

CLASS DIMENSION OF HOUSING INEQUALITIES IN THE NEW ERA OF LIBERALIZATION: A CASE STUDY IN ANKARA (1)

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Received: 10.05.2007; Final Text: 19.10.2008

Keywords: class; globalization and liberalization; housing sphere; spatial segregation; Ankara's housing and stratification profiles.

1. This study compiles a series of empirical stratification studies applied to Ankara at the end of twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the Ph.D. thesis, I had discussed the socio-spatial segregation of Ankara by employing a wide range of spatial and socioeconomic variables including consumption profiles (Akpınar, 2005). This study can be considered as the continuation, however it has more emphasis on the globalization and liberalization. The data set of the Ph.D. study and this article is the same.

2. A phrase taken from an in-depth interview with an urban poor in "State of being poor: Societal view of urban poverty in Turkey" (Erdoğan, 2002, 445).

*I believe that whoever owns a house in these times is wealthy.
I wish I could own a house and not pay this rent. (2)*

The impact of global restructuring of the economy on the social geography of the city is twofold: at one extreme the pattern of stratification has changed with the emergence of new social layer of high-level professionals working in the finance sector and specialized services, at the other, there has been an increase in the informal, casual low-skilled, low-paid labour. The extreme *inequality* of the new era can distinguish itself with its magnitude in both social and spatial terms. The measurement of class-based inequality has been generally incorporated with income and earnings produced as a consequence of the sphere of production, i.e. labour market. The role of the household in the labour market is accepted as the main factor in determining the level of welfare and standard of living. However, in actuality, the factors that identify the income inequality cannot be limited by the sphere of production. There is common consensus that a social grouping identified by the sphere of reproduction (consumption) and exchange mechanism is needed for fully-fledge stratification and class analysis.

This paper tries to show that not just income, but also the sphere of social reproduction including the housing dimension, has to be incorporated in the measurement of the deep social divide that exists between haves and have-nots. The objective here is to discuss the criterion employed in the measurement of class based segregation in urban structure. The major assertion is that not income but also housing is of utmost importance for the analysis of the class-based segregation in Ankara's urban structure. Special attention is paid to the relationship between the concepts of "social polarization", "social stratification" and socio-spatial divide in terms of material value, living conditions and ownership pattern of housing in the intermediary period of the late 1990s and the early 2000s in Ankara. This study is an attempt to fulfill a research on the untouched and insufficiently

discussed theme of 'class-based socio-spatial segregation', which has neither theoretically nor empirically been studied with adequacy in the Turkish context. There appear to be some links between the global-city status and inequality in the stratification of Ankara. Income inequality can easily incorporate itself in the form of different class positions in relation to varying housing conditions. However, there appears, at the same time, counter evidence which is incorporated as the existing labour structure and distribution relations. Correspondence Analysis (CA) has been used as well as employing the statistics of "Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey" (HICES) for Ankara collected by State Institute of Statistics (SIS) in 1994 and 2001.

THEORETICAL BACKDROPS: AN INTRODUCTION

After the 1980s, the structural changes caused by the efforts to join the global economy and transitioning to a liberal economy instead of import substitution could not be explained as economic units and institutions. This transformation redefines the different social groups and their position in society as well (Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2005, 271).

The "Global City" hypothesis argues that economic restructuring of the new global economy produces a highly uneven and polarized employment structure in urban societies.

The consequences of economic restructuring lead to "class polarization" and engendered new social groups of new wealth and a large group of low-income causal, informal, temporary forms at the bottom. Historically, cities have always exhibited polarization between the rich and poor. What changed in the new era is that the new rich are connected to the globalized and liberalized economy. The scholarly attentions to conceptualize global restructuring has generally incorporated itself with the terms of the "dual city", the "disappearing", or the "vanishing middle" of the "social polarization" (which indeed indicates dual employment structure) and the "mismatch thesis" (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998, 1646; Sassen, 1991; Fainstein, 2001, 285).

This study focuses on inequality from the perspective of the socio-spatial division of axes, or differentiation rather than focusing on measuring its magnitude in the new era. If there is a polarization, it will be explained in terms of the group on the two contrasting extremes of the axis. To account more fully for the differences in possessing material assets or cultural differentiation one would have take account of the relationship between its distributions in geographical space. Historically the domestic property ownership for the distribution of wealth has been conducted independently as if it is replaceable to the economic classes as basis for the class structuration which was originally proposed by Rex and Moore, 1967. In the study it is accepted that housing as a field (3) is the *integral* part of social stratification a "unitary approach constituting an indivisible totality" (Crompton and Scott, 2005, 192), by no means assuming supremacy to one and another. The objective is to see whether the fractions at the top of the income hierarchy, especially geographically, are concentrated in certain environments, and revealed in asymmetrical housing conditions. By doing so, the three structural determinants; socio-occupational categories, income and housing will be simultaneously displayed with the ease of CA. This study has to be considered as a continuation or a series of empirical stratification studies applied to Ankara at the end of the twentieth century

3. As Devine and Savage indicate, "field" in the Bourdieuan sense "has some of the same property as structure in the conventional sociology of stratification". Fields "present themselves" as "structured spaces of position (or post) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analyzed independently of the characteristics of their occupants" (2005, 13).

4. Not all social differences can be equated with the stratified order of any society. Age, gender, race are the other possible sources of inequality in a society.

and at the turn of the twenty-first century where vast economic, social and cultural transformation has taken place in a global context.

Structured social inequalities (4) lie at the heart of stratification studies. Social stratification occurs when structured social inequalities are systematically interrelated in a way that they shapes people's life chances and are involved in the formation of large-scale collectivities that stand in hierarchical relations to one another (Scott, 1996: 190).

After the end of the 1970s economic crisis, the world underwent a deep transformation depicted as the transition from fordism to post-fordism, a transition from the national developmentalism to neoliberal capitalism and the transition from modernism to post-modernism etc. The transformation has major spatial implications through urban milieu as in the case of large scale spatial concentration of poverty with a wide variety of multi-ethnic, identity, language and social forms, or as in the form of gentrified neighborhoods, wealthy enclaves or gated communities, luxury residences. There seems to be a more fragmented, complex urban scene that it is hard to define what urban, suburban, exurban, conurban, is or indeed rural (Scott, et al., 2001, 8-9). What is visible in the new era is the extreme inequality or social polarization stressed by the global city theorists (quoted from Fainstein, 2001, 285, [Sassen-Koob, 1987a]). In a similar vein, global city theoreticians assert that a similar social pattern emerged even though they are of different cultural, historical, institutional and contextual embodiments (Fainstein, 2001, 285-6). New social group is characterized as a special style of life and consumption pattern which has coincidences in their transnational counterpart (Keyder, 2005, 124).

On the other hand, the implication of global restructuring and liberalization on the stratification system emphasized by the theoreticians has been criticized heavily due to its imprecise, simplifying and controversial character, and has revealed a need for more empirical studies (Van Kempen, 1994, 998; Saraçoğlu, 1996, 246; Scott et al., 2001, 19). There are four set of problems for translation of social polarization into a specific stratification models.

DIFFERING VIEWS ON CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

Two alternative views, "polarization" and "mismatch" thesis dominate the debate in conceptualizing the uneven employment structure and earnings distribution as a consequence of the change from traditional manufacturing to high-technology manufacturing and service industries. Polarization thesis refers to a highly polarized employment structure, with, on the one hand, high-income professionals and managerial jobs at the top and, on the other, a vast group of low-income, temporary- informal, job at the bottom. The *disappearing* middle income group completes the scene (Scott et al., 2001, 18; Van Kempen, 1994, 998; Fainstein, 2001, 285). The mismatch thesis focuses on the poor as a residual group excluded from the employment structure. The huge disparities cannot find its meanings solely in economic terms, but also within increasing social and spatial segmentation.

Substantial doubts exist about the supposed consequences of global restructuring which causes sharp disparities. Some say these development occurred as a consequence of "rapid economic growth of the global city regions rather than the globalization as such" (Scott et al., 2001, 19), while others point out that the explanation provided by the global-city theorists is not sufficiently incorporated with sufficient empirical evidence (Saraçoğlu 1996, 246). In the context of developed economies,

5. The original attempt to apply the neo-Weberian perspective in domestic property class model has been generally dated back to the Rex and Moore's original formulation of "Housing Classes" (1967). The assertion is that tenure groups have different economic interest and different political activity heavily dependent upon the place of residency. Saunders reformulated their account focusing on consumption-sector cleavages and housing classes (Saunders, 1986). He made an analytical distinction between class struggles over social investment and sectoral struggles over social consumption. Thus "the boundaries of consumption sectors bear a necessary non-correspondence to class boundaries (in Weberian terms they are *status groups*), nor do they necessarily exhibit any significant degree of overlap with each other".

impoverishment of the middle class is accompanied by decreasing welfare state regulations. Though considerable suspects, doubts and criticism about the causes and implications of the global restructuring over the stratification emerge as such, class-based segmentation and spatial patterns are still the major research topics in urban agenda.

PROBLEMS WITH THE DEGREE OF COVERAGE

It is generally accepted that employment structure and income are the sound base indicators of measuring the social stratification. However, the majority of the population has not been embraced in the production sphere whose are the retired people, long-lasting unemployed, and domestic housekeepers, which are the groups, excluded from the research agenda. Their positions are not directly defined by the social relations of production (Marshall et al., 1989, 87). Some assert that excluding economically inactive adults yields a "restricted and distorted view of the class structure" (Vic Duke and Stephen Edgell, 1987, 453). In the late 1970s, it has been more pronounced that understanding social stratification covering only the sphere of production has provided rather distorted picture due to the rising importance of the sphere of social reproduction (Van Kempen, 1994, 999). The significance of "domestic property ownership for wealth accumulation, the structuration of classes and the mobilization of political conflicts" has been subject to growing interest among researches (Gurney, 1999, 1705). The discussion about the "consumption-sector cleavages" is characterized by an increasing emphasis on the cultural and social, rather than the economic construction of "classes" which is characterized by its emphasis on the *active* construction of social differences (Crompton 1993, 167-8). It is stressed that social relations are structured, not only by relations of production, but also by economic, cultural and bureaucratic/ political processes specific to allocation of housing (Pratt, 1982, 481)(5). According to this view, social reproduction, consumption, and ownership division can form the basis for class formation. The advocates of this view assert that homeownership, household commitment to its place of residence and territorial-based political activity (neighborhood revolts), are the effects that function *independently* of the production based class division (Dunleavy 1980, Saunders 1984, 1986). Housing classes has attracted a wide range of discussion in the field in general. Here the discussion lies at the heart of the distributive inequalities generated by the domestic property ownership pattern in the formation of the stratification pattern (Pratt, 1982, 497). However, there have been substantial suspects about the validity of domestic property ownership even among the advocators. The privatization of local-authority housing in parallel with the neo-liberal strategies of British government in 1980s is a good example. Many accept that it did not prevent but has exacerbated the equity (Burrows, 2003, 1223-1224; Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998, 1643; Edel, 1982, 220). However, domestic property ownership has indicated the role that the social reproduction (consumption) takes place in the formation of classes and has gained, to some extent, a kind of legitimacy in the stratification studies, in general (Pratt, 1982).

It is widely accepted that the *household* not the "individual" is the unit of measurement of the stratification analysis. Household as the unit of analysis is lead a variety of strategies for including "economically inactive" population. Household head, or the main bread-winner of the household is considered the same class position for the rest of the household members. The selection of household, as the most effective social unit to climb up social ladder is than necessitates the distinction between work-rich and

work poor family to assess the household's wealth. As Pahl indicates that one secure job provides easy access to "informal work and employment for the others" (Van Kempen, 1994, 999). Being involved in the formal employment is functioning as holding some sort of the social capital and, it also provides the necessary information about the social networks of the employment.

DECREASING SIGNIFICANCE OF JOB AND INCOME ON SOCIAL POSITION

All the arguments and counter arguments seem to be under influenced of the wider intellectual debate about post-structuralism and post-modernism in general, and "cultural turn" in particular (Devine and Savage, 2005, 1-2). It has become more emphasized that social world is formed up of "multiple identities" such as ethnicity, age, sexuality. This has led to replace the modernist preoccupation with class politics, and formal institutions (Thorns, 2002, 98-99). Culture is touted more loudly in the stratification research (Devine et al., 2005). The implications can be summarized as the unease move towards the supremacy of the conventional employment-aggregate approach defined *a priori* without taking into consideration the human agency and the primacy of the economic resources which leads marginalization of other axis of inequalities such as ethnicity, age, gender (Van Kempen, 1994, 1000).

However many assert that, despite all the dramatic efforts after the Second World War, ongoing inequalities and huge contrast among different groups, and, a remarkable continuity in the pattern of inequalities are reflecting themselves in the field of employment relations, health, education and the locales. It is, in fact, maintained that less advantaged still face the unequal freedom and unequal choice (Marshall, 1988; Scase, 2000; Bottero, 2005; Crompton and Savage, 2005). Taking this into consideration, a more fluid and fragmented social world which lacks any cohesion, and to some extent, exhibits a kind of "false consciousness" is the current state. This view is considered as conservative rather than emancipatory (Harvey, 1990, quoted in Thorns, 2005, 99). Others criticize that, the assertion "we are, not what we are but what we make ourselves" (Giddens 1991, 75) is heavily "a middle class standpoint on social arrangement" in societies where the less advantaged still live under the heavy influence of the structural constraints (Bottero, 2005, 246-247). Although the advocates see the changes as an opportunity to liberate the stultifying politics of class and formal politics through the established parties and parliamentary system as holding promise of new forms of social organization and practice (Lash, 1999, quoted in Thorns, 2005, 99), there is equally rising tension about the theoretical shift towards more "identity politics" in parallel with the lessening ground of "issue of redistributive mechanism" and "losing the class war" in a period where intensification of capitalist economic activities have taken place (Crompton and Scott, 2005, 198-202).

On the other hand, despite the inadequacy and unsatisfactory character of the employment-aggregate approach, a body of empirical work based on this approach is still widely accepted as extremely useful to measure the material inequalities, and, to understand the "social change" over the last 40 to 50 years (Crompton and Savage, 2005, 187). However, how people's lives are formed beyond the workplace, that is in sphere of *housing* (6) and *consumption* seems to be an irreversible account in any class study. There seems to be a tendency towards more emphasis on exploring how the class shapes cultural values, lifestyle practices, identities and "local class *habitus*"

in complex social processes (Vester, 2005, 69-94, 161; Savage et al., 2005, 95-122).

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH MEASURING INEQUALITY

Social stratification reveals the counters of the inequality among different strata in the form of a wide range of *resources, capacities* and *possessions* (Scott, 1996, 191). Studies about social stratification focus on highlighting the inequalities produced by the market mechanism in general. The inequality, which is touted as the most distinct characteristic of the globalization era, is not solely unique to this era and can be seen throughout history. The efforts of evaluating the inequality generally concentrate on asymmetrical measurement of the magnitude of the individual income. The measurement of inequality usually follows a linear line, marked by the increasing or decreasing levels of income. Any approach that relates the inequality with the measurement of magnitude, does not say much on the society's major axes of divisions, or pattern of cleavages. On the contrary, it has a blurring effect on the "qualitative turning point within this (*new*) period" (Marcuse, 1993, 357). Thus, for exploring inequality, the class and housing inequality as well as the dwellings' locality are still on the research agenda as they did in the past.

TURKISH CONTEXT

It is generally accepted that social and class-base differentiations, community life and patterns, urban cultures have been not sufficiently subjected to scientific investigation in Turkish social sciences (Ayata and Ayata, 2000, 151; Ayata, 2002; Kalaycıoğlu, 1998; Erder, 1995; Kandiyoti, 2002). This is because social stratification is difficult to study due to the highly dynamic character of the Turkish society (Erder, 1995, 106). Insufficient and immature character of the Turkish capitalist market system makes occupational category difficult to utilize as a sound base indicator valid for stratification study (Aktaş, 2001). The low capital accumulation cannot produce highly sophisticated and wide range occupation as in the case of western capitalist society. Spatial segregation is even more difficult when the other axis of divisions, such as ethnicity, emigrants, new comer's factors, are added. It is generally accepted that the main axis of dichotomy for social differentiation is mainly, decomposition of peasantry, rural-urban controversy, and the transition from the feudal order to modernism.

Turkish social structure represents originalities having both Islamic and modern-secular features, and being both Middle Eastern and European. In neo-capitalist countries, modern capitalist production methods usually are augmented by the existing pre-capitalist style of production (Aktaş, 2001, 210; Bakirezer, 2006). The shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activities has been exercised since the 1950s. The conjunction of capitalist and pre-capitalist times causes difficulty in assessing the class structures. As Portes indicates, the attempts to hold orthodox Marxist class model are unsatisfactory because they lead to results "defining as *lumpen* the majority of the population" (1985, 9). This picture is getting more complicated as a result of much broad transformations of the new world economic order with the winds of globalization.

The massive flow of the rural population to the urban areas as a result of the high rate of urbanization was not accompanied with the same pace of industrial developments. This led the informality both in the living environment as the illegal squatter settlement *gecekondu* ("landed overnight" in literal translation, Buğra, 1998, 306) and emergent informal

sector for those who find difficulty to absorb labour market of the formal jobs. Inhabitants of squatter settlements have become the focus of politicians' efforts to draw votes to themselves so that they have not taken legal steps to solve the problems of unemployment or providing decent living and housing. This forces masses to allocate the public land on the outskirts of the cities. The squatters' need for urban services creates opportunity for the political manipulation, and potentials for the electoral patronage (Miraftab, 1997, 303). After few elections, the application of the Urban Rehabilitation Plans (*İslah İmar Planları*) and the launching of the populist *imar affi*, squatter areas have been transformed into settlements of multi-storey apartment blocks. The exchange mechanism of urban rent has functioned on the consent of both, the state and the society as the "moral economy housing" (Buğra, 1998), because shelter is the basic human right. The direct consequence of legalization of squatters has been to transfer valuable property rights to lower-income dwellers and to produce a direct reflection on the overall redistribution of income. In case of inadequacy and inefficiency of the state intervention for the provision of housing and urban services, in a society far from having institutionalized as welfare mechanism, *housing* acts as a safety valve for masses not to become poor. Additionally, the reciprocity in social networks and patronage mechanism has flourished and organized, and this has "functioned best ... often based in concrete space of residential proximity" (Keyder, 2005, 127).

In the 1980s, the process of economic liberalization in Turkey led to a shift in previous protectionist import substitution policy to a new development strategy based on the promotion of domestic export industries, and the encouragement of foreign investment. The socioeconomic inequalities in social, geographic and economic terms which are resulted in liberalization, are, as elsewhere, to set in motion a process of unprecedented fragmentation and polarization within middle classes, leaving salaried and especially public sector employees increasingly worse-off, while some employees of the multinational firms and private business, corporate and financial sectors are able to guarantee world-class income in Turkish urban structure (Kandiyoti, 2002, 5; Keyder, 2005, 124). The formal organized sector employees have been faced with decline in real wages whereas those in marginal sector are suffered from lower remuneration, or at worse, unemployment (Keyder and Öncü, 1993, 20). Poverty has become so overt in urban areas that the buffer mechanisms, as a result of exchange mechanism of the urban rents, are becoming subject to radical changes.

The spatial pattern seems to effect the macro level transformation, newly emerged *sites* highly protected and affluent lifestyles are becoming ever more visible in the city space (Ayata, 2000, 2002). The suburbanization as a result of climbing up the social ladders has been accelerated in the urban centers. Households, who care more for social standing, want to have a new and bigger home. New suburban districts directed towards the urban fringe in the form of auto-sufficient, controlled large residential district for the newly emergent middle classes (Ayata and Ayata, 2000).

As elsewhere in the planet, liberalization has generated an intense *commodification* of informal land and housing markets (Roy and Al Sayyad, 2004, 4). As a consequences of the liberal policy transformation, large land areas where squatters live have become attractive and offer lucrative potential for constructing large physical complexes as business districts, hyper-towers, marinas, luxury hotels, gentrified neighborhoods and new consumption places by multi-national companies. The "Urban Renewal Law" *Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasası* (which has not been enacted yet) has to be

seen as part of this attempt of liberalization. Under these circumstances low-income segment's land speculation would unlikely as before and will be resulted difficulty for the new immigration flows to integrate urban life in both residentially and economically. All these changes have led to end of rent seeking activity for the new comers because land has been "commodified" (Keyder, 2005) at the first time in Turkish economic history.

DATA AND METHODS

The data "Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey" (HICES) by State Institute of Statistics (SIS) in 1994 and 2001 is employed in this study. The design of the survey is representative of the whole community of the city. The multi-stage stratified cluster sample method is applied. Rural population is not included since social stratification is more meaningful for the urban population than the rural counterparts. The data belongs to the boundary of the Greater Ankara Municipality.

The survey was conducted in every month by rotation. Interviewers visited six households once every three days every month, i.e. in total ten times in a month, to get information about the consumption expenditure and income. We have information on 646 households and 2647 individuals in 1994 for Ankara. The second data set which was obtained in research conducted in 2001, however, has not been completed. The survey was voided at the end of March due to the economic crisis. The data offers information for the first three months of 2001 for Ankara and information of the 331 households and 1281 individuals is available. The data is still found usable because of the difficulty in Turkey to conduct empirical research using such a comprehensive data representative of the whole urban structure. HICES provides a wide spectrum of information about structural components ranging from socio-economic characteristics of the households, income to types of dwelling and living conditions.

In 2002, SIS conducted a Survey solely representative of the nation, not at the city level. After 2003 SIS used three level statistical regions, "Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics" (NUTS) units, in accord with the process of candidacy of the European Union and changed the name of the survey as "Household Budgetary Survey". The NUTS unit in which Ankara is included at the NUTS-level 3, offers information not distinguishable at the central city but in its whole provinces. For all these reason the comparison between the year 1994 and 2001 has offered the most comprehensive and trusted information for researching the characteristics and the quality of housing amongst different social classes.

For the multivariate statistics Correspondence Analysis (CA) is used. CA is a graphical method of data analysis in which graphical display permits more rapid interpretation and understanding of the data. It offers the researcher a visual representation of row and column variables within the same space. With CA we construct a plot that shows the interaction of the two categorical variables along with the relationship of the rows to each other and of the columns to each other. In the exploration of multi-dimensional representation of the structural space, the closer the units situated within this space, the more common properties they have, and the more distant they are, the fewer they are. In the graphic display, the spatial distances coincide with the social distances. The people (households) who are close in the physical space are supposed to have higher probabilities of association (membership of the same class positions). The main task here is to identify homogeneous class groupings, a coherent entity for constructing

7. Occupation is used to differentiate the wage earner category in four fractions.

8. In the study, a modified version of Boratav's class scheme is employed. His scheme was adapted empirically in a series of studies (Boratav, 1995; Özcan, 1998; Belek, 1999; Aktaş, 2001; Geniş, 2002; Akpınar, 2005). This scheme has become repetitive empirical pieces, which evoke justifiable concerns.

9. In Boratav's class scheme, employers were separated into two distinct groups: (1) employers who employ continuously two or one employee were labeled as *petty bourgeoisie/ small employer*; (2) employers who employ three or more employees are defined as the *medium-big size bourgeoisie/ employer*. In his study Bulutay, when defining the informal sector, takes "self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, employers with less than four employees" as informals (1995, 200). However, in the study employers who employ employees on a regular basis are considered as "employers" not informals. The only exception from the Boratav's scheme, in this study, is that the difference between mid and big-sized employers.

a scheme that account for different living conditions with respect to total wealth, type of wealth and variability of wealth over time. The aim is try to show that class-based inequalities are also related with the geographical inequalities which draw sharp lines amongst households.

The major part of the CA as a technique is based on the assumption that the researcher should not prescribe to the individuals or the groups under investigation which attributes of an object should be taken into account. Instead, it is the researcher's task to identify these attributes *ex post* on the basis of the ultimate configuration of objects. CA is a very useful, sophisticated technique for defining "social topology" which implies a *relational* conception of social reality (Wuggenig and Mnich, 1994, 304).

In the study, "household" is chosen as the "level of measurement" or "unit of analysis". As indicated before, household is the most appropriate unit for the analysis of production sphere in relation with the reproduction (redistribution) sphere in an integrated fashion. Beside the theoretical consideration, the intense and close interactions and, strong reciprocity holds the "family" in a special place in Turkish society. Although the majority of them are nuclear families, their functioning bear the large family attributes. One more point, the low level of women labour involvement makes clear that the class position of the family heavily depends upon the class position of the main bread-winner of the household. In the case where the household head do not work the working partner's class position is taken as the representative of the class position of the family.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF CLASS POSITION AND ITS SPATIAL DIMENSION

To identify coherent groups of people, i.e. social classes, via their position within the society both *employment status* (self-employed with employees, manager in large establishment, and so forth) and *occupation* (for example electrician or nurse) are taken as an effective economic indicator of one's position in the social life (7). Employment status and occupation have been not considered as variables to differentiate social classes but rather they have been considered as the best reflections of the dynamics of the internal stratification of social classes defined through which social relations of production (Geniş, 2002). This is a rather practical reason to reduce a large and complex list of designation to a manageable number (Portes, 1985, 7), so that the first division of axis is between the "wage-earner" and "profit gainer" (employer) categories (8). The size of employers varies according to the number of employees hired, where (1) small employers are those who employ one or two employees, and where (2) mid-employers are defined as those who employ more than three but less than ten workers permanently, and finally, (3) big employers are those who employ more than ten workers on a regular basis (9) (Table 1).

The overwhelming majority of the wage-earner category imprints throughout this study and deserves special merit. The differences between working in public and private sector is included into the analysis to see whether the income gap of these two sectors has really widened at the expense of state functionaries, which can be considered as an effect of the globalization. However, though the level of wages is low for public sector professional's additional non-monetary benefits and security and continuity of income counts more in such a country where economic instability is extremely frequent. Beside the highly qualified professionals

PROFIT GAINER	Big employer	Employer hires more than 10 employees.
	Mid-size employer	Employer hires more than 3 to 10 employees.
	Small employer	Employer hires 2 or less than 2 employees.
WAGE EARNER	Administrative and managerial workers	Directors or chief executives, as directors or chief executives, managers of enterprises or organizations.
	Professionals	High level of professional knowledge and experience with high level of education commensurate with a university degree or equivalent.
	Semi-professionals	Those who perform mostly technical and clerical tasks and teach at certain educational levels. Teachers, nurses, secretaries, accounting, technicians are of this type.
	Unskilled service workers	Those who work in various services with low level skill and education such as food preparation in cafeterias, cleaning or personal services, driving
	Manual workers	Those working in manufacturing, repairing and maintenance, construction, transportation, loading and unloading and those who both work in and have responsibilities for controlling and coordinating such tasks.
INTERMEDIARY SOCIAL STRATA	Artisan and informal workers (<i>petty bourgeoisie</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - self employed (small shop-keeper, self-employed informal activities) - wage earner not affiliated any security program - Unremunerated family workers - Seasonally works
	Educated self-employed professionals (10)	Own account workers with high level of educational qualifications such as attorneys, doctors, accountants, etc. who do not employ wage earner on a regular base.
RESIDUAL GROUP	Inactive population	Unemployed, domestic housekeepers, elderly, disabled, students.
	Retired	

Table 1. Social Groups and related attributes.

category (holding university degree) the administrative and managerial group is considered as different wage earner fraction. This group is of utmost important in case of Ankara where the chief administrative and public institution settled where the nation's most effective bureaucracy is found. These two groups have a role to test the globalization hypothesis that at the one extreme of the social polarization there is a social block consisted of managerial and professional tasks as the wind of globalization expands. The semi-skilled professionals and clerical workers is the another group composed of those who perform mostly technical and clerical tasks and teach at certain educational levels. Teachers, nurses, secretaries, accounting, technicians are of this type. The unskilled service workers are those who work in various services with low level skill and education such as food preparation in cafeterias, cleaning or personal services, driving. And finally, workers working in manufacturing, repair and maintenance, construction, transportation, loading and unloading and those who both work in and have responsibilities for controlling and coordinating such tasks are considered as "manual workers".

One of the indicators of the stratified social structure of the cities of the developing economies is the presence of the very heterogeneous and numerous informal service and production sector. As an intermediary form, informal economy both provides employment for the vast labour force which has a difficulty to find opportunity to absorb the formal economy and on the other hand, provides life chances for an economy which had not been industrialized properly.

10. In the data, the category "educated self-employed" consists of only four household heads for 1994 and just two for 2001, so it is decided not to include it for the empirical study.

11. It is of common practice to include retired people's position in the stratification system looking at their last job before retirement; for this reason it is of practical issue to make a residual category of "retired" persons as did Boratav in *Istanbul ve Anadolu'da Sınıf Profilleri* (1995, 6).

12. In the questionnaire, market price of the house lived-in was asked to respondents whose house ownership types were "owner" and "other".

13. In their analysis of the spatial differentiation with respect to employment status and type of housing tenure in *Istanbul'u Okumak* (Reading Istanbul), Güvenç and Işık (1996), define the well-to-do households as those who had at least two houses (including the one lived-in), whereas poor households are defined as without property. In a similar line, they indicate that the typology of "house ownership" can be taken as a solid-base indicator to distinguish wealthy and poor households and can be used as a substitute where household income data was not be available or reliable (1999). The Household Income and Expenditure survey offers data about the number of domestic property owned, whether as a "detached house", "flat in apartment block", *gecekondu*, "summer house" and "store".

The main division axes of what constitute informal sector depends upon whether having social security contract or not. Wage earning without any social security contract is accepted as informal sector. Second notion which is of significance is the membership of the two main institutions: SSK and *Emekli Sandığı*. Both SSK and *Emekli Sandığı* cover the health services and retirement wage. The services provided by *Emekli Sandığı* are better than those of the SSK. And, lastly, the final residual group has composed of, on one hand, the unemployed population, domestic housekeepers, elderly, disabled, students, temporally works etc., and on the other "retired" (11). The data set does not contain the information about the last job before retirement, for this reason it is of practical issue to make a residual category of "retired" persons.

Housing conditions is strongly related with the wider context of economic, demographic and political structures of any society. It is functioning as the interrelation between resources of households, preferences and moral values of the society and the availability, affordability and accessibility of dwellings (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Owning a house is one of the important luxuries of the economy; house being a principal consumption item distinguishing the rich from the poor and indeed the most important investment for their lifetime (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979, 143; Türel, 1993, 11). Housing is at the core of the life struggle for many people. A house has at least three separate values; a shelter (use value), a tool for the reproduction of societal relationships, and, reproduction of the labour force. Secondly house provides a source of wealth as property (exchange value) and unlike many commodities does not get consumed by its use but can in fact increase in its real value (Pratt, 1982; Saunders, 1990a; Thorns, 2005). In addition to this, it is an efficient investment instrument for the appropriation of urban rents (Tekeli, 1992, 3). And finally it has a "sign value", a foremost indicator of one's socio-economic status.

In the study, for the measurement of the material well-being of the household, incomes, and number of houses owned, have been employed. For the valid measure of comparison, household income has been pooled, and then divided into five equal groups, or quintiles. The five equal cut-offs have been applied to households to show variations in the income distribution across different class fractions and housing attributes. Additionally, the market price of the house (12) and the number of houses owned exceeding two (13) have been accepted as the powerful indicator of household's economic capital and material standard of living (Agnew, 1981, 465). On the other hand, the ownership pattern is of special importance to draw out the difference between tenure and tenants. The house provides substantial wealth accumulation and removes the burden of paying rent, whereas renters do not have this opportunity. The variables selected for the ownership status of dwelling are as follows:

Ownership status of dwelling

Tenure: It is ownership status of the households who live in a house which belongs to household head or one of the households' members.

Tenant: It is ownership status of the households who live in a house which does not belong to them and pay rent in kind or in cash.

Lodging: It is ownership status of the households who live in a house which belongs to government or workplace of one of the household members.

Other: It is ownership status of the households who live in a house like a family house, relative house etc. without paying rent. If households live in a family house and pay some money for it, they are considered to be tenant.

(SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

The massive flow of rural immigrants especially after 1950 has transformed the Turkish urban structure deeply. The flow of the rural population to the urban areas as a result of the high rate of urbanization was not accompanied with the industrial developments and has created informality both in the living environment as illegal squatter settlement *gecekondular* and emergent informal sector for those who find difficulty to absorb labour market of the formal jobs. Informal housing has then converted as the most important subsistence strategies for urban poor. In the absence of the formal mechanism to overcome the increasing need of low-income houses for the most vulnerable groups at the bottom of society was solved first, by the consent of public authorities to permit occupation of large public plot then after to attempt to legitimize *gecekondular* areas, and then, regulated with the rehabilitation plans especially took place after few elections. The rise of the exchange value as a result of the rehabilitation plans, *gecekondular* areas have been converted apartment blocks and serve as a mechanism of gaining urban rents.

Informal housing is very complex and its functioning is a multi-faceted enterprise. It is not simply a housing type or physically built environment, rather, it is different “social environments” (Ayata, 1989, 101), and a geopolitical enterprise in which poor people survive, struggle and aspire under difficult living conditions (Roy, 2004, 303). The material reality is often associated with the territorial exclusion, unsanitary living conditions and asymmetrical life chances.

In the study, housing type is categorized into four types including *gecekondular*, detached house, apartment and official dwellings of the state employees (lodgement).

Housing type

Detached house: It is the building used for residence including one or two dwelling units regardless of the number of storeys.

Apartment: It is the building used for residence including three or more dwelling units regardless of the number of storeys.

Lodgement (official dwelling): It is the dwelling constructed by a public organization or a foundation (Ministry, Military organizations, Municipalities, Public Economic Enterprises, Province Private Administrations, etc.) for their employees to reside.

Gecekondular: Buildings which illegally constructed on plots where the ownership does not belong to the occupiers.

(SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

Source: 1999 Turkish Housing Survey of SIS and HAD.

The variables selected for the “quality of housing conditions” are the dwelling area per person, the use of space per household members, age of buildings, and finally, the presence toilet, bathroom, and hot water availability, and, the presence of a heating system. As the socio-economic level of the household is improved, the size of house will increase. The heating system, size of house, and hot water storage are taken as indicators of “luxuries in the house”. In addition, the quality of the place to live in (district property) has also included in the analysis. This information is depended upon the direct field observations of the pollster and housing rent values of the street in questions provided by the neighborhood’s “Mucktar” (*muhtar* in Turkish) and local information provided by municipalities for the Survey. The street property, depended upon the information about the level of rent, provides relatively sound indicator about the quality of the living environment.

Variables		Score in Dimension		Contribution				
		k=1	k=2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	Administrative, managers	-2.294	-2.180	.023	.049	.648	.248	.896
pro	Professionals	-1.812	-1.041	.036	.028	.839	.117	.956
semi	Semi professionals, clerks	-.279	.979	.002	.060	.136	.712	.848
bige	Big employer	-1.780	-1.103	.012	.011	.856	.139	.996
mide	Mid employer	-1.158	-.203	.013	.001	.898	.012	.910
smae	Small employer	-.774	-.118	.002	.000	.511	.005	.516
unsk	Unskilled service workers	.864	.248	.019	.004	.954	.033	.987
man	Manual workers	.023	.550	.000	.013	.001	.357	.358
art	Artisan and informals	.687	-.025	.019	.000	.989	.001	.990
ret	Retired	.067	-.216	.000	.004	.082	.355	.437
inac	Inactive	.516	-.523	.003	.007	.620	.270	.890
own1	Tenure	-.232	-.109	.005	.003	.683	.064	.747
own2	Tenant	.431	.272	.011	.010	.550	.092	.642
own3	Lodgment	-.824	-.651	.004	.006	.305	.081	.386
own4	Others	.198	-.033	.001	.000	.200	.002	.202
hou1	Detached	.669	.345	.008	.005	.687	.078	.765
hou2	Apartment	-.558	.135	.037	.005	.959	.024	.983
hou3	Gecekondu	1.165	-.450	.066	.023	.938	.059	.997
str1	Poor	1.151	-.284	.065	.009	.963	.025	.988
str2	Average	.464	-.183	.006	.002	.836	.055	.891
str3	Well-to-do	-.612	.177	.041	.008	.965	.034	.999
dwe1	Less than Ankara's average (23.8)*	.314	.244	.010	.015	.780	.199	.980
dwe2	More than Ankara's average	-.395	-.309	.013	.018	.768	.200	.967
cro1	> 2.0 SEVERE over crowding**	.645	-.447	.011	.013	.695	.141	.837
cro2	> 1.5 ≤ 2.0 OVER crowding	.333	.605	.003	.026	.384	.536	.919
cro3	≤ 1.5 NOT over crowded	-.200	-.044	.005	.001	.881	.018	.899
heat1	Stove	.614	.213	.048	.014	.945	.048	.993
heat2	Radiator	-1.286	-.439	.097	.027	.946	.047	.993
heat3	Other	-1.492	-.596	.003	.001	.881	.059	.940
toil1	OUTSIDE toilet	1.779	-1.776	.038	.090	.689	.291	.980
toil2	INSIDE toilet	-.116	.128	.002	.007	.643	.330	.973
bath1	HAVE NO bathroom	1.941	-2.210	.060	.184	.631	.346	.977
bath2	HAVE bathroom	-.173	.210	.005	.018	.598	.374	.973
hot1	HAVE NO hot water	.115	.050	.002	.001	.892	.073	.965
hot2	HAVE hot water	-1.333	-.573	.025	.011	.907	.071	.977
age1	1950-	1.646	-1.791	.014	.039	.652	.327	.978
age2	1951-1974	-.057	-.345	.000	.018	.053	.812	.865
age3	1975-1984	.090	.245	.001	.011	.200	.627	.827
age4	1985+	-.285	.342	.003	.010	.619	.377	.995
impart1	No have apartment block***	.440	.101	.024	.003	.967	.021	.988
impart2	Have one apartment block	-.732	.109	.025	.001	.889	.008	.898
impart3	Have 2 or more than 2	-1.410	-1.226	.028	.049	.662	.212	.873
imsum1	No have summer house	.091	.081	.001	.003	.685	.233	.917
imsum2	Have one summer house	-1.856	-1.749	.025	.052	.682	.256	.938
imsum3	Have 2 or more than 2	-1.700	-1.275	.003	.003	.563	.134	.697
lowhpri	Lowest house price	1.199	-.406	.038	.010	.924	.045	.969
2lowhpri	Second lowest house price	.588	.601	.008	.019	.586	.259	.845
midhpri	Mid house price	-.111	.124	.000	.001	.039	.020	.059
4highhpri	Fourth house price	-1.082	.120	.029	.001	.982	.005	.987
tophpri	Top house price	-1.478	-.883	.051	.043	.839	.127	.965
noearn	Have no earner family	.426	-.522	.005	.018	.532	.338	.870
single	Single earner family	.252	.022	.007	.000	.894	.003	.897
double	Double earner family	-.717	.178	.024	.004	.944	.025	.969
multi	Multi earner family	-.396	.622	.001	.007	.294	.306	.600
public	Public sector	-.245	.395	.004	.023	.472	.520	.992
private	Private sector	.494	-.153	.011	.003	.949	.039	.988
Not	Neither public nor private	-.084	-.211	.001	.008	.249	.668	.918
Active total				1.000	1.000			

Table 2. Socio-occupational categories and housing properties (1994): Overview Row Points (a)

* Dwelling area per person for Ankara is 23,8 (Turkish Housing Survey, 1999, 85).

** We borrow the crowding index of Osborn and Morris (1979, 48.)

*** The "actual house living with in it", is not included in the variable "number of immobile property owned".

The properties of the street lived in:

Well-to-do: Streets included those houses which are near shopping, trade or tourism centers, where the house rents are high and easy transportation connection. These streets are classified as “developed” streets.

Average: Streets which are further away to shopping centers and house rents’ are lower than the “developed” and transportation is difficult, have been defined as “undeveloped” street.

Poor (gecekondü): Buildings which were illegally constructed on plots to those who the ownership did not belong to the occupiers.

(SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

Source: SIS 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is applied to a contingency table in which more than two categorical variables are cross-tabulated in which relationship between more than one variables and a single variable is analyzed conjointly (Greenacre, 1993, 141). Input data is the raw frequencies of 57x5 contingency tables (70x5 for the data 2001) of the variables corresponding to the class fractions and housing conditions. The numerical results are given in **Table 2** and **Table 3** for the data 1994, and **Table 4** and **Table 5** for the data 2001.

Variables			Scores in dimension		Contribution				
					CTR		COR		
			k = 1	k = 2	1	2	1	2	QLT
Inc1	Lowest income quintile	>7.000	.865	-.507	.435	.353	.872	.127	.999
Inc2	Second lowest income	7.000-10.000	.304	.454	.054	.282	.436	.412	.847
Inc3	Mid income quintile	10.000-14.000	.024	.244	.000	.083	.008	.369	.377
Inc4	Fourth income quintile	14.000-21.000	-.297	.209	.051	.060	.532	.112	.644
Inc5	Top income	21.000+	-.884	-.399	.460	.221	.911	.078	.989
Active total					1.000	1.000			

Table 3. Income distribution (1994): Overview Column Points (a).(14) 14. Income value was divided by 1000 for ease of presentation.

a Symmetrical normalization
Row and Column Points
Symmetrical Normalization

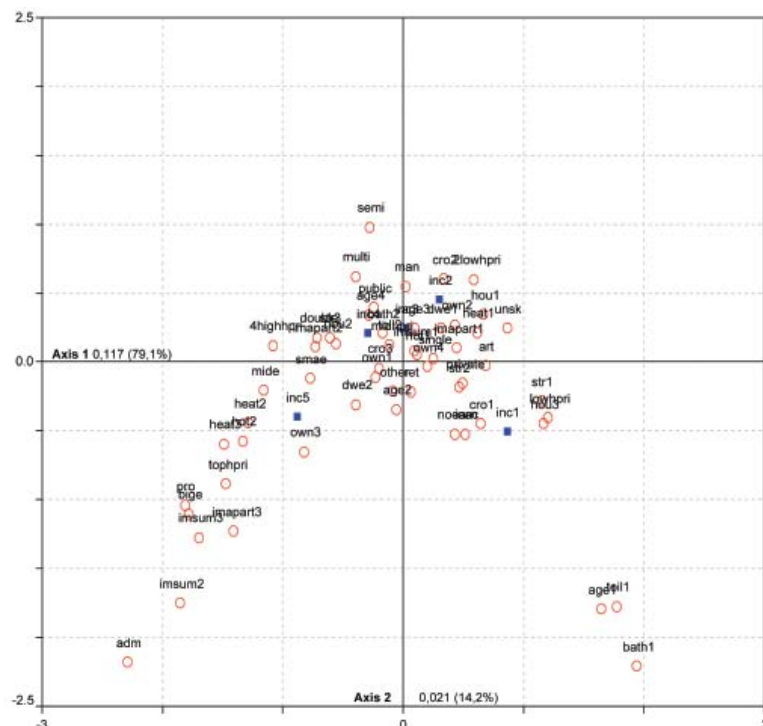


Figure 2. The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the housing and class fractions with income quintiles of the data set 1994.

For the diagnostic of the plane more profoundly, which rows and columns have played a major role in determining the first two principal axes is examined first. This is accomplished by looking at the columns labeled as CTR for each axis (Greenacre, 1993, 90). In the **Table 4**, the horizontal axis (79% of total inertia) is defined heavily by *inc1*, which is the poorest income quintile, and *inc5* which is the richest income quintile with a "contribution" respectively 0,435 or 43.5% and 0,460 or 46%. In other words, 44% of the *inertia* along the first axis, which explains the 79% of the total inertia, is accounted for by the point *inc1* and 46% by the point *inc5*. The horizontal axis is defined by the lowest income quintile (*inc1*) on the right side, opposing the highest income quintile *inc5* on the left, briefly a "sharp contrast in terms of highest and lowest income". On the other hand, the second axis, the vertical axis in which 14.2% of total inertia is explained, differentiates the mid-income region versus the interaction of the lowest and highest income and related attributes.

The simplified scheme of the MCA is shown in **Figure 3**. It can be seen that the horizontal axis represents the sharp polarization regarding the income. The class fractions which are highly correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis with a high connotation of "wealthier" are the administrative, managerial workers, professionals, big and mid size employer and to a lesser extent, small employer categories. On the opposite side of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers, and artisan and informal, and inactive groups are taken place. The housing type is contrasting the apartment and *gecekondu* in opposite directions. Ownership pattern of the house living with it, also draws a sharp line between tenure and tenant category which can be interpreted into the wealthy and poor dichotomy. The wealthy part is closely related with "more than two or more", number of immobile property owned. Property ownership, not surprisingly, provides important wealth accumulation. This indicates that income not just comes from the earning but also from the immobile property of owned has played substantial role in wealth.

As in the case of the living environment, the "well-to-do" street takes the left side whereas "poor" (*gecekondu*) street property takes the right. The housing facilities show contrast between the right and left side of the principal axis that the "richness" can be accompanied with the rising housing standard whereas the poor's house is deprived of even the basic human and living standards. The age of the housing stock shows that wealthy population lives in new houses (more than 1985) whereas poor people lives in old age houses (less than 1950).

As for the upper side of the vertical axis, second lowest and mid-income quintiles can be seen. Semi-skilled professionals' and to a lower extend manual workers' housing conditions, material value of housing show similarities. Manual workers live in better houses than unskilled service and informal workers. However better housing condition of this part of the axis can be expressed due to the presence of "multi earner" attribute. The public sector supports the mid-position whereas private sector has accompanied with "being poor".

The data set of 2001 offers more detailed information than that of the data for 1994 about the living condition and housing. The ultimate luxuries are offered by the sophisticated technologies such as floor heating, garbage disposal, etc. can be found in the questionnaires of the survey. The housing type was also offered more information. The duplex flat which has rooms on two floors has been considered as an ultimate luxury in

	<p>INC2, INC3 Semi-skilled professionals Manual workers (LOW) Over crowding Have toilet Have bathroom 1975-1984 1985+ (LOW) NO have summer houses Second lowest house price Multi earner (more than two) Public sector</p>
<p>INC5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer Mid employer Small employer (LOW) Tenure Lodgment (LOW) Apartment Well-to-do street</p> <p>Dwelling: more than Ankara's average (23,8) NOT overcrowded</p> <p>Radiator Heating: others Have toilet Have bathroom Have hot water House's age: 1985+</p> <p>Have one apartment block Have two or more than two apartments Have one summer house Have two or more than two summer houses</p> <p>Fourth house price Top house price Double earner family</p>	<p>INC1 Unskilled service workers Artisan and informal Unemployed-inactives</p> <p>Tenant Detached house Gecekonu Poor street Average street</p> <p>Dwelling: less than Ankara's average (23,8) SEVERE overcrowded</p> <p>Stove</p> <p>Toilet outside Not having bathroom Have NO hot water House's age: 1950-</p> <p>NO have apartment block NO have summer houses</p> <p>Lowest house price Second lowest house price None earner Single earner Private sector</p> <p>INC1, INC5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Retired Toilet outside Have NO bathroom House's age: 1950 – House's age: 1951-1974 Have two or more than two apartments Have one summer house No earner</p>

The items corresponding to the strong absolute contributions are indicated in **bold letters** for the first dimension and **bold italics** for the second axis.

Figure 3. The simplified schema of the MCA of housing and class fractions with income quintiles of the data set 1994.

the new residential site or newly built apartment blocks. In addition to this, the material of the floor coverage for the living room of the house to differentiate fractions.

Row and Column Points
Symmetrical Normalization



Figure 4. The Graphic presentation of the MCA of the housing and class fractions with income quintiles of the data set 2001.

Variables			Contribution						
			Score in Dimensions		CTR		COR		
			k = 1	k = 2	1	2	1	2	QLT
Inc1	Lowest income quintile	>266.000	.843	-.479	.379	.329	.883	.106	.989
Inc2	Second lowest income	266.000-408.000	.364	.207	.071	.062	.665	.080	.745
Inc3	Mid income quintile	408.000-539.000	.068	.349	.003	.178	.043	.415	.458
Inc4	Fourth income quintile	539.000-903.000	-.314	.344	.053	.170	.461	.206	.667
Inc5	Top income	903.000+	-.963	-.427	.495	.262	.927	.068	.995
Total					1.000	1.000			

Table 4. Income distribution (2001): Overview Column Points (a).

Variables		Score in dimension		Contribution				
		k=1	k=2	CTR		COR		
				1	2	1	2	OLT
adm	Administrative, managerial worker	-1.747	-.851	.022	.014	.911	.080	.992
pro	Professionals	-1.299	-.169	.016	.001	.834	.005	.839
bige	Big employer	-1.781	-.852	.015	.009	.906	.077	.983
mide	Mid employer	-.094	.706	.000	.004	.028	.581	.608
smae	Small employer	-.935	-1.781	.003	.032	.370	.500	.870
semi	Semi professionals, clerks	-.219	.295	.001	.003	.164	.111	.275
unsk	Unskilled service workers	.439	.252	.004	.004	.849	.104	.953
man	Manual workers	.421	.339	.004	.006	.792	.191	.983
art	Artisan and informals	.523	.180	.009	.003	.773	.034	.807
ret	Retired	.042	-.087	.000	.001	.061	.096	.157
inac	Inactive	.329	-.264	.001	.002	.241	.058	.299
tenant	Tenant	.597	.073	.017	.001	.955	.005	.960
tenure	Tenure	-.287	-.163	.008	.007	.847	.102	.949
other	Other	-.055	.786	.000	.025	.010	.766	.777
Hou1	Detached	.158	-.323	.000	.003	.168	.259	.427
Hou2	Apartment	-.472	.284	.022	.021	.875	.118	.993
Hou3	Luxury apartment	-.504	-.683	.001	.005	.320	.219	.538
Hou4	Gecekondü	1.062	-.493	.050	.029	.915	.073	.988
str1	Well-to-do	-.659	.107	.035	.003	.976	.010	.985
str2	Average	.660	-.087	.024	.001	.990	.006	.996
str3	Poor	.818	-.191	.014	.002	.796	.016	.812
Dwe1	Less than 23,8	.344	.165	.009	.005	.829	.071	.900
Dwe2	More than 23,8	-.311	-.151	.008	.005	.830	.073	.903
cro1	> 2.0 SEVERE over crowding	.657	.510	.002	.003	.535	.120	.655
cro2	> 1.5 < 2.0 over crowding	.586	.117	.012	.001	.895	.013	.908
cro3	≤ 1.5 not over crowded	-.199	-.056	.005	.001	.861	.026	.887
stove	Stove	.863	-.035	.062	.000	.989	.001	.989
radiator	Radiator	-.955	.058	.065	.001	.990	.001	.992
unknown	Other	-.977	-.342	.004	.001	.629	.029	.658
toil1	OUTSIDE toilet	1.440	-1.136	.012	.020	.760	.176	.936
toil2	INSIDE toilet	-.054	.042	.000	.001	.764	.169	.933
Bath1	HAVE NO bathroom	1.612	-1.764	.012	.040	.603	.269	.872
Bath2	HAVE bathroom	-.050	.054	.000	.001	.609	.262	.871
hot1	HAVE NO hot water	1.180	-.693	.050	.046	.869	.112	.981
hot2	HAVE hot water	-.346	.202	.015	.013	.871	.111	.982
age1	1950-	.049	-.012	.000	.000	.002	.000	.002
age2	1951-1974	.340	-.388	.005	.017	.484	.234	.719
age3	1975-1984	.110	.355	.000	.014	.092	.361	.453
age4	1985-1994	-.222	.052	.003	.000	.619	.013	.632
age5	1995+	-.435	-.084	.003	.000	.525	.007	.532
floor1	Parquet	-1.350	-.279	.073	.008	.965	.015	.981
floor2	Tiles	1.098	.513	.002	.001	.514	.042	.555
floor3	Linoleum	-.110	.750	.000	.040	.037	.636	.673
floor4	Wall-to-wall carpeting	-.885	-.460	.005	.004	.773	.078	.851
floor5	Concrete (sap)	.937	-.271	.040	.009	.923	.029	.951
floor6	Mosaic	.396	.276	.005	.007	.625	.113	.738
floor7	Marble	.183	2.512	.000	.008	.003	.223	.226
floor8	Others	1.527	-1.636	.007	.021	.577	.246	.824
impart1	NO have apartment	.671	-.005	.041	.000	.997	.000	.997
impart2	Have one apartment	-.725	.320	.028	.015	.924	.067	.991
impart3	More than two apartment	-1.953	-1.497	.044	.069	.813	.178	.991
imsum1	NO have summer houses	.154	.154	.004	.009	.710	.261	.972
imsum2	Have one summer houses	-2.267	-2.243	.049	.129	.714	.260	.974
imsum3	More than two summer houses	-2.579	-3.077	.003	.012	.618	.327	.945
rent	Renter	.597	.073	.017	.001	.955	.005	.960
lowhpri	Lowest house price	1.287	-.690	.037	.029	.855	.091	.947
2loehpri	Second lowest house price	.407	.587	.004	.023	.300	.232	.532
midhpri	Mid house price	-.635	.726	.012	.040	.444	.216	.660
4hpri	Fourth house price	-.918	.325	.011	.004	.925	.043	.968
tophpri	Top house price	-1.758	-1.337	.065	.101	.816	.176	.992
noafil	Not affiliated	.012	-.282	.000	.013	.002	.520	.522
private	Private sector	.263	-.136	.004	.003	.677	.067	.744
public	Public sector	-.471	.718	.007	.043	.525	.453	.977
KIT	KIT	-.763	1.106	.002	.013	.253	.197	.450
noearn	Have no earner family	.439	-.454	.005	.015	.647	.258	.904
single	Single earner family	.190	-.066	.003	.001	.885	.040	.925
double	Double earner family	-.596	.590	.013	.033	.670	.244	.914
multi	Multi earner family	-.924	-.438	.007	.004	.717	.060	.777
Total				1.000	1.000			

Table 5. Socio-occupational categories and housing properties (2001): Overview Row Points (a).

	<p>INC3 Mid employer Ownership status: others Have bathroom 1975-1984 Linoleum Second lowest house price Public sector</p>
<p>INC5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer Small employer (LOW) Tenure Apartment Luxury apartment (LOW) Well-to-do street Dwelling: more than Ankara's average (23,8) NOT overcrowded Radiator Toilet inside Have bathroom Have hot water Age of house: 1985-1994 Age of house: 1995+ Parquet Wall-to-wall carpeting Have one apartment block Have two or more than two apartments Have one summer house Have two or more than two summer houses Fourth house price Top house price Double earner family Multi earner family Public sector (LOW)</p>	<p>INC1 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan and informal Tenant Gecekondü Poor street Average street Dwelling: less than Ankara's average (23,8) SEVERE overcrowded Over crowded Stove Toilet outside Not having bathroom Have NO hot water 1951-1974 (LOW) Tiles Concrete (şap) Mosaic No have apartment block No have summer houses Lowest house price Have no earner family Single earner family Private sector</p> <p>INC1, INC5 Small employer Detached house Have NO bathroom Have one summer house Have two or more than two summer houses</p>

The items corresponding to the strong absolute contributions are indicated in **bold letters** for the first dimension and **bold italics** for the second axis.

Figure 5. The simplified schema of the MCA of the housing and class fractions with income quintiles of the data set 2001.

The groupings of the strata's have not changed substantially in the data 2001. Again the wealthy fractions are the managers, professionals and big employers. In opposition to them *petty bourgeois*, marginal workers, unskilled service workers have taken place. The manual workers has been also replaced in the "poor" section of the axis whereas it was held in the middle position indicating income loss and impoverishment. The better housing quality, high housing market value, better living conditions, and even the floor types are indicative of the privilege position of the "service class" and big employer category. The heating system represents a sharp cleavage contrasting the wealthy that uses radiator and poor person who can only afford a stove for heating. The type of floor coverage has a role for differentiating the houses for the poor using cement finishing (*şap*), finishing in ceramic tiles or cement-mosaic, whereas in houses for the rich, wooden-parquet or wall-to-wall carpeting are preferred. All these differences can overlap clearly with the lowest and second lowest income regions. As again the immobile property owned is provided substantial income gain beside the earnings. Work-rich household is another attributes which enhance the household income level. The age of the housing stock is more indicative as substantially new for the rich households as in the case of the data 1994. Working in the private sector and "work-poor" qualities has completed the poor's destitute scene.

In the data 2001, there are very few attributes to explain the middle position. The low "quality" value (QLT column in the **Table 5** and value 0.275) of the semi-skilled professionals and clerical workers group indicates that this point's position is far from accurate for this reason we drop it of the interpretation. Mid-employer has appeared in the mid-position. Working for the private sector, linoleum as floor type and second lowest house price are the other features for the mid-income part of the vertical axis.

FINAL REMARKS

Urban social structure of Ankara shows highly complex division of axis by the unequal distribution of the material, symbolic, and spatial rewards. The main division of axis between the lowest and top income groups also distinguishes the subordinate and dominant class position accompanied with the variation of the objective condition of housing and living environment. The vertical dimension represents the middle class position versus interaction axis where the lowest and highest qualities conjointly displayed (**Figure 6**). The dominant fractions are the managers, professionals and big-employers whereas unskilled service workers and artisan and informal workers found in the subordinated position in both data 1994 and 2001. As for the "mid-position", to a varying degree, semi-skilled professionals, mid-employer and manual workers appeared systematically both in 1994 and 2001. Manual workers' middle position is taken as contradictory, however in 1994 it should be noted that income category of the positive part of the vertical dimension was characterized by the second lowest (inc2) income quintile whereas mid income (inc3) category held the same part of the vertical axis in 2001. In addition to this, the presence of manual workers as in the mid-position in 1994 has accompanied low level of contribution (Low as explanation) in the formation of the vertical axis.

Comparing these results with the ones in the doctoral study (*Social Stratification Profile of Ankara*, Akpınar, 2005), manual workers appear systematically at the poor part of the axis in their fields of consumption

pattern, cultural specificities and income components. The size of the employer, except the big-employer category, oscillates between high and mid positions. However, it can be said that the findings of the doctoral study and the findings of the article have coincided heavily, especially in the case of class fractions displayed in the graphic display.

Socio-occupational fractions are residentially segregated, i.e. the prosperity and opportunity are not shared equally and geographically by the members of different class fractions. The managers, professionals and big employers are systematically contrasted with the unskilled service workers and artisan-informal people in terms of income along with the horizontal axis where the formers are connoted with “wealthiest” (top income quintile, owning other properties and high property price), whereas the latter with “poorest” (low income quintile, without property and the lowest price of the domestic property). This contrast has also shown an opposition between “tenure”, apartment and the well-to-do street contrary to the “tenant”, *gecekondu* and low environmental quality. Especially valid for the data of 2001, the *luxurious duplex* apartment has taken place in the wealthy part of the horizontal axis. This finding can be equated with the emergent middle-upper-class residential areas composed of luxury apartments and villas, acting as the new spatial segregation in the globalization era.

In the study, “poverty” is not considered as a discrete condition, on the contrary, poverty stems from the position in the class structure. Poverty is accompanied with the poor neighborhoods and low quality living conditions of housing. Even the heating system represents a sharp cleavage contrast where the wealthy uses central heating and the poor can only afford stove-heating using wood or coal. The type of floor finishing has a role in differentiating houses for the poor with cement finishing (*şap*) whereas houses for the rich prefer wooden parquets. Working for private sector and “work-poor” households are the other elements supporting the poor position.

The level of explanation of the second axis is relatively low as compared with the first axis, however, the variation of the vertical axis represents the multi-dimensional character of the socio-spatial segregation. The display of the MCA provides information about which groups can be taken as the “middle class”, or the “mid-position” in any stratification study both empirically or qualitatively. As appearing at the upper part of the vertical dimension, semi-skilled professionals, and clerks, and to some extent mid-employer is grouped together sharing the same housing conditions and properties.

In the study both “sphere of production” and “sphere of reproduction” are employed toward understanding space as the “articulation of production and social reproduction” and *mapping* and *unmapping* of interest and power. The question is then, “what is the benefit of class based approach to the planners”. It is well known that the geography of class based segregation is seldom employed in the field of urban investigation in Turkish context. There are some exceptions: Güvenç, in a series of studies (1996, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001b), explores the spatial segregation (15) by employing the social and spatial variables in metropolitan cities such as employment status, housing tenure, income and origin of birth place. Türel produced a map of income differentiation of residential areas in Ankara’s Urban Form (1986).

15. It is noteworthy to mention the İller Bankası (Bank of Provinces) plan report for the Antalya’s Master Plan. In this report, mapping of the social stratification of Ankara with respect to income, education, occupation and household’s commodities possessed, was conducted (1978).

	<p>INCOME (INTERMEDIARY)</p> <p>INTERMEDIARY CLASS POSION Semi-skilled professionals and clerks Mid-employer (not stationary)</p> <p>IN-BETWEEN</p> <p>Moderate housing facility Second lowest house price Public sector</p>
<p>INCOME (+)</p> <p>DOMINANT CLASS POSITION Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Big employer</p> <p>ADVANTAGEOUS High level of income Having immobile property</p> <p>Tenure</p> <p>HIGH QUALITY NEIGHBOURHOOD</p> <p>Apartment</p> <p>HIGH QUALITY HOUSING More space Less crowded</p> <p>New housing stock Highest house price Double earner family</p>	<p>INCOME (-)</p> <p>SUBORDINATE CLASS POSITION Unskilled service workers Artisan and informal Manual workers Unemployed and inactive</p> <p>DISADVANTAGEOUS Low level of income Propertyless</p> <p>Tenant</p> <p>LOW QUALITY NEIGHBOURHOOD</p> <p>Gecekonu</p> <p>LOW QUALITY HOUSING Less space More crowded Unsanitary living conditions Lacking basic facilities Older houses Lowest house price Single earner family Private sector</p> <p>INTERACTION UNCERTAIN</p>

Figure 6. Simplified scheme about the findings.

In its actual context, planning, as a result of modernization, defines spatial standards by ignoring the social living, or the intrinsic quality of the households, and without taking into consideration the axis of differences in city structure. However, social stratification draws the counter of different strata's enabling capacities and also indicates their asymmetrical power position in the structural space. It is of then political matter in formulation of the intervention strategies in the planning process. From the development of the transportation scheme related with the labour structure to the production of housing stock in accord with the enabling capacities of different strata, a plan is responsible to harmonize its physical backbone proposal with the socioeconomic context or reality of the households.

The overarching notion of this study is that spatial differentiation, i.e. housing, bears the quality of class differentials. The socio-spatial inequality can easily incorporate itself in the form of different class positions which is decisive in determining housing and living environmental conditions. Although this assertion needs much more empirical evidence and detailed analysis, in the study, there appeared a strong correlation between the material standard of housing and homeownership in relation with dominant-subordinate class position. The results verify that home ownership has acted as the axis of dichotomy which distinguished the privilege class fractions from the low-income fractions. The spatial variation in accord with income and the socio-occupational groups is a function of the variation of economic affordability of household and differentiation of the housing price over the urban space. This assertion is supported by the "holding more property" as in the form of "apartment flat" or "summer houses" functioned as a mean of effective instrument for obtaining substantial wealth accumulation. Housing has more than a shelter but also a means of investment and an instrument to secure the future generations in a society where the effective and comprehensive social security system which covers the large part of the population has not been provided adequately yet. Domestic property ownership plays active role in shaping people's resources conjointly with the production sphere. Different social groups appear to live differently but with consistent worlds of specific combinations of housing attributes and spatial quality.

There do appear to be some clues between global-city status and inequality in the stratification of the city, Ankara. The income inequality can easily incorporate itself in the form of different class positions which is parallel with the arguments set forth by the dynamics of the globalization. Additionally, this patterning of stratification has shown highly uneven spatial effect. The managers and professionals have grouped together in relation to well-quality housing in high-income part, exhibiting a clear relationship between low-end households composed mainly with the unskilled service workers, manual workers and informality at the bottom. However, the presence of public sector in mid-income position, and in 2001 even public sector has appeared in relation with the "wealthy part" is taken as counter evidence. In the study working for private sector supports becoming poor or informality, not the becoming rich.

As final words one can say that, though the results of the study does not provide sufficient evidence whether this patterning is engendering newly or just left behind previous power relations or as an effect of the internal public policies, it has many important policy implications. Today, the economic power shaped by the market mechanism seems to be becoming more and more important in the Turkish urban structure. The fact of a rising share of internal economic outcome due to market determination and the growing recognition of the need to re-order external relations in behalf of expanding exports are more pivotal indicators. However, the downward course in the Nation's economy accompanied with successive economic crisis and increasing foreign debt caused the government to opt for budget cuts in social programs such as health and education. These cuts have promoted more inequality for a nation where the government intervention is not adequate and never fully developed. All these developments may lead and cause permanent and devastating poverty somehow similar the "underclass" in the west, as a threat waiting for the new comers from rural areas where the global economy deeply affected the agricultural sector at the expense of the large number of rural

16. The Statute Number of the "Social Security Act" is 5510 and the acceptance date is 1st of October, 2008.

17. The "Urban Renewal Law" (*Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasası*) has not been enacted yet, however the two acts are of relevance in this vein. The first is the Statute 5366 of the Law for "Restoring and Protecting the Eroded Historical and Cultural Assets and for Keeping them Alive" (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*) which was enacted in 2005, and the second is the Statute 5104 of the "North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Law" (*Kuzey Ankara Girişi Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi*) accepted on the 4th of March, 2004. In these statutes, even though the municipalities have been given extraordinary authority, a model to detail how buildings will transform and how people living in their present dwellings will move to new ones does not exist. The process has been left to the market-oriented private sector. Results of the implementation of the urban transformation process dictated by the statutes 5104 and 5366 have been coming in. Many regions in Ankara, starting by Dikmen, Aktepe and Mamak have brought the reform and transformation project into spotlight, while many were caught in 2004 unprepared for the urban reform that took place along the Esenboğa Airport highway as per the statute 5104. The residents of the Mamak district, succeeded to stop the implementation by obtaining legal order. The *Express* magazine published an article related to this issue in Volume 9 in September, 2008. It seems that the public reaction to the market-oriented urban transformation model has been increasing. The projects outlined by the Statute 5366 targeting İstanbul Sulukule and Beyoğlu-Tarlabaşı regions should be evaluated in this same frame. In Sulukule, execution of the project will displace the residents, and will cause the gypsy culture of the population living in rentals to vanish. Beyond that, economic activities of the population in this area will cease and many, if they have the means to move, will be offered to live in public housing in remote regions of the city. It is not wrong to state that tenants living in this region will be under the impact of disadvantaged circumstances. Today many Sulukule residents, area professionals and democratic foundations claim ownership of the houses that are to be demolished under the urban transformation project

population (Keyder, 2005). The three acts here are of importance: first is the "New Social Security Act" which was enacted (16) newly in accord with the neo-liberal regulation that will reduce the government support for the disadvantaged more probably than before. The age of retirement, premium's pay for the workers, the level of retirement wage, benefits and protection of the disadvantaged groups as women, disabled, orphans, widows are subject to radical changes with the new social security regime.

Secondly, large land areas where squatters live have become attractive and offer lucrative potential for constructing large development complexes as business districts, hyper-towers, marinas, luxury hotels, gentrified neighborhoods and new consumption places operated by under the logic of the new global economy. Under these circumstances, low-income segment's land speculation and benefiting urban rent would unlikely be as before. The policy transformation towards the use of large squatter areas eases with the enactment of the new urban renewal law, *Kentsel Dönüşüm Yasası* (17), which will result in difficulty for the new comers to integrate into urban life both residentially and economically. All these changes have led to end of rent seeking activity for the new comers, because land has been "commodified" (Keyder, 2005) the first time in the Turkish economic history.

And finally, with the emphasis on globalization and connecting with the world economy, the government seems to prefer to follow a more market-based open economic policy by supporting private construction sector and private construction firms. The *mortgage law* that is advertised as being one of the government's big projects praised with a slogan "being a homeowner as if paying rent" seems to reflect this political maneuver. However, the high interest rates and lack of financial support by the government makes it impossible for the poor households and even the lower-middle income households with their meager wages to own a house. Experiences in different parts of the world clearly reveal that incentives for private sector developers have often resulted in construction of buildings not affordable by the large segment of the society (Miraftab, 1997, 317). Yet, the greedy demand by the Turkey's higher-income strata for owning more houses proves once more that "the biggest housing producers are also the major consumers" (Agnew, 1981, 471). The mass housing projects of the TOKİ (The Mass Housing Directorate of Turkey) has to be considered at this point that public sector as the big housing producers (somehow contradictory with the neo-liberal ideology, however, it should be understood in the populist character of the Turkish politics), should show more effort to fulfill the increasing demand of the urban poor. However, the large scale constructions overall the country, mass housing projects have an effect to increase the house prices and this has exacerbated the situation for the urban poor. The government's reluctant or withdrawal policy has direct implications on the institution of planning as a public domain. Planning as power instrument of the public would be more probably to gain importance. However, there seems to be an urgent need of new conceptualization of alternative planning approach, practices and instruments.

On the other hand, the last global crisis which has stemmed mainly from the housing sector in the USA has shown that the state is the main actor for the regulation of the market, and public intervention has gained importance. Under all these circumstances, the global economic and political climate has forced and will continue to force public to intervene and produce a series of policies to lessen the socio-spatial inequalities.

However, in the Turkish case were after the sharp neo-liberal arrangement especially held in the public sector, it seems hard to take initiatives as in the case of western counterparts. In the housing sector, TOKİ's policies have become more accentuated as a private profit seeking tool and not as public responses for balancing the asymmetrical power structure especially for the disadvantaged groups. The effect of the global crisis will be felt more in the mid and long run, and, more probably, it will get deeper. The widening gap between different strata's position in the socio-spatial sphere will be exacerbated in the future and has an effect to transform the nation's sociopolitical climate.

Since the globalization as we were taught has been losing its effectiveness, the world is entering a new era where all the rules and institutions will be re-evaluated and re-structured. A new planning has to be drawn and instead of accepting class formations in the society as set data, the fact of which tools and mechanisms will be activated for the repressed population within the class formation should be faced.

In summary, now is the time to address clearly and loudly that it is the public's inevitable responsibility to look after social priorities by promoting urban policies and planning that will speed up the process of providing subsidized rental dwellings for poor urbanites by TOKİ instead of being evicted from their houses, and where the low income population are encouraged to voice their opinions and are encouraged to take responsibility of improving their living areas.

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Alındı: 10.05.2007; Son Metin: 19.10.2008

Anahtar Sözcükler: sınıf, küreselleşme; liberalleşme; konut; mekânsal ayrışma; Ankara'nın konut ve tabakalaşma profili.

YENİ LİBERALLEŞME EVRESİNDE KONUT EŞİTSİZLİKLERİNİN SINIF BOYUTU: ANKARA'DA BİR ÇALIŞMA

Ekonominin küresel yeniden yapılanmasının kentin yerel coğrafyasına iki tür etkisinden söz edebilir. Birincisi, tabakalaşma örüntüsünün değişmesidir. Bir tarafta finans sektörü ve ihtisaslaşmış hizmetlerde çalışan üst-düzyer profesyonellerden oluşan yeni bir tabaka ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunu izleyen ise, niteliksiz işgücü talep eden işlerdeki artıştır. Yeni dönemin bir özelliği olarak kabul edilen eşitsizlik, kendisini hem boyut olarak, hem de sosyal ve mekânsal farklılaşmalar biçiminde göstermektedir. Toplumsal eşitsizlik yeni bir olgu değildir, ancak yeni döneme özgü olan bu eşitsizliğin boyutlarıyla birlikte sosyal ve mekânsal kutuplaşma ortaya çıkmaktadır. Küresel iş bölümündeki yeniden yapılanmanın bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan yeni sınıfsal katmanlaşma ve bunların belirlediği mekânsal tercihler, kentlerde yeni ayrışma akplarının oluşmasına yol açmaktadır. Yeni dönemin yarattığı eşitsizliklerin ölçümünde genellikle üretim alanındaki işgücü piyasası odaklı gelir ve kazanç farklılıkları öne çıkmaktadır. Sosyal tabakalaşma çalışmaları genellikle üretim süreçlerini dikkate almakta, yeniden üretim süreçlerini hesaba katmamaktadır. Bu çalışmada üretim ve yeniden üretim süreçlerinin birbiriyle ilişkisi ve etkileşimi alan çalışmasıyla irdelenmiştir. Burada önemli soru, mekânsal ayrışmanın sınıf formasyonunu nasıl etkilediğidir. İki önemli unsur karşımıza çıkmaktadır, bir, sınıf yapısı ve iki, mekânsal dağılım. Bu unsurlar sınıf yapısının ayrışma üzerindeki etkisi ve sınıfların ekonomik olarak nasıl kutuplaştığı üzerinedir. Pek çok araştırmacı ise kentin farklı pek çok eşitsizlik kaynağı olduğunu ve

bunların sadece iş ve iş yerinde üretilen eşitsizliklere bağlanamayacağını savunmaktadırlar. Bu görüş, ücret eşitsizliklerinin kentsel eşitsizlikler arasında önemsiz sayılması anlamına gelmemekte, ancak bireylerin yaşam fırsatlarının doğrudan ücretleriyle bağıntılı olduğu kadar dolaylı olarak farklı kaynaklarla da belirlendiği kabulüne dayanmaktadır. Sınıf ve konut sahipliğinin çapraz etkisi, araştırmacıları bekleyen çalışma alanlarıdır ve çalışmada bu etkileşim incelenmektedir. Üretim ve yeniden üretim süreçlerini ele alan yeni bir kavramsallaştırmaya ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Sonuç bulgular, 1990 sonrası ve 2000'li yılların başında Ankara'nın sosyal tabakalaşmasında küreselleşme söylemine uygun bazı ipuçları göstermekle birlikte, içsel dinamiklerin varlığını da ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma, gelir eşitsizliklerinin farklı sınıfsal konum ve konuta özgü farklılıklarına dair net bir profil sunmaktadır. Çalışmada Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü'nün "Hane Halkı Gelir ve Tüketim Harcamaları" anketleri kullanılmıştır. Anketler 1994 yılının tamamı ve 2001 yılının ilk üç ayına aittir. Bu anketler, hane halkı ve hane halkını oluşturan bireylerin gelir, tüketim harcamaları ve sosyoekonomik profillerine yönelik ayrıntılı bilgiler içermektedir. İstatistiksel modelleme olarak Uyum Analizi (*Correspondence Analysis*) kullanılmıştır. Analiz, sosyal bilimlerde sıklıkla kullanılan kategorik değişkenlerin görsel bir haritasını sunmakta ve bu harita üzerinde fiziki uzaklıklar sosyo-mekânsal farklılıkların izdüşümü haline gelmektedir. Grafik üzerinde birbirine yakın olan noktaların (hanehalklarının) aynı sınıf pozisyonuna dahil olmaları yüksek olasılıklıdır. Bu yöntem planlı sosyal sınıf temelli mekânsal ayrışma, eğitim, istihdam, tüketim, yaşam tarzları gibi şimdiye değin kendilerine uzak konular olarak gördükleri ve mekânla ilişki kurmakta zorlandıkları olguların haritalanmasına olanak tanımaktadır. Araştırma ve sonuçları, bu bağlamda kent araştırmalarına yeni bir boyut kazandırmaktadır.