

SPATIAL CHOICES OF MIDDLE CLASSES

Güliz KORKMAZ TİRKEŞ

Received: 13.03.2009, Final Text: 13.10.2010

Keywords: spatial choice; middle class;
cultural capital; Ankara; Çayyolu; Keçiören.

INTRODUCTION

Middle classes attracted attention in literature in the recent periods due to their expanding nature based on new job descriptions depending on the dynamics of the economy. They had used to have no significance in classical class schemes apart from being a group stuck in between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, and performing those jobs that could be categorized in neither side. However, with changes in the economic order in recent years, the meaning of work changed along with the variety of jobs to be performed. It is commonly known that these new conditions are very much related to technological advance providing heightened mobility to capital, labour and information. Changes in the regime of capital accumulation fuelled by new opportunities changed the sphere of work to a great extent. Developments in the arena of work and employment are revealed with the changes in the occupational structure and growth of a white-collar workforce. Apart from a wide range of low paid, and low skill service sector jobs, a wide variety of management, finance, technology and service related high level jobs which required high level training began to be demanded. 'New middle classes' came out as a result of such developments. Defining these newcomers became a central issue of research in many fields, but their significance came not only of the jobs they fulfilled or their role in the production sphere. Their consumption patterns, thus lifestyles became a central issue of interest. This may be mainly because class in the classical understanding defines a group with common interests, but these new middle classes did not have any common goal to fight for. What they had in common was where they stood in the production sided class schemes, between the upper and lower classes, but still their jobs were highly varied. In the occupational aggregate approach, classes are defined by occupational groupings at the expense of other factors (Akpınar, 2005). However, today, in the new economic climate, work lost its capacity in shaping people's lives (2005). Modern society was a work society according to Offe (1985). However, today in the so-called

postmodern societies, as Offe (1985) 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. Therefore, the recent studies concentrated on the middle classes searched for alternative factors that could distinguish between different "groups" within middle classes and their consumption patterns was a central tool in that. Class, in the economic sense broadly defined where they stood within society, but was not enough to capture the dynamic and highly stratified nature of these middle classes. Thus, there was a shift from 'production side' explanations to 'consumption side' ones in the examination of middle class variety (Crompton, 1993).

When the concept of consumption comes into scene, it is suggested that apart from the material satisfaction that a good consumed gives to a person, the symbolic qualities have come to be important in the recent periods (Featherstone, 1991). Thus, what one consumes is not just about the activity of consuming, but what the consumption of that specific good suggests about that person. These connotations distinguish the middle class groups by the notion of "taste". Choosing to consume things according to your taste defines your lifestyle and the different worlds of lifestyles differentiate the middle classes from each other. The role of taste is discussed mainly based on the work of Bourdieu (1989) who suggests that taste depends on the economic *and* cultural capital together. With 'cultural capital' Bourdieu has introduced a concept very widely used in social sciences especially in the research on middle classes. Also the concept of 'habitus' defines a system of dispositions shared by individuals that are the products of the same conditionings (Crompton, 1993). This concept is also developed by Bourdieu (1989) in explaining the active formation of class within the social relations. It is a socialized subjectivity which allows agents to understand, interpret and act in the social world (Bourdieu, 1989). Naturally such a definition does not leave place to well-defined class boundaries and acknowledges the active formation of class in everyday life.

The study that this paper is based on is conducted on two middle class groups in a comparative manner (Korkmaz Tirkeş, 2007). First of all it acknowledges the economic class schemes, while applying to the factors that are introduced in the recent debates on middle classes. Therefore, middle class variety may be an outcome of their lifestyles, thus choices of consumption and that these differences may be followed from every part of a person's life (or 'habitus'). Eventually, it can be assumed that spatial choices may also be taken as a demonstration of those choices and lifestyles. Based on the theoretical arguments, the study considers 'spatial choice' as a strong sign of middle class differentiation. Therefore, 'choice in the urban space' may be considered as one of the most significant and bare demonstrations of 'cultural capital' and 'taste'. Since consumption is regarded as an alternative source of class formation for the middle classes because of its symbolic connotations, urban space is certainly the everyday arena where it is possible to display your identity with the things you consume. The demonstration of identity may vary from an immediate scale beginning from the way one talks and dresses to the urban scale where one lives and practices daily activities. Apart from the house and the location of the house one chooses to live in, urban environment may suggest many things about a person's identity as well. It is known that economic capital restricts the choice of a place to settle within a city due to variations in the rents of different neighborhoods. However, if not bounded with economic

1. See Öncü (2005) for an analysis of middle class housing in the case of İstanbul.

factors, choosing to live in one part of the city may be very much related to cultural factors of taste, choice and inevitably 'habitus', and the factors related to social capital. The relationship of cultural factors to urban spatial choice comes up in the issue of gentrification where the place that is gentrified usually has a cultural connotation due to a historical background. According to Savage et al. (1992) 'gentrification' is the best documented contemporary example of this general trend. Here a new middle class defines itself as a distinct group precisely through residential conversions and the process of gentrification gives it status (Savage et al., 1992). It shows that they possess a particular kind of culture and they have knowledge of history or tradition which provides them the distinction. Moreover, it can easily be suggested that recent housing producers have also turned their attention to providing imagery along with the living environment itself. Houses are marketed under the imagery of a lifestyle of the target group (1). Therefore, it can be suggested that spatial choice (in terms of both location within a city and the cultural and symbolic connotation) is one of the most important lifestyle choices that defines a middle class group's position within the urban environment.

Based on this assumption, two middle class settlements in Ankara, one in Keçiören and one in Çayyolu were targeted in the study in concern (Korkmaz Tirkeş, 2007). These settlement choices are considered as the demonstrators of two different lifestyles because of their different features. One of them is located in the northern part of Ankara, while the other in the south and this by itself suggests a difference because of the well-known opposite character of the two parts of the city divided by the railway lying in the east west direction (Figure 1). In fact this difference is also documented in Güvenç's (2001) study where the low-income salaried tradesman are said to occupy the northern part, the poor at the center and

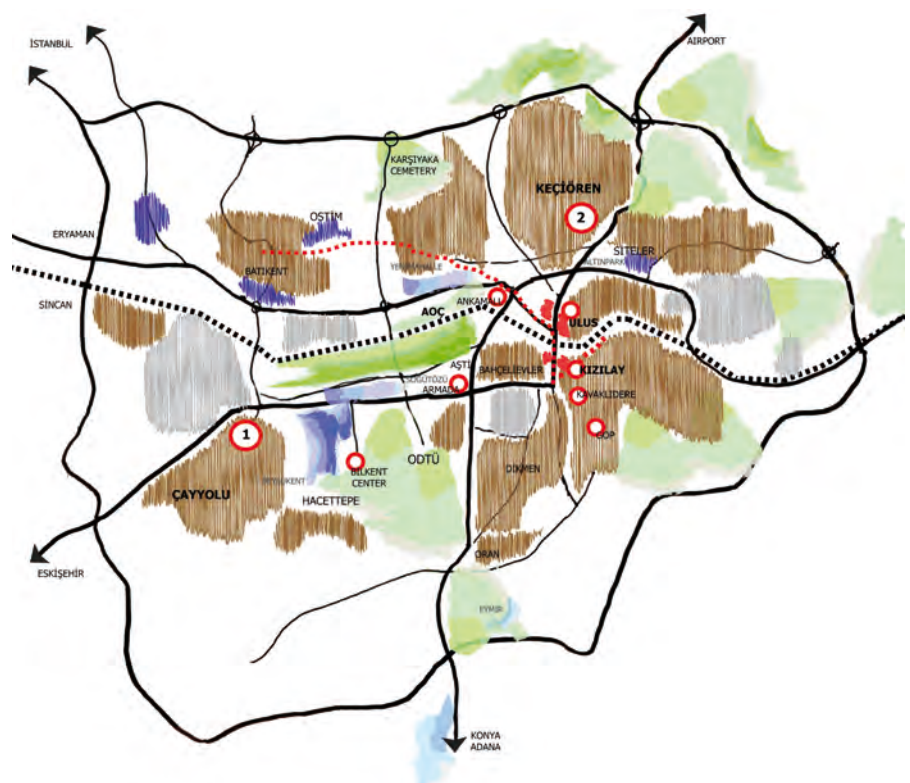


Figure 1. Sketch showing the places of the case areas within the city space (1. Ümitköy, 2. K.Subayevleri and Güçlükaya in Keçiören) and the major nodes that come up in the study.

the wealthy located in the southern part. Therefore, the position of the respondents in Keçiören is contradictory to the peculiarity of the area. In terms of their location within the city, the architectural and urban qualities and historical background, these two places are totally different from each other. The study searched whether this difference of choice is revealed in other spatial choices of the two groups in their everyday use of urban space as well. Along with this survey, the study examined alternative factors of differentiation suggested for the middle classes, since the two groups chosen were at similar economic welfare level. Thus, keeping the obvious effects of the economic capital out of evaluation, the study interrogated effects of other forms of capital on the differentiation of two middle class groups in a comparative manner.

Before going on with the outcomes of the research, the specificity of conducting a study with this kind of method should be noted. For planning implementations, data from a variety of sources are collected concerning the urban space. Usually the everyday life activities of urban dwellers are considered insignificant among this load of data. However, based on the argument that choices of middle classes affect the direction and manner of urban development, collecting data of their everyday activities becomes important. As Tekeli (2000) states everyday life is left behind because of being routine, repetitive and is seen as unproblematic. In fact social systems are formed and regenerated based on everyday life practices of the agents. 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 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 (Tekeli, 2000). And most important of all, it is also historical and local, thus contingent (Tekeli, 2000). As Pred suggests, 'place' itself is a historically contingent process (1981). These components are interwoven with one another in the formation of every place or region but they vary with historical circumstances. "Place is both text and context" (Thrift, 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. Therefore, it is important to collect data in a time and space specific manner in order to capture a moment in the dynamic state of an urban accumulation by trying to catch some glimpses of the 'habitus'es of different middle class groups.

This study may be read as introducing an alternative dimension to location-choice studies that searches for the reasons behind settlement patterns. It is known 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 concentrates on the centrality of distance of residence from various activities and especially from workplaces. Location of CBD and sub-centres in relation to residential areas are known to affect the residential pattern of cities as well as some other factors like ethnicity, family status, migration and socio-economic differences. Recently a general trend in deciphering the residential patterns of cities is through the movement of the wealthy groups to the periphery in relation to increase in personal mobility, freeing people from the factor of

distance. This study reflects an effort to define, based on which factors the two groups chosen have come to settle in the specific neighborhoods and how these affect their activities in urban space. By keeping the economic welfare constant and assuming equal opportunity in reaching every part of the city whenever they want to, the study examined everyday practices instead of hypothesizing with mathematical models. At this point it should be noted that the study does not have a claim to introduce a general model, indeed in many respects it suggests a potential failure of general models on this issue because of the specificity of every locale in question. Here again there is the demonstration of emphasis on the choices of the agents and the everyday practice.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Classical class schemes fit very finely to the realities of a Fordist regime of accumulation depending on the two sides of production; the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Defining the social tensions based on their conflict was straightforward in stratification theories. However, with the developments in 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 of the economic life had its consequences in both occupational structure and at cultural and social scale. Expanding mobility of capital and people required professionals who could manage this flow opening new areas of work. Especially the heightened importance of finance sector is a very important part of new job opportunities opened with the new economy. Thus mobility of capital and labour meant competition among locales for attracting capital. With weakening 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. 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 leisure time of people in the new work environment. Consumer culture expanded with all these factors. Development of a 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 incredible reach of information technologies creating their own professionals, all add up to a totally new world of jobs. Beginning from the service employment with low income jobs up to managerial positions, having some kind of education or training gained more importance. 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 grew immensely in number and importance. Also cultural intermediaries who work as sign producers in the consumer culture is another area developed with the new economic atmosphere. 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.

As Offe suggests, in the early phase of industrialist capitalist development, the formation of a collective identity based on labour 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).

Considering these changes, it can be seen that consumption sphere has remained undeveloped in the discussions on class. The classical class schemes which positioned people in classes based on their role in the production process was not enough in the new climate especially when the position of the middle classes are taken into consideration. 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).

Classifications arise as a result of struggles between 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, it can be suggested 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 along with the ‘occupational status’ cannot be the only variable for difference. Other factors including cultural assets have to be included as well. Bourdieu has 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, economic factors of the specific 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 in the so-called social space.

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). Agents struggle for position within the social space (Crompton, 1993). There are different forms of capital that empower them in this struggle. In the former approaches, mainly 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 pointing out 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).

Proximity in social space predisposes to closer relations (in their properties and tastes), but this does not mean that they constitute a class in Marxian sense, that is, a group which is mobilized for common purposes and especially against another class (Bourdieu, 1998). This proximity in social space may be further clarified with the concept of 'habitus'. '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).

'Taste' is the key concept used in the categorization process of Bourdieu. Taste can be seen as a manifestation of the amount and distribution of capital one has. He claims 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 (1989).

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 clearly seen 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).

The study in concern is an attempt to interrogate the tastes of respondents in terms of the cultural and leisure activities they prefer. The choice in urban space in terms of both the place of residence and the places where certain activities are consumed is interpreted as signifiers of taste, thus are used for comparison. Urban environment is seen as the arena where the tastes of different agents are revealed, thus objectified. Their choices are written on urban space as signs of different lifestyles. The study aims to follow these signs by interrogating the residents of Ümitköy and Keçiören in Ankara and use these signs as indicators of difference of lifestyles. In a way, the study reveals everyday life of these people with reference to recent accounts on middle class stratification.

THE RESEARCH

The local properties of Ankara are rather significant in both conducting this study and interpreting the outcomes. The symbolic specificity of the city as the capital of Turkey and the modern city image that it has been attributed to should be kept in mind. Every urban development that takes place within Ankara is questioned symbolically and ideologically as to whether it suits the modern capital image of the city that it is founded on or not. Therefore, as will be revealed further in the paper, the difference between the two middle class groups in concern may be more crucial as taking part in this dilemma of acting on the modern appearance of the city. Especially the new outlook of Keçiören is questioned extensively in recent periods in this manner. The issue is discussed under the heading of secularism vs. Islamism conflict (Aydın et al., 2003). Another important property of Ankara is the recent transformations of the city in terms of growing urban pattern with settlements spreading to western corridors in the last decades embracing the development of Çayyolu and very recently Yaşamkent as its extension. This fragmentation has its outcomes socially and physically and it also acts on the dynamics of the inner city. As stated by Günay, behaviour of high income groups is determining in urban accumulations and other groups and their facilities have to locate themselves in urban space according to the choice of these 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. Indeed, this process in Ankara did not emerge without its problems. The movement of the wealthy to the periphery as a consequence of the urge to free itself from the chaos of the urban centre has both caused a breaking off from the city and the arising major traffic problems based

on the dependency of these areas to the city especially in terms of the workplaces. A similar movement observed in the northwestern corridor is also determined to be related to the dynamics in Keçiören. This movement to the periphery observed in many major cities had its consequences in Ankara as well. This tendency coupled with the “fragmentation of the urban center” (Aksel Gürün, 2009) contributes to the formation of numerous small centers all around the city and with especially shopping malls. Movement of social groups to different parts of the city could be possible by the movement of facilities along them. As Aksel Gürün (2009) points out, the changing logo of Ankara from the Hittite sun to Kocatepe Mosque and Atakule shopping center in 1995 meant that the city was no longer celebrated with its cultural and historical values, but from then on with the tower of the shopping centre and mosque to be praised. The increase in number of shopping malls in Ankara in the last decade was so extensive that it proved this connotation right. Therefore, following the recent developments two case areas were chosen, keeping in mind the identity of the city as the Turkish capital and these recent debates.

In order to determine the case areas where the surveys were to be implemented, one criterion was targeting places where recent development was observed. Place of residence was considered as a basic signifier of choice in urban space. 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 pressures of density in the urban centre 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. Both in Çayyolu and in Keçiören mainly dwellers residing in recently constructed buildings were chosen. Çayyolu in general has been developed to this extent in the last decades, while in Keçiören recent reconstruction implementations were made and new development also occurred around the Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood (**Figure 2-4**).

Çayyolu is a special case with its recent attraction of inner city migration from the southern neighborhoods and an attraction of the “new middle classes” (Ayata, 2003). For the study, recently built apartment buildings in Ümitköy were targeted. The case of Keçiören is also specific because of the recent transformation that the district went through. Within the last decade, the squatters have been cleared from the area and especially with the implementations of the recent local municipality the public image of the district has been transformed a great deal. Also by the event of the Prime Minister Erdoğan choosing a house in the area, it is stated that further changes occurred and that rent value in the district and rents have increased a great deal (Özalp, 2004). Özalp (2004) mentions the formation of a new group with the recent movement of middle classes from central Anatolia. In fact this is another major issue to be discussed in relation to the study in terms of the ideological resemblance of this transformation. Here, the main focus is that after these transformations some new constructions have been realized in the central part of the district, known to be the entrance to the area in Güçlükaya neighborhood and also around Kavacık Subayevleri, which was the only well-known middle class neighborhood in the district. Cengizkan refers to the change in the users and the spatial

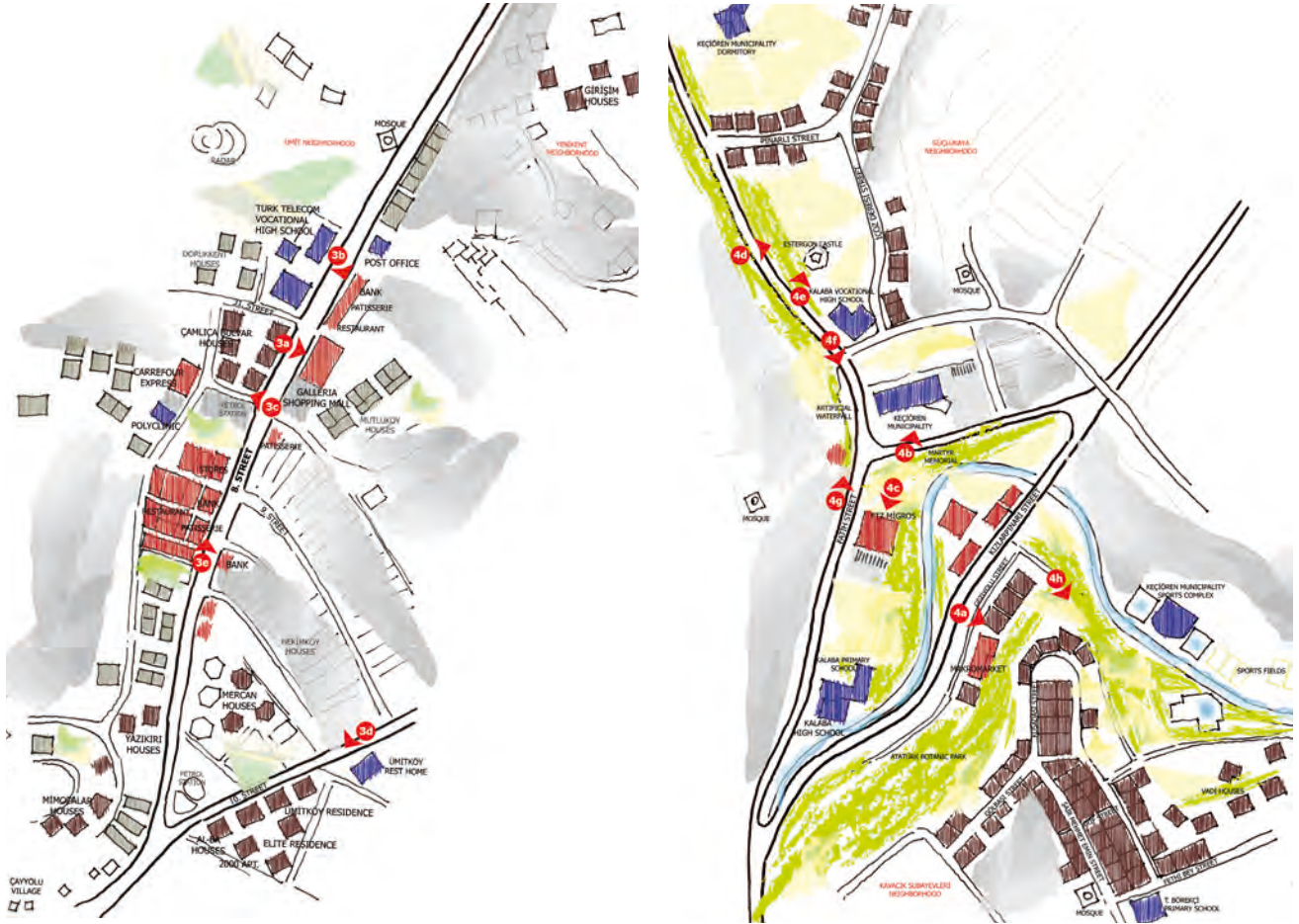


Figure 2. Sketches showing the immediate environment of the study area in Ümitköy and Keçiören. (Red circles refer to the photographs given in Figures 3 and 4)



Figure 3. Photos from the neighborhoods where the survey was implemented in Ümitköy
 a. Shopping mall Galleria.
 b. Commercial uses on the 8th Street in Ümitköy.
 c. The group of residences where part of the survey is implemented in including Al-Ba, Elite Residence, etc.
 d. Market recently converted to Carrefour Express, apartments where part the survey is implemented in.
 e. Commercial uses located in the Osmanağa Residences along the 8th Street in Ümitköy.



Figure 4. Photos from the neighborhoods where the survey was implemented in Keçiören.

- a. Recently constructed apartment blocks in the Kavacık Subayevleri neighborhood.
- b. The entrance of the Municipality Building and the statues of Turkish ancestors.
- c. The FTZ Shopping Mall and the adjacent park with pools. (Photo: Olgu Çalışkan)
- d. View of Güçlükaya neighborhood and 'Estergon Castle' from Kalaba.
- e. The 'Estergon Castle'. (Photo: Olgu Çalışkan)
- f. View of Municipality Building, FTZ shopping mall and Fatih Street from the 'Estergon Castle'. (Photo: Olgu Çalışkan)
- g. The artificial waterfall and 'Estergon Castle'. (Photo: Olgu Çalışkan)
- h. The view of Atatürk Park and the apartments in K. Subayevleri where the survey is implemented.

2. In fact Şenyapılı (2005) suggests that despite the renewal of the neighborhoods in Yenimahalle, Keçiören and Altındağ, residents were evacuated towards the settlements of Eryaman and Elvankent where new upper middle housing areas were constructed and new prestigious environments were formed. However, the group chosen in the study under consideration has acted in contradiction to this general trend documented by Şenyapılı (2005).

3. The survey was realized within the BAP project no 05-02-02-03 conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay in the Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning.

4. Savage et al. criticize Bourdieu for having neglected the organizational and bureaucracy assets that are documented as significant in the British case. Bourdieu's study (1989) has been conducted in France and the authors suggest that every local unit may have its own dimensions of difference among the social groups and suggest that other factors may act on the differentiation of middle classes (Savage et al. 1992). In this respect what cultural capital includes should also be considered as a variable based on local dynamics, especially when the specificity of the actions of agents are acknowledged in the composition of a study. The study in question is also an appropriate demonstrator of this fact.

5. In a study done on a specific group in a housing estate, Saktanber suggests that 'iman' has been a factor that is integrated to Bourdieu's taste and this is the phenomenon that distinguishes this group from 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 others, 'iman' functions integral to taste. 'Iman' as belief in the Islamic principles reinforces a solidarity for people who 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.

character of the neighborhood in the recent periods (2001). Cengizkan (2001) states that the neighborhood is changed physically and socially after some plan changes and new groups who are known to be the tradesmen in Sitelere have occupied the neighbourhood. The study focused on the new developments mainly in Subayevleri and tried to find out why people 'chose' to move to these specific nodal areas within the city (2). The motivations that drove these groups to the specific places considered within the study also enlighten the differences between the two groups in general. Furthermore, the study questioned whether this difference of choice is revealed in other spatial choices that these two groups make in urban space. Following everyday spatial choices and activity patterns, the differences in their lifestyles are correlated with their relationship to the urban space.

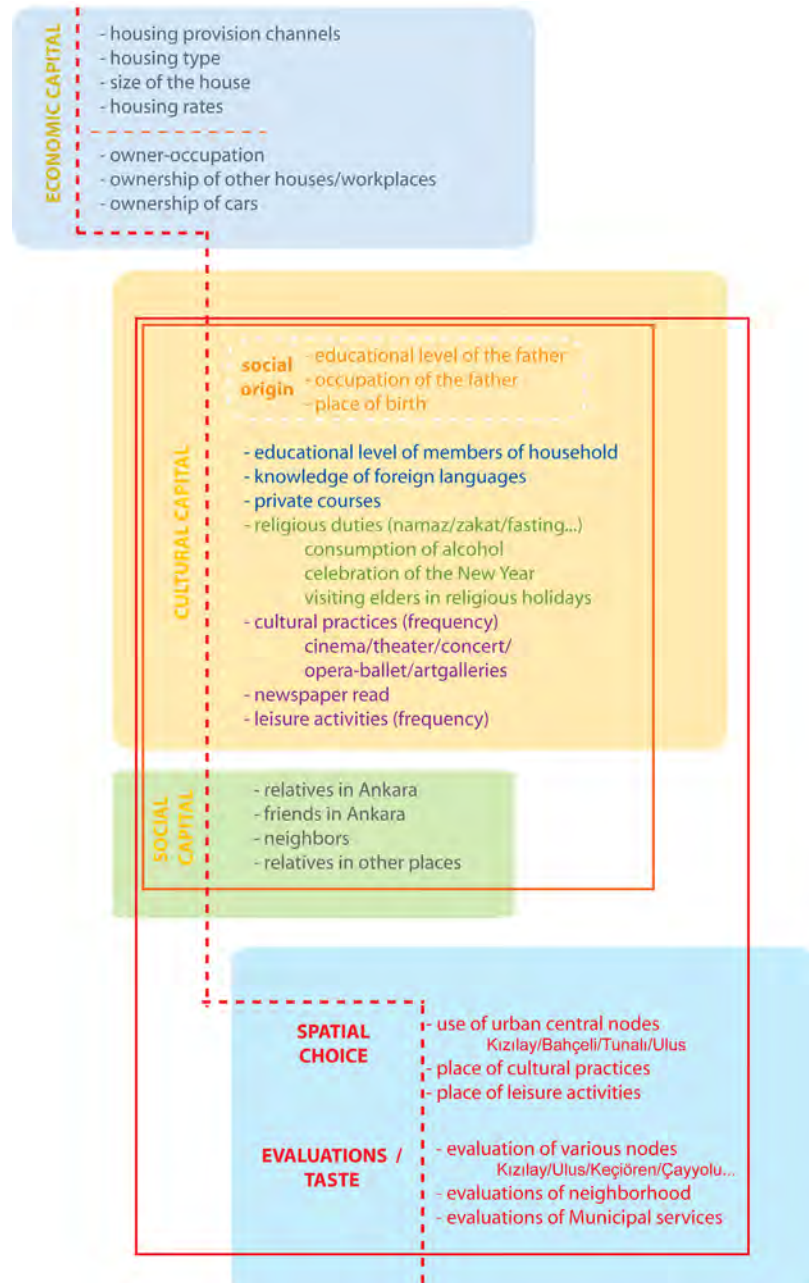


Figure 5. Diagram showing the major headlines of the survey in relation to some basic conceptual tools.

6. For a discussion on the Islamic intellectuals and professionals in the differentiation of middle classes in Turkey, see Güllalp (2003). For the analysis of Islamic identities and republican elites in terms of 'habitus', 'symbolic capital' and 'lifestyle', see Göle (2002).

7. An attempt to define the middle class according to the position of its members in the 'production process', may yield it to constitute a huge category embracing many different groups. In line with the current dynamics of economy, there is the differentiation of old and new middle class categories. The old middle classes were composed of people with small business (like small farming, manufacturing and retailing enterprises). Generally non-manual and white-collar labour 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 labour constituted 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 labour. Although all these different groups are generally referred to as the 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, professionals or managers have high living standards. In this respect, it can be seen that old middle class jobs based on the ownership of small retail enterprises are more in Keçiören, while professionals are abundant in Çayyolu when compared to Keçiören. However still, as suggested above, occupational differences do not always suggest lifestyle differences. Güllalp's (2003) argument on the Islamic professional and intellectuals identifies this point further.

8. As stated above, what the survey tells us is that, residents 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. This wealth is obtained with both working parents in Çayyolu, whereas it is a product of working men in Keçiören. This may suggest in a way that the economic welfare is provided by the workforce of two in Çayyolu, contrary to that of one in Keçiören, which further shows lower economic capital when looking from one perspective. However, from another perspective, we may conclude that in Çayyolu superior cultural capital of women population is converted to economic capital in line with the potential of conversion between capitals suggested by Bourdieu (1989).

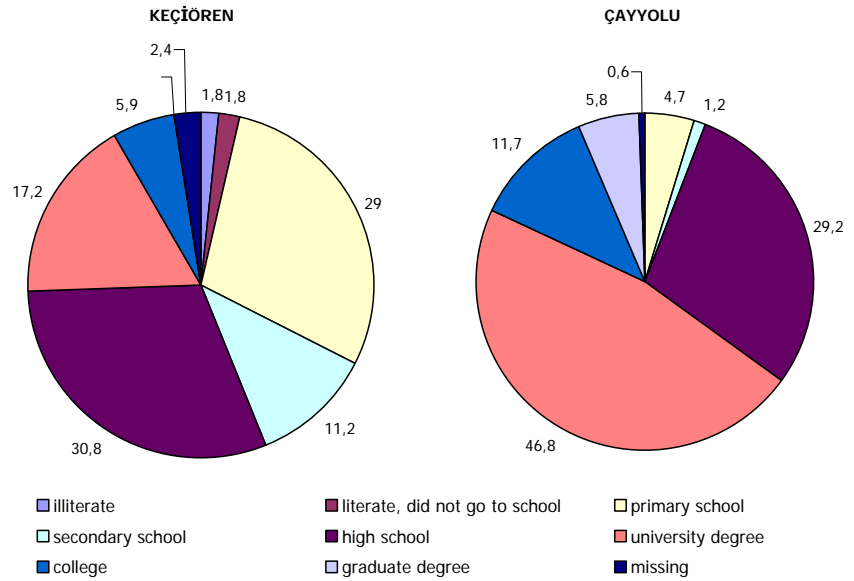
A survey of 200 respondents in each case area was conducted in 2004-2005 (3). As mentioned before, economic welfare of the two groups was chosen as similar in order to see the effects of alternative variables such as cultural, social or symbolic capital. The survey was organized in such a way that, along with information on the daily spatial movements, choices and evaluations of the respondents, data on their household structure, educational and social origin, and cultural activities were also collected. Thus, it is tested whether there is a connection between different lifestyles and urban spatial activities. The data obtained from the study covers many dimensions of the everyday life of the respondents, thus is salient for such an evaluation (Figure 5). A brief discussion on what the results suggest will be made with reference to the dynamics peculiar to the city.

GENERAL OUTCOMES

'Cultural capital' is mainly considered as a major component active in distinguishing middle class groups from each other. However, the ingredients that define cultural capital may vary from case to case (4). To begin with, 'educational level' and 'social origin' were considered as factors defining cultural capital, but the level of integrating religion to one's life (5) was considered as another possible variable that could be active in the Turkish case (especially when concerned with the two case area respondents at hand). Apart from the physical and locational differences determined prior to the implementation of the survey that were mentioned above, a difference of political approach may also be followed from the recent Parliamentary election results. The analysis of Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2005) reveals this dual structure barely. The conservatism tendency in Keçiören is apparent while in Çayyolu CHP votes dominate reminding the recent discussions on this secularism vs. Islamism issue. While this discussion is not the central issue for the current paper, it is noted as a sign suggesting difference in the lifeworlds of the two groups (6).

The most apparent difference between the two groups considered is in their educational levels. In Keçiören the educational level is rather low when compared to Çayyolu, and the situation is deepened when we consider the women in the two areas (Figure 6). This difference in their educational levels is also seen in the previous generation, when considering the educational level of the fathers of the parents. Another important factor related to this is that of women who are mainly housewives in Keçiören but working parents in Çayyolu. The occupational patterns also differ in the two case areas. In Çayyolu new middle class occupations, mainly professionals are dominant while in Keçiören mainly employers and workshop owners exist (7). This is also parallel to the educational levels because the jobs that the ones in Çayyolu perform mainly require higher levels of training and education. Apart from these, the cultural practices like going to the cinema, theater concerts etc. were compared and it was observed that people in Çayyolu are more inclined to attend to these activities than the respondents in Keçiören. In total it can be suggested that a traditional household structure may generally be observed in Keçiören while Çayyolu reveals a more modern pattern (8). As suggested before the level of integration of religion to one's life or 'iman' in the formation of lifestyle was in a way considered. Questions on practicing religious duties, consumption of alcohol or the celebration of the New Year all reveal a difference between the two groups at hand. Especially in terms of the performance of 'namaz' which is a daily prayer, there is a clear picture.

Figure 6. The educational level of mothers of households (comparative superiority of the ones in Çayyolu persists when considering the educational level of father of households and the previous generation, but finds its best demonstration in the educational level of the mothers.)



While 70% of the respondents in Keçiören state that they perform it daily, a 70% in Ümitköy state that they do not. Comparatively speaking a similar picture is revealed in terms of other religious activities. Interpreting this factor among the 'cultural capital' variables may be practical in studies conducted especially in Turkey.

In terms of places that they have resided before, it can be seen that people in Keçiören used to live in different houses again in Keçiören (Figure 7) and have only changed their houses presumably because of a need to move to a bigger and newer house. However, in Çayyolu people have mainly moved to the region from the older middle class neighborhoods in the southern part of the city like Bahçelievler, GOP, Ayrancı, etc. (Figure 8). Their mobility is mainly a result of an urge to move out of the city. It can be suggested that, people in Keçiören in a way tried to form a better living space within their own district by creating a demand for the transformations taking place in the region. Thus, they have transformed their inner city environment by their choice of staying within the place. One major reason for choosing Keçiören to reside was given as being close to relatives and friends and the residents of the area, in addition to the practical reason of being close to work (Table 1). This also suggests how 'social capital' acts on urban transformation. Runaway from the city is revealed in the answers of the respondents in Çayyolu. They state that one of the reasons for choosing the place is its being a decent environment. 'Decent' (9) encompasses the social structure as well, being close to the ones similar to them.

9. 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).

When we evaluate their spatial use in general, it can be suggested that people in Keçiören tend to use their immediate environment more often for various activities apart from Kızılay and Bahçelievler to a certain extent. Apart from some who have to travel for work to the city centre, it is known that mothers who are mainly housewives stay in the neighborhood daily and their social bonds also suggest that they prefer to be with relatives and close friends who also reside in their surroundings. Distribution of their social capital including close families and relatives also suggests

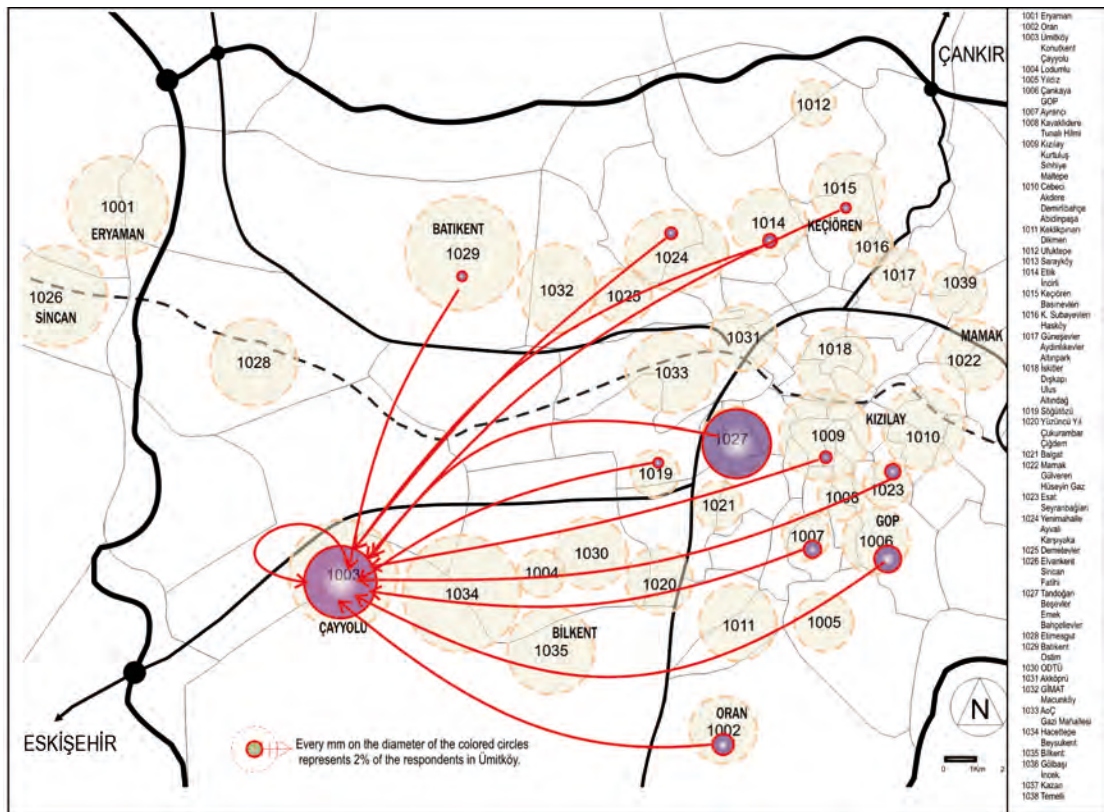
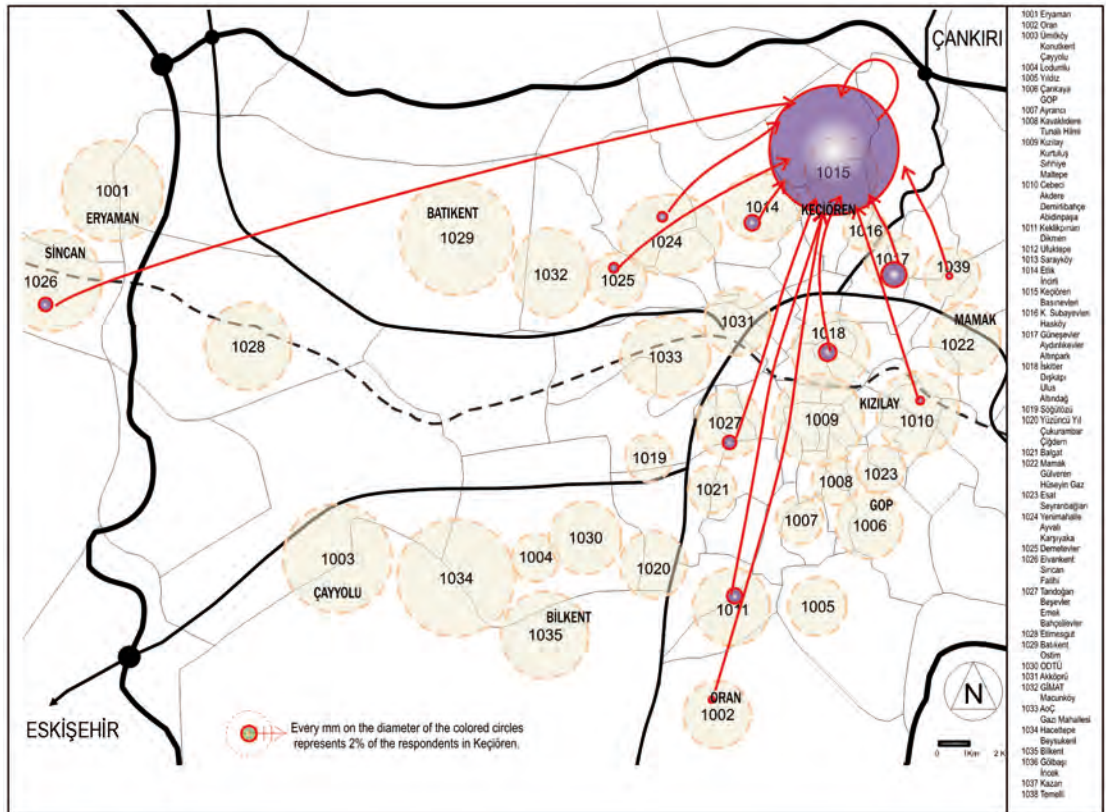


Figure 7. The districts that the respondents in Keçiören lived before.

Figure 8. The districts that the respondents in Ümitköy lived before.

	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

Table 1. The reason for choosing the place of residence.

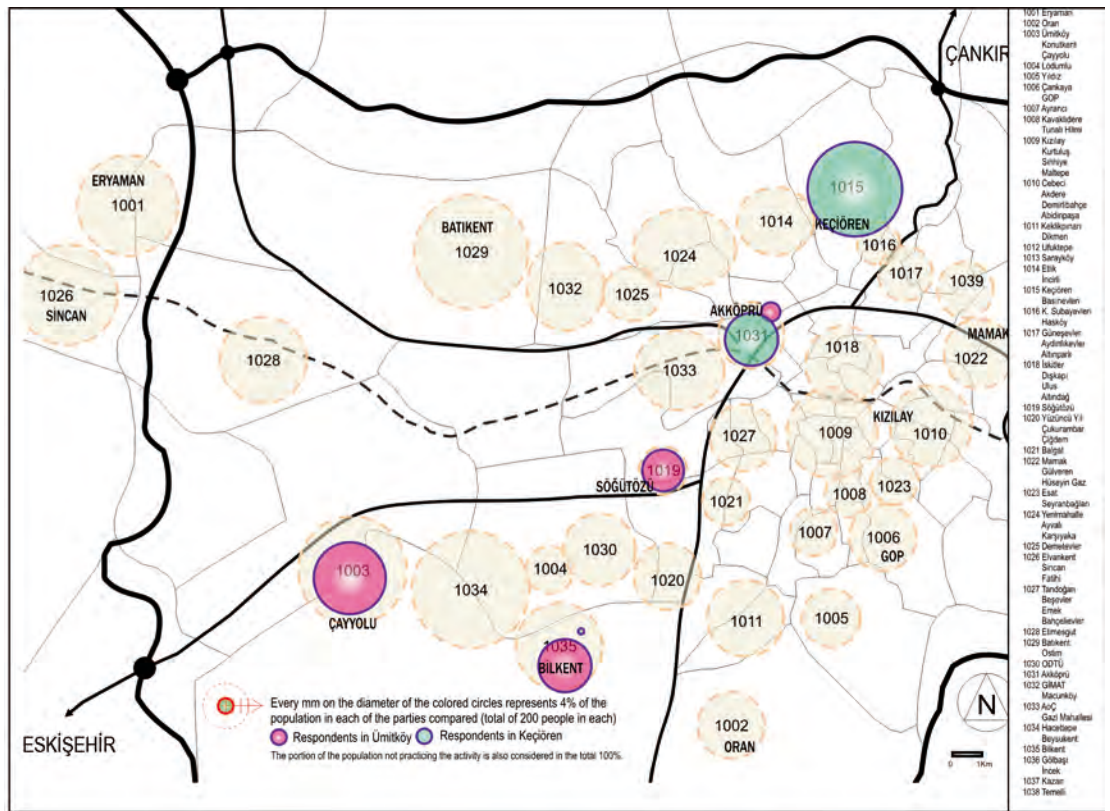


Figure 9. Places where shopping malls used by the respondents are located.

that picture. People in Çayyolu still have bonds with the older southern neighborhoods (Figure 11) while Keçiören acts as one big closed cluster (Figure 12). Mobility of women may also be suggested as more limited in Keçiören since the ratio of having a driver's license is lower among them. Generally Akköprü Migros is a common attraction point since for both groups going to shopping malls is a basic urban activity. Although the residents in Keçiören are considered to have a closed community, their evaluations on Çayyolu and the northern part of the city are positive. They do not distinguish themselves from "the others" as the respondents in Çayyolu. They even pronounce the southern neighborhoods as alternative

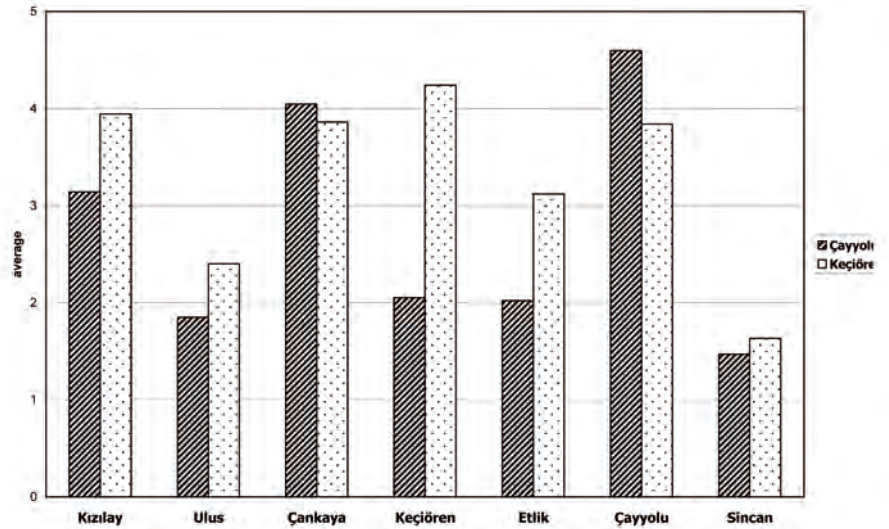


Figure 10. Average points that the respondents in the two areas gave to some places in the city.

places to settle within the city if they would not reside in Keçiören. However, the image of Keçiören is rather negative for the respondents in Çayyolu (Figure 10). In fact this is also consistent with what Ayata (2003) suggests in his study in the area. They position themselves away from the urban centre in order to distinguish their way of life from 'the masses' within the city. People in Keçiören are a part of "the other" in a way for the ones in Çayyolu. This issue may be further related to the community formation in Keçiören based on the practical reasons of being close to family and friends and work, and the effort of constructing a decent environment in Çayyolu by residents who have moved here with some kind of a suburban ideal.

People in Çayyolu use Kızılay often mainly as their workplace, but still their distaste for the city centre is apparent in their evaluations. Apart from the city centre they also tend to use some nodes along the Eskişehir highway. Especially Bilkent Center and Armada are the two main attraction points. Also it may be assumed that recently the attraction points may have dispersed along the Eskişehir highway with the new shopping malls constructed like Cepa, Kentpark, Gordion etc. Apart from work, they use the city centre for cultural activities, especially for theatres. In general it can be suggested that people in Çayyolu are more mobile and travel to different parts of the city in order to consume a certain activity. The north-south divide is apparent in the case areas in terms of their use of urban space. However, it can also be seen that they do not travel to the northern part of the city almost at all. The opposite holds true for Keçiören. People in Keçiören mainly travel to the city center Kızılay and to a limited extent Bahçelievler. Both the intensity of activities of these two groups and places that these activities are consumed within the city, do not coincide at all. Their major common activity may be visiting shopping malls and for that they prefer different ones (Figure 9). Only a certain intersection point may be suggested to be the Akköprü Migros, enlarged by extensions to be called AnkaMall after the implementation of the survey. However, after the implementation of this survey, many new shopping malls have been constructed in both parts of the city (like Cepa, Panora, Antares etc.), which may presumably have acted in a direction to further separate the activities of these groups.

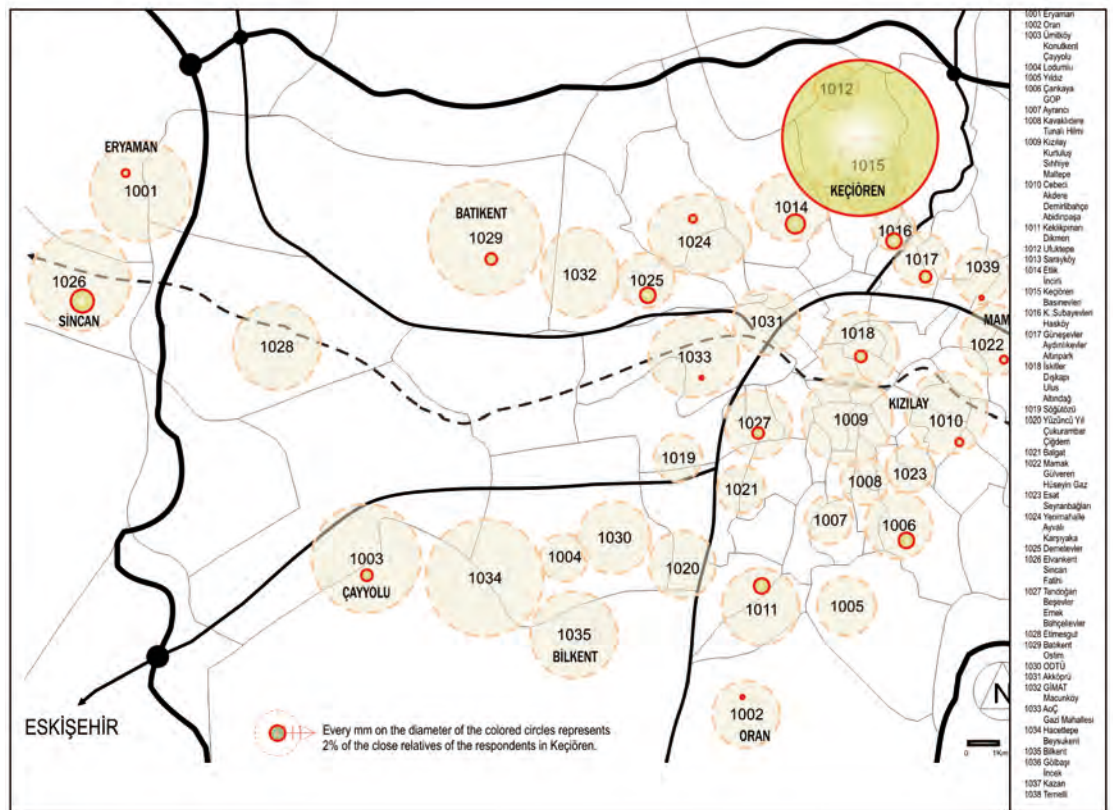
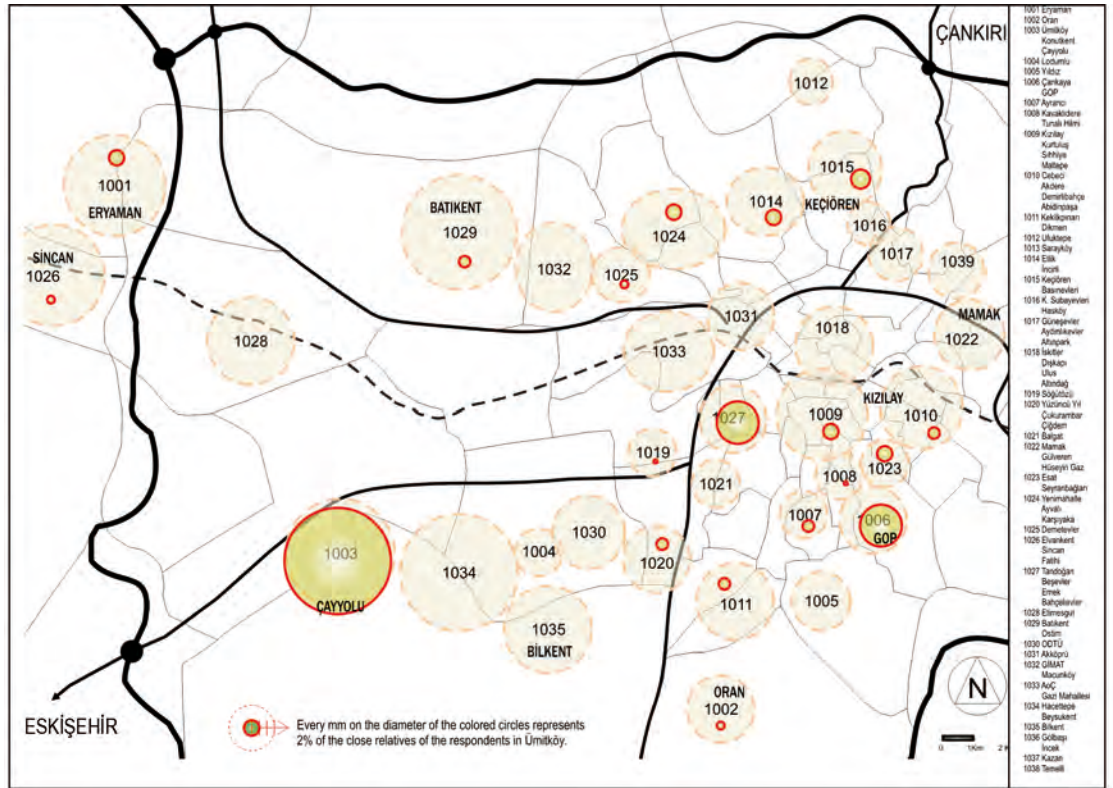


Figure 11. Places where close relatives of respondents in Ümitköy are located in Ankara. The pattern is very similar when considering close families they meet often.

Figure 12. Places where close relatives of respondents in Keçiören are located in Ankara.

CONCLUSION

When we consider the major outcomes of the study, it can be said that cultural capital along with social and symbolic capital contribute to distinction in urban space. These factors that lead to the formation of social groups along with economic capital also act on the formation of urban space, especially when we consider the active formation of middle class lifestyles directly with interactions in urban space. The difference of middle classes affects not only their residential choice, but also their manner of using urban space on a daily basis. The density and way of using urban space in everyday life can be considered as an accumulation of everyday life choices of these groups which brings us to the idea that choices of middle classes act on the reproduction of urban space. Thus, knowing the lifestyles and daily routines of these classes and the major factors that govern their choices is important in terms of determining the contemporary picture and foreseeing the future dynamics of urban space. Obviously, this study should be regarded as a limited effort in introducing an alternative perspective to urban studies. It does not and inherently cannot have a claim on creating general outcomes. However, it offers an outlook suggesting sensitivity to everyday practice of agents in understanding the dynamics of urban space especially in the contemporary economic and cultural climate. Following this methodological framework, valuable practical data can be collected on urban space by extending variables and ingredients based on local specificities.

In the specific case of Ankara, theoretical suggestions on middle classes were practical in conducting the study to a certain extent. Especially, use of the concept of cultural capital as a guide served its purpose neatly. However, as the study progressed the influence of local dynamics on theoretical assumptions were clearly revealed. In fact, this was also another factor suggested by discussions on middle classes. Their formation is dynamic and very much flexible in relation to the local forces. Ankara as the capital city of the Turkish Republic has an urban history peculiar to itself, where construction of the city encompasses ideological concerns within. Thus, all new implementations in the urban space brought discussions on whether they would harm the modern capital city image of Ankara constructed during the foundation of the Republic, or not. For the specific cases examined within the study, this discussion implied further meanings because of the implementations made by the Keçiören municipality. The implementations on public spaces and the approach to create a new urban image may be considered to be parts of an effort in forming an identity in contrast to the Republican image of Ankara (10). The duality observed in urban space and implementations of the local governments finds its expression in the conservatism-secularism conflict among the two groups at hand. It suggests the growth of a different kind of middle class peculiar to conditions of the Turkish capital under the contemporary circumstances. This difference being reflected to their way of lives determines the daily practices and to what extent these groups use the urban space and whether their paths coincide or not. It also defines the type of activities, the places they are practiced and their frequency. The study also reveals a new kind of social distinction in Ankara between the middle classes that brings new dimensions to urban segregation as well. Apart from the well known economic sources of segregation, groups with similar welfare may 'choose' to stay apart by organizing the places they consume various daily activities. As Aksel Gürün (2009) states, different classes which traditionally gather at city centres, no longer come across

10. For discussions on the implementations of Keçiören municipality from an ideological and architectural perspective, see Aydın et al. (2003), Pınarevli (2005), Şentürk (2004).

in the new shopping malls which serve for rather homogeneous groups. Considering the concept of middle class put forth in this study, segregation is not only among high, middle or lower classes in a classical sense, but also there is a multi-layered segregation based on the different strata of the middle class. Furthermore, the results and to a certain extent the causes of the issues of, fragmentation of the urban centre, decentralization to the periphery and urban regeneration, all find their expressions in the everyday lives of these middle classes. They are in a way among both the catalysts and indicators of urban change in Ankara. Conceiving the essence of this difference among the middle class may map the daily activities of the groups in urban space, reveal how it has transformed the urban pattern and will evolve it in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Baykan Günay, H. Çağatay Keskinok, H.T. Şengül and Ali Cengizkan for their guidance in this study.

REFERENCES

- AKPINAR, F. (2005) *Social Stratification and Consumption Profiles of Ankara: A Case Study in Ankara Residential Areas*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.
- AKSEL GÜRÜN, B. (2009) *Impact of Shopping Centers in the Fragmentation of the City Center*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.
- AYAROĞLU, M. (2004) *A Beautification Project in Keçiören*, unpublished paper prepared for Arch 709, Housing and Discourse II, (Inst.) A.Cengizkan.
- AYATA, S. (2003) *The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia*, in D. Kandiyoti, A. Saktanber, eds., *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday Life of Modern Turkey*, I.B. Tauris, London.
- AYDIN, Ö., BAYRAKTAR, N., TEKKAYA, E. (2003) 'Cumhuriyet Başkentinde Aykırı Bir İlçe', *Mimarlık*, n: 313, Ankara.
- BALİ, R. (2002) *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1998) *Practical Reason: on the Theory of Action*, Stanford University Press, California.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1989) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge, London.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1980) *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, California.
- BRIDGE, G., DOWLING, R. (2001) *Microgeographies of Retailing and Gentrification*, *Australian Geographer*, v: 32, n: 1; pp: 93-107
- BUTLER, T. (1997) *Gentrification and the Middle Classes*, Ashgate, Brookfield.
- CENGİZKAN, A. (2001) *1950'lerden Bir Konut Kooperatifi- Ankara Ucuz Subay Evleri, Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara
- CROMPTON, R. (1993) *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates*, Polity Press, Cambridge, Oxford.

- EKİCİ, B. (2004) *Perceptions of Different Socio-Economic Status Groups Living in Ankara*, unpublished master's thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, Sage Publications, London.
- GIDDENS, A. (1981) *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*, Hutchinson and Co. Publishers Ltd., London.
- GÖLE, N. (2002) *Melez Desenler: İslam ve Modernlik Üzerine*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- GÖLE, N. (2000) Modernist Kamusal Alan ve İslami Ahlak, in N. Göle, ed., *İslamın Kamusal Yüzleri*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- GÜLALP, H. (2003) *Kimlikler Siyaseti: Türkiye'de Siyasal İslamın Temelleri*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- GÜNAY, B. (2005) Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme, in T. Şenyapılı, ed., *Cumhuriyet'in Ankarası*, METU Press, Ankara.
- GÜVENÇ, M. (2001) Ankara'da Statü / Köken Farklılaşması; 1990 Sayım Örneklemeleri Üzerinde "Blokmodel" Çözümlenmeleri, in Y. Yavuz, ed., *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara.
- IŞIK, O., PINARCIOĞLU, M. (2005) Ankara 2002 Genel Seçimleri Coğrafyası, in T. Şenyapılı, ed., *Cumhuriyet'in Ankarası*, METU Press, Ankara.
- KORKMAZ TİRKEŞ, G. (2007) Spatial Choices of Middle Classes in Çayyolu and Keçiören; Ankara, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.
- KOZANOĞLU, H. (1993) *Yuppieler, Prenslar ve Bizim Kuşak*, İletişim, İstanbul.
- LEFEBVRE, H. (1998) *Modern Dünyada Gündelik Hayat*, tr. by I. Gürbüz, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- OFFE, C. (1985) Work: The Key Sociological Category, in *Disorganized Capitalism*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts.
- ÖNCÜ, A. (2005) "İdealinizdeki Ev" Mitolojisi Kültürel Sınırları Aşarak İstanbul'a Ulaştı, in A. Öncü, P. Weyland, eds., *Mekan, Kültür, İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler*, tr. by L. Şimşek, N. Uygun, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.
- ÖNCÜ, A, WEYLAND, P. (1997) Introduction: struggles over *lebenstraum* and social identity in globalizing cities, in A. Öncü, P. Weyland, eds., *Space, Place, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, Zed Books, London.
- ÖNCÜ, A. (2000) İstanbullular ve Ötekiler: Küreselcilik Çağında Orta Sınıf Olmanın Kültürel Kozmolojisi, in Ç. Keyder, ed., *İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, tr. by S. Savran, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- ÖZALP (2004), "Tempo Dergisi", http://www.tempodergisi.com.tr/toplum_politika, May 2007.
- PILE, S, THRIFT, N. (1995) *Mapping the Subject*, Routledge, London.

- PINAREVLİ, M. (2005) *A Study on the Urban/Architectural Transformations in Keçiören After 1990*, unpublished master's thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.
- PRED, A. (1981) Power, Everyday Practice and the Discipline of Human Geography, in A. Pred ed., *Space and Time in Geography*, University of Lund, Lund.
- ROBSON, G., BUTLER, T. (2001) Coming to Terms with London: Middle Class Communities in a Global City?, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, v: 25.1; pp: 70-86.
- SAKTANBER, A. (2005) Bir Orta Sınıf Ethos'unun ve Onun Günlük Pratiğinin Oluşumu: Kentsel Türkiye'de İslam'ın Yeniden Canlandırılması, in A. Öncü, P. Weyland, eds., *Mekan, Kültür, İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler*, tr. by L. Şimşek, N. Uygun, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.
- SAKTANBER, A. (2003) Siz Nasıl Eğleniyorsanız Biz de Öyle İbadet Ediyoruz: Entellektüellik ve Popüler Kültür Arasında Türkiye'nin Yeni İslamcı Gençliği, in D. Kandiyoti, A. Saktanber eds., *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye'de Gündelik Hayat*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.
- SAVAGE, M., BARLOW, J., DICKENS, P., FIELDING, T. (1992) *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle-class Formation in Contemporary Britain*, Routledge, London, New York.
- ŞENGÜL, T. (2001) *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar*, Demokrasi Kitaplığı, İstanbul.
- ŞENTÜRK, L. (2004) Kara Mizahın Başkenti: Keçiören, *Mimarlar Odası Bülteni*, Şubat, v: 18.
- ŞENYAPILI, T. (2005) Ankara Kenti İkili Yapısında Dönüşümler, in T. Şenyapılı, ed., *Cumhuriyet'in Ankarası*, METU Press, Ankara.
- ŞENYAPILI, T. (2003) Kaçış Adaları, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July / August 2003; pp: 57-61.
- TEKELİ, İ. (2000) Gündelik Yaşam Üzerine Düşünceler, in F. Atacan, F. Ercan, H. Kurtuluş, M. Türkay, eds., *Mübeccel Kıray İçin Yazılar*, Bağlam, İstanbul.
- THRIFT, N. (1983) On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time, in T. Barnes, D. Gregory, eds., *Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Inquiry*, Arnold, London.
- WACQUANT, L. J. D. (1991) Making Class: The Middle Class(es) in Social Theory and Social Structure, in R. Fantasia, R.F. Levine, S.G. McNall, eds., *Bringing Class Back In*, Westview Press, Oxford.
- WYNNE, D. (2000) *Leisure, Lifestyle and the New Middle Class: A Case Study*, Routledge, New York.

Alındı: 13.03.2009, **Son Metin:** 10.10.2010

Anahtar Sözcükler: mekansal seçim; orta sınıf; kültürel sermaye; Ankara; Çayyolu; Keçiören.

ORTA SINIFLARIN MEKANSAL SEÇİMLERİ

Bu yazıda Ankara Çayyolu ve Keçiören’de yerleşik olan iki orta sınıf grubunun mekansal seçimlerinin kıyaslanmasını konu alan bir çalışma temel alınmıştır (Korkmaz Tırkeş, 2007). Söz konusu mekansal seçimler, yerleşilen konut ve mahalle başta olmak üzere, kent mekanında çeşitli yerlerin ve etkinliklerin tüketimini ve kent mekanına yönelik değerlendirmelerini 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 konmuştur. 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. Yazının kapsamında çalışmanın bulgularının kısıtlı bir bölümü, çalışmanın yöntemini gereğince açıklamak ve genel sonuçları tartışmak amacıyla verilmiştir. Burada amaç çalışma hakkında verilen genel bilgilerle böyle bir yöntem kullanılarak kent çalışmalarında ne tür bir bakış açısının yakalanabileceğini tartışmaktır.

Güliz KORKMAZ TİRKEŞ; B.CP, M. A., Ph.D.

Graduated from METU City and Regional Planning in 1998, completed graduate studies in 2002 in Hacettepe University, Faculty of Fine Arts, and received her Ph.D. from METU Department of City and Regional Planning in 2007. Working as a research assistant in the Faculty of Architecture since 2000. gulizkt@gmail.com