes have been difficult to handle in stratification debates because of the variety within the group itself in terms of many variables including economic heterogeneity. However, since they are an expanding group in the contemporary society and are influential in different arenas, including development of urban space, their investigation is critical in understanding the evolution of space. In recent periods, development of cities is mainly realized with the choices of dominant groups and capital investments initiated by these dominant groups. As major consumer groups, choices of middle class have also been influential in directing the development of urban patterns. Then we can suggest that what middle class as a major and dominant group in the contemporary urban accumulation chooses to consume in the urban space is central for the studies of and implementation in specific urban locations. In fact as recent debates on the formation of class in general and middle class in particular suggest, consumption is the new dimension introduced to the attention of researchers in addition to production again because of the dynamics of the economic sphere.

The notion of class depends on the production process. This gives sufficient explanation as to the difference of economic opportunities provided to different groups in controlling the distribution of capital. According to their relations with the means of production, different classes have different life patterns and purchasing power within the society. In this respect, the broad outlines of the middle class show differences with reference to the working class and the bourgeoisie, however, as far as occupational differentiation is concerned, it is known that variations in terms of the economic wealth exist within this class too.

This study intends to focus on the effects of other factors that contribute to different life patterns within the middle class. To do this, two groups with similar economic welfare are chosen. Hence, the research was conducted for two groups of the middle class in Ankara. For comparison Çayyolu and Keçiören were chosen to display the different outlooks of the middle class with different tastes, customs and living patterns. In a way, with the observation of different residential location choices and urban environments in those two

areas, it was expected that the two groups of the middle class might show different characteristics and spatial choices. It was also assumed that there could be other factors causing differentiation (like cultural and social factors that this study searches for) among the two groups other than their economic background. Thus, we are acknowledging the influence of economic capital differences in the spatial choices of those social groups, but the selection of the two cases is not solely constrained with economic factors. The two groups chosen for comparison in this study are from the higher strata of middle class in terms of their economic well being. Hence, it is possible to assume that they are not constrained economically in choosing their place of residence in any part of the city they want to.

1.1. Objective of the Study

As mentioned above, this study is acknowledging broad outlines drawn by the economically based stratification criteria in defining the major classes. However, when it comes to discover differences within the middle class, approaches based only on economic measures have to be enriched with additional factors. The complex levels of difference between various groups of the middle class may only be revealed with the introduction of additional factors to the analysis. Therefore, concentrating on the issue of the middle class and comparison of two middle class groups in Keçiören and Çayyolu as to their choices, influences and use of the city, the first question that this study has to answer is "what makes the two groups of the middle class located in two different parts of Ankara make different (spatial) choices?" Thus, based on different location choices with different character and identity in terms of the urban environment that they have settled into, we are considering a difference of choice and taste on the parts of the two groups, and our first objective is to see what causes this dissimilarity.

We know that this dissimilarity cannot be solely attributed to their differential economic wealth since both groups are known to be in the higher levels of the middle class in terms of their economic wealth. In designing the research, this was an intentional choice to see other factors that may have led to this difference. On the basis of the two specific middle class groups, we are searching for dynamic processes of formation of class in the urban space freed from economic concerns where the two groups are already in their middle class positions.

Centrality of the issue of consumption in recent studies on middle class is related to the changing character of the concept of consumption itself. Basis of consumption is for use value, where the commodity consumed fulfills a certain function which is defined in its production purpose. However, today due to the changing definition of the functions of commodities, consumption is not realized to satisfy what the commodity actually is made for, but also what the consumption of that specific commodity may come to signify. This changing character of consumption is also based on the changing economic concerns where the marketing of products considers the meanings attributed to them. This way consumption becomes an arena where one can define an identity based on the sets of goods consumed and this leads us to the patterns that differentiate the middle class groups.

In recent debates it is suggested that the consumption preferences, tastes or "choice" in general is related to cultural accumulation of a person which is based on especially educational background and social origin. Role of economic capital in this process is also clear in that only people with certain levels of economic wealth may be able to choose to consume various goods and in the lower ladders of economic accumulation necessity comes to constrain choice. With sufficient economic wealth, people with different cultural capital are said to make differential choices because their cultural accumulation affects their tastes. The levels of cultural and economic capital are subject to change constantly in various degrees. As a result, the class positions within middle class are not stable and a struggle on the consumption of various goods to set the boundaries of distinction is the continuous conflict that exists among people in the urban space.

In relation to this issue of consumption in the differentiation of class positions, the second question that this study aims to answer is "how do the spatial choices of the two groups compared differ?" The spatial choices include the use and evaluation of urban space by the two groups in terms of various activities and urban nodes for various purposes. In fact initially we have the clue to a different spatial choice revealed by the two groups in terms of the location and character of the residential environment they have preferred. Apart from questioning a correlation of this specific spatial choice and factors of distinction, other spatial choices are interrogated. In a way, the study concentrates on the modes of spatial consumption of the two groups. By searching for behavioral differences between the two groups, the study also interrogates alternative factors indicating difference among middle class groups and their spatial behavior. How social difference is central in the use and development of the urban environment and

how choices of various middle class groups may be effective on urban space is another major concern of the study.

1.2. Hypothesis of the Study

The two groups under scrutiny have similar economic welfare; however, they have made different spatial choices. Based on their acts of consumption of the urban space, this study first seeks whether their cultural accumulation varies as suggested by new approaches. Our primary concern is to see the factors that generate difference of choice and taste. The second concern is the spatial choices of these groups in the city and their tendencies in the use and consumption of urban space. The parts of the city they prefer for various activities, their evaluation of various places and facilities and decisions related to their living patterns are all investigated. At the macro scale, the study searches for the correspondence between the residential location choices and level and type of cultural and social capital accumulation. The study examines the spatial choices and tastes in using and consuming urban space in terms of various functions and nodes of attraction at the meso level. Finally at the micro scale, the assessment and attitudes of the residents to their immediate environment and personal judgments on the city are searched for.

The hypothesis of the study is that, if we take the economic capital as the constant measure of the comparison between the two upper middle class groups with freedom to choose their residential location; mainly cultural and behavioral factors would maintain the difference between these two groups. Primarily cultural, social and symbolic capital are assumed to be the major axes of difference among the middle class groups along with their economic capital. Another assumption is that, the factors that lead to a difference of choice between the two groups may be reflected to their spatial choices in the urban space. A correlation may be made between the factors that cause social difference and the spatial choices of social groups. While searching for alternative factors of residential segregation, the study also correlates social differences based on cultural factors to all the manifestations of spatial choice of the middle class groups in the urban space. Social and cultural differences revealed as lifestyle differences may be followed from spatial behavior as well and in a reverse order, different spatial choices may be the result of lifestyle differences based on different cultural, economic and social capital accumulations. Therefore, studies related to urban development should embody the factors that cause differences of spatial behavior and consumption among various dominant social groups along with economic opportunities and difference of spatial

choices may be predicted based on the composition of cultural, social and economic capital differences.

This study only introduces some alternative factors of difference between two middle class groups in a time and space specific manner. As explained throughout the research, various axes of difference may be revealed in searches on other middle class groups in different time spans and different places. Even we can assume that, in a comparison of other two middle class groups in the same period in Ankara, we could have used other factors as variables. Eventually, this study only points out other factors of social difference which may influence the spatial behavior and choices of middle class groups and that these factors may vary based on the unique history and cultural accumulations of each 'place'.

The search conducted in a limited time-span in the history of Ankara in specific nodes within the city investigates the validity of some tools brought up with the theoretical debates and additionally introduces some specific factors of differentiation in relation with the general framework of theory. In a way, unique dimensions of middle class differentiation in Turkey and Ankara are discussed along with spatial concerns in various spatial scales. As discussed in detail in the theoretical framework and the research, the variable of cultural capital even has an alternative dimension to it in the Turkish case, and some differences of spatial tendencies of the two groups may be attributed to the historical development specific to Ankara.

1.3. The Research

In order to do this we conducted a survey in the two areas of concern. In this survey, we had some sets of questions for revealing the factors lying beneath their differential choices and some others to learn their spatial choices in other respects. Questions related to their family formation; educational and occupational structure; social origin in terms of familial background and origin in terms of hometown; their residential movements and choices; their evaluations of their immediate environment, the totality of the city, certain nodes and utilities in the city; their social capital; cultural and leisure consumption habits and many other subjects are directed to the respondents. Based on the answers provided by the survey, this study interprets the influence of factors suggested for differentiation of groups in recent stratification accounts and reveal other factors that may be specific to the Turkish case or even for the urban dynamics of Ankara. When we consider cultural

aspects, it is rather expectable to catch some variables based on the specific cultural accumulations of a place or country apart from some generally accepted factors.

After this brief introduction that sets the basic framework of the study by stating the basic area of research and our method of conducting the study, the next chapter goes on with the theoretical discussions that guide us in our research. In the context of this chapter first the stratification theories and what they suggest on the sources of difference and conflicts in society are discussed. Debates on middle class and recent approaches to their formation and centrality come up. Then new approaches that integrate consumption sphere to the class formations along with the economic factors are elaborated on. Some basic concepts that come with these new approaches like lifestyle, habitus, taste and choice are introduced. What culture suggests in these new approaches and how cultural capital is formed is dwelled on. After basic sociological considerations on the issue are introduced, the spatiality of these concepts and their relatedness to everyday urban space is explained. The integrity of space to social dynamics and how place itself may be seen as a process is discussed with reference to time-geography. Structuration theory as the basis of these approaches and the emphasis on agents and practices is considered for explaining the basic theoretical structure behind this manner of study.

Equipped with some basic conceptual tools that may guide us through the study, the next chapter, embodying the totality of the research dwells on the case areas. After discussing their position in the urban development of Ankara and some previous studies implemented on these areas, the method is explained. The implementation of the survey, expectations and limitations are revealed. Finally there is the basic section where the survey results and findings are presented. Here with the help of various tables, maps and diagrams, the findings of the study grouped under some headings derived from the theoretical search are presented.

Finally, what this kind of information may mean in the urban space of Ankara and how the findings of the survey may be interpreted is discussed. What this study may mean along with the theoretical considerations on the issue and what it may suggest for the specific urban space of Ankara and the dynamics in the city is evaluated in various scales and dimensions. The general outline of the study is presented in a diagram below to show the basic concepts and connections in the overall research.

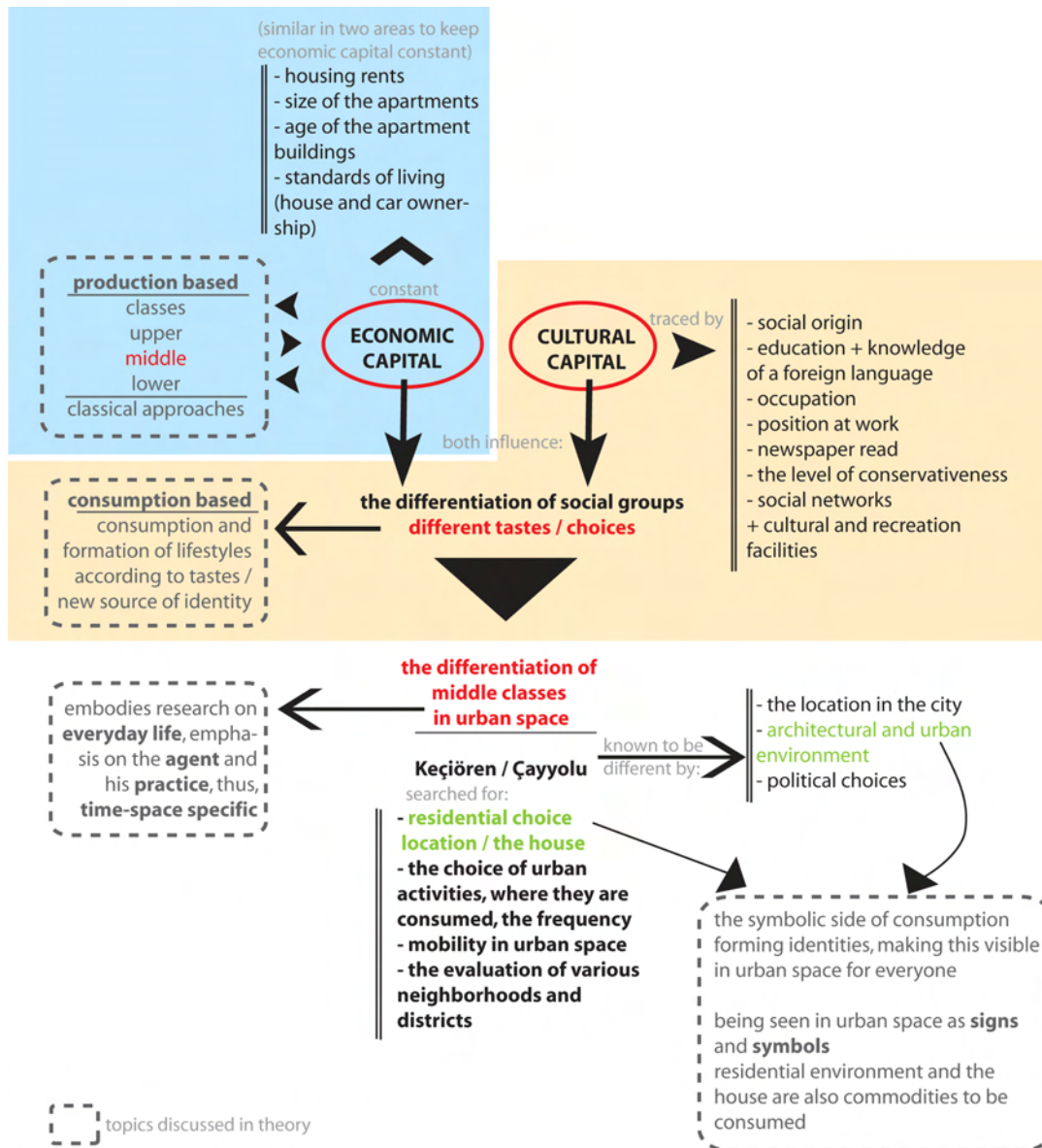


Figure 01. Diagram showing the general structure of the thesis study

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The “choices” an agent or a group of agents in an urban accumulation make may affect the development of the urban pattern because the practices/actions of the agents in the urban space are based on their judgments and choices. If the agents are wealthy in terms of their economic accumulations, their influence may be vaster and stronger. Therefore, in our study, in order to see what lies beneath different choices of the two “middle class” groups under consideration, one residing in Keçiören and the other in Ümitköy, we have to learn first of all what governs different choices and practices of different groups in general and middle class groups in particular.

Theoretical basis of differences among social groups is thoroughly examined in sociological debates under the heading of “social stratification”. Therefore, although our main focus in this study is finding out the spatial consequences of differences among the two groups in Keçiören and Çayyolu, we have to first, learn the possible factors that may have led to a differentiation of the two groups and then investigate whether these sources are also related to the difference of various other spatial choices these groups make. At this point still, it is important to further clarify that, although the theoretical discussions that form the basis of this study depends highly on various concepts and discussions in the area of sociology, there is no intention of making a sociological analysis for a categorization of the groups that we are concerned with in the study. For instance, some western studies on stratification and especially the middle classes suggest typologies of middle classes in certain places and name them according to their lifestyles (Savage 1992, Wynne 2000). Here our intention is only accessing some factors that create difference and some practices that suggest the existence of difference in the urban environment, and comparing the agents that we are dealing with in the two areas to define their differences (especially in terms of their utilization of the urban space).

In fact the tools of the stratification sociology are used to search whether the spatial choice may be considered as a manifestation of the possession of certain amounts of capital as well. The theoretical debates in sociology will only be applied to, in order to

interpret the spatial behavior and choices of the agents we are concerned with and possibly acquire some conceptual tools that may be used in this study. Based on which factors they are making those choices, and whether the factors that lead them to these choices affect their manner of the utilization of urban space.

Therefore, in this chapter the concept of “class” based on the positions of agents in the *production* process as the foundation of the stratification accounts will be discussed. After taking a glimpse of the classical stratification debates and the position of the middle classes that we are concerned with, we will discuss the new approaches that integrate the *consumption* process to the stratification theories and how this new perspective related to the contemporary economic order suggests a new approach to the differentiation of middle classes will be considered. As will be discussed further, the definition of middle classes has already been a problem in the classical approaches, and as an expanding group in the recent periods, their definition, sources of differentiation and identity formation has become a major issue. Consumption side explanations have brought a reasonable light to them. Being in the basis of these explanations, Bourdieu’s approach suggests that social agents create the classifiable acts themselves, and suggests that the concept of class is being actively formed in contemporary societies. Thus, the formation of class is a dynamic process that integrates “change” within itself according to this new approach.

In this chapter, focusing on the role of consumption in today’s economy, how consumption is related to the tastes of the individuals, and how people consume to form and dispose lifestyles will be discussed. In fact consumption fuelled in relation to the contemporary economic order has directed the realm of culture within the economic sphere and in turn affected class formations. Consumption and lifestyle as a source of identity formation will be emphasized. The symbolic side of consumption as part of the consumer culture will be explained and how this makes the everyday consumption activity a cultural issue will be dwelled on. Thus, how the goods that people consume communicate their “cultural accumulations” through their tastes, how these goods are “signs and symbols” revealed in urban space will be discussed. Consuming certain sets of goods as a source of the differentiation/distinction among various groups will be related to our cases in terms of the architectural and urban environment they choose to consume in the city and also their consumption of cultural and leisure activities in urban space. This means that in our case, the urban environment, with the house that one chooses to live in and the district and neighborhood one settles in or as a place where one consumes

a certain activity in is another area where the consumption patterns and choices of an agent are revealed in. The physical urban space as a locus of meaning and signification, thus a cultural factor is another dimension of this issue. The formation of 'place' and the socio-spatial processes integral to urban life bring another dimension of this issue of meaning to our attention. Along with this, the cultural basis of consumption and where it stands with the economic capital counterpart in affecting people's life chances and choices will be covered.

Emphasizing the "consumption process" with the "production process" brings inevitably emphasizing the importance of *cultural capital* along with the *economic one* which is another formulation that owed its existence to Bourdieu. Also the contributions of some others scholars which also have based their theories on Bourdieu's accounts will be discussed. For instance Savage et al. suggest the importance of *property, organizational assets* and *culture* in the class divisions among middle classes in Britain (1992). The peculiarity of every different place is suggested by various studies which direct us to search for the specific clues of differentiation in Turkey and in Ankara, apart from the well known basic factors.

Standing on this theoretical basis and conducting a study based on these inevitably reveals another theoretical presupposition of this study. When we construct the whole study on the choices of the agent, we initially accept that *the agent* and his *practices* matter. Thus, place becomes a dynamic process where the factors are exposed to constant change. Therefore, there is the emphasis on the agent and his/her routine in everyday life which brings the theory of structuration to the basis of such studies. Here we assume that apart from macro explanations that form a structure and context for the economic basis behind the study, the *everyday life* dynamics in urban space, and the *time-space specific* examination of it is important in giving clues for the factors that may affect the development of cities in general and the development of Ankara for our specific case. The ever changing character of social processes and the dynamic formation of class make it inevitable to construct the study in a specific time and place dimension. Further in the chapter we will also dwell on this by-product of the theoretical presuppositions. Thus at that point we will be able to show why the study is and has to be time and place bound and why spatiality is central for these discussions.

Throughout the discussions in the following sections the question that we keep in mind is "what possible factors may make the two middle class groups in concern make different

choices?" Finding these factors will hopefully provide the tools for conducting our research in Ankara.

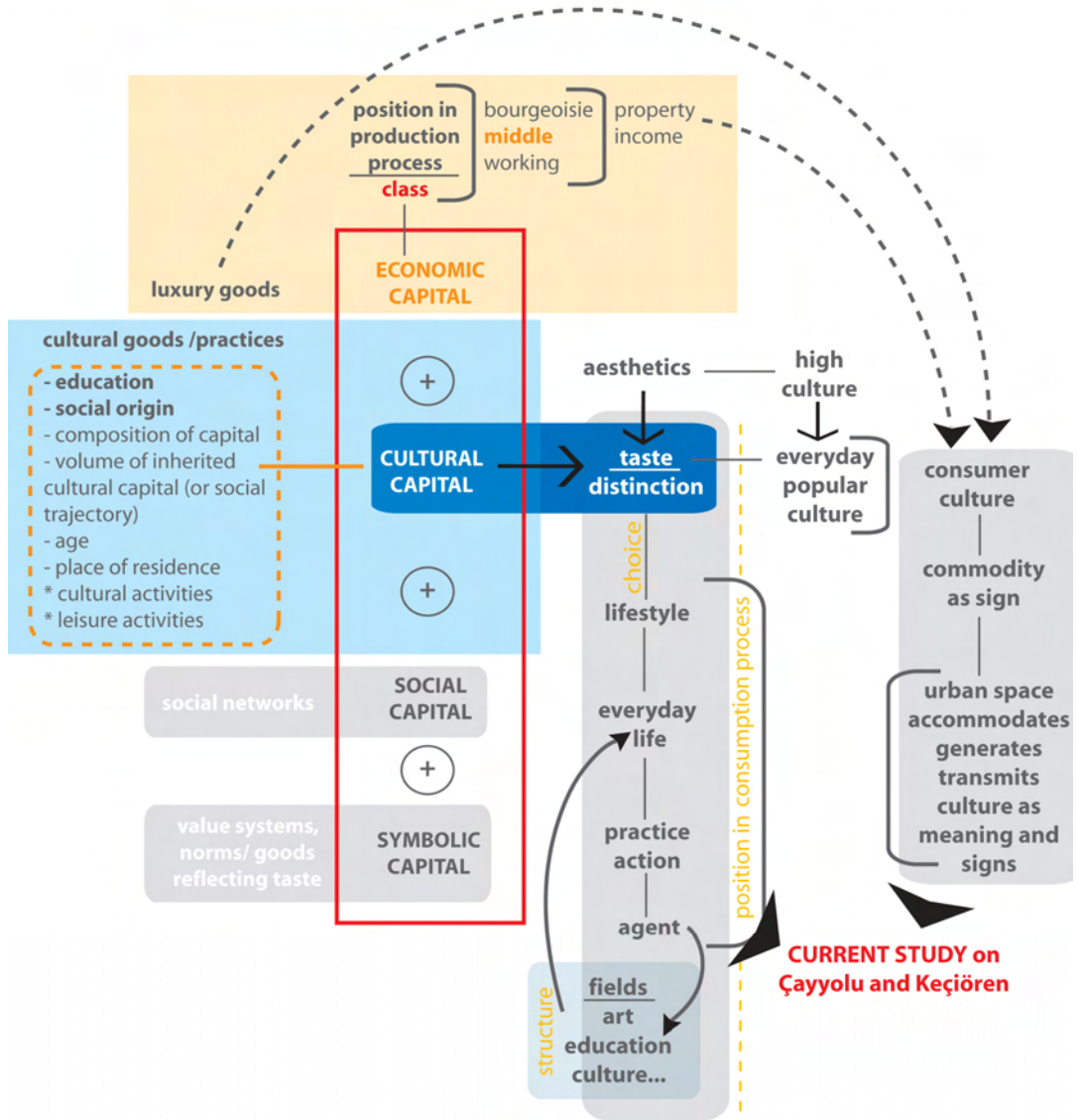


Figure 02. Diagram showing the structure of the theoretical framework of the study

2.1. The Classical Stratification Accounts

2.1.1. The Concept of Class

When it comes to categorize various groups in society, the search is for valid factors that may cause motivation for acting together or similar to each other. The classical accounts

based on the roles of the agents in the production process suggest the concept of class for explaining this attitude of acting together. In this section we will dwell on this concept to set the basis of differentiation and distinction in a society.

Class is a structural category and is an essential mechanism of the capitalist mode of production (Walker 1985). According to Richard Walker class formation is a creative process; that is; classes are the products of human agency. Without the creativity of individuals or groups, the structure of class would not be reproduced and capital would never accumulate. "Class power is exercised in the pursuit of practical interests and power, exploitation, ideological hegemony and the rest must be fought out again and again on a shifting terrain" (1985). Following the discussions on middle classes in particular and stratification theories in general, it is possible to see that the location of middle class as a category is problematic because the middle classes as a totality do not really have overlapping interests which make them define themselves as a class and furthermore, they are not 'fighting again and again on a shifting terrain'. It is true that the terrain is shifting maybe faster than ever, but the middle class is not really a group to be considered as a totality in terms of their common interests. And probably due to their centrality in the contemporary dynamics, important studies are conducted to categorize middle classes into different groups (Savage et al. 1992, Wynne 2000, Butler 1997, Vidich 1995, Robson and Butler 2001).

The discussions on class have their roots in Marx's and Weber's theories. Marx's well known model of class is a dichotomous one with two fundamental classes defined according to their relationships to the means of production. They are the 'non-producers controlling the means of production' and 'producers extracting surplus product as a source of their livelihood.' (Giddens 1981). Therefore in Marx's point of view classes are connected to the division of labor since it is necessary for the creation of the surplus product. And the two classes being opposed to each other makes the concept of 'conflict' the basis of Marx's formulation. Also Marx assumes a distinction between two situations that he calls 'class in itself' and 'class for itself'. He means that class would normally mean any grouping which shares the same relationship to the means of production, but such a grouping may properly be called class only when shared interests generate communal consciousness and action (1981). It is this lack of communal consciousness and action and the extent of middle classes that makes their definition problematic as will be seen in detail as we move on.

Weber approaches the class concept somewhat differently. According to Weber, the sentiments of communal identity constitute differential 'status' (1981). Status depends on subjective evaluation and is a separate dimension from class. In the Weberian sense class is founded upon market interests, which exist independently whether men are aware of them. It is an objective characteristic influencing the life chances of men. The contrast between classes and status groups are portrayed by Weber as also 'one between production and consumption' (1981). A social status group is defined as a group acting together in various forms (Bocock 1997). In its definition a status group has a different way of life and consumption models on eating, drinking, clothing or entertainment. These models help define the group not only for themselves, but for the others that do not belong to the group as well (1997). Status groups express relationships of consumption, thus relating different styles of life. However, according to Weber, classes and status groups tend to be linked through property, which is a major determinant of class and lifestyle. This class structure is not very different from that of Marx, but only their identification of the sources of class structuring differ (Crompton 1993).

The Weberian approach on 'status' groups is important since the middle classes are not mainly defined in terms of their class consciousness, rather they are mainly considered as the suppliers and consumers in a totally new global order where the main defining feature is the lifestyles. As it will become clearer further in this chapter, the new approaches in stratification accounts owe a lot to the approach of Weber.

2.1.2. The Middle Classes

After taking a brief look at class as the basis of the stratification accounts, it would be appropriate to see where the middle classes as our main concern stand in the classical approaches. Then we will be able to go on and see based on what the new approaches divide the middle classes into subgroups and explain their differentiation.

When the term middle class is used, there is not only one definite group that we are talking about since many controversies exist on this issue. There are many different perspectives, ranging from the ones, which do not consider middle class as a class at all, to the ones trying to divide middle class into subgroups. Moreover there are some approaches trying to split middle classes into the other existing classes. Whether we accept one or the other, it seems that there is not a widely accepted view on this issue. As Wacquant says:

'Much of the debate has been... at the wrong level ... a fictitious goal. The epistemic ambition of defining... the correct classification of discovering the "real" boundaries of the middle class is doomed to failure because it rests on a fundamentally mistaken ontological status of classes: the middle class, like any other social group, does not exist ready-made in reality. It must be constituted through material and symbolic struggles waged simultaneously over class and between classes; it is a historically variable and reversible effect of these struggles.' (1991)

In terms of the material and symbolic struggles waged between classes, the middle classes seem to be the most passive ones, which because of this fact are not really accounted as classes at all by some authors. However, although the middle class is an "ill-defined entity", Wacquant still says that the theories on middle class should strive to capture the ambiguity of the middle classes as an object (1991). Therefore, it would be helpful to see the theoretical considerations on this ambiguous subject for the continuation of this study at this point.

As stated before, the location of the middle classes among the capitalist class relationships has generally been problematic. As Giddens has suggested, although Marx was generally thought to generate a dichotomous class analysis, he was aware of the groups that stayed between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He even "criticizes Ricardo for having neglected the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workman on the one hand and capitalist and landlord on the other" (Giddens 1981). The growth of non-manual occupations was problematic in Marxist analysis. In terms of material rewards compared to the proletarian conditions and also in terms of their problems of identification with the proletariat even at the lower levels of white-collar employment, the Marxist view found the middle classes a problematic case. Later theories considering the middle classes were also faced with the same kinds of problems. How a class boundary should be drawn between the working class and the middle class was the issue. Also the political interest and allegiance of middle classes was another problem. Moreover, defining the old and new middle classes as different categories (the former being a narrowing group in the contemporary societies) as well as the new group formations that can be defined within the category of the new middle class, all add up to a huge theoretical mess on this issue. Still, in line with Wacquant, the theoretical attempts of defining the middle classes relative to the classes above and below, 'paying special attention to the types of organizations and strategies other classes develop' (1991), would be helpful in understanding where these classes stand within the class structure.

If we want to define in general who the middle class is according to their position in “production process”, it can be seen that it is a huge category embracing many different groups. Also in line with the current dynamics of the economy there is the differentiation of old and new middle class categories. The old middle classes were composed of people with small businesses (like small farms, manufacturing and retailing enterprises). Generally non-manual and white-collar labor without property is referred to as middle classes (Giddens 1981). However, white-collar as a category is not undifferentiated in itself because early white-collar labor were mainly sales or clerical jobs whereas under the dynamics of neo-capitalism professional and technical developments lead to the generation of a wide variety of professional labor. Although all these different groups are generally referred to as middle classes, it is evident that their income levels and life chances in general are highly differentiated. While the ones that are referred to as the service sector occupy the lower categories of the middle classes, the professionals or managers have high living standards.

For the sake of our discussion, the new middle class, as important agents in the transformation of the contemporary world is crucial since the groups residing in Çayyolu are mainly referred to as new middle class. Also as will be clearly explained in the research part, by choosing two specific groups with higher incomes, we have automatically left out the groups in the lower categories of the middle classes in our study, thus the lower ladders of the service sector. When considering the case at hand in this study it will be obvious that this difference between the old and new middle class is central for our comparison. Especially when the work people in the two case areas do is compared; it reveals a tendency towards an old middle class group in Keçiören and a new middle class one in Çayyolu. Still it can be suggested that the conditions and meanings of the old middle class occupations may have changed and adjusted to the contemporary situation. But especially considering the fact that one of the groups depends heavily on the formal educational channels in obtaining jobs they perform and the others accumulating income from different channels like the ownership of small manufacture or retail enterprises, the difference is clarified. Such a differentiation is referred to by Savage *et al.* in their definition of three groups depending on property, bureaucracy and culture (1992). Especially the two groups of property and culture are relevant to this discussion and our study as well. They claim that in Britain one middle class group uses the property assets for status and one other uses the cultural assets to

get material rewards. The situation is similar to the two groups we are comparing to a certain extent which will be further dwelled on in the chapter on the research*.

However, being aware of an old/new middle class differentiation only helps showing the expanding nature of middle classes in neo-capitalism. This is neither a source generating similar interests as a category nor this means that people that belong to old and new middle class categories have nothing in common in terms of their lifestyles.

In fact, the most important factor causing the middle classes not to be considered as a proper class form is their ideological void. As Giddens puts it,

‘Class awareness, rather than class-consciousness is the typical cognitive perspective of the middle class. The image of society of the white-collar worker involves hierarchical perception of occupational levels distinguished by income and status. Movement up or down this hierarchy is perceived to be decided by the initiative and energy shown by any particular individual.’ (1981:184)

Therefore, consistent with such individualism, for securing future rewards, class-consciousness is inhibited. The sources of differentiation within the middle class are the ‘market capacity’ and the ‘division of labor’ (Giddens 1981). The market capacity involves the technical knowledge and skills of the workers, which may be identified with the growth of the professional occupations in the neo-capitalist society which will be discussed below in the next section. Such a market capacity is associated with the possibility of promotion chances up the hierarchy and it is supported by a class awareness stressing individualism. With these points that Giddens makes, it is obvious that middle classes are in a way separated from any ideological concerns with the very definition of the nature of their work. Because of this, the middle class individuals lack a conception of class identity and therefore do not have ‘conflict consciousness’ (1981).

The concept of individualization starts to come out to the scene quite often when the new stratification theories are considered. Beck and Giddens see individualization as

* Throughout this chapter it will be suggested that not only the position in the production process affects the social standing of various middle class groups. In relation to that other factors that create differentiation among the middle classes will be explained. As it will become clear, the experiences of class formation processes may very well differentiate from one country to another. Therefore what is specific for the case of Turkey is rather relevant for our study. One factor that was suggested in some studies on the Turkish cases is the religious values in society. Güralp suggests that even among the professionals in Turkey, there is a differentiation in terms of their religious tendencies, the extent to which they are attached to the principles of Kemalism (2003). And this is stated as a factor that may cause differentiation among the so called new middle classes in the Turkish case. What Güralp suggests will be dwelled on further in the study. However, at this point it was emphasized to show that the occupational divisions may have lost their centrality in various cases in many different respects.

breaking from collective cultures (Savage 2000). They think that large scale contemporary social changes make individuals reflexive and this situation in general is defined by Beck as 'reflexive modernity' (Savage 2000). Savage claims that:

What Giddens and Beck read as the decline of class cultures and the rise of individualism should be understood as a shift from working class to middle class modes of individualization. It is no longer social classes that take the place of status groups... the individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit for the social in the lifeworld... class loses its sub-cultural basis and is no longer experienced. (2000)

Savage points out to a need of reenergizing class analysis and for this he shows the need for three things: confronting the role of culture (habitus, distinction, cultural capital), examining individualization, considering the role of organization stressing the occupational and property basis of class (2000). However, while emphasizing individualization he shows through Bourdieu that "while collective class identities are weak, people continue to define their individual identities in ways which inevitably involve relational comparisons with members of various social classes" (2000). This is an outcome of the discussions that are included above and the ones that are to be discussed in the following sections. It can be said that the social basis of 'identity' has also changed (Chaney 1999). Traditionally social class or lifestyle was based on work or occupation, but at the second half of the 20th century the basis of social identities of the individuals were freed from production related activities. Instead they were determined by leisure time activities and consumption habits (1999). The shift in the arena of economy has pushed the individuals to be left alone in a way in the social sphere, and try to find alternative groups by which they can identify themselves and this was especially valid for the middle classes. Identity formation became a more dynamic process instead of a given category. Taste, behavior and fashion have become new arenas of identification. The boundaries of these new areas are not as clear as the previous ones. They are vulnerable to continuous change. Still it can be seen that economic dynamics and shifts govern how agents and groups identify themselves and take position according to one another.

Here an interesting point comes up in some writings on the middle classes. Theoreticians try to formulate which direction the middle classes would take in the class struggles. Although the above discussions suggest the lack of such a capacity or interest on their part to political ideological issues, especially some early views suggested that the middle classes would split into two, while the ones in routine jobs take the side of the working classes, the ones in higher-level occupations would associate themselves with the upper classes. From Giddens' perspective it was obvious that middle class rarely tended to play

a direct role in class struggles. However, some other writings on middle class carry the signs of expanding middle class growing to such an extent that any class formation will become meaningless and there will be middle class societies, in other words classless societies. In fact apart from the classical discussions on the place of the middle classes, today in the changed atmosphere of the economy where the meaning of things and activities change constantly the individual identities of people from any class have already become less steady and understandable (Chaney 1999) and individual has already become an evaluation unit by itself in some respects.

Up to now we have seen that middle class as a category among the bourgeoisie and working classes has been a problematic case. What classical approaches suggest has not resolved the issue of defining subcategories of middle class. It can not explain the diversity among the middle classes. The classical approaches only define the middle classes as a distinct category from the bourgeoisie and working class in terms of their relation to the means of production. However, this clearly does not provide the necessary basis for becoming a group with common interests, behavior and choices. The new climate in the economic order has brought new members to the middle class category and expanded it with the addition of new middle classes which tend to be strong and influential groups in society due to the roles they occupy in the existing order. In the next section, we will take a brief look at the new dynamics that have led to the growth of the new middle classes and how new sources of identity formation are introduced especially for the middle classes with their ideological void and lack of class consciousness. Up to now revealing the problematic nature of the middle classes in class categorization, we have not dealt with the new approaches that try to define the class formation based on cultural parameters in addition to the economic ones. In the further sections of this chapter we will dwell on the approach generated by Bourdieu, which claims that each individual occupies a position in a multidimensional social space and s/he is not defined by a class membership, but the amounts of capital (economic or cultural) that s/he possesses. The formation of class is now considered as a dynamic process where various assets including cultural, organizational and economic are used in struggles for position in urban space. As Butler puts it, "class structure is an outcome of mobility strategies pursued by middle class members" (1997). The structures and actions of middle classes will change with the developments taking place in capitalism and some groups of middle classes are responsible from this process of change according to the author (1997). This formulation has generated a new perspective to the studies conducted on the middle

classes, especially in the economic and cultural climate of today's world, which is discussed in the following section.

2.2. Changes in the Economy and Employment

Over the past two decades the restructuring of organizations has reduced the salience of manual work as the key cultural reference category... In space for reconstructing the association between work and forms of individualism that this opens up, new career technologies have radically reworked traditional class boundaries and have created new ideas about the relationship between the individual hierarchy and organization. New kinds of class distinction are embodied in these processes, while at the same time organizational hierarchy itself becomes less publicly visible. (Savage 2000:122)

At this point it would be useful to open a parenthesis to the factors that have forced a change in the definition and meaning of work in general. It is common knowledge that the new conditions are very much related to technological advances providing the heightened mobility to capital, labor and information. The changes in the regime of capital accumulation fuelled by the new opportunities mentioned above changed the sphere of work to a great extent. The developments in the arena of work and employment are revealed with the changes in the occupational structure and the growth of a white-collar workforce.

The classical class schemes discussed above fitted very finely to the realities of a Fordist regime of accumulation depending on the two sides of production; the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the factories the demands of the capitalists and the services of the workers met. Defining the social tensions based on their conflict was straightforward. However, with the developments in the organizational techniques, industrial production and information technologies, the scheme started to change. The desire of capital for extension could be met easier under the new circumstances with the developments in transportation and information technologies and capital became a more mobile entity in the globe.

This restructuring in the economic life had its consequences in both the occupational structure and the cultural and social scale. The expanding mobility of capital and people required professionals who could manage this flow and opened new areas of work. Especially the heightened importance of the finance sector is a very important part of the new job opportunities opened with the new economy. Thus mobility of capital and labor meant competition among the locales for attracting the capital. With the weakening of state intervention in many arenas under the flexible economy, each locale had to define

where it could stand in the global economy transcending the nation state boundaries. The competitive environment coupled with the advances in production techniques ended with designed products and alternative entertainment spaces. This was also related to the increase in the leisure time of people in the new work environment. Consumer culture expanded with all these factors. The development of the huge service sector in every significant urban accumulation with leisure and cultural facilities is another importance source of new job descriptions focused on the self. High product differentiation, advertisement and media and the incredible reach of information technologies creating their own professionals, all add up to a totally new world of jobs. Beginning from the service employment full of low income jobs up to managerial positions, having some kind of education or training gained more importance. The workforce had to be more qualified and compete with each other to get a job even temporarily in the dynamic environment where nothing was ever secure again. As the sectors and their reaches expanded, managerial positions gained more importance and people at in between categories as addressed by Marx grew immensely in number and importance. Also the cultural intermediaries who work as sign producers in the consumer culture is another area developed with the new economic atmosphere. The growth of high level white-collar jobs even caused the development of a group called 'Yuppies' as a very significant group with their lifestyles and intellectual accumulations.

"In the occupational aggregate approaches classes are represented by occupational groupings at the expense of other structuring factors such as neighborhoods and communities, identities, social movements, status groupings and actual or potential political actors" (Akpınar 2005). Occupations were considered as powerful indicators of levels of material rewards, social standing and life chances (2005). However, work lost the capacity to shape the lives of individuals (2005) and work is not considered as such a powerful indicator governing the lives of people. The factors that have led to this kind of a change in the employment structure which were mentioned above may be summarized as; the feminization of labor with women in higher level occupations, increase in long terms unemployment and the insecurity of jobs, decline of manual occupations, the growth of the service sector, increasing flexibility of work relations, increasing globalization of capital, labor and division of labor (Akpınar 2005).

As Offe suggests, in the early phase of the industrialist capitalist development, the formation of a collective identity based on labor as the source of social wealth was obvious (1985). However, with the alterations in the structure of work the centrality of

work may be questioned. The fact that a person is employed has less and less relevance for the content of social activity, the perception of interests, lifestyle and so on (Offe 1985). Savage also points out “the erosion of working class identities by focusing on organizational restructuring and examine the emergence of new technologies which enhance the development of individualized modes of working and lead to the development of invisible hierarchies” (2000).

The modern society was a work society according to Offe. However, today in the so-called postmodern societies, as Offe suggests, work is less a defining factor for a person's identity in a society with fluid, ephemeral, and flexible working conditions and its loss is filled with other sources for identity building which will be discussed throughout this chapter.

The things that are explained in this part summarized briefly the economic and technological factors that have changed the meaning of work and why new categories have been introduced to the sphere of work. How the new situation affects the stratification accounts creating a need to define a ‘new middle class’ and bringing a new perspective to how classes are discussed was explained. The impacts of such a drastic change naturally do not end there. As Sennett suggests, their impacts are even written in the psychologies of people in an insecure environment full of risks directed to your lifetime (2002). However, the newly defined occupational groupings as the motors of this process shape the social and spatial environment with a heightened importance of culture in the social life. The meaning of education in defining your position in society and forming your position in social space with the things you consume, all are issues related to the middle classes and their cultural capital. That is why in most cases the so-called new middle classes are considered as responsible for transformations in the urban space.

2.3. Emphasis on the Consumption Sphere

2.3.1. From Class to Lifestyle

After discussing the new dynamics in the economy it is easy to see that how people identify themselves have changed. Work now is not the only source creating meaning/ status/ identity, but other factors emphasizing your individuality are brought to the scene and these are mainly what differentiates the middle classes and helps them define their identity in society. In this section we will take a look at the factors other than the position of agents in the production process and how they are utilized for the definition of middle classes.

As briefly explained in the previous section most scholars argued that important transformations in the sphere of work and economy in general took place, shifting the focus to areas other than production. Thus, various approaches suggest that some theoretical considerations on the issue of class seemed to be in need of some reformulation under this new economic and cultural climate. Emphasis on production sphere has brought the discussions of class to a certain level, but some thought that the consumption sphere which has become very important in the new economy has remained undeveloped. Whatever the reason is, there is a rapid flux of cultural change that cannot be ignored as Crompton states,

With the rise in standards of living, it is argued that issues related to consumption, rather than production, are becoming more relevant, and that 'lifestyles' rather than 'classes' are playing an increasingly important part in shaping a whole range of attitudes and behaviors. (1993:166)

The new situation means that the role of a person in the production sphere is no more the central and sole focus of his life and his feeling of identity. "Instead of roles in the work sphere, roles in various family formations, sexual lifestyles, leisure time facilities, thus in other words roles in the notion of consumption gain more and more importance" (Bocock 1997).

The new approach to the issue of stratification will help to define the situation of middle classes in the contemporary society. However, as shall be discussed in detail in the following sections the new outlook basically suggests that classifications arise as a result of struggles between the agents on the representation of their positions in the social world (by turning things into signs). These struggles do not represent the economic interests only, but mainly they are related to the indication of 'status'. Bourdieu who has generated the basis of this approach suggests that "struggles over the appropriation of economic or cultural goods are simultaneously, symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs in the form of the classified, or to conceive or subvert the principles of classification of the distinctive properties (1989:249)". In a way it can be suggested that people try to express their social differences in various arenas in the social world and this act of expression may not always be a conscious one. However, the totality of these social differences may be traced from every part of one's life as his/her lifestyle.

Eventually, the commodities and services are seen as the symbols of attitudes and expectations forming a different way of living (Chaney 1999). This suggests the emphasis

on *lifestyles* as a category along with class, all because of the socio-economic changes associated with the late 20th century industrialism. Moreover Post-fordism itself is associated with the fuelling of a consumption culture with flexible production of varied goods to consume. According to Harvey, the development of a discourse called postmodernism is the cultural clothing of flexible accumulation (1999). In such a structure, different groups are struggling for position within the changing social space, which they are simultaneously creating. Crompton suggests that, because of the diversity and fragmentation of the middle classes 'postmodernist ideas have been increasingly applied to the analysis of social situation of these groupings' (1993:178). Therefore, we may find that the postmodern discourse suggests an alternative interpretation of the place of the middle classes within the society. The new types of consumption that are encouraged for the sake of the new economy have formed their own diversity in stratification and the consumption patterns and lifestyles that it has brought is a new source of identity for the middle classes who lack a source of identity originating from their positions in the production process. In fact the middle class as Bourdieu has conceptualized them and as utilized by Featherstone is the 'main agent' of a postmodern spatial and conceptual order (Bourdieu 1989, Featherstone 1991).

Occupational class has been widely utilized as an element in discussions to the culture of consumption... The consumption of goods correlates broadly with social standing and that occupation provides a reasonable indication of this social standing are generalizations which would be widely accepted. (Crompton 1993)

Crompton explains the relative significance of the economic versus the cultural in the structuring and perpetuation of systems of social inequality in the contemporary societies (1993) and suggests that using the occupational divisions as an indicator of social standing may be accepted. However, the occupational categories cannot be considered as the single variable to define class. In fact they may be used because of other factors that are at the basis of occupational divisions which may vary among different cases. They do suggest the importance of both economic and cultural factors to a certain extent, but how the categorizations may be made using these is relevant to other factors that are beyond these categories.

For example we have seen that Savage *et al.* (1992) suggested the importance of property, bureaucracy and cultural assets in the divisions of middle classes in Britain. Their study eventually showed that groups of owners of petty property, managers and professionals may be seen as the three major groups of middle classes with different lifestyles. However, in claiming this, they suggest that the factors that are behind these

groups are effective in creating these divisions (1992). They also criticize Bourdieu for having neglected the bureaucracy which is an important group in Britain, and they mention the variations of the applicability of Bourdieu's scheme in various countries. For example the petty bourgeoisie depend on the property assets and transform them to economic and social status. Bureaucracy is a distinct group because of their positions in the organizational assets. Finally the cultural capital is high in the case of professionals who transform these assets to material rewards (Savage *et al.* 1992). Here we see again that the only factor causing division is not the roles in the production process, but depending on their cultural and economic accumulations, different groups reveal different lifestyles and group formation may depend on different factors.

In the discussions that suggest the existence of other factors creating difference among various groups of people the general emphasis is on the significance of postmodernism and associated lifestyles. Such an emphasis integrates the ideas that culture should be seen as an independent variable in the consideration of class positions and that the symbolic aspects of consumer capitalism has increased the significance of culture in the process of class structuring. The objective classes according to such an outlook can be constructed by the agents in homogeneous systems of dispositions generating similar practices with common properties that are embodied as habitus (Bourdieu 1989).

In order to understand the social structure of the modern world Chaney states that we are in need of a concept as 'lifestyle'. Lifestyle not only determines the practical differences in the daily life, but also suggests a method to read these differences (1999) coupled with the help of signs gathered by consumption for the most part. Lifestyles with all the channels they include are the signs of different sensitivities as suggested by Chaney. Chaney uses the notion "sensitivity" as a common familiarity of a certain group in things like opinions, values or taste of music, food or clothing (1999). This in a way carries a reference to the concept of 'habitus' utilized by Bourdieu (1989) including the unconscious attributes people utilize as they behave in the daily life. This emphasis on the daily life and the acts of the agents is a central issue that will be easily followed in every part of the discussion we will make at this chapter because the underlying assumption of the new approaches in the formation of class and especially the middle class is the importance of the practices of the agents in everyday life in both transforming various fields and struggling for their positions in social space. As suggested by Bourdieu:

"... between conditions of existence and practices or representations, there intervenes the structuring activity of the agents, who far from reacting

mechanically to mechanical stimulations, respond to the invitations or threats of a world whose meaning they have helped to produce" (Bourdieu 1989:467).

Although the new dynamics are generally attributed to the later shift to postmodernism, Chaney points out that lifestyles are a product of the modern world (1999). Especially lifestyles are important projects for the search of identity of 'individuals' which are emphasized in modernism. His formulation of the concept of lifestyle in his book on the subject suggests that "lifestyles help people to understand what people do, why they do these and what the function of doing those things is for themselves and for the others" (1999:14). What determines the lifestyles is generally thought to be culture. However, Chaney suggests that while lifestyles are connected to the cultural structures, they each are "a form, attitude and type of utilization of some stuff, places and times that belong to a group, but not the totality of the experiences of that group" (1999). Chaney believes that although modern social order is about rules governing structures, it necessitates complex mechanisms producing difference and lifestyles is a result of such a necessity.

The roots of the development of lifestyles are followed by the author to the earlier centuries. Some features that form the basis of these divisions ending up with lifestyles are referred to as "new social identity types" by the author (since the production sphere is no more the only source of identity). These features are the usage of 'choice' suggesting the importance of 'taste' as a complementary factor of a feeling of identity; the focus on the choices on 'leisure time activities' and 'cultural consumption'; and how these socio-cultural features have to fit to some 'stereotypes' no matter how personal they seem to be (Chaney 1999). These stereotypes are conceptualized by Chaney as 'sensitivities' which as stated above may easily be linked to the concept of habitus developed by Bourdieu that will be discussed further in the chapter. An important point to note at this point is that, lifestyles are regarded as 'open for interpretation', 'approximate' and 'inevitably local' (1999). This approach is backed up with new discussions based on the dynamics of structure-action dialectic and the time-geography counterpart of the issue in geography, which all at the end bring us to the uniqueness of practices in time and space.

The shifting of focus from the sphere of production to consumption also attracts the attention to another issue. The territory of consumption is much larger than the social structure of production because consumption includes children, elder people, unemployed and women who were not expected to be producers in modern economies (Chaney 1999). This point is further important for our current study since the users of the

environments that the study is concerned with are including such groups to a great extent, especially housewives as non-producers. Consumption used to be a privilege for the distinct elite groups in the 18th century. However, when the luxury of the elite in the form of leisure time activities aiming to have fun was adapted by middle class masses, the sphere of consumption gained importance as an attitude determining class differences. While cultural activities and even sports were special activities for the elite in 18th century, in later periods they became public events after big shifts in the economic structure (1999). At this point neglecting the appearance of huge department stores in the urban environment in encouraging a consumer culture would be a mistake. Shopping had become an important area for 'freedom' and forming lifestyles for oneself (1999). The increase in such facilities in the urban environments is all related to the general trends that the flexible economy flourishes, the increase of leisure time and entertainment activities and consumption in total.

Before going any further in the theoretical debates, it will be appropriate to clarify the relationship between various basic concepts that will be used throughout the study as tools to understand the middle classes in the two case areas at hand. As discussed at the previous sections of this chapter, differentiation of groups in society was based on their roles in the production process, but this was not sufficient to explain the cases of the middle classes. Their categorization and motives for action could not be based on their roles in production because of the variety of these roles and because these roles did not seem to construct a social basis for common action and interests.

The main contribution of the new approaches is by emphasizing the role of consumption in the differentiation of groups, especially in the recent economic atmosphere. "Consumption" of various goods/ places and activities are based on the "choices" of agents. The main issue is how people make their choices. The new approaches suggest that "taste" is the practical tool that leads the agents to make choices, and tastes are based on the economic and cultural capital that a person acquires throughout his/her life*. That is why what we choose to consume is inherently related to cultural

* However opening a parenthesis at this point we should state that the discussion on taste and choice can only be possible if we leave out the necessity constraints because as Bourdieu carefully integrates to his study which covers the disadvantaged groups as well, taste presupposes freedom of choice (1989). People who do not have enough economic freedom have a taste for what they are obliged to. Therefore, it should be stated that this discussion is valid for the middle classes and

accumulations. When we consider this process in total, we can see that making choices of consumption in daily life based on our cultural accumulations, we define our lifestyles. Lifestyle is in a way the totality of our choices in life. Our cultural capital and tastes determine our manners and behavior, as well as the sets of goods that we consume. Thus, we can conclude that from the micro choices of taste in clothing or cars, to the more macro choices of house or living environment, our cultural capital along with other types of capital determines how we live in an urban accumulation. Furthermore, in urban space, we display our lifestyles and tastes to one another. This means that every commodity that we own and display in urban life becomes a sign and symbol of our taste and cultural and economic accumulations. It is possible to trace differences in cultural capital through these signs in urban settings in everyday encounters. Eventually it can be said that different groups of agents consume different sets of goods. These notions are central in our study and they are utilized to conduct our research. Especially the concept of cultural capital and its outcomes are crucial as developed in a sociological context up to now. From now on these issues will be utilized and further dwelled on and the major links between them and spatiality which were left idle in these discussions will be emphasized in the rest of this chapter.

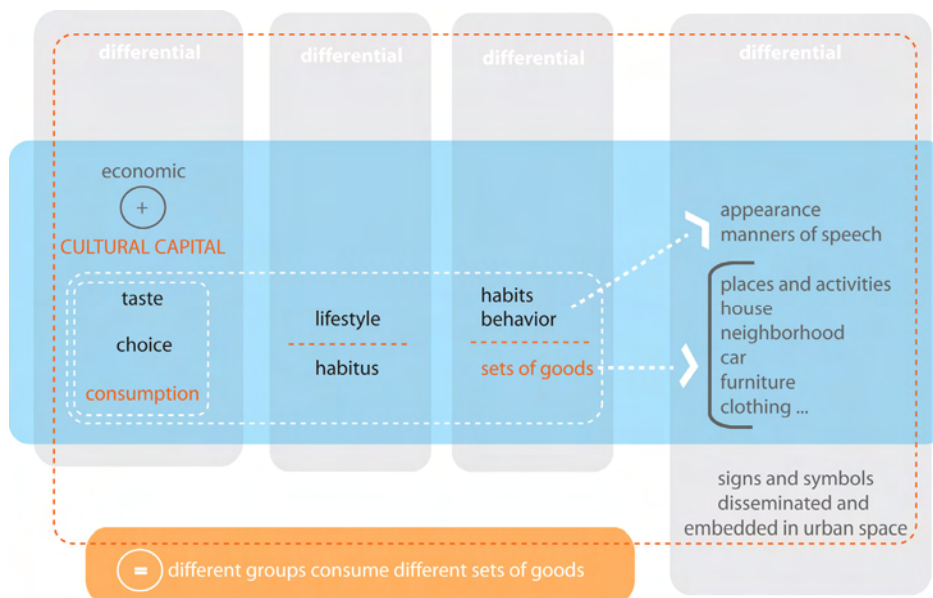


Figure 03. Diagram showing the relationship between basic concepts used in the study

especially upper fractions of middle classes with enough economic competence to “choose” a lifestyle according to their own tastes.

2.3.2. Symbolic Capital

Consumer goods and services that reflect the taste and distinction of the owner are defined as symbolic capital (Knox 2000: 267). Here, this kind of a capital is very central for setting the basis of our discussions because the manner of using various commodities in different senses from their use values is what differentiates the language of the contemporary economic order from the past and it is fundamental for the struggles going on among the middle classes. Consumption is the key process that links the cultural assets to lifestyle and daily practices. Thus, understanding what is consumed in what manner by who opens up new opportunities to see differences among the middle classes. Also this process clarifies the motivations of various actions in urban space governed by the choices that some groups make. Therefore, before going on with the other issues, it would be useful to see the specificity of consumption especially in today's economic order because understanding consumer culture helps understanding the creation of lifestyles and behavior in the urban environment.

Consumption is the area which actually converts the social space of distinctions to the space of dispositions. The visibility of the differences in social space is provided through the signs and symbols which need to be exhibited in physical space in the encounters in daily life or long term investments. Whatever the scale and time projection is, the physical space is the indispensable area for the interactions to occur and reveal the differences through the signs and symbols which the agents utilize and provide. This way we can see that the issue of consumption and its symbolic aspect is the focus which links the theoretical social space to the visibility of physical space, which is the main focus of the study we are conducting. The physical space is also the space of habitation, the space that is planned and the space of daily circulation. From this perspective it can be seen that it is very much central for our concerns. Thus it settles the above discussions to the physical grounds of the city. As suggested in the socio-spatial dialectic by Soja, people create and modify urban space and at the same time they are conditioned in various ways by the spaces in which they live and work (Knox 2000). The interaction of social and spatial is a two way process, thus in that manner we can suggest that the symbolic aspects may very barely reveal this intermingled character of the two processes.

The signs and symbols may be obtained through the channels of consumption to a certain extent, but their traces may be followed almost in every other arena of daily life. The roots of the usage of these signs can be said to lie in the concept of habitus developed by Bourdieu as behavior in any sphere of life practiced most of the time

unconsciously. Social structures and the totality of the cultural codes that a person has to face throughout his/her life are internalized to such an extent that, a person does not have to calculate every move in every situation that he faces in his daily life, but acts according to the motives of his habitus in a way and uses appropriate signs and symbols even in his/her manners or clothing. It is the link between the objective reality and the subjective personal experiences (Chaney 1999).

In the contemporary consumer culture, lifestyles suggest individuality, self-expression and stylistic self-consciousness. Featherstone states that using the term 'consumer culture' is to emphasize that the world of goods and their principles of structuration are central to the understanding of contemporary society (1991). Body, speech, eating and drinking habits, choice of home, car, holidays etc. are all indicators of taste and sense of style. Here there is a dual focus that Featherstone suggests; the cultural dimension of the economy where the goods are not just material goods but are also communicators; and the economy of cultural goods where the market principles of supply, demand, capital accumulation, competition, monopolization operate within the sphere of lifestyles, cultural goods and commodities (1991). As Baudrillard suggests, the commodity becomes a sign, therefore consumption turns into the consumption of signs, it is not a matter of material utility or use values any more (1998). The struggles based on economic interests and the control of the means of production is not determining for the middle classes, on the contrary the symbolic aspects providing status are important. Thus, these struggles are continued in the everyday life, leading place to a dynamic class formation process. These developments point to the formation of societies without fixed status groups; that is the formation of postmodern consumer culture. This culture is based on information and images and these cannot be stabilized, thus would suggest the irrelevance of social divisions, which Featherstone interprets as the 'end of the social as a significant reference point' (1998).

Dominance of commodity as a "sign" has a crucial role in the reproduction of contemporary capitalism. This dominance has led some neo-Marxists to emphasize the crucial role of culture in the contemporary capitalism according to Featherstone (1998). The everyday consumer goods become associated with different concepts like romance, luxury, beauty etc. and the functional use is almost lost. The advertisements or the visual stimulus operating in the shopping centers create important impacts on the inner worlds of the people viewing these. Therefore, even with the same economic opportunities different people may consume totally different sets of goods, which may include housing,

environment, even various services as well. The images call for the unconscious desires as well as the conscious ones (Bocock 1997). Here, especially Baudrillard suggests the key role of the mass media producing images and threatening our sense of reality. He suggests that in this simulation world the distinction between real and imagery is effaced. The material production itself is turned into a hyper real thing in the contemporary world. (Baudrillard 1998)

Being a consumer of the products of capitalism requires learning some special cultural values and symbols according to Bocock (1997). Lifestyle becomes a project. The agents of the consumer culture display their individuality and sense of style in the particularity of the assemblage of goods, clothes, practices, experiences, appearance and bodily dispositions (Baudrillard 1998:86). Consumer culture is mainly important because it suggests that we all have room for self-improvement and self-expression. Therefore, the assumption is that everyone whether affluent or not is accepted. Another major claim of this cultural development is that, it stresses the importance of a tendency to differentiate. However, the differences have to be socially recognized and therefore legitimate in order to be accepted by the society. Thus, it offers an alternative of being different and recognizable (1998) and this way distinction is provided with the messages transmitted by the commodities and the manner they are consumed. Consumption becomes visible by a series of dispositions, which may be revealed in different scales beginning from one's body, going up to an urban scale where the images of the environments one lives in becomes an important issue.

The visual nature of the consumption of lifestyles therefore cannot be ignored since it is relevant to the presentation of the self and the body to a great extent. Consumption of goods is associated with packaging of goods for the potential costumers and advertising is the major packaging tool for this. Here Debord's criticism on a society of "spectacle" becomes of major importance (Debord 1996). As we discuss middle classes as the cultural intermediaries and consumers at the same time, the strength of the spectacle gains more importance. The spectacle is related to having the strength to conceal what is not appropriate for its aims and disconnect everything from its context as is done in the case of the consumption goods. It is suggested by Chaney as well that the thing that will be viewed is an important source of meaning and the modern individual who is aware of the importance that is attributed to appearance, cares about the appearance of the others that he or she can control (1999). Based on this view Chaney also shows that people need very few things to categorize others. These categorizations mainly are

superficial and are based on stereotypes, they create prejudice and do not activate communication, but they are integral to the visual character of the urban life (1999).

This point that Chaney brought up is very crucial for the case study in concern as well because there, people evaluate the urban neighborhoods and the people in their immediate environment. The appearances at this point are not only in the scale of the person's body, but goes up to the urban scale in appreciating the beauty or quality of the urban environment. Some of their evaluations are also probably based on some quick images they get from various places and people. These quick images mainly depend on the significations of the commodities that are consumed and the manner that they are embodied. Although the sources of evaluation are limited and maybe misleading to a certain extent, as Chaney shows, in the pace of the contemporary urban environments they are handy tools. As Boyer puts it, "yet for all democratizing tendencies there are status differences ... those in the upper and middle reaches continue to use information about consumption goods to build bridges with like minded people and close doors to exclude outsiders" (1988). This kind of an approach of exclusion is stated by Ayata for the people living in Çayyolu (2003) which will be further elaborated on in the following chapter.

2.3.3. The Consumption of Cultural Goods

Consumption may be defined as a social and cultural application sequence, producing differences between social groups. It is not expressing differences settled as a result of economic factors (Bocock 1997:71). Consumption as included in this case is not only about use value but it is about signs, symbols and values as well. In this perspective what may be considered as factors of consumption are things like buying and reading a novel, buying paintings, going to cinemas and theaters, watching sports events and any kind of concerts (Bocock 1997). Attending to these activities is not only about spending money or time, but special aesthetic tastes and even sports require tastes that are to be gained in time (1997). "In modern societies such tastes have to be created, developed and enriched in educational spheres that have become an important way of transferring culture" (1997). Families and friends affect taste, and in the Bourdieuan sense taste may be seen as an outcome of cultural capital because it creates distinction between various status groups (1997).

In his famous book *Distinction* Bourdieu examines the way middle class culture is defined in relation to popular culture and the aesthetic distance used as a means of

distinguishing itself from the popular tastes. Bourdieu suggests that, "conscious, elective choices are in fact reserved for members of the dominant class, indeed the very top bourgeoisie and for artists, who as the inventors and professionals of the stylization of life alone are able to make their art of living one of the fine arts" (1989:57). Furthermore for the dominant class the competition for luxury goods as the markers of class is oriented towards maximizing the distinctive profit of exclusive possession. As Bourdieu puts it,

...on the supply side, the field of production need only follow its own logic, that of distinction, which always leads it to be organized in accordance with a structure analogous to that of the symbolic systems which it produces by its functioning and in which each element performs a distinctive function (1989:232).

Thus, it can be said that the field of production now produces goods to be consumed that are to recreate the existing distinctions or create new distinctions. Bourdieu also suggests that, by looking at his studies on food and clothing habits, as one move from the working class to petite bourgeoisie, the middle classes are committed to be symbolic. The petite bourgeois is haunted by the appearance he offers to others and the judgment they make of it. However, still according to the author, the site 'par excellence' of symbolic struggles is the dominant class itself (1989). Therefore, the luxurious housing areas and the public facilities arranged accordingly may well be utilized as part of the symbolic consumption revealing the use of economic and also cultural capital in some cases.

As is suggested by Bourdieu,

...the consumption of the most legitimate cultural goods is a particular case of competition for rare goods and practices, whose particularity no doubt owes more to the logic of supply (competition between producers to the logic of demand and tastes and the logic of competition between consumers) (1989:99).

For Bourdieu, *taste in cultural goods* functions as a marker of class. He suggests that social differences revealed by certain signs are inscribed in every arena of the social world and they can be traced back from many of them (1989). Among these arenas none is more obviously expressing social differences than the world of "luxury goods" and "cultural goods". This statement is very parallel to the basis of Bourdieu's approach to the formation of class. He suggests that class formation is based on the amount of cultural and economic capital that agents own in the social space. Thus, the consumption of luxurious goods and cultural goods are among the most evident signifiers of the possession of these two types of capital. Tastes overlap with the possession and volume of cultural and economic capital. In his own study Bourdieu seeks to map the social field

of the different tastes in legitimated 'high' cultural practices (museum-going, concert going, reading) as well as tastes in lifestyles and consumption preferences (including food, drink, cars, novels, holidays, leisure pursuits) (1998).

However, Bourdieu mentions another important dynamic between the classes. He is primarily concerned with the active processes of class structuring or formation (Crompton 1993). When the lower ones emulate the tastes of the higher groups, they adopt new tastes to ensure *distinction*. As Featherstone puts it, 'the cultural realm has its own logic and currency as well as rate of conversion into economic capital' (1991:89). The emergence of the new is central to the active class formation approach of Bourdieu, probably this is why his formulation is widely applied to the new middle classes (Crompton 1993). Featherstone also indicates that the intellectuals defined as the dominated fraction of the dominant class, use the logic of symbolic systems to produce distinctions and these distinctions help to reproduce the existing relations between classes and class fractions. Thus, as we can easily follow, the cultural capital serves like the economic capital for reproducing the class relations and the intellectuals share with bourgeoisie an interest in maintaining the existing state of material class relations where the economic capital enjoys high prestige and a high exchange rate when converted into cultural capital. The positions of the middle classes as the cultural producers are also interesting. They provide their symbolic goods and services, they invest in cultural and educational capital and they are attracted to qualities like style, distinction and refinement for expressive and liberated lifestyles. Domination in a different sense is continued. As Featherstone states, today high culture must be inscribed into the same social space as everyday cultural consumption (1991). This way we can easily conclude that the cultural dimension of consumption also serves the reproduction of the economic processes, thus the preservation of broad lines between the main classes. Thus, culture preserves the basic distinctions while opening new areas for struggles to be fought in the everyday life which in the end serve the interests of the dominant classes.

As discussed above, the notion of consumption is used in a sense that puts emphasis to its cultural content in the contemporary stratification studies. It is not only an area of satisfaction through economic channels. When the word culture is integrated to this arena, the meaning is enriched to reach out to many other subjects. The implied meaning of the word culture is often not very clear. Up to now mainly culture suggested codes revealed in many arenas of life. However, there is a well known definition of culture which mainly refers to a tension between high and popular culture these days as

discussed in the study of Bourdieu as well (1989). As Featherstone's suggestion implies, high culture must be inscribed in the social space of everyday consumption (1991). In fact as Chaney states, many habits and activities that were practiced by the aristocrats or elite class in the earlier centuries have already been inscribed into everyday life in the contemporary societies. The situation of arts as a source of high culture is not an exception in that means. However, it still requires learning certain codes and information, thus is still a source of distinction. Further in the chapter we will discuss what meanings are implied by the notion of culture and set the discussion to the grounds of cultural capital. However, here the very specific issue of high and popular culture is related to the consumption of cultural goods and requires attention at this point.

Looking at what Bourdieu has to say on the subject may be enlightening since he has used this issue as a tool for differentiation of cultural accumulations of various classes. Although it is very much limited to the exceptional background of the French society, it carries signs for the differentiation in any society at different levels.

There are distinct fields of preferences where the social conditionings may reveal themselves. Bourdieu claims that it is the total field of all the fields that offers possibilities for distinction. Each of these fields of preferences like drinks, automobiles, design or furnishing of a house or garden etc. provides distinctive features. All these areas of consumption include certain signs in them. These enable social differences to be expressed through expressive systems like the ones in legitimate arts. By giving these examples Bourdieu suggests that the social differences revealed by certain signs are inscribed in every arena of the social world and they can be traced back from many of them. However, as mentioned before, among these possible fields, none is more obviously expressing social differences than the world of luxury goods and cultural goods according to Bourdieu (1989). This is because the act of consuming the cultural goods requires instruments of economic and cultural appropriation. Thus, their distinctive features are much more straightforward. Consumption of cultural goods is an area that we tried to integrate to our study by interrogating the practices in the urban environment in cultural and leisure activities in the survey.

Stating this fact, Bourdieu directs his own research based on the consumption of these cultural goods. The knowledge of cultural goods and legitimate arts is a useful indicator for classifications for him. At this point, an important issue comes in front of us. That is, the peculiarity of the arena of culture in creating distinctions in the contemporary period.

Bourdieu claims that cultural practices are very tightly linked to “educational level” and “social origin” (1989). The reason for this can be understood by the fact that, reading of a work of art is an act of deciphering as Bourdieu puts it. In order to decipher you have to have the practical mastery of the codes, concepts or knowledge. A work of art is meaningful only for someone who has the cultural competence enabling him to understand it. A person who lacks the code cannot know the meaning of the signified. Therefore, the encounter with a work of art as Bourdieu states is not ‘love at first sight’ but it presupposes an act of cognition (1989).

In contrast to the knowledge based cultural practices, the popular taste uses the schemes of the ethos, uses the criteria from the ordinary circumstances of life. This means the reduction of the works of art to the ordinary things in life. For the intellectual, the representation itself may matter, whereas for the others who do not have the necessary competence for deciphering the codes in the representation, there is the desperate need to see the origin of what is represented. Although Bourdieu uses the cultural distinctions between the high and the vulgar tastes as the basis of his work, he also states that in every arena of practice, the need to ‘purify, refine and sublimate’ the primary needs can assert itself. That signifies a stylization of life by putting form over function and manner over matter (1989). This again takes us to the idea that by economic and social conditions, people have different ways of relating to realities and fictions. And this is something that has to do with the different possible positions in social space bound up with the systems of dispositions characterizing different classes and fractions. “the denial of the lower...-in a word, natural enjoyment which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the refined... pleasures forever closed to the profane” (1989:7). That is why art and cultural consumption fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences.

The knowledge of the high arts is an apparent factor that may be used to differentiate various groups as suggested above. This is already documented in Bourdieu’s analysis in *Distinction*. However, by suggesting that the signs of different choices or tastes may be traced from many different arenas of life, and by examining the tastes in even food or sports in his own study, Bourdieu has opened the way to examine many different arenas of daily life and search for differences among social agents. Also with the suggestion that aesthetics has been written into the daily lives of the individuals in this era, it may be assumed that we may trace the differences of taste in terms of pure or sublime and more

vulgar in the everyday life. Eventually the urban space is the perfect arena for making such a search.

Parallel to the discussion of the aesthetization of everyday life, or in other words taste replacing the function that aesthetic in high art was fulfilling, the housing and consumption of the urban space may be considered as areas contributing to distinction. Savage *et al.* claimed that the growth of owner occupation in this period and the importance of cultural assets led to a concern to invest in cultural assets and the kinds of housing that can enhance cultural distinctiveness (1992). Although this issue was discussed mainly based on gentrification process given as the housing type where the cultural dimension is the most apparent, it is still true that the producers are increasing their attention to imagery and lifestyle of certain groups to sell the housing projects at hand. In this respect using various signs and symbols that are directed to a certain group's taste may be considered as a step in the direction of creating cultural distinctiveness. Apart from the functional aspects of the demand, today the nature of the demand in terms of housing and living environment in general has gained importance.

Although in our study we have not included the issue of art in terms of the evaluation of taste in high art, the traces of differences in the aesthetic appreciation or more likely 'taste' in the popular sense, may be seen in the difference of the urban environments that the groups in Çayyolu and Keçiören reside in. In opposition to a very minimalist approach in the treatments of façades in Çayyolu, an ornamental approach is visible in the façades in Keçiören. Although these decisions are not based on the tastes of the residents directly and especially the municipality is known to intervene these straightforwardly, living in an environment that looks one way or the other, may be suggesting some clues for the differentiation of the tastes of the individuals. The degree of the environment being "refined or pure" fits the above discussions on taste. As Butler suggests, "how you live is intimately bound up with where you live" (1997:7). Since this issue will be further discussed in the next chapter, we will not get into the details of it at this point.

The development of postmodernism and the lifestyles associated with it are significant changes that are considered in the contemporary social studies*. The way societies and

* This issue of postmodernism and the lifestyles associated with it come up in a different context in Sarıbay's work. In his study on the relations of postmodernism, civil society and Islam he suggests that Islam creates its own colors to the lifestyles generated in the consumer culture and consumerism in this sense is integrated to Islam as a lifestyle (2001). As it will be further discussed

cultures are being evaluated today carry the signs of such a need. Some writers on these issues suggest that,

“culture should be regarded as an independent variable in the construction ... of class position or habitus and the hyper-inflation of symbols associated with the growth of consumer capitalism increased the significance of culture in the processes of class structuring’ (Crompton 1993:182)”

“Culture is produced by specific groups or intellectuals especially those belonging to the rising class. It is these class-bound intellectuals who engage in struggles over new modes of expression including language, popular and high culture, all of which play important roles in the forging of a new society and social relations... one of Gramsci’s most important points that culture (while context bound and finite) always involves some notion of universal values. All dominant classes through their allied intellectuals necessarily produce their own unique yet universal values, which form the basis of cultural hegemony” (Swingewood 1998)

Here there is also a matter of integrating cultural production to daily life. There was a development within the middle occupational stratum of cultural symbol producers. These symbol producers in areas like media or advertising business constantly offer ways to live one’s life. The methods they utilize have gone as far as to sell lifestyles in new residential areas. They certainly have a power to influence various groups and reproduce the dominant discourses governing everyday life. This is another area where middle classes coupled with the interests of the dominant classes reproduce social life to a certain extent. As Featherstone suggests, the intellectuals use the symbolic systems to produce distinctions which contribute to the reproduction of existing relations between classes and the bourgeoisie shares their interest in maintaining the existing state of the material relations where economic capital enjoys high prestige when converted to cultural capital. Thus they will always try to increase the autonomy of the cultural field and enhance the scarcity of cultural capital by resisting moves towards the ‘democratization of culture’ (Featherstone 1991).

To sum up the arguments that we will turn back to in different contexts as we move on, the basic assumption is that (economic) class and (cultural) status are distinct concepts. The contemporary investigations on status and lifestyles proceed along different channels than the ones dominant in class analysis. Therefore, in order to make a distinction between various groups, economic capital in the form of income or commodity of any form together with the occupational status cannot be the only variable for difference. Other factors including cultural assets have to be included as well. Bourdieu has

in this chapter, the adoption of Islamic principles in one’s lifestyle is an integral part of the study we are conducting and should be brought to attention as an alternative factor in the cultural accumulations of Turkey.

suggested the 'double nature' of social world and has shown that the processes by which groups attain, establish and retain their positions in the social order are both economic and cultural (1989). Developing from this framework, the sociology of consumption argued that, taste, culture and lifestyle are with the development of postmodernity, becoming more significant in class structuring. Especially when we consider the 'new middle class' this situation is more visible. Culture and lifestyle have become factors that are more significant due to the rapid 'increase in the number of cultural producers, the expansion of service economy and the time-budget studies showing the increase in leisure time' (Crompton 1993:185). However, the economic factors of social class still play a major role in the structuring of social inequality and basic conflicts of interest. The "cultural" defines new arenas where new struggles exist.

2.4. The Concepts of Cultural Capital, Social Space, Habitus, Taste

Up to now we have seen that the term culture is the basis of the discussion concerning lifestyle and the new modes of consumption. However, culture is a broad concept encompassing anything and everything looking from different perspectives. Now we will try to clarify what senses of the word are used and which one is included in our study.

2.4.1. What is culture?

In the classical approaches based on economy, culture is considered as superstructure. However, there are some recent approaches which claim just the opposite. Still we can conclude that, leaving aside which is the base and which is the superstructure, the influence of both should be considered in social life and one should not be left aside for the sake of the other. They both should be evaluated as effective factors in social processes.

In a functionalist reading of Marx culture was analyzed as a reflection of a determining underlying economic structure of external material processes. In that understanding culture has no autonomy, no distinctive property and is a reflection of material production (Swingewood 1998).

According to this line of thought culture could have no active role in social change. In the mainstream Marxist writings, the analysis of culture was marginalized (Swingewood 1998). Swingewood on the other hands claims that without culture there is no production, for "culture is not something existing externally to the material life process of society but implicated in its basic structures" (1998). Production involves cultural framework so does politics and power (1998). The values people hold, norms they follow and material objects they use all are seen as cultural (Knox 2000: 55). Not only ideas but

also the material objects we use give clues of our values and this is valid in urban landscapes as well (2000). Structures of cities give indications of wider set of values in a society (2000).

The task of sociology lay in constructing a new storey beneath historical materialism in which culture has a major presence. The autonomization of culture, separation of culture from economics and politics carries with it certain implications about the structure of modern society, that the social world is becoming decentered that modern society has no unifying world view (Swingewood 1998).

Swingewood defines culture as the realm of meaning and values, thus ideology; "Culture is in fact not a thing or object but a process a flux, the locus of meaning and human action" (1998). These words seem to compass anything unsaid that may govern a person's, group's or society's actions. In this sense culture is hard to define, but harder to ignore. Also Chaney quotes from Miller that it would be wrong to assume that culture is a sequence of works of art. It is an evaluation of relations where things are made as social forms (1999).

Cities have always had cultures ... two sense of the term culture: culture as a way of life (the anthropological sense) and culture as the arts, spiritually elevating cultural products and experiences (high culture)... there has been a blurring of the boundaries between these two senses of culture which has broadened the range of phenomena designated as culture from the arts to take a wide spectrum of popular and everyday cultures which practically any object or experience can be deemed to be of cultural interest (Featherstone 1991)

McGuigan also refers to the two fields of culture first the arts and higher learning, and ways of life. The 'ways of life' definition utilized by anthropology has tended to transform the other meaning and democratized how we think and talk of culture according to the author (1996). However, he says that the anthropological definition of culture encompasses literally everything and obscures important useful distinctions "between that which is principally cultural and which is not first and foremost about meaning and signification" (McGuigan 1996).

For example the author states that economic arrangements are cultural because they are human products that are historically and geographically variable in form and operation. However, they are not primarily to do with the production and circulation of meaning. Economic arrangements are fundamentally about the production and circulation of wealth first of all although this does not suggest that they are without meaning (McGuigan 1996). McGuigan states that to overcome this problem Williams defines the concept of

culture as 'a realized signifying system' (1996). Or alternatively any form of representation with meaning may be suggested as belonging to culture. Iconography is an area of specialization which studies the meanings behind the urban landscapes, thus the symbolic capital of the urban environment*. Culture refers to the practices and institutions that make meaning, practices and institutions where symbolic communication is usually by definition the main purpose and even an end in itself like going to the cinema (1996). The work of Bourdieu in this sense is on the production and circulation of tastes and dispositions (cultural values) according to the author (1996). Thus the *meaning and signification* emphasis, or the *realized signifying system* definition is important to consider when we want to limit the definition of culture for practical purposes in our study.

Bourdieu's sociology of tastes is an exercise in collapsing cultural hierarchies by showing how they are socially constructed and reproduced and not the results of absolute standards of value... There is according to Bourdieu no pure judgment of art that can be sustained on 'disinterested' philosophical grounds... art and culture only exists socially and they are caught up in the struggles for "distinction"... In effect Bourdieu replaces aesthetics, the philosophical judgment of art with the sociological categories of distinction and taste (McGuigan 1996).

In the same manner Savage says that, "Bourdieu also sees culture as a set of widely accepted norms or values, not as arising out of social positions ... It is a field in which class relations operate... cultural battles are involved in class formation" (2000).

"A *field* is a configuration of objective relations between positions, objectively defined in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to specific profits that are at stake in the field as well as their objective relation to other positions... The concept of field constitutes the true object of social science, a structured space of positions... education, the state, church, the arts are thus fields in Bourdieu's terms" (Swingewood 1998).

The concept of field is like the concept of differentiated spheres developed by Weber. Differentiated spheres are defined as relatively autonomous social microcosms characteristic of modern complex societies (1998). Agents are socialized into distinctive fields cognitively by internalizing the social structure of the field itself. The agent

* Although we suggest the importance of dissemination of meaning in the urban life with the built environment and the interaction of people is central, the intention we have is not the translation of these meanings themselves, thus an iconographic study is beyond the scope of our study. However, by suggesting the signification of meaning, thus different cultural signs and codes in the urban space, we are stating that actors in the urban accumulations act on the basis of their tastes and choose by conceiving these meanings in the urban space. Thus their choices are based on the cultural accumulations, as well as the meanings attached to various urban spaces.

transposes the objective structure of a field into mental structures of frameworks which work to condition the ways the field is perceived grasped and the possibility of action within it. The acting of agents means making choices of actions over whether to engage in practices which may transform the field themselves (1998).

Thus, culture as considered in our study is first one of the structuring fields where agents operate and also culture involves what is first and foremost about meaning and signification. Therefore, neither we use the definition of culture as a limited one considering the high arts only, nor culture means everything in life. It can be said that things that are initially about meaning and signification are considered as cultural in our sense. Cultural and leisure activities and the signification systems operating at the urban level are cultural aspects that we consider in our study. Also cultural capital as the accumulations empowering cultural competence is considered in the study, which is an issue that will be elaborated on later in this chapter.

2.4.2. Social Space and Habitus

Social space is constructed in such a way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their positions in statistical distributions based on two principles of differentiation which in the most advanced societies are undoubtedly the most efficient: economic capital and cultural capital. It follows that all agents are located in this space in such a way that the closer they are to one another in those two dimensions the more they have in common (Bourdieu 1998).

In Bourdieu's approach individuality is about 'self-control, autonomy and ability to judge and hence be an agent'. Savage states that although individuality is not directly addressed in Bourdieu's work, it is present in it (Savage 2000).

To exist in a social space, to be an individual in social space is about being different and difference becomes a sign of distinction (Bourdieu 1998). "Difference exists and persists... social classes do not exist... that exists is a social space, a space of differences in which classes exist in some sense in a state of virtuality, not as something given but as something to be done." (Bourdieu 1998).

Bourdieu defines a "social space" where agents are in constant interaction with each other. They struggle for position within that social space (Crompton 1993). Agents have some forms of capital that empower them in their struggle for position in the social space. In the former approaches, mainly the class relationships were formed around the economic capital; moreover, the word capital was hardly thought to have suggested

anything other than money. However, especially the work of Pierre Bourdieu was very influential in suggesting that there were other forms of capital like cultural, symbolic, and social apart from the economic ones. The conditions of existence according to Bourdieu include economic capital which defines the level of material resources like income, property and so on and cultural capital which is largely acquired with education and describes 'knowing' which can secure and perpetuate access to economic capital (Crompton 1993).

Cultural realm has its own logic of currency and rate of conversion to economic capital. The oppositions and relational determination of taste becomes clearer when the space of lifestyle is superimposed onto a map of the class/ occupation structure whose basic structuring principle is the (volume and composition of /economic or cultural) capital that groups possess. (Swingewood 1998)

Proximity in social space predisposes to closer relations (in their properties and tastes), but this does not mean that they constitute a class in Marx's sense, that is, a group which is mobilized for common purposes and especially against another class (Bourdieu 1998).

Weber's theories also have suggested the importance of status other than class positions, which was helpful in showing the existence of factors other than income or relation to the productive forces as discussed above. Bourdieu's class definition is within these social relations, not within the production relations. In this kind of an approach, various class, status, ethnic or gender structures are thought to *affect* people's behavior, beliefs, values or desire, but do not *determine* them (Bocock 1997). He suggests that individual classes occupy a similar *habitus*; a system of dispositions shared by all individuals who are products of the same conditionings (Crompton 1993). Lifestyles that were discussed above are a systematic product of habitus (Tekeli 2000). Habitus is developed as unconscious dispositions, the classificatory schemes which are taken for granted preferences. The habitus is revealed in anything and each group, class and class fraction has a different habitus. The set of differences that show themselves in the social field which was conceptualized as social space by Bourdieu are the source of distinctions and can be mapped. Differences are gaps in a social space. This suggests that if we have enough clues for the habitus of a group, we would be able to determine them as a distinct group (keeping in mind that due to various factors this group formation is open to change and is not stable). What is more interesting is the suggestion that, these social differences that define a group may not be apparent to the ones in that group, thus the people cannot always define themselves as part of a specific group that they resemble the habitus of.

Habitus is socialized subjectivity meaning a system of durable dispositions or properties which allow agents to understand, interpret and act in the social world. The set of dispositions acquired in time are durably incorporated in the body and they enable individuals to adapt and adjust to widely differing society. Habitus assumes a reflexive agent, agents which act through practical sense. Goals and ends are not determined only through conscious practice, but from socially constituted "feel for the game". The space of positions is translated into a space of dispositions in physical space through consumption (Bourdieu 1989).

Naturally, such a definition does not leave place to rigid and well-defined class boundaries. Bourdieu emphasizes the socially constructed nature of 'classes' and describes the class boundaries as like 'a flame whose edges are in constant movement' (Crompton 1993). Therefore, in his point of view, social groups are *distinguished* by their *conditions of existence* and their corresponding dispositions. This is a search for processes of social differentiation, which explains why the name of his well-known work on this issue is 'Distinction' (Bourdieu 1989). Bourdieu states that,

The very title Distinction serves as a reminder that what is commonly called distinction, that is, a certain quality of bearing and manners... is nothing other than difference, a gap, a distinctive feature, in short a relational property existing only in and through its relation with other properties... This idea of difference (gap) is at the basis of the very notion of space, that is a set of distinct and coexisting positions which are exterior to one another and which are defined in relation to one another through their mutual exteriority and their relations of proximity or distance, as well as relation of order (above, between)(1998).

His aim was to show how various consumer goods, food, their presentation, decoration are used by various socio-economic classes to define their lifestyles and differ themselves from the others (Bocock 1997). With consumption patterns helping to differentiate lifestyles of status groups he analyzed differences and how taste is used in such a social process (1997). As Bocock exemplifies the consumption patterns of the working class and lower sections of the middle classes are different from each other (1997). The ones in the lower middle class try to get clues to what middle classes consume, whereas the working classes try to spend good time with direct pleasures. The income of a working class household may be higher than the lower middle class, but according to Bourdieu income is not the only thing that affects the consumption patterns, the cultural and symbolic values of the family are also effective (1997). Bourdieu has succeeded in showing that the consumption includes signs, symbols and values (1997).

Again this concept of social space and habitus gain meaning with the existence of cultural and economic factors affecting the agents' behavior and choices. Furthermore, this allegory of physical space may suggest similar properties in the urban space as well.

2.4.3. Cultural Capital and Taste

Cultural capital is considered as a generator or source of different tastes and consumption patterns that follow it. Therefore, it can be concluded that it is the basic factor of distinction/differentiation that we have been looking for in addition to the economic capital.

The concept of cultural capital is introduced by Pierre Bourdieu as mentioned before. It is central in the discussions on the recent stratification accounts because it has brought an additional perspective to the issue and has especially enlightened the position of middle classes in society and within themselves. As discussed above it is also the generator of taste which governs our consumption patterns and choices in daily life and provides the formation of lifestyles as a distinctive feature. The concept of taste is also central to Bourdieu's approach. He has conducted a study concerning the French society based on this formulation. Therefore, as the creator of this new approach, it would be important to take a quick look at his approach on the issue in order to further clarify the discussion for our study.

According to Bourdieu cultural capital exists in three states: the *embodied state* which is about style of presentation, mode of speech, beauty etc., the *objectified state* meaning cultural goods like pictures, books, magazines etc. and the *institutionalized state* which is about educational qualifications (Lamant, Lareau 1988). In our research we are referring to these states of cultural capital. We are searching for the educational qualifications of the respondents which are related to the institutionalized state, their consumption of various cultural goods and places as the objectified state and although to a certain extent we have the sense of the embodied state since we are dealing with their evaluations of the urban space. Apart from that the embodied state is a very micro dimension which is related to the studies on the body which is beyond the scale of our survey.

The consumption of cultural goods and cultural practices are directly related to the possession of cultural capital. These are linked to *educational capital* and *social origin* according to Bourdieu. Also the *composition of capital (economic and cultural)*, *the volume of inherited capital or social trajectory*, *age and place of residence* are said to

affect the cultural practices as secondary factors according to the author (Bourdieu 1989). In terms of the place of residence, our study makes a micro scale investigation, thus it is included. The correlation of cultural practices with age cannot be examined with our sample, since we did not choose the sample accordingly. However, we tried to get the traces of "educational background", "family's educational background" in terms of "father's job and occupation" which is linked to education as well. Meanwhile we asked the agents that we are concerned with the "cultural and leisure time practices" and choices, and "where in the city" they chose to consume them. Thus, in the specific urban environment of Ankara, we have got into another area of choice, that is, their choice of using various nodes and areas in the city which is inevitably related to symbolic and cultural capital because of the meanings attached to the urban environment related to the practices of the agents within it. This in our approach is also linked to the differences of the agents and their tastes and choices, thus is another sign indicating distinction among the agents we are concerned with. This assumption is made because the urban space is the generator and the circulator of meanings and symbols, that are consumed as well as an arena formed by things that are consumed. Thus, it should be considered to address the tastes of the individuals with all the signs that it accommodates.

For reaching the objective distributions of properties, Bourdieu uses alternative factors creating distinction. He believes that the cognitive structures which social agents implement to their knowledge of the social world are "embodied" social structures. According to him, all the agents in a social formation have shared basic perceptual schemes, and these are the beginning of objectification. The adjective pairs that we use to define various things in different areas are the tools of this objectification (high/low, material/spiritual, fine/coarse, light/heavy, broad/narrow...) (Bourdieu 1989). Finally these are the reflections of a basic tension in the societies between the dominant and dominated. The tools Bourdieu uses are somewhat difficult to understand in that they are not always tools showing the objective limits. He says that, some objective limits become a 'sense of limits' and they turn into a 'sense of one's place', which "leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, places and so forth from which one is excluded" (1989:470). This is in a way what Chaney referred to as 'sensitivities' (1999). As a result, factors creating distinction may not be very straightforward in their identification and definition. They may be in need of further effort for being pulled to the surface.

What brings the different lifestyles which are the products of habitus in Bourdieu's scheme can be considered as a multifaceted entity. These differences among various

people are revealed from many things covered by Bourdieu especially under the concepts of taste. Taste, guiding various consumption acts makes the attitudes visible to the others.

"Taste" is the key concept used in the categorization process of Bourdieu. He says that "Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier" (Bourdieu 1989:5). Taste in a way determines choice and all choices including the ones made in the urban environment by various agents (housing/ living environment, which activities are consumed and where) are affected from economic and cultural factors. Bourdieu defines tastes as the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. When tastes have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively by the refusal of other tastes. At this area determination is by the negation and thus for Bourdieu, tastes are first distastes. It implies the intolerance of the tastes of others. The lifestyles arising from the variations in tastes are according to the author, one of the strongest barriers between the classes. And he works on the differentiation of tastes of different groups throughout his work.

When examining his important work "Distinction" on this subject, it can be seen that, how he treats the concept of 'taste' and uses it as a crucial tool is important. Bourdieu states that,

...taste, the propensity and capacity to appropriate (materially or symbolically) a given class of classified, classifying objects or practices, is the generative formula of lifestyle, a unitary set of distinctive preferences which express the same expressive intention in the specific logic of each of the symbolic subspaces, furniture, clothing, language... (Bourdieu 1989:173).

At this point how the concept of taste may gain an important meaning for our study should be explained. In our study, although we do not search for the taste of agents in the areas that are considered in Bourdieu's study like art, we include some choices that result from the difference of tastes of the individuals, thus cultural capital. We interrogate their tastes in terms of the cultural and leisure activities they prefer. Also the choice of location in our case is a signifier of taste in that the architectural aspects and the urban environment which is the indicator of different meanings suggest differences from one another in the two areas at hand as well as the choice and frequency of attending various cultural and entertainment facilities.

Therefore, following the differences in tastes on various things, it is possible to reach the objectified state of the issues at hand. Thus for Bourdieu, taste is the 'practical operator of the transmutation of things' into *signs*. The things considered have direct relevance

with the consumption sphere. These signs raise the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of distinctions. As it can be seen clearly then, taste is the source of distinctive features that are perceived as expressions of particular classes and depends on the possession of cultural capital. The accounts of Bourdieu quoted above show that, the classifications arise as a result of the struggles between the agents on the representation of their positions in the social world (by turning things into signs). He says,

...struggles over the appropriation of economic or cultural goods are, simultaneously, symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs in the form of the classified, or to conceive or subvert the principles of classification of the distinctive properties (1989:249).

These struggles or the appropriation of signs symbolizing position in social space is not in every case a conscious act according to the author. He claims that taste is an acquired position to differentiate, appreciate and mark differences. The schemes of habitus that he defines as, "the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste)" owe their efficacy to the fact that "they function below the levels of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will." (1989:466). Taste is a practical mastery of distributions and it makes it possible to sense what is likely to fit an individual occupying a given position in social space. Therefore, it functions as a sensual guide, guiding people in social space to social positions in accordance to their properties. This way, it is logical to expect correspondence between various goods and groups of agents.

Moreover, Bourdieu defines taste as social necessity made second nature, that is, it is turned into 'muscular patterns and bodily automatism' (1989). The social conditioning operate as if in relation to the body itself guiding the way one presents his body to the others, moving it, making space for it etc. It is a practical way of experiencing and expressing one's own sense of social value. In 'Distinction' Bourdieu's effort is to objectively show the expressions of these social conditionings, which become a natural and integral part of these features being inscribed even in one's bodily acts and in general to his or her lifestyle.

2.4.3.1. Religion as Cultural Capital

As we have discussed above, some basic concepts come up in the differentiation of middle classes and these concepts are utilized in various studies on the issue in different senses. However, as suggested previously in this chapter, the factors that create

difference gathered under the headings of cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital in most cases may vary from one country or one place to another. Therefore, finding what is peculiar for the Turkish case as well as the urban space of Ankara may be crucial, being a natural result of attributing value to the uniqueness of the practices of the agents in a certain place and time dimension. The discussion on the effects of religion in the differentiation of classes in the Turkish case may be seen as an original dimension of differentiation in our study.

In a study on a specific group accumulated in a housing estate, Saktanber suggests that *iman* has been a factor that is integrated to Bourdieu's *taste* and this is the thing that distinguishes this group from the others that can be considered as middle classes (2005). She states that in shaping the choices that people make in order to differentiate their lifestyles from the others *iman* functions integral to taste. *İman* as belief in the Islamic principles reinforces a solidarity for the people that are the subjects of Saktanber's study. Her approach suggests that Islamic values may affect people's lives and their choices and tastes just like other cultural accumulations.

Another clue for considering this as a variable affective in the differentiation of middle classes in the Turkish case may be found in the statements of Gülalp. He discusses the rise of political Islam in his book and suggests that:

...being a Muslim as a central element of the cultural tradition and social identity may be inspiring for the people who have that identity... as a philosophical reference point. Thus it is a concept that may have an important role in their value systems, social behavior and political approaches. This was it is possible that an abstract belief system such as Islam may justify various social projects* (Gülalp 2003).

Gülalp goes on in his book and makes further analysis on the differentiation of middle classes in Turkey in this respect. He dwells on the role of the middle class professionals in the realization of an Islamic politics. In doing this he suggests that the middle class professionals do not take a direct part in the capitalist production processes and their social status is not determined according to their relationship to production (Gülalp 2003), very parallel to our discussion in this issue. While the differentiation between the bourgeoisie and proletariat is determined with the possession of the means of production, in-between professional groups stratify with cultural capital. The stratification of status based on cultural capital is realized with 'social closure', which means the exclusion of the one that does not belong to your group. What he suggests up to now

* Translation belongs to the author.

does not seem to imply anything different than our own claims in this study and the general tendencies on the new approaches of the stratification theories. However, Gülalp suggests that, the basis of differentiation of the professional middle classes is 'cultural struggles' with the others and within the group itself (2003). And the stratification of status among the professional middle classes in Turkey is suggested to be realized with the degree of laying claim to the Kemalist ideology and the internalization of a western lifestyle (2003). The author suggests that in Turkey intellectual came to mean the same thing with the possession of western values and the rise of the Islamic intellectual was new for the Turkish society. He defines a cultural conflict between the Islamic intellectuals or professionals in general and the ones initially carrying the Kemalist principles and states that this is an important dimension of professional middle class differentiation in Turkey especially in the recent periods. The Islamic intellectual is defined as originating from the rural, modest, owns a university degree and eager to rise in the social hierarchy (2003). Up to now we have suggested that the differentiation was mainly based on the cultural capital apart from the economic one and cultural capital was mainly based on the educational accumulations. However, Gülalp brings another dimension to the discussion that, the loyalty to Kemalist principles and a westernized secular lifestyle may be another source of differentiation among the groups with the same educational level.

The same discussion is conducted with emphasis on different dimensions of the issue by Göle (2002). She identifies the passage from an Islamic society to a westernized culture in terms of the lifestyles and changes in the aesthetic evaluations and suggests that this passage has created new cultural differences and social strata in the Turkish society (2002:103). She makes the discussion based on the notion of habitus suggesting symbolic capital and lifestyle. Thus the struggle for domination between the republican elites and the Islamic identities are realized with cultural codes and lifestyle which are important expressions of the complicated relations of dominance and social stratification (2002). With the exclusion of the Islamic living space, social recognition and social status has become the social and political basis of the tension between the secularists and Islamists (Göle 2002). The power struggles between the ones adopting a westernized identity and the conservatives is realized with lifestyle differences. Also Göle suggests that the Turkish modernist elites who have their origins in bureaucracy rather than commerce have tried to gain power with education whereas the commercial bourgeoisie emphasized the traditional religious lifestyle and local patterns (2002:68). She defines the Islamic stratification a vertical one rather than the horizontal economic stratification and

states that the problem between secularists and Islamists is that Islamic culture has been excluded from social status and the modern definitions of privilege (2002).

Therefore, we may consider the differentiation between the two groups in terms of their approach to religious principles and the adoption of these principles as shaping one's lifestyles since this may suggest a vertical stratification as Göle defines (2002). This dimension may be valid in many cases as a search for the factor of religion in one's life, but in Turkey coupled with the political choices, it may be an indication of a basic conflict between a conservative and secular way of living. The new approaches suggested new sources of identity formation with the consumption of certain goods due to their symbolic features and defining lifestyles using these symbolic values. In that sense, Gülalp also suggests the utility of Islam as one of the dominant sources of identity in a world where the other dominant sources of class and nation have weakened (2003). Islamism is an identity politics in Turkey according to the author (2003).

2.5. The Spatiality of Stratification Theories

Although the spatial dimension is left out in the stratification accounts as if societies may exist independent from spaces, the discussions that were included in this chapter up to now are inevitably on the urban space and its centrality in the formation of social groups and places. The attempt to study the actions of agents carries with it the belief that everyday socio-spatial dynamics matter and should be the item of social and spatial research. "The socio-spatial practices define places and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion" (Hubbard *et al.* 2002). Places are made through power relations that define the boundaries according to Hubbard *et al.* and the boundaries that define who may be excluded are both social and spatial (2002). Urban space is created by people and their character is related to the ones who inhabit them, while at the same time people are conditioned by the spaces they inhabit (Knox 2000). This two way relation is also an indicator suggesting the investigation of urban spaces and their inhabitants all together.

In this respect Lefebvre has been influential in directing the attention of social studies to the urban space as the basis of spatialization. In understanding the operation of capitalism after the 20th century, Lefebvre has set the urban space and its commodification at the center of the discussions (Lefebvre 2000). He has systematically investigated various dimensions of space which emphasize the importance of *spatial*

practices as concrete journeys and routines in space that serve to (re)produce the city, *representations of space* as images or cultural products representing space for making sense of it and *spaces of representation* as space lives and felt in everyday life (2000). The complex spatiality of Lefebvre, proclaims the power of people to produce their own space and create new forms of urban life (Hubbard 2002). With Lefebvre's effort some attention has been drawn to the centrality of the urban space in the reproduction of daily life.

Cultural assets rather than being confined to pure artistic or leisure fields are increasingly invested in housing so that the aesthetics of the middle class residence plays a major part in the exhibition of specific cultural tastes and values. In the present period the growth of owner occupation and the salience of cultural assets has led to a growing concern to invest cultural assets in order to provide kinds of housing that enhance cultural distinctiveness (Savage *et al.* 1992).

As discussed earlier, consuming various goods is the way the middle classes generate and display their lifestyles. The way of life they construct becomes visible with commodities that act as signs. In an urban environment we have mentioned that the house or neighborhood may be considered as goods that are consumed as well. And they too have the power to transmit various messages about the lifestyle of the agent at hand. In fact they are rather strong signs as being a part of basic decisions that form one's lifestyle. As stated above by Savage *et al.* these commodities transmit the aesthetic tastes of the residents and are clearly visible to the rest of the urban dwellers (1992). According to the authors the best documented contemporary example of this general trend is *gentrification*. Here a new middle class defines itself as a distinct group precisely through residential conversions and the process of gentrification gives it status. It shows that they possess a particular kind of culture and they have knowledge of history or tradition which provides them distinction.

The symbolic consumption of various goods to create the images and dispositions that a person or a group of people would like to display in an urban environment is one dimension of the cultural sphere being inscribed in the urban space. The visible feature of anything and everything that is revealed in the urban space is directed to the perceptions of every urbanite occupying a place in the city and carries messages that empower the distinctions among various groups. However, in addition to this side of the issue, there are contributions of the reality of the physical urban space to these issues in a different dimension. For example Bourdieu who has introduced a notion of social space also emphasizes the importance of the distribution of scarce assets in geographical space. He says that,

...to account more fully for the differences in life-style between the different fractions- especially as regards culture- one would have to take account of their distribution in socially ranked geographical space. A group's chances of appropriating any given class of rare assets depend partly on its capacity for the specific appropriation, defined by the economic, cultural, and social capital it can deploy in order to appropriate materially or symbolically the assets in question, that is, its position in social space, and partly on the relationship between its distributions in geographical space... (1989:124).

Bourdieu furthermore mentions that the relationship can be measured by the average distances from goods or facilities or in traveling time, which involves access to public and private transport. As a result, according to the author, a group's social distance from certain assets must integrate geographical distance, which depends on geographical distribution. This kind of knowledge also depends on the availability of private transport facilities, which diminishes the importance of distance to a large extent, and therefore is something related to economic capital as well as cultural aspirations.

This issue is also integrated to our study inevitably since we are interrogating where the respondents located in two different areas in the city consume certain commodities and practice various activities. However, since the economic capital of the two groups are chosen to be similar and both have access to private transport facilities, the difference of location of the two groups in the city in terms of their distance to various facilities may not suggest that much of significance in terms of travel time.

As discussed above consumption in its widest sense is a tool through which people will sustain their habitus and reveal the marks of their lifestyles in everyday life. However, an important point is that "the consumer's world consists not only of settings where things are purchased or consumed (shops, malls...) but also settings and contexts that are created with and through purchased products (homes, neighborhoods)" (Knox and Pinch 2000). The authors suggest that, "consumption is inherently spatial" (2000). Not only the settings where the goods are ready to be consumed, but also the places where they are put into like homes and neighborhoods are "infused with signs and symbols that collectively constitute maps of meaning" (2000). Since today consumption is regarded as a tool to construct identity in a way, then identity is revealed symbolically in the physical space as well. Thus it may be logical to assume that people with similar habitus would prefer to occupy similar physical spaces. This in a way brings the discussion to the notion of 'place'. Consumption in its symbolic sense helps the creation of place.

The revealing of symbols through consumption can be considered in many scales. It can be taken on a personal scale considering what it reflects with a persons' body, to a neighborhood scale including what is reflected with the built environment. In whatever state it is taken, an important dimension of this process is that it is spatial. Whatever categorizations exist that are defined by various authorities cannot change the actual processes going on in specific places, thus in the physical space. This dimension of the issue is a part of an important change of attitude in the social sciences. In fact although the discussion may be put in a reversed order in this section, the roots of all the above subjects may be searched for in the issue of space. And apparently in the contemporary world are inevitably linked to the urban environments where interactions reach their highest densities.

The social reality of the city is not simply given. It is also constructed and maintained intersubjectively in a semiclosed world of communication and shared symbolization. The routines of daily life create a particular view of the world and a mandate for action. It is the unself-conscious, taken-for-granted character of the life-world that makes it so binding on its members, that ensures that its realities will remain secure (Knox and Pinch 2000).

As the authors have quoted from Ley, there is an emphasis on the physical and symbolic interaction provided by the city space and the repetitive character of the everyday life. The important feature of everyday life is that it is lived without being an object to conscious attention (Knox and Pinch 2000). As Tekeli says, everyday life is left at the background because of being routine and usual and it seems unproblematic (2000). That is why it seems unquestionable and is generally seen as a given. It is a totality of long and short term cycles (2000). The continuation of a social system is linked to the repetitive character of everyday life and this is how the inequalities existing in every society is kept the way they are.

When we consider the issue of space from a wider perspective in terms of the nature of the study, other dimensions come up to the scene. According to Thrift social theory must be historically and geographically specific. Human agency must be seen as a continuous flow of conduct in time and space interpolating social structure (1997). All practice is situated in time and space and the places of activity (like home, school) are the results of institutions reflecting structure. "They form nodes in time and space around which human activity is concentrated" (Thrift 1997). The structurationist school which is at the center of these discussions provides no clear notion of determination. It is about non-functional links between structure and agency, practical reason, and time-space

intersections (1997). It is the science of the singular, the specific. Locales as places of activity:

structure people's lifepaths in space and time, provide main nodes through which a person's lifepath must flow; place constraints on a person's ability to interact; provide the main arenas within which interaction occurs; provide activity structure of routines; are major sites for socialization where collective modes of behavior are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated and rules are learned (Thrift 1997).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section Lefebvre had drawn attention to the importance of the urban space in the operation of the recent phase of capitalism. He has also dwelled on the issue of everyday life by stating that "the most important event of the recent years is a result of industrialization in this society where the capitalist production and ownership relations is dominant: everyday life programmed within an urban framework appropriate for itself" (Lefebvre 1998). This emphasis on the everyday life, the spatial character of consumption and urban interaction all point to a common interest in the priority of one notion: the practice. This is a transformation emphasizing the power of the human agent in changing the world and interacting with the environment. All the recent discussions on the structure-agency dialectic, all efforts to examine the dynamics of the ordinary, the everyday life and place, is a result of the beliefs on the power of the agents and their practices in making a difference whether they are visible in the short term or not. Considering the agent means inevitably considering the body, the physical space surrounding it, the capacities of the agent to interact and practice various activities, thus to consider the uniqueness of space and processes occurring at a specific time. In modern life the concept of everyday life has become an object of social structuring and the potentials for subjectivity have been repressed (Tekeli 2000). The concept of habitus that is integrated to the study determines the practices, thus works for the processing of everyday life. It is a notion facilitating the action-structure dialectic. It is a product of the past, but carries reference to the future (2000). And the most important of all is that it is also historical and local, thus contingent (2000).

The scholars with this kind of approach think that structure agency categories are dialectically reproducing and transforming one another in historically specific expressions of structuration (Pred 1984).

Structuration addresses the way in which everyday social practices are structured across space and time. Developed by Giddens structurationist theory accepts and elaborates Karl Marx's famous dictum that human beings 'make history but not in circumstances of their own choosing'... Human landscapes are created by knowledgeable actors (or agents) operating within a specific social context (or

structure). The structure agency relation is mediated by a series of institutional arrangements which both enable and constrain action" (Knox 2000:44).

Here structures are given as formations like law and family, institutions as state and agents are the actors in society. Giddens, Bhaskar and Bourdieu are given among these scholars who differ considerably in terms of the categories they utilize, but Pred states that they all regard practices and structures as equally real and deny that human beings are nothing more than the mechanical bearers of structure (1984). With this background in their line of thought it is possible to see why Bourdieu emphasizes practice and individual action that much. He even states that the actions of individuals in the society constantly affect the social categories, making these categories in constant motion. Some studies that have been conducted starting from this line of thought, have integrated the time and space dimensions into the process since time and space are the inevitable components of practice. Pred's study assumes that "place" itself is a historically contingent process (1984). These components according to Pred are interwoven with one another in the formation of every place or region but they vary with historical circumstances. As suggested by Thrift, place is both text and context (1983). This line of thought also shows the importance of everyday activities of people in the formation of spatial assets and how this information is time and place specific.

Also in the social construction of urban places 'the other' is defined in an exclusionary manner and this is part of a spatial human strategy of territoriality which helps making place the instrument of power (Knox 2000:258). Defining yourself is in relation to the other, the people and places outside the boundaries (real or perceived) that we establish (Knox 2000). This exclusion process from a place is the one that generates the distinctions between groups in the urban accumulations.

The concept of "intersubjectivity" is also used to explain shared meanings that are derived from the lived experience of everyday life practices (Knox and Pinch 2000). It also is based on the routinization of individual and social practice in time and space (2000). The spatiality of social life is broken into three dimensions according to Knox and Pinch,

The broadest scale is institutional spatial practice, which refers to the collective level of social construction of space. Place can then be related to the human consciousness and social meanings attached to urban spaces. Finally, individual spatial practice refers to the physical presence and spatial interaction of individuals and groups. (2000)

An overlapping framework for these three dimensions is provided also as levels of temporality by the authors. Torsten Hägerstrand has elaborated on the subject by his time-geography in daily life. He has formulated the essence of the above discussions in the sphere of geography (Pred 1981). His model is based on the constraints of space and time on daily practices. People trace out paths in time and space moving from one place (station) to another to fulfill various purposes (projects) (Knox 2000). In doing this they have three constraints:

- 1) capability constraints- principally the time available for traveling and the speed of available mode of transportation;
- 2) authority constraints- laws and customs affecting travel and accessibility;
- and 3) coupling constraints- resulting from the limited periods during which specific projects are available for access.

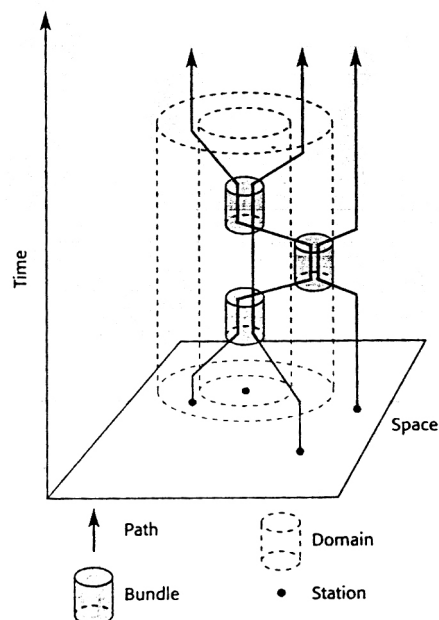


Figure 04. Concepts and notation of time geography (after Hagerstrand) (Knox 2000:262)

Based on these constraints that are defined in a social geography perspective by Hägerstrand, we can suggest that the choices of the people in daily life are limited to a certain extent with these constraints. Also groups of people with similar constraints are thrown together in bundles of time-space activity which are important for intersubjectivity (Knox and Pinch 2000). The bundles of activities, the projects or the stations we stop at moving from one place to another are also related to our choices. It is apparent that people with similar projects and similar conditionings are thrown in similar bundles. This in a way defines the sources of social capital as well. The social networks we attend to are related to these similar projects and choice of stations. From this kind of a perspective, it can be seen that, the places that the respondents state to visit on a

periodical basis are the stations where people with similar projects inhabit. "The continual reproduction of individual and social practices through routine actions contributes to social integration, the development of social systems and structures among agents in particular locales" (2000). This shows that urban spaces and places are constantly becoming (2000). Place in other words is a historically contingent process where practice and structure become one another with individual social practices and relations of power (2000).

2.6. Basic Concepts and Tools Derived from the Theoretical Discussions

Throughout this chapter we discussed various notions that would enable us to conduct our study in a more equipped fashion. What the existing theories suggested on the possible sources and signs of differentiation of groups in the society was the main focus we dwelled on. However, probably the most important and basic fact is that, this search proved us that the tendency of conducting a study in a particular *place* and particular *time* span and on the actions of the agents is a direct outcome of the *structuration* approach suggesting the importance of the action and practices of individuals in society as well as the structures that affect their lives. Examining the daily practice of the agents is an effort to see the essence of their *everyday lives*, which is a study area, based on the same principles governing this study. Thus, we are conducting our study on the practices of a group of agents located in the specific urban environment of Ankara in the early 2000s and trying to catch some clues on how they make certain choices in the urban space.

After stating the basic concepts that stand at the framework of the study, we may go on to the actual tools suggested by the theories on stratification. The classical approaches based on *class* as an outcome of the positions in the *production process* set the basis for locating the main concept of middle class as a general group. This way we saw that the middle class as a group stayed in between the bourgeoisie and working class in terms of the relationship to the means of production. Thus, middle classes were composed of people in non-manual and white-collar labor without property. They were mainly defined with the occupational structures which include the old middle classes composed of people with small businesses (like small farms, manufacturing and retailing enterprises) and the new middle classes working in professional jobs including managerial positions. However, we did not have the clue to whether the old and new middle class categories were sufficient to explain the differences in the lifestyles and choices of two different middle class groups at hand. Also what Gülağp has suggested as a source of differentiation

among the professionals or intellectuals in the Turkish case brings another dimension to the discussion. Being in the new middle classes category was not enough to define this group as a single category because of the existence of cultural conflicts based on the degree of loyalty to the principles of Kemalism in the Turkish case. Gülalp brings another issue that has come to the attention of the society in the recent periods with the discussions on the Islamic politics. Apart from this, there are the other factors suggested by the new approaches in the stratification theory that may cause different motivations for the middle classes in their behavior in daily life. Therefore, we could use those tools along with the occupational compositions in comparing the two groups we have at hand.

According to the new approaches the differences of choice and lifestyle of various middle class groupings and in fact the whole society was a result of the increasing role of the *consumption sphere* in people's lives. We know from the classical accounts that the position in the production process matters, but there was an increasing emphasis on the role of consumption in shaping people's lives. This was mainly because the commodities consumed not only had meaning because of their straightforward *use value*, but also the *symbolic values of the commodities* in showing the amount of capital people possess was crucial. Therefore, the consumption of commodities and in fact all the behavior of agents in a society were considered as signifying clues of their lifestyles and this had become a source of identity for especially the middle classes who did not seem to have a common identity based on their roles in the production process. The commodity as a sign and consuming for the sake of the symbolic aspect of various goods and practices was the new aspect introduced in the capitalist societies which governed people's lives and especially middle classes. Therefore, what people choose to consume is a sign of their lifestyles and eventually their symbolic capital.

Furthermore, the new approaches suggested that the differential consumption of various goods and facilities was based on the amount of and composition of capital one had. In the classical approaches capital has only suggested the existence of wealth, thus money. However, the most important contribution of these new approaches is that they suggested the existence of a *cultural capital* which coupled with the *economic capital* empowered agents in their struggle for creating their positions in the social space. Economic capital and the use of it are straightforward and widely known. However, what the possession of cultural capital suggested in terms of the differences of the agents is a new area to be searched for and it is considered as a new tool for searching for the middle class categories. Thus, we decided that we should pick our groups as having a

similar amount of economic capital to be able to compare them in terms of their possession of cultural capital. The possession of this kind of capital is said to reveal itself perfectly in the consumption of *cultural goods*. However, the capital people own is said to affect every choice they make because they govern the tastes of the individuals. Taste is the practical tool we use for making various choices in life. There are also the *symbolic and social capitals* which contribute to the level of capital people own and we touch upon them as well in our study.

With the knowledge of these basic relations, it can still be suggested that following the existence of cultural capital would lead us to the factors governing the differential choices of the individuals. In this respect, the educational capital and social origin of the individuals are basic signifiers of cultural capital. The *education, occupation, father's occupation, father's education, origin, cultural consumption and leisure activities* are also pursued for suggesting the differences in cultural capital. For the specific case at hand, the religious practices as signifying the emphasis on "iman" and conservative values in general is considered as another sign of cultural capital. It is a different type of cultural capital which still suggests the different ways of living one's life (Saktanber 2005, 2003). Gülalp's discussions also stress the importance of adopting a Muslim way of life in governing the lifestyles of people (2003). Moreover he claims that it is a dimension creating a cultural conflict very special to the Turkish case (2003). Therefore, collecting clues on the different levels of cultural capital is the basis of the study when we keep the economic capitals constant.

Then the original contribution of our study is integrating the spatial dimension of choice, in other words choice in using the urban environment comes up. We ask the respondents where they practice certain activities. The spatial dimension of this consumption will probably reveal the differences among the two specific groups at hand and it will be a very specific data for the urban space of Ankara. Therefore, we will use the concepts we derived from the literature to test the existence of different types and amounts of capital and then test whether the choices they make in the urban space of Ankara also differs in line with the possession and composition of capital. This is the major contribution of the study, suggesting that, if it is true to assume that the differences of lifestyles of two groups are revealed in every choice they make, then the differential choices in space, thus their daily practice is also a cause and result of the differences of two groups. Also we know from the above discussions in the chapter that urban space is the arena where the signification of lifestyles is written on and thus, every manner, behavior, use and

construction in the urban space may be signifying something about the groups we consider. Therefore, it can be suggested that, especially by the urban environment and residence one chooses to live in and every practice in the urban space one attends to, differences of groups of agents may be revealed. This kind of a finding may suggest differential positions of agents in Ankara and reveal different types of practice of two influential groups in the development of the city.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESEARCH

3.1. Introduction

The theoretical considerations have brought some insights and tools that are to be utilized in our study. With these at hand, it will be easier to search for answers to the questions we have in mind. Now we know that economic capital and cultural capital are two basic factors that empower agents in their social lives and explain the differentiation of various groups in society. The importance of the cultural accumulations is further emphasized in the case of the middle classes that we are concerned with. Therefore, since our comparison of the two groups is planned to be based on their cultural differences, it would be wise to first find ways to choose two specific groups with similar economic welfare. Then we have to specify various factors that may resemble the existence of different types and levels of cultural accumulation, thus cultural capital. Also since what we want to see is whether these differences are revealed in their choices in urban space, we have to determine which areas will be included in the survey that is to be implemented.

However, before getting into any of this, it is also important to get to know the areas that we have targeted in general, since there are some previous studies conducted in these areas. They may provide us valuable information to be used in the study. Also it is important at this point to specify the differences that have led us compare the two specific areas. In other words, at this stage, it is important to show what we already know to be different about the two cases at hand and the things that have suggested that other choices of the people residing in these areas may be different.

The major factors that call for a need to compare the habits of the residents in the two areas may be stated as such:

- the location of the areas in the city of Ankara in terms of the north-south divide
- the location choice of the respondents in terms of staying in the city (for Keçiören) and moving to the periphery (for Çayyolu)

- the visible architectural and urban qualities of the 'places' in terms of public investments and symbolic aspects
- the documented difference of political choices in the 2002 Parliamentary Elections.

These factors initially suggest the existence of different choices of the two groups in concern residing in Çayyolu and Keçiören. In fact they may be seen as the initial motivations of conducting such a study especially in a comparative manner. As discussed in the theoretical presuppositions, the agents may make different choices based on the amount and composition of their capital and these choices in the end compose their lifestyles. As suggested by the scholars on the issue, we have seen that the differences of their lifestyles and in a way habitus may be followed from different signs that agents reveal. Accepting such an approach we may conclude that the choices that are revealed in the physical space of the urban environment, as well as other arenas (like the political ones) may suggest the existence of some specific types and compositions of capital and more importantly different ways of lives. Therefore, based on this theoretical formulation that we have dwelled on in detail in the previous chapter, we have assumed the existence of two different ways of life in the two areas we are concerned with, which stand out in the development of Ankara especially in the last decades. By comparing these areas by a survey, we are in a way trying to justify our presuppositions on the issue and come up with comparisons that are either suggesting or disproving the validity of the theoretical formulations in the urban environment of Ankara. Furthermore, we are adapting the information that a sociological debate suggests us to the urban space and discussing how the urban space inevitably is related to the creation and display of differences in the so-called social space thus suggesting the spatiality or socio-spatial aspect of urban life.

* * *

Although planning is a process that requires the active participation of many different groups in an urban accumulation including the professionals, municipalities and technical staff, in today's economic order it can easily be seen that the development of the cities are mainly directed with the demands of various dominant groups. The demands of especially the middle classes have changed the image of various westerns cities in different periods either demanding to get out of the urban accumulation to nice suburban towns or living in the vitality of the city being close to their jobs and various

entertainment facilities. Various household types and lifestyle expectations on the part of the very complicated group of middle classes has its imprint on the western cities by encouraging gentrification, suburbanization, loft living or many other things that each group in various localities demanded (Zukin 1982, Butler 1997, Bridge and Dowling 2001).

3.2. General Information on the Keçiören and Çayyolu in Ankara

As stated by Günay, the behavior of high income groups are determining and the other groups and their facilities have to locate in the urban space according to the choices of those groups (2005). Such a process forces the investments to choose place where the dominant groups are located, thus they are pretty much limited (2005). This kind of a free market approach as Günay states causes an uncertainty on the development of the cities. Another process that Günay stresses is the segregation or integration of various social groups in the urban environment (2005). The gated communities being a well-known example is one dimension of this. However, as discussed in various dimensions for Ankara, the segregation may not always be as visible as in the case of the gated communities, but a segregation as the north south divide like the one in Ankara may exist in a city.

The first policies and planning decisions on the development of Çayyolu region is a result of the 1990 Development Plan (Günay 2005:66). The development based on the geomorphologic structure of the settlement is considered with the transportation system and the development was directed towards the western corridor. The priority was given to the northern part of the İstanbul highway to the Batıkent area and further in the west Etimesgut and Sincan settlements were developed due to the existence of the railway (2005). The western development was mainly occupied with lower income groups at the beginning. However, the wealthy residents in the southern part of the central city were also demanding to move to the surroundings of the city. The development around Çayyolu was mainly expected to develop through the market mechanisms, not with public initiative (2005). With some limitations by partial plans it was decided that entrepreneurs and cooperatives could develop housing areas in Çayyolu. However, while this procedure was applied successfully at the beginning, after the abandonment of the application, arbitrary developments resulted in a disorganized area (Günay 2005).

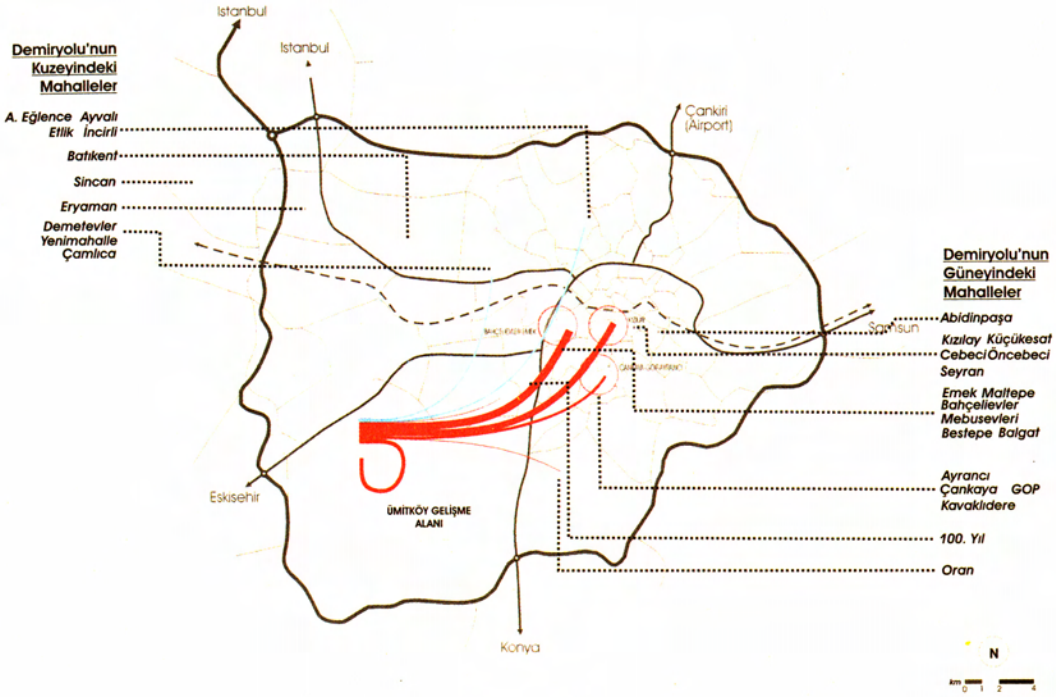


Figure 05. The neighborhoods where the respondents in Ümitköy in Şenyapılı's study have moved from

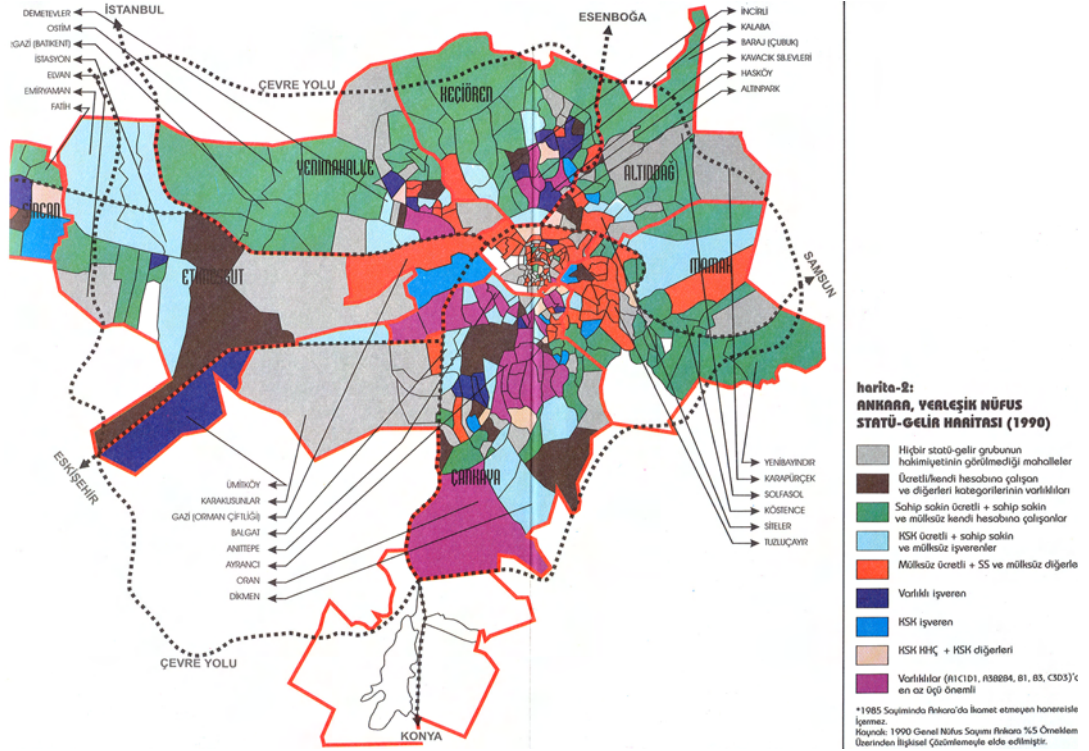


Figure 06. Ankara status income map (Güvenç 2001)

As we have mentioned before, Ankara is said to be divided into two different cities with the railway in terms of status-income profiles. This fact that is often stated in various occasions is also documented in Güvenç's study (2001). The northern part of Ankara is composed of low-income salaried and tradesmen; the center composed of the poor and the southern part is composed of wealthy residents. However, Güvenç mentions the movement of the wealthy to the periphery of the city to gated communities, while their properties are being invaded by different social strata or by CBD uses lately. He claims that this shift of population and changing lifestyles and consumption norms may have changed the differentiation patterns recently. This movement of wealthy to the periphery of the city along the Eskişehir axis is documented with a study of Şenyapılı (2005). A similar movement is said to be occurring by different social strata from the northern part to northwest. The study of Şenyapılı focuses on this double movement and who fills in the areas that these groups have evacuated within the city (2005). Although there are some hints to what kinds of groups came to the newly developing areas a deeper sociological analysis of the ones around the Çayyolu region is provided with a study of Ayata (2002, Ayata and Ayata 2003).

The issue of mobility in Ankara is covered by the study of Şenyapılı (2005). The study is based on the northern and southern developments in the western Ankara. The development on the İstanbul highway and the one on the Eskişehir highway are examined to see where the inhabitants came from and what kinds of groups chose to come to these areas. Ümitköy region is in Eskişehir highway axis and the origins that the study of Şenyapılı provides as the older middle class neighborhoods in the central part of the southern city are consistent with the origins of the groups that we examined in Ümitköy. While with a higher concentration in Bahçelievler, the origins of the groups residing in Ümitköy in our study are also from older middle class neighborhoods in the central southern city. The study of Şenyapılı stresses that the ones who have moved to the southwestern corridor containing Konutkent, Ümitköy, Çayyolu, Bilkent, ODTÜ, have mainly come from the neighborhoods on the southern side of the railway which is like a physical barrier defining the two sides of the city in many respects (2005). A similar movement is seen in Şenyapılı's study on the northern part of the city. She states that despite the investments of the municipalities, and the renewal of the neighborhoods in Yenimahalle, Keçiören and Altındağ, these dense neighborhoods still were evacuated towards the settlements of Eryaman and Elvankent where new upper middle housing areas were constructed and new prestigious environments were formed (Şenyapılı 2005). However, the group that we are concerned with in Keçiören is one that does not follow

this trend. The majority stayed in the neighborhood that they already were residing in, but only moved to better houses. The rest seems to have come here from nearby districts.

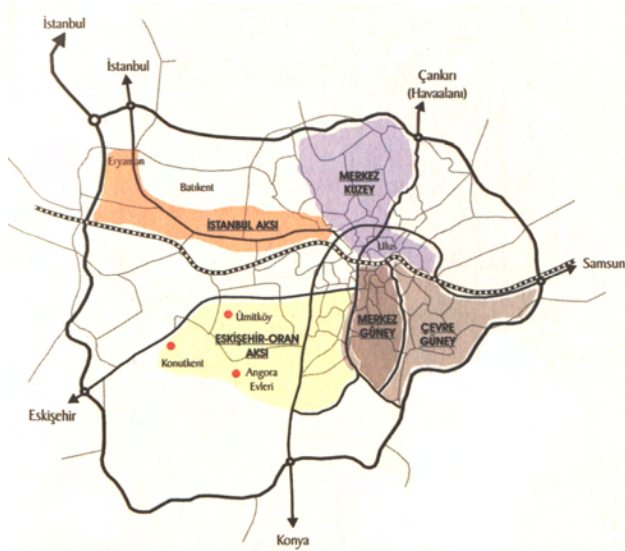


Figure 07. Map showing the main regions that Ankara is divided to in Şenyapılı's study (2005)

The below table summarizes the information we have at hand about the two areas in general before initiating the study and all the factors included in this table will be discussed throughout this chapter.

Table 01. Comparison of the basic information on the case areas

	Çayyolu	Keçiören
Location in the city	South At the periphery of the city	North Within the city
Social structure	Mainly middle classes New middle classes disliking masses at the city center, emphasizing order, homogeneous group	Mainly lower middle classes, partially middle classes The study area known to be composed of middle classes Emphasis on neighbors and relatives
Spatial qualities		
architecture façades	Modern architecture, minimalist façades, no visible character emphasized	Modern architecture in terms of architectural form, standard applications of apartments, but ideological emphasis of Turkish Islamic synthesis on façades. Municipality intervention

Table 01 (continued)

public investments	Mainly private utilities, no visible effort on the side of the municipalities	Huge projects Castles, republican tower etc. by the municipality embodying symbolic capital by emphasizing different identity from the rest of the city and power
Greenery and open areas	Squares and few parks with walking tracks	Big sports and recreation investments by the municipality, Atatürk park, Kalaba valley project, a small zoo
Shopping, restaurants, cafes	Arcadium and Galleria shopping centers, restaurants, cafes, markets	FTZ Migros Some restaurants apart from those
Political choice	Left wing parties	Right wing, conservative, nationalist parties

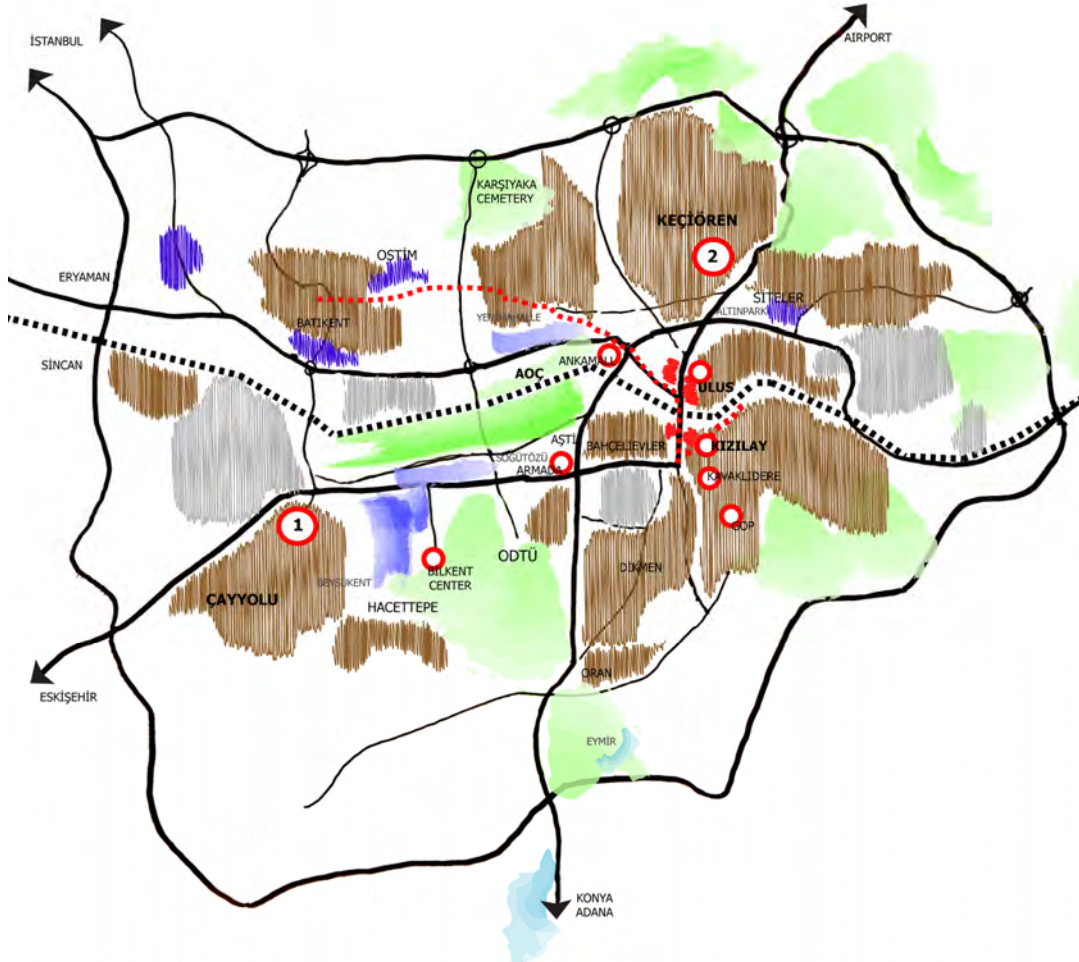


Figure 08. Sketch showing the places of the case areas within the city space (1. Ümitköy, 2. K.Subayevleri and Güçlükaya in Keçiören) and the major nodes that come up in the study.

3.2.1. The Development of Çayyolu

The process of suburbanization is known as to create a new socio-spatial structure in the outer city. After 1980 reconstructions, Amelioration Plans increasing the densities, increasing traffic problems and the variations of social structure at the inner city caused some groups to escape to the outer city in Ankara as in many other metropolises (Şenyapılı 2003). The expectation on the quality of the urban environment has been an important factor in the formation of new settlement areas. However, the suburbanization process in Turkey has not developed to be self-sufficient and suburbs have been connected to the urban municipalities in terms of urban services (Eryıldız 2003). The Ankara Metropolitan Bureau of Development has opened the western corridor of the city for development and the mass housing acts have given pace to the process.

The attempt to open a mass housing area in the Çayyolu region goes back to 1976 (Tekeli *et al.* 1985). The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality had expropriated 450 hectares of land to support development to this direction. The development was in a planning stage in 1984. However, at the time some developments had already taken place in Ümitköy. Ümitköy was stated among the high-income settlements where car ownership rates were also high (**Figure 09**). Eryıldız states that the tendency of development towards the southern part of Eskişehir Road is related to; the public institutions being located on this corridor, speculation in the estate market because of the land in these areas being bought by a few entrepreneurs, the existence of Ümitköy settlement area, Beysukent upper income group, Çayyolu mass housing area and the shifting of technical infrastructure to this area (2003).

The Çayyolu region is about 20-25 km. far away from the CBD. Limited amount of development beginning around Ümitköy continued with Koru Sitesi and Konutkent. Especially Koru Sitesi is a prestigious settlement area with one storey, duplex houses with gardens and multi storey apartment blocks. The housing supply in the Çayyolu region continued with the ones targeting the middle and upper middle-income groups as cooperative and mass housing areas. However, development continues in a widening area with new investments made by various building contractors. Even in Ümitköy, which is the oldest part of the region new apartment blocks are made. Some studies have been conducted on the lifestyle in these regions especially on the life in housing estates. Ayata states the conclusions they have reached at the end of a study in Koru Sitesi (2003). He says that the middle class has become a significant group in 80s and 90s with the expansion of a new middle class with professionals, managers and entrepreneurs. This

new middle class is easily distinguished not only with welfare, but also with the consumption patterns and lifestyles (Ayata 2003)

Ayata also mentions that recently the cities in the developing countries have become more heterogeneous, stratified and divided (2002). While the CBD uses, housing areas and entertainment facilities are segregated, the segregation also occurs in housing areas with different neighborhoods and communities in terms of socio-cultural features (2002). The middle and upper classes have a tendency to run away from the city center to socially homogeneous residential areas outside the city. Thus cities are divided with social and spatial borders between classes and cultures (2002). This results in divided cities where integration of different groups turns into a dream.

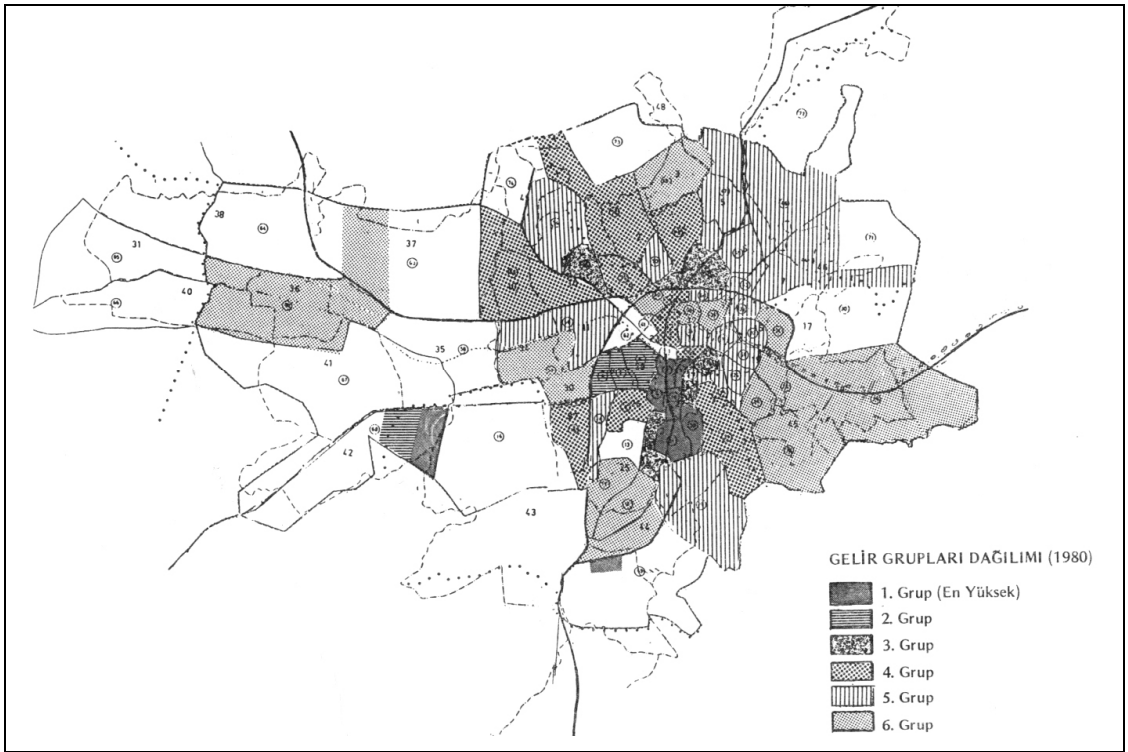


Figure 09. The distribution of income groups in Ankara in 1980 (Türel 1985a)

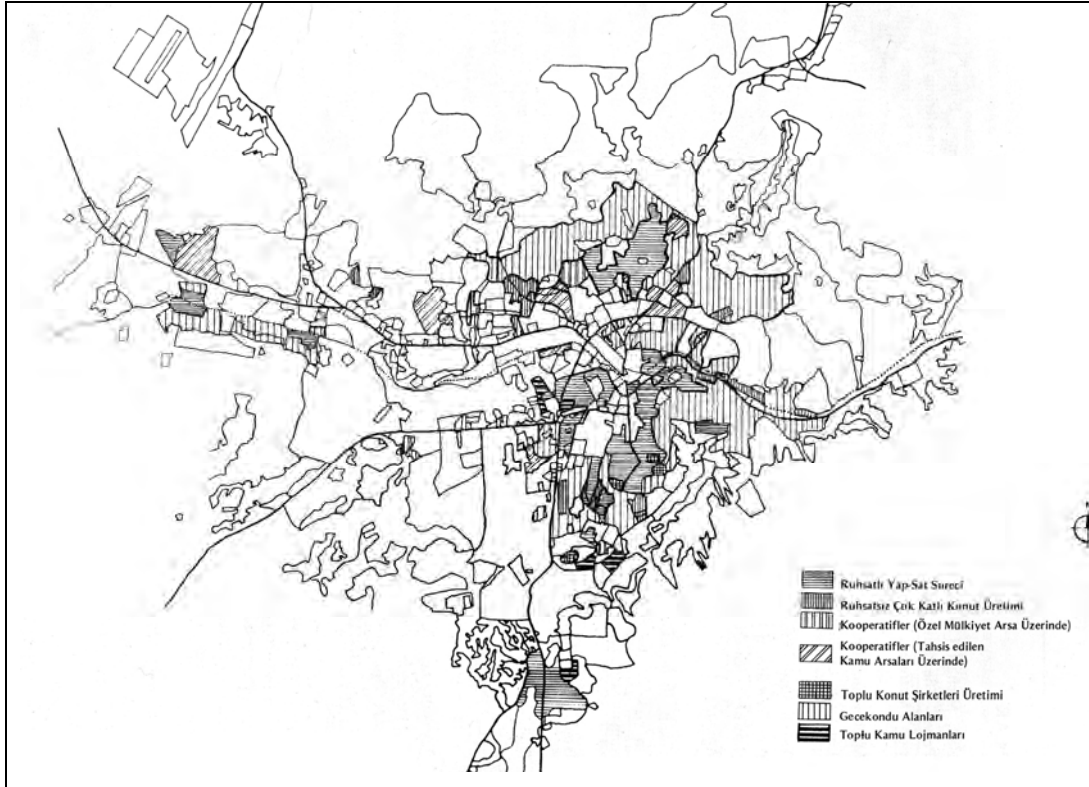


Figure 10. Settlement areas in Ankara according to housing construction processes (Türel 1985)

His study in Çayyolu is to document this run away of the wealthier and more educated groups to the outer city. It shows that people living at this region emphasize secular values and are more distanced from their relatives and tend to be reserved to their nuclear family. Ayata suggests that, the new middle classes living in the satellite cities have a tendency to distinguish themselves from the rude and uncivilized masses in the city, generally country people (2002). “The man in the street is not only unpredictable, but also does not know how to live with others, behave according to the society and participate in the urban society”^{*} (Ayata 2002). The urban masses also include the “turban wearing Islamic women and extreme-nationalist with moustache” (Ayata 2002). They state that urban life is about a disordered heterogeneity and emphasizing order is a primary feature of middle classes (2002). In line with this emphasis on order they also have a tendency to emphasize class differences which can only be preserved in an ordered environment. (2002).

Another issue that Ayata emphasizes about new middle classes in Turkey as general information is that, they tend to be different from the other classes in terms of their

^{*} Translations belong to the author.

lifestyles. A part of this choice is holding on to their secular values and a secular group identity defined in opposition to the Islamic middle classes living segregated lives in other parts of the city (Ayata 2002:43). The life in the urban centers, lower classes attending to this life, the newly rich and the Islamic mix that cannot be urbanized is the ones that are left out by these groups that Ayata examines in Çayyolu (2002). Also being freed from community control and individualized is an important value that they emphasize. In general the new middle classes need order, stability, predictability, and they advocate rationality, personal autonomy, and secularity, the dominance of law, environmental sensitivity and opening to the outer world (Ayata 2002).

The problems that are attributed to the urban center by these middle class groups are related to the planning phases of Ankara to a certain extent. Günay states that the plans made in various stages have not found the alternative development paths in the city and after the city reached its limits in the north-west and south, the process resulted with an increase in the densities in the urban central macroform (2005). The existence of public lands (like the university campuses) on the westerns corridor along Eskişehir highway resulted in a splitting of the residential areas in order to realize the development in Çayyolu. However, until this development gained dynamism and the one in the northern counterpart with Batıkent, Eryaman or Elvankent was realized, the urban center in terms of the construction densities and the lack of measures to solve traffic problems was already problematic in various respects. This may be seen as giving pace to this run away from the various problems of the city.

The study of Ayata states the main features of the new middle classes that also are a part of our current study. In many respects it may be thought that these findings are in line with the results of the survey that will be discussed in the following chapters. However, at this point it can be said that, the group that we are concerned with in Ümitköy are a part of a large area which is said to be homogeneous in terms of the residents which have a tendency to distinguish themselves from the rest of the city and in so doing have spatially found the ways to realize their aim. How they behave in the urban space compared to the group in Keçiören is what this study will further reveal about these groups as well as the factors that cause their differentiation from the others.



1. Figure 12 / 2. Figure 13 / 3. Figure 14 / 4. Figure 15 / 5. Figure 16.

Figure 11. Sketch showing the immediate environment of the study area in Ümitköy.



Figure 12. Galleria shopping mall.

Figure 13. Commercial uses on the 8th street in Ümitköy.



Figure 14. Group of residences where part of the survey is implemented in including Al-Ba, Elite Residence etc.



Figure 15. Market, and apartments where part of the survey is implemented in.

Figure 16. Commercial uses located in the Osmanağa Residences along the 8th street in Ümitköy.

The specific area that is the focus of this study is Ümitköy, which is the oldest region in the entire Çayyolu. However, with heightened interest to the region in general, the construction processes have gained pace in the recent years and the older housing areas in Ümitköy are surrounded with recently built apartments. The reason for focusing on apartments in this study is for providing a comparative basis in terms of the economic structure of the respondents in Ümitköy and Keçiören. The survey that was implemented for the study in concern targeted the newer apartments in general to compare the users in these places with the users of the newly constructed apartments in Keçiören. These apartments are generally located in both sides of the Ümitköy 8. Street, which is a main axis in the region where the shopping center Galleria is located. The two sides of the street in Ümitköy are in the responsibility of two different municipalities; Yenimahalle and Çankaya.

The area has many facilities with some health services, shopping malls, big markets, banks, stores, patisseries and restaurants. However, still a very intense daily commuting to and from the city may be observed. It is further documented in this study in the following sections. Also not very far from the area, there is the Arcadium shopping center with a cinema, and there is the newly built theater which started working in 2006. The dependability of the area to the city is becoming less and less with the new facilities introduced to the constantly growing area. This is also weakening the center as the attraction point in terms of various activities. As will be seen in the survey results, many people still work in the city. In terms of the entertainment and leisure facilities and the fulfillment of basic needs, the area is becoming more and more self sufficient every day and probably because of this there is a demand from the residents of Çayyolu for becoming a municipality on their own.

3.2.2. The Development of Keçiören

Keçiören was given as a lower-middle class district in the social grouping made by Akçura (1971). At that time the site had limited amounts of registered housing and was mainly composed of squatter settlements with a low population density. The income profile of Keçiören is also given as low in the Ankara 2015 studies.

Keçiören is a district with 43 neighborhoods, one of the 9 municipalities of Ankara. However, traditionally there is one Keçiören, which is between the Gazino and Kalaba, the region between the Asfalt and Şose (Fatih and Kızlarpınarı Streets) (Kurtoğlu 2004). As will be discussed in the method part, the respondents in the survey had a tendency to

call this region Keçiören and state the neighborhood names in places like Etlük, İncirli, Ufuktepe or Hasköy which all belong to Keçiören district, thus it shows that the residents stick to the traditional term.

The development of Keçiören as a settlement area is mainly after the declaration of the Republic. Before that era, the area used to serve the elite of Ankara as summerhouses. The vineyard houses were visited during the summer time. During and after the years of the War of Independence the area had its share from the migration to Ankara. Due to the migration there was a shortage of housing in the city. Some of the political elite bought these vineyard houses in Keçiören. New projects could only start in Keçiören between 1940 and 1950 with three cooperatives (2004). Therefore after this time Keçiören was both a summer house for some and had local residents as well (2004). Also after 1950s migration started from the nearby districts and villages. In 1960s migration gained pace and the area started to get migration from far away districts like Kızılcahamam and mainly neighbor cities like Bolu, Yozgat, Çorum, Çankırı as well as far away cities (2004). Therefore in Keçiören, which was a district, attracting officers, after 1970s the ratio of the officers declined and tradesmen and squatter settlers increased (Figure 02). Migration brought a population that may be defined with Alevi and Sünni categories; also "hemşehrilik" was important (2004). After the 1980s, people coming back from Germany to settle were added to the area. At this period the vineyard houses were demolished one by one because of the migration and the attraction of urban rents.

However, the district known as one with the majority of squatter settlements has transformed a great deal within the last decade. Especially the recent municipality has changed the identity of the neighborhood spatially. Aydın *et al.* discuss the changes that have been going on in Keçiören after 1994. They emphasize what these changes resemble. They state that the district has been diverged from the Republican Ankara with a different identity (2003). The decision of making Ankara the capital of the Turkish Republic is a turning point that considers the city as the spatial translation of the new culture that is created (2003). Ankara symbolized the new, modern and the future where the spatial organizations were made for serving this purpose. In opposition to this kind of approach that has formed the identity of Ankara from the beginning of the Turkish Republic, the local administration in Keçiören aims to create a new spatial organization according to the authors and break the district off from the city (2003). The slogan of this period is creating a new Keçiören and a new citizen of Keçiören (2003). The messages of the new ideology are disseminated by the spatial organizations first to the

people residing there, then to the entire city and the authors emphasize the utilization of visual tools for this purpose. The Turkish-Islamic ideology is stated as the main approach beneath this (2003, Pınarevli 2005). The authors criticize the implementations because of the effort of breaking the bonds between the area and the rest of the Republican Ankara.

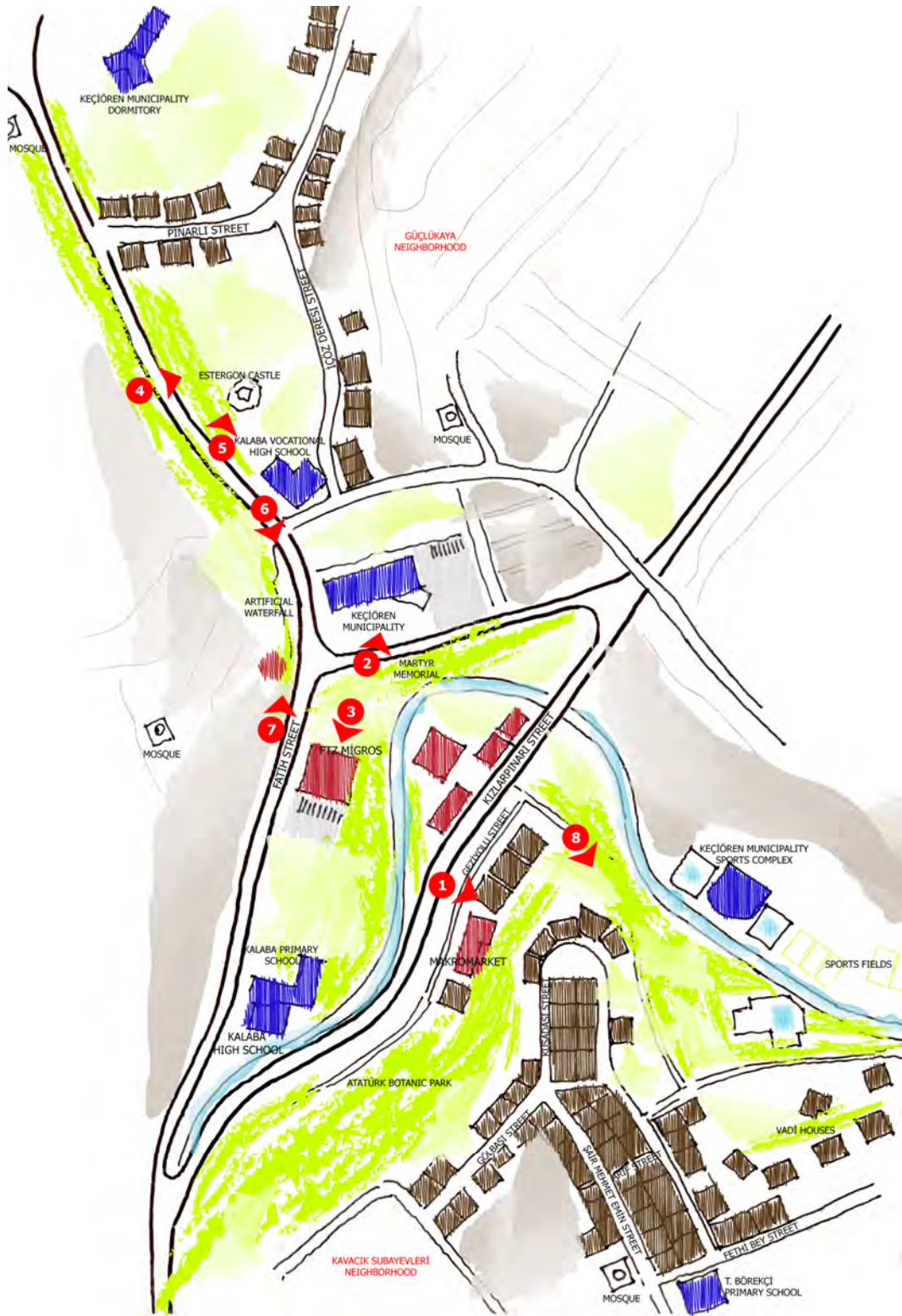
In the same manner, these implementations are criticized for their architectural, urban and aesthetic qualities by other professionals (Pınarevli 2005). The study of Pınarevli being based on this ideological departure of Keçiören from the concept of modern Ankara explains the urban transition from squatters to what he suggests to be 'decorated sheds' (2005). The concepts that he uses in explaining the new implementations in Keçiören are nationalism, Turanism, Islamism and orientalism. The cultural ideology beneath all these is suggested as "Turkism and Islamism" synthesis. The fakeness of the architectural and urban elements is applied in a decorative manner for representing the nationalist ideology according to Pınarevli (2005). The municipality is said to enforce the architects to use Seljuk or Islamic elements in the buildings. The applications are evaluated as examples of visual fakeness and this approach is said to be a cosmetic approach using the urban space as an exhibition zone of ideology for concealing the real problems of the city (2005).

Within the framework of this cosmetic approach which is criticized as kitsch, fake, imitation or even 'black humor' by various authors, a massive construction process has left its mark on this ten years period (Şentürk 2004). Nearly 7500 new buildings and many urban projects were realized in this 10 years period (Ayaroğlu 2004). The urban projects have changed the image of the area a great deal. Among these are waterfalls, Kalaba Valley Project, 45 new parks, Atatürk Botanic Garden, municipality building, Ottoman fountains, Open air Museum, Türk Büyükleri Monuments, Estergon Castle and Cumhuriyet Tower (Ayaroğlu 2004). Most of the projects put the emphasis on the Ottoman past of the country and the historical Turkish figures. Apart from all the urban projects, the municipality is also sensitive to the façade treatments. The municipality closely follows the appearances of the building façades and the mayor himself approves the façade applications. The municipality not only intervenes the appearance of the newly constructed buildings, but also wants the older buildings to renew their facades (Ayaroğlu 2004).

Although there is a well known existence of some neighborhoods that may be defined as wealthy in the district, like Kavacık Subayevleri or Kalaba, the recent developments in the

area are overwhelming physically and socially. Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood was constructed with the initiatives of a cooperative in the 1950s. However, Cengizkan refers to the change in the users and the spatial character of the neighborhood in the recent periods (2001). The neighborhood is changed physically and socially after some plan changes and new groups who are known to be the tradesmen in Siteleer have occupied the area (Cengizkan 2001). Furthermore, most of the apartments that are constructed around the neighborhood that are the main concern of this study are new in the area. Also, within the last decade, with some public investments to the area, the appearance of Keçiören changed. With the Prime Minister T. Erdoğan residing in the area, it is stated that other changes have been made and the rents have risen a great deal recently (Özalp 2004). Also Özalp mentions the formation of a different society with the migration of middle class people from Anatolia.

The study that we have implemented in the area mainly covers the newer apartments, with new residents. The apartments built around the Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood some of which are using the higher altitude of the neighborhood for the view have been the main focus. The houses in this area also are close to the apartment where the Prime Minister resides, which is stated as one of the sources of dynamism in the housing market of the area resulting with a rise in the rents (Özalp 2004). The high rise apartment buildings in Geziyolu Street and Vadi Street, the ones in Kuşadası Street have been the main focus of the survey. Also some of the new developments in Güçlükaya neighborhood have been integrated to the study. This neighborhood is important in that, it is behind the municipality building and is valued as the entrance to the district. The apartment buildings around here are built in place of the squatters that are cleared recently, thus are new. Although the prices are lower here when compared to the more prestigious Kavacık Subayevleri region because of the peculiarity of the site, part of the study is conducted here. To stick to the economic criterion of the study, more luxurious houses on the higher storeys were chosen.



1. Figure 18 / 2. Figure 19 / 3. Figure 20 / 4. Figure 21 / 5. Figure 22 / 6. Figure 23 / 7. Figure 24 / 8. Figure 25

Figure 17. Sketch showing the immediate environment of the study area in Keçiören.



Figure 18. Recently constructed apartment blocks around the Kavacak Subayevleri neighborhood.



Figure 19. The entrance of the Municipality Building and the statues of Turkish ancestors.



Figure 20. The FTZ Shopping Mall and the adjacent park with pools.



Figure 21. View of Güçlükaya neighborhood and Estergon Castle from Kalaba.



Figure 22. The Estergon Castle.



Figure 23. View of Municipality Building, FTZ shopping mall and Fatih Street from the Estergon Castle.

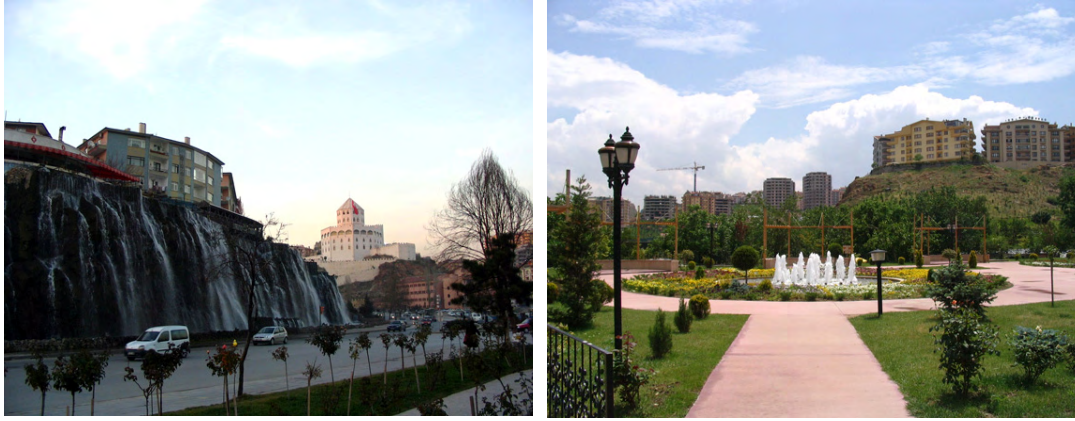


Figure 24. The artificial waterfall and Estergon Castle.

Figure 25. The view of Atatürk Park and the apartments in K. Subayevleri where the survey is implemented.

Ayata's study provides important insights for our study in that it gives general information on the structures of six areas in Ankara: Gaziosmanpaşa, Oran, Çayyolu, Keçiören, Abidinpaşa and Zafertepe (1996). Keçiören is classified as a lower-middle class neighborhood with 80% of the respondents being categorized that way. His study investigates the social relations, lifestyles and cultural practices in these six areas. In Keçiören, home ownership rate is high and close to the rates of the middle class districts. Criteria for the choice of house in Keçiören are mainly stated as having nice neighbors and the house being serviceable. This emphasis on good neighbors is high in Keçiören. Also, Ayata documents the similarities of mentality and behavior as striking when compared to the other residential areas in his survey (1996). For the groups we are concerned with, we will have the opportunity to see whether this social structure is valid. This similarity of mentality and behavior is further documented in Kurtoğlu's study on the local political life in Keçiören (2004). As could be seen in many parts of Ankara and Turkey in general, she emphasizes the importance of ethnical categories in Keçiören as a community character. This kind of a communal character may be said to be more apparent when compared to the situation in Çayyolu as discussed above. She considers the concept of "hemşehrilik" as an ethnic category, which creates a feeling of social belonging (Kurtoğlu 2004). She shows that the local politics in Keçiören is directed with these ethnical grounds and affects the political behavior in Keçiören (2004).

3.3. Evaluation of the Political Tendencies

The political behavior of the two sites may also be one of the clues suggesting a difference between the inhabitants living in the two areas. When we look at the overall picture in the last parliamentary elections we see an apparent contrast between the

northern and southern Ankara. AKP has been the leading party in most of the neighborhoods in Keçiören, while mainly the right wing parties have been dominant in the area in general. The situation in the entire Çayyolu region like the rest of southern Ankara has shown a totally opposite situation where the left wing, CHP votes dominate. In fact in especially the previous local elections the tendency of Keçiören was also to right wing conservative parties especially MHP which is known with its nationalist attitude (Kurtoğlu 2004).

The analysis of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2005) on the results of the election in Ankara reveals the dual structure barely (**Figure 26**). Although on a neighborhood level Kavacık Subayevleri seems to reveal a different feature in this evaluation, we know that in the further evaluation of the authors no party seems dominant in the area and most of the people who have attended our survey in the neighborhood have moved to the neighborhood recently and from other neighborhoods in Keçiören. Thus many of the respondents may have voted in a different neighborhood. Apart from that the question that we have integrated in our survey on their favorite political leader seems to reveal a support for the latest prime minister belonging to the leading party in the area AKP. Also the mayor is from AKP and they are very content with the municipality's services.

Remembering the discussions that have arose in the last parliamentary elections on the foundation of AKP and the main discourses developed on behalf of or against the party, it can be said that the general tendencies in northern and southern Ankara which include the groups we are comparing in our study represent the opposing political approaches in a way. Conservativeness may be considered at the center of this opposition and the definition of the main principles of conservativeness may help clarifying some notions in the study. Akdoğan who is the political counselor of the Prime Minister defines conservative as one who believes in evolutionary change instead of revolutionary change, moderateness instead of radicalism, tradition, family and in the preservation of social benefits that are historically achieved (2004). The basics of traditional conservative thought is defined by Burke under six themes: importance of religion, rejection of reform, division of labor and authority, importance of private ownership, society as an organism not a mechanism, and the value of continuity from the past (Akdoğan 2004:26).

However, apart from these theoretical explanations on the issue, there is the ongoing discussion of secularism and Islamism in the Turkish political life. As Güllalp writes right after the 2002 elections, even if AKP does not conduct Islamic politics, the Muslim

identities of its leaders and their desire to carry their identities freely may have suggested a political target of setting the Muslim identity free from pressure and this may have attracted wide masses (2003). Furthermore Gülalp suggests that proximity to a Muslim identity and the class position is intermingled in Turkey and sometimes the Muslim identity is a signification of a class position (2003). This backs up our effort in searching for the effects of religion in the daily lives of people interrogated in our survey.

The centrality of the Muslim identity is related to the modernity project of Turkey according to the author and the social categories that the “secular” state has created. Gülalp states that the modernity project of Turkey has adopted the target of getting the economic, political, social and also cultural habits of the western societies. It was assumed that the cultural practices would evolve towards a western lifestyle as well (2003). The realization of the Republic is the effort of providing this by the state. In that manner in order to realize the westernization project, Atatürk and the group of leaders of the Turkish national revolution tried to control Islam by the state (2003). Gülalp states that in the recent years, in relation to many dynamics worldwide, Islamism was seen as an alternative ideology to Kemalism by some groups (2003). The rise of Islam in this age is attributed to the weakening of modernism and secular nationalism by the author. Here what is referred to as the increase or decrease of religiousness is an expression of political struggles, thus Islam at this point is an ideology at the service of a political movement apart from being a religion (Gülalp 2003:25).

The reason for bringing the discussions that Gülalp has made in the context of political Islam and especially about RP is for setting the basis of a discussion which seems operative even in our micro scale study. Some clues which are revealed from the differences of political choice and various questions in the survey suggest a different lifestyle among the two groups in our study in terms of this discussion of Kemalism and Islamism. As stated by Gülalp, this is not about what Islam is as a religion. It is about what it represents as an ideology in the political struggles. For Kemalism Islam was an obstacle in reaching the level of western civilizations of the young nation-state, thus the founders of the Republic found ways to control it. However, with the changing atmosphere in many respects worldwide, we can see the rise of this ideology and creating a source of conflict in the political arena in Turkey. Islamism is an identity politics according to Gülalp and adopting its values may come to be a determining factor even in class positions (2003).

Based on the suggestions of Gülalp, we can see that this ideological conflict is central in the Turkish society recently and the two sites that we have at hand seem to be the two corners of this conflict looking at their political choices. In a study like ours where we try to determine differences of behavior by searching for various factors that may lead to it, we cannot neglect this major conflict. The survey will also reveal further findings on the religious approaches of the two groups at hand and contribute to this discussion. However, looking from a wider angle that encompasses our study as well, we can suggest that this central argument that is being discussed as a part of the political dynamics of the country is valid for Ankara as well. Furthermore, it can even be suggested that it is much more central in the specific case of Ankara as the capital city which is to symbolize the foundation of a new Republic and Kemalism's efforts of creating the modern city. In our final evaluations of the study we will dwell on this peculiar characteristics of the city and how the north-south divide of Ankara has its roots in not only economic or social differences, but especially cultural issues come up in various scales. These scales are given by Sarıbay as the effect of Islam from the private lives of the individuals to social, cultural, political and economic life. By one side it offers a lifestyle to individuals adopting it, on the other hand in a collective manner it governs the political force and justifies it (2001). The cultural and ideological conflict that we are trying to pursue from the daily lives of the two groups at hand is already a major issue of discussion in Ankara among the intellectuals and the major subject of this conflict is the implementations of municipalities (Keçiören and the Metropolitan Municipality) in the urban arena.

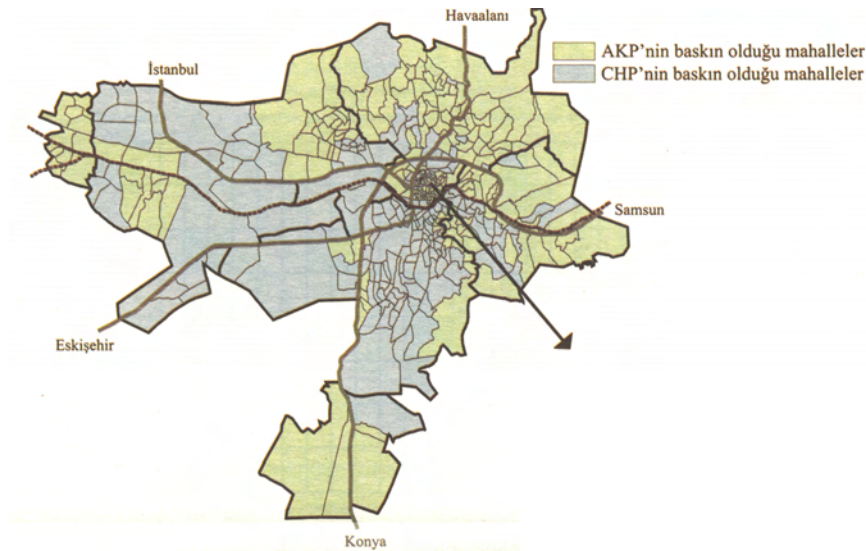


Figure 26. Map on the voting behavior in Ankara in the 2002 Parliamentary Election on a neighborhood basis showing the dual structure in Ankara (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu 2005).

3.4. The Peculiarity of the Areas for the Study

The major motive of conducting this study originated from the attractive and rapid developments taking place in the urban environment of Ankara in the recent years. The roles of the local governments, professionals and various groups in this development were known to a certain extent. How the planning history of Ankara directed the developments in the western corridor along Eskişehir highway, how the vineyards of Keçiören came to be full of squatters with the pressures of density in the urban center are well known developments in the urban history of Ankara. However, what we wanted to see was how much the dominant groups of users that existed in the two areas Keçiören and Çayyolu may have contributed to these developments by initially choosing their place of residence and why they have made such different choices without being constrained with economic concerns. The differences of the spatial choices on the part of the two middle class groups formed the backbone of our study.

With enough clues to suggest differences on the two middle class groups at hand, we first wanted to see what makes the two groups with similar economic welfare make very different choices. Apart from revealing the factors of difference, we wanted to see whether they make different spatial choices in terms of using the urban space as well. As suggested, the comparative basis of the study and the initial motive for conducting the study was based on their spatial choices. They were two groups one residing in the north the other in the south; one within the central city and the other at the periphery and the environmental qualities of the two places seemed to suggest a difference in terms of what they signified. The two groups living in the same type of housing, same size of apartments with same economic wealth have made different choices in other terms. That is why the two sites were very suitable to conduct a comparable study in respects other than economic concerns.

Furthermore, after getting some clues on their difference in terms of the political choices, our curiosity has been in a way justified. The situation really seems to suggest a difference on the part of the two groups and using the knowledge we have accumulated from the theoretical discussions on the differentiation of middle classes, the rest of the study is concentrated on the research that is implemented to reveal the factors that may have led to this difference in the urban space of Ankara for the specific groups in Çayyolu and Keçiören, and whether this kind of a difference may suggest differentiation in other spatial choices.

3.5. Method

3.5.1. The Objective of the Study

With the observation of two different spatial choices of two middle class groups in Çayyolu and Keçiören in terms of their residential location in the city and the architectural and urban qualities of their immediate environments, the question that came to us was “what makes these two middle classes make such different choices?”. Then, based on this question we searched for clues in the theoretical discussions on the issue of difference of social groups and we were directed to the stratification theories and the position of middle classes in these discussions. The economic reasons under this kind of a choice and any spatial choice in the urban accumulations is no big secret, since people are constrained with their economic wealth in buying or renting houses in the places they can afford, and the positions of people in the production process is what basically governs the ownership of this kind of a capital. Therefore, in our study we decided to leave out the economic constraints and choose two specific groups in these areas with the same amount of economic capital. This way we could be able to see whether the other factors that are said to govern the choices of various middle class groups in society are really influential. These other factors were stated as basically cultural capital which acts together with the economic one in determining the life chances of people and also the social and symbolic capital were emphasized.

Therefore, our motivation in conducting the study originally came from the different spatial choices of two middle class groupings of the same economic wealth. Apart from that, another question which is maybe much more important than the previous one is, after determining the factors that may have caused a difference in the choices of these groups, “whether these factors that are used to explain their different choice in terms of the location in the city would also mean the difference in other spatial choices in terms of usage and evaluation of various nodes in the urban space”. Thus, one of our intentions was finding the possible sources of difference, and the other was correlating these sources with other spatial choices and at the end hopefully seeing difference of practice in terms of the usage and evaluation of various nodes and places in the urban space. This way we could be able to see what these two influential groups in Ankara choose to do with the urban space of the city in general and in relation to which factors.

To accomplish what we have intended in the study, first we had to choose the specific two places to conduct the survey at, and then direct the questions which would reveal

their possession of various types of capital including economic, cultural, social and symbolic, and their choices in the urban space. The choice of the two places to conduct the survey was based on the economic concerns. Since we wanted to choose two groups with similar economic welfare, we tried to follow the signs of their economic capital from the housing they were settled into. We tried to direct our study to apartments within the same price range and the same size. Furthermore, we integrated other questions on the economic welfare of the respondents to the survey in order to be able to justify our criteria and eliminate various surveys when needed. Mainly we were able to reach the groups within a specific range for our study.

The survey that we implemented was first of all meant to uncover the factors that are thought to be governing the differences among the choices of these two middle class groups in the city. Therefore, a set of questions had to be directed to see the possession of mainly cultural and social capital of the respondents. Symbolic capital was only included in terms of the significations of the urban environments that they are living in, thus we did not concentrate on this factor within the survey. In fact their ways of consumption and evaluation revealed in the survey signify the possession of symbolic capital. Also as mentioned above, economic properties were also included as a way of justifying the choice of two comparable groups and to reveal the level of their economic wealth. Besides questions on the home ownership not only are meant to reveal economic capital, but also where in the city or in other cities they chose to invest, thus their spatial choices.

Furthermore, questions on their cultural and leisure activities, where they chose to consume which activities to what extent, how they evaluated their neighborhood and various nodes and central locations in the city were asked as well. Consumption of cultural and leisure activities are also related to the possession of cultural capital as signs of its existence. This way we could have the chance to see their judgments based on their tastes as well, which as discussed before direct the choices of various groups.

The information that we had at hand at the beginning of the study, what we searched for, and what we foresaw as the outcome of the study will all be covered further in this section in detail. Also the results of the survey will be discussed with all its dimensions. The limitations of the survey and which questions were not successful in generating efficient answers will be stated.

3.5.2. The Survey Areas

The specific zones where the survey will be applied were chosen according to some criteria. As it was clarified at the beginning of the study, the macro choices of Keçiören and Çayyolu were made with the observation of recent trends in the development pattern of the city as two middle class groups influential in the recent developments. Çayyolu is a region which has attracted the attention of many researchers from many different areas of study because of its rapid development and its location at the periphery. On the other hand the very recent developments in Keçiören are beginning to attract the researchers nowadays as well because of the important transformations in the area and the spatial identity in total and newly developed areas that are the main focus of this study (Pınarevli 2005).

After the general decision on where to apply the survey, the study had to be focused some more to be limited to 400 surveys that were to be shared between the two areas[†]. The choice of location was much easier in Keçiören since the district is much older, the urban macroform is restricted and the range of the new settlements is much more limited compared to Çayyolu. Also the areas which attracted the public attention were well known, one of them being the renewal area behind the Municipality building known as the entrance to the district, and another around the Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood where the latest prime minister settled (Özalp 2004, Şenyapılı 2005). Therefore, the developments that took place in these areas in Keçiören were worth examining. What the correspondent areas in Çayyolu would be is the result of the consideration of other criteria.

First of all, since we wanted to understand some recent developments in the two settlements in concern, it would be wise to choose newer apartments and newer residents. This would in a way enable us to see what made the newcomers "choose" these places under the contemporary dynamics. In a way we want to see the user side of the recent development, the ones who created the demand that led the growth of new sites. Therefore, the age of the buildings was roughly one of the criteria, roughly because in the application of the survey some older ones had to be included. However, as will be revealed in the question in their duration in their current houses, we can see that we managed to reach the newcomers. Also, the study is a comparative one, thus in need of having some common basis for comparison. In our cases the basis was mainly the

[†] The survey was conducted under a BAP no 05-02-02-03 in 2005 with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay as the project coordinator.

economic concerns. We are assuming that, since the purchasing power of city-dwellers is very important for choosing a place to live, which would affect every other aspect of ones' life, the respondents in the two areas should have close purchasing power in order to be compared to each other by different criteria. This means that their economic capital which is already documented in detail in various urban studies should be close to one another. For example in the socio-economic stratification index of Tüzün, including working type and conditions of the family members, and their educational capital, the economic criteria used are given as home ownership and the social value of the living environment, and the consumer goods that is owned by the household which can act as status signs (2000, also for a study on Ankara see Türel 1985a). Among these consumer goods, cars have the biggest weight in the index they created. 'House ownership' and 'car ownership' are included in our survey as well to see to a certain extent the level of economic welfare of the groups that settle in the two areas.

Thus the *types of the buildings* and the *sizes of the apartments* were chosen to be close to each other in the two case areas. Because choosing to live in a villa in Çayyolu for example would be a motive to settle there apart from the economic concerns. In order to avoid such a factor of choice we chose to examine the residents in apartment type housing. Also, among the apartment type housing we tried to leave out the ones that were built as mass housing or by cooperative initiatives because their choice may have been affected by the fact that they belong to a group of people who act together and have financial facilities provided to them. Another criterion that was important to fulfill our economic concerns would be the *housing rates*. The housing prices are directly related with the purchasing power and in our case they should be limited to a range to provide that people residing in both areas are of the same economic level.

To reach the comparable set in terms of housing rates, we examined the areas in general and found a consistent group, at the time when the survey was implemented. The housing rates change with the number of rooms and the size of the houses in both of the areas. When an average sized house of 110-150 m² with 3 rooms and a living room is considered, the prices change between 150000 YTL-300.000 YTL in Ümitköy. When we consider some of the apartment buildings where the survey is implemented in Ümitköy, we can see that in Al-Ba Residences the apartments are 4 bedrooms and one living room of 150 m² and the prices are around 350000 YTL. In Ümitköy Residence which is smaller than Al-Ba, because of the additional security precautions and car park facilities, the prices are between 350000-400000 YTL like in Al-Ba. The prices are lower in the

apartments across Galleria Shopping Center. Here houses of 150 m² are around 200-220 YTL.

In the new apartment buildings in Kavacak Subayevleri, a house with 3 bedrooms and 1 living room with a size of 110-150 m² is worth 190000 YTL- 220.000 YTL. The newly built Vadi Houses in Subayevleri are larger than 180 m² and the prices begin with 250000 YTL rise up to 510000 Euro in duplexes. In Geziyolu Street apartments are sold approximately to 225 YTL. The prices in Güçlükaya Neighborhood are lower as well as the sizes of the apartments. Here the same type of housing with 3 bedrooms and a living room are 110-120 m² and are worth 150000 YTL-160000 YTL especially if their façades face the Fatih or Kızılarpınarı Streets. However, the prices are higher in the upper storey and duplex apartments and these were mainly chosen for the survey. As it can be seen given this information, the range is mainly between 150000-300000 YTL in both areas. However, in Vadi Houses and some apartments in Kavacak Subayevleri and Ümitköy Residence and Al-Ba in Ümitköy for instance the prices are a little higher than the rest. Since in both places such a double structure exists and this is documented in the survey, it is accepted that we have two comparable sets. Also it should be noted again that the aforementioned prices belong to the year 2000 when the survey was initiated.

The above stated criteria, *the age of the apartment buildings, the housing rates, the type of housing, and the housing provision channels* brought the study to a level that we could specify areas where we could conduct the study. Because of the difficulties that we were faced with conducting the survey, it is natural that some deviations may have occurred from this limitation. Some apartments were totally out of the reach of a survey because of the security precautions. Thus we could not be able to reach all the apartments in range. However, after evaluating the results of the survey, it can be seen that for the basis of the comparison and the overall target of the study, a fairly comparable set of respondents have been reached at the end. The specific places and the basic utilities in the immediate environment of the survey areas may be seen in **Figure 11** and **Figure 17**. Also the relative places of the survey implementation areas within the city in general are shown in **Figure 8** as well as some basic attraction points in the city that come up frequently in the answers to the surveys.

Below is the survey form used in the application of the survey in the two areas:

Table 02. The survey form used to implement the survey in Ümitköy and Keçiören

Anket no: Sokak/Apartman:						
1) GENEL BİLGİ		Anketi yanıtlayanın				İşteki durum: ÜC: Ücretli YE: Yevmiyeli KH: Kendi hesabına İV: İşveren ÜAİ: Ücretsiz aile işçisi O: Okuma- yazma bilmiyor OB: Okuma yazma biliyor ama okula gitmedi İO: İlkokul OO: Ortaokul İÖ: İlköğretim DL: Devlet Lisesi ML: Meslek Lisesi ÖO: Özel okul/kolej YO: Yüksek okul Ü: Üniversite YL: Y.Lisans
A. Cinsiyeti						
B. Medeni durumu						
C. Doğum yeri:						
D. Bitirdiği yaş:						
E. Nüfusa kayıtlı olduğu il						
F. Hanehalkı kaç kişi:						
G. Babasının mesleği:						
H. Babasının son mezun olduğu okul:						
I. Kendini nereli olarak görüyor?						
J. En son mezun olduğu okul:		Eşi	Çocuk (yaş.....)	Çocuk (.....)	Çocuk (.....)	Çocuk (.....)
K. Halen okuduğu okulun adı						
L. Meslek:						
M. Yaptığı iş+ işteki durumu						
N. Yabancı dil:						
2) EHLİYETİNİZ var mı?		<input type="checkbox"/> Evet	<input type="checkbox"/> Hayır	Eşinin ehliyeti: <input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır		
ÖZEL ARACINIZ var mı?		Adet	Marka	Model		
TOPLU TAŞIMA kullanıyor musunuz?		<input type="checkbox"/> Evet	<input type="checkbox"/> Hayır			
3) Düzenli aldığınız gazete?						
4) AYLIK GELİR (YTL)		<input type="checkbox"/> 0-1000	<input type="checkbox"/> 1000-3000	<input type="checkbox"/> 3000-10000	<input type="checkbox"/> 10000+	
5) OTURDUĞU KONUT kaç m²		-----				
Kaç yıldır bu SEMTTE oturuyor		-----				
Kaç yıldır bu KONUTTA oturuyor		-----				
<input type="checkbox"/> Kira		YTL/ay				
<input type="checkbox"/> Kendi Evi	<input type="checkbox"/> Arsa sahibi	<input type="checkbox"/> Satın aldı				
<input type="checkbox"/> Ortak						
<input type="checkbox"/> Kira ödemiyor						
BAŞKA EVİ/ İŞYERİ sk/mah	1-	2-	3-	YAZLIK:		
Sizce konutunuzun değeri şu anda ne kadardır?						
6) Çalıştığı son üç İŞYERİ sk/mh	1-	2-	3-			
7) Yaşadığı son üç SEMT sk/ mh	1-	2-	3-			
Bu semti TERCİH sebebiniz?						
Bu evden TAŞINMAYI düşünüyor musunuz? Neden ve nereye?						
8) Yaşadığınız mahallenin olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri nelerdir? Olumlu için 1, olumsuz için 0 olarak kodlayınız.	ulaşım altyapı düzen	temizlik güvenlik görüntü	otopark gürültü Semt sakinleri	Oyun alanı/park Havası		
BÜYÜKŞEHİR belediyesinin hizmetlerinden memnun musunuz? Neden?						
İLÇE belediyesinin hizmetlerinden memnun musunuz? Neden?						
9) Bu semtte yaşamaktan MEMNUN musunuz? Burada olmasa Ankara'da BAŞKA HANGİ semtte yaşamak isterdiniz?						
10) Kentteki şu İŞLEVLER konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? (aşağıda verilen şıklar her biri için yazılacak)	Alışveriş Merkezleri	Metro	Gece Kulüpleri ve Barlar.....	Gecekondu Alanları		
A. Olumlu buluyorum		C. Rahatsız oluyorum				
B. Olsa da olur olmasa da		D. Fikrim yok				
11) EN ÇOK HANGİLERİNE VE NE SIKLIKTAKİ GİDERSİNİZ? (yapılan aktivite işaretlenip hangisine gidildiği ve sıklığı yazılacak)						
<input type="checkbox"/> SİNEMA			SIKLIK			
<input type="checkbox"/> TİYATRO			A. Haftada 1'den çok			
<input type="checkbox"/> SANAT GALERİSİ			B. Haftada 1			
<input type="checkbox"/> OPERA/ BALE			C. Ayda 1-2			
<input type="checkbox"/> KONSER			D. Senede birkaç kez			
<input type="checkbox"/> PARK			E. Çok nadir			
				F. Hiç		
(örnek: Sineması, B)						

Table 02 (continued)

12) TATİL	nereye	sıklık
Günübirlik		
Yazlık		
Otel/tatilköyü		
Yurtdışı		
13) Gidilen işletmelerin karşıları doldurulacak)	Hangisi (sk/mah/isim)	Ne sıklıkta
<input type="checkbox"/> KAFE		
<input type="checkbox"/> RESTORAN		
<input type="checkbox"/> ÇAY BAĞÇESİ		
<input type="checkbox"/> KAHVEHANE		
<input type="checkbox"/> BAR		
<input type="checkbox"/> ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ (Bilkent Migros, Armada, Atakule, FTZ gibi)		
14) ALIŞVERİŞ	Mahalle Bakkalı Şok, Endi, Bim...	M/ 2M Migros, Gima, Nazar Makromarket, Tansaş,Canerler
Günlük (hangisi/ semt)		3M Migros, Real, Beğendik, Carrefour, Maxi Tansaş...
Aylık (hangisi/ semt)		
Ne sıklıkta DİYET ÜRÜNLERİ tüketirsiniz?	<input type="checkbox"/> Her gün <input type="checkbox"/> Haftada 1-2 <input type="checkbox"/> Ayda 1-2 <input type="checkbox"/> Nadiren <input type="checkbox"/> Hiç	
Ne sıklıkta ALKOLLÜ İÇECEK tüketirsiniz?	<input type="checkbox"/> Her gün <input type="checkbox"/> Haftada 1-2 <input type="checkbox"/> Ayda 1-2 <input type="checkbox"/> Nadiren <input type="checkbox"/> Hiç	
GIYİM (nereden alırsınız?)		
MOBİLYA (nereden alırsınız?)		
15) KURS (gidilen kursun altındaki boşluğa ailede kimin gittiği yazılacak) (Erkek/Kadın/Çocuk)	Sınav hazırlık	Yabancı dil
(özel ders.....)	Bilgisayar	Resim/ahşap boyama vs.
SPOR YAPAR MISINIZ? (hangi spor/nerede)	Dans	Kuran
Spor MÜSABAKAları izler misiniz? (hangisi/nerede)	Dikiş nakış	Spor
16) DİNİ VECİBELERden hangisini yaparsınız?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurban <input type="checkbox"/> Namaz <input type="checkbox"/> Cuma Namazı	<input type="checkbox"/> Zekat <input type="checkbox"/> Oruç
17) BAYRAM ziyaretine gider misiniz?	<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır	Hacca gittiniz mi? (kendi+eşi) Camiye gider misiniz? (hangisi/sıklık)
18) YILBAŞI kutlar mısınız?	<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır	
19) GÖNÜLLÜ Faaliyet	Adı	Yeri
Vakıf		
Dernek		
Lokal		
Yardım Kuruluşu		
20) Neden gidirsiniz+ ne sıklıkta	Gezmek	Alışveriş
KIZILAY		Yemek
ULUS		İş/zorunluluk
TUNALI HİLMİ		Diğer
BAHÇELİEVLER		
21) Bu semtlere en iyi 5 en kötü 1 olmak üzere 1-5'e kadar PUAN veriniz:	Kızılay	Ulus
22) Ankara'da YAKIN akrabanız var mı?	Çankaya	Keçiören
<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır		Etilik
23) Akrabalarınız dışında Ankara'da en sık görüştüğünüz 3 AİLE nerede oturuyorlar?		Çayyolu
24) KOMŞULARınızın kaçını tanıyor, kaçıyla görüşüyorsunuz?		Sincan
25) Ankara dışında AKRABALARınız var mı?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır		
26) En beğendiğiniz SİYASİ LİDER?		

3.5.3. The Expectations from the Survey

Summarizing briefly what was expected from the survey and why such a study is conducted, it can be said that it is related to a line of thought encouraging the research on everyday life, by valuing practice, experience and choices of the individuals in understanding the society, urban life, thus the dynamics of the city as well as the basic structures acting on it. Thus, what would uncover the dynamics of the city is in the daily lives of people, their social contacts, relations and activities that they practice on a routine basis. In doing this we wanted to make sure that the economic welfare of people residing in the two areas was close to each other to reveal other possible factors and although we had some indicators to start with we wanted to verify them with the survey. Thus we asked the respondents some questions to learn about their *economic capital*. The questions on housing property, car ownership or monthly revenue were directed for this purpose.

The concept of *cultural capital* is very important for our study since theoretical research suggested the centrality of it along with the economic capital in governing differences of various middle class groupings. It was tested to a certain extent by questioning the educational capital of the respondent and the family, social origin with the knowledge of father's education and occupation (related to both economic and cultural capital), social origin in terms of place of birth, occupation of the respondent and the rest of the family and the newspaper they read. Also the question on their favorite political leader may provide a glimpse on their political tendency. What is an important indicator of cultural capital in the Turkish case that affects the habitus of certain groups is how they approach religion and religious practices (Saktanber 2005, 2003). As suggested in the theoretical discussions "iman" serves as taste according to Saktanber (2003). Questions concerning this issue were also directed to the respondents to get probable insight on how religion affects their lives when compared to each other. Here religion may be considered as a *type* of cultural capital independent from the educational level and the discussion on high and popular culture, thus pure or vulgar tastes.

Apart from these *social capital* is another important concept that affects a person's daily networks and in a way his/her life chances. It is also related to cultural and economic capital that throws people in the same activity bundles, thus social networks. Although to a limited extent we tried to use this variable by asking the respondents questions on their acquaintance with their neighbors, which has become an important issue when we

consider the apartment life. Also we tried to get some insight on their relations with their relatives in the city and in other cities and with close families and how often they see them. The knowledge on these is also important in that it shows us their social capital in and out of the city to a certain extent since we have the knowledge on the neighborhoods that their relatives and friends reside in. Hopefully these questions will shed a light on the habituses of these two groups that we are concerned with.

However, apart from the basic knowledge on what kind of groups we are concerned with, we wanted to see how their composition of capital is related to the way they utilize the city. We already know that their spatial choices in terms of location of residence and architectural and urban qualities are different and we have used this knowledge as suggesting the possibility of differential choice, thus taste. Furthermore, their habits of using the urban space are searched for as a continuation of this differential choice. These habits give information on the leisure time activities, their workplaces, their social networks and their use of the city center. The leisure time activities in terms of cultural consumption especially reveal their cultural capital. In addition to that we have the opportunity to see what kind of factors create what kind of differences and how does this difference relate to the urban space in physical terms in the daily lives of these groups. Some further questions on their evaluation of their place of residence, municipal service, the urban center and others nodes in the city are also a part of the questionnaire. These are all related to choices, judgments, tastes and thus the possession of certain amounts of capital as well. As suggested by the approach emphasizing the embodiment of various forms of capital in the formation of class, all the practices of people are related to their possession of these sources of capital and their composition. Thus, applying this approach to the spatial choice and urban daily life of the individuals opens the opportunity of a very rewarding type of research in the arena of urban planning. This brings an alternative insight to, based on which factors people behave in the daily life and how this is revealed on their practices and choices in the urban space, specifically the urban space of Ankara. This way we are able to see the basis of the practices of the middle classes which are influential groups in the development of the city.

In **Figure 27** the information that is searched for by the survey is given in relation to their position in the theoretical framework. The search for this specific data in fact may be suggested to be conducted based on these conceptual tools that were suggested by theory on this issue. Thus, with this diagram it is possible to see the concerns of the survey briefly.

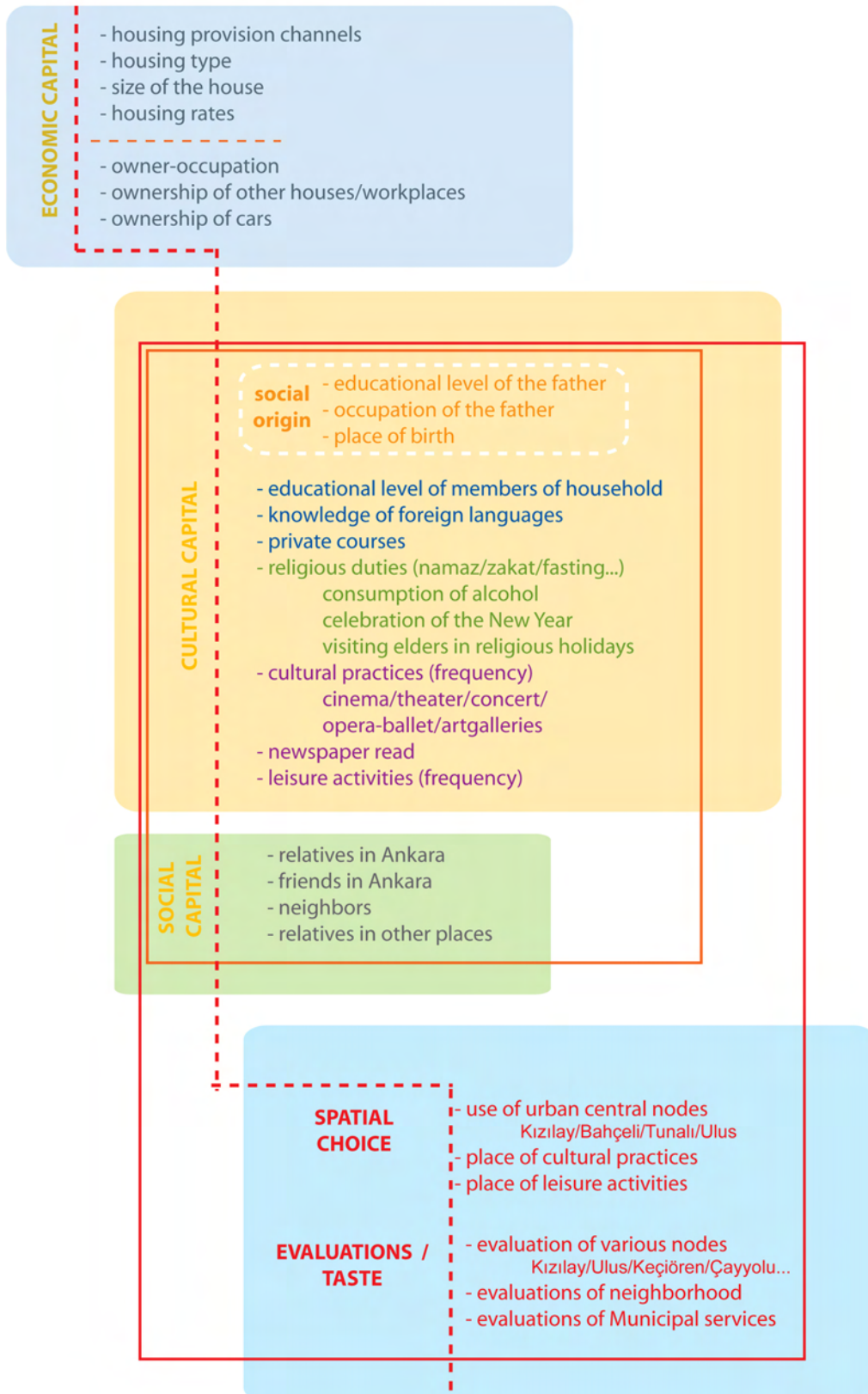


Figure 27. Diagram showing what the survey is looking for in relation to some basic conceptual tools.

3.5.4. The Limitations of the Survey

The surveys reveal the economic level of respondents to a great extent because of the questions asked to the residents. After eliminating some areas with pilot studies, by examining the survey results in the economic sense we can say that two groups we chose are comparable sets. The distribution of these economic assets clearly shows that the respondent set taken into consideration in both of the cases show similar characteristics. From this information it is possible to see that there is not much of a differentiation in the economic levels especially when the *housing ownership rates* and *vehicle ownerships* are taken into consideration. Although the incomes of the respondents on the basis of the household is asked directly as well, considering the hesitation on the part of the respondents to answer this question, that data may be thought as the part where the survey results in a way may misguide us, thus is omitted. In addition to that it should be suggested that some information on the ownership of housing and private vehicles were not given by some of the respondents. Therefore, the property assets are probably more than stated by the respondents in both areas.

Taking the economic criteria into consideration, the counterpart of the comparison in Çayyolu was chosen as the Ümitköy region where the new developments have taken place in the last 10 years although the area is the oldest one in the history of Çayyolu. Also the apartment buildings chosen were mainly not chosen from housing cooperatives or mass housing type, but the ones provided by private contractors were mostly included.

An important issue in the application of the survey arises at the spatial terminology that the respondents utilized. There were many questions searching for the habits of the urban dwellers which required specifying the location where the activity took place or with which locations the social networks were created. Although information on the neighborhood level was requested from the respondents, very few of them could specify the neighborhoods; instead they used place names as known in the common language which does not give a basis to map exactly on a spatial representation. Also, some of the names given were so vague that we had to interpret their meaning by considering the totality of the answers. What is meant here may be cleared with an example: when people in Keçiören state *Keçiören* as the answer to a question regarding the place of an activity or an economic asset, it may be thought to cover the entire district from Etlik to Şenlik or Ovacık. However, since the respondents specified when talking of Etlik, İncirli, Ufuktepe or Subayevleri we saw that they were addressing the traditional Keçiören which

to a large extent fits with the traditional definitions covering the core of the district between "Asfalt and Şose".

However, still because of this vagueness of definition and since we were not really in need of specific spatial borders, but mainly spatial tendencies and accumulations in the entire city, in the maps we produced showing the results of the survey, we did not use neighborhood borders. Instead we defined circular zones which indicate the location and intensity of an activity in the entire city.

What the survey provided us, what results were obtained will be given further in this chapter in the form of tables and maps and will be discussed in detail. However, it would be appropriate to state what *could not* be covered within the scope of this survey that the theoretical basis that we settle on suggests. The basis of this study lies in the formulation of Bourdieu and its various applications by various researchers. His emphasis on the issue of taste was not tested in terms of the taste in food, TV, music or other forms of art. Because apart from the indications of differences provided by theory, we only wanted to concentrate on their "spatial choices". In fact this was in a way beyond our scope, since as we suggested previously that our main purpose is not a classification of groups in a sociological manner. We are only searching for possible factors that may have created the differences of "choice" among these groups (which is also a result of taste) and see how these sources of difference may be correlated to their spatial choice. We are using the tools in the stratification sociology to in fact claim that spatial choice is a manifestation of the possession of certain amounts of capital as well. In a way we wanted to see if their distance in physical space is a result of their distance in the so-called social space and if this can affect their manner and frequency of utilization of the urban space just as it seems to have done in their residential choices. However, naturally if questions on the issue of taste could be directed from different arenas of life, this would probably clarify the picture further. If the motive in conducting a similar study would be a social or cultural classification rather than acquiring a spatial data, this would be a reasonable alternative way. Thus we adapted the essence of Bourdieu's approach to a study with spatial concerns.

Another issue is about the age distribution. Although the resulting distribution is not way out of balance, since the application of the survey was difficult, we could not have the chance to be selective in age and gender. Especially since the behavior and choices of the young members of the families tend to be different and age is suggested by Bourdieu

as a factor in affecting taste (1989), a survey that would search for their tendencies only would be important to see how they approach their neighborhood and the city in general and how or whether their evaluations and choices diverged from their parents. In our case their answers although they are limited in number only affected the general trends to a certain extent. Therefore, a similar study could be conducted focusing on their choices and utility of the urban space and compare them with the older generations. Thus our study could not provide a clear picture on the choices of the younger generations. Although such a study is beyond the scope of the current study, it would be useful in showing the future tendencies of the potential users and consumers of these environments.

The reactions of the people in the two areas to the application of the survey were also very different from each other. Only this could be interpreted as an indicator of difference. In Keçiören the women were helpful in answering the survey, but if their husbands were not there. This is because generally men were very reactive to the application of the survey and did not want to answer the questions. Mostly women and children were eager to answer. The problem in Ümitköy was that most of the parents are working and on the weekends they did not want to spend their limited spare time on the surveys. Still more women cooperated here as well.

3.6. The Survey Results

3.6.1. Economic Capital

As we have mentioned before economic capital of the people residing in the two areas were already pursued by using some criteria, and the areas were chosen as a result of analysis at the end of this data. However, still we integrated some questions to the survey in order to in a way verify this information, leaving alone their other functions for our purposes. We had some initial pilot studies that showed us if our choices were well-directed. And by the justification of the data we gathered from the pilot studies we continued applying the survey to the areas in concern. The questions on economic capital first ask directly the monthly income of the household. However, this is where the survey may be misguided the most because the question was either not answered or with a hesitation answered as 1000-3000 YTL range which does not seem to fit the lifestyle that is revealed. Thus, we ignored the answers to this question.

Besides it is probable that the housing ownership question was not answered by many on purpose or not fully answered by some people. They either state that they have other

houses, but they do not want to tell where and how many or they did not answer the question. The same thing is true for the car ownership rates as well. However, at this point we had no choice but to analyze based on the data that is provided by the respondents. Another criterion that we used was the *ownership of private vehicles*. This is also important in showing the mobility facilities of the respondent's household. The car ownership rates are high in both of the areas with the percentage of 95 in Çayyolu and 82 in Keçiören. Among each almost 20% own more than one car. If we look at the *ownership of driver's license* we can see that the ones who do not have a driver's license are three times as much in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu and this is mostly due to the women population. When we look at the ownership of the driver's license of women over the age 20 we can see that almost 40% of the ones in Keçiören do not have one while this ratio is 17.2% in Çayyolu. The question on the model of the car suggests that the cars that the respondents own in both of the areas are mainly produced after the year 2000, thus are new since the survey was applied in 2003.

Another variable testing the economic capital is the *owner-occupation* and *ownership of housing*. We can see that 71% of the ones in Çayyolu and 81% of the ones in Keçiören are the owners of the houses they are living in. We asked the respondents if they owned *other* houses elsewhere either in Ankara or another city. It is interesting to note that 64.5% in Çayyolu and 65.5% in Keçiören have at least one house other than the one they are living in. The locations where the extra housing (house or workplace) is owned is shown in the following maps (**Figure 28, 29**). However, other than their distribution in Ankara 44.5% of these houses are summer houses in Çayyolu and this ratio is 23% for Keçiören. The ratios of the summer houses and the houses in other cities are not included in the maps produced based on the ones in Ankara. The rents are between 350-600 YTL in both of the areas (again in year 2003). In Keçiören some examples that are lower than this and in Çayyolu some that are higher only affect the main picture slightly since the weight is in this range. Another important detail is that among the ones who are living in rented houses in Çayyolu, more than half own another house elsewhere.

The *housing or workplace ownership** is higher in Keçiören when we consider the houses they own in Ankara. However, in terms of the ownership of summer houses the

* The housing ownership has been used as a source of class analysis in the study of Balamir (1992). In the apartments based on flat ownership, owner occupiers, previous land owners, renters and doorkeepers have been suggested to form different groups (1992: 123). This is also an example of economically based class formulations sensitive to differentiations in lifestyles based on housing ownership.

ownership rates are doubled in Çayyolu compared to Keçiören. The distributions of houses or workplaces they own in Ankara are also mainly near their place of residence showing their tendency to invest to their living environment. Other than that, the ones in Ümitköy tend to own houses in the southern part of the city like Bahçelievler, GOP or Ayrancı which are known to be places that they have evacuated. The inhabitants of Keçiören own immovables around Ulus, Kızılay and Sıteler other than Keçiören. Apart from the houses in Ankara and the ones used as summer houses, 8% of the total houses that Keçiören residents own are in other cities among which İstanbul and Çorum take the first place. This ratio is 10% in Ümitköy and İstanbul and Mersin are attracting attention among these. Also Temelli is another place where people in Ümitköy prefer to buy houses.

While the extra housing stock is discussed, it would probably be appropriate to open a parenthesis on the *vacation habits* of the respondents in terms of the summer houses. In the questions on their vacation habits we asked if they went to summer houses. Although only ¼ of the people in Keçiören state that they own summer houses, almost half stated that they go to stay in summer houses mainly in Akdeniz the second choice is Ege. This may be related to visits to the houses of relatives and friends who own summer houses in these regions. Half the ones in Çayyolu also state that they go to summer houses in line with the ownership pattern and these are mainly in Ege, then Akdeniz. 39% of the people in Çayyolu state that they stay in hotels in Akdeniz while this ratio is 20% in Keçiören. More people in Çayyolu tend to stay in hotels.

When *daily or weekend vacation* is asked, 30% in Çayyolu and 41.5% in Keçiören have stated that they go to some places on a daily basis. Kızılcahamam and Göksu Park are the most popular among Keçiören residents as well as visits to their hometowns. People in Çayyolu prefer going mainly to their hometowns daily and also to Kızılcahamam and Beypazarı to a limited extent.

When *foreign countries they visit* are taken into consideration, 21.5% of Çayyolu residents and 6.5% of Keçiören residents state that they visit foreign countries. Germany and Saudi Arabia attract attention in Keçiören, while 16% of the ones in Çayyolu prefer various places in Europe and 4% go to USA.

Independent from our previous investigation on the housing rates in these areas, we asked the respondents the *value of the apartments* that they were living in. A quarter of

the respondents in both areas stated that the value of their houses is over 200.000YTL. The weight in both areas is in the range between 120.000-200.000YTL. This question was not answered by 20% in Keçiören and 10% in Çayyolu. The size of the houses may be seen as another sign of economic welfare. We directed this question to the respondents as well. However, 10% of the people in Keçiören could not answer this question. In Keçiören 55% and in Çayyolu 85% of the houses are said to be between 121-200m². In Keçiören houses with 110-120m² seem to be holding the second big portion of the share left alone the ones who could not answer the question.

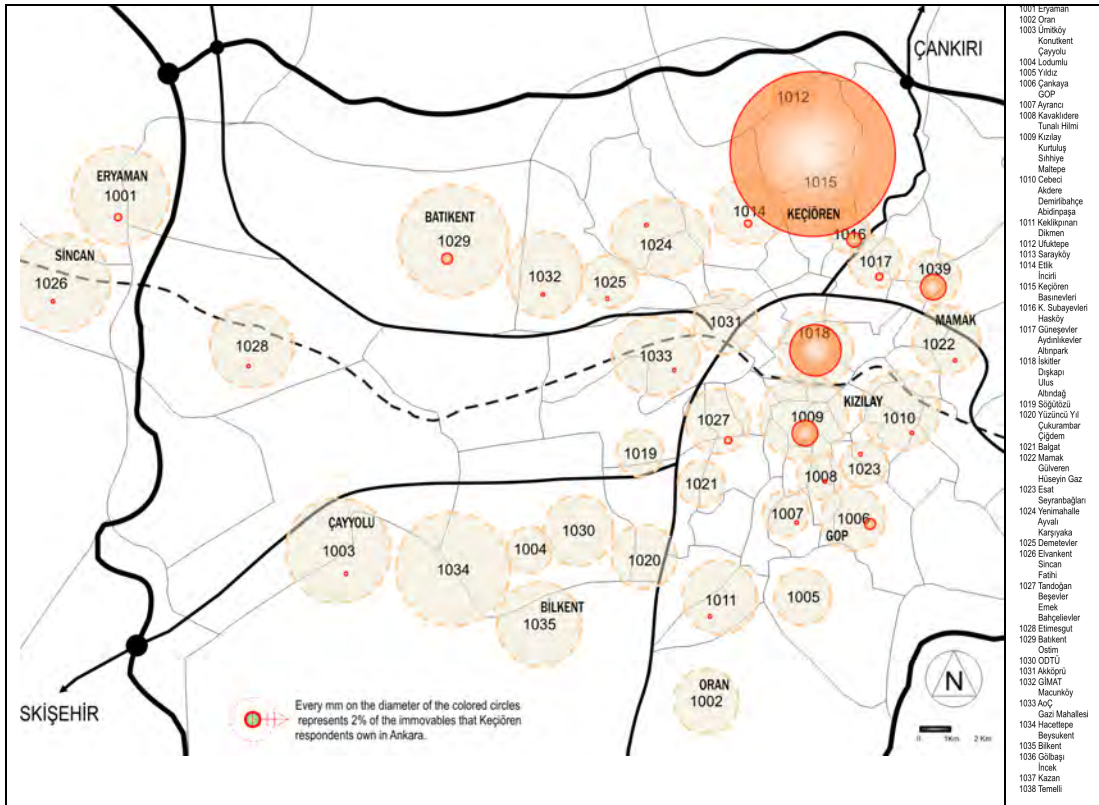


Figure 28. The distribution of immovables that Keçiören residents own apart from their houses.

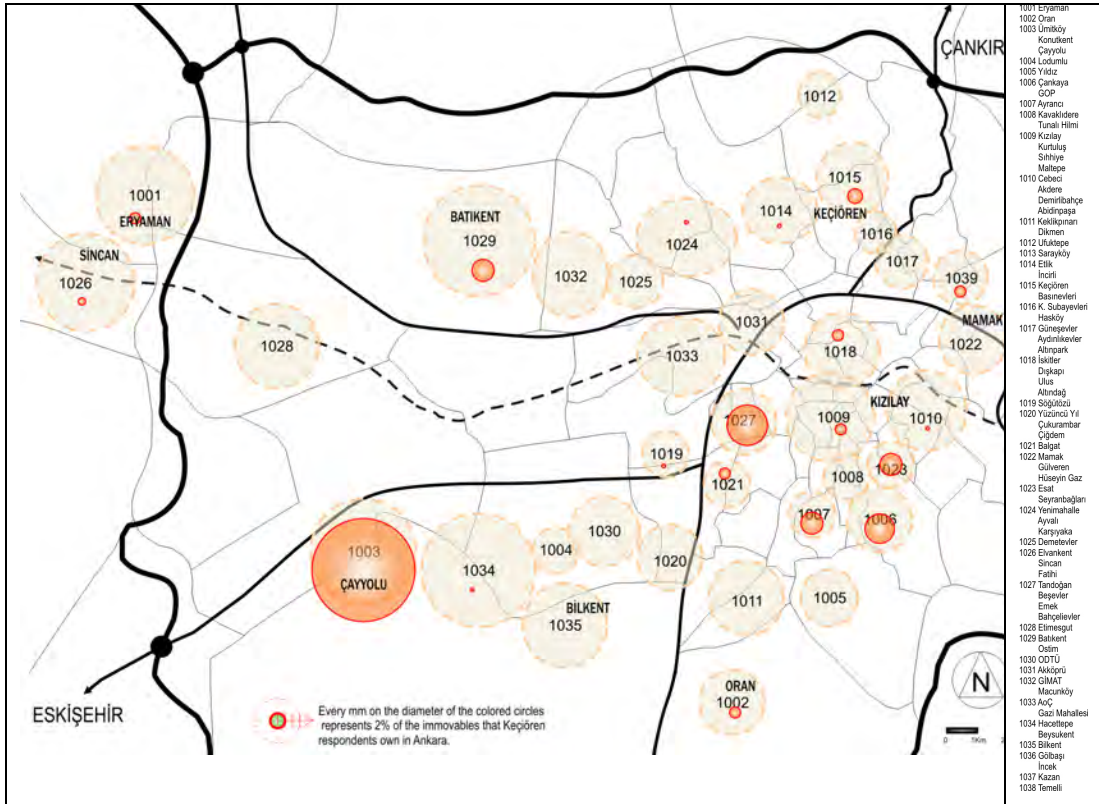


Figure 29. The distribution of immovables that Ümitköy residents own apart from their houses.

3.6.2. Basic Information on the Respondents and Households

In terms of *gender distribution* of the respondents the two areas are very close to each other. Women have a higher ratio with 75% in Keçiören and 68.5% in Çayyolu (Table 03). Probably this is a result of higher unemployment rates of women that makes them spend more time in their houses during the day and also because they tend to be more collaborative in answering the survey. The respondents were not the parents of the household in all the cases. Therefore we categorized them according to their *position within the family* and created a distinction between the parents and children of the houses (Table 04). The children that responded the survey were over 16 in all of the cases. This was important because only the children of a certain age could be capable of answering the questions on their households in general. This distinction was also helpful in analyzing for only the parents or children in some questions when needed. The ratio of children respondents in Çayyolu is 12.5% while this is 20% in Keçiören. Therefore the survey tends to reflect the choices of more young people in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu. This fact can be clearly seen in the age distribution of the respondents of the

survey in the two areas as well. For example while the number of respondents under the age of 40 is 73% in Keçiören, this ratio falls to 47% in Çayyolu (**Table 05**).

Table 03. The distribution of gender of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
male	63	31,5	50	25,0
female	137	68,5	150	75,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 04. The distribution of respondents according to the position within the family

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
father	51	25,5	42	21,0
mother	124	62,0	118	59,0
child	25	12,5	40	20,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 05. The age ranges of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
11-20	6	3,0	25	12,5
21-30	30	15,0	49	24,5
31-40	58	29,0	72	36,0
41-50	55	27,5	37	18,5
51-60	37	18,5	14	7,0
61-	14	7,0	3	1,5
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

When we consider the *size of the households*, with some rare cases where another relative is living with the family, we see that the size of the family depends on the number of children the families have. The families with 2 or more children is %44.5 in Çayyolu while 70.5% in Keçiören which is also reflected in the average household size given in **Table 06**. This fact may be related to the higher number of working women in Çayyolu which will be revealed in the further sections.

Table 06. The size of the households

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	5	2,5	1	0,5
2	33	16,5	15	7,5
3	73	36,5	43	21,5
4	73	36,5	84	42,0
5	14	7,0	44	22,0
6	1	0,5	11	5,5
7	1	0,5	2	1,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0
	avrg=3.325		avrg=3.98	

Then the *origins of the people* residing in these areas are considered. When we look at their *place of birth* we can see that mostly they are born in Ankara with a percentage of 42.5% in Çayyolu and 43.5% in Keçiören. When we consider the place of birth of the ones over 30, we can see that only 36.5% of the ones in Keçiören and 36% of the ones in Ümitköy are born in Ankara. In Çayyolu the origins tend to move to İstanbul with 5%. İstanbul is followed by Konya, Malatya, Sivas, Amasya, Kayseri, İçel, Samsun and Yozgat. In Keçiören, Çankırı and Çorum follow Ankara with a rate of 5.6% each. Adana, Kayseri, Bolu, Kırıkkale, Sivas, Kastamonu and İstanbul are the lower but outstanding ratios of origin in the area.

When we consider the *register of births* after the birth places of the respondents, Ankara is again in the first place with 35% in Çayyolu and 49.5% in Keçiören. In Çayyolu Konya follows Ankara before İçel, Kayseri, Sivas and Yozgat. In Keçiören Çankırı, Yozgat and Kayseri come after Ankara. Also we asked the respondents *from where they consider themselves*. 57% of the respondents in Ümitköy and 59.5% of the respondents in Keçiören consider themselves as from Ankara. The highest percentages in Çayyolu are following Ankara as İstanbul, Kayseri and İçel; in Keçiören as Çankırı, Yozgat and Kayseri.

In order to simplify the analysis of the origins of the respondents we grouped the cities according to their position in the Turkey and their relative positions to Ankara. In this grouping again Ankara as the origin was the leading city. The second highest group in both of the places is the nearby cities to Ankara with 21.5% in Keçiören and 13.5% in Çayyolu. The western cities, İstanbul and İzmir origins tend to be a little higher in Çayyolu than Keçiören while in general the ratios are close to each other (**Table 7**).

However, when we consider the ratios of the big cities leaving out Ankara and the western cities we can see that the emphasis moves towards these in Çayyolu and the surrounding cities still are the highest in Keçiören.

Table 07. Birthplaces of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
foreign countries	5	2,5	3	1,5
istanbul	10	5,0	6	3,0
ankara	85	42,5	87	43,5
izmir	5	2,5	2	1,0
antalya-bursa-mersin- adana-balikesir	12	6,0	9	4,5
ankara surrounding cities	27	13,5	43	21,5
west	18	9,0	8	4,0
black sea region	18	9,0	20	10,0
east-southeast	20	10,0	22	11,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Foreign countries: Almanya, Bulgaristan, Kıbrıs

Ankara surroundings: Çankırı, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Karaman, Aksaray, Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde, Konya, Bolu, Sivas

West:The Westerns cities except for İstanbul and İzmir

3.6.2.1. Occupation

Although most of the data was collected based on the evaluation of the respondent and about the respondent him/herself, occupational data (as well as educational data) was collected for the entire family. This way we had the chance to see the occupations and the current jobs of the parents of the families.

Information on the *occupation* of the respondents and the *occupation of the parents* also are very informative. When forming the occupational categories we used the basic categorization of ISCO88 (International Standart Classification of Occupation) based on the TÜİK categories. However, we added some more categories in order to represent the answers better in our specific data. Generally the occupational categories tend to be based on the closeness of the definition of jobs and leave out categories like retired, student, house wife and tradesman. In some cases the occupation category of the respondent was not filled but the current job was given as retired. Therefore we considered this category as the current job in addition to the basic divisions. Also we used housewife as a work defining category since it was a very important group

especially in Keçiören and categorizing under unemployed would be generalizing this specific group. We grouped the students with the unemployed, but it would be important to suggest that the unemployment rates are very low in both of the areas when we leave out the housewife category. Therefore, unemployed generally refers to students or the newly graduated ones. Apart from these we have a group whose occupation is not the result of some formal education channels, but rather the ownership of capital. These are the owners of small businesses thus employers in general as can be seen from the answers to the surveys. Therefore, we decided that it would be appropriate to group them as a distinct category to show this kind of work as business owners suggesting the existence of old middle class occupations.

The occupational data is difficult to categorize in terms of the class positions it suggests. It has been considered as the only basic category to suggest class differentiation in some approaches like the occupational aggregate approach in the stratification studies. Occupation also has dimensions to it suggesting the existence of both economic and cultural capital. The position of people in the production process determines their occupations and eventually their economic welfare. However, occupation in this sense is not single dimensional because it is related to the cultural accumulations as well in obtaining the required level of education to realize some jobs like the case of the professionals. Considering the attempts of classifying classes based on occupation and its centrality as an aspect suggesting economic welfare and social status in many respects we cannot ignore its role in the class formations. However, it is not seen as the single category in this effort because of the vulnerability of it now in the changing dynamics of today economic climate.

Still the broad outlines of 'old' and 'new' middle class occupations where the old is based on the ownership of some economic assets and the new based on educational capital may suggest one dimension of difference (again in relation to the composition of economic and cultural capital in a way). However, at this point we have to remember that other factors may come to diversify this composition further. For instance, as Gülalp suggests in Turkey there is a division among the professionals or intellectuals based on their level of attachment to Kemalist principles in relation to the adoption level and manner of Islam (2003). Therefore, we should be aware of some fractions among various occupational groupings based on alternative factors related to cultural or other types of capital, even having some local characteristics.

When we analyze the occupational data for parents we can see that especially in Keçiören almost half of the parents could not specify their occupations. This is probably due to the high percentage of housewives in Keçiören. In Çayyolu 73% of the respondents who have specified their occupation are in the category of professionals. This ratio falls to 46% in Keçiören.

Table 08. Occupation of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Professionals	110	55,0	43	21,5
technicians and related prof.	15	7,5	8	4,0
Military	4	2,0		
Managers	10	5,0	3	1,5
workshop owners	5	2,5	8	4,0
service workers	1	0,5		
Clerks			3	1,5
Artisans			1	0,5
Total	145	72,5	69	34,5
missing	55	27,5	133	66,5
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 09. Current job of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	58	29,0	27	13,5
technicians and related prof.	13	6,5	14	7,0
retired	41	20,5	7	3,5
unemployed	19	9,5	19	9,5
housewife	38	19,0	86	43,0
managers	23	11,5	8	4,0
workshop owners	5	2,5	14	7,0
clerks			2	1,0
artisans			1	0,5
service workers	1	0,5		
Total	198	99,0	178	89,0
missing	2	1,0	22	11,0
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 10. Occupation of the parents

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
professionals	71	46,1	202	73,7
technicians and related prof.	25	16,2	25	9,1
military	2	1,3	8	2,9
managers	10	6,5	18	6,6
business owners	44	28,6	20	7,3
clerks	1	0,6		
artisans	1	0,6		
service workers			1	0,4
Total	154	100,0	274	100,0
missing	185		54	
Total	339		328	

When we consider the *current jobs* they are doing the rate of housewives in Keçiören is the highest among other jobs with 36%. In Çayyolu professionals with a 30% are the leading group of jobs. In Keçiören business owners are the biggest groups after the housewives. In Çayyolu the professionals are followed by the retired and managers.

Table 11. Current job of the parents

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	43	12,7	100	30,5
technicians and related prof.	34	10,0	22	6,7
military	2	0,6	1	0,3
retired	18	5,3	63	19,2
housewife	123	36,3	50	15,2
managers	25	7,4	59	18,0
business owners	67	19,8	26	7,9
clerks	1	0,3	1	0,3
missing	26	7,7	6	1,8
Total	339	100,0	328	100,0

Table 12. Occupations of the mothers

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	23	13,6	94	55,0
technicians and related prof.	7	4,1	15	8,8
workshop owners	1	0,6	2	1,2
managers			9	5,3
clerks	1	0,6	3,1	100,0
Total	32	18,9	120	70,2
missing	137	81,1	51	29,8
	169	100,0	171	100,0

Table 13. Current job of the mothers

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	13	7,7	48	28,1
technicians and related prof.	10	5,9	9	5,3
retired	6	3,6	35	20,5
housewife	122	72,2	50	29,2
managers	3	1,8	23	13,5
workshop owners	2	1,2	2	1,2
clerks	1	0,6		
missing	12	7,1	4	2,3
Total	169	100,0	171	100,0

Apart from the information on work, we asked the respondents their *position in their work*. In accordance to the occupational data, the distribution of the conditions of work change. When we consider the data on the level of the parents of the households, it can be seen that employers are higher in number in Keçiören (**Table 14**). This is probably related to the business owners given in the occupational data. The ones who work for their account are higher in Çayyolu probably due to the existence of professionals like doctors or lawyers who have their own offices where they treat patients. Other than that the wage earners are high in both areas but almost twice as much in Çayyolu. This is probably due to the high number of managers, professionals and technical staff working in various private or public institutions. The missing data in this table is related to housewives and the retired.

Table 14. The conditions of the work of parents

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
wage earner	75	46,1	141	68,6
daily waged	1	0,6		
self employed	5	3	25	12,3
employer	83	48,5	37	18,1
unpaid family worker	3	1,8	1	0,5
Total	167	100	204	100
missing	172	50,7	124	37,8
	339		328	

The last three *workplaces* were also asked to see where in the city they go on a daily basis and where they have worked previously. The movement between the workplaces does not reveal a meaningful pattern. It more or less follows the same distributions with an emphasis on the same places. Almost 25% of the people in Ümitköy work in Kızılay. It has the highest ratio in Keçiören as well with 7%. This difference in the ratios is mainly due to the lower number of people working in Keçiören as seen before. Since this data is only collected for the respondents themselves, we do not know the last three workplaces of the household heads. Still it can be said that 1/5 of the working population in Keçiören, and 1/3 of the working population in Ümitköy are working in Kızılay. 10% of the ones in Ümitköy work in Bahçelievler and GOP, Ulus, Hacettepe and Çayyolu follows Bahçelievler. 6% of the respondents of Keçiören work in the district, and Ulus and Bahçelievler come after this. Here it can be seen that, the bigger working population in Ümitköy when compared to Keçiören is mainly based on the higher attendance of women to the workforce in Ümitköy, and this population while being more disadvantageous in terms of distance to the city center is still attached to the center in their daily commuting. They work in places like Kızılay, GOP, Ulus and Bahçelievler. Kızılay is also an attraction point for the Keçiören residents in terms of workplaces, and Keçiören, Ulus and Bahçelievler are other important nodes of work for the working population in Keçiören. However, although we do not have information on the household heads, house and workplace ownership data suggested the ownership of a considerable ratio of immovables in Siteler, which may be interpreted as a sign of many household heads working there.

3.6.2.2. Residential Mobility in Urban Space

Apart from the social origin in terms of the hometown, their mobility in urban space was also of our concern, since the spatial choice of living in various places is a very important source of utilization of the urban space. We asked their previous place of residence and the one before that. Analyzing these, in the first step it was possible to see a very clear pattern. The people who are residing in Keçiören were mainly also residing in the district before (**Figure 30**). In Ümitköy the previous place of residence is also mainly Çayyolu, but there are some well-known movements from the older middle class neighborhoods in southern Ankara especially from Bahçelievler (**Figure 31**).

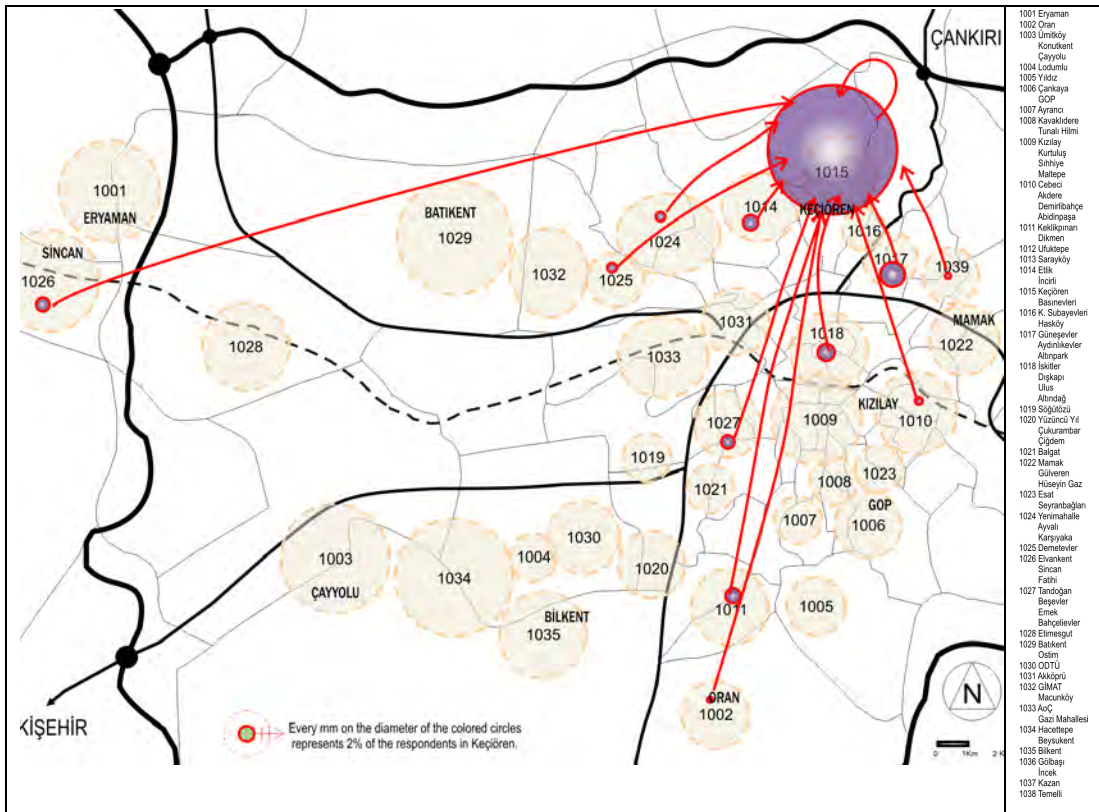


Figure 30. The districts that the respondents in Keçiören lived before.

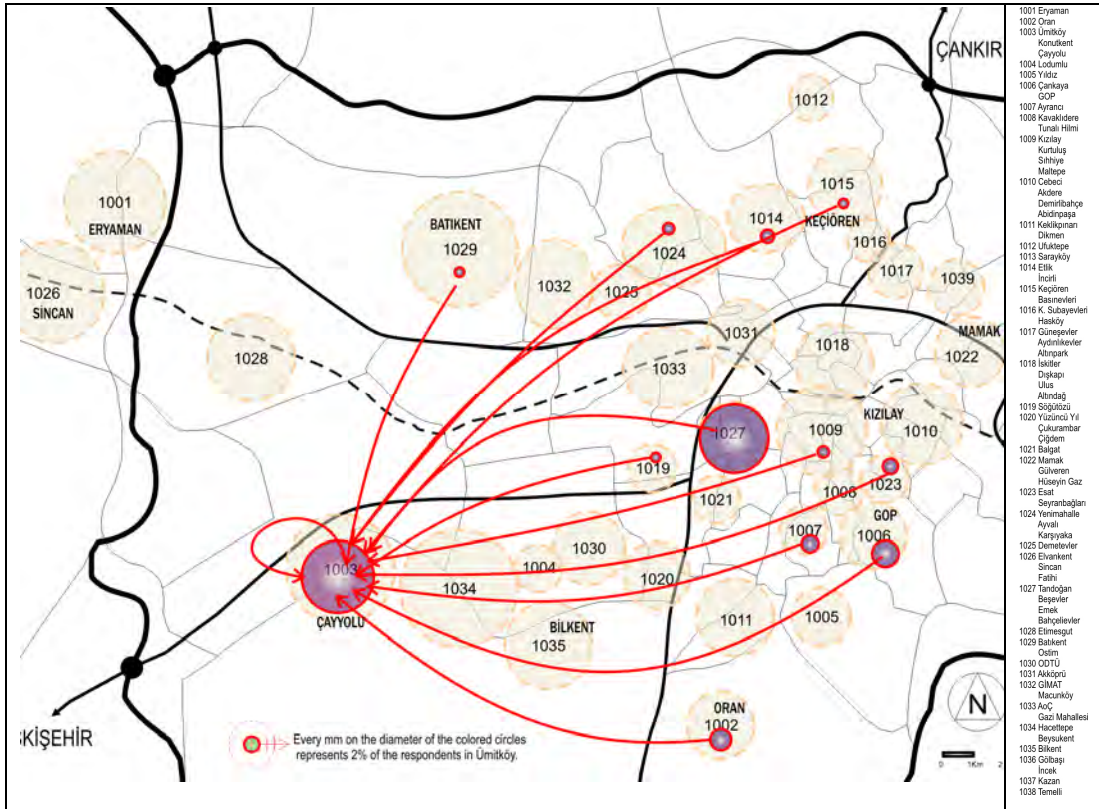


Figure 31. The districts that the respondents in Ümitköy lived before.

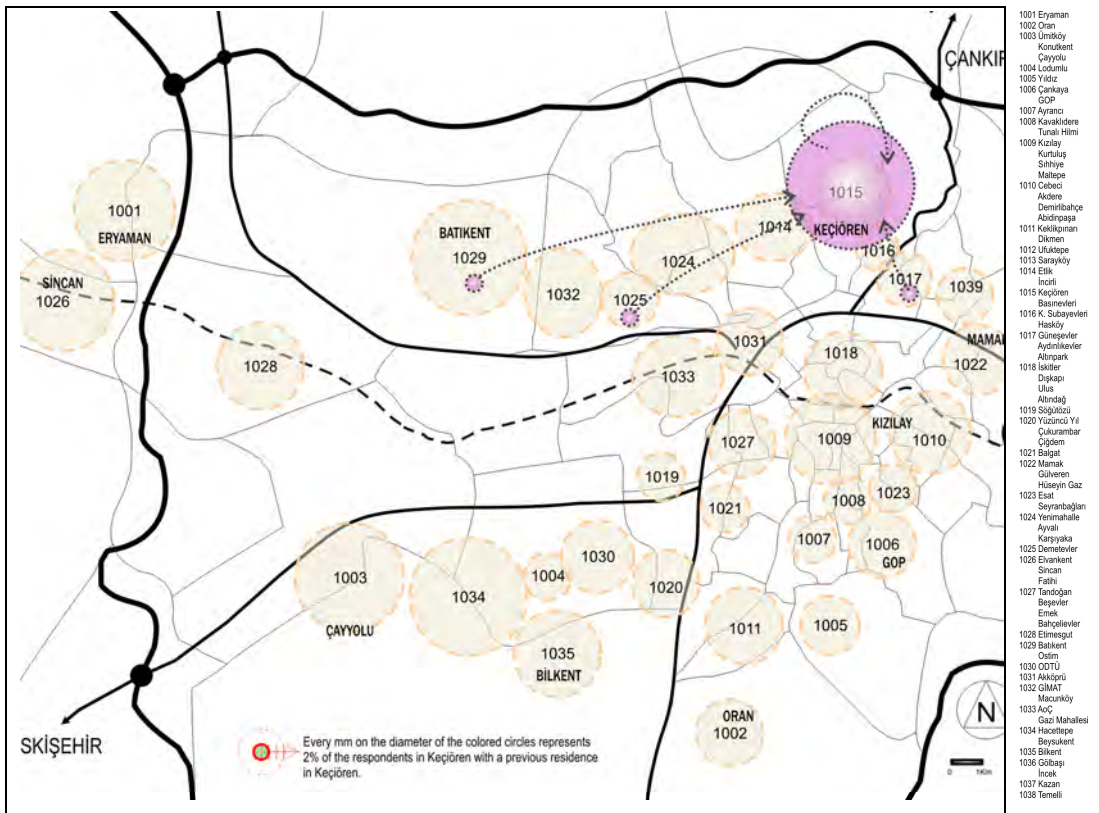


Figure 32. The districts that the respondents whose previous residence was in Keçiören lived before

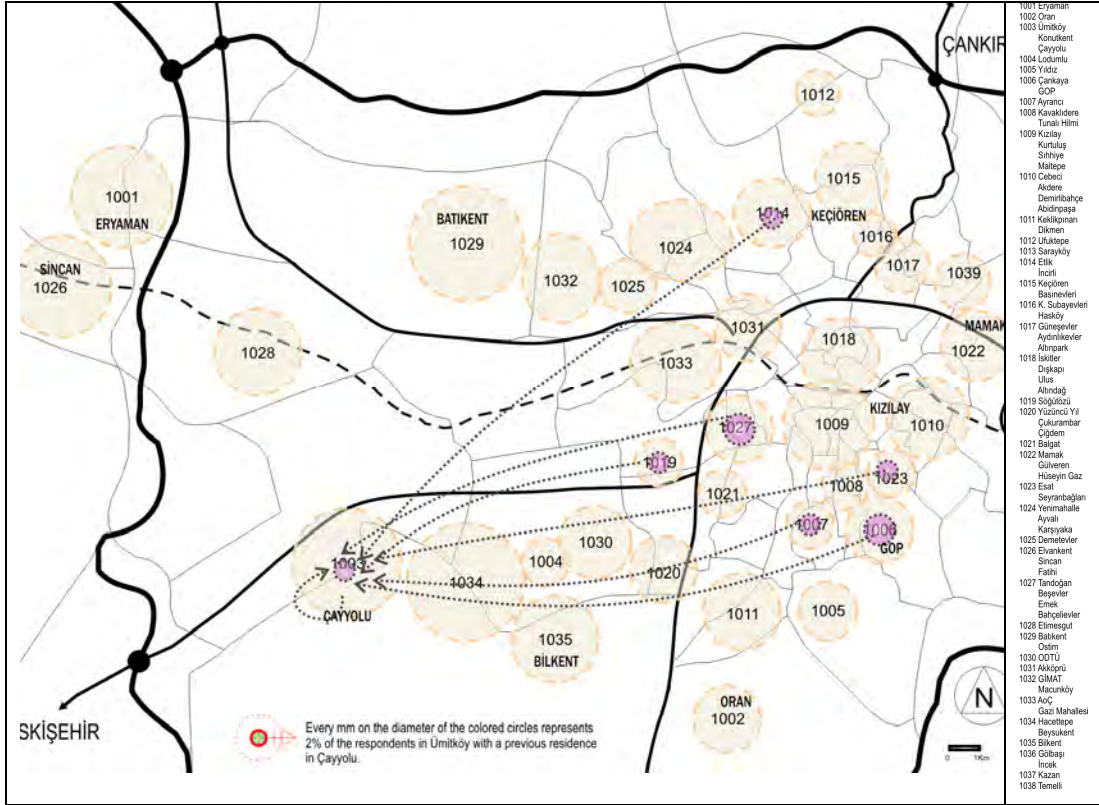


Figure 33. The districts that the respondents whose previous residence was in Çayyolu lived before.

9.5% of the ones who live in Keçiören have been living in a different city before. 3% of them came from neighbor cities and the rest is a mixture with no main tendency. In Çayyolu 5.5% of the respondents came from other cities. The weight is on İstanbul, İzmir and İçel. The others are also big cities like Eskişehir, Bursa and Kayseri.

The previous residences of the ones, with a previous residence in Keçiören, are mainly Keçiören as well, as can be seen from the maps above. Also Batıkent, Aydınlıkevler and Demetevler are some other nodes (Figure 32). It may probably be assumed that, the ones who settled in the places where the survey is applied either have moved here with an increase in their economic welfare, or they were living in older and smaller housing stock that did not serve their purposes and wanted to move to better houses without changing the environment they are living in. The origins of the ones with a previous residence in Çayyolu are seen in Figure 33. These movements are also consistent coming from older southern neighborhoods with an exception of Etlık of a minor percentage.

* * *

When we take a look at the basic information on the families included in the survey, we can see that a slightly younger group existed in Keçiören where the sizes of the households were larger. The occupational data and the current jobs suggest the existence of a much higher concentration of housewives in Keçiören and in relation to this we can see that more women are working in Çayyolu especially as professionals. This may be interpreted as the first sign of a more traditional family structure in Keçiören where only the male household heads are working and women in their roles as the mothers of the house. Also more business owners in Keçiören and more professionals in Çayyolu attract attention in the general evaluation of the jobs and occupations of parents suggesting a division in terms of the old and new middle class in the two areas.

The birth places mainly point to Ankara. Among the rest, an emphasis on the surroundings of Ankara may be seen in Keçiören. Also more people originate in the western cities and the other major cities in Çayyolu when compared to Keçiören with a domination of middle Anatolian cities. The residential mobility of the ones in Çayyolu suggests a well-known movement from the central southern neighborhoods where as Keçiören was occupied by these groups before their residence in their current houses.

The interpretation of a limited amount of data up to now suggests a differential structure among the two groups at hand except for the gender balances of the survey which makes the data obtained comparable since gender is a factor that may affect the lifestyles of the respondents. Especially the difference in the roles of the women is worth to further examine in order to catch lifestyle differences of the households.

3.6.3. Cultural Capital

3.6.3.1. Educational Level

As we have discussed before in this study, our investigation of theoretical suggestions in the literature gave us some tools to use in order to reach some knowledge on what could make different groups live different lifestyles thus the formation of different habituses. Economic capital was well-known in classical stratification accounts as a factor for distinction between various groups in the society. However, it is important to note that the economic and cultural capital can be converted to each other by affecting the ratio of the type of capital one owns (Bourdieu 1989). For example you could spend your economic capital on education of yourself or your children in order to increase your cultural capital or you could use the cultural capital to work in various jobs and earn money. For the sake of our study, we chose specific groups in a specific location in a

specific time period. These groups also had a certain amount of economic capital at the time that gave us an opportunity to compare them in other terms. This way we could have the chance to see the affects of other things that could be a source of distinction among these groups, thus affect their behavior in almost every arena of life.

One of the sources that the literature suggested that was an important variable was cultural capital that lead us prepare questions on the existence of various levels of cultural capital. The variables that we used in the search for cultural capital are education, which is a very important sign of cultural capital, social origin (as father's occupation and education) and to a certain extent, occupation. The occupation category is already discussed for the respondents and the parents of the households. Although these are the basic factors suggesting a difference in cultural capital, there are many arenas to search for the imprints of cultural capital in daily life. Further in the chapter we will go on explaining these in the results of the survey. The other things that are related to the habits of the residents in the two areas also reveal differences in cultural capital. Of course we should not forget that apart from the level of their economic capital that gave these two groups the opportunity to reside in these specific locations, their evaluations on the urban space, all are a result of their habituses as choice and taste may be revealed in every arena of life as suggested by Bourdieu and personal evaluations are naturally a result of personal judgments based on taste. Furthermore, other factors like religion will be integrated as the indicator of cultural capital as specific for the Turkish case.

Educational level is one of the major signs suggesting the level of cultural capital, thus collecting this information may be stated as one of the major accomplishments of the survey in getting some insight to cultural differences between the two groups at hand. For example the percentage of respondents over 22 with a university degree or higher is 62.8% in Çayyolu, where as this ratio is 28.6% in Keçiören. Another important dimension of this difference may be revealed by the fact that 31.4% of the respondents older than 20 have received education until the secondary school, while this ratio is 3.6% in Çayyolu (Table 8). The gap in the educational levels of the respondents in the two areas is deepened when we consider the gender factor among the two sites. Women in Çayyolu seem to be more advantaged than the ones in Keçiören in terms of the level of formal education they get. This fact is further apparent when we consider the parents' educational levels.

Table 15. The level of education of the respondents older than 22

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
illiterate			3	1,8
literate, did not go to school			1	0,6
primary school	7	3,8	35	20,8
secondary school			15	8,9
high school	40	21,9	55	32,7
university degree	102	55,7	48	28,6
graduate degree	13	7,1		
college	19	10,4	8	4,8
Total	181	98,9	165	98,2
missing	2	1,1	3	1,8
	183	100,0	168	100,0

Educational levels of the parents reveal a similar pattern with the respondents. Almost 1/3 of the parents in Keçiören have received secondary education and lower. This ratio is only 5.4% in Çayyolu. 3/4 of the parents in Çayyolu have received university education and higher. In Keçiören this ratio is only 1/3. When concerned with women, the educational difference in the two sites is also very apparent. Almost 65% of women in Çayyolu have received university education and higher whereas it falls to 22% in Keçiören.

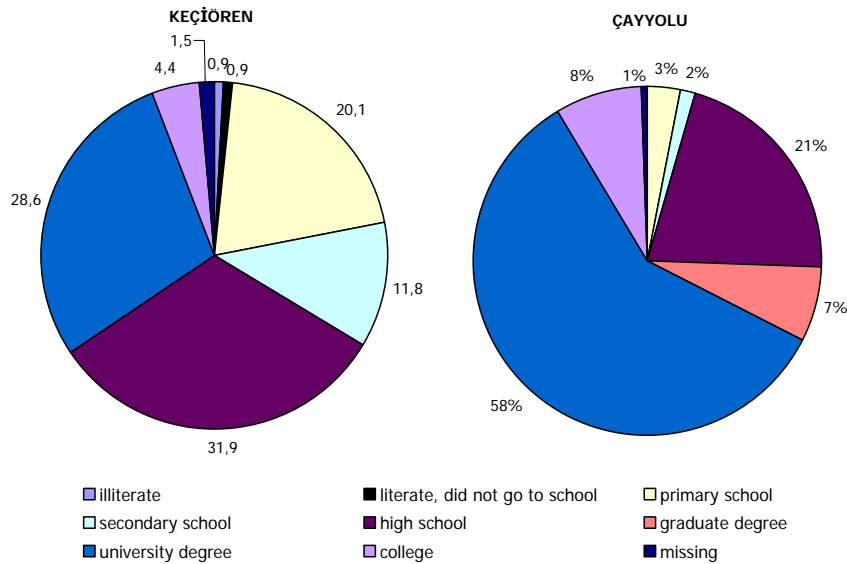


Figure 34. The level of education of the parents

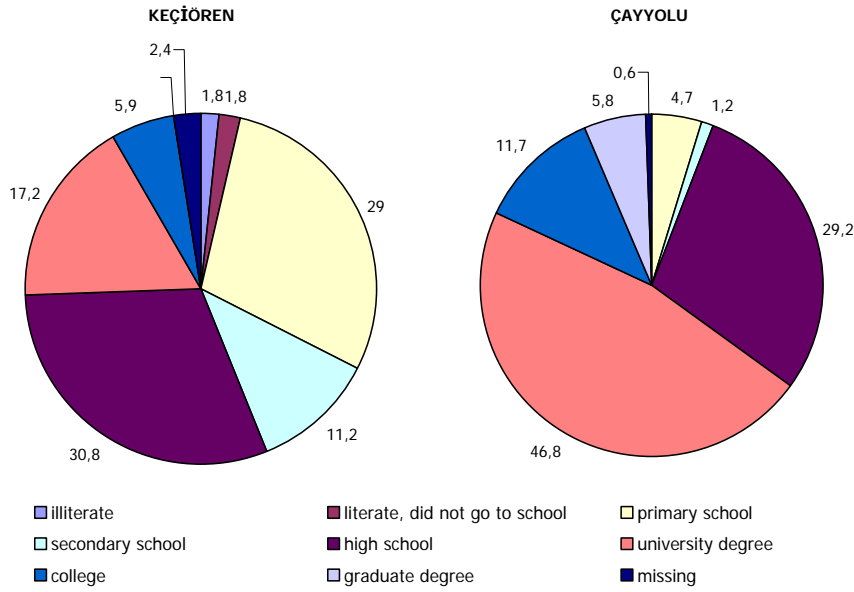


Figure 35. The level of education of the mothers

Educational capital may also be observed in the *knowledge of a foreign language*. 8% of the respondents of the survey in Çayyolu state that they know two foreign languages and 68.5% of these people know at least one foreign language. English with 64.5% is the most popular among these. In Keçiören this ratio falls to 34% with 29.5% knowing English. Only 2% of this group knows two foreign languages. Apart from the respondents, if we analyze the data on the basis of the parents, the picture is almost the same. 65% of the parents in Çayyolu know at least one other foreign language, while this ratio is 25% in Keçiören (Table 16).

Table 16. Knowledge of a foreign language of parents in Keçiören

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
english	72	21,2	197	60,1
french	7	2,1	8	2,4
german	4	1,2	6	1,8
arabic	1	0,3	1	0,3
none	255	75,0	116	35,4
Total	339	100,0	328	100,0

In a more general evaluation on the consumption patterns of different groups in Ankara Akpınar's study suggests that, income goes parallel to educational level. She states that the more economic capital rises the more level of education is obtained (2005). This situation stated as a general result of the study of Akpınar is true to a certain extent for the respondents in Ümitköy in our study. There, the people have high economic capital as well as high educational capital. However, the situation is different when we turn to Keçiören. The most important feature that distinguishes the two groups is probably the reality that people in Keçiören have low educational capital and cultural capital in general as suggested by the social origin as well. However, in terms of economic capital they have the same wealth with the ones in Ümitköy. Therefore, just observing the educational levels of the two groups, justifies in a way that the sources of different choices and different habituses lie in the amount and *type* of capital that the two groups own. The superiority of educational capital on the part of the residents in Ümitköy are also reflected in their occupational pattern as seen before in this chapter with a dominance of professional jobs and the abundance of women labor in these sectors as well.

3.6.3.2. Social Origin

When considering the *educational level of the father* as a sign of social origin being another component of cultural capital which gives information on the family background, it can be seen that the same difference between the educational levels of the two areas in terms of the respondents is revealed in the fathers' as well. In Keçiören 61.8% of the fathers of parents had primary school education or did not have formal education at all. In Çayyolu this is 33.6%. Also the fathers with the university education are 24% in Çayyolu and 5.6% in Keçiören. In calculating the educational level of the fathers, we left the answers of the children out of the calculation in order to get a clear view on the earlier generation as much as possible. When the *occupation of the fathers of parents* is considered, here professionals are 24% of the ones in Ümitköy while the ratio is 6.9% in Keçiören. Apart from small business owners which have a similar share in both groups, technicians and related professions and farmers with 18% have a high share in Keçiören while 6% in Ümitköy (Table 12). Here again a tendency towards the old middle class jobs in Keçiören and the dominance of professionals and technicians and related professions which also require occupational education may be observed. Especially the higher ratio of the farmers in Keçiören may be related to the origins of the respondents mainly in the central Anatolia.

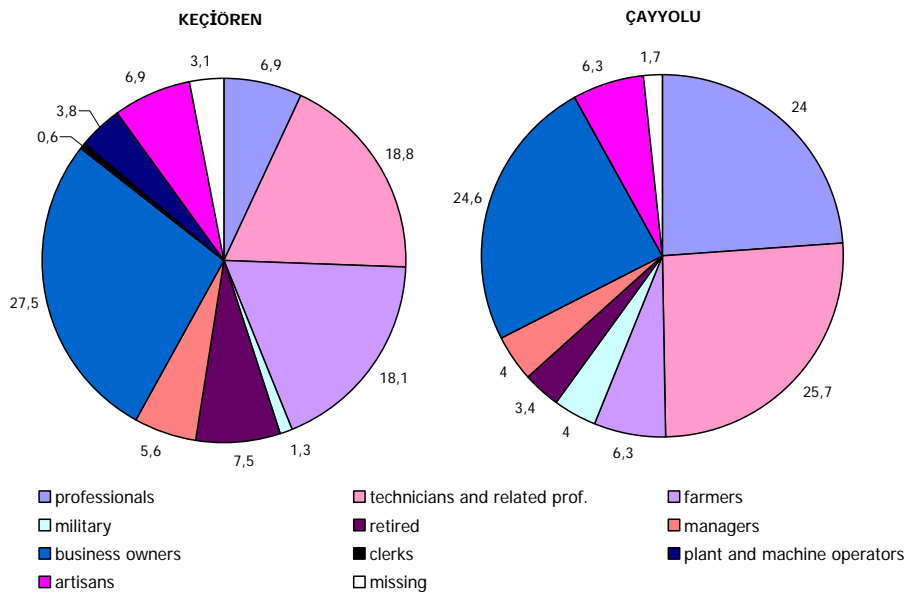


Figure 36. Father's occupation of the respondent parents

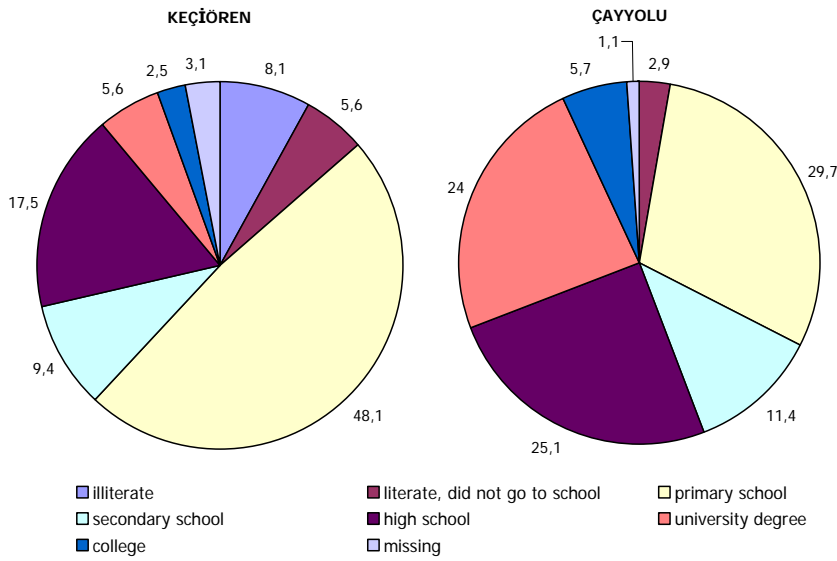


Figure 37. Father's educational level of the respondent parents

It can be seen that data obtained on the basis of cultural capital as suggested by the literature reveal a differentiation as seen in the basic information as well. Cultural capital of the respondents in Çayyolu is higher compared to Keçiören and this is reflected to the occupational compositions in terms of the educational qualifications required for the jobs they practice.

3.6.3.3. Consumption of Cultural Goods

Before analyzing the spatial repercussions of the activities in urban space, we may discuss the activities in terms of their frequency under this heading of cultural capital. As suggested in literature cultural consumption is a very important sign of distinction among various groups. In the survey we asked the respondents how often and where in the city they made certain activities. Going to the *cinema, theater, art galleries, opera and ballet and concert* are the cultural facilities that are taken into consideration in the survey.

29% of the respondents in Keçiören state that they either do not go to the cinema or very rarely while this ratio is only 7% in Çayyolu. People who go to the cinema once a week or more are 8.5% in Keçiören and 18% in Çayyolu. General tendency in both cases is going once or twice a month. People who go to the cinema once a month or more often are 46% in Keçiören and 71.5% in Çayyolu.

Habits of going to the theater almost say the same things although the frequency is lower in both areas. 75.5% Keçiören, 38.5% in Çayyolu state that they either rarely go to the theater or do not go at all. The ones who go to the theater once a month or more are doubled in Çayyolu when compared to Keçiören. The frequency of going to art galleries is very low in both of the areas. Still in Çayyolu more than 20% state that they go to art galleries a few times a year or more often while this ratio is 10% in Keçiören. The people who go to the opera or ballet are only 6% of the population disregarding the frequency of the activity in Keçiören, whereas 26.1% of the residents of Çayyolu go even if not very frequently. The frequency of going to concerts also is like the other activities. While 70% of the population in Keçiören state that they do not go to concerts, this is 33% in Çayyolu. Thus cultural consumption is an area where we can easily see the difference in the share of such activities in the two groups' daily lives. The frequency of attending to activities of cultural significance may be suggested as another area where the difference among the two groups in Ümitköy and Keçiören is revealed.

The *newspaper* that people read also carries the signs of their general political tendencies and lifestyles. This in turn is another important clue for the cultural capital people have. As can be seen from the table below, the main tendencies of both groups are directed to Central and Liberal newspapers in both areas (**Table 17**). The category described as central (minor) is used for defining the newspapers with less content than the other central category. Also 20% of the respondents in Keçiören state that they read Islamic-Nationalist newspapers which are in line with the data provided later in this section on

the religious tendencies and the well-known political tendencies in the area (Kurtođlu 2004). Also seeing that left wing papers are not read in Keçiören at all and to a limited extent in Çayyolu is also another striking point. In the same manner, the Islamic-Nationalist papers are represented with only 1% in Ümitköy. Also 20% in Ümitköy and 27% in Keçiören have not specified a regular newspaper they are consuming. These people are probably the ones who do not buy the newspapers on a regular basis or some are following the newspapers from the internet.

Table 17. Choices of newspaper

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
central	143	71,5	79	39,5
islamic_nationalist	2	1,0	40	20,0
central (minor)	8	4,0	27	13,5
left wing	7	3,5		
Total	160	80,0	146	73,0
missing	40	20,0	54	27,0
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Central-Liberal newspapers: Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Vatan, Tercüman, Radikal

Islamic-Nationalist newspapers: Zaman, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak

Central Minor newspapers: Posta, Güneş, Bugün, Akşam

Left-wing newspapers: Cumhuriyet

(In the categorization of the newspapers Akşit *et al.*'s definitions were utilized with some modifications (2000))

As the final question of the survey the respondents were asked of their *favorite political leader*. In this question the 62% of the respondents in Ümitköy stated that they did not want to answer the question. This ratio is only 25% in Keçiören. The most popular leader in Keçiören is the Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan with 39%. 10% of the respondents answered the question as Atatürk, while another 6% as Turgut Özal. Although the number of responses to this question was very low in Ümitköy, 11% of the people gave the name of Atatürk as their favorite political leader. Erdoğan has 5.5% share in Ümitköy.

Another question was on the *private courses* they followed as a complementary education. However, as far as the respondents are concerned, in both areas the most popular type of courses are painting courses with a 10% share in each area. In Keçiören 8% of the population follow Kur'an courses as the second highest choice. The second most popular type of course in Ümitköy is foreign language lessons with 4.5%.

3.6.3.4. Religion

Apart from the cultural signs that are referred to in the western literature, in Turkey *religion* may be considered an important factor among cultural capital. Even the newspapers they read may suggest such a clue. Practicing religious duties may be an important part of a Muslim's daily life and bring some limits to certain activities while opening up new areas of activity, thus becoming another source of cultural capital. It may even affect the social capital. Religion may have no effect in ones' life or in some cases it may become the lifestyle itself. Therefore, especially taking into consideration the traditional image of Keçiören as a conservative site and all the recent studies on the rise of Islamic way of life in the urban accumulations (Saktanber 2005, 2003), it would be wrong to leave out religion, since "iman" is suggested as an important factor in the formation of the habitus as discussed before acting intermingled with taste (Saktanber 2003). We can say that the cultural capital given up to now were mainly based on knowledge or formal education or status differences. However, religion may be suggested to act as a different *type* of cultural capital that may even affect the way one approaches education independent from the discussion on the level of education. It can be said that Islam has its effects on the entire country since the population of Turkey is composed of mostly Muslims. However, to what extent various individuals internalized religion as a part of their life is something in need of research. Naturally, since this is not a study focused entirely on this issue, we will only use religion as another clue for differentiated cultural capital.

Also another dimension of this issue may be brought up in relation to this factor. In the recent decades Islam in Turkey has not been discussed only by what it resembles in the private practices of the religion itself. The religious approaches have been considered as the suggestion of a Muslim identity revealed in many parts of one's life including the ideological and political tendencies. A major opposition of Islam with the Kemalist principles forming the modern nation-state has been discussed in the foundation of the Republic and today it is cited as indicating a variety in class structure of Turkey (Gülalp 2003). The integration of the Islamism identity to every issue in everyday life has been examined by every dimension including the role of women in this process (Göle 2000, 2002). Especially the context it provides as opposed to the modern, western identity of the Turkish Republic is a central area of concern. Thus, it can be suggested that in some cases the adoption of Islamism in one's life may indicate more than just the personal religious practices, but an ideology or a collective belief system. In this manner Göle differentiates the Muslim identity from the Islamic one stating that being a Muslim only

refers to the religion where as an Islamic identity refers to political consciousness and social action (Göle 2002: 97). Therefore, it may be assumed especially based on the political tendencies of the groups in Keçiören, to a certain extent this issue may be interpreted in relation to this basic dilemma among the concepts of secularism and Islamism tendencies.

Having this context mentioned above in the background, we may evaluate the answers of the survey in relation to the religious practices. To do this we asked the respondents whether they practice their religious duties like *namaz (daily prayer)*, *zakat*, *fast and sacrificing*. Also we asked whether they use the *mosques* and whether they have gone to *pilgrimage*. The situation is just the opposite when we consider the two sites in terms of *namaz*. In Çayyolu approximately 70% of the population state that they do not perform *namaz* whereas 70% in Keçiören state that they do perform this ritual. When we asked the *namaz* that is performed on Friday in mosques mainly by men, we see the same situation. While 70% of men in Keçiören go to *namaz* on Friday, only 30% in Çayyolu state that they perform this ritual. The results of the practicing of *namaz* are reflected to the utility of mosques as well. When we consider the whole population including the women, we see that 50% of the people in Keçiören use mosques while this is only 14.5% in Çayyolu. When we take a look at the ratio including only men, 30% in Çayyolu go to mosques while 64% of men in Keçiören use mosques.

However, we can say that only in the performing of *namaz* as religious practice this difference is revealed to such a great extent. When we consider the other duties of Islam, we can still see that in Keçiören they are practiced by more people, but the differences are not that striking. Maybe this is related to the character of *namaz* as an activity that is to be practiced on a daily basis, thus more influential on the lifestyle, but the rest practiced once in a year. For example 71.5% of the residents in Çayyolu state that they fast while this is 93.5% in Keçiören. More or less the same ratios hold for *zakat/almsgiving* and *sacrificing*. Also 2% of the respondents in Çayyolu and 6% of the ones in Keçiören stated that they have gone to the pilgrimage.

Another sign of a religious way of life may be followed to a certain extent from the *use of alcoholic drinks*. Depending on the rate of application of religious principles to ones' life, the forbidden use of alcohol by Islam may be a sign for distinction. In fact the result of this question is very consistent with the above ones because 78% of the ones in Keçiören stated that they never use alcohol, while this rate is 35.5% in Çayyolu. Also the ones that

use alcohol twice a month or more frequently are 34.5% of the population in Çayyolu, while this is 7.6% in Keçiören. This may be interpreted as another sign pointing out the more conservative way of life on the part of the Keçiören residents.

The celebration of the New Year was another issue that we considered in the survey. We asked the respondents if they celebrated the New Year. In the Islamic tradition, there is no such practice and it is generally believed that this tradition is imported from the Christian traditions where the coming of the New Year is very important. Thus it is common knowledge that celebrating the New Year is rejected by some groups of Muslims entirely. When looking at the answers of the respondents, we can see that 44% of the population in Keçiören stated that they do not celebrate the New Year while this ratio is 9% in Çayyolu. Considering the visiting of the elders in the religious holidays which is an important tradition of the Muslims, we do not see that much of difference. Both groups do go to these visits almost at the same ratios, which is natural since this is a very traditional habit in Turkey.

Interpreting the results of the questions on the religious duties or common practices implying a religious way of life, we tried to see to what extent the religious activities affect the lives of the two groups. It can be clearly stated that the tendency of practicing religious activities on a daily basis is higher among Keçiören residents and this may to a certain extent be considered as a sign of conservativeness. However, we cannot point out to a total rejection of religious activities in Ümitköy where many of the religious activities are practiced to a certain extent.

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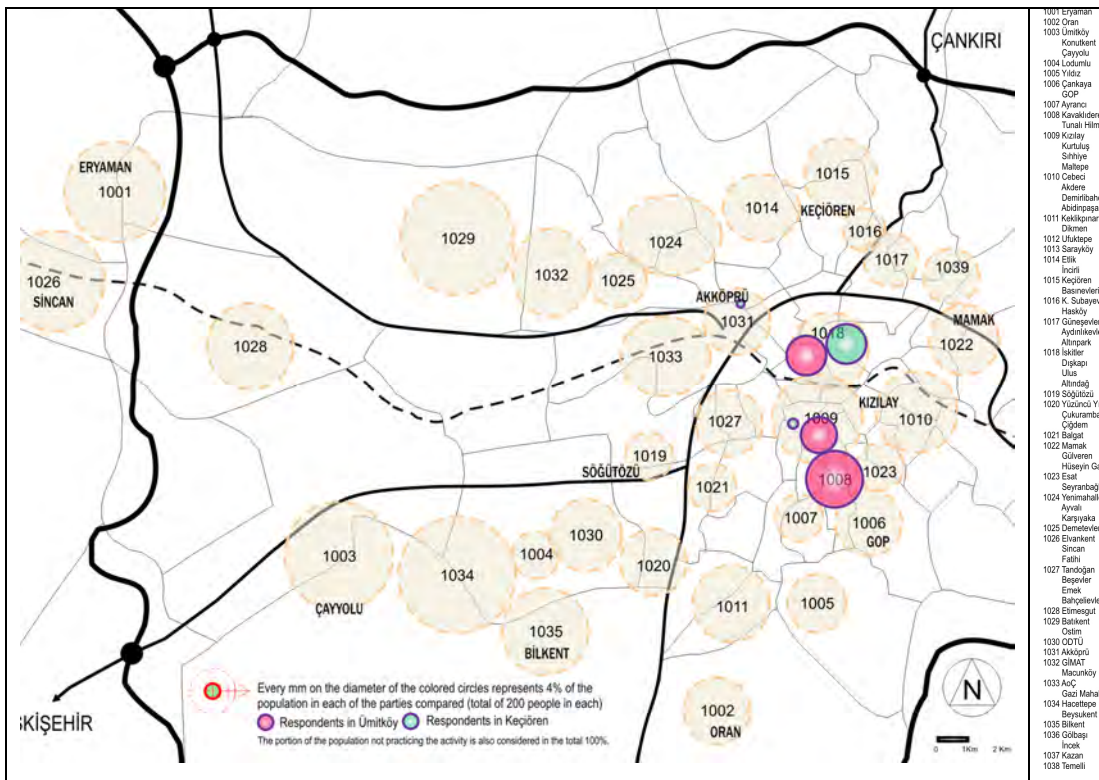
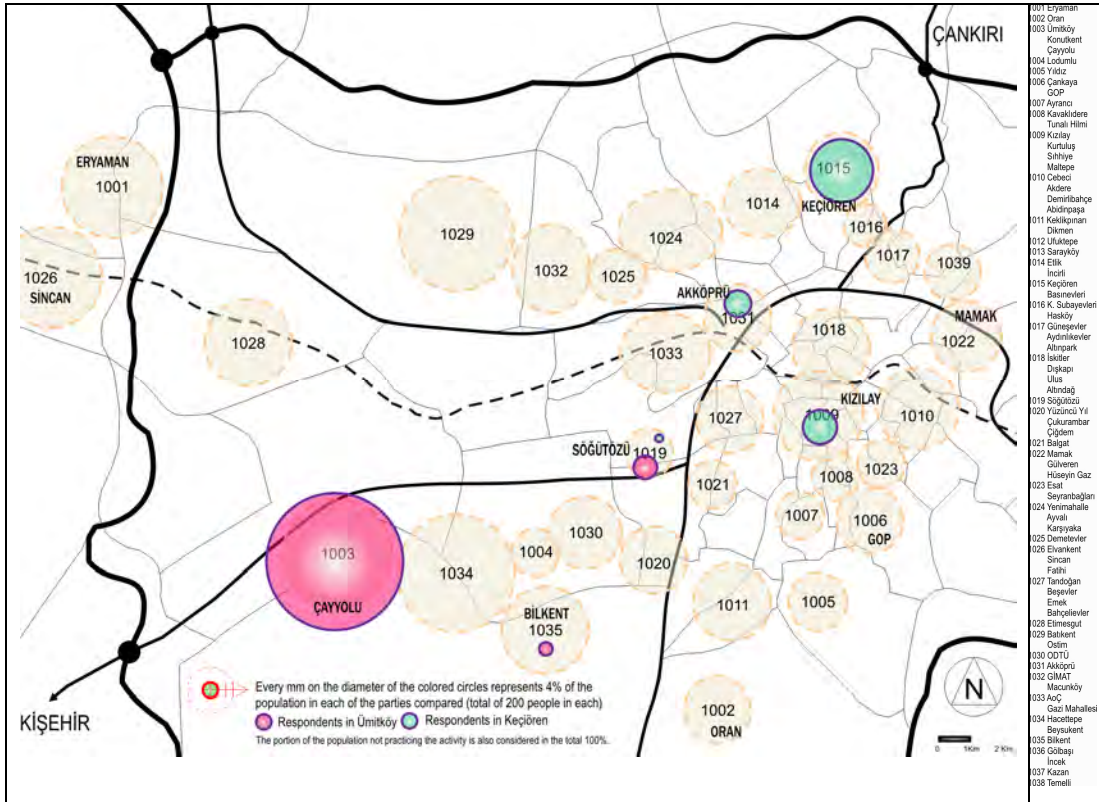
In a total evaluation of factors suggesting the possession of cultural capital, we can see that the consumption of cultural goods also reveal a difference in the two areas with an emphasis on the parts of the respondents in Çayyolu. Also religion as an important dimension was integrated among the cultural capital differences of the two groups with a higher percentage of practice among the Keçiören residents. Based on this and other factors like their choice of the favorite political leader, and political choice in the last elections, newspaper they read and household type, we can suggest the existence of a more conservative and traditional lifestyle in Keçiören as a part of the basic opposition between secularism and conservatism.

3.6.4. Comparison of the Spatial Habits of the Respondents

As we have discussed before the spatial habits of the respondents in our case refers to which places in the city the respondents use for various purposes. Since this is a comparative study, we are looking for differences on their use of various locations. In fact it should be considered that distance is a well-known factor that encourages or discourages the use of various activities in different locations. In our case concerning the urban space of Ankara, residents in Çayyolu seem to be more disadvantaged in terms of distance to various activities especially at the city center. However, if it means to reach some specific cultural or leisure activities, we can see that distance does not matter that much to the residents of Çayyolu. Also most of them already commute on a daily basis to go to work in the city. It can be assumed that private vehicle ownership may diminish the effect of distance to reach certain activities. In fact as discussed above under the heading of economic capital, people in both of the areas have generally private means of transportation. And when they are asked if they use mass transportation facilities, which is only buses and minibuses available at the time in both of the areas since the construction of the subway is not completed, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ in both areas state that they do use public transport. However, when we consider the percentages of drivers license ownership discussed above, it can be seen that especially the women population in Keçiören has a lower rate of driver's license compared to Çayyolu and probably have to depend on public transport facilities which may to a certain extent explain their immobility in various activities.

Below in the form of various graphic representations we tried to show the differences in the behavior of practicing various *cultural and leisure time activities*. The maps also show to what extent each group practices the activity independent from the frequency of the activity which we have already discussed in the above section. This in a way helps us to see the differences of practice between the two groups we are concerned with. We already discussed the habits in terms of frequency as we have mentioned. However, by seeing the places they utilize for various cultural and leisure time activities, we can be able to see where in the city they use and how much of the urban space they utilize. Apart from this data, what will contribute to this information are the social bonds. The survey enables us to see where their relatives and close friends they visit as a family reside in. This information will also be shown below in the social capital section. First, in this section we will try to see their leisure time activities in terms of cultural and entertainment consumption and shopping habits. Then we can go on and discuss their social networks constructed in the urban space.

Since the frequency of participating in cultural activities were already discussed above, at this point dwelling on other entertainment facilities may be useful in terms of frequency. In fact the choice in this manner may also be considered as an indicator of choice, thus taste revealing the cultural capital of the two groups just as Bourdieu's study on the choice of food or art work. For example, the study of Bridge and Dowling were related to the cultural signs in the retail spaces of this kind in the gentrified spaces suggesting the importance of taste in the choice of such utilities (2001). When we consider the total group of respondents in both areas, first of all it can be seen that both groups do not go the traditional Turkish *coffee houses* almost at all which is generally a practice of men with spare time and it is a group not represented in our sample to a great extent. Also the rates of going to *bars or nightclubs* are low as well. Going to *teagardens* is not very popular as well, but more people in Keçiören do this activity. Going to *shopping malls* is a very popular activity in both places with 71% of the population going once a week or more in Ümitköy and 55% in Keçiören. 78% of the respondents in Ümitköy state that they go to *restaurants* at least once a month while this ratio is 55% in Keçiören. 38% of the people in Keçiören state that they go to *cafés* once a month or more, while the ratio is 52,5% in Ümitköy. When we consider restaurant, café and shopping malls the frequency of doing these activities is more in Ümitköy than Keçiören. These gaps in ratios between the two areas in especially going to café and restaurants increase when we consider the habits of mothers. The differences in ratios of attending to these activities are in a way represented in the maps below disregarding the frequency of the activity.



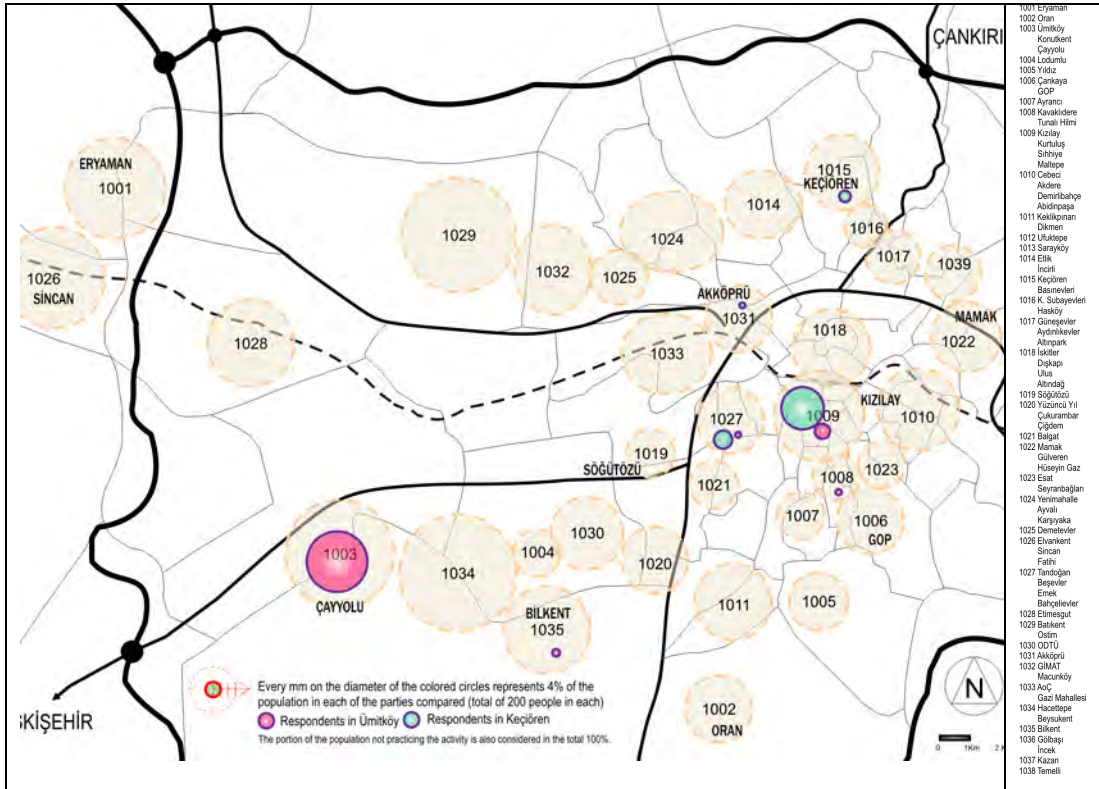


Figure 40. The places where the cafes used by the respondents are located

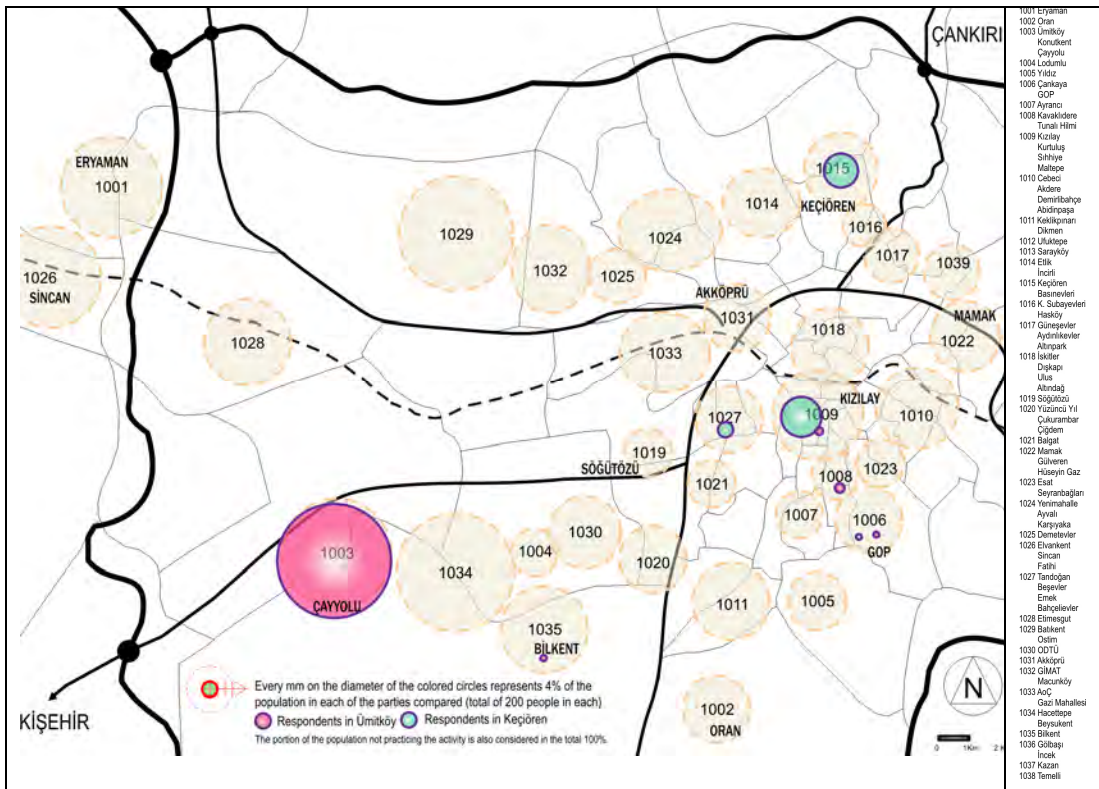


Figure 41. The places where the restaurants used by the respondents are located

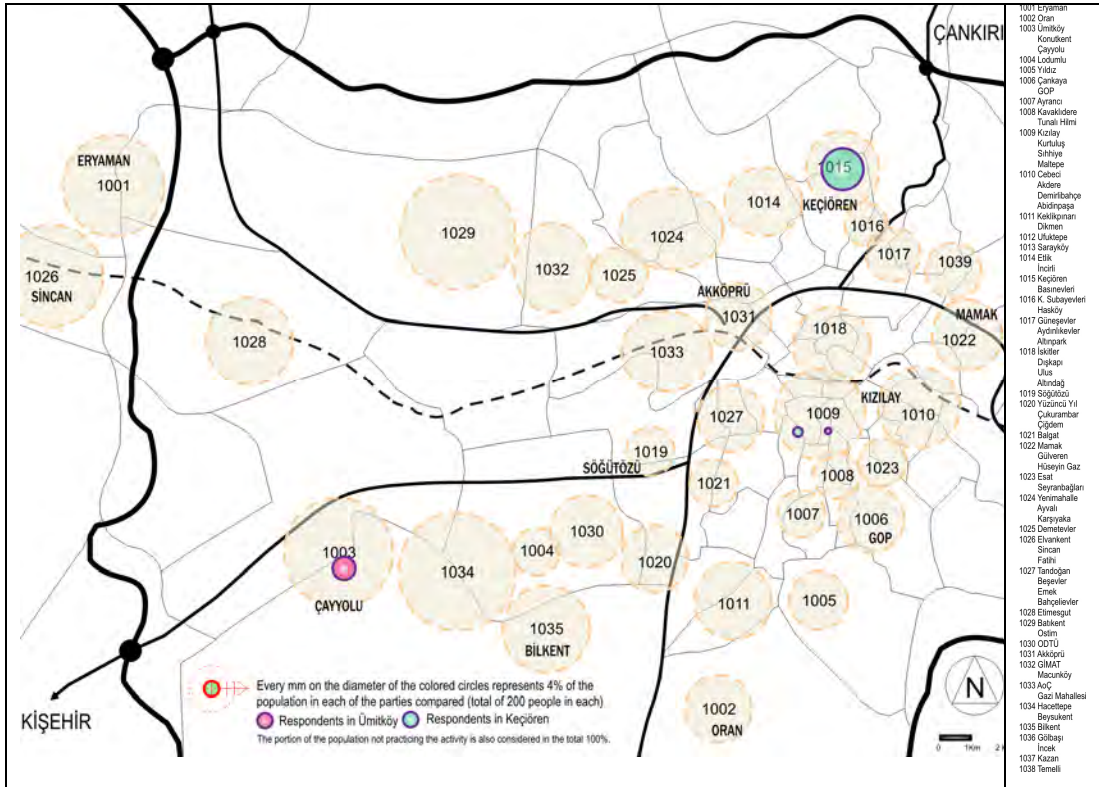


Figure 42. The places where the teagardens used by the respondents are located

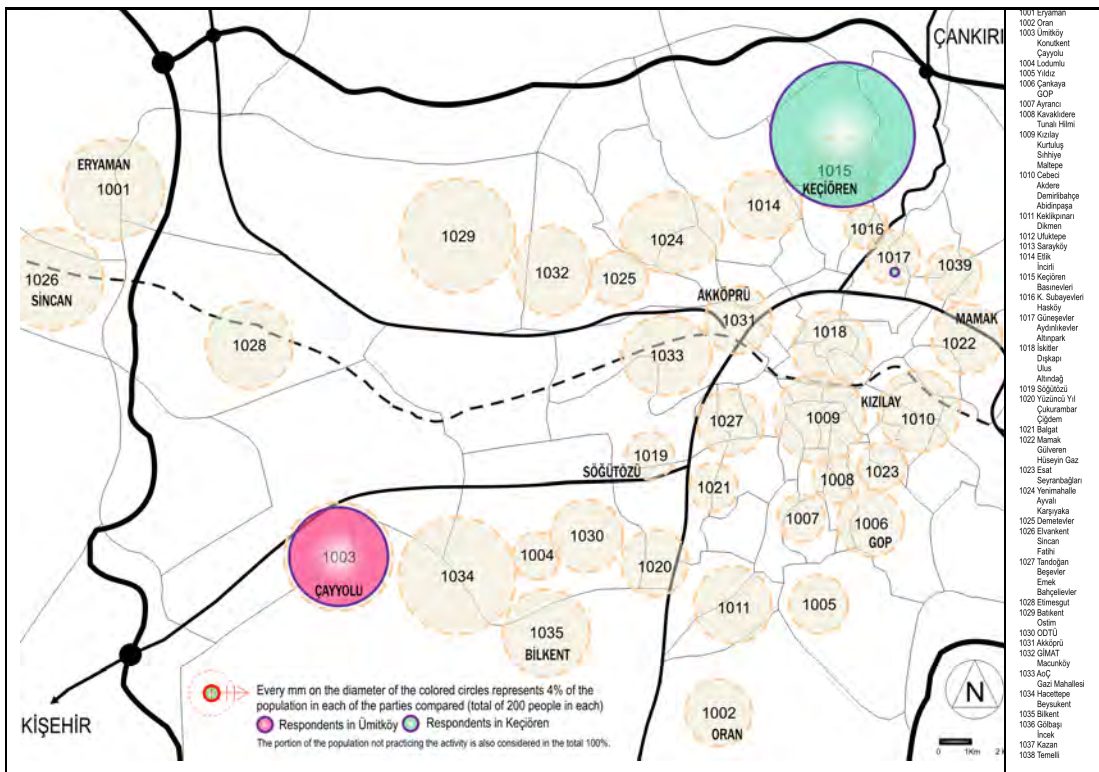


Figure 43. The places where the parks used by the respondents are located

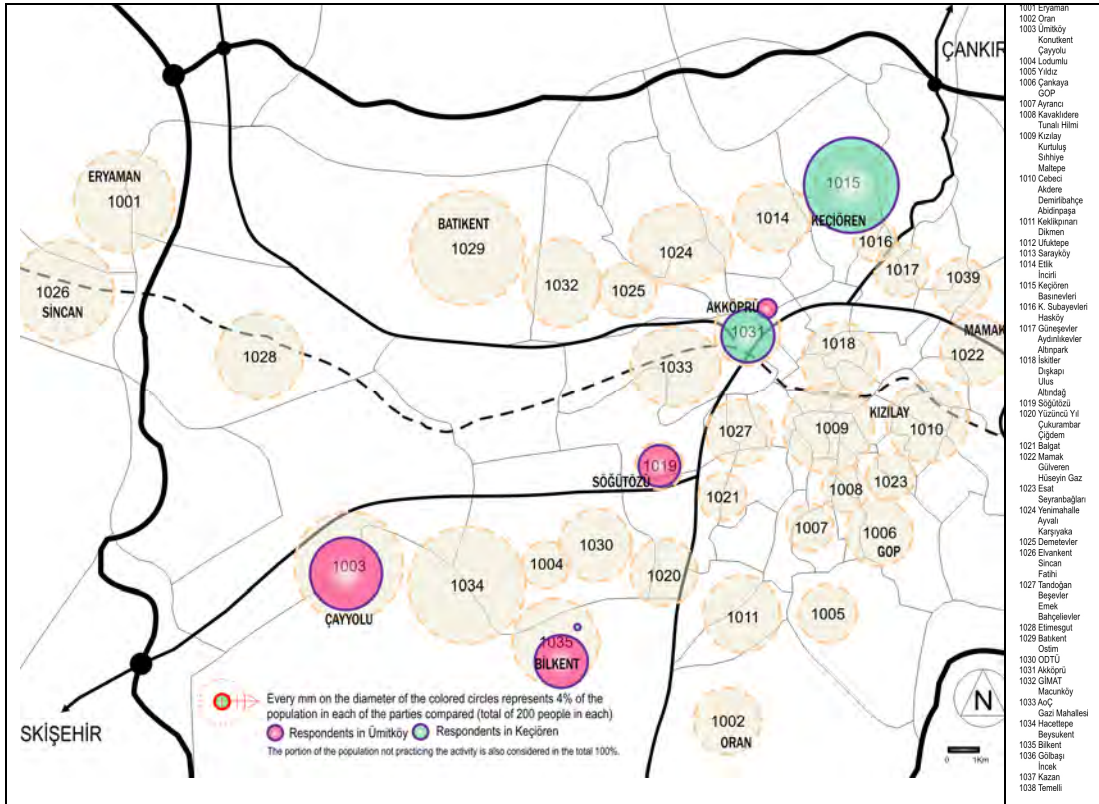


Figure 44. The places where the shopping malls used by the respondents are located

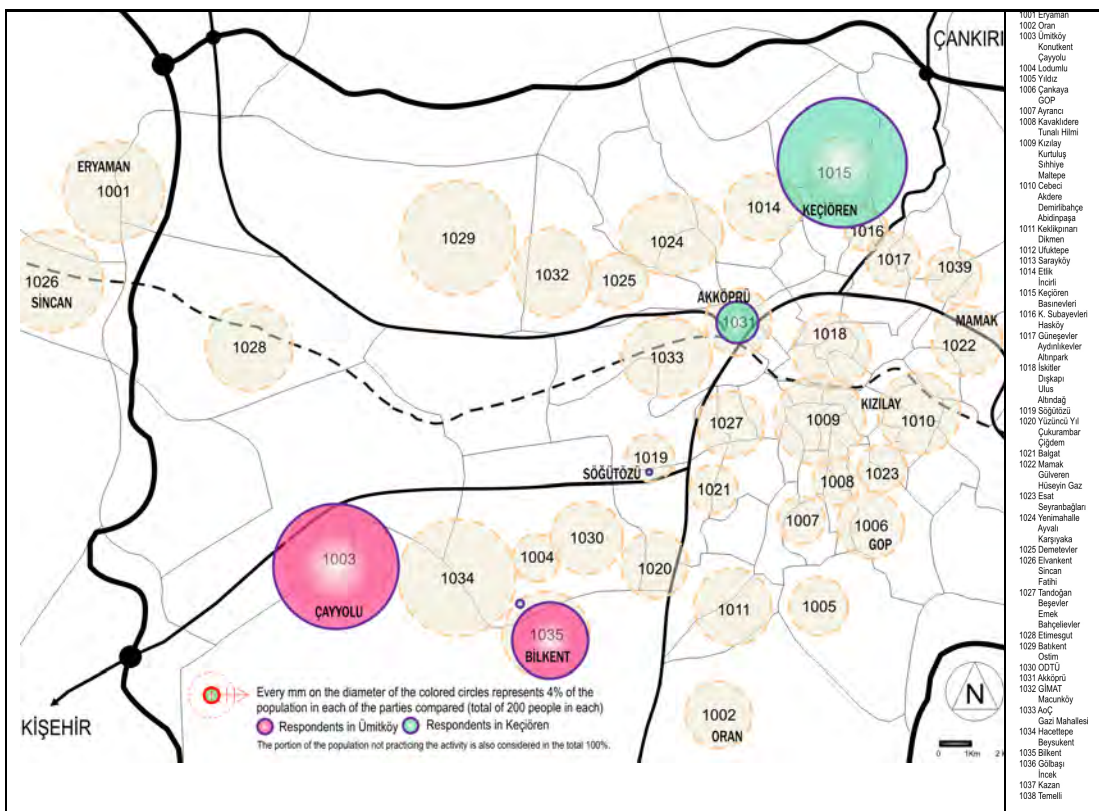


Figure 45. The places where the respondents do their monthly food shopping

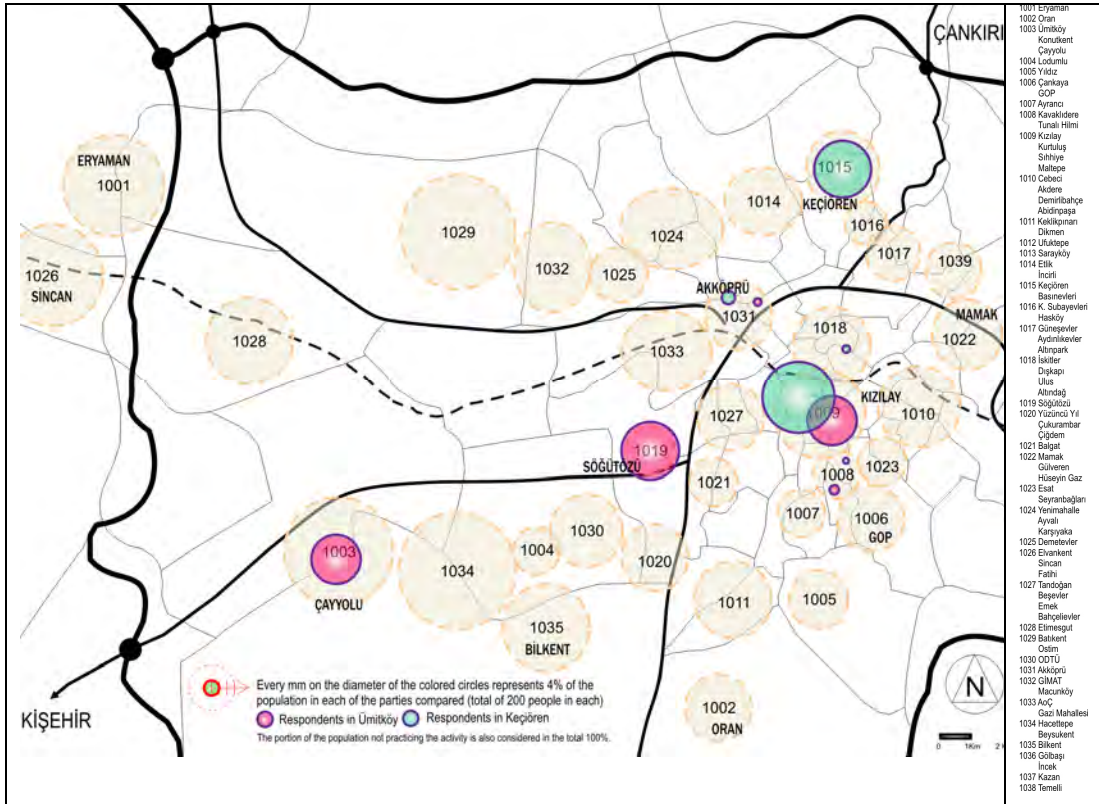


Figure 46. The places where the respondents buy their clothing

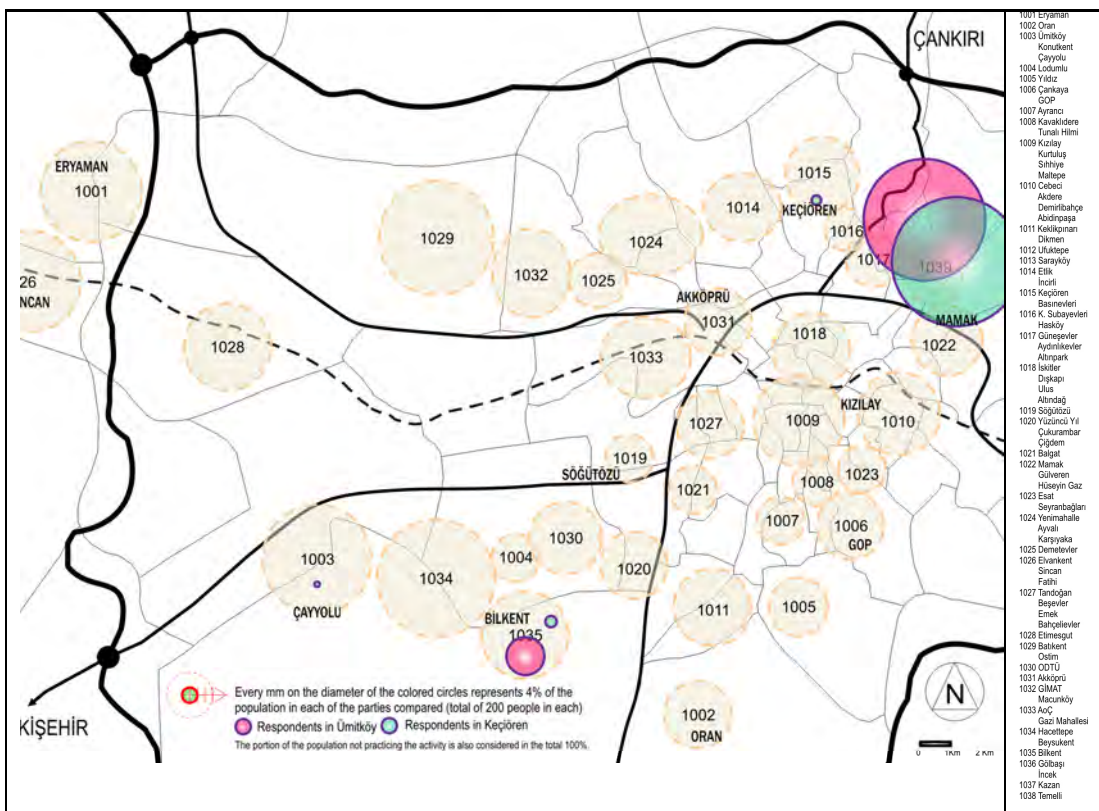


Figure 47. The places where the respondents buy their furniture

As seen in the section where the frequency of attending to various activities were discussed, the Keçiören residents are less motivated to attend cultural activities like cinema, theater etc. The maps provided above in this section about where the activities are practiced in the urban space by the respondents make the overall picture clearer. As seen in the maps, in most of the activities, naturally priority is given to the places close to the place of residence. However, since the people in Ümitköy do go to the theater more often than the ones in Keçiören and a theater has only been built very recently after the survey period in Çayyolu, they were going to the ones in the city center like Kızılay, Kavaklıdere and Ulus (**Figure 39**). The habits of eating out or going to cafes are also activities Çayyolu residents prefer more compared to the Keçiören residents. However, Çayyolu residents mainly prefer the facilities around their homes, while to a certain extent the city center also comes to the scene probably due to the closeness to their workplaces (**Figure 40, 41**). Going to parks, especially for sports like walking or jogging is more a habit of the Keçiören residents and this activity is practiced near their homes as well (**Figure 43**). Keçiören municipality has made extensive investments in parks and sports fields. Jogging is also the most popular sports activity for the ones in Ümitköy, also fitness is preferred by the respondents here.

When we consider the use of the shopping malls, it can be seen that these places have become the favorites for both groups in terms of leisure activities (**Figure 44**). For the people in Çayyolu, three places are popular which are all along the Eskişehir axis; Armada, Bilkent Center and the ones in Çayyolu like Arcadium and Galleria. When considering the rates of each, it is striking to see that they are close to each other. In fact it is logical since the places are all on the daily routes of the residents in Çayyolu towards the center. For Keçiören residents the FTZ Migros shopping mall across the municipality building is the most popular one near their homes. Apart from that they use the 5M Migros in Akköprü to a certain extent. This shopping mall has become AnkaMall with extensions lately, but this development is also after the application of the survey. The shopping malls are also important for the monthly food shopping of the residents (**Figure 45**). Again the nearby ones are preferred as the first choice generally while Real in Bilkent Center is the second highest choice of the Çayyolu residents. People in Keçiören also use Akköprü to a certain extent.

When we look at the places they buy their clothing, Kızılay and Armada are important nodes for the ones in Ümitköy. Residents in Keçiören use Kızılay more intensely for this while they also shop from the stores in Keçiören (**Figure 46**). We also asked where they buy their furniture. Siteler for sure as the biggest accumulation of furniture stores and

workshops in Ankara has the highest share in both of the places. Some in Çayyolu also state that they use Tepe Home in Bilkent Center for their furniture as well (**Figure 47**).

As can be seen from the analysis at this point, very parallel to the lower frequencies of cultural activities in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu, they also are less eager to go to cafes or restaurants. In the activities considered, people in Keçiören are only more eager to use nearby parks for walking and the people in both areas have a similar attraction to shopping malls although the ones they utilize are different. It can be seen that the people in Çayyolu use the city center for some facilities when needed although they dislike it when we consider the grades they gave that will be discussed in the following sections and although they are more disadvantaged in terms of their distance from the center. Also the attraction of Armada and Bilkent Center is obvious for people in Çayyolu. In terms of the above mentioned activities, Çayyolu residents use Bilkent, Armada, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere, while Keçiören residents use Kızılay more intensely and Bahçelievler to a certain extent. Naturally they both use the immediate environment apart from the above mentioned ones. Ulus is an exception for theater going in Çayyolu and Keçiören, while Akköprü Migros is another place used by Keçiören residents probably due to its proximity to the region.

3.6.5. Evaluations on the Neighborhood and Other Parts of the City

3.6.5.1. The Neighborhood

Among the initial criteria we considered, surveying the recent comers to the areas was important. The survey contains questions on how long the respondents have been living in their houses and how long they have been living in the district. Their *duration in their houses* is appropriate for our purposes since all the respondents have been living in their houses less than 15 years. Furthermore, in Keçiören 93% and in Ümitköy 66% of the respondents state that they have been living in their current houses less than 5 years (Table 19). When we consider the duration of their *stay in the district* in general, we can see that in Çayyolu 90% of the residents have lived there less than 15 years while this ratio falls to 74.5% in Keçiören. However, the real ratio of the people who have resided in Keçiören more than 15 years may even be higher because the residential mobility question showed that their previous residences were also in Keçiören and many people stated that their stay in the neighborhood is about being used to living around here. Our assumption here is that, some people may have interpreted the question for the Kavacık Subayevleri region and stated that they are new in this specific neighborhood.

Table 18. The duration of living in the district

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-5 years	92	46,0	94	47,0
6-15 years	90	45,0	55	27,5
16-25	16	8,0	28	14,0
25-	2	1,0	23	11,5
Total	200	100,0	100,0	

Table 19. The duration of living in the current house

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-5 years	132	66,0	186	93,0
6-15 years	68	34,0	14	7,0
Total	200	100,0	100,0	

We asked the respondents their evaluations on the *physical quality* and *atmosphere of the neighborhood* by stating some criteria. They evaluated their living space in terms of these criteria by stating if positive or negative in those terms. This evaluation is also important in showing their level of satisfaction from their place of residence which also signifies their spatial choices in a way, since many differences exist between the two places. When we consider the answers we can say that in terms of *transportation, infrastructure, order, hygiene, security, noise, car park, image, residents, green areas and atmosphere* people are satisfied from their living spaces. Only transportation is stated to be negative by 58.5% of people in Ümitköy. Their satisfaction of the places they live in also points out their different tendencies of choice since these two districts are very different from each other in many terms especially image. Stating transportation as a problem is very natural on the part of the residents in Ümitköy, since it is common knowledge that in recent years with the population growth in the region and the lack of alternative routes to tie the area to the city, transportation has become an important problem for the residents of Ümitköy who have not broken their ties with the city in many respects as revealed in many activities included in this survey.

The *reasons for choosing their place of residence* vary as well between the two areas also suggesting a difference of taste. While the atmosphere of the environment is the most popular answer in both of the areas, the ratio is high in Çayyolu compared to

Keçiören. 71.5% of the respondents state this factor in Çayyolu while only 27.5% in Keçiören give this as their reason to settle here. In Keçiören being close to work, relatives and friends are some other factors that lead them choose the district. Apart from being practical reasons and especially the emphasis on the friends and relatives within the area suggest the strength of local community bonds.

Table 20. The reason for choosing the place of residence

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
family / friends	11	5,5	39	19,5
residents in the area	9	4,5	29	14,5
proximity to work	18	9,0	42	21,0
location in the city	6	3,0	4	2,0
the environment	143	71,5	55	27,5
the house	8	4,0	15	7,5
Total	195	97,5	184	92,0
missing	5	2,5	16	8,0
	200	100,0	200	100,0

The question on why they chose their place of residence was directed as an open ended one, without giving choices to the respondents and they had to use their own words to answer it. Then we gathered the similar answers together in order to document the tendencies. However, what is striking is the use of the word “decent” by most of the 71.5% of the respondents in Çayyolu in defining the environment that caused them to settle here. “Decent atmosphere” and “decent people” are the terms that the residents in Ümitköy utilized to define their environment which causes them to settle and live in a satisfied manner in this place. The use of the word decent was also emphasized in Ekici's study where people used the word to define the quality of a neighborhood. Decent refers to high income levels, cultural conditions and shopping facilities and in our case also to people living there (2004). Ekici's thesis emphasizes that in cities that are divided into socio-economic status groups, variability does not exist in the urban culture and there is no more interaction between different groups in the city (2004). This leads us to the widely discussed notions in the urban planning terminology like polarization or segregation. This attitude may be related with their distaste of the masses in the city causing disorder as stated in Ayata's study referred to previously in our study (2003).

The level of satisfaction from the services of the district municipalities was another question we directed at the neighborhood level. The people in Keçiören are very satisfied with the services of the municipality since 95.5% stated that they are content. Among these 61.3% state a general satisfaction and many others mention the parks and open spaces, hygiene and the image of the district which all have really changed within the last decade.

In Ümitköy, the study area is divided into two different district municipalities, where one part is within the borders of Çankaya, and the other Yenimahalle Municipality. However, since most of the respondents are from the side of the Çankaya Municipality, the answers to this question may be mainly interpreted as the satisfaction from this municipality. Here 57% of the respondents are not satisfied from the services of the municipality. Among these approximately 60% mention a general dissatisfaction, while 21% mention transportation and 8% mention hygiene as their problem.

We can conclude that most of the respondents in the two areas are content from where they live in the evaluation of their neighborhood and district. Only a problem with the District Municipality may be mentioned for the residents in Ümitköy. Also the communal character of Keçiören formed at the basis of relative and familial bonds may be suggested as reinforcing the image we have taken from the answers up to now as an indicator of conservatism in a way. Also the way that Çayyolu residents refer to the environment that they are living in justifies the motives of their run away from the city center to a "decent" environment they are content with suggesting the attempt of distinction from the rest.

3.6.5.2. The Choices and Evaluations on Ankara

Apart from questioning their reasons for choosing their neighborhood, we asked whether they are *planning to move* from their houses. Only 15% of the respondents in Çayyolu and 20% in Keçiören stated that they are planning to move. In Çayyolu almost all of them want to move in need of a better house and are planning to move to another house again in Çayyolu. In Keçiören the most important reason stated by the ones that want to move is their problem with the environment and people and ironically most of them want to move to Çayyolu and Gaziosmanpaşa. This suggestion of a problem with the environment and people and their directions they have named reveal the importance of the factor of choice in the part of the residents in choosing their location in the city. People who have one way or the other had to live in place think of leaving it to go to

places of their own taste when they have the chance to. Also an important number of these people are planning to move to other cities.

In order to avoid the factors of necessity that force people to move from the neighborhood we asked the respondents *if they were content living here* and if not here *where in Ankara they would like to live*. 97% in Ümitköy and 89% in Keçiören stated that they were happy to live in their neighborhood. Where else in Ankara they would like to live if not in their current neighborhood was answered by the residents of Ümitköy as Çayyolu again by 19.5% of the respondents (**Figure 48**). It is also important to state that 25% of the respondents did not give the name of a neighborhood which in most cases meant the same thing that they would not like to live in an alternative place. After Çayyolu their other choices with high shares follow as Bahçelievler, GOP, Oran and Bilkent. In Keçiören 55% of the people have not given an alternative name stating that they are content to live in their neighborhood. Other than that it is striking to see that their second alternative would be Çayyolu and GOP with a total of 19.5% share (**Figure 49**). We should note that the decision towards Çayyolu and GOP are doubled with the choices of people under 30. This can be interpreted as a result of differences between the two generations. Also we already know the existence of a 10% planning to move to these areas from the previous question. Another alternative is again Bahçelievler for the ones in Keçiören as well if not as high as Çayyolu which may be stated by the ones working there.

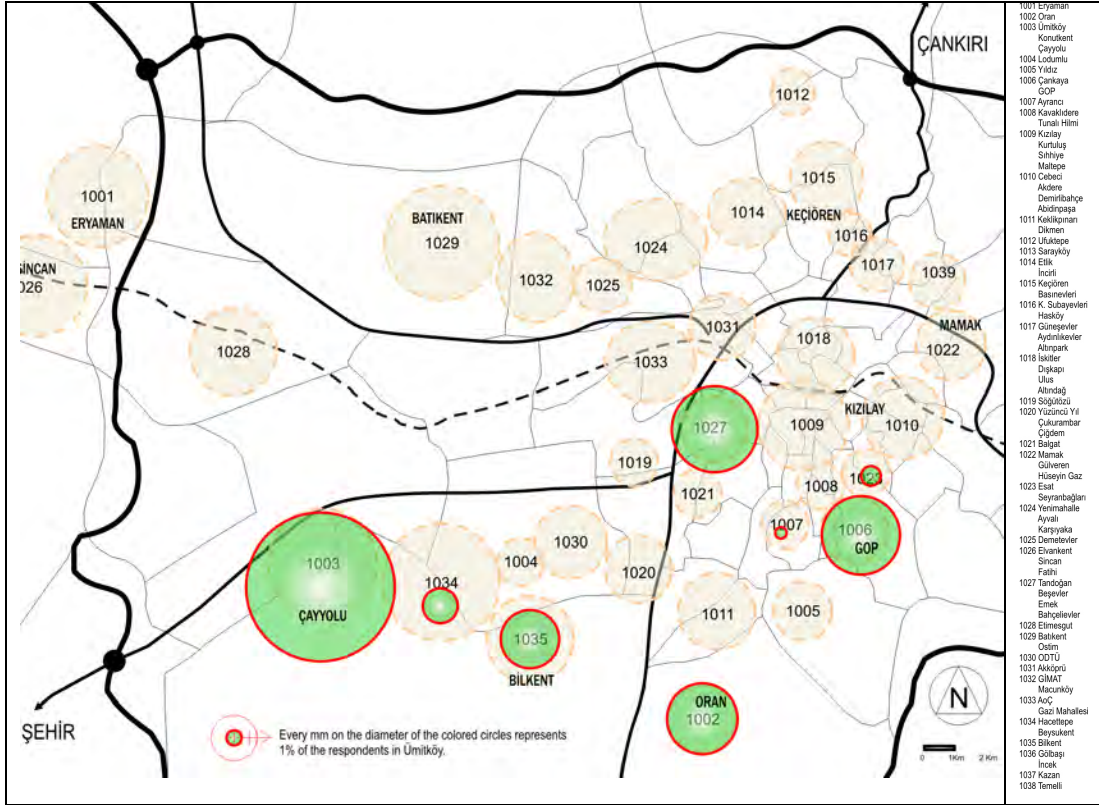


Figure 48. Places that respondents in Ümitköy who are content from their neighborhood would like to live in.

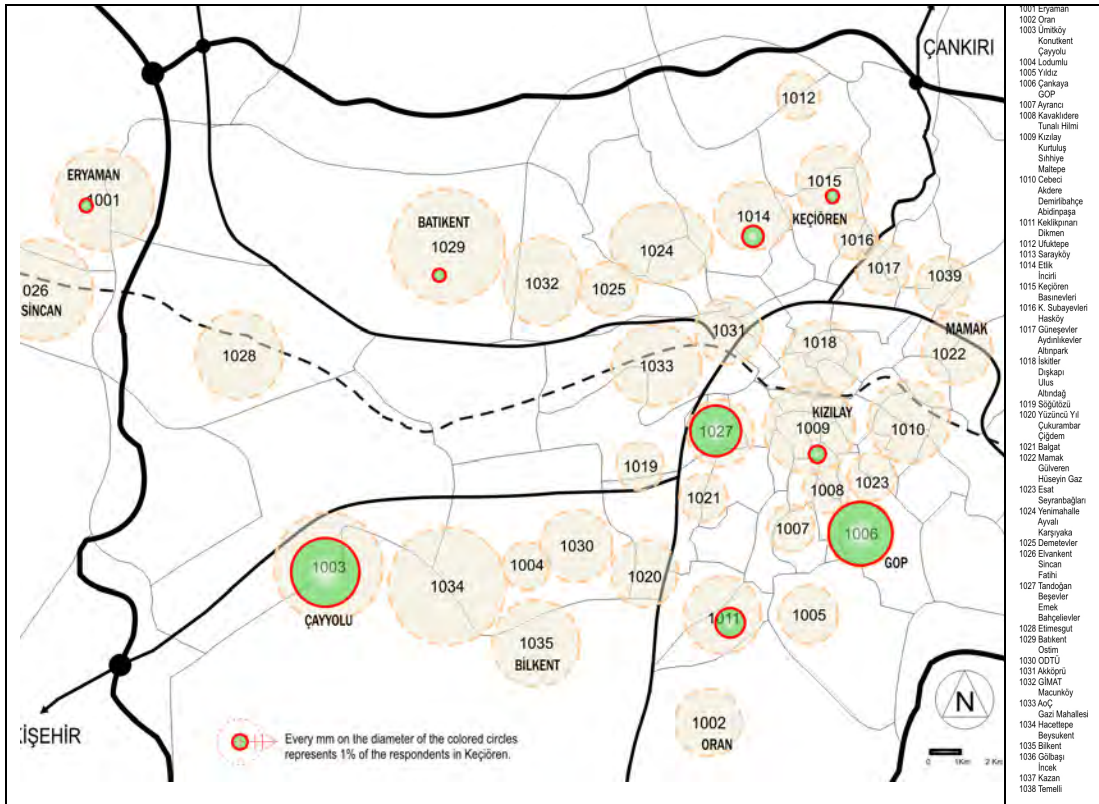


Figure 49. Places that respondents in Keçiören who are content from their neighborhood would like to live in.

Their evaluation on the *service of the Metropolitan Municipality* is another issue that the people of the two case areas do not agree on. 87.5% of people in Keçiören have stated that they are content with the services of the Metropolitan Municipality. This ratio is only 42% in Çayyolu. 37.9% of the respondents mention a general dissatisfaction while 52.6% emphasize transportation as the reason of their dissatisfaction in Çayyolu. The residents of Keçiören are content with the services in general and transportation, order and hygiene are the specific reasons that they state. The reasons of this opposition may not be only based on the services of the Municipality but political choices may be affecting their evaluations on this issue.

The answers on the *evaluation of various functions within the city* are very close to each other when we are concerned with *shopping malls, subway and squatter areas*. People in both of the areas think that shopping malls and subway are positive developments and are uncomfortable by the fact that squatter areas are within the city. The only issue that they do not agree on is the existence of *nightclubs and bars*. 36.5% of the population in Çayyolu considers them positive whereas only 8% in Keçiören think this way. 32.5% in Keçiören is disturbed that they exist while this ratio is 14% in Çayyolu. The evaluations of the ones over 30 change the picture in Keçiören giving us a 42.1% disturbed with this utility in the city. The age factor only changes the ratios slightly in Çayyolu with only 15.9% of people over 30 uncomfortable with their existence within the city.

Apart from their evaluations on their own neighborhood and the services of the municipalities we asked the respondents to grade some places in the city. They gave points in a scale of 1-5, 5 being the best and 1 being the worst. We did not state a criterion by which to grade the place since almost none have something in common. This was to see how the images of various places in the city differ based on their judgments and tastes. We included their own districts in order to see how they evaluated theirs and the one we are comparing theirs with to see their evaluation on the counterpart in this study. The average grades given to these nodes are revealed in **Figure 50**. Here we can see their differences of evaluation of these nodes compared to each other.

Their evaluation of the city center is different. When we consider Kızılay and Ulus, the residents of Keçiören tend to like them better than the ones in Ümitköy. Especially Ulus has a negative image in the eyes of Ümitköy residents with 77.9% giving it a grade lower than 3. Keçiören also has a negative image for the people in Ümitköy since 70% gave a grade lower than 3. However, only 6% of the residents of Keçiören agree with the ones

in Ümitköy on the grade of their neighborhood. With a dislike of Keçiören, 90% of people in Ümitköy adore their place of residence with a grade over 3. With 69%, the residents of Keçiören agree with the ones in Çayyolu. Although they love living in their neighborhood, Çayyolu has a positive image in the eyes of the inhabitants of Keçiören when compared to the dislike of Ümitköy of Keçiören. Only 15% of the population grades Çayyolu lower than 3. However, here an important issue is that almost 25% of people in Keçiören could not evaluate Çayyolu since they had no idea on the district. This ratio falls to 5% when people of Çayyolu are grading Keçiören.

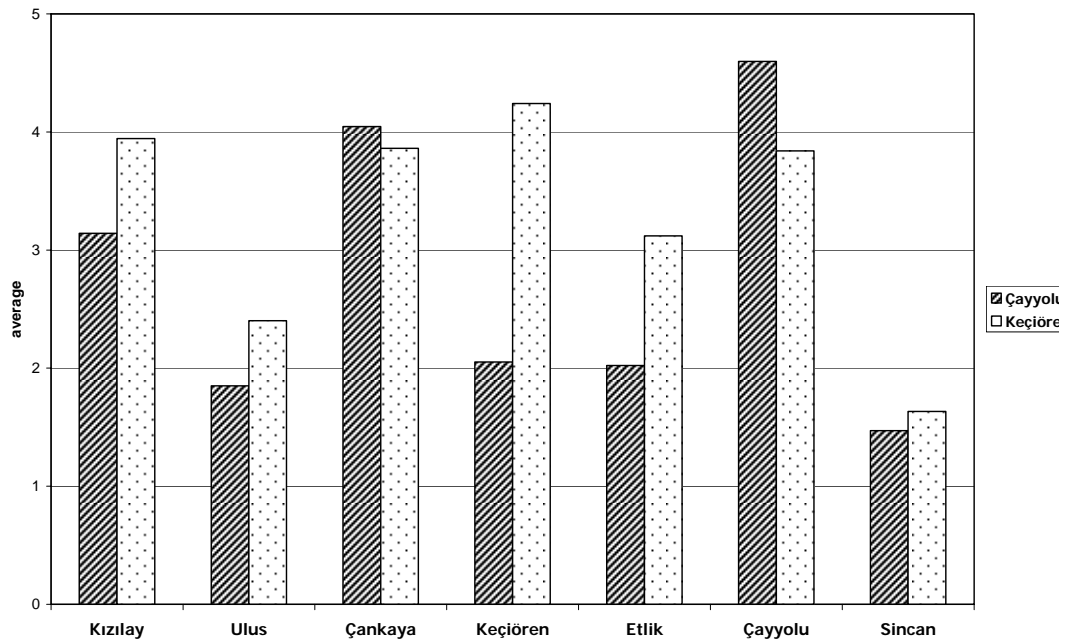


Figure 50. Average points that the respondents in the two areas gave to some places in the city

Etilik is another location which was graded. With a similar ratio of hesitation (although surprisingly a little higher than Çayyolu in Keçiören), Keçiören residents are more sympathetic to their neighbors than Ümitköy residents with a mainly negative attitude again. When grading Çankaya 10% of people in Keçiören hesitated and could not evaluate the area where only 1.5% in Çayyolu did not grade it. Only a small section of these people did not answer the grading question. Therefore the ones that are documented as missing are the ones who stated that they did not know about the place. However, other than that, people in both of the areas have a positive attitude towards Çankaya. The last location we considered in the grading question was Sincan. It is an

area that is far away from both of these locations therefore their evaluations would not be biased. Here, we see a consensus among the two groups on a negative attitude towards Sincan. In fact, it would be interesting to know whether they have been to all these places and judging accordingly, or they have not gone to some of them and judging on the basis of common sense. Here it is also important to note that 20% of the ones in Keçiören could not give a grade to Sincan whereas this ratio is only 5% in Çayyolu.

3.6.5.3. The Utility in the Urban Center

Apart from their evaluations of various places, we asked a question on the *central urban nodes* of *Kızılay, Ulus, Tunalı Hilmi* and *Bahçelievler*. Here the respondents told how frequently they utilized these places for various reasons like necessity, shopping and for promenade or eating out. Necessity brings 48.5% of the people in Ümitköy to Kızılay more than once a month. 18.5% of the ones in Ümitköy state that they go more than once a week, which is probably for work. Ulus, Tunalı Hilmi and Bahçelievler are not mainly visited for necessity by Çayyolu residents. Only 27.8% of the people in Keçiören go to Kızılay for necessity. In fact almost none of these places are visited on a necessity basis by the residents in Keçiören. Along with the information on the answers given to this question some graphs showing the share of activities practiced at least once a month are given below.

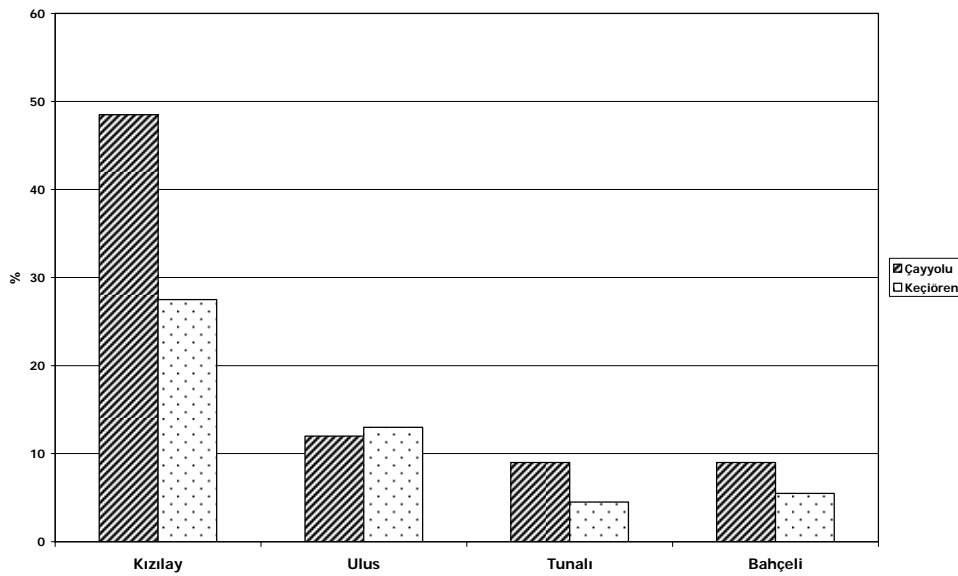


Figure 51. Ratios of the respondents visiting the central nodes for necessity more than once a month

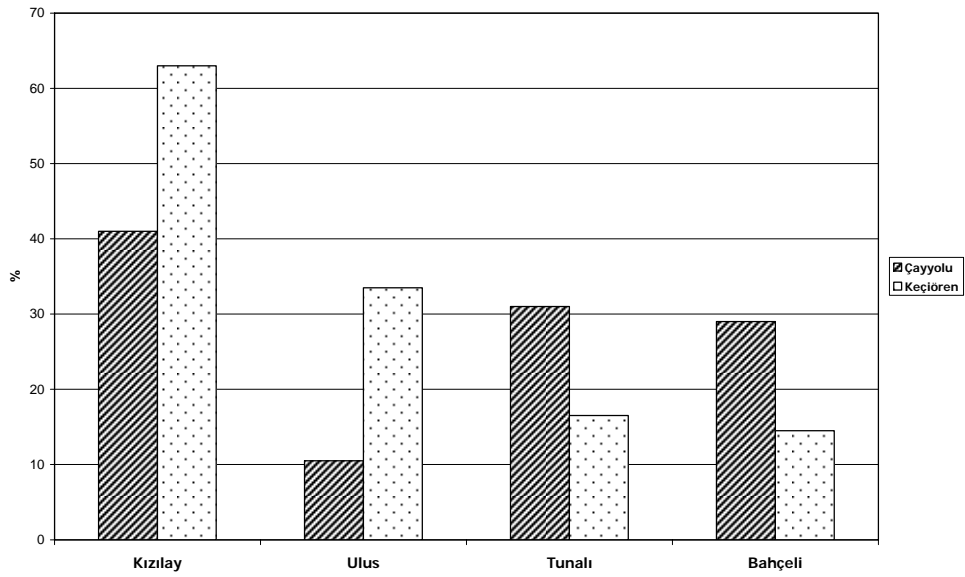


Figure 52. Ratios of the respondents visiting the central nodes for shopping more than once a month

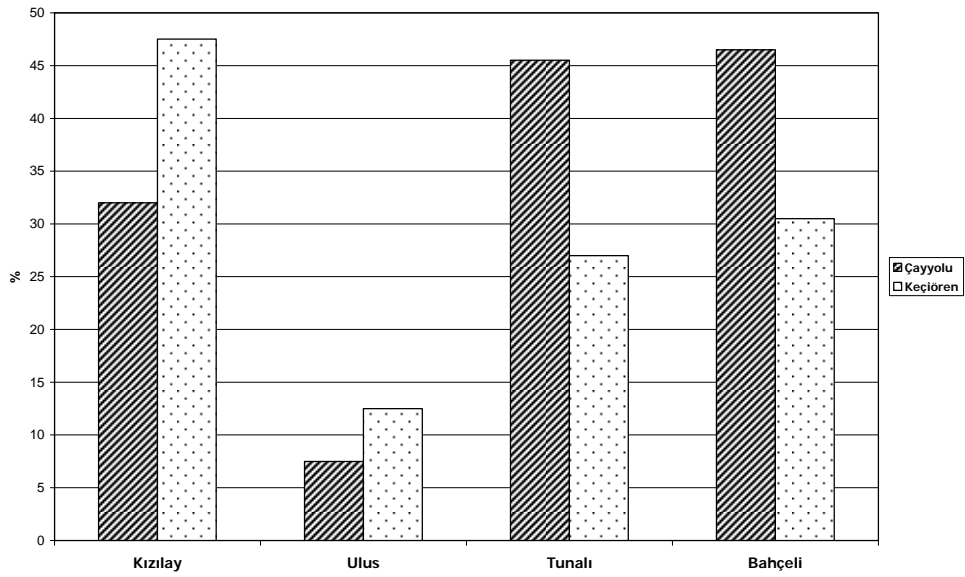


Figure 53. Ratios of respondents visiting the central nodes for promenade/ eating out more than once a month.

About 30% of the people in Ümitköy visit Bahçelievler and Tunali Hilmi for shopping more than once a month, while Ulus is in no way popular for this purpose. 41.5% go to Kızılay for shopping, however, we can interpret that most of these people already go to Kızılay for necessity. Shopping in Kızılay is more popular for the respondents in Keçiören with 63.5% going there more than once a month. Ulus also serves the purpose for the people

in Keçiören with 33.7% going for shopping once a month or more often. Bahçelievler and Tunalı Hilmi on the contrary are not popular for people in Keçiören for shopping purposes.

Almost half of the people in Keçiören prefer to go to Kızılay for promenade and eating once a month or more often, where as 32% of the ones in Çayyolu use the place for this purpose that often. Ulus is unpopular for the purpose in both places. Almost half the people in Çayyolu go to Tunalı Hilmi and Bahçelievler for promenade more than once a month. These are $\frac{1}{4}$ of the respondents when Keçiören case is considered. It can be concluded that Kızılay is much more popular for people in Keçiören for leisure and shopping activities and Ulus stands out for shopping in the same manner. The use of Tunalı Hilmi, and Bahçelievler is more intense for the people in Çayyolu when compared to Keçiören especially for shopping.

Eventually, in this section on their evaluations in Ankara, we can see that their levels of sympathy towards various places vary as well as their motivations and frequency of utilization of certain nodes. Thus, their differential tastes also have a role in their choices of utilization and evaluation of the urban space in general as well as their immediate environment.

3.6.6. Social Capital

In terms of the relationship with others, we have included some factors that may add up to the daily traffic of the respondents in both areas. Apart from the *neighbors* that are already in the same place with the respondents, where in the city their *close families* and *relatives* live was revealed by the survey. This is an attempt to map the spatial demonstration of their social capital giving further information on the 'stations' they utilize in daily life. When we asked about relatives we also asked how often they visited them, thus we know that they are visiting these people in their homes. Therefore, we know that from time to time our respondents go to the parts of the city where their relatives are living. For close families they see we assume that some of these visits are being realized at their homes or their surroundings.

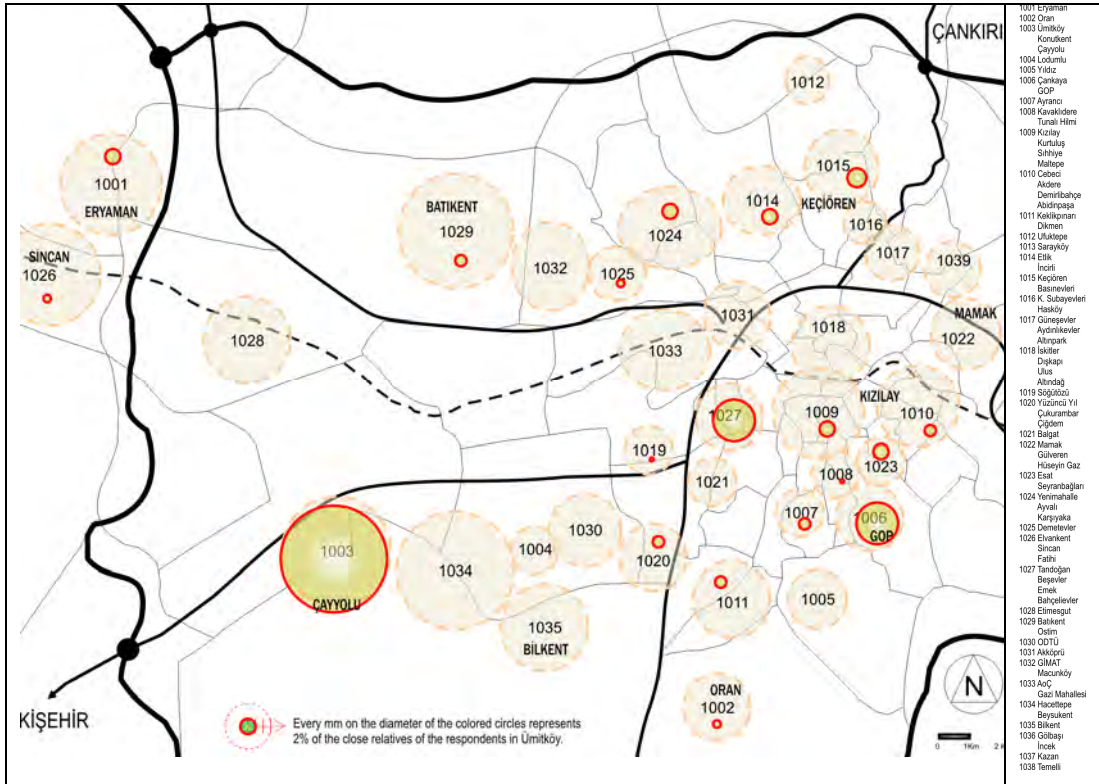


Figure 54. Places where close relatives of respondents in Ümitköy are located in Ankara

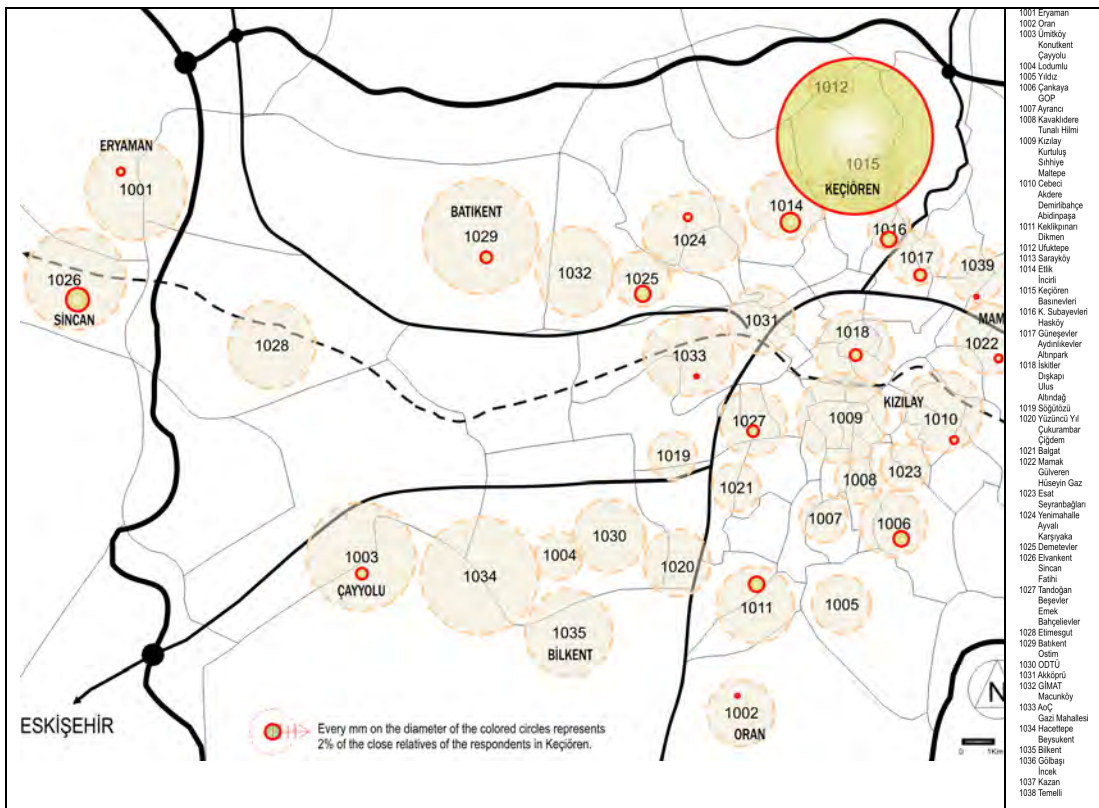


Figure 55. Places where close relatives of respondents in Keçiören are located in Ankara

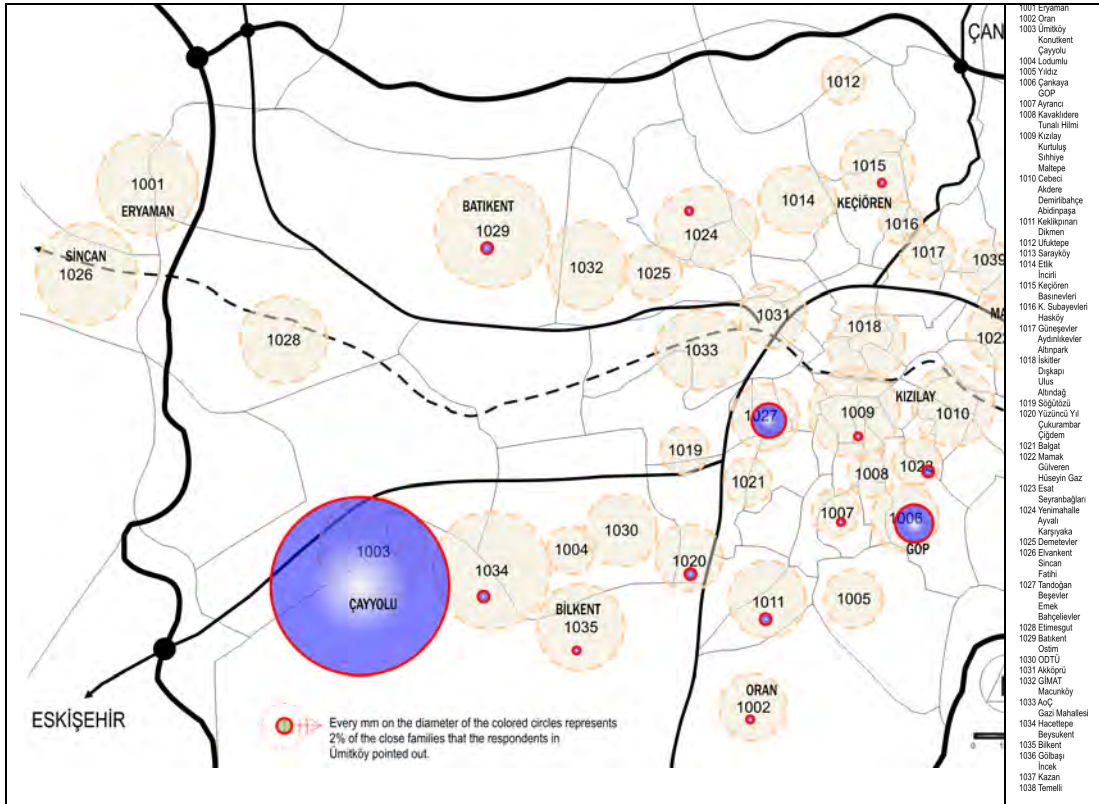


Figure 56. Places where families that respondents in Ümitköy meet often are located in Ankara

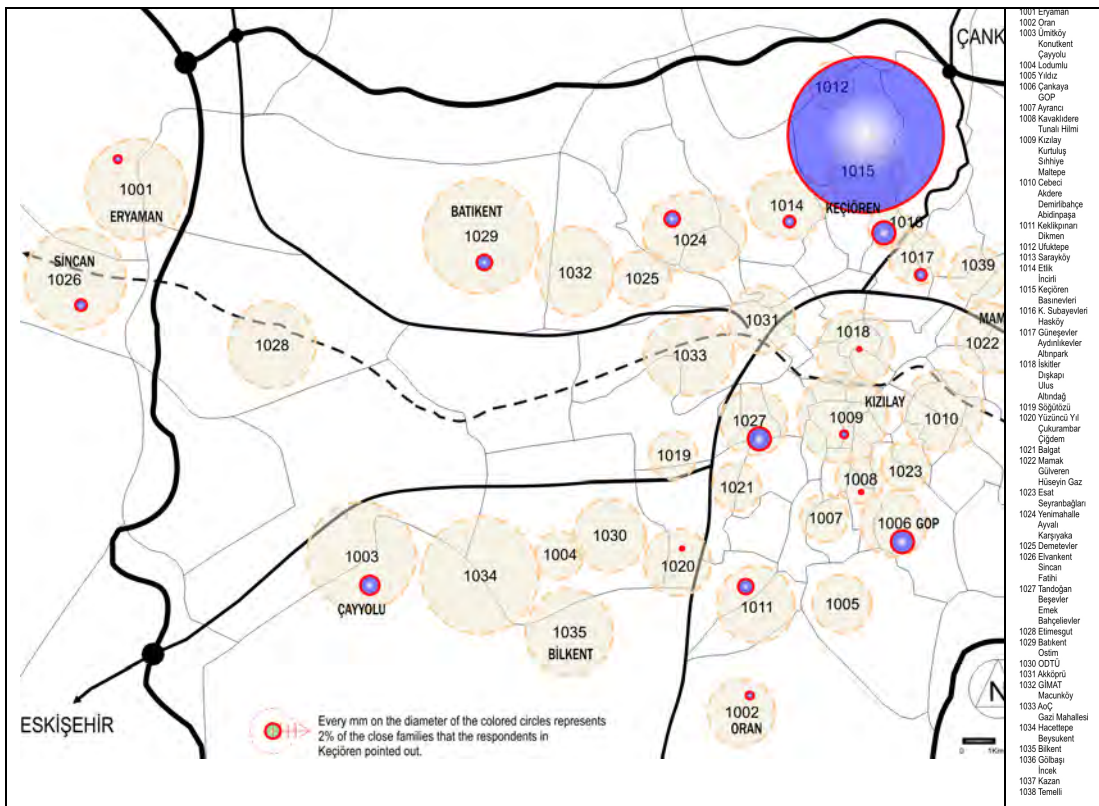


Figure 57. Places where families that respondents in Keçiören meet often are located in Ankara

When we consider the locations of the close relatives, it is possible to see that mainly they are located in the same district with the respondents. However, the concentration is somewhat higher in Keçiören which is consistent with the question we asked about why they chose to settle in this neighborhood. Friends and relatives was an important factor for the ones in Keçiören. Other than that, the relatives of the respondents in Keçiören tend to be scattered in the northern part of the city, but even this fact may be regarded as negligible when compared to the concentration in Keçiören (**Figure 55**). As we have mentioned, the relatives of the Ümitköy residents are also concentrated in their neighborhood, but apart from this their concentration in Bahçelievler and GOP is attracting attention (**Figure 54**).

Another question that we asked the respondents was where the three families that they see often apart from their relatives resided in Ankara. In fact the picture does not change very much here. Again the social networks seem to be place of residence bound suggesting in a way that people like to live where they are surrounded with people of similar habituses. However, what changes the picture slightly here is the case of Keçiören (**Figure 57**). In terms of relatives and close families Çayyolu reveals a similar pattern with a concentration in GOP and Bahçelievler (**Figure 56**). However, in Keçiören the close families are again concentrated in Keçiören, but we can see a small accumulation around Bahçelievler and GOP just like Çayyolu. We may interpret the situation as reinforcing the pattern of the north south divide in terms of their social capital as well. It can be suggested that people choose to be with the ones similar to them and this does not have to be based on the economic capital only. Their social capital may also vary based on their cultural accumulations bringing various groups closer and distancing others.

The situation in both of the places is the emphasis on the neighborhood in terms of the social capital. However, the strong sense of attachment to the neighborhood that Flanagan refers to as the 'sense of place' in the city is evidently stronger among the residents in Keçiören who seem to have stronger ties with their relatives living in their close environments (1993). In fact we can suggest that this is an important factor that keeps these people in this specific place in the city which was also suggested in their answers for the reasons of their choice of residence. Also looking from a wider angle we can suggest based on a study that Flanagan exemplifies gender, socio-economic status and age all are influential on the degree to which social networks are focused on the neighborhood or diffused within wider areas (1993). Thus, the difference between the

concentration of the networks of the two groups at hand may be assumed to be related to their social and cultural differences that we have referred to up to now.

To consider their relations with their neighbors, we asked the respondents how many of their neighbors they know. In an apartment, neighbors meant the residents in the apartment. The answer may vary according to the size of the apartment building, but when we turn to the answers we see that in both areas the respondents state that they know most of their neighbors. Although the rate of knowing all the neighbors is twice in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu, we can state that acquaintance with the neighbors is high in both of the areas. The ones who do not know their neighbors at all especially in Keçiören may be interpreted and even documented in some cases as they have just moved in to the apartment.

Additional information was asked of the respondents regarding their *relatives living in other cities*. Most of the people in both areas stated that they had relatives living elsewhere and they visit them a few times a year. The same thing holds for the relatives coming to visit them in Ankara. With minor differences in percentages, both groups have bonds with their relatives outside the city. Where the relatives are located is another issue that we have analyzed. 34% of the respondents in Ümitköy stated that they had relatives in İstanbul while this ratio is 19% in Keçiören. The nearby cities to Ankara are the group where most of the relatives of the respondents in Keçiören are located with 24%. The second biggest group for the respondents in Ümitköy is located in big cities like Antalya, Mersin etc. with 15%. This result may also be interpreted as suggesting clues for the origins of the respondents as well.

3.6.7. Summary of the Findings of the Study

Previous studies on the wider environment of the case areas although more general than the one applied in this study suggest various features for the socio-cultural environment in the areas. Especially Çayyolu region as a whole is defined as a homogenous area in terms of the social structure defined with nuclear families, highly educated and actively working men and women and a high number of professionals. They are often defined as the new middle classes of Ankara (Ayata 2003). Although differing in their economic welfare to a certain extent, the district reveals a homogeneous totality and is generally thought to be attracting users coming from the older middle class districts in the southern Ankara. The continuation of the trend is very much documented by the study of Şenyapılı showing that the western corridor of the southern Ankara is a continuation of

the lifestyles in the older districts in the south Ankara. Thus the places that these people evacuate are being filled with different social groups.

What this study showed us on the specific site of Ümitköy in Çayyolu and especially the newer residences in the area is very much justifying the trends that are documented in the more macro research in terms of the social profile and residential mobility. The respondents and households that were in our case were really well-educated, actively working households with nuclear families. They actually have come to the area from the older middle class districts in the southern part of the city and are content with their surroundings. With this study it could be possible to see their spatial uses and evaluations in the urban space of Ankara in relation to their cultural and social capital.

The case of Keçiören was not known to that extent because the general trends in all the cases said different things. First of all the totality of the district has always been known as composed of lower income groups and the physical structure filled with squatter areas. The changes in the area took place only in the last few years, not even a decade. Although there still are lower income groups living in an older apartment housing stock if not squatters, the center of the district changed to a great extent. Also the developments around Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood were not documented in any way since it was totally new and different from the general trends where a change in user composition was also suggested.

As Şenyapılı has mentioned the general trend in the northern part of the city is evacuation of the residences to go to the western corridor along İstanbul highway (2005). The examples that we are faced with in the case of Keçiören are totally different from the general trends. Despite their economic capital maybe much more from most of the ones who have evacuated the northern neighborhoods, these people who have already been living in Keçiören did not choose to leave the place, they only moved to better and bigger houses. Older residents in Kavacık Subayevleri were suggested to leave the area (Cengizkan 2001). Who the people with that much economic capital that came and invested in the area and even triggered new housing projects were, was an issue that is to be examined. Although from the previous studies on Keçiören it was documented that educational capital is low, with the existence of economic capital in our case it could be expected to see a different picture just like Akpınar suggested (2005). However, as mentioned, since their origins lie at the district as well, with higher economic capital these may be the same people contained in various previous studies in this

manner with increasing economic welfare in the recent periods or they gathered together in this newer housing stock. The character of the households in terms of living together with elders or relatives is similar to Çayyolu. Here also nuclear families live in the houses, only they choose to be close to their relatives somewhat more emphasized than Çayyolu.

The educational level in Keçiören compared to Ümitköy seems to be the most important factor of comparison being the most important signifier of cultural capital. Although it can be suggested that the picture may change with the next generation, the education of the parents which is a very important source of cultural capital both in terms of education and social origin, is very low in Keçiören compared to Ümitköy. Probably this related to the occupational pattern is the most obvious factor defining the boundaries for distinction in the social spaces of the residents in Keçiören and Çayyolu. The occupational differences reveal the old and new middle class differentiation to a certain extent. A further study on the youth residing here may provide the picture for the next generation. However, there is an important point that has to be mentioned in this part on what the results tell us on the two groups. Up to now we discussed that agents are empowered in their relationships in social space with some kinds of capital with an emphasis on economic and cultural capital among all. Thus, the study was formulated so that the economic wealth of the two groups would be the same to see the effects of other probable factors in differentiating the two groups. As stated above what the survey tells us is that, the ones in Keçiören reveal the features of people with lower cultural capital. However, when we go into the details of the household, it is true that the general wealth of the households is similar to each other. However, this wealth is obtained with the working of both parents in Çayyolu in most cases while, by only men in Keçiören. This may be suggesting in a way that the economic welfare is provided by the workforce of two in Çayyolu opposed to one in Keçiören. This may suggest lower economic capital when looking from one perspective. However, from another outlook we may conclude that in Ümitköy superior cultural capital of women population is converted to economic capital.

When comparing the two areas, another factor that was called for investigation was their religious tendencies as a signification of cultural capital since it was suggested in some studies that it is a very important factor that may govern one's life (Saktanber 2003). The search for religious practices also seems to have given some results important for defining the differences among the two groups. Especially the daily rituals were very widely practiced in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu. Also the consumption of alcohol and

celebration of the New Year questions have reinforced the findings in religious practices suggesting a more conservative structure in Keçiören. Güvenç as we can recall from the previous sections defines a conservative as one who believes in evolutionary change instead of revolutionary change, moderateness instead of radicalism, tradition, family and in the preservation of social benefits that are historically achieved (2004). In this respect, some issues that have come up when analyzing the survey for the respondents in Keçiören fits the context in terms of the political approaches, religious behavior and the familial bonds accumulated to the place of residence.

This fact is to a certain extent justified in the question on their favorite political leader. However, especially in terms of the religious practices and their level of conservation, this study does not show a total rejection on the side of the residents of Ümitköy. Ayata's study suggested that people in Çayyolu state that being away from the religious groups was important for them residing in their current district (Ayata 2003). Probably the emphasis that is stated in Ayata's study is also linked to the political side of the discussion as is discussed with the election results. As mentioned in various contexts throughout the study, Islam in this manner may be interpreted as suggesting an ideological divergence creating a factor of cultural distinction. The existence of a dichotomy between the two groups reflecting the old and general opposition between Kemalism and Islamism as stated by Güllalp (2003) or the recent discussions in the politics of Turkey on Islamism and secularism may be suggested.

These basic issues discussed above on a total evaluation of the differences between the respondents in the two sites are reflected to various other areas that are documented in the study in a variety of ways. It can be followed from the frequency of activities that the consumption of cultural activities is low in Keçiören compared to Çayyolu. When considering the frequencies it is possible to see that a high portion of the respondents in Keçiören hardly leave their district unless they have to despite their opportunities of mobility when considering the car ownership ratios. They do not attend to many cultural and entertainment activities. Considering the small portion attending to various activities, the study searched for how it affected their use and evaluation of the urban space of Ankara thus their spatial choice.

In terms of their usage of the city space, if we leave aside the usage of the immediate surrounding which is naturally the highest in both areas in many of the practices, we can see that the residents in Ümitköy use the city and various nodes along the Eskişehir axis

if needed. Their use of the city centers is limited to the consumption of various activities like theater, cinema or shopping and also a big portion works in the city. The respondents in Keçiören use the city center more and especially Ulus when compared to Çayyolu residents. Especially in the entertainment facilities their use of the city is limited to the shopping mall in Akköprü and Kızılay. The residents of Ümitköy use Armada, Bilkent center and also Kızılay and Tunalı for various activities. In the maps included above, the immediate surroundings are shown to get the highest rate in almost all the activities. However, the demonstration of data gathered was limited in that way to show the first place that came to the mind of the respondents. Thus it would be appropriate to consider the other nodes that seem as less popular as the second and third choice of the residents since we know from the survey results that only the ordering changes in most cases, not the choices.

Their social networks do not seem to change the picture to a great extent. The north and south divide is solid as ever especially in the case of the Çayyolu residents. We can see that the residents in Keçiören have ties although to a limited extent with the older middle class districts of Ankara and they do not have a negative attitude. However, such a pattern is not evident in the case of Çayyolu, since their networks are not broken with the older districts they occupied, but they do not seem to have a considerable network with the northern part. The places of the close relatives shows the same pattern for Çayyolu, but in Keçiören they all seem to have accumulated to Keçiören as one big community.

When we consider the evaluations of the respondents on various nodes in the city, it would be possible to see that people in both areas like their place of residence very much revealing again their difference of taste and evaluation of the urban space. However, apart from Çankaya where their older neighborhoods rest, and practicing some activities in Tunalı Hilmi, Çayyolu residents do not like the city centers and various places like Keçiören, Etlik, Sincan etc. However, the evaluations of the Keçiören residents are much more positive compared to the ones in Çayyolu. They especially like Çayyolu in opposition to the negative attitude of the ones in Çayyolu to Keçiören. This positive attitude is even further revealed by the question on where they would like to reside if not in their current neighborhood. As can be recalled, the ones who gave the name of an alternative mentioned the central southern neighborhoods and Çayyolu mainly even if they were content from their neighborhood.

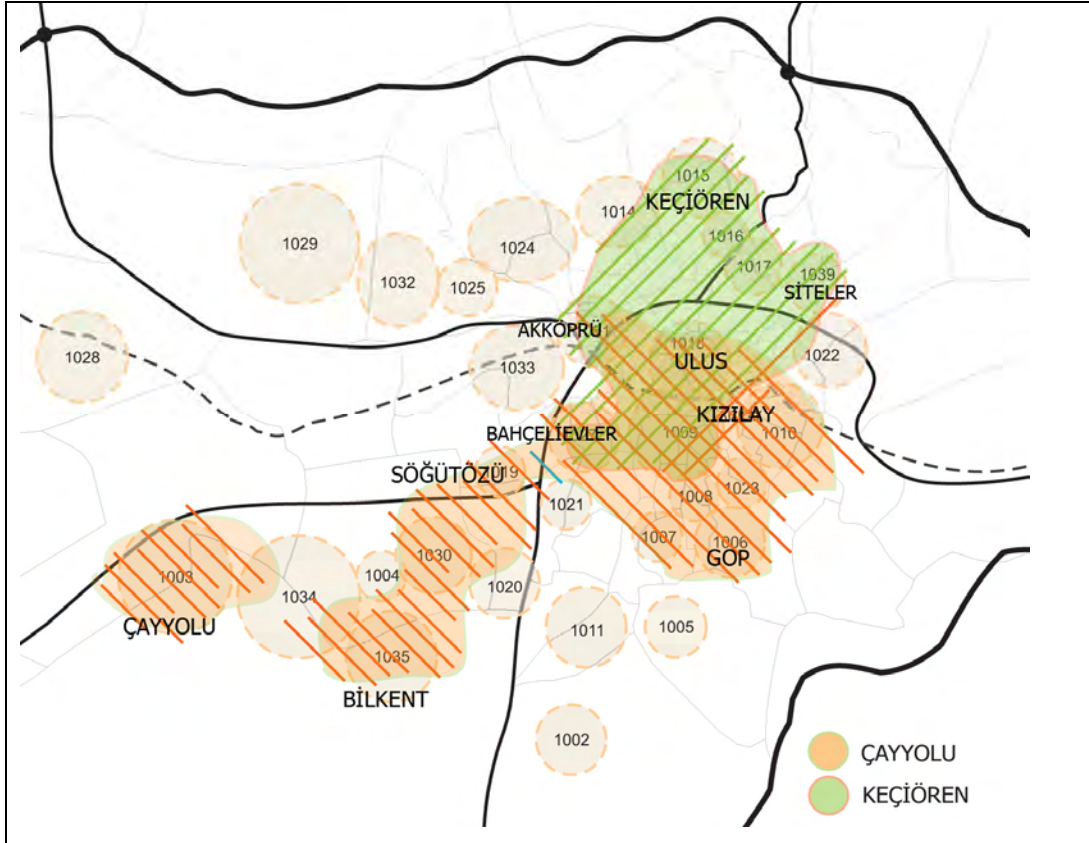


Figure 58. Sketch showing the extension of the areas used by the respondents of the survey

If a catchment area is defined using this information provided by the respondents, it would be possible to say for the people in Keçiören that, while being limited to their neighborhood most of the time, their reach mainly goes to Akköprü for the shopping mall, Ulus and Kızılay and the surrounding neighborhoods (**Figure 58**). Their relationship with the southern part of the railway is limited mainly to Kızılay and Bahçelievler to a certain extent. Other neighborhoods in the central southern part accommodate a small portion of their social bonds which may be negligible in the daily routine of the totality of the neighborhood. In Çayyolu we can see a totally different picture. Their relationship with Kızılay is only continuing with some obligations of work. To a certain extent, some cultural activities of cinema and theater are consumed in the city center in Kızılay, Ulus and Tunalı. Other than that with a limited use of the shopping mall in Akköprü, their main concentration is on Bilkent center and Armada when concerned with entertainment and shopping. Naturally there is a high level of facilities provided to the growing number of residents in Çayyolu which they consume to a certain extent. As the studies suggest finding these facilities in their immediate surroundings is very crucial for the residents of Çayyolu (Ekici 2004). As mentioned before, the northern and southern divide is much

clearer in the responses of Çayyolu residents not giving any clues for the use of the northern side.

In **Figure 59** an overall comparison of the answers obtained from the survey results is provided giving the essential information on each issue. Only the headings that reveal a considerable comparable result are contained in the table. Here the differences and similarities in various issues may be seen in a summarized manner.

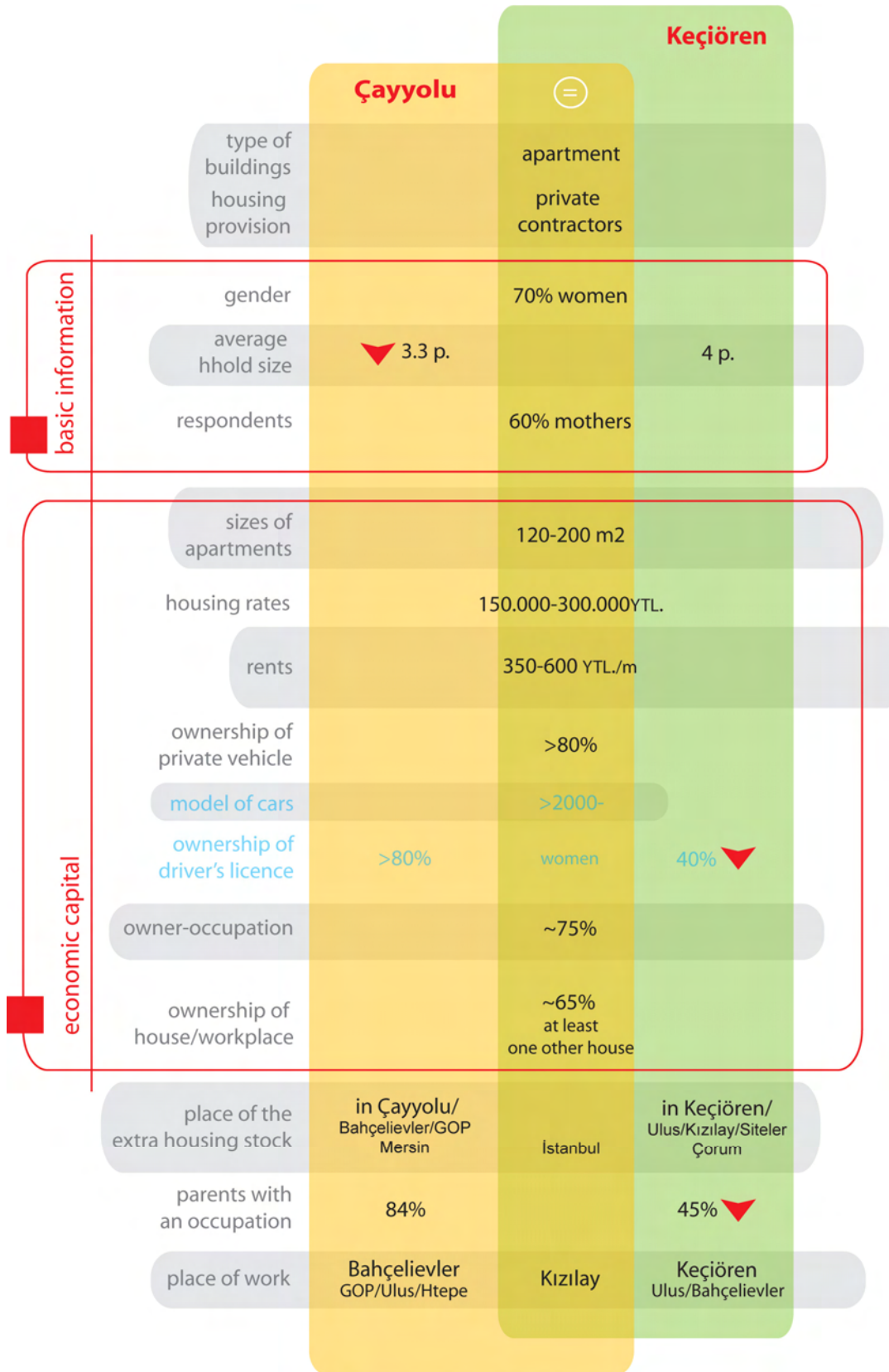


Figure 59. Diagram summarizing the basic findings of the study in a comparative manner.

Figure 59 continued...

		Çayyolu	=	Keçiören	
occupation	occupation of parents	professionals		no occupation/ professionals/business owners	
	current jobs of parents	professionals/ retired/managers		housewives/ business owners	
	mothers' jobs	30% housewives 30% professionals retired/managers		>70% housewives 7% professionals	
	position in work	wage earners		employers/wage earners	
cultural capital	social origin	educations of fathers	24% university dgr. 34% <primary school	▼ 6% university dgr. 62% <primary school	
		occupation of fathers	24% professionals 6% farmers	7% professionals 18% farmers	
		birth place		>40 Ankara Ankara surroundings	
	education >age 22	>60% university dgr.		<30% university dgr. ▼	
	foreign language	68%		28% ▼	
	newspaper read		central	islamic-nationalist	
	private courses	foreign language	painting	Kur'an	
	religious practices	namaz zakat fasting sacrifice	30% ▼		70%
		using mosques namaz/friday pilgrimage	▼ ▼		
		consumption of alcohol	36% never		78% never ▼
		celebration of the New Year	9% never		44% never ▼
		visiting elders in religious holidays		approx. all	
	fav. polit. leader	> 60% no comment 6% T. Erdoğan		40% T. Erdoğan	

Figure 59 continued...

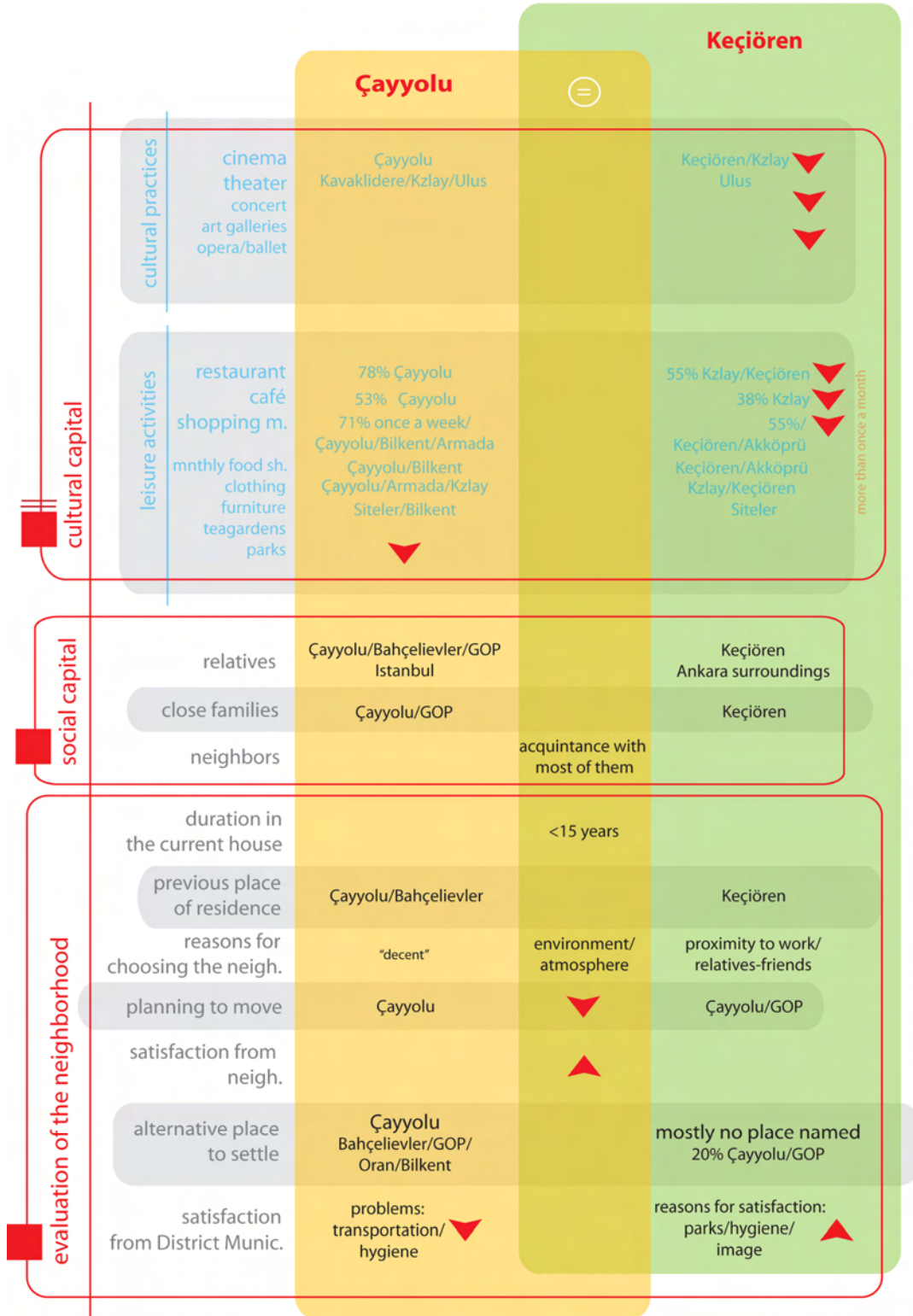
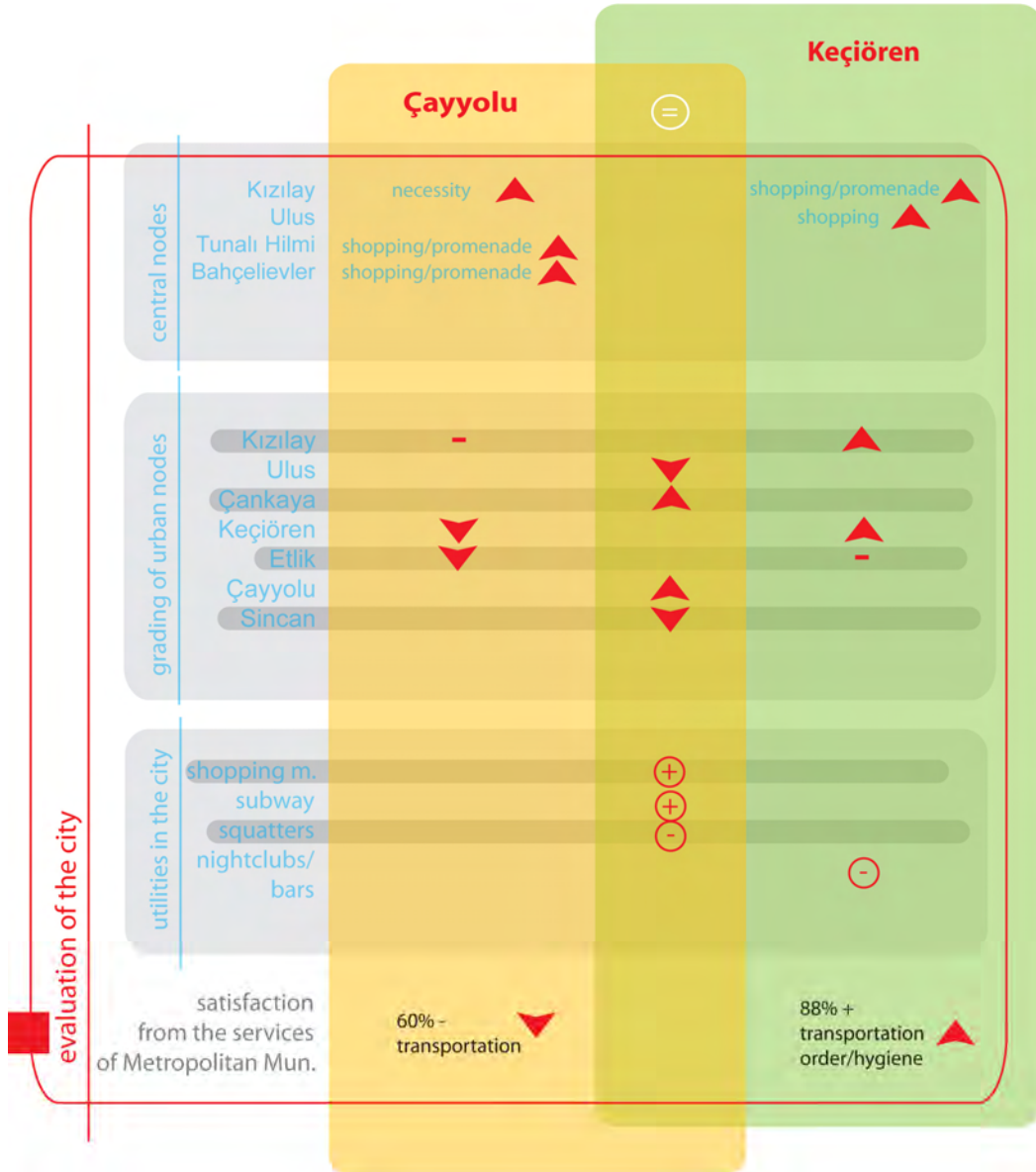


Figure 59 continued...



3.6.8. Evaluation of the Findings of the Study

This study on the economically advantaged fractions of the middle classes in Çayyolu and Keçiören was very much related to factors suggesting differential class positions. In terms of their position in the production process, the two groups stood within the broad outlines of the middle classes and only a further division of old and new middle classes may be stated in this respect. However, as equipped from the theoretical framework on stratification we knew that class formation is an ongoing struggle within the consumption

processes 'in' and 'of' the urban space. Thus, we tried to find the means on which the struggles among these two groups were realized in Ankara.

Still in terms of the occupational structure as a factor related to class, an old and new middle class differentiation may basically be revealed. Also the roles of women in the family are different as suggesting a more traditional role of a housewife and mother within the house and a well-educated working mother in Çayyolu. The differential educational capital and social origin may be related to their differences of household as well as revealing a well educated group in Çayyolu when compared to Keçiören and this picture is further clear in the case of the women in the two areas. The changing roles of women may be related to their educational gains as well as their emphasis on the conservative tendencies revealed in their emphasis on religious practices in their daily lives, their political choices and even their choice of the newspapers. Thus, mainly due to their differences of cultural capital based on education, social origin and the level of the adoption conservative values revealed by their approaches to religion, political choices and the roles of women in the house, the differential class structures of the two groups are revealed in the survey.

In line with our expectations this differential class position is correlated with their spatial choices as well just as it is revealed from their choice of location within urban space. Their spatial practices vary in terms of their frequency and the places they are realized at and their level of extension in the urban environment. People in Keçiören are more reserved to their surroundings in terms of many utilities and they are less eager to attend to various spatial activities. They may be regarded as less mobile compared to the ones in Çayyolu. This may also be related to differentiation of roles of women in two areas.

The paths of the two groups almost do not coincide at all except for the limited common use of Kızılay and Bahçelievler. Furthermore, their utilities are restricted to the boundaries of the north-south divide although they have the means for a mobile lifestyle. The ones in Çayyolu realize their commuting in longer distances than the ones in Keçiören, but their daily travels are limited to the southern parts of the city. The differential lifestyles of the two groups lead them to use the urban space in different ways and for different purposes and they in a way create their boundaries within the urban space. The weakening of the urban centers in terms of the variability of the activities they accommodate and the dispersal of many activities in the urban space may be suggested to contribute to such a process.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Urban space is the arena of many conflicts and interactions on and about the space itself among many different groups with different interests. In which manner these groups are organized or under what headings they are gathered does not affect the centrality of the urban as an entity about the everyday dynamics of societies. Throughout this study we have referred to the specificity of places in terms of their unique dynamics and cultural accumulations and this study itself is a demonstration of this line of thought. This kind of an approach based on the centrality of the practices of agents among social structures governing and constraining many aspects of social life was related to the structuration approach which lies at the basis of various new approaches to the formation of societies. It naturally suggests the importance of everyday life as the area of routine action which seems indifferent but governs the totality of social, political, economic and cultural dynamics which is formed in urban spaces. Thus, planners working in and for the everyday urban space have to understand the specific dynamics governing the everydayness of their "entity" which is in direct relation with social dynamics evolving with it as suggested by socio-spatiality.

Furthermore, the urban space as the focus of the struggles of dominance among the social classes reveals the dynamic formation of classes apart from the broad outline of major classes defined by the production process. As the basic arena of the consumption of commodities, the urban space itself is a commodity carrying meanings which are actively formed by agents in urban life. The centrality of urban in the operation of capitalism today has been acknowledged as indispensable for the processes of capital accumulation. Based on the recent economic phase, urban space is the generator and accumulator of cultural signs and meanings that are exposed to constant change in relation to social dynamics operating on it.

Understanding these dynamics in urban space as the unique but complex subject of urban planning is a central area of concern for the discipline. To act on the urban space, planners should be equipped with information on the specific urban node they are

dealing with and this multidimensional information should not neglect the centrality of the struggles of class formation in the urban arena affecting the developments in the physical space as well. As we have mentioned, the struggles are not only taken as the basic conflict between the upper and lower classes of the production process, but now struggles among middle class groups as expanding and influential groups in the urban accumulations and their ways of consuming 'in' and 'the' urban space are rather central in the development of cities. In that manner it can be suggested that our study based on the two major middle class groups in the urban space of Ankara gives some clues on some basic conflicts in the Turkish capital city. The specific attributes of these two middle classes also connote some basic conflicts lying in the political and ideological struggles taking place in the city and in general in Turkey.

The effort of this study in comparing the two middle classes with similar economic wealth in other terms was showing the extent to which cultural and social capital also act on maintaining and exhibiting different middle class positions. The affects of economic wealth is apparent in constraining the possibilities that are available to an agent in the urban space. The necessity factors governing the life patterns of lower income groups is very straightforward and the strength of this factor in the analysis of the behavior of these groups may overwhelm every other factor that may act on choice. For the ones who are not restrained by the economic wealth in the spatial choices in the city, or who are in a way freed from necessity factors in their choices, other issues become more central. Eventually how these factors affect different middle class positions is important in that, this different position affects the spatial choices of agents belonging to different social groups and cause them behave differently in the urban environment. Their spatial choices in terms of the choice of the location of residence, the consumption of various nodes and activities and formation of social networks all affect the urban development, thus are in need of being brought to the surface for the implementation of planning professionals.

In order to neatly address the results derived from the findings of this study, they will be analyzed in three scales in this final section. These scales are both related to the spatial levels of analysis and also to the theoretical specificity of the findings in terms of the urban.

4.1. Macro Scale Conclusions

Findings of this study may be analyzed at different scales according to the levels of contribution to the research on planning and the urban. Looking from a macro scale the study has discussed new dimensions to residential location choice. We know that basic theoretical formulations on the issue of location choice have been revised to include various factors introduced with the developments in economy in the recent periods. Initially the major concern of location choice theories is concentrated on the centrality of distance of residence from various activities and especially from workplaces. Location of CBD and sub-centers in relation to the residential areas are stated to affect the residential pattern of cities as well as some other factors like ethnicity, family status, migration and socio-economic differences. Also recently a general trend in the residential patterns of cities is the movement of the wealthy groups to the periphery in relation to the increase in personal mobility freeing the people from the factor of distance. These explanations based on the social and economic aspects of residential location choice certainly have their impacts on the formation of cities today in a much more complicated manner.

What this study has brought to attention is that alternative factors related to the specificity of a locality may act on the residential choices of urban dwellers. Without using the tools of location choice theories and considering residential location choice as a basic sign of difference among the two groups at hand, this study examined the factors causing difference and finally related these factors with the initial residential choice difference. Especially the cultural factors of difference specific to the development pattern and history of Ankara are central to the location choices of the two groups examined in Çayyolu and Keçiören. The location choice of these two groups is related to specific cultural and historical accumulations of these two areas. The development history of Keçiören reveals a unique pattern of attachment of the people living there to the area, and as we have mentioned before, the respondents in this part have not chosen to leave the area although they could have afforded to live in peripheral regions in line with the general trend. In the same manner, the economic factors considered in location theories suggest a division of social groups according to their levels of wealth and again the group in Keçiören is an exception in this respect. Their income levels are not in accordance with the groups in their immediate surroundings. Also in both groups it can be seen that only a small portion states the importance of the location of the neighborhood in the city and the proximity to workplace as a factor of settling there. Other social and cultural factors are given as reasons. Especially in Çayyolu, the reason for settling in this peripheral

region is mainly given as the 'decent' environment which shows the centrality of the character of living space in the lives of these people. Again the sympathy towards the environment and the existence of family and relatives in the area is the reason of settling of people in Keçiören in the area.

The search for difference of choice among the two groups at hand based on their different location choices has brought alternative factors to our attention and our study has introduced different dimensions of residential segregation in urban spaces in the contemporary world based on the specific dynamics of Ankara. Especially when the subject is the middle class, learning their motivations is of central importance because of their economic, cultural and massive dominance in contemporary cities. Also the choices and tendencies of middle classes in cities are influential in the development of the urban pattern. The study showed that not only urban inequalities in terms of differences in economic wealth of the citizens is the source of segregation and polarization in the urban spaces, but as can be seen in this study, other dimensions of difference may act to cause a distinction among various groups and cause them interact in a very limited manner in the urban space based on their free will. This polarization not based on economic constraints but cultural and social choices, is a new dimension which has to be brought to the agenda of planners especially in the unique context of Turkey. This structure not only is a categorical social difference, but is also closely related to the spatial segregation of cities in the contemporary period. The sources of this difference are thoroughly examined in our study in terms of cultural capital, based on differences in educational level, social origin and levels of conservativeness brought to attention specifically for the Turkish case. All these factors may be seen as the sources of the difference of using the urban space between the two groups as well as a part of a major conflict seen in Ankara between two ideologies discussed on the special case of the implementations of the Keçiören Municipality.

4.2. Meso Scale Conclusions

Along with the macro evaluations of this study in terms of the basic conflicts in the urban space of Ankara based on difference in the residential location choices of the two groups, other evaluations may be made using the spatial outcomes of the study. In a meso-scale, the spatial choices of these groups were analyzed in the use of some activities and nodes in the urban space. This perspective is another important dimension of this study. We did not only focus on their residential location choices, but also considering the economic freedom and mobility opportunities of the two groups, we searched for their use of urban

space to determine differences of spatial choice. Eliminating all the economic dimensions of class differentiation and concentrating on the variety among the middle classes, we had the chance to emphasize the role of alternative additional factors in creating distinctive spatial choices among different groups in society. This way this study showed that, factors that cause differences along with economic ones are effective on differential spatial choices of the two groups and in general on differential spatial choices of middle classes. The difference of cultural capital was revealed among our case groups in terms of the educational qualifications and social origin. Also, gender is shown as to increase the distinction between the two groups in terms of the cultural capital differences. The women with low cultural capital in Keçiören were mainly directed to their traditional role as housewives and this was coupled with the suggestion of a conservative way of life. In terms of the occupational standing we can see a difference of old and new middle class occupations especially with the accumulation of professionals in Çayyolu and the significant group of business owners in Keçiören. This suggests the importance of property assets and cultural assets in the study of Savage *et al* (1995). The business owners use their property assets to get economic capital and attain status while the professionals depend on their cultural accumulations to get material rewards as well as status. These all are the factors acting on the difference of choice between the two groups of middle classes in this study. Thus, they all reveal the difference of the two groups of comparison in this study. The first question of our study is answered in this manner as; "the alternative factors of cultural and social capital affect the differentiation of middle class groups in terms of their spatial choices".

With our correlation of the factors of difference with the spatial choices, we have concluded that their way of acting in urban space in terms of utilization of various nodes and the creation of social networks are rather different as well just like their choice of residence. The examination of the spatial activity patterns of these two middle class groups is in relation to their difference in terms of cultural and social capital is an original contribution of this study. Difference in cultural terms may be as strong a factor to cause two totally different lifeworlds ignorant of each other within the boundaries of the same city. The 'paths' of the groups in Çayyolu and Keçiören almost do not coincide in any of the 'stations' since they do not have a common interest towards most of the activities in the urban space and mainly they choose different nodes for the ones that they both use. This may be attributed to the immobility of the ones in Keçiören to a certain extent, but also it is a fact that people in Çayyolu do not utilize the northern part of the city almost at all and they use the centers only for necessity.

In the development of Ankara it can be seen that the centers have lost their power of attraction in terms of many facilities. Most major entertainment and leisure activities and most commercial facilities are dispersed in the city with the operation of the market mechanism and this development of arbitrary formations of small centers could not be controlled with planning implementations. This led to a segregation of various users to urban environments directed to their own tastes. Also the splitting of Çayyolu residential area from the city due to the existence of vast public areas with limited public use (like university campuses or AOC) enforces this separation and disconnectedness of this group from the rest of the city. The development of various services and utilities in the area further serves this picture.

In fact as seen in the spatial uses and practices of these two groups and the dispersal of the center, many enclaves are generated within the city. These enclaves cause a grouping of various classes, communities or interest groups to certain parts of the city and not interact with each other. Belonging to the same city may then be questioned when this is the case. It may be considered natural in the case of residential segregation in that, people may choose to reside along with the ones they can interact with, but with the dispersal of central facilities to arbitrary sub-centers the only interaction point in the city which is the center is lost. The enclaves as can be seen do not only come up in the case of gated communities, but the natural course of development of the market mechanism and tendencies of various groups may help generate such formations within a city.

However, apart from a general tendency where the activities of the two groups do not coincide, the limited amount of intersection is worth attention. In the findings of the study, it can be seen that the two groups coincide only in Kızılay, Akköprü Migros Shopping Center and in Bahçelievler to a certain extent. If we leave out Kızılay especially since the ones in Çayyolu use the area mainly because of work and necessity factors and do not prefer to go there when they have the alternative, the other nodes come out. Especially when we consider the shopping mall in Akköprü, it can be seen that it is almost the only point where the residents of Çayyolu using only southern Ankara commute somewhere in the northern part of the city and this shopping mall has succeeded to attract these people. Especially now that this place is extended as Ankamall and became a much bigger attraction point, it can be assumed that the use of this node is more frequent by the ones in Çayyolu. Consumption and shopping is the only function that attracts the people in Çayyolu to the northern part and use the same place with the

ones they exclude. Using Akköprü is very natural for the people in Keçiören because of the proximity of this shopping mall and because of their general immobility seen from their activity patterns. The new public or semi public space of the shopping malls is the only common activity of the two groups. Whatever their cultural composition is as seen in our cases, these spaces are used by the middle class groups extensively in their daily lives. The use of shopping malls may be another dimension of exclusion of the poor by the wealthy groups and these two groups at the center of this research share the level of wealth as a similarity. Also it can be seen that these are the only sources of attraction to both of these groups and the centrality of shopping in the lives of the middle classes may be seen here. Shopping malls which contribute in a way to the dispersal of the urban center where people interact become a new space of interaction for various groups divided in cultural terms. Still it can be claimed that using the same place does not necessarily mean interacting, but shopping mall as a new public space of the contemporary urban spaces seems to be the only place of encounters between groups of middle classes dissociated by a cultural axis.

4.3. Micro Scale Conclusions

The spatial findings of this study may also be evaluated from a micro scale perspective. Along with the residential location choices revealing their approaches to the whole city, the choice of activities in various nodes in the city, this study also embodies findings on the approaches of the people to their immediate surroundings, thus their neighborhoods and districts. The choices of residence have been analyzed at this point not in terms of the location within the city only, but here people gave the clues to their level and sources of attachment to their neighborhood and 'place'. The level of satisfaction of the two groups from their neighborhoods and districts shows that they are mainly content with their residential choices. Their difference is seen from this type of satisfaction from two totally different places and locations.

The difference among the two groups may also be easily seen in this scale in another respect. People in Çayyolu have chosen to move to the periphery and this movement to the periphery is generally given as a choice towards a movement away from the dense and problematic urban center. The people in this study residing in Çayyolu also suggested that their choice towards this area is a result of the 'decent' environment they find there. The homogeneous social structure in this part of the city is well-known in Ankara. The urban services are sufficient, they have the personal mobility to reach various places when they need the alternatives for these services and they are

surrounded with like-minded people in their residential spaces. The findings show that they are not close to their working places, but despite this price they pay to live there, their sympathy towards their neighborhoods does not change. However, as seen from the activity patterns and since both parents are mainly working in the area, their interaction with the people in their neighborhood on a daily basis may be rather limited. They are attached to this place but this attachment is based on this homogeneous communal level. What neighborhood provides them is very different from the ones in Keçiören.

People in Keçiören are attached to their neighborhood in different terms. Among the practical reasons they state for choosing their neighborhood, apart from a portion giving proximity to work as a major reason, mainly they like the environment because of being used to in habitually, or they have chosen there because of relatives, family and friends. We know that they have a history in Keçiören because of living in the area for a long time, and their initial social bonds all exist in the area showing the character of one big community. This kind of an attachment coupled with the existence of a high proportion of housewives using the close environment on a daily basis has different characteristics. Therefore, the community and neighborhood formation and their levels of attachment differ in the two places and this also shows that, based on cultural factors, people's approach to their residential spaces changes as well. A closer outlook may even show how this difference may be revealed in their use and formation of this immediate space and even within their houses. However, within the limits of this study, only the sense of the neighborhood is revealed to a certain extent.

In addition to this, their levels of satisfaction from their surroundings may be related with their tastes. The aesthetic outlook of the two places, what the image of Çayyolu and Keçiören offer the residents there is totally different. And our study showed that the groups residing in both of the places are also satisfied with this image of the environment. Since taste as the counterpart of aesthetic judgment in everyday life shows the traces of different cultural and symbolic capital, it can be seen that this is also another difference of the two groups in their relationship with their immediate surroundings.

The issue of taste which has been given as the practical signifier of the existence of cultural and symbolic capital is also a very central axis of differentiation. People's choices depend on their tastes apart from their economic possibilities. In fact, we have traced the

existence of cultural, social and symbolic capital apart from economic capital during our survey. However, practically what we have done was following the spatial tastes of the two groups in our study. Their tastes were governing their spatial choices and in relation to this we concluded that difference of taste is a signifier of difference of the composition of capital. Then we concentrated on the sources of capital as educational level or social origin. But our major axis of division was based on their different spatial tastes. In this respect, choice of residential location (when we consider our macro scale evaluation) and the satisfaction from the neighborhood (in a micro scale) may be seen as a major division in terms of suggesting differential spatial taste as well. Also the choice and consumption of activities in the urban space are related to differential tastes. If a resident prefers to use a facility far away from his house although there is a closer one, this may be related to what the place offers him/her in terms of his taste. Thus, this kind of an approach to spatial use of the city introduces a practical factor of differentiation based on cultural factors; taste.

	Çayyolu		Keçiören
Macro Scale Location choice	Move to the periphery (run away from the center)	Different life worlds not coinciding Different sources of neighborhood and community formation Based on cultural factors: education, social origin, gender, level of conservativeness	Staying in the center (attachment to neighborhood)
Meso scale Use of urban space, Evaluation of urban space	Using facilities in the southern part of the city, limited use of the center, emphasis on facilities along Eskişehir highway, esp. Armada and Bilkent Center. Friends and relatives also concentrated in the southern part.	Almost no intersection in any place in the city except for the center and a limited extent in Akköprü and Bahçelievler. Based on cultural factors and different social capital. Different tastes revealed in their sympathy towards the urban environment.	Using facilities in the north and the center to a certain extent. Mainly closed to the immediate environment. Akköprü and Kızılay stand out. Social capital concentrated in Keçiören.
Micro scale Neighborhood/ community, Evaluation + satisfaction from neighborhood	Neighborhood based on the desire to live in a decent environment with likeminded people	Different tastes revealed in their sympathy towards their neighborhood. Different sources and types of community formation. Based on cultural factors and different social capital	Strong attachment of community, investing in the neighborhood and district, community based on family and relatives and habitual attachment to 'place'

Figure 60. Matrix on the final evaluations of the study

4.4. Final Remarks

It can be seen from the above evaluations on various scales, this study shows the relation of the factors that cause difference between the middle classes to the spatial choices and tastes, and suggests that these are effective on the differences in the spatial use of urban space. Therefore, differences between the dominant groups of middle classes in the urban space may be revealed in their spatial choices in the urban environment and the repercussions of these differences should be pursued in this manner as well.

This study has managed to do this by searching for spatial behaviors, tastes and choices of two middle class groups in Ankara in terms of their location choices, their use and evaluations of activities and nodes in Ankara and their approaches to their neighborhoods. Thus, this study showed that in various scales repercussions of alternative factors of difference among social groups and especially cultural and social capital differences may be seen among spatial uses of middle classes. To understand the behavior and choices of middle classes in an urban accumulation, we have to consider these alternative factors along with the economic ones.

The two groups in our study had their specificities in the development of Ankara. The growth of the residential area in Çayyolu and the new developments in Keçiören that attracted wealthy groups to our study area showed different characteristics. Also the position of the ones in Çayyolu among the wealthy south in terms of their movement to the periphery was an exception, just like the exceptional position of the ones in Keçiören among the lower income groups residing in the area. The sources of this difference of choice and their further repercussions on the urban space were the major subject of this study. However, the study is furthermore a representation of a major conflict in the urban space of Ankara revealed in the behavior of two social groups. This difference is written on the symbolic space of the urban with the implementations of the Keçiören Municipality as we have mentioned before and has attracted many criticisms by the ones with a counter ideology. The cultural and ideological differences between the two groups have been a major dimension of conflict in Ankara. However, whatever the sources of this dual structure are how will the planners approach to this difference? Living with difference is a natural outcome of urban life. Managing polarization in terms of inequality is another dimension of this problem of difference. However, with the introduction of this alternative source of difference and exclusion we can see that conflict in urban space is multifaceted and may exist among various groups because of various reasons including

difference of cultural basis and tastes. Difference in the city may inevitably cause the creation of enclaves as suggested before and residential segregation in this respect may be a natural consequence of this difference. However, living in the same city with totally different lifestyles, unaware of each other is what strengthens this polarization. Although it is apparent that different groups do not want to interact on an activity basis, maybe creating nodes of interaction based on their common interests may be a way of introducing differences to one another in different terms. These niches of encounter may serve to at least see differences and provide living in a more democratized manner.

If there is a way to resolve this conflict and make these people live as the parts of the same city is a question that is hard to answer. How the balances between the two groups will change and how this may affect the urban environment is also an open ended question. At the moment we have the clues to their specific tendencies, modes of behavior and spatial choices in Ankara. This study is naturally a limited effort observing the tendencies of two specific groups in a micro scale getting into the essence of their daily lives. Further studies with this kind of an approach may help revealing the multi dimensional class formation processes in Ankara and the struggles that are beneath these processes. However, the level of sensitivity in conducting this manner of study is important in that, some factors of difference may not only be measures by numerical data. Some conflicts and behavior may be based on dynamic and specific factors changing along with the development pattern of a certain urban space. Therefore, in examining differential behavior and choices of various social groups, we should be aware of alternative axis of differentiation and conduct studies in that level of sensitivity. Thus, such an approach to studies on the urban and planning discipline is something that this study tried to provide. The aforementioned factors creating the conflict between the two groups at hand in this study may vary with different cases. With multiple studies in this manner, we may get to know what factors govern the processes taking place in Ankara and who the main responsible agents behind them are. Catching the essence of their manner of choice will help us clear the picture for the urban space of Ankara.

Furthermore, the spatial scales embodied in this study provided an overall outlook in the comparison of the two specific groups at hand. However, such an approach may be applied to conduct studies focused to the tendencies at each scale. For instance, this study could not be further focused to the choices and evaluations of the users in the immediate environment to a great extent. The community life in the two places and how they differ in terms of the actual use of the immediate space in an urban design scale

was not dealt with. This may be another dimension of such a study based on the approach adopted in this research. Also aesthetic choices in the immediate environment could be included in such a study. Apart from this, the study may be extended to cover other middle class groups as well as the higher strata living in different type of housing as well. For our specific cases at hand, we chose to focus on apartment type housing. However, more extensive consumption of urban space in terms of villas and gated communities, or housing estates may help reveal the stratified structure in Ankara's urban pattern and the factors beneath it.

Finally, we can conclude that this study gives important clues on the role of culture and the specific cultural accumulations in the history of Ankara, as governing the development of the city. It is quite evident that the role of this factor in the development of the city is intimately related to the middle class structuration. The conflicts that are not initially evident in the urban space come to the surface with some effort and a significant dimension of these struggles are in a discourse level. It may be suggested that the new manner of fragmentation among the middle class groups in Ankara may be related to the new sources of identity formation with its roots in the cultural interests. Furthermore, this fragmentation is spatially evident in the choices of the middle class groups included in this study. Different factors may create different axes of segregation in the urban space. This segregation may not only be residential, but consumption spheres may also differentiate. How niches of interaction may be created may be found in the findings of this study. However, it would not be wrong to assume that many other factors of differentiation may come up when we consider the multifaceted character of middle classes. Thus, middle classes and their behavior and choices should be on the agenda of professions related to the urban space for some time. Influences of the middle classes in the urban space are evident in the deepening of the division of Ankara and the continuation of the tale of two cities even just looking from the perspective of Keçiören and Çayyolu.

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APPENDIX A

DATA OBTAINED FROM THE SURVEY

Table 21. The size of the homes of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-90m2			3	1,5
91-109m2	8	4,0	26	13,0
110-200m2	190	95,0	166	83,0
over 200 m2	2	1,0	4	2,0
missing			1	0,5
Total	200	100,0	100,0	

Table 22. Age groups of the children of households

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-6 ages	48	15,4	25	10,5
7-12 ages	69	22,1	36	15,1
13-18 ages	76	24,4	50	20,9
19-25 ages	75	24,0	69	28,9
Over 26	41	13,1	58	24,3
Total	309	99,0	238	99,6
System	3	1,0	1	0,4
Total	312	100,0		239

Table 23. Crosstabulation of the age of the children and school they go to in Keçiören

	Primary school	High school	university	Graduate school	college	Pre-school	missing	
0-3	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	15
4-6	2	0	0	0	0	5	24	31
7-12	66	2	0	0	0	0	1	69
13-18	13	42	5	0	0	0	16	76
19-22	0	1	32	0	0	0	19	52
23-30	0	0	10	1	1	0	32	44
30-	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
99	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
	83	45	48	1	1	6	109	293

Table 24. Crosstabulation of the age of the children and school they go to in Çayyolu

	Primary school	High school	university	Graduate school	Pre-school	missing	
0-3	0	0	0	0	0	14	14
4-6	0	0	0	0	3	8	11
7-12	35	1	0	0	0	0	36
13-18	9	36	5	0	0	0	50
19-22	0	0	42	4	0	5	51
23-30	0	0	7	7	0	19	33
30-	0	0	0	1	0	4	5
99	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	44	38	54	12	3	50	201

Table 25. The register of birth of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
foreign countries	2	1,0	1	0,5
istanbul	4	2,0	3	1,5
ankara	70	35,0	99	49,5
izmir	3	1,5	2	1,0
antalya-bursa-mersin- adana-balikesir	17	8,5	9	4,5
ankara surrounding cities	43	21,5	42	21,0
west	22	11,0	5	2,5
black sea region	23	11,5	20	10,0
east-southeast	15	7,5	19	9,5
Total	199	99,5	200	100,0
System	1	0,5		
	200	100,0		

Foreign countries: Almanya, Bulgaristan, Kıbrıs

Ankara surroundings: Çankırı, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Karaman, Aksaray, Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde, Konya, Bolu, Sivas

West:The Westerns cities except for İstanbul and İzmir

Table 26. Where the respondents consider themselves from

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
foreign countries	2	1,0	1	0,5
istanbul	9	4,5	5	2,5
ankara	114	57,0	119	59,5
izmir	2	1,0	2	1,0
antalya-bursa-mersin- adana-balikesir	12	6,0	7	3,5
ankara surrounding cities	22	11,0	29	14,5
west	12	6,0	3	1,5
black sea region	7	3,5	17	8,5
east-southeast	11	5,5	13	6,5
Total	191	95,5	196	98,0
System	9	4,5	4	2,0
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Foreign countries: Almanya, Bulgaristan, Kıbrıs

Ankara surroundings: Çankırı, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Karaman, Aksaray, Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde, Konya, Bolu, Sivas

West:The Westerns cities except for İstanbul and İzmir

Table 27. Data on the vehicles and driver's license of respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
yes	175	87,5	128	64,0
no	25	12,5	72	36,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 28. The ownership of driver's license of parents

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
yes	246	72,6	296	90,2
no	73	21,5	31	9,5
Total	319	94,1	327	99,7
System	20	5,9	1	0,3
	339	100,0	328	100,0

Table 29. The ownership of driver's license of mothers

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
yes	89	52,7	140	81,9
no	69	40,8	30	17,5
Total	158	93,5	170	99,4
System	11	6,5	1	0,6
	169	100,0	171	100,0

Table 30. Ownership of private vehicles

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0	1	0,5	7	3,5
1	150	75,0	123	61,5
2	37	18,5	34	17,0
3	4	2,0	7	3,5
Total	192	96,0	171	85,5
99	8	4,0	29	14,5
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 31. Models of private vehicles

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
older than 1990	2	1,0	3	1,5
1990-1999	19	9,5	23	11,5
after 2000	133	66,5	88	44,0
99	46	23,0	86	43,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 32. The level of education of the parents

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
illiterate	3	0,9		
literate, did not go to school	3	0,9		
primary school	68	20,1	10	3,0
secondary school	40	11,8	5	1,5
high school	108	31,9	69	21,0
graduate degree			23	7,0
university degree	97	28,6	193	58,8
college	15	4,4	26	7,9
missing	5	1,5	2	0,6
Total	339	100,0	328	100,0

Table 33. The level of education of the mothers

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
illiterate	3	1,8		
literate, did not go to school	3	1,8		
primary school	49	29,0	8	4,7
secondary school	19	11,2	2	1,2
high school	52	30,8	50	29,2
university degree	29	17,2	80	46,8
college	10	5,9	20	11,7
graduate degree			10	5,8
missing	4	2,4	1	0,6
Total	169	100,0	171	100,0

Table 34. The current jobs of the fathers of the respondent households

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	30	17,6	52	33,1
technicians and related prof.	24	14,1	13	8,3
military	2	1,2	1	0,6
retired	12	7,1	28	17,8
unemployed	1	0,6		
managers	22	12,9	36	22,9
workshop owners	65	38,2	24	15,3
service workers			1	0,6
99	14	8,3	2	1,3
Total	170	100,0	157	100,0

Table 35. Occupations of the fathers in the respondents households

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	48	28,2	108	68,8
technicians and related prof.	18	10,6	10	6,4
military	2	1,2	8	5,1
managers	10	5,9	9	5,7
workshop owners	43	25,3	18	11,5
service workers			1	0,6
artisans	1	0,6		
Total	122	71,8	154	98,1
99	48	28,3	3	1,9
Total	170	100,0	157	100,0

Table 36. Father's occupation of the respondent parents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
professionals	42	24,0	11	6,9
technicians and related prof.	45	25,7	30	18,8
farmers	11	6,3	29	18,1
military	7	4,0	2	1,3
retired	6	3,4	12	7,5
managers	7	4,0	9	5,6
business owners	43	24,6	44	27,5
clerks			1	0,6
plant and machine operators			6	3,8
artisans	11	6,3	11	6,9
Total	172	98,3	155	96,9
missing	3	1,7	5	3,1
	175	100,0	160	100,0

Table 37. Father's educational level of the respondent parents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
illiterate			13	8,1
literate, did not go to school	5	2,9	9	5,6
primary school	52	29,7	77	48,1
secondary school	20	11,4	15	9,4
high school	44	25,1	28	17,5
university degree	42	24,0	9	5,6
college	10	5,7	4	2,5
Total	173	98,9	155	96,9
missing	2	1,1	5	3,1
	175	100,0	160	100,0

Table 38. Knowledge of a foreign language of the respondents

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
english	129	64,5	59	29,5
french	3	1,5	5	2,5
german	5	2,5	3	1,5
arabic			1	0,5
Total	137	68,5	68	34,0
none	63	31,5	132	66,0
	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 39.The frequency of going to the cinema

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
more than once a week	4	2,0	4	2,0
once a week	32	16,0	13	6,5
1-2 times a month	107	53,5	75	37,5
few times a year	43	21,5	39	19,5
rarely	11	5,5	19	9,5
never	3	1,5	50	25,0
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 40. The frequency of going to the theater

	ÇAYYOLU		KEÇİÖREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
more than once a week	1	0,5	1	0,5
once a week	3	1,5	6	3,0
1-2 times a month	39	19,5	13	6,5
few times a year	79	39,5	29	14,5
rarely	37	18,5	22	11,0
never	41	20,5	129	64,5
Total	200	100,0	200	100,0

Table 41. Places where the respondents go to the cinema

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	143		143
kizilay	3	36	39
keciören		66	66
ulus	1		1
sögütözü	25	8	33
bahcelievler	1	1	2
akköprü	3	29	32
bilkent	14	1	15
Total	190	141	331

Table 42. Places where the respondents go to the theater

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	1		1
GOP	1		1
kavaklıdere	60	1	61
kizilay	38	11	49
cebeci	1		1
keciören		1	1
ulus	42	42	84
sögütözü	1		1
akköprü	1	8	9
bilkent	1		1
Total	146	63	209

Table 43. Places where the respondents go to the cafes

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
oran	1		1
cayyolu	67		67
GOP	1		1
ayranci		1	1
kavaklidere	7	3	10
kizilay	16	46	62
keciören		13	13
aydinlikevler		1	1
sögütözü	1		1
bahcelievler	6	19	25
odtü	1		1
akköprü		6	6
AOC	1		1
bilkent	8		8
total	109	89	198

Table 44. Places where the respondents go to the restaurants

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
oran	1		1
cayyolu	118		118
GOP	6	6	12
kavaklidere	10	1	11
kizilay	8	43	51
etlik		2	2
keciören		37	37
aydinlikevler		2	2
ulus	1	4	5
sögütözü	2	1	3
balgat	3	5	8
esat		1	1
yenimahalle		1	1
bahcelievler	2	16	18
batikent	1		1
odtü	1		1
akköprü		5	5
beysukent	1		1
bilkent	7	1	8
	161	125	286

Table 45. Places where the respondents go to the tea gardens

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
oran	0	1	1
cayyolu	25	0	25
GOP	3	4	7
kavaklidere	0	1	1
kizilay	8	10	18
etlik	0	1	1
keciören	0	45	45
aydinlikevler	0	2	2
sögütözü	1	0	1
bahcelievler	0	3	3
AOC	3	0	3
gölbasi	2	0	2
	42	67	109

Table 46. Places where the respondents go to the parks

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	104	0	104
GOP	2	1	3
kavaklidere	4	0	4
kizilay	1	0	1
keciören	0	153	153
aydinlikevler	0	11	11
sögütözü	1	0	1
bahcelievler	1	0	1
AOC	3	0	3
beysukent	1	0	1
gölbasi	5	0	5
	122	165	287

Table 47. Places where the respondents go to the shopping malls

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	78	0	78
GOP	2	3	5
kizilay	0	1	1
etlik	0	3	3
keciören	1	101	102
sögütözü	42	13	55
sincan	0	1	1
batikent	0	2	2
akköprü	21	57	78
bilkent	55	7	62
	199	188	387

Table 48. The places where the respondents do their monthly food shopping

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	116	0	116
GOP	0	3	3
kizilay	0	4	4
etlik	0	1	1
keciören	0	136	136
sögütüzü	0	6	6
batikent	2	5	7
akköprü	2	34	36
bilkent	80	8	88
	200	197	397

Table 49. The places where the respondents buy their clothing

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
cayyolu	52	0	52
GOP	1	2	3
kavaklıdere	10	7	17
kizilay	52	75	127
keciören	0	61	61
ulus	0	9	9
sögütüzü	61	4	65
bahçelievler	2	4	6
akköprü	8	15	23
bilkent	5	1	6
	191	178	369

Table 50. The places where the respondents buy their furniture

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
istanbul	1	0	1
kırıkkale	0	1	1
Istanbul yolu	1	1	2
cayyolu	5	1	6
GOP	1	0	1
kizilay	0	3	3
dikmen	1	0	1
keciören	0	10	10
ulus	1	2	3
batikent	0	1	1
akköprü	0	1	1
bilkent	40	12	52
siteler	132	138	270
	182	170	352

Table 51. Use of beverages with alcohol

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
every day	3	1	4
1-2 times a week	30	7	37
1-2 a month	36	7	43
rarely	59	27	86
never	72	156	228
total	200	198	398

Table 52. Celebration of the New Year

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
yes	179	110	289
no	18	88	106
total	197	198	395

Table 53. Sports facilities that the respondents do on a regular basis

	KEÇİÖREN		ÇAYYOLU	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
basketball	5	3,9	3	2,8
football	6	4,7	4	3,7
jogging	94	74	67	61,5
tennis	4	3,1	4	3,7
aerobics	12	9,4	6	5,5
taekwando	1	0,8		0,0
fitness	4	3,1	16	14,7
swimming	1	0,8	4	3,7
bicycle		0	3	2,8
table tennis		0	1	0,9
mountain climbing		0	1	0,9
total	127	100	109	100
none	73	36,5	91	45,5
Grand total	200	100	200	100

Table 54. Favorite political leader

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
Tayyip Erdogan	11	78	89
Turgut Ozal	5	12	17
Deniz Baykal	8	5	13
Tansu Ciller		2	2
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk	22	20	42
Erkan Mumcu	3	4	7
Ismail Cem	3	1	4
Ismet Inonu	2	2	4
Alparslan Turkes		4	4
Süleyman Demirel	2	5	7
Bulent Ecevit	3	8	11
Abdullah Gul	5	4	9
Necmettin Erbakan		1	1
Kemal Dervis	1	1	2
Cem Uzan		1	1
Ahmet Necdet Sezer	3		3
Mesut Yilmaz		1	1
Kürsat Tüzmen		1	1
Erdal Inonu	2		2
Aydin Guven Gurkan	1		1
Cem Boyner	2		2
Devlet Bahçeli	1		1
Mehmet Agar	2		2
Adnan Menderes	1		1
total	77	150	227

Table 55. Distribution of relatives in other cities

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
istanbul	111	62	173
ankara ilçe	7	8	15
izmir	26	18	44
antalya-bursa-mersin- adana-balikesir	49	41	90
ankara yakin cevre	42	76	118
bati	37	28	65
karadeniz	26	42	68
dogu-guneydogu	18	35	53
Kibris	2	0	2
Almanya	5	10	15
diger	2	2	4
	325	322	647

Table 56. Frequency of visiting relatives in other cities

	ÇAYYOLU	KEÇİÖREN	Total
more than once a week	1	1	2
once a week	0	2	2
1-2 times a month	16	13	29
few times a year	153	130	283
rarely	7	18	25
never	6	12	18
	183	176	359

APPENDIX B

OCCUPATION CATEGORIES

International Standard Classification of Occupation

ISCO88 (COM) code (Akpınar 2005)

Major groups	ISCO skill level
1 Legislators, senior officials and managers	
2 Professionals	4th
3 Technicians and associate professionals	3rd
4 Clerks	2nd
5 Service workers and shop and market sales workers	2nd
6 Skill agricultural and fishery workers	2nd
7 Craft and related workers	2nd
8 Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2nd
9 Elementary occupations	1st
10 Armed forces	-

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