URBAN CULTURE AND SPACE RELATIONS:
***SAKARYA CADDESİ* AS AN ENTERTAINMENT SPACE IN ANKARA**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SULTAN YETKİN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2004

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nuran Erol Işık   _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ceylan Tokluoğlu   _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name :

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

URBAN CULTURE AND SPACE RELATIONS:
SAKARYA CADDESİ AS AN ENTERTAINMENT SPACE IN ANKARA

Yetkin, Sultan

M.S., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

August 2004, 155 pages

The purpose of this thesis is to research the relation between spatial structures and social relations including the cultural ones. This study specifically researches the relation between the construction and the representation of urban space and urban culture in *Sakarya Caddesi* as an instance of society-space interaction. This research focuses on *Sakarya Caddesi* where various urban cultural practices such as entertainment, has intensified. It deals with the constitution and representation of this entertainment space and researches how a particular place is constructed materially and imaginarily, how different social actors perceive, interpret and constitute a particular place in different ways. Accordingly, the contestation over the representation and use of place is discussed in this study. In order to comprehend a local place and culture, the issues should be thought in a wider context. Therefore, *Sakarya Caddesi* which is a part of urban space and the urban practices which occur in this area, are evaluated in global context. This study, discusses the influences of global changes on urban space, urban cultural practices and lifestyles. Discussing *Sakarya Caddesi* and its culture through discourses, this thesis relates spatial categories with some concepts of cultural politics such as identity.

Key Words: Space, Place, Urban Culture, Cultural Identity, Lifestyles

ÖZ

KENTSEL KÜLTÜR VE MEKAN İLİŞKİSİ:
ANKARA'DA BİR EĞLENCE MEKANI OLARAK SAKARYA CADDESİ

Yetkin, Sultan

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

Ağustos 2004, 155 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı mekansal yapılar ve kültürel alanı da içeren sosyal ilişkiler arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmaktır. Bu çalışma özellikle, kentsel mekanın ve kent kültürünün, oluşumu ve temsili arasındaki ilişkiyi, toplum-mekan etkileşiminin bir örneği olarak Sakarya Caddesi üzerinde inceler. Bu araştırma, son zamanlarda eğlence gibi çeşitli kentsel kültürel pratiklerin yoğunlaştığı bir yer olan Sakarya Caddesi üzerine yoğunlaşır.Çalışma bu eğlence mekanının oluşumu ve temsilleri ile ilgilenerek belirli bir yerin maddi ve imgesel olarak nasıl kurulduğunu, farklı sosyal aktörler tarafından, farklı yollarla nasıl anlaşılıp, yorumlandığını ve oluşturulduğunu araştırır. Dolayısıyla bu araştırma, yerin temsili ve kullanımı üzerindeki çekişmeyi tartışır. Lokal bir yeri ve kültürü kavrayabilmek için konuyu daha geniş bir bağlamda ele almak gereklidir. Bu yüzden kentsel mekanın bir parçası olan Sakarya Caddesi ve buradaki kentsel deneyimler küresel bağlam içinde değerlendirilmektedir. Dolayısıyla çalışma, küresel değişimlerin kentsel mekan, kentsel kültürel pratikler ve yaşam tarzları üzerindeki etkilerini de tartışır. Bu tez Sakarya Caddesi'ni ve kültürünü söylemler üzerinden tartışarak mekansal kategoriler ile kültürel politikaların kimlik gibi bazı kavramlarını ilişkilendirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekan, Yer, Kentsel Kültür, Kültürel Kimlik, Yaşam Tarzları

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, it is intensively being discussed that space is a category which has a basic importance in comprehension of today's societies. Many social scientists discuss the place and the importance of space in social analysis. Jameson (1991) asserts that in our epoch not the categories based on time, but spatial categories determine our everyday life, mental experiences and cultural language. Pointing out the big changes all over world -in means of communication, the scale of power, the degree of personal political responsibility- John Berger underlines that we have to look at spatial one in order to comprehend social world. He suggests that "it is space not time that hides consequences from us" (John Berger cited by Soja, 1989, 22). Moving along this line of thought in order to understand the social process, I inquired the complex relation and interaction between society and space, social and spatial. Accordingly, I researched following questions: What is the importance of space in terms of our lives? Is the space just a stage which we live on it? In general, what is the meaning of living in an urban space? How urban life affects our social and cultural experiences?

While investigating this relation first of all I researched the social construction of space. Indicating that space is constructed socially Lefebvre underlines that space is not a neutral and passive geometry. He discusses that urban meaning/culture is constituted in power relations. When we consider space both as a result of social process and a constitutive category, another dimension of social process becomes important. Social process is not only constituted objectively but also constituted discursively by different social actors in power relations. That is to say, potentially space is also political which rely on its interaction with social process. Continuing from this point I

1

researched the implications of these kinds of interconnected space and social realm notions which are related with a given place. Adopting the approaches of Lefebvre (1991) and Shields (1996) I assumed that space is constituted socially. However, thinking of the influences of time-space compression on our time-space comprehension which occurred in current age, we can formulate space as "stretched out relations" (Allen and Hamnett, 1995). In this context we can consider place as a particular set of the intersection of social relations[1]. In this sense the relation between social and spatial makes an attribution to the character of any place. As Massey (1994, 1995) emphasizes spaces are open to conflict, contestation and change and consequently to politics. According to her there is a complex relation between place-identity-power and culture. There is constant struggle over the meanings of the places and the constitution of the identities. In this struggle different actors struggle to define the dominant meaning and identity of place. This is at the same time a process that occurs among unequal powers. Definition of the meaning and the identity of a place may lead to the inclusion of some social groups and the exclusion of some. In this way, I focused on "*Sakarya Caddesi*" as a "place". Adopting the approach of cultural politics I researched the contestation over the meaning and the identity of *Sakarya Caddesi*. Thus, I discussed the power struggle between the social groups who try to define dominant meaning in the cultural frame of social life. This struggle over place also refers to struggle between the various imaginations of shared culture. In case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, the discursive dimension of the struggle over place shows the spatial structure of cultural politics.

---

[1] Concept of place is defined differently according to different approaches and today there is not any definition which is accepted commonly. Definition of "The Dictionary of Human Geography is: "A portion of geographic space. Space is organized into place often thought of as bounded settings in which social relations and identity are constituted. Such places may be officially recognized geographical entities or more informally organized sites of intersecting social relations, meanings and collective memory. The concept of place, the niqueness of particular place and place based identities are hotly contested concepts in the contemporary context of increasing globalization and the perceived threat of growing placelessness.

Moreover, I discussed *Sakarya Caddesi* and its local culture in the context of wider global cultural relations. I tried to understand: How global cultural flows affect local culture? Are there any differences in this cultural reception of local? Under the global cultural influences, does the local one lose its specificity and uniqueness? Together with the globalization process does only a single culture -specifically "Western" or American culture- spread everywhere and generate a single homogeneous culture? In this context, is the culture which characterizes the cities, a single standard culture? Or is there a cultural diversity in the city or even in a more local place?

In Chapter 3, I inquired critical theory of space that is developed in three decades. Emerging as a reaction against the "aspatiality" of social theories, in this literature the significance of space in social processes, social change and in the ways of understanding them are stressed. Emphasizing the complex relation between space and social relations many theoreticians have striven to put space in social theory (Lefebvre 1974, Harvey 1989, Soja 1998, Massey 1994). In this chapter, I inquired the process where spatial dimension becomes an explanatory category in social sciences. Effort to put dimension of spatiality in social sciences refers to the attempt to conceptualize time and space as a fundamental dimension of social being. It is important that here space and spatial categories are put in social theory as a constitutive element. This effort is to inquire the relation between the society and space. The research of this relation can be considered as a challenge against to consider space as a secondary category, a passive geometry where the social facts are constituted and to conceptualize space and society as separated entities. In this context, the argument of "(social) space is a (social) product" as discussed by Lefebvre is important and it is the basic argument of this thesis. Moreover, Soja carries this argument forward and suggests to consider the relation between "the social" and "the special" as "inter-reactive and interdependent". Massey (1994, 264) conceptualize space "as constructed out of interrelations as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales". She adds the

assumption of "the social is spatially constituted" to Lefebvre's (1991) assumption of "the spatial is socially constituted". Emphasizing that space is constituted socially Massey points out the structure of space which is full of power, meaning and symbolism. According to Soja, spatialization of social theory prevents the space to be considered only as a reflection of social relations. He stresses that spatialization of social theory enables the space to be considered as an important determinant of social life. According to him, this theoretical development means to instill appropriate conceptual tools and insight in social theory. This process would enable social theory to overcome current economical, political and cultural processes more effectively. This big change in social theory has generated new debates on interactive construction of place, culture, identity and power. Juxtapositions of place and politics in cultural theory like in social theory have been emphasized in various studies. (Duncan and Ley, 1993). Then, many scholars have tried to explain the concept of spatiality by relating it with some cultural categories such as culture and identity (Keith and Pile, 1993). This new political view enables the conceptualization of culture, in multiplicity of interwoven spatial and social relations. In this sense this thesis try to say something about the spatialized structure of the social and the cultural.

I focused on a particular urban space in the cultural fabric of life and the contestation over the constitution of the culture in it. Thus, in this chapter I inquired particularly the (re)production and (re)construction of space. In this chapter I developed the main argument of this thesis which asserts that space is a social product and there is an interactive relationship between the spatial and the social.

In Chapter 4, I inquired that in the last few decades the study of urban culture has returned to the agenda (Savage and Warde, 1993). In these studies different approaches are seen in terms of the conceptualization of urban culture. These approaches can be considered in two main axis. The first approach presents a general definition of urban culture that can be applied to

all cities. The second one claims that every city has its own specific culture and meaning. In the second approach it is important to comprehend the process which gives different meanings to cities. Furthermore, recent studies about urban culture continue in debates on modernity-postmodernity. In this sense, the approaches interested in questions which ask how cities take on their own specific meanings and how these meanings are read and interpreted, are inquired in this chapter. These approaches not only define the cultures of each individual city but also take the city as a text and present analytic approaches. These approaches focus on how cities are constituted and read as singular texts. In this chapter architectural approach, which is one of these approaches is mentioned. Moreover, the approach of social construction of urban meaning which this thesis is based on is emphasized. This approach is based on Lefebvre's studies. Since I explain Lefebvre's view about space in Chapter 3, I inquired Lefebvre's views about social construction of urban meaning in this chapter. Lefebvre indicated that in capitalist society space is instrumentalized and becomes a commodity. He stresses that under these circumstances rather than the physical characteristics of space, its cultural characteristics become important. Under the domination of capitalist market qualitative characteristics of space are reduced to quantitative. In this context, struggle for the place images become important and the meanings of places are (re)constructed. For example, this happens through leisure industries. Lefebvre relates the constitution of the urban meanings not only with the cultural images but also with the people's actual place experiences. I also discuss "social spatialization" notion of Rob Shields who also adopts this approach. This notion emphasizes social construction of space by social imaginary. In this chapter finally I research the relation between today's postmodern debates and urban culture. Without looking over the big confusion about postmodernity and thinking whether our current age is postmodern or not I inquired wide cultural changes in contemporary social world. I especially focused on the implications of this process, which is defined as postmodern condition by some, related with urban culture. Featherstone (1991) relates today's urban culture with

consumption culture. Harvey (1989) and Jameson (1991) explain this with the logic of late capitalism. Zukin (1998) considers postmodern city as space of consumption and explains urban culture through the diversity of life styles.

When we look at the projections of postmodern culture on urban culture we can see that postmodern discourse emphasizes the importance of urban differentiation and specificity. Promoting and affirming the differences and diversity, postmodern discourse seems to render hierarchical structure and values of modernity egalitarian. This appears as significantly appreciating "popular" culture against "high" culture (Sarıbay, 202, 45). On the other hand according to Featherstone both built environment and diversity in life styles indicate the "stylistic hotchpotch" (1991). Jameson (1991) thinks that postmodern cultural influences cause a fragmentation in space -particularly in urban space. According to him this space is a fragmented, schizophrenic collage which has no integrity. According to Zukin (1998) in the cities which become spaces of consumption, the diversity of urban life styles has generated both cultural vitality and economical renewal. Because of this, this diversity is considered as a source for increasing the cultural capitals of cities. Cultural diversity is considered as the relative advantages of the city. These facilities also attract property developers and multinational corporations who have the same profit oriented vision. Hence allowing togetherness of various urban life styles consumption spaces on the one hand generates a "hybrid urban culture". On the other hand, the competition between the entrepreneurs who are influenced by these new visions of cities and the competition between the cities in order to attract them cause "a multiplicity of standardized attraction". According to Zukin in spite of all these, the most important product of contemporary city Is that it provides possibility for urban life styles to grow and to diverse. Another issue which Zukin points out that, the expansion of cultural field in the world in a general sense and expansion of information market of cultural products have increased the mediation of the consumption by cultural images in the cities. Namely, symbolic consumption has become important.

Briefly, in Chapter 4, I researched various approaches about the influences of world wide cultural changes on urban culture. I inquired the claim which is asserted by postmodern discourse, saying that the symbolic hierarchies in cultural field have been demolished and popular democratic tendencies have emerged. I discussed the question asking if such classifications and hierarchies in the cities have been demolished. Moreover, I looked over, as it is claimed, if these dramatic global changes have created diversity in urban space or not. Pointing out that these "generalized" influences are not experienced in the same way in all cities I emphasized that it is necessary to research singular places and cultures.

In Chapter 5, I argued that discussion about a local place and culture includes a discussion of wider range of social, political and economical relations. When we neglect the global dimension of current reality we remove the issue from its context. Because of this, we may neglect to acquire a sense about a culture of a particular urban space. In this sense, I discussed in this chapter the terms of place and culture in the context of globalization. The literature of globalization is very expansive and it is considered in various theoretical debates. Thus, I restricted this chapter with the discussion about particular influences of globalization on place and culture. Moreover, I focused especially on four writers -Doreen Massey, Gillian Rose, Pat Jess, Stuart Hall- who discuss this issue[2]. Their approach about globalization, place and culture includes following basic points: In the current age globalization seriously challenge to the meaning of place and culture; It is obvious that in recent years the pace and impact of globalization have increased. With the increase of spatial activity, flows of information, news and

---

[2] Globalization is formulated by scholars from various disciplines in different ways. In this study, I partly examined the implications of globalization on space and culture. The aim of this study is to research the multi-dimensional relation between social relations and spatial structures in terms of relational view of space. Therefore, I restricted the implications of globalization on space, culture and their relation with the frame relational approach of space. In this sense, the discussions of Doreen Massey, Gillian Rose, Pat Jess and Stuart Hall -who share this approach- about this matter constitutes a restrictive framework for this thesis. See in Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds) A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization. Oxford. Oxfprd University Press. Also for the relation of globalization and culture see Tomlinson, J. (1999) Globalization and Culture. Cambridge. Polity Press.

culture which stems from media and technology, the contact between places and cultures and all scales of interconnectedness have also increased. Massey and Jess assert that, places and cultures are being reconstructed in the middle of global connectedness. Previous coherences of these are being disrupted and interrupted by the world and connections beyond these. In addition, generally exclusive, new claims are being asserted about the character of place.

What kind of meaning does the concept of place acquire in such a context or how this meaning is reconstructed again? One of the central issues of this question is the relation between place and culture. Because, the probability of interaction of cultures or "mixing of cultures" increases through the interconnection of places. Today the thing which is experienced is not the simple relation which is between local place and local culture. The terms of place and culture should also be related with the term of identity. Relation between these terms shows a multiplicity of connection.

Cultural identity is usually defined according to the place and it usually includes an imagery which reminds of physical characteristics. The relation between the personal identity and place also can be strong and people can identify themselves with place. Or they can see themselves as outsiders in a place where others claim right. Accordingly, we can say that there is a connection between the identity and the meaning of place. Therefore, some questions emerge as follows: How does an identity of a place is constructed? Which personal or cultural identities are effective within process of a place identity? Who are included and who are excluded within this place identity? The argument of this chapter asserts that place identities are often contested and furthermore the meaning and the identity of place vary among different groups. These kinds of meanings influence the struggle over the material future of place. Some issues emerge in this struggle such as: Should be there a new progress over place? Should new people be allowed to come to place? Should place be maintained unspoiled? The struggle over the

meanings and the identities of places occur in the context of unequal powers. At this point it is important to inquire the relation between the meaning of place and social power.

In this chapter, culture is indirectly discussed in the debates about the meaning of place and contestation over place. Moreover, the challenge of globalization process about closed, coherent culture notion is discussed. So that, in the globalized times to maintain the notion of distinct cultures seems difficult. In this sense, cultures and cultural traditions should be reconsidered. Hall (1991, 1995) asserts that globalization is an intercultural interaction. He points out that this interaction is not a one-directional and homogeneous process, cultures are interrelated in power context. Here it is stressed that, in today's world both for place and culture the notion of "purity" is problematic. Briefly in this chapter, the relation between space and place, global and local, the importance of the conceptualization of place and culture in globalization context is argued. The uniqueness of place is discussed in terms of the relation between power-identity-culture and place.

In the last chapter, I summarized the fieldwork data and interpreted them in the theoretical framework of the thesis. I presented this chapter in two subsections. In the first, considering space as spread of social relations I think *Sakarya Caddesi* as a meeting place. In other words, I considered *Sakarya Caddesi* as "the location of the intersection of particular bundles of activity space, of connections, of interrelations, of influences and movement". First of all I looked over how activity spaces change under the influence of global cultural flows. Moreover, I researched how place -*Sakarya Caddesi*- is constituted as materially and representatively. I inquired the constitution of the meaning of *Sakarya Caddesi* and the contestation over *Sakarya Caddesi* which includes claims of right over this place.

In the second subsection, through the life styles I researched the influences of current global cultural changes on urban culture. I sought an answer to the

question, whether global effects lead to a standardization or a diversity in urban cultural practices and life styles.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Description of *Sakarya Caddesi*

Sakarya Caddesi (Sakarya Street) is located in *Kızılay*, the city center of Ankara, west side of Atatürk Boulevard. This place is a pedestrian area which includes *Sakarya Caddesi* and some other streets and generally called as "*Sakarya*". With the 24.02.1978 dated decision of City Traffic Commission of Governorship of Ankara, Sakarya Street, Selanik Street, Bayındır Street and Inkılap Street were closed to vehicle traffic for testing purposes. As a result of positive outcomes of the application, with the 06.07.1979 dated, 1979/165 numbered decision of the commission the said streets are announced as "Sakarya Pedestrian Zone"[1] (the area between Atatürk Boulevard, Ziya Gökalp Avenue, Mithatpaşa Avenue and Tuna Avenue). The planning, cleaning and control of *Sakarya Caddesi* are in the responsibility of Directorate of Technical Works, Directorate of Development, Directorate of Parks and Gardens and Directorate of Municipal Police of the Municipality of *Çankaya*. But there is a lack of coordination between these units. According to the information I have collected from Directorate of Development, the duties of these units are not clearly defined.

In the past, *Sakarya Caddesi* was a shopping center of the surroundings of *Kızılay* and *Sıhhıye*, today it is a center where eating and entertainment sectors are intensified. At the beginning of 1960s, "Tavukçu" and "Körfez", the restaurants which have license to sell alcoholic drinks have been opened. In 1960s and 1970s except for a few beer houses, there were not any

---

[1] This document of the decision about "Sakarya Pedestrian Zone" has been taken from the archive of Directorate of Development of Municipality of Çankaya.

entertainment places which are selling alcoholic drinks. After the second half of 1980s bars and cafés have begun to be opened in *Sakarya Caddesi*. With 1990s especially in "*SSK İşhanı*" many bars have begun to be opened. In *Sakarya Caddesi*, besides the bars and beer houses there are many other places such as; cafés, restaurants, local fast food shops, tea houses, green groceries, delicatessen shops, food shops, fish shops, herbalist shops and educational, cultural activity spaces such as theatres, book stores, private preparation courses for high schools or universities and kiosks, flower shops, some workers' unions and public institutions, guesthouses of some profession chambers, banks, various citizen fellowship associations, lawyer and bookkeeper offices, photography studios, hair dressers, clothing and shoe shops, internet cafés, pet shops, exchange offices, glassware shops, shoe repair shops etc. The entertainment places which have also spread along the business centers and upper floors of shopping arcades are especially preferred by the young people and students of Ankara. Pedestrianized *Sakarya Caddesi* is one of the important meeting places of Ankara, with its many different functions, dynamic structure and the density of pedestrians.

Furthermore *Sakarya Caddesi* is a complex image full of diverse meaning. For some *Sakarya Caddesi* is a place where they get rid of their daily fatigue, for some it is a meeting point where provides social intercourse in order to see their friends, acquaintances and for some it is an employment area where "big money circulates". Since it is located at the center of Ankara, easy access through transportation, existence of both fast food and local foods (especially "*Ankara döneri*", grilled beef which is mostly served in sandwiches) makes it an eating place for many people. But especially in the last decade the intensification of entertainment places made here an entertainment center for some urban residents. In this place the diversified and differentiated life experiences of Ankara that changes through fast and different dynamics, become visible.

Through this opportunity I tried to read, understand and explain the diversity in cultural life of the city by focusing on entertainment places. I understand that *Sakarya Caddesi* is a place where continuously remade and reconstructed. Thus the reconstruction of *Sakarya Caddesi* is realized through the struggles which are continuing over morphology and symbolism of it. Namely, the nature and the meaning of place are constructed through a contestation process. In order to understand this process which changes the nature of *Sakarya Caddesi*, it is important to understand the cultural tensions and cultural differences in it.

In this study, I discussed how a particular place is represented by different social actors. In this sense, I inquired how place is constituted materially and imaginary by different social groups. While doing this I referred to interaction between place and social relations which refers to power relations. For the general frame of my study I utilized the studies about space, society and culture relations which range from Lefebvre to today. But singular characteristics which are peculiar to *Sakarya Caddesi* should not be neglected. In this sense one my aims was to understand local characteristics and originality of *Sakarya Caddesi*, both as a place and a culture.

2.2 Description of the Research and the Case

In the last decades, in a general sense especially in the modernity-postmodernity debates there is a revival in the field of cultural studies. Moreover, the issues such as urban life, everyday life, life styles, urban diversity, urban identity, urban segregation have come back to agenda. In the last decade such studies are being increased in Turkey. While the issues such as culture and life styles are being studied within urban culture discussions the issue of urban space remains insignificant. But in some works urban space is considered as if a stage where various lives go on. Or without including the dimension of spatiality, urban life is explained in debates of popular culture. Can Kozanoğlu's (2001) "Yeni Şehir Notları"

(New Notes on City) and Rifat N. Bali's (2002) "Yeni Hayat Tarzları" (New Life Styles) are examples of such studies. Some city planning or architecture studies approach to urban culture more in terms of space -in which built environment is emphasized. However, in recent years the studies which research spatial one in relation with social, cultural and political one have begun to increase. The issues of consumption, everyday life and urban poverty are discussed in the axis of social space.

In this study I try to understand both how space and culture which is formed within space are constituted. I have started this thesis trying to understand the statement of Lefebvre which says space is a social product. But, at the beginning, may be with the influence of the settled opinion in social sciences, I considered society and space as separate categories. Therefore I tried to formulate their relation as an external relation of two separate categories. With the advance of the study I began to understand that space and society are constituted synchronously. To understand the influence of the social one on the constitution of space was easier for me. But as Massey (1994) states, it is not enough to see space merely as a result of social facts. In this context I tired to understand the influences of spatial elements on the emergence, production and change of social processes. For example I tried to understand how "time-space compression" influences spatial organizations and hence social processes. I researched the relation of spatial elements such as spatial distance, movement and spatial differentiation with social facts.

When we consider the dimension of spatiality in local scale we encounter with the concept of place. The concept of place has a wide extension and the debates on the meaning of this concept still continue. In this study I take place as a portion of space -in which people live and produce particular meanings. In this sense, place signifies both a physical field and a particular set of social relations. When we think in city context, we can see a place, as Sarıbay (2002) states, as a field where practical relations of everyday life

happen in spatial organization. In this sense, I focused on "*Sakarya Caddesi*" as a place.

In the case of *Sakarya Caddesi* I tried to understand the constitution and representation of place and urban culture, and I inquired place-culture relation. I tried to understand the culture which is in a particular urban space, by focusing on life styles. While doing this, I tried to read the cultural practices of the people who are coming to the entertainment places of *Sakarya Caddesi* through their narrations.

This research does not aim to reach to a generalization about urban culture. In this sense, rather than to choose a scope and a case which represents urban culture I cared to understand heterogeneity within urban space and culture. Also another aim of my study is to understand the singular forms which urban culture takes on. I researched this case in order to open a window to different urban experiences which present clues about social reality. Consequently, I followed a qualitative method. Since my matter of research embraces the questions about the constitution of space and culture I inclined towards qualitative method which considers the question "how?" important. However, to understand cultural reality externally through a superficial view would not be possible. Rather, it is important to internally look over culture and how people's world of meanings is constituted.

My chose of qualitative method is related with the method's following characteristics: Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world and seeks to answer below mentioned questions which are the questions I tried to find answers in the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*: Why people behave the way they do? How opinions and attitudes are formed? How people are affected by the events

that go on around them? How and why cultures have developed in the way? What are the differences between social groups?

Qualitative research is concerned with finding the answers to questions which begin with "why?", "how?", "in that way?". On the other hand, quantitative research is more concerned with questions "how much?", "how many?", "how often?", "to what extent?". In the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, rather than the numbers it was important for me to reach to data which can be considered as the analysis of words and images. Moreover, I chose qualitative method because it concern in opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals producing subjective data.

Qualitative research describes social phenomena as they occur naturally. No attempt is made to manipulate the situation under study as is the case with experimental quantitative research. Qualitative research at the same time includes an holistic perspective in order to understand social world. Understanding of a situation is gained through an holistic perspective. Data are used to develop concepts and theories that help us to understand the social world. This is an inductive approach to the development of theory. Unlike this quantitative research is deductive in that it tests theories which have already been proposed.

Qualitative data are collected through direct encounters with individuals, through one to one interviews or group interviews or by observation. Data collection is time consuming. The intensive and time consuming nature of data collection necessitates the use of small samples. In my research I used deep interview and observation techniques. Although in quantitative research, sampling seeks to demonstrate representativeness of findings through random selection of subjects, qualitative sampling techniques are concerned with seeking information from specific groups and subgroups in the population.

My research includes specific groups who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* with entertainment purposes. I classified the entertainment places in *Sakarya Caddesi* in five categories which have different entertainment styles and play different genres of music: Rock music, pop music, folk music, without music and others. I interviewed with four people (user, worker or bar owner) from each category. Advancing the research to classify the bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* in general categories can cause some details to be overlooked because the style of each bar in this place is determined by different characteristics. For example the ethnical origin, gender, socio economical origin, political background of an owner of a bar from two bars which play same music and have the same entertainment notion can completely vary user profile. Unlike this, some bars which have different entertainment styles and different musical genres, performances may address to same social groups. For example some people or groups may go to different kinds of bars according to with whom, when and which purpose they go entertainment place. However, in *Sakarya Caddesi* there are some bars which do not match with the bar classification and unique in their kinds. These bars in some aspects show some similarities with other bars but they do not exactly match with the classifications. For example, "*Forza-İboşum*" is a *türkü* bar but plays only "earnest" Alevi folk songs which are in "*deyiş*" (a musical style in Alevi music that has sophisticated lyrics) style and it has its own peculiar customers. These customers have different life styles than the users of other bars. Another example is "*Büyük Express*" where is without music but is similar with the other bars in physical appearance and entertainment style. But here also has its own peculiar customers. The frequenters of different kinds of bars (rock, *türkü*, rarely pop bars) also "frequent" *Büyük Express*. Even there are customers who have fun in *Büyük Express* for a few hours before going to rock bar.

Taking all these details in account and trying to be careful to the variety of sex, age, political and religious belonging and spatial positions I interviewed with fifteen more people. I reached to the people whom I would interview first

with the reference of an acquaintance person. I thought that it is necessary to apply to various connections for these interviews which aim to understand people's feelings, worries and private lives. In some cases, which there was not any acquaintance I got appointment directly from the bar owners, employees or entertainers by explaining my purpose of research. Both with the references of my acquaintances and of these people whom I interviewed I reached to new informants. I made the interviews mostly in *Sakarya Caddesi* in certain tranquil hours and places and some of them in the places where informants prefer.

My research is based on interviews which are made in order to learn cultural practices, life styles, personal witnesses and thoughts of various urban residents who spend a particular portion of their lives in a particular place of the city. Interviews are semi structured. My interview form has a set of open ended questions based on topic area that I want to cover. The open ended nature of questions defined the topic under investigation but provided opportunities for both me and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. When the informant had difficulty in answering a question or provided only a brief response, I could use cues or prompts to encourage her/him to consider the question further. There was another advantage of semi structured interview: I had freedom to probe the informant to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the informant. Interviews have lasted a minimum of two and a half or a, maximum five hours. I made interviews intensively in 2003 June, July, August. In this period I made thirty five deep interviews. Besides between June 2003 and July 2004 I went to *Sakarya Caddesi* intermittently and made observations and unstructured interviews with some people having fun whom I met at random.

Observation as a qualitative data collection approach was sometimes very advantageous. When data collected other means could be of limited value or was difficult to validate, I applied to observation technique. For example when I asked to some informants if how they behave in certain situations,

there was no guarantee that they actually do what they say. In such a case observing them in those situations was more reliable: It was possible to see how they actually behave. Observation also served me as a technique for verifying or nullifying information provided in face to face interview. For example I observed that the people who complain about the corruption of *Sakarya Caddesi* and mentions that they come rarely were every evening coming to a bar in *Sakarya Caddesi*. Moreover, in this research to observe built environment was important. Observation technique provided valuable background information about the environment where a research project is being undertaken. For example in order to understand the entertainment style of a bar I tried to define the physical characteristics of that bar. Observation technique enabled me to define key features of entertainment areas. Moreover, by using observation technique I tried to get information about how people dress or their non verbal communication.

In quantitative research analysis involves things like the frequencies of variables, differences between variables, statistical tests designed to estimate the significance of the results and the probability that they did not occur by chance. All this is done basically by counting how often something appears in the data and comparing one measurement with others. At the end of the analysis, not only do we have a mass of results but we also have what we might call "the big picture", the major findings. In qualitative research we are also interested in discovering the big picture but use different techniques to find it. As in quantitative research, there may be some data which are measurable but for the most part we are interesting in using the data to describe a phenomenon, to articulate what it means and to understand it. In this study I tried to tell something about city and the picture of urban culture.

I have not faced with too many difficulties throughout this research. Some difficulties which have been faced are as follows: Especially in the pop bars some individuals have rejected my request for an interview appointment when I have directly asked. In order to make an interview with these people I

had to find some acquaintances who have relations with them. It was hard for me to reach to these people in pop bars. Another difficulty which I have faced in the field was that, especially the informants who were university graduates or students asked me that "people do not want to be named, classified or categorized, so why do you want to do this?" Or they criticized me that "you must live here. The things we live cannot be in the same value with the things you explain 'scientifically'". Except these, I have not faced with difficulties. This research is not simply the research process of my "research matter". At the same time this research has provided an opportunity for me to revive my self-reflexivity and to think on my personal, social, cultural and academic position.

CHAPTER 3

QUESTION OF SPACE

Today, the importance of space in the construction and change of the social life and the negligence of the social theory toward space is being argued. In recent years, the literature on space has been developed. Many theoreticians have contributed to the debate on space which was initiated by geographers. Through these efforts both "aspatiality" of social life has been criticized and the importance of space in the perception of social processes has been emphasized: It has been seriously criticized that the social theory has failed to elaborate on space in comparison with the time. The emphasis made on the conceptualization of space in relation with social categories has also generated the interrogation of the modernization process in this aspect. In this chapter I inquired critical theory of space that is developed as a reaction against the "aspatiality" of social theory in recent decades. Emphasizing the complex relation between the spatial and the social, I examined works of important theoreticians (Lefebvre, 1974, Harvey, 1989, Soja 1998, Massey 1994) who attempt to add space into social theory. Through this way I researched how spatial dimension becomes an explanatory category in social sciences along this process.

3.1. The Spatialization of Social Theory

In 1970s Marxist geographers stressed the relation between the social and the spatial. They have both criticized the spatial determinism in geography and emphasized that there are social, economical and political processes behind spatial processes. They have argued that spatial processes must be studied in wider production and reproduction relations (Harvey 1975-1978). Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey are important figures in the spatializing of

Marxist social theory. Moreover, especially the discourses within postmodern criticism stressed the importance of space in social analysis (Soja, Urry). These discourses criticized the priority of the time against space. The criticism over the negligence of the space has brought about the debates on various issues such as place, difference, identity and otherness.

The theorists who emphasized the importance of space in comprehension and transformation of social processes, in the firsthand, have criticized the hegemonic view of historicism, which the enlightenment project and hence modernization project are based on. Referring to Foucault, Soja says that, today social theory still has an obsession with history. According to him "it has not been entirely replaced by a spatialization of thought and experience" and historical epistemology still pervades modern social theory. Soja claims that, without falling into a mere anti history a direct criticism of historicism is needed for the spatialization of critical thought and political action (Soja, 1989: 7-9).

Historicism is the thought which claims that history has universal laws and goes forward to an indispensable end (telos). In this respect, historicism can be considered as the universalist, teleological vision of history based on the principle of sequentiality that implies totalitarianism and determinism. According to this vision, history is conceptualized as a linear process going forward from one stage to another with certain laws. Societies depend on evolutionary universal laws regardless of any spatial dimension. Thus, to research the continuous stages, evolution and 'progress' of societies becomes very important. Even social phenomena are realized in different times and different places, social theory has ignored these uniqueness - because these are temporary categories- in order to reach universal laws. Each society, stands on a point of this linear evolution and stages of progression are determined by the project of modernity. Western experience, which is singular in fact, defines itself as universal, it dictates and the rest of the world takes it as a model.

Both the theorists of modernization and often their Marxist critics share this vision of history. As a result of this vision of history, space is reduced to a secondary level of category. Soja (1989) argues that, in this view, social phenomena are seen as sequentially arranged in time and require an irreversible progress. Sooner or earlier the universal laws of history will emerge everywhere (in all space) and draw these space to the progress line of the history. More clearly even if some social relations and processes which represent another historical time can be seen in a certain moment and a concrete space, these are all temporary. Differences observed in certain space are not important. The important thing is the uninterrupted course of history that seems to liberate humans. Moreover, such differences and exceptions are perceived as contingencies and space is conceived as a contingent category. From a different view, the progress modernity depends on and the notion of the conquest of space generates the "annihilation of space by time" (Quoted from Harvey, 1985b, by Işık, 1994, 11). The point here is that modernist historicist vision gives primacy to time but sends the space back or even denies it. While time is conceived as an essential and basic descriptive category, space is despised as a "static entity".

In early 1970s, among the Marxist/structuralist geographers David Harvey is an important figure who has endeavored to add the spatial dimension to Marxist urban theory. Harvey explains the political economic theorizing and the space in relation with the capital accumulation. For Harvey, who stresses that the social and the spatial should be conceptualized in their correlation, social production of space and urban process can be understood by reference to the capitalist logic of accumulation.

Harvey remarks some tensions in homogeneous time and space comprehensions which are assumed distinctly as absolute categories in the thought of Enlightenment. Because Harvey claims that these dilemmas related to this theory, representation and practice, are very important for commenting on the steps toward postmodernism (Harvey, 1989, 253).

According to Harvey the intellectuals of Enlightenment were searching a better society. A society, that secured the freedom and prosperity of the humanity. Thus, these intellectuals were to be careful about the rational arrangement of space and time as the preconditions of such a society. Harvey argues that, the Renaissance has brought about a revolution in thought of time and space. With the application of the basic rules of perspective -in the presentations of space in the form of maps-, a process has begun that the ways of seeing has changed fundamentally. In Renaissance thought perspectivism comprehends the world from the individual's point of view and emphasizes the optics, the thing that the individual sees as the opposite of the realities of mythology and religion. He says that perspectivism has constituted a materialistic basis for the principles of Cartesian rationalism, which later would become a part of the project of Enlightenment. (ibid.: 275) The "maps" based on perspectivism, have acquired qualities such as objectivity, practicality and functionality so that in that period some issues such as navigation in sea expeditions, establishment of property rights, political borders, transportation rights have become economically and politically important. Thus, in spatial representation, objectivity has become an appreciated quality. The role of maps in the use of perspectivism in Renaissance was very important. For Harvey there were two outcomes of this: First, was to see earth as a comprehensible wholeness and applicability of mathematical principles in representing earth on a plain surface; second was the idea that the possession of the space is imaginatively possible (ibid.: 242-245).

Harvey suggests that the Renaissance revolution in space and time conceptions constitutes the basis for the Enlightenment project -today for many this is the first step of modernist thought. In this sense, as the space is a natural fact, the conquest and rational ordering of space becomes an important part of the modernist project. The distinction here is: Space and time are not ordered to reflect the greatness of God any more but ordered for the free, active individual who has a conscious and will. Space is ordered to

celebrate and facilitate the freedom of the "human". A new landscape will emerge in order to represent this image. Harvey remarks that, the intellectuals of Enlightenment aimed to control the future through scientific prediction, social engineering, rational planning, rational social ordering and institutionalization of control systems. Precise maps and chronometers have vital importance for the vision of Enlightenment about the organization of the world. In this point Harvey notes the homogenization of time and space by removing them from the local level. In this comprehension of time and space, space is considered as a passive geometry that the objects can be placed on it. However, homogeneous time and space are seen, quite in a "Newtonian" point of view, as a restrictive container for thoughts and actions (ibid.: 249).

For Harvey, the thought of Enlightenment was accommodating such a risk that, an idealized comprehension of time and space has been considered as real. Thus, the unrestricted flow of human experience and practice was being restricted by the rationalized forms. According to him, Foucault here finds the repressive aspect of supervision and control applications of Enlightenment. Harvey thinks that the postmodernist criticism towards "totalizing qualities" and perspectivism of Enlightenment stems from this point.

Moreover, Harvey says that, the conquest and control of space firstly assumes that the space can be dominated through human action. For him, perspectivism and mathematical cartography have realized this. They have done this by comprehending the space as abstract, homogeneous, and universal, considering the space as the fixed container of thought end action. But beside this time and space comprehensions there were other comprehensions. The most determinative point according to him was the private property on land and the commodification and commercialization of the space. Harvey says that with this change, space-time comprehensions have been shaped according to the requirements of capital accumulation processes. Capitalism constantly reproduces the space and time concepts on its own behalf. In this process while time gains preeminence space is

ignored. While some theoreticians relate the negligence of space with the Enlightenment which the modernity is based on, Harvey relates this with capitalism and affirms Enlightenment. Harvey criticizes thought of Enlightenment in various ways but also consider it as positive. He says that, by reasserting the project of Enlightenment, the destructive power of capitalism can be controlled and this can be possible by class struggle.

Emphasizing that there is a dialectical relation between the social structure and time-space comprehensions, Harvey focuses on, how contemporary capitalism has overcome the spatial barriers and has increased the pace of life through these comprehensions. For him, the changes in the meanings of time and space, which capitalism has generated should be evaluated in aspects of the representations of the world in cultural life. Departing from this point, he explains his interpretations about culture by the metaphor of "time-space compression". His cultural explanation is connected with the capitalist development, and having an important place in his cultural theorizing postmodernity is the last stage of capitalism. Harvey claims that, postmodernism is a kind of response to a set of new experiences of time and space and to a new stage of "time-space compression". As a conclusion, the culture takes shape according to the orders of postmodernity and consequently according to the orders of capitalism (ibid.: 284).

Harvey says that, with the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation there have been significant changes in the use and meanings of space and time. For him, during the last two decades, an intensive phase of time-space compression has been experienced. These political economic applications caused some traumatic impacts over human beings in terms of class-power balances and cultural-social life. According to him, in this period -when the feeling of time-space compression is significantly strong- it is not a mere coincidence that postmodern sensitivity sympathizes to confused political, cultural and philosophical trends. Harvey adds that: Since 1970, there is an

increasing interest through geopolitical theory and place aesthetics and -even in social sciences- there is a desire for studying the issue of spatiality[*].

Harvey indicates that the transition to flexible accumulation has been partly realized through new organization forms and technologies. In the 1973 crisis, in order to find solutions to amassing problems, capitalism had to accelerate the speed of circulation and overcome the stiffness of Fordism. Therefore this has required new organizational changes (ibid.: 285). The acceleration of the production speed entails a parallel acceleration in exchange and consumption. Improved communication systems, information flow systems, distribution techniques with the rationalization efforts also enable the commodities to be circulated rapidly in the market. A general acceleration is seen in the circulation period of capital. Its outcome has influenced the postmodern manners of thinking and acting significantly. In short, "the destruction of the space by the time" is placed on the center of the dynamics of capitalism from the beginning and now we are in a new stage of this process. The elimination of spatial barriers by capitalism does not de-emphasize the importance of the space. According to Harvey, in the condition of crisis, the intensified competition has incited capitalists more to the relative locational advantages (ibid.: 293). In other words, diminishing of spatial barriers, provide capitalists with the power of exploiting the smallest spatial differences on their own behalf. Flexible accumulation also has a set of skills to exploit a set of so called contingent geographical features and can reshape these features by integrating them to its own total logic. At the same time, this provides the people and political powers of these places with the possibilities to make these features attractive for the fluid capital. Thus, the characteristics of the space become more emphasized within the increasing abstractions of the space.

For Harvey, in such a process when the global fluidity is very fast, the people would have to be more bound to local places. He adds that, consequently as

---

[*] Gregory and Urry, 1985 and Soja, 1989 are given as examples

a reaction to capitalism place-bound identities are put forward. To establish "place-bound" identities would lead to hazardous outcomes, especially for the working class. Concealing the links which may unite these people, causes them to be separated to diverse localities. Therefore this can result in racist forms of localities.

According to Harvey, as a collage, postmodernity has fragmented, dispersed and transient characteristics. Appearing in philosophical and social thought these characteristics are emphasized as an imitation of flexible production. The emergence of a fragmented politics since 1970s, overlaps with this emphasis. Therefore the individual or collective search of identity can be considered as a search of security in a constantly changing world. As everyone occupies a space, separating them from the others, within the collage of the piled up spatial images they search for a "place identity" (Harvey, 1989, 302).

Smith discusses Harvey's theory of urban change and the metaphors he uses. Focusing on Harvey's (1990) essay "Between Space and Time: Reflections of the Geographical Imagination", he criticizes the technological determinism in his approach. In his essay Harvey indicates that:

> ... the 'roots' of the socially constructed concept of space and time lie in the mode of production and its characteristic social relations… (structurally 'rooted' social constructions of space-time nonetheless) operate with the full force of objective fact to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond (Harvey, 1990, 418 cited by Smith, 2001, 25).

By expressing the issue in this way Harvey elides the materialist-social constructionist debate in urban theory by erasing the very idea that reality itself is socially constructed. Instead, social constructs only have social force because they are 'rooted' in a deeper and more penetrating material reality: The mode of production (Smith, 2001, 25). Smith emphasizes that, as a

historically contingent and socially constructed conceptual category the "mode of production" has a privileged position in Harvey's discourse of "geographical-historical materialism". According to him, through this course of thinking Harvey has been able to derive a conclusion such as "culture is produced not by people's practices, by systemic features of political economy", about the time, space and geographical imagination. Harvey's explanation of cultural revolutions in conceptions of space and time in connection with speedy turnover time of capital is problematic.

> Since, in his view, all individuals and institutions 'necessarily respond' to conceptions of space and time that are functional to the 'underlying' mode of production, history is made not by people and the institutions they create but by structural imperatives (Smith, 2001, 26).

According to Smith, a statement saying "structures make history, people don't", will end up with the mere deconstruction of Marx's well-known anathema. However, Harvey's vision -mentioning that the development of technology and communication systems have changed the space-time relations and forced people both to new material practices and new modes of space representations- is an example of technological determinism. Another critique of Smith is through Harvey's functionalist discussion about the relation between economical globalization and the cultural change. For Harvey, the reason of the survival of capitalism in the 20th century is the reconstruction of the global space economy.

Furthermore Smith criticizes Harvey for constructing his arguments by binary oppositions. Harvey (1989) thinks that, in an insecure atmosphere -where the image flow gains speed and increasingly becomes placeless- people head towards the local one. Soja (1989, 44) argues that, according to Harvey, "the historical geography of capitalism has to be the object of our theorizing, historico-geographical materialism". For Harvey, historico-geographical materialism is something more than the research of empiric outcomes on space or defining the spatial limitations of social action in time. This entails a

complete transformation of critical social theory. Or more specifically, Western Marxism needs to be radically reformulated. Additionally, not only the space itself but the entirety of the relations between space-time and social being should be conceptualized, interpreted in all abstraction levels. According to Soja this, as Lefebvre suggests, is to "resume the dialectic" on a different interpretive terrain.

Soja notes that, after 1950s, Lefebvre is one of the important spatial theoreticians of Western Marxism and emphasizes that he is "the most forceful advocate for reassertion of space in critical social theory" (ibid.: 47). For Soja, along his interrogation/study of Hegel-Marx he is in the location of "objective idealism" in materialist dialectic. He attempts to call attention to the conflicts of thought and conscious as well as the physical grounds of the conflicts in history and concrete reality. Soja argues that, Lefebvre clearly accepts Marx's idea on dominance of material life in production of the action, the thought and the conscious but he refuses to reduce the thought and the conscious to determined "aftergloss" or to a "mechanical ideation". In other words, Lefebvre's work opposes to the dogmatic reductionism in interpretations of Marx. Lefebvre adopts a more flexible, open and cautiously eclectic Marxism (ibid.: 48). In this approach, the relational contradictions between thought and being, the conscious and material life, infrastructure and superstructure, objectivity and subjectivity are tried to be combined. For Soja this effort is very important because Lefebvre is the first who has applied a reformulated dialectical logic in order to combine these tensions. While doing this he attempts to reconceptualize Marxism in theory and practice, so that many sources of materialist spatiality can be found in it.

Lefebvre (1991) points out the relation between three elements of the space: "The perceived, the conceived and the lived (in spatial terms; spatial practice, representation of space, representational space) and these three elements are interrelated dialectically. He emphasizes that the social construction of space should not be only a discursive process but it should change the

30

spatial experiences of people. While discussing the social production of space, Lefebvre attacks the oppositions like discourse-practice, nature-culture, the experienced-the imagined. He argues that the dichotomies indicate nothing anymore and three elements are necessarily for understanding the space. There are continuous interaction and interconnection among these three elements. Relating practice and discourse, Lefebvre heads toward to construct social imagery.

Lefebvre's views are based on the argument of socially produced space - (social) space is a (social) product. Moreover, he emphasizes the connectedness between the social process and the power relations.

> Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be 'purely' formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of past processes whose traces are not always evident on the landscape. Space has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies (Lefebvre 1976b; 31; cited by Soja 1989).

Lefebvre immediately mentions that any representation contributing to the production of the relations of production, is ideological and adds that the ideology cannot be separated from the practice (Lefebvre cited by Saunders, 1981: 152). Lefebvre connects advanced capitalism and the reproduction of the social space. The organization of the space in capitalism is related with the dominant social relations. In the 20th century, for the survival of capitalism these dominant social relations should be reproduced. Especially, the dominant social relations in the space are reproduced by capitalism through instrumentalized spatiality.

> They are reproduced in a concretized and created spatiality that has been progressively 'occupied' by an

31

advancing capitalism, fragmented into parcels, homogenized into discrete commodities, organized into locations of control, and extended to the global scale. The survival of capitalism has depended upon this distinctive production and occupation of a fragmented, homogenized and hierarchically structured space - achieved largely through bureaucratically (that is to say, state) controlled collective consumption, the differentiation of centers and peripheries at multiple scales, and the penetration of state power into everyday life (Soja, 1989, 92).

With the 'urban revolution' Lefebvre refers to the urban dimension of the capitalist production system. The reproduction of system by means of homogenizing and fragmentation of every day life within urban revolution is also a contradictory process. Basic contradiction is the centralization of political power and peripherization of every day life and this has the capacity to weaken the cultural hegemony of capitalism. For Lefebvre hegemony of bourgeoisie is periphery (Saunders, 1981, 155-157). The conclusions of Lefebvre's arguments are: Capitalism does not come to an end with the ending of the production. The final ending of capitalism is realized by the ending of the reproduction of the production relations.

In this view, as Soja emphasizes, there are serious claims about spatiality. Firstly, class struggle should include and focus on "the production of space, the territorial structure of exploitation and domination, the spatially controlled reproduction of the system as a whole". It should incorporate all the people who are dominated and exploited by the spatial organization of capitalism. In industrialized societies, struggle against the system should focus on the control of the production of space and the dominant central-bound peripheral polarization within global capitalist structure. Social revolution cannot be realized without a conscious spatial revolution. Thus, in terms of the emergence of the revolutionary spatial conscious and the spatial practice, the analysis of space becomes a matter of primary importance.

According to Soja, in 1980s, the historicism that neglects space has begun to be defied. Foucault's observation about the emergence of the "epoch of space" has become more acceptable. The material and intellectual context of modern critical social theory has been discussed seriously and has begun to change. A call was made for a long term spatialization of critical imagination. For him, a significant postmodern and human geography takes a shape. In this period he reasserts the explanatory importance of the space within the historical privileged restrictions of this critical thought. Soja (1989) says that in the center of the contemporary theory, history and geography have not shifted yet but there is a new polemic in the theoretical and practical agenda; different ways to see time and space together, interaction of history and geography, vertical and horizontal dimension of being in the world freed from the imposition of inherent categorical privilege.

Soja notes that there are the ones who rationally exaggerate the spatial predominance but he claims that these polemics nevertheless may be concluded as follows; there is a need for a more flexible, more stable critical theory weaving the social production of the space and the construction of history together, namely a theory that weaves the shaping of new human geography and the construction of history together.

Thus, at the same time, new possibilities can be created from this joining, for historical and geographical materialism; a triple dialectic of space, time and social being; a transformative re-theorization of the relations between history, geography and modernity (Soja, 1989, 12). Soja is not sure that the spatiality of critical theory will go to an epistemic explanation. But he mentions that postmodern geography is so progressed enough to change the explanatory territory of critical theory and the material landscape of contemporary world.

Soja notes that his aim is not erasing the historical hermeneutics but to reconstruct the territory of the historical imagination through a critical spatiality. The matter is not merely to insert the spatial emphasis in inherited

critical perspective. Referring to Eagleton (1986, 80) he remarks what the essential aim should be:

> To 'deconstruct' then, is to reinscribe and resituate meanings, events and objects within broader movements and structures, it is, so to speak, to reverse the imposing tapestry in order to expose in all its unglamorously dishevelled tangle the threads constituting the well heeled image it presents to the world (Eagleton 1986, cited by Soja, 1989; 12).

Soja emphasizes that, making the space dependent on the time, the historicism, which is being fed for centuries, has prevented the geographic interpretation of the alterability of social life. For him, by asserting the notion of "heterotopias", Foucault (1967, 1984, 1986) has indirectly presented powerful arguments against historicism, and he focused on "spatiality of social life, an 'external space', the actually lived (and socially produced) space of sites and the relations between them" (Foucault cited by Soja, 1989).

"Heterotopias" of Foucault are characterized as the spaces of modern world. According to Soja, the space in heterotopia, the heterogeneous relational space, is not a substanceless emptiness that is filled merely with informative intuitions. It is not also a warehouse and container of various, phenomenologically defined physical forms. This interpretation overlaps with Lefebvre's space explanation. Lefebvre explains space as:

> ... actually lived and socially created spatiality, concrete and abstract of the same time, the habitus of social practices. It is space rarely seen for it has been obscured by a bifocal vision that traditionally views space as either a mental construct or a physical form -a dual illusion (Lefebvre, cited by Soja, 1989, 17).

This is a challenge against the binary oppositions taking shape within Western metaphysics which is criticized severely by postmodern discourse.

Soja believes that such a bifocal vision should be deconstructed. This dualist approach is based on the polarizations of time-space, subject-object, urban and rural, natural and cultural etc. There should be a different approach that should not reduce one of these terms to the other (its pair). For example to try to perceive society both in time and in space; instead of perceiving space simply as an object which is determined by the subject, to emphasis the constitutive effect of the space on the subject as space is being constituted by the subject, to problematicize the abstract vision of space.

Moreover, Massey remarks that this type of dichotomous thinking is related with the construction of the radical distinction between genders in society and the characteristics those are attributed to these genders. Massey calls attention to feminist theoretician Nancy Jay's emphasis. Jay investigates the social conditions and conclusions of the use of logical dichotomy. She argues "such a mode of constructing difference works to the advantage of certain (dominant) social groups, that almost any ideology based on "A/Not A" dichotomy is effective in resisting change (Jay, 1981, 54 cited by Massey 1994, 256). According to Jay, to comprehend the society with such an ideology makes difficult to think of the possibilities of alternative forms -third possibilities- of the social order. In this manner of thinking the only alternative of the order is disorder. Massey, remarks another problematic aspect of this type of conceptualization. In this logic, only one of the terms (A) is positively formulated. The other term, "not A" is thought as lack in its connection with "A". There are many projections of this logic in recent literature on time-space relation. In this form of conceptualization, time is considered in the position of "A" and the space is considered is in "not A". Consequently, while the time is again defined in change, movement, history and dynamism, the space is simply perceived as the lack of them. Placing the time as the privileged signifier, this definition accepts it as the constructer of the time and the space. Moreover, being defined by the absence, space is charged with a negative sense.

Soja, argues that there should be a spatiality that deconstructs this dualist logic. While the space, the time and the matter are dimensions of physical world, the spatiality, temporality and social being can be considered as the abstract dimensions that combine all the aspects of human existence. For him, each of these abstract existential dimensions specifically emerges as a social construct in the life. Social construct both shapes the empirical reality and is shaped by it. Therefore, as the temporal order of existence concretized in making history, the spatial order emerges from the social production of space. Both reflect and shape the existence in the world. So, in terms of social theory:

> ... how this ontological nexus of space-time being is conceptually specified and given particular meaning in the explanation of concrete events and occurrences is the generative source of all social theory, critical or otherwise? (Soja, 1989, 25).

For this approach Soja insists to emphasize the importance of Lefebvre's "reconfigured dialectic". Since 1970s the development of modern epoch, Western Marxism and Marxist geography has been increasingly realized around spatialized dialectic, so that, this is a demand to make a radical change in our thinking methods about "space, time and being, production of space, the making history and constitution of social relations and practical consciousness" (ibid.: 51). According to him, until 1980s this dialectic has not been used sufficiently both for modern geography and Marxist geography. With its depoliticizing dimension, modern geography has considered space as "neutral" and has avoided "making the spatial contingency". At the times of orthodoxy's rise, Marxists considered this spatiality as imposing a boundary to the class conscious and the desire of history making (ibid.: 57-58). Besides, for Soja, spatializing Marxism is not enough, it is also important to combine history and geography. It is important to see that the space is both a contingent and a conditioning category in this process. He claims that postmodern geography still is inspired from the emancipatory of Western Marxism. But cannot be limited with its opposites any more.

Briefly, Soja asserts some claims about the reassertion of spatiality in today's world that the most serious global economical crisis is being lived and the reconstruction of capitalism has begun. Referring to Lefebvre's, Foucault's and Berger's views on this matter he mentions that:

> … now space more than time that hides things from us, that the demystification of spatiality and its veiled instrumentality of power is key to making practical political and theoretical sense of the contemporary era" (ibid.: 61).

According to him in this era, that a "crisis in modernization of capitalism" is being lived, the long-term modern tradition that incorporates the peripherizing of geographical imagination, began to change by 1960s. He states that postmodernity, postmodernization and postmodernism are most appropriate ways for the control on "perils and possibilities" that emerged in the contemporary world. Through these ways, the contemporary cultural, political and theoretical reconstruction should be defined against the reconstruction of capitalism and the reassertion of the space that is weaved in complexity should be emphasized. To comprehend contemporary capitalism politically and practically, merely with conventional ways do not seem possible. The perspective of Modern Marxism and radical social science has limits in terms of this new approach. For him, reactionary postmodern politics have benefited from these insufficiencies pretty good. Thus, "the debates on the perils and possibilities of postmodernity must be joined, not abandoned for the making of both history and geography is at sake" (Soja, 1989, 6). In order to cope with the economical, political and cultural changes, a real theoretical progress should weave the most applicable theoretical tools and the social theory together.

Doreen Massey is another theoretician who is engaged in conceptualization of space and time. Massey (1994) in her study, "Space, Place and Gender", presents important arguments about the conceptualization of space and time. Massey argues that nowadays space is the current issue and many authors

in various fields focus on the space and associated concepts such as identity, location, place, positionality. She searches the conceptualization of the term "space" as one of the dimensions of the current use of spatial terminology. The first issue she emphasizes is the multiplicity of definitions that is adopted by various people from various positions. According to her many authors assume that the meanings of the terms space/spatial are "clear" and "uncontested", there is an unknown agreement upon this issue. Nonetheless, she calls attention to one of the many and conflicting definitions of space in this literature: This definition deprives space from politics and possibility of politics, it is a conceptualization that de-politicize the realm of spatial. According to her, for example in Laclau's discussion on structure of current era and in his characterization of the spatial, the spatial is considered as lack of any meaningful politics (Massey, 1994, 25).

Massey reminds that Lefebvre insisted on not only "the importance of 'the geometry of space but also its lived practices and the symbolic meaning and significance of particular spaces and spatializations". Agreeing with this view of space she notes a different dimension. Her argument is that "different ways of conceptualizing this aspect of 'the spatial' themselves provide very different bases (or in some cases no basis at all) for the politicization of space" (Massey, 1994, 251). In other terms, she asserts that the issue of conceptualization of space is something more than technical interest and it is one of the ways that we live and conceptualize the world.

She criticizes a view that is very strong and prevalent in current literature in terms of the meanings and the use of the term "space". In this view space is considered as "statis" and completely opposed to time. For example according to Laclau (1990) there is a contrast between the temporal and the spatial. In Laclau's view while the spatial indicates the closed and self determining system, time (or temporality) refers to the form of dislocation and dynamism. Massey states that, according to Laclau, being intrinsic, 'temporal' structure is dislocation and this means essential openness that produces the

possibility of politics. Unlike this, the attempt to represent the world 'spatially', neglects the dislocation. Accordingly, in this approach space is a closure representation. Here Massey emphasizes that in this thought the sphere of spatial becomes an unpromising field: Absence of dislocation, absence of possibility and hence the absence of freedom. According to her Laclau's spatial formulation is the sophistication of the prevalent general space concept (ibid.: 253).

About the conceptualization of space and time Massey has another criticism that is related with natural sciences especially physics. Criticizing this conceptualization that also Laclau agrees with, Massey says that, "it is not clear that strict parallels can or should be drawn between the physical and the social sciences" (ibid.: 261). Here she stresses that: The time and space notion in natural sciences -that point of view depends on classical Newtonian physics- is still used implicitly in social sciences today. In classical physics the observer and the observed world is separated from one another. However, since the space is thought as a passive environment for the objects, space -as the other objects- exists before the interaction.

Stressing that in Einstein's theory, reality is composed of a far-dimensional space-time, Massey asserts an idea that space and time are inextricably interwoven (ibid.: 261). This demand is not an attempt to demolish the differences between the spatial and the temporal dimensions. Besides, accordingly definitions of both space and time in themselves must be constructed as the result of interrelations. Thus, it means that there is no question of defining space simply as not-time (ibid.: 261). Here she reaches and emphasizes a point that space is not absolute but relational.

With these arguments she remarks that an alternative view of space must be based on a "four-dimensionality of things". Thus this way of thinking allows the relational conceptualization of space and time. Moreover, for a new view of space "we need to conceptualize space as constructed out of

interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales, from the most local level to the most global" (ibid.: 264). Explaining that before the thought of "spatial is socially constituted" has been accepted she emphasizes that now the thought "the social is necessarily spatially constituted too" must be recognized. According to her all the social facts and relations have a spatial form. However, "the spatial" can be considered as the multiplicity of social relations along all spatial scales. These relations range from global finance relations, global telecommunications to every day life, workplace and the household. In this context space cannot be considered as a plain, a dead surface. For Massey this way of thinking means to consider "the geometry of ever shifting social-power relations. This requires to see the real multiplicities of space-time. Emphasizing a conceptualization saying that space is created by the social relations, Massey states that:

> Space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation. This aspect of space has been referred to elsewhere as a kind of 'power geometry' (Massey, 1994, 4).

This is the opposite of the thought that considers space as the opposite of the history and accordingly depoliticized. The spatial is open to politics, it is the necessary element of it and "space is politics in the broadest sense of world". (Massey, 1994, 4)

Massey argues that, to think space as such, challenges to some kind of conceptualizations about place. Remarking that exclusivist place claims have been appeared since the late 1980s she asserts that also in the academic literature this kind of particular place view has been highlighted. In the academic literature there is a comprehension of a bounded, singular, fixed, unproblematic place and a tendency of identifying place with nostalgia. This occurs as an opposition to history and progression (ibid.: 5). According to her, this partly depends on the thought that considers space as statis. At the

same time, since the space as Massey asserts, is constituted by the social relations of all scales, in this sense place is considered as "a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings". (Massey, 1994, 6)

In brief, according to Massey the characterization of space generates the research of geography of social relations. This emphasizes both the social construction of the space and the related power relations. For Massey the dominant debate of today is "What is happening to the spatial form of social relations at the moment?". She adds that "there is no getting away from the fact that the social is inexorably also spatial" (Massey, 1994, 265).

In brief, especially in last 30 years, after the II. World War world witnessed the process of a fast economical, political, social and cultural change. These developments compelled new searches in the fields of science philosophy and ideology. Parallel to these changes important modifications and new discourses in terms of space and the formation of space, have been generated. In this process various concepts and theories about space have been developed. Today's debates about space aim to present a paradigm which explains new developments in last decades better. Accordingly, criticizing different ways of dealing with space they aim to establish a new framework which does not ignore space. In this chapter presenting the theoretical debates about space which have been developed since 1970s, I discussed current spatial paradigms. In these debates the following points have been especially stressed: Time and space as the fundamental dimensions of social being should be conceptualized. Spatiality, temporality and social being are three aspects of human existence and they interact with each other. These three aspects and the relation between them construct social life. For this reason the trio of space-time-social being should be conceptually specified in order to explain concrete event and occurrences. Hence, as a dimension which explains human existence, it is important to add spatiality in contemporary social theory as an explanatory category.

Spatialization of social theory enables the space to be considered as an important determinant of social life and this is a theoretical development that instills appropriate conceptual tools and insight in social theory. In general, critical theory of space emerging as a reaction against the "aspatiality" of social theories in last three decades, is inquired in this chapter. In this sense, these theoretical debates which consider spatiality as an explanatory dimension and emphasize the interrelation between the social and the spatial inspired this thesis.

This study focuses on the relation between spatial, social and cultural, and needs to inquire culture that occurs in/along space. How we understand and explain urban culture today? How can we conceptualize various social life experiences and cultural practices in the city? Within which theoretical approaches is urban culture discussed? In the next chapter I will seek the answers of these questions.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN CULTURE

The interest in urban culture has been started by the early urban sociologists from Chicago School. They have researched the social relations -that reinforce everyday life- in different segments of city and have considered them is modern urban experiences. However, for a long time urban studies could not utilize such approaches and stagnancy has been seen in urban culture studies. Some sociologists even rejected this approach considering it as ideological (Savage and Warde, 1993, 96). Savage and Warde argue that, the refreshment in cultural studies -especially the debates on modernity and postmodernity- of the last decades have resulted in an increase of important studies researching the experience of urban living (Castells, 1983, Wilson, 1991; Jules, 1990, Harvey 1985b). According to them urban culture studies have come back to the agenda. For them there are two notable approaches seen in urban culture studies. The first approach makes a generic definition about urban culture and the second approach emphasizes that every city has its specific culture. Second approach inquires the city and the process giving different meaning to the cities.

Savage and Warde (1993) point out an approach considering the city as a text to understand urban culture. This approach assumes that, this text is constructed in a particular way. It has certain authors and established by various procedures. A series of various meanings embedded in this text are subject to various readings. Thus, the processes in which cities have acquired various meanings could be inquired. This approach reminds of "post-structuralism" and especially that of Derrida. With the well-known words of Derrida "there is nothing outside the text". According to them "within this approach texts may be taken out of their context, and textual analysis

becomes a way of reading 'clever' interpretations into a given piece of work" (Savage, Warde, 1993, 122).

At this point they criticize such a cultural analysis since it is "descriptive" and "relativist". Instead of this, an analysis should research how the text is constructed, what are the preferred meanings and how different audiences read the same thing in different ways.

In this chapter it is researched that how the cities and particular place in it are constructed, how they obtain particular meanings and how these meanings are established and interpreted by different urban residents. In this context the architectural approach which seeks answers to this question has been inquired. Social construction of urban meaning which this thesis is based on, has been discussed in the framework of Lefebvre's and Shileds' works. In addition, taking the big cultural changes in contemporary society into consideration, theoretical debates which explain urban culture in relation with postmodernity have been examined.

4.1 Architectural Approach

Different approaches should be utilized in order to understand and to read the constitution of urban culture. The first approach is the architectural approach. In this approach the variety of possible urban meaning is attributed to different architectural forms and styles. The thing which distinguishes a city from another is its different buildings and its architecture. Influenced by this approach Mumford thinks that social cultural values are embedded in architectural forms. He asserts that by researching the urban form, it will be possible to reach to the social cultural values of a society of a certain period (Mumford, 1938, cited by Savage and Warde, 1993). In this approach, emphasis is on the meaning which is located to the city by its founders and developers.

Therefore, for Savage and Warde this view has considerable ambiguity. A disputatious point of this approach is the assumption that particular architectures are "signs" of certain ages. Bu it is discussed that built environment is created by specific interests of social groups and conflicts. By whom, in which processes and along which struggles have the meanings we have derived by the urban built forms formed? Whose meanings and values are these? A text reading which is removed from its wider social cultural context is problematic. Reading the urban built environment in such a manner is open to many criticisms.

Harvey argues that "the built form cannot be read simply as the product of an age. Rather it is product of specific social groups struggling for cultural hegemony and social and political power" (Harvey 1985c cited by Savage and Warde, 1993). To study space by connecting it with the power relations, presents opposite arguments to this approach. In Mumford's approach certain artifacts are presented as if they represent the entire society and an epoch. Massey (1994) emphasizes that any place and its identity are constructed out of the coexistence of conflicting social relations. Ross (1988) states that "place is a terrain of political practice". In this context to read any built form as it represents the social and cultural values of entire society seems problematic. Moreover, it should be considered that in the construction of the cities and in their acquirement of meanings not only the architectural forms but also other cultural projects have a role.

4.2 Social Construction of Urban Meaning

Another approach is "social construction of urban meaning", and says that urban meaning is constructed socially. It is accepted that the theoretical origins of this approach lie in the work of Lefebvre. Lefebvre emphasizes that the meanings are given to the cities through the social and cultural processes. He remarks that place has cultural images rather than the built environment. As I have mentioned before Lefebvre says that in the capitalist

society space is commodified instrumentally (Lefebvre, 1971). Under the capitalist conditions not the use value of space but its exchange value becomes primal. This also indicates -in a sense- the demolition of the spatial differences and the abstracted state of the space. Being the subservient of capitalist market the qualitative characteristics and differences are reduced to quantitative ones. In this context the struggle for the images of the space gains importance. In order to attract capitalist entrepreneurs, the meanings of the places are reconstructed symbolically. Lefebvre does not connect the urban meaning only with cultural images. Emphasizing the dialectical relation between three dimensions -the lived, the perceived and the imagined- of the space he notes the importance of people's actual place experiences in the evaluation of the place.

In this approach we meet Shields as an important figure. Shields, develops the concept of "social spatialization" and discusses the social construction of space by social imaginary: "Social spatialization includes not only habitual practices and representations of environments but also subtle spatial structuring of the social imaginary" (Shields, 1996, 281). According to him, in this way people begin to consider the world by built environment. This is now "the second" nature which erases the "first" one. This provides a frame which enables us to question the universe and social relations. For him this cultural form is social spatialization.

> It has order only for the fleeting time of analysis. 'We do not live in abstract categories, but in the lived space of concrete abstraction'; an abstract form which nonetheless has concrete implications, such as commodity. Hence the shortsightedness of both a simple empricism which accepts the city as reality, not representations, and of cynical idealism which dismisses the 'equivalent to real' status of representations of the city. The city is a concept with a very concrete affect (Shields, R., 1996, 231).

Shields researches the formation of urban meaning by studying the place-myths which are constructed for different places in novels, popular

publications and media. Urban representation is not a simple fiction. If a representation is explained poetically, the interaction of people is a poem which is constructed by economics exchange, social events and their interactions. The success of urban representations depends on the integration of theory and everyday life, to produce a new meaning and to overcome old deadlocks. It should overcome "the dualism erected between urban representations and 'real city'" (Shields, 1996, 245). This new analysis should resist to monological coherence and closure. In other words this analysis should think the representation as a chosen deceptive vision of the city. This kind of analysis causes a dialogical approach about the spatialization of the urban.

While discussing the binary oppositions Shields questions the opposition between representation and 'real', and in this context the opposition of "the urban" and "the city". Binary oppositions "such as urban-rural, public-private (Derrida), official-unofficial (Benjamin, de Certeau, Bakhtin) and state-nomad (Deleuze and Guattari) are shown to be looked together in representation. All these approaches question the specificity of 'the urban' conceived in term of 'the city'" (Shields, 1996, 246). Shields states that every representation always tries to unite real and non-discursive material of everyday life. Moreover, representation includes dialogical contradictions under tension and this unites the discursive and the non-discursive. Shield claims that representing the city is a paradoxical project on a ground which changes continuously. In representation, certain sides are presented as visible as the other ones are not visible. "Practices of representation are exercises of discursive definition, non-discursive presentation and of power" (Shields, R, 1996, 246). According to Shields, if the city and representing city is considered as text, this text can be read by writing. Like Lefebvre, he says that the imaginary and the lived cannot be considered separately from each other. He emphasizes that 'trans-discursive city' overcomes the divisions and separations between discursive and non-discursive (practices), the empirical and the fabricated, the real and the imagined, the factual and the fictive.

47

Shields follows Lefebvre and plans to overcome the polarization between the practice and the discourse by social spatialization. It is not clear and recondite how this concept will function in daily life, in practice. Does Shield give the primacy to the discourse while trying to overcome the dichotomy of practice and discourse?

Lefebvre's project and inspiring from his studies Shields' effort to build a bridge between the real and the imagined is failed according to some thinkers. Savage and Warde say that, Lefebvre, in this project "has proved too hard to put into operation empirically". Moreover, they criticize that Lefebvre's "the construction of place in representation and at the level of everyday life has not been demonstrated, and so long as this link has not been made" (Savage, Warde, 1993, 132).

At the same time, today Lefebvre's idea has inspired many studies and researches in many disciplines especially in urban sociology. For example, Harvey (1988) and Giddens (1981) have utilized Lefebvre's notion of "socially constructed space". Soja (1989) indicates that he has put the dialectic relation that was mentioned by Lefebvre to the center in order to explain the relation between the spatial and the social. Similarly, developing Lefebvre's notion of "socially constructed space" Massey, explained today's relations between "place, culture and globalization" with specific examples (1995). In her essay, "The conceptualization of place" Massey explains her notion of place that she connected with such a space notion. She studies the disruptions to the notion of place that emerged recently, especially in many countries of the first world, in result of increasing globalization and time-space compression (1995, 51).

4.3 Urban Culture and Postmodernity

In the late 20th century there have been many changes in economical, social and cultural life and accordingly the ways to analyze these shifts have

changed. Some name this process as postmodern-times and some others sees it as the continuity of modernism. Some thinkers explain this process with the changes in capitalism (Featherstone, 1991, 8). Referring to culture, Jameson (1991) considers the term of postmodernism as a cultural logic of capitalism that has generated the transformation of cultural realm in contemporary society (Jameson 1991). He connects modernism with the monopolistic stage of capitalism and postmodernism with the late capitalism stage after Second World War. He explains the great transformation in culture with the model of infrastructure-superstructure. Jameson remarks the dominant/basic role of "decentralized global network" of today's multinational capitalism in distribution of culture to all social world (Featherstone, 1991, 15). According to him we are all surrounded with signifiers and messages thus we could say that everything in our life is cultural.

Jameson considers postmodernism as a general cultural frame which includes opposite trends. In this frame the old distinction between high culture and mass culture or popular culture has corroded. Postmodernism aims to demolish the borders between these cultures. At the same time for him, postmodernism is a concept that signifies a new period.

Its mission is to concealingly connect the new tendency in culture with the emergence of new social life which is described as to become modern, post-industrialism, consumption society, media society of demonstration or multi national capitalism. New consumption styles, gradually increasing rhythm of changes in fashion and styles, putting the television -generally media- to social life as never seen before, replacement of old urban-rural area, center-periphery tensions with the tension locality and universality, the growth of motorway networks are some of the aspects that show us that modernism has broken of radically from the pre-war society by the disappearance of a sense of history, our contemporary society forgets its own history gradually. A continuous change destroys the traditions. Media consumes the stories,

serves to forget and functions as a mechanism of historical amnesia (Jameson, 1991, 16-18).

Scott Lash (1988) mentions that postmodernism includes de-differentiation and the domination of the figural. According to him these constitute the basis for postmodern regimes of signification. Lyotard announces that the meta-narratives have been terminated. According to his view every kind of narrative gains a meaning in the specific context and "language games". For him grounding these, according to general principles, modern view neglects the contextual dimension of the knowledge. So that the knowledge becomes totalitarian. Harvey (1989) connects today's thought of the change of social world with 'flexible accumulation'. Analyzing the spatial flexibility of multinational corporations he marks the confusion that the postmodern social and political fragmentation has created.

Although there is a serious confusion and a disagreement about definition of postmodern condition, it is still possible to find some common points. Some of them are; approaching to scientific knowledge with doubt, an inclination to particular practices rather than universal generalizations in every dimension, in explanation of the social structure the slip of the emphasis from the economical functional explanations to cultural, aesthetical contexts, spread of consumption culture, aestheticization of every day life and the influence of the media in this, are a general impulse for cultural declassification.

Featherstone (1991, 34) says that postmodernism can be seen as the mark or a harbinger of a more comprehensive variety of the changes in the production, consumption and circulation of a more extensive postmodern culture, cultural goods and practices. He adds that as a result may be these tendencies reach to the ranges that comprise an epoch and thus shows a move towards postmodernity. Before beginning to debate if our period of time is postmodern or not, or a break off from the modernity we can overview the implications of the postmodern condition.

Featherstone emphasizes that, it is disputatious to claim that the term of "postmodernism" is beyond the modern. But this term notes some central issues. These indicate the styles in practices of art and popular culture, regimes of signification and in everyday life. Therefore he notes that the views which claim that postmodernism has a populist spirit that damages the hierarchy and challenges to the monopolist structure of established symbolic hierarchies, should be discussed. According to him in order to understand the changes seen in the urban culture and the urban lifestyles it is important to discuss the rhetoric of postmodernism.

Lefebvre (1971) says that, in modern capitalist world cultural life submitted to the logic of commodity, exchange value became more important than the use value. Going beyond Lefebvre's view, Baudrillard mentions commodification of signs. He sees postmodern culture as the culture of consumer society. Baudrillard's statements about the consumption culture go further. He (1983a, 1983b) notes the roles of the notion of "commodity-sign" and the manipulation of the signs in the capitalist society. According to him in the consumption culture, signs are floating free from the objects through the media. In this context signs become ready to be used in the multiplicity of the relations. Now the consumption is not the consumption of the use values any more but the consumption of the signs. Overproduction of signs and reproduction of images and simulations lead to the loss of stable meaning. Thus occurs the aestheticization of the reality. In this sense, enchanting in the flow of endless, amorphous juxtapositions the masses lose their stable sense.

In terms of the confusion that the people live in postmodern culture, there is a similarity between Baudrillard's view and the approaches of Harvey (1989) and Jameson (1991). Harvey focuses on the experience of time-space compression, symptomatic of the cultural turn to postmodernity. In his explanation, ordinary people are put in a state of disoriented consciousness by the logic of capitalist accumulation. People confuse because of

postmodern fragmentation and in this confusion they feel an inability to focus on the world. According to Jameson, today's space of postmodern capitalism is a schizophrenic, fragmented space. This space is a collage without a space integrity consisting of many fragmented pieces. According to him, people have a generalized cognitive incapacity "to map the great global, multinational and de-centered communication network in which we found ourselves caught as individual subjects" (Jameson, 1991, 25). He says that, today we are surrounded with rapidity, new relations, new networks which we are not prepared for mentally. So the "cognitive mapping" is a strategy for the individual to cope with this fragmentation. For him, in order to overcome this situation individual should map this space which is formed as a result of the unequal development of capitalism and convert it to the spaces of resistance.

How can we interpret the projection of the prevailing communication technology and the logic of consumption in contemporary city as it is emphasized by the above mentioned theories? How the characteristics that are considered as "postmodern experience" or "consumption culture" or "the condition of postmodernity" or "cultural logic of late capitalism" and generally formulated in connection with the globalization processes that refer to a change in cultural life and modes of signification, are experienced in the contemporary city? What are the referents of this developments related to the notion of place. According to Jameson, urban, spatial experiences clarify the relation between today's capitalist structures and cultural forms, postmodern experiences. The emphasis of postmodern debates on differentiation notes the importance of spatial/urban differentiation and specificity. Featherstone (1991, 99) discusses the relation of postmodern experience and urban context:

> It is apparent that the old notion of premodern city cultures which implies certain cities are sedimented in tradition, history and arts, housing famous buildings and landmarks which provide a strong sense of place and collective identity -or the 'de-cultured' city, the modernist functional economic city whose spatial form is dominated

by the gird-iron layout and high-rise modernist architecture- both give way to the postmodern city which marks a return to culture, style and decoration, but within the confines of a 'no-place space' in which traditional senses of culture are de-contextualized, simulated, reduplicated and continually renewed.

Featherstone adds: As the consumption cannot be separated from the cultural signs and imagery, the city can be considered as a consumption center. In addition, urban lifestyles, everyday life and leisure activities are affected by postmodern tendencies in different ways. His emphasis here is not only on the architecture described as postmodern but also on the general "style soup" within the city and "stylistic hotchpotch" (1991, 99).

In postmodernism discourse, some approaches that stem from architecture, criticize modernist architecture in terms of urban culture, because of its uniform standard practice (Jencks, 1984). According to this approach, creating a universal architectural style that is independent from the context modern architecture neglects the multi meaningfulness and variety of today's urban landscape. Thus for them, postmodern architecture is a challenge to modernist architecture -that is considered as to create a one dimensional environment with one identity. At the same time it seems that in today's global communication society it is not easy to say that the process, which is labeled as postmodern architecture, would strengthen the differences peculiar to place. In today's architectural samples we may often encounter with the presentation of the pieces that taken from different histories and different cultures, in an eclectically way. It is possible to experience the features of different places synchronously in a single building.

Harvey (1989) thinks that postmodernism expresses a break off from the modernist thought in the realm of architecture and urban design. According to him, while modern urban design insists on the necessity of focusing on large scale, technologically rational and effective urban planning, postmodernism sees the urban fabric as fragmented, past forms are piled up, at the top

today's uses are situated as a collage. For him, postmodernists are engaged in design not in planning and they tend to arrange bits and pieces (certain segments) of the city instead of the entire metropol. It simply aims to be sensitive to vernacular traditions, local historical accounts and individual wishes, needs and fancies. Thus, it creates specialized architectural forms right for the taste of the client. These may be confidential, personalized spaces or the festival of the spectacle. All of these are realized by using eclectic architectural styles (Harvey, 1989, 66). According to him depending on the organization of the urban space, city provides us a ground to think and consider a set of possible sensitivities and social practices. Moreover, the built environment -that it is very important for the formation of cultural sensitivities- is an element of the complicated urban life (ibid.: 67).

There are various views emphasizing that today's urban space is significantly different from the past (Harvey, 1985a, 1989, Jameson, 1991, Zukin, 1991, Featherstone, 1991). These views point out that this difference compromises not only the built environment but also all the dimensions of cultural life. According to them culture of consumerism and postmodernism corresponds to the same process.

Sharon Zukin (1991), formulates the changes and the tendencies that are seen in the urban culture and urban lifestyles with the notion of "postmodern city". In this notion postmodern city is considered as an aspect/part of the consumption. In Zukin's notion gentrified areas are important. The process of gentrification points out that in a certain area, reconstruction of the socio-spatial relations is established by new investments. This process leads the inner city areas to become the areas of tourism and cultural consumption. These areas are gentrified by the members of middle class and purified from the industry. The process of gentrification leads to the redevelopment of the inner city areas. Additionally in the new middle class it creates an area for the new lifestyles that are open to cultural commodities and experiences, sensitive to "stylization of life" (Featherstone, 1991).

"During the past 30 years, the meaning of 'urban lifestyles' has changed from fairly stable prerogative of social status (Weber, 1946) to an aggressive pursuit of cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1984, quoted by Zukin 1998, 826). According to Zukin, this search has made the individuals to head towards various cultural consumptions. In terms of the cities, this leads to the development of for-profit and not-for-profit cultural institutions. These changes have brought along many structural changes. For her, attention of urban lifestyle reflects a lot of changes. Various actors have appeared in public space and the cultural field, 'alternative' lifestyles have become more visible in the big cities. These groups have caused particular effects in the definition of 'urban' culture (Zukin, 1995; Mort 1996). Moreover, attention to lifestyles has lead to new and quite visible consumption spaces. Such as restaurants, art galleries, coffee bars. Additionally, along with the advertising sales, real estate development and entertainment, this has given a birth to new, complex retail strategies. As a result, attention to urban lifestyles has led the city government to focus on the visual consumption of the public sphere and to aestheticize this with the private groups. (Zukin, 1998). Here Zukin emphasizes an argument that; these changes in city's physical and symbolic fabric have changed the previous concept of consumption. According to her, consumption cannot be considered as "residual category of urban political economy" any more. Also "cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production but as landscapes of consumption (Zukin, 1991, 825). She adds that, most of the urban consumption still includes the satisfaction of everyday needs, but many new urban consumption spaces are related with leisure, travel and culture fields. Zukin points out that the new emphasis on urban consumption, has increased the competition between the cities that provide "aesthetic" products as well as the mass produced goods. According to her, the urban redevelopment politics reflect a 'cultural turn' in advanced industrial societies. This goes parallel with the inflation of image production. Additionally, this process has increased the importance of the symbolic economy that based on the abstract fields such as information and culture -eg. art, food, music and tourism.

> The symbolic economy is based on the inter related
> production of such cultural symbols as these and the
> spaces in which they are created and consumed -
> including offices, housing, restaurants, museums and
> even the streets (Zukin, 1995).

Zukin emphasizes that lifestyles are not only the conclusion but also the basic source of the economic development (Zukin 1998, 826). Zukin explains the urban lifestyles by relating with the model of modernity the urban redevelopment strategies, urban politics and cultures.

After 1990s, Zukin emphasizes that the consumption is the medium and the engine of the urban social changes. He says that, reorganization of world market has increased and expanded the functions of consumption for the urban economy. New consumption spaces have also become the places where the individuals manifest their complex social identities. The manifestation of identities emerges through markers of gender, ethnicity, social class, cultural style. Most of these markers are created and spread in the cities, streets, photography studios, televisions. Most of the creators of these markers live in the cities and some of them are the leading actors of "urban lifestyles". Additionally Zukin indicates that, in the last 30 years people are living in the images, so that these images are oriented by the politics of identity and "lifestyle magazines". But the variety of their lives is repressed by the standardization of the consumption spaces. Zukin says that, in the frame of urban consumption, physical space products and the symbols should be connected. The analytical frame also suggests that there should be a connection between the built environment sociability and urban lifestyles. Zukin mentions that using the frame of gentrification and especially focusing on urban middle class -focusing on their tastes and preferences in cultural consumption- she tries to establish this connection.

Zukin says that, the diversity of "urban lifestyle" is considered as source for the cities to increase their cultural capital, since it provides cultural vitality and economic renewal. In 1960s elected officials were able to criticize non-

traditional arrangements, but today they accept the employment provided by the new cultural industries with pleasure. Because they consider them as city's relative advantages in "symbolic economy". In addition she stresses that "cities" receptivity to "destination retail" sites and entertainment facilities have lured them, moreover, into dependence on property developers and multinational corporations that share the same, endlessly repeated vision" (Zukin, 1998, 837). For example there are hard-rock cafés almost in every big city.

She points that, as being interaction areas consumption spaces on the one hand enables the juxtaposition of various urban lifestyles, allow a "hybrid" urban culture on the other hand leads to a standardization. The competition between the companies who are affected by this new environments and cultural capitals and the competition between the cities to attract these companies lead to "a multiplicity of standardized attractions". Despite the increase of uniqueness claims this process reduces the uniqueness of the urban identities. Accordingly, the spread of "urban lifestyles" generates the corrosion of historical spatial differences.

Despite of all, according to Zukin, urban cultural diversity reflects a paradox of polarization magnificently. Becoming more similar to other places cities continue to attract both the extreme poor and the extreme rich. City's ability to cultivate the urban lifestyles is may be the most important product of the city (ibid 837). Zukin's views about urban culture present very important arguments for the changes in contemporary urban experiences. One of the points which is emphasized in her approach is the increase of the importance of the city's cultural capital and city's image. Another point is that the cities have become consumption centers in contemporary society. Furthermore, parallel to the expansion of the cultural field in a general sense, the increase of cultural products and the expansion of information market, the consumption have increasingly mediated with the cultural images. This refers to the consumption of the signs.

As Baudrillard (1983a) indicates the important thing here is the increasing importance of the symbolic dimension of the goods in the satisfaction obtained from consumption. In this context Bourdieu's emphasis attracts attention; the notion of cultural capital is stated by the wealth sources that does not constitute the economical capital but can be converted to economical values through various ways. In this context, if we assume that the cities have become consumption centers, we can think that in order to attract the capital and to be attractive, cities try to increase their cultural capitals (Urry 1995, Harvey 1988). According to Zukin's view, if we assume that the city is the place for postmodern consumption, the styles of leisure time consumption in the city become notable. In such consumption places the tendency is towards more spectacular, popular and direct consumption styles than the high culture, also leisure time activities and experiences that include style, fashion, cultural imagery have increased. In this context it is thought that promoting differences and diversity postmodernity renders modernity's hierarchical structure and its values egalitarian. In other words it can be thought that "popular" culture is appreciated instead of "high culture". But a problem arises here: According to Sarıbay the popular is the culture of community. To consider totally the cultures of all communities as an expression of diversity may lead to contradictory results. As a result, promoting egoism, privilege and inequality, this approach may legitimate the ground for the communities to dominate one another (Sarıbay, 2002, 45).

Another writer who has the postmodern city formulation is Harvey. But his explanations on popular consumption of postmodern cultural production seem restricted with condemnation and negation. According to him in confusing postmodernized culture, there is a transition from modernity that has relatively stable aesthetics to fluid, unstable postmodern aesthetics. Postmodernity is characterized by spectacle, fashion and the commodification of cultural products (Harvey, 1989, 56). Associating "the condition of postmodernity" with the last stage of capitalism explains urban development completely with various global narratives of epochal

transformation. Within this theory the urban process is considered as a process reflecting the global development of capitalism. According to Harvey, along with the increase of spatial mobility by flexible accumulation, "new urban space" has become a placeless city. He says that cities and regions are the production areas of accelerating capital accumulation. He considers hypermarket, shopping mall, superhighway network as the characteristics of urban development in 1990s. Smith criticizes Harvey's view that sees cities as warehouses of "social surplus value" Smith argues that, in Harvey's urban theory cities are basic part of the "spatial fix" for capitalism to survive and reproduce itself. It is these functional imperatives of capital accumulation rather than any actors or agents offering contested representations of the urban future that are invested with historical agency (Smith, 2001, 24). Briefly Harvey's functionalist explanations about "the urban process" reduce urban politics finally to the requirements of capital accumulation. For Smith, his explanations neglect the situational contingencies and political processes that would imperil capitalist development and generate new social changes and urban transformation (Smith, 1994, 24).

Steven Connor argues that Harvey's explanations on city are constructed on binary oppositions. In his view political economy is considered as "grounding, depth, radicality and foundation" while the cultural is considered as "airy insubstantiality or miasmatic opacity". "The view of culture as an epiphenomenal result of deeper political-economic determinants is most clearly evident in consciousness and the urban experience (1985a), where Harvey sketches out a theory of urban culture which reduces cultural practices to effects of underlying political-economic determinants (Connor, 1993, 230 cited by Smith, 2001, 28).

Smith emphasizes that Harvey's analysis of cultural production assumed for postmodern epoch is concerned with elite cultural production in the fields such as media, art, literary within post-enlightenment West. In Harvey's approach there is nothing concerning cultural and spatial practices created

by the ordinary people's daily life experiences within different places and time. According to him, Harvey's reply will be insufficient and typical to the question of "how differently situated social actors experience and act upon the change of time-space compression" (ibid.: 29). For him, Harvey with "a non-autonomous interpretation of culture" "fails to grasp that identities and interests are socially constructed outcomes of political process rather than pregiven positions derived from the prevailing mode of economic production and its dominant cultural logic" (Smith, 2001, 46).

The ones adapting postmodernism contrary to Harvey's view about the culture approve the changes in urban culture. They assume that the innovations and historical events that postmodernism refers to, challenge the break of the existing cultural hierarchies and in this sense that mark that a new period is being lived. Featherstone suggests that the supporters of postmodernism assume that a dramatic transformation of culture occurs, in which deconstruction of symbolic hierarchies, the place and more playful, popular, democratic impulses being come out.

He points out that these shifts claimed by postmodernists are seen in the new urban space: More aestheticization of city fabric and the daily life of the people, development of new consumption and leisure spaces, the processes of gentrification. Moreover, the decline of the identification with the neighborhood and the place, less stable frames of social relations, less strict tendencies and damage of the classifications are some of the postmodern tendencies. Additionally, it is asserted that some of the new urban lifestyles have more capacity to de-centralize the identity, to engage in an aestheticized game and no control on emotions. Today it is claimed that, new cultural capital, the symbolic experiences in a larger sense are presented through financial power, communication and information flow (ibid.: 109).

Featherstone objects to this excessively simplified scheme that defending the hierarchies in the social life have repelled. He emphasizes that, the

classifications, hierarchies, segregations within the city still continue. However, albeit implicitly new generalizations about urban culture are presented in the postmodern discourse saying that meta narratives have terminated. Can all the above mentioned changes be seen as the natural results of the cultural multiplicity that has been generated by postmodernity?

In the postmodern discourse a total value is attributed to all of the differences. All interests, all the views and all the diversities are greeted and their legitimacy is apparently accepted. Are all the differences really recognized without any problems and contradictions in the city? Modernity is intensively criticized by postmodernists to neglect the particularities belonging to urban space and to homogenize the differences. But postmodern approaches produce an alternative view that "really" reveals the spatial differences? Or, is it more comprehensible to mention a "sameness" which is created by the spread of communication networks? One of the reflections that emphasize the issues such as identity and difference of postmodern discourse in the city is segregation. It is assumed that, the feeling of belonging to a place makes the production of different identities possible. But at the same time when poverty comes together with unemployment the abandonment of unified public politics, it can cause a spatial segregation. While expecting richness from the cultural differences, walls and security systems separate groups from each other. Life styles and political preferences of these groups are separated from each other. For example excluding the "other", new rich are living in gentrified areas. In these areas new life styles are growing, while the daily life is being aestheticized these areas are separated from the outsiders by strict boundaries. In this context the postmodern assumption saying that there are distinct changes in urban boundaries seem suspicious. In some places clear physical boundaries disappear but in some others, depending on power relations new boundaries have emerged among the peoples and places.

Featherstone emphasizes that there are some tendencies that make the interpretations about life style, fashion, leisure engagements difficult. Also since 1960s there is a general informalization and a flexibility in the codes of behavior. Values of different cultures beyond West are taken into consideration. But despite of all democratizing tendencies, status differences still exist. Accordingly, using the information about consumption goods the people become closer to some while they exclude others (Featherstone, 1991, 110). This case call our attention to the power relations and hierarchic structures -and to the newly constituted structures if the other hierarchies and classifications have been damaged- spread along the space. If we return back to Lefebvre's argument that the space is constituted socially and his view that urban meaning in political is a tool, it gains importance to research the contradictions, conflicts and negotiations of the various elements within the constitution of the meanings of places. In this context we can say that, the places and their meanings constituted in political processes and popular use of places become united with their meanings/identities.

In this section different views about "postmodern city" are explained. In spite of a common opinion on the appearance of important urban changes, it is suspicious and disputatious that these changes can be labeled as postmodern. Although they have common aspects these explanations about the constitution of urban meaning, emphasize the different characteristics of the city through different interpretations. In this aspect there are two important points. First, in general, the constitution of culture/meaning and particularly the constitution of urban culture changes from city to city, community to community. Namely, it is problematic to claim that there is an universal culture for all the cities. Second, not only the production of the meaning but also its consumption, reproduction and interpretation vary along the social relations. In this sense, researching the particular cultures -cultures of different cities- seems important. Assuming that every culture is unique and has peculiar characteristics this study will try to interpret the constitution and retrieval processes in relation with the place.

In this chapter, the implications of the changes which have been occurred in last decades, on urban space and urban culture have been discussed. These fundamental shifts in social, cultural and economic fields, are usually related with the deepening and accelerating of globalization process. It is assumed that with the globalization process postmodern consumption culture spreads along the world. In other words, it is assumed that a consumption culture in global scale goes parallel with the expansion of the power of USA on world's economical system (Mattelart, 1979 cited by Featherstone 1991)

It is obvious that globalization process is too wide and can be discussed in various fields and contexts. In the following chapter, within this study, I will research the influences of globalization process on relation of space-culture. In accordance with the perspective of this study I will inquire this issue through relational view -which states that there is a multidimensional relationship between space and social relations. Here, my aim is not to discuss globalization in a general sense but I will focus on the influences of globalization on space-culture and their relationship. For this reason, I will restrict my framework with the approaches of Doreen Massey (1991, 1994, 1995), Gillian Rose (1995) and Pat Jess (1995) who research this issue through relational view.

CHAPTER 5

PLACES, CULTURES, GLOBALIZATION

5.1 Globalization of Culture

Various aspects of globalization are considered in many different theoretical debates. These debates roughly focus on two axis. The first approach considers globalization as a homogeneous process that has a beginning and a final target and as a result of the spread of Western modernity. According to this approach the globalization is expected to spread from the center west to the overall globe (Giddens, 1990). Second approach considers globalization as a heterogeneous process and indicates that globalization is an interaction between the cultures (Said, 1985; Hall, 1991; 1992). This view criticizes the approach which considers globalization as a result of modernity. Because, this approach places the rest of the West to a passive position that is dependent to West. In this context, at the same time it is emphasized that to constitute the rest of the West considering the West as the center, is problematic.

Parallel to globalization, the intensification of the flow of knowledge-information-image stemming from media and technology and accordingly the encounter and the interaction (e.g., migration) of the cultures make the description of a homogeneous globalization process difficult. For the approaches that consider the globalization as a heterogeneous process to research the culture field is important. In the current age intensive cultural flows are experienced and cultural differences of the rest of the West and their response to the cultural globalization spreading from the center, appear as new cultural formations and new powers. This situation highlights that in the process of globalization of culture, different cultures are constituted and

continued within the various contexts against the view that assumes a singular culture spread along the world homogeneously. Developed communication possibilities support the second approach.

Today, there is a view saying that along with globalization Western culture, especially American culture spreads from the center to the periphery. But the approach that considers culture as heterogeneous, points out the influences of the centers aside from America (Featherstone, 1995). Not to be able to stay out the increasing flow of money, commodity, sign and international immigration leads to different results in terms of culture. Producing and reproducing the relations of subordination at the cultural level is one of these. For example, America imposes some of its cultural values to another culture. But in opposition to this one-way relation global context -intensity of global flows- enables the cultural hybridization, points out the existence of the "other" cultures that have not been "recognized" before.

This process shows the problematic aspect of the search for "purity" in terms of place and culture in today's world. In this sense, cities appear as the spaces whereas both transnational and local different cultures are coming together, encountered and interacted through media and immigration. At this point it is important to consider that there would be different cultural experiences of different societies, apart from the approach that considers the globalization as a result of modernity and all the societies out of West would be globalized similarly. In this sense it is also important to research the interactions of cultural processes in communities and the cities out of West. Robertson (1992) suggests that globalization is the interaction process between the different cultures that stem from the relations between different individuals, communities and nations. According to him, cultures would be located relationally in their encounters with each other. In this sense, the globalization process focuses on the locating of the different cultures according to each other. Globalization has reached a stage where the intensity of the interaction between cultures has come to the fore. Parallel to

this the tension between the homogenizing dimensions of globalization and the powers pointing at heterogeneity become the current issue. In this sense cultural hybridity -that constitutes new fragmentations and new combinations according to power balances in time-space arrangements- appears as the central theme. To try to evaluate the cultural hybridity needs to be looked at the singular facts and processes.

In this chapter, the views of the authors who adopt above mentioned second approach, about place, culture and globalization will be discussed. The approaches of Doreen Massey, Gillian Rose, Pat Jess and Stuart Hall form a framework for this study.

5.2 The Conceptualization of Place in The Face of Globalization

Massey concerns with the conceptualization of the place in today's conditions. The current processes, such as world-wide communications, time-space compression/convergence, major flows of international migration, damage the previous place definitions. In other words, according to Massey the definition "a settled community, a locality with distinct character" as the first answer given to the question of "what is place" has been damaged. "The old, settled coherence of 'the locals' may seem to be disrupted" (Massey, 1995, 46). Massey thinks that today's economical and cultural flows are not new but their speed and density have been increased. In this case, Massey (1995) asks following questions:

> What happens to the notion of place now, in this age of globalization do individual places still have their own distinctiveness within 'the global village' and, if so, is this distinctiveness still constructed in the same way as it was before? With the mixing of cultures, the migration of peoples, and the increasing internationalization of economic structures, does the notion of distinct local places make any sense at all? How can we think about - that is conceptualize- 'place' in these global times?

For her these questions and their answers is an issue to be considered in a practical and political manner. However, if we will study "a notion of place" in these internationalized times we should look at the most sufficient understanding of place. Since the world and the social groups thinking about place change our understanding about place also changes in time. Here we encounter with the problem that how the place will be represented. Then in relation with this to think upon the ways to construct and imagine the world becomes the current issue. According to Massey, the place is a product of the society. Massey mentions two kinds of view about the place. First view is based on the idea of a settled and coherent place. A world where separated groups (ethnicity, cultural affiliation, social class) are living can be imagined within this view: These groups exclusively retain the right to determine who will be and live in a certain area an control it. They legitimize this right by claiming that a certain feature is the "real" characteristics of this area. The other view about the place is based on the idea of mixing of people, of cultures, of economic activities. Here, place completely loses its individuality. According to Massey, in such a view it may seem that everywhere is same but there are some differences only in natural features. Massey says that in conceptualization of the place the problem can be handled through different approaches. Here the important idea is that the places are socially constructed. She suggests that "we actively make place, both in imagination and in material practice (perhaps by keeping out things and people whom we argue do not belongs)" (ibid.: 48) She notes that we can see this by looking to the groups having different ideas about place.

Another point that she emphasizes is the notion of place and when this idea is considered in terms of its relation with the cultural identity differences between the cultures become attractive. In Massey's approach it is emphasized that, today's processes such as time-space compression, problematicize the nature of place. In this context, it is emphasized that to think the place as settled and coherent is problematic and place should be re-imagined. These are the issues within the research about how the place

changes materially. This also related with the issue "how we represent to ourselves what a place is".

Referring to the views of Robins and Giddens, Massey focuses on the relation between space and place. In these views it is argued that in the late 20th century spatial movement, interaction, influence and communication have very much increased and expanded. In this case, once defining the places separately, now borderlands and boundaries have crossed into each other and accordingly previous notion of place must be reconsidered. Namely, the notion that accepts the places as different, separable, bounded areas in the wider space seems impossible now. The change of the social organization of the space has made current place forms and concepts discussible. Massey explains the relation of space and place by referring to Allen's and Hamnett's (1995) views about this issue. According to this social space is consisted of "stretched out" socially relations. This expresses that: Social space includes all the network, complexity and interconnections of social interactions on every scale. The idea emphasized here is that the social relations have spread too much and interconnected. Therefore it is difficult to speak about place as coherent, separated areas in social space. Also the representation of place as coherent, bounded and settled becomes problematic.

Massey suggests an approach to reconsider such an idea of place. This method includes the research of activity spaces of different phenomena. "The activity space of something is the spatial network of links and activities of spatial connections and of locations within which a particular agent operates" (Massey, 1995, 54). In this idea, activity space may belong to very small company, to an individual or to a multinational company. This also includes the geography of power. Activity space is not fully a theoretical concept it is a useful tool for understanding the spatial organization of the society through a certain method. All the agents in society have their activity spaces and these may be in different forms and dimensions. For example a local cinema may

reach to quite limited audience but in terms of film industry it can connect with internationalized organizations and contact with the film producers through chain of distribution. According to Massey the ways that these links operate and are interpreted is a matter of contestation. At this point Massey notes that the current era witnesses to changes in term of the structure of activity spaces. First, the spatial reach of activity spaces has increased. Second their complexity and complexity of the linkages between them have increased (ibid.: 57).

For Massey the increasing spatial reach of activity space is disputatious. Because this process does not simply points out one of the uniform globalization. A movement in contradictory directions attracts attention. At one side some lives become spatially restricted and it can be considered that this shows the increase in inequalities among groups in terms of spatial access and spatial mobility. It is accepted that globalization is not a new phenomenon. But she suggests that the pile of the events show that time-space compression and a general expansion of activity space have increased/expanded. So the social relations that constitute social space increasingly become "stretched out". Moreover, a complexity occurs both in individual activity spaces and in the variety and multiplicity of the space types. Everyone somehow link into these activity spaces and our individual daily life make these worldwide linkages.

5.3 Place and Identity

According to Massey (1995) these changes within activity spaces have two meanings in terms of place: First, the boundaries of the places become more apparent than the past. Second, the complexity of interconnections -that bound the places altogether- has dramatically increased. But here Massey emphasizes that this situation does not leads to the abandonment of the notion of uniqueness place. It is not necessary to give up a singular place notion as the source of the identity. Massey points at a quotation from

Castells who seems close to such position, "social meaning evaporates from place, and therefore from society, and becomes diluted and diffused in the reconstructed logic of space of flows..." (Castells, 1989, 349). But Massey suggest a different approach; identity of place and space place relation should be reconsidered (Massey, 1991). She notes Kevin Robins' (1991b) approach that seems ideal, "to match community and security with the kind of openess that can stimulate a positive sense of challenge and contestation" (Robins, 1991 cited by Massey, 95). Massey here stresses the questioning of the notion of settled, enclosed and internally coherent places. Moreover, this notion of place should be replaced and supplemented by place as meeting-place. Place as a meeting place refers to, "the location of the intersection of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interactions, of influences and movement" (Massey, 1995, 59). Massey (1991) mentions that this is an attempt for "a global sense of place".

Gillian Rose (1995) studies the ways of thinking and feeling of the people about place and focuses on a sense of place notion. He indicates that a sense of place stems from every dimension of individuals' life experiences and covers everyday life and experience. Moreover, a sense of place is a way showing that places are woven with meaning and feeling. Rose interprets the connection between place and people by focusing on identity. According to her, identity is "how we make sense of ourselves". Many social scientists discuss that the meaning given to place can be so strong that for the people experienced this meaning can be a part of their own identity. Stating that she focuses on specific connotations about the term of identity, she describes the term as follows: it points to all subjective feelings and experiences that related with everyday consciousness. In addition it involves that "such experiences and feelings are embedded in wider sets of social relations" (Rose, 1995, 88). As Jonathan Rutherford discusses, identity marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within" (cited by Rose, 88). As identity is not merely an experience, for Rose the emphasis here is on the importance of a sense of

place in terms of wider social context of identity. This expresses that senses of place can be very personal but these are not completely the results of individual feelings. Moreover, meanings, such feelings and meanings are constituted by the social, cultural and economical circumstances that people live in. Rose focuses on the role and importance of the feelings about place within the power relations that constitute our life. She emphasizes that senses of place are embedded in social, economical and cultural relations and accordingly in processes of power -inequality and resistance- relations. Also Massey (1995) suggests that a sense of place is something more than the feelings of an individual about the place. This is at the same time social. All the places are interpreted through a certain social location and certain social reasons. "Senses of place are articulated through processes of representation" (Massey, 1995).

Moreover, Rose indicates that senses of places can be constructed in different intersected geographical scales and manifested through various tools (media). According to her senses of places relate to identity in different manner. This relation may be the identification with place and can be through identifying against a place. Therefore this would be possible by establishing oppositions between the places. May be a sense of place has a very little influence in articulation of the identity. According to her, sense of place become more intensified while the people having it feel that they are under threat. Same location may be interpreted through different senses of place. Rose stresses that senses of place should be related with social difference and unequal power relations (Rose, 1995, 97).

Rose accepts a sense of place as a part of cultural interpretation of the world. According to her this a dimension of the meaning that people has given to their life and a sense of place is a part of the meaning system that constitutes peoples' sense of world. Thus in order to develop a sense of place it is important to look at the awareness of cultural difference. There are different groups in society, some of the groups may emphasize their belonging to a

71

particular place in order to mark their own differences. This is an multidirectional process that mark other groups as not belonging to the place. Accordingly, Rose states that place can be a way to establish a difference between the groups. At this point it is important to question the process of giving a meaning to a place and the process of the constitution of the identity of a place

Pat Jess and Doreen Massey suggest that "the identities of places are product of social action and of the ways in which people construct their own representations of particular places" (1995, 134). They emphasize that people make the places but they also say that this process does not always work in the situations that people intent. According to them it is important to define the meaning of place. Because at the same time this embraces the claims of right on the usage and future of the place. For example after the meaning of a certain place is somehow defined, issues such as what should be in there, which kind of developments should be allowed, which one should not be allowed become the current issues. Thus, the rival claims in constitution of the meaning of place, struggle with each other. The contestation over the place has become more significant and complex in the era of globalization. We can say that identities of place are not constant and unchangeable and they reconstructed with the continuous struggle of the different sides. The identities of places are constructed in an interconnection with the other places beyond them. In this process each side defines place differently and emphasize the different characteristics of the place. Finally the future of the place, on a large scale, depends on whose interpretation of place has won. In this sense each side asserts different claims upon the consideration and representation of the place (Jess and Massey, 1995) Therefore it is possible to speak about a contestation over the representation of the place. In other words there is a struggle for the cultural meaning of a particular area.

Jess and Massey indicate that all these claims about place do not only emphasize its existent character but also include its past. According to them a certain interpretation of history allows the justification of future events. In this context not only the space and the place is named and interpreted but also the place is interpreted which exists along time. They note that this can be considered in relation with "an envelope of space-time". Furthermore, from this point of view in the construction of both the cultural and personal identities, the close relation between the process of differentiation from others and our geographical imaginations is remarkable. In the different constitution processes that entail a contestation over images and representation of place, individuals or groups struggle for their own representation and domination. These claims constitute present identity of the place through the attribution to the past and pave the way for the issue of "what should be the future of place". Moreover, contestation is a process and not a mere occasional battle and happens constantly on every geographical scale (Jess and Massey, 1995).

Also Rose suggests that places have no inherent meaning, only humans give the meaning to them. There are different explanations for the development of a sense of place. In Rose's explanation this appears as a result of structures of power. According to her this process is also a way of defining the other. There are forms of rituals in order to define the other. In this context to establish social boundaries appears as an important way (Rose, 1995, 99).

5.4 Contestation of Place and Boundaries

To consider place, as Massey suggests as a "meeting place", the location of the particular set of intersecting social relations have some implications. For example, from a little village to a giant metropol where we live, we see that the variety of activity spaces has seriously increased. This may mark that the distinctive differences between various social groups have expanded or can be interpreted as an increase in varieties of inequalities. Moreover, another

point that Massey emphasizes is, nowadays, especially in the first world nobody's daily live is fully local, completely untouched by events elsewhere by time-space compression and by globalization. This view emphasizes that even the "most local" human lives somehow affected by wider events and connected with larger geographical areas. But Massey insistently points out that this does not marks the increase of the importance the place. According to her, this marks that each person or group is placed differently according to its relation with the fact of globalization. In brief, space is socially constructed in the views of Massey, Rose and Jess and can be imagined as constructed in stretched out social relations. In this context places can be interpreted as a certain set of the intersections of social relations. Physical environment is also an important element in the character of the place. But this is considered as being an extremely social interpretation of space. Space-place relation is essentially dynamic. Cultures can be considered as meeting-places where open, different cultural discourses, powers take shape in their unity of influences.

Massey argues that, in the variety of activity spaces very different lives, sometimes contrasting lives, may contact, intersect and interact. Here the critical issue is the juxtapositions of different persons/groups. At the same time this causes conflicts. These conflicts also point out "different views of the place, very different senses of identity". Additionally they express that people use place differently, participate and contribute to it in different forms (Massey 1995, 61). In this context Massey suggests that place can be considered as a unique mixture of the relations that constitute social space. Noting that in such a way of thinking to consider place as naturally bounded would not be possible, she emphasizes that to draw boundaries in space is always a social act. In this sense, the notion of interrelations with others becomes important in the constitution of the identity of both the individual and the place.

In the social space different groups claim their right over certain places in order to mark out their cultural differences. In everyday life they display their claims of place through various methods. For example graffiti is marking out of the territory in urban area by different groups. Through this method they show that they see the territory as theirs (Rose, 1995, 98). Rose points out important implications emphasized by such a "territorial sense of place". Also senses of place are related with constitution of social differences by establishing social boundaries. Like sense of place, also boundaries can be established between places in different scales.

According to this approach the boundaries are important to understand the place feelings in a wider social process. Because boundaries have two important roles. First, boundaries establish the insiders and the outsiders. Namely they construct the one who belongs and who does not belong to the place. Belongingness appears as a very important element in development of a sense of place. This also includes the process of the exclusion of the other -by asserting that the other does not belong to a particular place. To assert a particular definition about place goes parallel with the rejection of the different one. For Rose, this points out the relation between social inequality and senses of place. Some questions arise as follows: Whose sense of place is more powerful in a certain situation? Who must fight in order to manifest their sense of place? Why a particular definition of place and certain claims over place are negative for some people? Departing from this point Rose stresses that senses of place are not only different but also part of unequal social relations.

Like many commentators Rose also explains the claim of belonging to a particular place in relation with the dynamics of power relations. He asserts that all senses of place inevitably bound to power relations. In this way of thinking the idea of other, marks the dynamics of power relations. Some senses of place are constituted as a challenge to dominant senses of place. Similarly dominant senses of place may conceal and prevent the other.

Different meanings given to the same place are important in term of the representation of the place.

Today many places concern with creating an image in order to present themselves to outside. Some people attribute a particular characteristic to place and attempt to influence outsiders' perception of place through this. They present the cultural events belong to that region, attractive life styles, leisure activities and the things which they "see" on place to the outer world through various methods. For this they employ processes such as image making, advertising, revealing certain characteristics of the place. At the same time this includes the processes of erasing and ignoring the counter senses of different -may be less powerful- groups belong to that place. Also in Massey's point of view the effort for establishing social boundaries points out the efforts for constituting a certain place identity and defending it. But according to her, as a completed category purified, exclusive identity of place is problematical. Massey argues that any identity is definitely based on differentiation from others. But should the differentiation imperatively be based on a form of opposition? In other words is the differentiation established through severe boundaries that separate "us" from them? In terms of places, she rejects such an approach. Because nowhere has a pure identity. The identities of the places are constituted in their relation with the other places along the history. "They are always already hybrid places" (Massey, 1995, 67). At this point Massey suggests that; we should think of places as more open, porous and interlinked rather than to think of them as exclusive enclosures isolated from the outer world. Massey and Jess note that identity entails a process of differentiation from the other. They discuss that this differentiation process works in various ways. One of them is to differentiate through othering. They mention the problematical structure of results and influences of the power relations that constituted in such a way. Therefore in terms of identity and place feelings they focus on more respectful ways, without needing any "other" to cope with the differences. Rather than a separate, exclusive, closed place notion, Massey and Jess

suggest a notion of a more open, permeable place that has an identity as a product of the relations with the other places. About the identity they suggest a way of thinking that emphasize interrelation rather than opposite positions.

Such a conceptualization of place also creates differences in our ways of thinking about the boundaries. This approach which synchronously recognizes both the interconnection and the uniqueness of places, is possible. The boundaries inevitably intersect other social relations that constitute social space. The places closed by the boundaries are not pure. They acquire meanings through their relations with other places. In this context we may pay attention that the boundaries of the places are not the unchangeable core characteristics of the places. As Massey indicates these lines are not "eternal truth of places". These are constituted by certain societies for certain aims.

> All of the boundaries, whether the national borders on the world atlas or the lines marking property and parish on a local map, are socially constructed. They are just as much the product of society as are the other social relations which constitute social space (Massey, 1995, 68).

In this sense to draw boundaries expresses an exercise of power thus can be considered as the manifest of society's power relations.

Moreover, In Massey's formulation places are not only interconnected but also bound to each other in unequal ways. This points out the geography of power. Such geographies of power exist in every aspect of life, on every scale from economical relations to cultural relations. A place locates singularly in this wide geography of power. This geography of power shapes the inequalities.

Briefly, Massey challenges to a common, dominant representation of space in today's western societies. She expresses her different challenges to such

notions of place. As a result it is discussed that: Places are conceptualized by explaining the social relations that connect each other. This means that: In order to recognize the interconnections of more places, places must be conceptualized in ways which takes account of the social relations. But in spite of this, while time-space compression and the research of its meaning for the places continue and the formation of identity notion is being explained, the questions of how we shall reconsider the places and how we shall experience them still exist.

Rose (1995) discusses "a sense of place" that often establishes the differences between the groups. Basing on class, gender, 'race' and many other aspects of identity, these differences are quite complex. Also they are embedded into social power relations. Accordingly, the claim of being insider is the claim of being the power. This process is generally reflected with the process of othering. Moreover, today process of contestation over the definition of a certain place becomes more apparent than before. Also the increase of flow of human, commodity, idea is a challenge to the senses of place and the identity that is considered as constant. Rose emphasizes that the interdependence between places has so increased that the permeable boundaries between places are now moving continuously. Identities also, day by day embrace more and more migration, cultural changing and mixing processes. As a result, in such a context Rose notes that othering process, to define belonging to a place in opposition with other places and to define oneself in opposition with the other people is not easy. According to her to constitute the senses of place and the identity can be possible through the tolerant ways that do not necessitate others.

To think about differences is possible by thinking in terms of the interrelations between different people and places not in terms of other. Rose states that "perhaps the terms of co-existence are being renegotiated, and new ways of thinking about place and identity are developing" (1995, 117).

5.5 Uniqueness of Place

Rose, Massey and Jess (1995) point out the important of the movement and the mixing in construction and reconstruction of both the place and the culture. Using the concepts of activity space and meeting place they challenge to the boundaries and highlights the permeability. They attempt to highlight the idea of openness of place and culture. Massey and Jess insistently indicate that the idea saying that with the movement, mixing and openness the places will be "same" and the places, cultures will lose their distinctive characteristics is not true. For example, if new residents come to a place this does not make that place same with the other places. Flow of new people is a part of the constitution of a new uniqueness. They add that the people who make places are interdependent to each other and connected with wider social relations as a part of social space. The characteristics of the places changes over time. The process of social change produces and reproduces new uniqueness. We cannot understand the uniqueness of a place merely by looking at it. According to them in this sense this aspect of the uniqueness of the "local" one has too many connotations. There is another point they remark: While constituting the feeling of space people behave in a particular selectiveness. This entails differences in interpretation and representation of the place. People identify themselves with certain "selected" characteristics and struggle for how the place should be. In this process each "side" sees a certain aspect of the "real". These images can be exclusive or on the contrary can be very open. As a result different place feelings and different geographical imageries contribute to the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the place.

Moreover, they underline the parallelism between the constitution of place and the constitution of culture. According to this approach same as the place the uniqueness of the culture is also constituted partly in the interrelation of them. These interrelation or interdependence does not try to destroy the original uniqueness, on the contrary continuously produces new

combinations and new uniqueness. They reach to such a conclusion: Places and cultures retain their differences but their interrelation and the ideas about them change (Massey and Jess, 1995, 224). Reminding that the interconnection which both the place and the culture is constituted in unevenness, Massey and Jess indicate that this process does not work in one direction. The flow of cultural influences -the flow of connections, adaptations, borrowings- along the world is multi directional and complex. But their power and effect are not equal. They emphasize that, the process that we witness after all is not the westernization and homogenization of the world, it is a complexity shaped unevenly and unequally. Thus, the singularity constituted in the frame of unequal development, takes role in the reproduction of the unequal development over time. In this context the images of the places acquire a vital importance and in the context of unequal development the uniqueness is reproduced continuously (Massey and Jess, 1995, 225).

In this context the question about how we can conceptualize the culture is important. Having the common approach with Massey, Rose and Jess about the conceptualization of the place and culture, the views of Hall will be explanatory in these terms.

5.6 Culture, Place and Identity

Stuart Hall (1995) describes a version of culture as systems of shared meaning and as interpretive framework like language. Belonging to a certain community, group or nation, people use these meanings to interpret the world and make a sense of the world. According to him meanings are not "free-floating ideas" and they are embedded in material and social world. The culture includes social practices that produce meaning. At the same time it includes practices that are organized by these shared meanings. To share the same "map of meaning" gives people the feeling of belonging to the culture. It creates a common link and gives a feeling of identity. In other

words, to have a position in the set of shared meanings, gives people a feeling of identity. "Culture is thus one of the principal means by which identities are constructed, sustained and transformed" (1995, 176).

Hall points out that, despite the cultures are considered as stable and fixed sets of meaning and practices, they cannot be fixed like languages. But it changes and transforms historically. In other words, it cannot be fixed in meanings, objects, events, relations. People give meanings to these things through shared cultural frameworks. Besides the language as the most basic tool, religion, custom, tradition and ritual are important tools in constitution of the meaning. According to Hall cultures are generally considered well-bounded differently from other cultures. Generally, by marking out the cultural differences the sense of community or group solidarity increases or the sense of difference from "other cultures" increases. Hall says that it is possible for the ones who think so to consider globalization as a serious unsettling. In this view it is thought that by the accelerating flows, globalization process will disturb settled cultures. But for Hall, globalization forces us to question such claims about cultural identity and to conceptualize the culture through new methods. Namely, some older notions of cultural identities should be researched. For him the concept of place has an organizing role in this sense. Cultures include different systems that produce meanings. These classify the world meaningfully. In his description of culture Hall emphasizes that meanings are continuously changing and are open to interpretation.

Like Rose (1995), Hall says that the notion of discourse of place can be used to give a meaning to life and to position ourselves within the society. Emphasizing that the sense of place is not "natural" but cultural, as Rose notes, he indicates that territory and settlement are considered as the basis of the human existence. Hall relates the place with the actual location of many different relations, so that this constitutes the fabric of the life. But, Hall states that in spite of being a key characteristic of the meaning system, place

is not necessarily needed by culture. Cultures can be retained by the people who do not live in the same place and who has no chance to encounter. Globalization has increased such possibilities. Modern communication systems enable the establishment of interest, taste, consumer tastes communities among the people who live separately and do not share an actual place. But according to Hall, we still continue to imagine cultures as 'placed' and landscape them in our imaginaries. He names them as 'imagined communities' (1995, 182). In this sense, place means to stabilize the cultures and to give them a "home". Additionally place leads our identities to be fixed in place. Thus cultures can be seen as well-bounded, self sufficient and unified. In this context people get stuck on strongly bound, homogeneous, cultural identities and relating certain "homelands". This is a seriously problematical view for Hall. Because in this perspective "place" which is considered as a symbolic guarantee of the cultural belongingness and establishes symbolic boundaries around the culture, is marking out who belongs to culture and who does not. As an example of this process he gives the constitution of the nation and the national identity. He asserts that, the nation-states are not culturally unified actually. Most of them are the results of conquest, invasion, settlements and empires. These include different cultural and ethnical groups within their boundaries. But national cultures represent the nations as if they are unified and homogeneous. The discourse saying that the nation is a unified entity helps the production of the unified culture (1995, 185).

In this example Hall mentions the opposite tendencies in today's globalization context: The ones who defend the purity of a culture and the ones who have the notion of "the hybridity of most culture". Hall considers culture as a "contested concept". At this point Hall notes that the views of Doreen Massey and Gillian Rose about the place are useful in terms of culture and culture-place relation. Departing from this point he asserts following views:

* Culture is not settled, enclosed or internally coherent. In the modern world, culture, like place, is a meeting point where different cultural forces and discourse intersect.

* A culture is formed by the juxtaposition and co-presence of different cultural forces and discourses and their effects. It does not consist of fixed elements but of the process of changing cultural practices and meanings.

* The identities which cultures are not guaranteed in their 'sameness' by some simple origin or fixed in their eternal belongingness to shared values and meanings (Hall, 1995, 187)

Hall, on the one hand, mentions a relatively closed, unified and homogeneous definition of culture and this notion marks out the effort of the central identities to stabilize themselves in the sense of belonging to the culture. On the other hand, Hall questions the concept of culture marking the problematical aspect of the notions of identity rooted from national cultures. Suggesting to consider culture as a 'contested concept' he says that globalization makes difficult to consider culture as a closed entity (ibid.: 208). He asserts some concepts that will help to conceptualize the culture (e.g. transculturation). In this context Hall's approach about "globalized" cultural processes would be explanatory.

5.7 The Impact of Globalization on the Formation of Culture

In the context of culture discussion what does Hall intends to say with the term globalization? He speaks about a new globalization in terms of culture. This is related with the cultural identities that attached with a new global mass culture and a previous stage of nation-state. Global mass culture is under the domination of the modern cultural production, the sovereignty of the image that crosses the linguistic boundaries swiftly (Hall, 1991, 27) Moreover, globalization is a process that relatively separated areas of the globe intersect in a "singular" imaginary space. In this process different "histories" gather in a "time-zone" or "time frame" that is repressed by

Western time. Strengthened by space and distance strict boundaries are connected through relations. The connections can be established through travel, trade, colonization, market, flows of capital, labors and goods. This process stage by stage erases the open distinctions between "inside" and "outside". Furthermore all the histories of the world gradually become the subordinates of Western history. "It was the beginning of that very uneven time frame we call 'global' time" (Hall, 1995, 190). Hall emphasizes that in the globalization process it is hard to consider culture as autonomous, self-enclosed meaning systems. The cultures are begun to be defined not with their own values but -especially in power relations- with the other cultures.

In his essay "The Local and The Global: Globalization and Ethnicity" Hall (1991) describes the characteristics of the new globalization: Not everywhere but in the most developed sections of the globalization process we meet with new accumulation regimes. These flexible accumulation regimes replace the logic of mass production and mass consumption. This process rises above the specific forms of separate markets, post-fordist organization styles, life styles and marketing. Moreover, these flexible regimes are manipulated by the attraction mechanisms operating on small groups and individuals, not by the momentary production and the ability of addressing to mass consumers. Hall emphasizes that this process is not only "the disguised enemy", it is a different process than the commodification and globalization, that does not abandon the capital and West, and able to dissolve the others in itself. According to Hall, now we should see that the globalization would not be able to progress without learning to live together with the differences and to operate through differences (ibid.: 31). He considers the modern advertising forms as examples of the representation of this notion. He indicates that certain forms of modern advertising, still have a long list of exclusive identities that based on exclusive, dominant, very manly, old fordist visualities. At the same time there are some new exotics that stay side by side with these. Hall ironically mentions that "to be in the first ranks of capitalism means to eat meals from the kitchens of fifteen countries in one

week". This process, as Hall calls global postmodern world, is a process that everything is absorbed in a moment and the differences are experienced together. This, too much intensified, too much corporate, too much integrated economical power is amazing. This economical power survives with the help of cultural differences and continuously amuses itself with the pleasures of the stubborn other. But global postmodern is not a unitarian regime, because it has some tensions inside (Hall, 1991, 31). Here the emphasis is on the specific homogenizing form of global mass culture. For Hall, this culture is a homogenizing cultural representation form and terribly assimilating. But this homogenizing has never been completed and there is no effort to complete it. In other words, for Hall in this process the mini versions of England and America are not produced. By assimilating the differences this culture locates them into a bigger, more inclusive and actually an American style frame. Increasingly intensifying culture, located in other forms of capital. But this capital now understands that it can rule only through local capital and in corporation with other political and economical elites. It does not attempt to sweep them away, it operates through them. Briefly, besides commodifying everything, the logic of the capital operates in specificity and operates through specificity.

At this point it would be important to study the notion of transculturation which Hall mentioned that he borrowed it from Mary Louise Pratt. Pratt studies "how subordinated and marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant and metropolitan culture" (Pratt, 1992, 7 cited by Hall, 1995, 192). In Hall's approach transculturation is one of the key cultural processes. This process operates among the differentiated cultures and people are forced to interaction according to their relative powers in asymmetric ways. This idea which Pratt uses to explain the "contact zone" of colonial era -the space of colonial encounter- is shown by Hall as a model to explain the cultural changes that operate under the globalization conditions. In this view, transculturation marks out a kind of "hybridization". Hall states

that the transculturation process which is significant in the cultures of contact zone and diaspora shows that culture never remains "pure".

> Forcing different cultures to survive together results with the change and adaptation of "original" cultures over time. A culture should negotiate with another and they constitute "co-presence". As a result of this process, different cultures are combined in order to constitute different elements and "new" cultures. This process is never-completed and complex. New culture is in relation with the original one but never the same of it. While subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own and what they use it for. (Pratt, 1992, 6 cited by Hall 1995, 192).

According to Hall transculturation is a cultural strategy. The culture that emerges as a result of this process is neither a replica of the "master culture" nor a completely different game that replaces the game of "the masters" It is the hybrid combination of both cultures. Some things are new and important but they are not absolutely different (ibid.: 196).

Transculturation provides many clues about the reception of the meaning in Hall's culture analysis. As well as the production the reception of the culture is also important. This process operates in power relations. Like the act of production, the act of reception has also its own mechanisms. The reception and the use of the meaning is not a field that the imposed codes are passively accepted, it is also an active, creative process. The model of transculturation marks out a process that the elements of different cultures are dissolved in order to produce a new meaning. In a certain set of power relations, subordinated cultures "borrow" dominant cultural forms and appropriate them to their own uses, and break them off the context of dominant cultural associations. Additionally these cultural forms re-articulate to new set of meanings. Here the important point is that the meaning is not a

simple thing that waits to be simply manifested. The meaning is created and there is a continuous contestation over it (ibid.: 197).

This approach is the opposite of the "closed" culture model -which marks out the relatively fixed set of meaning that fixes the cultural identities- that has been described by Hall before. In the first approach closed culture guarantees its members to maintain their life styles homogeneously. For him this is closely related with the notion which says "place" is the home of the origin. On the contrary second approach emphasizes that meaning cannot be fixed, cultural forms and practices cannot be "pure" and these are all the combinations of the elements of other cultures. In these combinations identities are not stable, they change according to where they come from and identities continuously produce themselves in combinations of different forms, different places and different meanings.

Hall notes that with the process of globalization there is a tendency towards the second approach in terms of understanding the cultural differences. By the acceleration of the pace of globalization the cultures of more places have been "translated". At the same time for many groups the globalization is considered as a threat to their integrity of culture that could weaken the identity that holds their group together. Under the impact of globalization, hybridization is also considered as a cultural threat and damage by many groups (ibid.: 200). Emphasizing that every culture has a different globalization experience, Hall points out the common characteristics of the different cultures' respond to the globalization: A return to more "closed" culture definitions, heading towards a more "local", fixed, placed aspect of culture and the revival of ethnicity. According to Hall, this situation is not surprising, in a period that globalization crosses the boundaries, mix the traditions, deprive identity formations from the ground of identification. In this context he emphasizes a point: As the global postmodern progresses in two ways, an expansive and a defensive one, the local and the marginal one also follows two ways. When the global powers of postmodern threats the

movements in the margin, these movements may become exclusive and defensive and this is dangerous. According to him, it is same for the cases that the rejection of modernity leads to an identity that constitutes fundamentalism (1991, 34). On the other hand Hall says that reviving past cultural identities is not necessarily reactionary. Sometimes these cultural strategies can operate as the source of the cultural resistance and the liberation. The important thing is that these strategies are open to the constitution of a new set of "hybrid" cultural identities. He suggests that cultures should be based on the "routes" not on the "roots" (1995, 205). He adds that to explain the influences of globalization on the culture with a "closed" version of culture and the identities is a way, but another way is the transcultural response to the globalization. Today in the modern world many kinds of culture survive together and day by day they consider more and more themselves, their identities and their relationship with culture and place through more "open" ways. "It is certainly one of the greatest sources of cultural creativity today -and what much late modern culture (novels, poems, paintings, images, films, video etc.) seems to about" (Hall, 1995, 207).

5.8 Global Local Relations

These four writers, Massey, Rose, Jess and Hall (1995) whom we discuss their views, study the place and the space in relation with the globalization process. The debate of the relation between space and place entails to question the global and the local. In term of the approach we study, Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (1995) discuss on below mentioned topics in general.

In this approach local and global are used according to their relation with the scale in a flexible style. According to this, local is used as smaller sense of global. Compared to local, global is a wider frame. At this point, for them it is not right or it is insufficient to locate local and global opposed to each other. In this approach we discussed note the interrelatedness of these terms and emphasize that local and global constitute each other. According to Massey

and Jess in such a view "the global is part of what makes 'the local' what it is. This is true of place and it is true of culture: the very notion of hybridity emphasizes the fact" (1995, 226). The existence of the "other" in the debate of identity as explained by Rose, can be understood similarly. Here the critical point is: The local and the global terms cannot exist in opposition. "In a real way" the global and the local constitute each other. Not only the local is constituted by the global but also the global is constituted by the local. In this debate, as the relations of local and global, place and space are emphasized in terms of social relations, a very particular meaning is given to the term "global". It refers to global wider set of social relations and interactions. As a result of the construction of the local the uniqueness and the interdependencies are constituted. This means, the global is a great complexity of the social interaction of our activity spaces. In other words "local" is a complex multidimensional space where our lives, the places we live, we work are constituted. All of these are brought together by the social practices that continue in our everyday life, such as trading patterns, finance flows and cultural influences (Massey and Jess 1995, 227).

Some conclusions are derived from this. One of them is, not only the global influences the local but also the local influences the global. The relation between them is multi directional. Therefore the relations between the places are not in a linear line simply moving from the global to the local but a complex, circular accumulating process. In this sense the local is not only the passive recipient of global powers. As emphasized along all the debates "people actively making their local areas out of recipes which each involve mixing and moulding both local and wider influences" (ibid.: 228). Such a view underlines following points: The social relations and interactions that construct the global space are very complex and multifaced. To organize the relations in a single spatial scale -in the global space- seems impossible.

As a conclusion, writers, whose views are discussed in this chapter, share the view that a new style of thinking about the culture should be developed. Such a style of thinking expects to generate the recognition of differences

between the places and the cultures. Additionally it aims the recognition of the fact that these differences are continuously reproduced and albeit in changing forms they are remade. This approach also struggles for the recognition of the basic interconnections of the people.

This approach is constituted in the context of all these "mixing" social and unequal developments experienced today. This process is a social power context that embraces a particular claim of "space-time envelope". Places and cultures are made in a particular space-time notion. In this context it is important to think of the place and the culture, and their relation. Thus, the focal point of the writers' debate is the meanings and identities of place and the culture, and the relation between them. In this manner, they challenge to the notion of constituting the cultural uniqueness by rooting from the individual places. Moreover, they reject an approach that considers the places as coherent cultural products. According to them, the relation between place and culture and their conceptualization in relation with geography should be reconsidered. They suggest various ways for such an attempt.

The central argument of this approach is "geographical meaning and definition and social meaning and definition are closely related to each other" (Massey, Jess, 1995, 238). Some ideas supporting this argument are formulated in the debates as follows. Sense of place both reflects and affects the power relations. To defend an identity for a particular place includes the constitution of the place against others. This marks out a "social othering" process. In this process the influence of spatial organization over social powers emerge. Moreover, social differences are constituted through spatial boundaries. This idea points out that "closed" definitions of place and culture may empower each other. Self-defined, coherent cultures close themselves in their homelands. An opposite definition of place and culture is discussed here. The places and their cultures are defined by the recognition of openness and interdependence notions. But it is emphasized that this openness is not unconditional and operates in the context of power relations.

It is underlined that unequal power relations should be studied in every case. All along these debates it is emphasized that the social and geographical imageries of the people are related with each other in complexity. They stress that the spatial and the social must be considered together (ibid.: 238).

CHAPTER 6

THE CASE OF *SAKARYA CADDESİ*

6.1. THE QUESTION OF PLACE

6.1.1 *Sakarya Caddesi* As A Meeting Place

What is the meaning of "place" in our times that is considered as global and mobile and how can place be conceptualized? This is the main question of this study. This question needs the following issues to be examined. What do people think about place? Does place have its own characteristics? Can places maintain their originalities while dramatic social changes occur today? How people manifest their opinions about these questions?

The notion of place varies over time from society to society and our notion of place is a product of the society we live in. In order to understand the notion of place and its relation with cultural identity there are many differences between the cultures to be considered. In this chapter, within my research, along with the recent globalization and time-space compression the meaning of the notion of place will be studied.

Almost all of the informants whom I have interviewed in *Sakarya Caddesi*, think that the rapid change lived in the world is also seen in their own country. But their own social positions and the differences between their points of view cause differences between their definitions of place. For example, for their own city Ankara and for their activity place *Sakarya Caddesi* they make different definitions.

> Ankara is the place I was born and I live, but it has nothing different from the other places of the world, it has no peculiarity, it is merely the place I earn money. Besides, Ankara is not a safe city as everyone thinks. You can trust Ankara as much as you trust the government. (1)[*]

This view belongs to a 38 years old, primary school graduate, male informant (1) who works in temporary jobs and has been divorced from his wife because of alcohol.

Another informant, 22 years old daughter of a retired official, living with her family and a new graduate of art school tells about Ankara:

> I love Ankara, it is different from everywhere for me. In terms of living it has a middling quality. It is cheaper than İstanbul, more vivacious than İzmir. My family is here. I can't live in a small city. When I went to İstanbul I longed for Ankara. İstanbul is an expensive city. In Ankara I have fun as I like and also it has everything. It is not expensive also. I enjoy myself in *Sakarya Caddesi* or at my friends' home. This is enough for me (2).

According to one of the woman owners in *Sakarya Caddesi*, 43 years old, high school graduate informant who has 10 milliards monthly income and lives single, Ankara is an easy place to live.

> Ankara is ideal for me, my job is here, I have friends. I have also friends in Turkey and from various places of the world. I earn my living here, I work hard, I don't have much time, but when I have time I can go anywhere I want, but since my job is here Ankara is a convenient city for me. You can earn money, there are intellectual activities, it is a vivacious city. Besides, here (*Sakarya Caddesi*) is the greatest place of rentier, the money which circulates here is incredible and I also earn money here. I have the opportunity to go and rest in a silent place at the sea side or in a village (3).

---

[*] See Appendix for the ages, education, job and gender of informants.

A 26 years old, university graduate, jobless male informant who lives with his family considers Ankara as follows:

> Ankara is a city of officials and students overall. Ankara is not a permanent city, since it is a city of officials and students, people stay here temporarily. For most of the people, whether official or student, the maximum staying period lasts 15 years. Since I was born and grew up here, and since it is an orderly place, Ankara means comfort for me. In all cities life becomes monotonous after a certain time. This is not a problem for me. Because, from time to time, whenever I want to escape, by all means, I go to somewhere outside the city. Transportation is easy here. You may go to anywhere in Turkey easily (14).

It is possible to increase the number of such examples among the ones who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* to have a good time and the owners. It is notable among the informants that different social groups have different senses of place. We can point out that here the meaning of place is constructed socially and differently in people's imagination and practices. At this point it is important if the place definitions of the social groups are exclusive to other groups and "closed" or open definitions of place recognizing the cultural mixing. Because these definitions are important in decision makings about the place and social groups' claims upon the place. Here it will be reasonable to remember the following points that Rose (1995) has marked out: To have a sense about a place is not an inherent process. There are different ways to develop "a sense of place". To identify oneself with a place is one of the ways. For example many people in *Sakarya Caddesi* identify some places with different social groups; the bars that are frequented by rockers, anarchists, socialists, apolitical people, the bars that are frequented only to drink, the bars that are frequented by horse race betters etc. Besides, there are people who identify themselves both with *Sakarya Caddesi* and the bars they frequent as a place. There are people who think that they belong to that place.

> For me it is the most important characteristic of Sakarya
> that, both the people from the lower classes and the
> middle classes come. When you sit and drink in a more
> quality place up there (*Çankaya*, the district of Ankara
> where the residents are relatively rich) you have to take
> someone on with you, you have to plan beforehand. You
> hang up there or not, but 'you come back here'. When you
> come here you surely meet someone. Even you don't
> have any acquaintance, you may begin to chat with the
> one sitting on the next table. You will meet a bodyguard
> while entering to a bar in *Çankaya* he would say 'Wait my
> friend, where you're going? (1)

Another informant explains this situation as follows:

> In Sakarya people are frequenters, the ones who come
> are the ones who come continuously. In three days you
> see the same people. After one week by all means you
> contact, establish a dialog, a familiarity with eye contact
> occurs. I hang up in only two or three places in Sakarya.
> These two or three places have some characteristics: You
> may be bored, boozed up, a different event occurs, but
> every time those places befriend me, they provide
> confidence to me. We have many common things with the
> ones who come to these places I hang up" (9).

Here it should be noted that, various definitions and representations of the
place are constituted socially. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Shields (1996)
says that representation of city is a paradoxical process because it is based
on constant changes. Thus, within the representation, the particular sides of
the place become visible and its other sides become invisible. Emphasizing
that the places are not stable and unchangeable, Massey (1995) indicates
that the meanings of the places are constituted in a constant struggle. In this
process, some aspects of the place are stressed and some of them are
neglected by different groups.

David Harvey (1989) argues that the spatial mobility which stems from
globalization and time-space compression makes the notion of place difficult
to be maintained as settled communities. On the other hand because of an

unstable and uncertain life, this situation leads to need and a feeling for the people to constitute a more secure and stable place notion. Such a place, "a place called home" as Massey (1995) names, is considered as a way to be protected from an uncontrollable world. According to her, globalization provokes people continuously to be dedicated to particular local places ironically. Giddens (1990) indicates that modernity gradually separates the space from the place. Moreover, he notes another affect of globalization on the places that no place has remained on earth to be closed, separable and has no relation with other places.

Also with the globalization process cities have become the places of mixture and diversity. It is claimed that today, with the increase of interlinked global processes the world has shrunk. One of the effects of this process is the increase in activity chains that marks out the expansion of the social relations and the institutions along the space. Second effect is the intensification of the contact between the places. Because, as a result of the growth of global transportation and communication, everyday activities can be affected by the remote places that are faraway from them. These two processes are active in the shaping of almost all the cities of the world (Amin, A. and Graham, S., 1999, 9).

When we consider space as the network of interactions and interconnections constituted by the stretched out social relations, we can see the affects of the global cultural flows practically by studying the activity spaces of social agents.

6.1.2 Activity Spaces Under the Influence of Global Cultural Flows

When we look at my research field *Sakarya Caddesi*, we can see that the activity spaces of the individuals and groups who come to there to work or to have fun are getting complicated and varied parallel to the increasing global flows. In *Sakarya Caddesi*, we can see a great variation and serious

contradictions among the spatiality of different lives, and different economic and cultural activities. In *Sakarya Caddesi* there are bars, cafés next to private language courses with foreign teachers, bookstores, internet cafés, stock exchange offices, law offices and a State Theater (*Yeni Sahne*). In a multi-floored building, at the entrance there is bar, in the fourth floor there is a school of a leftist foundation called *Özgür Universite* (Free University), and again there is a bar at the roof. At the entrance of the street there is a McDonalds, further on there are other fast food shops. There are also hair dressers, fish sellers, flower shops, shoe shops, little children selling handkerchiefs, homeless people, kiosks, fellowship associations of other cities of Turkey, guest-houses of some government institutions, *İş Bankası* (One of the biggest banks of Turkey), *Finans Bank* (one of the international banks of Turkey) General Directorate of Türk-İş (Confedaration of Turkish Worker Unions), Administrative Office of Municipality of *Çankaya*, French Cultural Center, *Generali* Insurance Company. Besides the pet-shops and the shops where clothes and shoes of well-known trademarks are sold there are also glassware shops and shoe repairing shops. Moreover, in front of several exchange offices there are some people who make exchange informally (it is said that these people also have their own invisible organization and a network).

In these spaces and in some of the activities, high technology, internet and developed communication systems are used and well-paid professionals are employed. In the small shops like shoe repairing very "primitive" technologies are used.

We can see comparable influences in the entertainment spaces also. Having different decorations there are various bars that address to different social groups. A 45 years old bar owner with a monthly income of 9-10 milliards and has left university, indicating that he worked in every job from dishwashing to bar management, tells about the variation of the bars and the change experienced after 1990s:

In 1970's I have run 'İhtiyar Balıkçı'. It was a decent restaurant then. If a change is experienced in the world it is also experienced in Turkey. There was no live music in Sakarya in 1989. In 1989 I have opened 'Desti Bar' with live music. In 1959 Governorship of Ankara decided *Sakarya Caddesi* to be the center of entertainment and alcohol consuming center. At that time parliamentaries and bureaucrats were coming to Sakarya. At the end of 1970s there was Sakarya Bira Parkı (Beer Park) at the place of today's metro entrance. The intellectuals of that time were coming there. After 1980 both with the changes in the world and the effects of Özal period the entertainment types differentiated. Young people crowded the bars in *Çankaya*. The good old Washington Restaurant of Sakarya began to lose its customers. I opened Desti Bar in 1989, first American bar was built here and the American style service presented here for the first time. After winning the municipalities in Ankara, RP-MHP prohibited alcohol sales in some districts, the people from these districts began to come to Sakarya. Rich but decent people began to escape from here. With opening of underground transportation system (Metro), the people working in "*sanayi*" (the district where automotive sector is present) or here and there began to come here easily. These people have neither the urban nor the rural culture, they have "*kasaba*" culture (literally small town, provincial culture which contains conservative elements). With the crises one after the other, an "*arabesk*" (a kind of contemporary, eclectic Turkish music style containing musical elements derived from Arabian music) style has been created here. Here the waiters don't read books, they don't know how to serve fish (4).

Informant says that he runs two completely different bars addressing to two different groups and adds that "Sakarya becomes Sakarya with the existence of various spaces which are alternatives of each other". One of the bars that he runs is *Limon Bar* (it is closed now as one of the owners is in jail) the other is *ZX Bar*. Informant describes *Limon Bar* as follows:

If we had opened *Limon* in *Tunus Caddesi* (a street in *Çankaya*, which is parallel to *Tunalı* street) instead of here it would be the number-one entertainment place. We wanted to make a place in world standards. Being in *Kızılay* it loses its quality. Even *Beymen* and *Vakko* (big

> clothing shops where middle and high classes make
> shoping) left *Kızılay* But the people coming to *Limon* have
> a certain level. Sure, some people who come here, think
> to be supposedly marginal (4).

One of the customers of *Limon* a 20 years old, male informant, being educated in a private university, living with his family with a 3-4 milliards monthly income. Saying that he generally hangs up in *Tunalı* (*Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi*, a street in a relatively rich district [*Çankaya-Kavaklıdere*] of Ankara, with stylish bars, restaurants, cafés and some trademark stores) and comes to Sakarya only to go to *Limon* and *Gölge*, he stresses that *Limon* is a trendy place.

> On this street, there is only *Limon* which comes a little bit
> closer to the alternative entertainment places in the world.
> The others are very banal. They come 50 years after the
> world (5).

Like this informant most of the *Limon* frequenters are young students from the universities like *METU*, *Bilkent* (Universities which give education in English) and others. Mostly they have computers at their home, they use internet. They consider technological innovations as life standards. Somehow they have connections with abroad -through education, family relations, job relations of their parents etc. Clothes and finery is important for them. They have an alternative view of fashion. They keep up with some world trademarks -the ones that are not spread much, having a supposedly worthless appearance. Some of them are able to spend their holidays abroad. Among the ones frequenting *Limon* there are some students who do not fit with this profile. There is not a remarkable dominance of male or female population.

Noting that, he traveled Europe by Inter-rail in recent years, the informant (5) who speaks two foreign languages perfectly and have a mother working in the exchange department of a bank, says that the understanding of

entertainment in Europe is different from here and adds "You should get the utmost pleasure from the life".

On the other hand, the other bar which is run by the owner of *Limon* is located in another place. The bar "*ZX*" is has three floors; one floor has a disco which addresses to 18-24 years old youngsters; in the other floor there is live music and it addresses to 25-40 years old people. Another floor is a pub-tavern (*meyhane*) section which is frequented by 25-45 years old people. The owner of this bar notes that the frequenters are from economically lower groups. Jumping into another issue the informant (4) says that in some bars young girls sell themselves in order to be able to have fun. According to him, these are the girls coming from the suburbs and having conservative families. They are influenced by TV, "*televole*" programs (paparazzi TV programs) and want to imitate the people appearing in such programs. "The young girl watches the trousers, the jewelry. The easiest way to put on that jewelry, is to sell your own body" (4).

He adds that the girls from these sections, from the lower classes also come to *ZX* but they do not behave so:

> Girls wearing head scarf come to *ZX*, they change their clothes at downstairs, dance for a while at upstairs, than after dressing up again they leave the bar. There are 10,15 people like this. They don't mind to attract people's attention. They insistently asked me to put a mirror in the disco. I have put a mirror. These girls are having fun on their own, in front of the mirror. They drink water, fruit juice, Coca-Cola and leave the bar (4).

Moreover, informant stresses that before undertaking the bar, its name was "Z" and gays were coming at that time but after beginning to run the bar he has changed the name and the style. According to him "Like everyone else also a homosexual does not have the right to disturb anyone". Without clarifying his statement, he made an interpretation such as "The most organized section of the society in Turkey is gays and lesbians".

In "*ZX*" bar, one of the customers frequenting the pub at the ground floor is a 47 years old, government official who is a high school graduate, single, living with his mother. He explains the reason he comes to *ZX* bar as follows:

> Since 20 years I am coming to Sakarya. I am a government official, after work every evening I come here with friends. I sit... we sing songs, watch the matches. This is a bar where every kind of people in Ankara, especially the "*akşamcılar*" (singular "*akşamcı*", one who drinks alcoholic drinks regularly every evening) frequent. Here, we get rid of our daily fatigue (6).

This informant mentions that "There are 7 chairs around the bar and each belongs to a certain person". He stresses that, when one of them does not come the others worry about him, the one who will not be able to come informs others. Moreover, he mentions that he drinks on credit to be paid on salary day or he uses credit card. He says that when there is a match, there would not be any free place in this section of the bar but as he is a frequenter his place would be reserved and adds that it is advantageous to be acquainted with the staff and the frequenters.

Women customers generally do not go to this section of "*ZX*" bar. Customers are mostly officials, small scale tradesmen and the people work locally. On the contrary of the frequenters of *Limon* their travel and journey possibilities are limited. Some of them travel once a year to make a holiday. Some of them cannot go anywhere. Some informants mention that they have relatives abroad and in holiday regions so that they can visit them. To use credit cards is a common characteristic they share with the frequenters of *Limon*. The ones having fun in this bar are older people and mostly male who know each other for years and gather in this pub every evening. There are other groups who have fun here. Some work more or less locally. There are the ones who work in multinational companies such as couriers like DHL, hotels like Sheraton Ankara. Both the groups in *Limon* and *ZX*, shop in the markets such as *Migros*, *Beğendik* and *Şok*.

We can derive some conclusions from this specific example. We see a remarkable variety of activity spaces in a relatively small area. There are distinctive differences between different groups. In this case there are distinctive differences in terms of age, gender and class but in terms of economical income there are not any extreme differences between the groups. Except some of the owners, none of the people I have interviewed belong to the section that we may call upper middle class. Here there is another remarkable point, that the lives of the people cannot be simply defined as local or global. Almost every one I have encountered seems to be somehow influenced by the global economical and cultural flows. Here it will be appropriate to remember Massey's (1995) view saying that there is not a daily live any more, that is not affected by globalization and time-space compression.

Moreover, there is another remarkable fact that the activity spaces of very different lives contact and intersect with each other. These encounters sometimes cause positive interactions and sometimes lead to polarizations. For example, one of the informants (7) works as a guardian in F type prison (These are the prisons which have so-called modern appearances but with small cells under bad conditions. They have been protested by the families of prisoners because of their inhuman conditions). Brother of another informant (8) who comes to *Sakarya Caddesi* to have fun, has been recently released from jail and applied to be a political refugee abroad. We can see that sometimes conflicts occur because of this juxtaposition.

From time to time some conflicts occur between different individuals and the groups. For example, in May 2004, an event occurred, ending with the death of 4 people and 2 injured (05.10.2004, *Hürriyet* Ankara). Through this event some connections can be established between different views and the definition of the identity of the place. I will refer to this case later.

Through all of these facts, we can consider *Sakarya Caddesi* as a set of intersecting activity spaces and social relations. Moreover, surely the global interconnections and intersections are not intensively experienced (may be except İstanbul) as experienced in First World countries. But if we think of in terms of the meaning of place -here in terms of Ankara and *Sakarya Caddesi*- we can see that new connection sets, new elements, new relations and new characteristics are added to place through the influences of global processes. In this case new characteristics mix with the existing characteristics of the place. We can trace this process through the entertainment styles, bar designs, musical styles and the life styles in *Sakarya Caddesi*. For example, we can see the influences of the world wide prevalence of World Music in *Sakarya Caddesi*. In a general sense, parallel to the interest in ethnical music in Turkey, the "*türkü*" (folk song) bars have become prevalent in *Sakarya Caddesi*. Some ethnical music groups make a new kind of music by mixing the rock, jazz motifs with the motifs of folk music. The design and the service styles of many cafés and bars are other examples. The design of *Gölge Bar* reminds of the design of Western garage bars; a spacious ground, an American bar and a stage. There are only tables in service of the customers and there are not any chairs or sitting facilities. The lightning and the atmosphere of the bar is quite similar with the rock bars that we often see in MTV (an international music channel).

The appearance of world wide prevailing interest in spirituality in some cafés of Sakarya is another example. For example in the fliers of Ozan Kafe in big size letters it is read that "You buy coffee, we tell your fortune. Coffee fortune-telling is free". Below, the price list and the other features of the café were written in smaller size. In another café where its owner is known as a leftist I have met with the same situation. The decoration of the café was relatively authentic. There were carpets and hand craft accessories in a corner. The posters of *Yılmaz Güney* (a well-known communist film director, actor, writer who fled from prison in Turkey and died in exile) and *Nazım Hikmet* (a well-known communist poet who fled from Turkey to Russia and

died there) were on the walls of this corner. At this corner you may drink your coffee and learn your fortune. But the fortune-teller woman works only on certain days and at certain hours. This appears as one of the new cultural practices in *Sakarya Caddesi*.

Aditionally, another example can be the sign of the access of the technological developments to this place. In recent years, computers are being used in the police controls in *Sakarya Caddesi*. According to some of the informants this is necessary for the security of *Sakarya Caddesi* and for some others this is one of the recent signs of the spoiling of *Sakarya Caddesi*.

6.1.3 The Meaning of *Sakarya Caddesi*

It would be meaningful to look at various conflicts in Sakarya in order to understand the disputes on the place. As Massey and Jess indicate, to define the meaning of place it is important to control the future of the place. Thus, different groups contest with each other through different claims for the representation and definition of the place. In this sense, it is important to clarify who defines, represents *Sakarya Caddesi* and how. Also, we need to look at the process of othering.

There are different -sometimes contradictory- views about the characteristics of Sakarya. The dominant view claims that formerly the leftists and the intellectuals were coming here. This group thinks that this is the "real" characteristic of this place and after 1980 social and cultural degeneration has spoiled it. Most of the bar owners are known as leftists. However, the reaction to the supposedly "apolitical" people comes from the other customers.

A High school graduate, worker, male informant tells that:

> The bars in *Bayındır Sokak* (one of the streets in Sakarya Caddesi Pedestrian Zone) were the places frequented by the leftists. For example formerly, the real good quality people were coming to *Büyük Express*. I mean the writers of *Cumhuriyet* (an old leftist newspaper), film directors, few artists of Ankara were coming. Here has been spoiled by the opening of the bars that address to the generation of the 1980s. Also there were bars in Keçiören before MHP has won the municipality. After MHP has come rightists began to come to *Sakarya*. The owners who don't allow the service to rightists before, gradually began to awake. They accepted this for more money. Before, the bars were used to decide together to make a price increase for beer. Now a competition has begun. Owners become the servants of imperialism. These facts have spoiled *Sakarya* (9).

A bar owner speaks about the deterioration in *Sakarya Caddesi*:

> This place has changed with the changes made in the bus lines of "*gecekondu*" (slum, squatter) districts. Every kind of man come here with the "*Kızılay*" (city center of Ankara) line. Generally the subculture, the rabble prefer to come here, accordingly the relations have degenerated. The ones coming from "Sincan" (a suburb of Ankara) -especially the women- hang up in "*SSK İşhanı*" ("*işhanı*" is a building which consists of shops at the galleria-like section and offices at the multi-floored section, and "*SSK*" is the abbreviation of the Institute of Social Health Insurance, which the building is named after). The students who stay in student hostels also come here. Through a glass of beer they get together as a result of the desire to imitate others. Being oppressed, having no access, not to be able to buy... they see in TV, in newspapers they want to imitate. Televole culture and degeneration occur. Someone comes for that business the others also come for that. Bar owners provoke this. The quality and characteristics of this place disappear (15).

Another informant (1) feels indisposed because of Sakarya's present situation. He mentions that the leftists formerly had a notion of "*bacı*" (literally sister, the notion is to consider women as sisters) and therefore two lovers were able to wander comfortably hand in hand in Sakarya. Before serious

events were happening when someone looked to a woman inauspiciously. He stresses that after 1980 this tradition has vanished and people have begun to come here to find a "*hatun*" (literally woman, in slang broad) or a man. He expresses his annoyance because of this type of people.

Another owner (10) describes the entertainment places of *Sakarya Caddesi* as more comfortable, more "social" and cheaper places than the places in *Çankaya*. He mentions that in contrast to the more unfriendly, consumption oriented relations of the places in *Çankaya*, friendship and fellowship still exists in *Sakarya Caddesi*. He says that he cannot bear to see a fascist in *Sakarya Caddesi* and in his place, and he adds that "Fascists cannot enter here". According to him there is solidarity between the veteran leftist owners on this issue. Mafia sponges on the bar owners who are not leftist, apolitical and not backed. For example they impose them to buy nuts from them". Moreover, he says that *Sakarya Caddesi* was deteriorated when intellectuals left there after 1990s.

Some informants associate the negative change in Sakarya with the neo-liberal trends in the world and with the parallel economical and cultural changes lived in Turkey after Özal period. Moreover, they mention that this change is accelerated with the economical crisis and the consumption culture and "televole culture" after 1990. A journalist informant (16) mentions that some of the leftists who have been jailed after the military coup of September 12, were released with 1991 conditional release. Then they have undertaken the management of the bars in *Sakarya Caddesi*. He says that the leftists released from the prison prefer to come to *Sakarya Caddesi* instead of *Çankaya* to have fun and with his own words these sections have experienced "a boom in their private lives". Informant adds that, thus the leftists also head towards consumption oriented new life styles. He indicated that these facts have influenced not only the leftists but also the small scale tradesmen of *Ulus* (former city center of Ankara) who began to earn much

more money after Özal period[1]. "Small scale tradesmen of *Ulus* have preferred *Sakarya Caddesi* for entertainment. Because, their economical and cultural level is not sufficient to have fun in such places like *Çankaya*". He adds that, the image of *Sakarya Caddesi* supposedly consisting of free sex and amusement, also have attracted them. He emphasizes that both groups have tendencies oriented through more entertainment, consumption and hedonism.

The point which the informants emphasize at most, is the existence of a change in *Sakarya Caddesi*. This change is based upon several reasons. First, is the influence of the people coming from suburbs -who are more poor, having low education, and life styles different from the old frequenters of Sakarya- in order to have fun. Second, is a transformation considered as a result of the change in cultural climate of the world and Turkey after 1980. The old frequenters consider this situation as the influences of global capitalism and its culture. They see this change as a kind of corruption and degeneration stemming from the West. They assert that everywhere, everything is surrounded by the logic of consumption. The ones who defend this view are the long time frequenters having a high school or higher education level and relatively good income. But there are people among them, who are also long time frequenters but work in temporary jobs and having lower education levels (high school graduate at most).

As another cause of the change in *Sakarya Caddesi*, the intensified immigration from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia to Ankara is shown. According to some of the informants, many bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* began

---

[1] In Turkey, military coup of 12 September 1980, has led to dramatic breaks in social life like all military coups. Several years after the coup, have been recorded in history as socially and politically the most turbulent years of Turkey. Society has receded from politics since the political parties and labor unions have been abolished. The period which Turgut Özal first become the economy responsible undersecretary of government and then the prime minister, was a period of transition to free market economy. It was the period which the most radical decisions about political economy have been taken, and it has brought along important changes in social cultural life. For the consumption oriented changes in urban lifestyles which have been generated by Özal Period see, Bali (2002) *Tarzı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni mekanlar, Yeni Yaşam tarzları*, İstanbul, İletişim.

to be run by the people coming from the East and this caused a change in this place. At the same time it is mentioned that the increase in the number of the Kurds coming here to have fun also changed the social relations in this place. Informants do not make clear statements if this change is negative or positive.

But if a generalization is needed, the ones who come here for a long time, in a sense, the ones "consider themselves as the possessors of this place" think that *Sakarya Caddesi* has lost its distinctive characteristic with the increasing human and culture flows and cultural mixing. There is not such a problem for the new comers. Conclusively, the people identify themselves with the characteristics of the place which they select. However, it is seen that these constituted place images are exclusive or open.

6.1.4 Othering Process: Giving Meaning to Place Against Other Places

Most of the informants who come to Sakarya to have fun or to work in entertainment sector, constitute their feelings about this place against another meaning of place and against the people who they think that they belong to that place. Some groups constitute their identities and the identity of the place by stressing their social differences with the other groups. At the same time determining the people who belong to Sakarya or to the bar they frequent they construct the differences between the groups. For example some informants mention that "*kıro*" people (the people coming from rural areas, bumpkin, lout) from the outskirts of the city do not belong to this place and disturb them. Some stress that they are not fond of "the places where the horse races are watched and frequented mostly by the men from lower classes" but adds that these men do not come to the places they go (11).

Another informant (12) who is both waiter and in charge of the security in a bar in *SSK İşhanı*, indicates that there are certain places for each group in *SSK İşhanı*. He compares the bar he works for with the next bar which he

108

considers as the contrary. He stresses that the bar he works for is a "*türkü* bar" and mostly frequented by the "leftist" educated groups. He says that the next bar, on the contrary, mostly frequented by the men who earn good money and belong to "rightist culture", and "come to the bar in order to beguile the girls coming from the provinces" and adds that:

> I don't let that kind of people to enter here, turn them back. The owner of this place is a leftist, he has spent years in prison. They cannot use "the rightist power" here. They cannot make a raid here. We don't allow them. But they know the person to pester. They maintain the balance, otherwise Sakarya would be disordered (12).

At this point we can remark that a particular meaning of the place that is constituted against the other, includes the establishment of certain boundaries and these boundaries are embedded in power relations. These boundaries might be physical in concrete sense but also might be socially established boundaries. For example in some bars responsibles (owners especially stressed that they call them responsible rather than bodyguard) at the door do not let some "types" to enter. Especially in rock bars some people are not allowed to enter for the reason that they may disturb woman customers and may spoil the ambiance of the place. Some people cannot enter to some bars because of their political view and "some" because of their outer appearance. Even if they were let in, they are kept in watch against a possible problem.

The owner of the rock bar *Nil* (3) clarify the people who cannot enter to this place by showing "that men sitting in the opposite bar". The frequenters of the opposite bar are defined as "*akşamcılar*" who are all male, over 30-35 years old, having approximately primary school education level. A fact which has attracted my attention was that the people sitting outside the opposite bar, rather than chatting with each other were watching the street and the bars at the opposite side.

This informant -and many of the others- remarked that: "Actually everyone knows where they belong to and where not. People rarely go to the places they don't belong, for certain purposes. Their purpose is generally to find a girl. Sometimes we let them, provided that they don't cause any problem". Except these bars, where the insiders and the outsiders are clearly defined, entrance to some bars is not clearly controlled.

On the other hand, Municipality of *Çankaya* has removed the long since existing separators -fences- between the bars which could be defined as physical boundaries. Removal of these separators is a negative fact for some of the informants.

> There are no woman customers after *Sedir* Bar. Since the separators have been removed, our [woman] customers obliged to cross among many men hearing bad words. We feel very uncomfortable (4).

The same informant indicates that the men with ties, moustache and in suits cannot enter to his bar (*Limon Bar*) even if they entered, his customers feel uncomfortable. The owner says that his bar is an autonomous zone for the alternative music listeners and adds that "if you let everyone to enter the place you kill that place".

Some of the informants are discontented from the glue addicts, some from the people coming from the fringes of the city especially in the holidays and on Sundays, some from the "rightist" people, some from the "ignorant" people and some from the consumer generation of 1980s for coming to their own entertainment places. They consider them as spoiling elements for *Sakarya Caddesi*.

However, for some, the attendance of different social groups to these places is an positive fact in terms of variety. For example a male, 26 years old, government official and master student informant (13) says that the originality

of *Sakarya Caddesi* stems from embracing such diverse life styles. He thinks that this diversity makes the place beautiful rather that spoiling it. But he mentions that sometimes others might consider him "repulsive".

Another informant expresses a comparable opinion: "It is not my style, but I like to see long haired men with earrings and the girls with colorful hair and nice looking clothes wandering in the street" (6). The same informant indicating that he sits and watch outside says that: "It is not good only to sit here and watch the cars and the colorless, plain people are crossing. Anyway I am an official, I see these types of people every day" (6).

On the other hand, the views which identifies the meaning of Sakarya with its former looking, severely oppose to the elements which they think they are appended to this place later. In a sense, we can say that there is a contradiction and a contestation between the "original possessors" and the "others". This struggle generates -as Massey and Jess (1995) indicates- responds to the question about the future and today of Sakarya.

6.1.5 Contestation Over *Sakarya Caddesi*

Through a case, I will try to explain how the meanings given to *Sakarya Caddesi*, generate conflicts and which kind of changes these conflicts cause in the social and spatial organization of this place.

One of the partners of *Limon* says as an informant (4) that they struggle to improve the present situation of *Sakarya Caddesi* which he considers as the loss of its former meaning and its deterioration. He indicates that, after 1990s vandalism and aggressiveness have increased because of the newcomers and continues:

> For some time "*baliciler*" (singular "*balici*", the people sniffing glue to get intoxicated) dwelled in. There were purse-snatching, usurpation and injuries. I have dealt with

> some of them personally. They had hostilities between
> them, it finished. But it is the reality of our country, today it
> is finished but tomorrow it may arise again (4).

This informant emphasizes that while some of the old frequenters were staying away from *Sakarya Caddesi* some of them were resisting insistently in order to not leave the place to the others. He says that he also struggles against this deterioration. He notes that he struggled for 5 years to found an association in order to make Sakarya an entertainment and culture center, but the bar owners have ignored this issue.

> We would make here a cultural center where exhibitions,
> book signing days, concerts would take place. But it is not
> possible to realize this with such a mentality of Ministry of
> Internal Affairs and such a management of Municipality
> (4).

Informant says that if he was on his own, he would close the street to the traffic, put security doors at several points and employ security units.

The interconnectedness between the representation of the place and the change and development of the place as Massey and Jess indicates, attracts our attention to the connection between the informant's view and the below mentioned case.

In May 6 2004, in *Sakarya Caddesi*, an event happened in front of *Limon Bar*, which it is claimed that the other owner of the *Limon Bar* has also been involved in, 4 people died and 2 people are wounded. Dated May 10, 2004 the report of *Hürriyet Ankara* (the supplement of one of the biggest newspapers) is as follows:

> After the death of 4 people and wounding of 2 people, the
> chief of Police Headquarters in Ankara, Ercüment Yılmaz
> and the Mayor of Çankaya, Muzaffer Eryılmaz have
> decided in a meeting that measures should be increased
> in Kızılay. Sakarya Street and the alleys opening to this

street will be closed to the traffic of motor vehicles. There will be a police officer in every 20 meters in Kızılay.

It is said that the collection of "*tinerci*" (like "*balici*", the people sniffing glue to get intoxicated) and gamin who disturb the people is among other measures (it is said that 3 people died in the event were "*şarapçı*" [alcoholic person who drinks cheap wine on the streets] and "*balici*"). Another measure is the demolition of the street pool in Sakarya which was built only one year ago. Police declared the reason of the demolition of the pool as the alcohol consumers around the pool were disturbing the people till late midnight and demanded the pool to be demolished. Mayor Muzaffer Eryılmaz accepted the demolition of the pool (May 10, 2004, Hürriyet).

Finally, after a short time the pool was demolished.

Here, some questions come into mind. Who defines the meaning of *Sakarya Caddesi* as a place? How do they represent this? When we think of this case we may see the contestation of two different views of place in the background. First view asserts that *Sakarya Caddesi* has a particular, closed meaning and a particular characteristic. Second view mostly belongs to the newcomers who are considered unsuitable to the meaning given to *Sakarya Caddesi* and to the ones who constitute their own claims of place. The dominant claim in the struggle for power, can be considered to have influence on the change and development of the place. Furthermore, it can be thought that people having two opposite views about place reflect two different interests. According to the first view, this points out the improvement of the spoiled "real" characteristic of *Sakarya Caddesi*. This may mean for some owners to make the place more attractive to the customers who have left and to the new ones. The other view expresses the desire and claim of some people to open a place for selves. As a result both of the views reflect a particular sense of place from a particular point of view.

While evaluating new changes people define the characteristics of *Sakarya Caddesi* by reading its history from their social cultural positions. This may

include the implication that the place should not be changed physically and culturally and should remain "pure" and can be a strategy. In this sense we can look at the case of the demolition of the pool in terms of the construction and the reconstruction of the built environment. In the interviews that I have made before the demolition of the pool I have gotten following responses to the questions about the environment arrangement of *Sakarya Caddesi*: For some of the informants the arrangements were positive. For some students pool and the arrangement around it was a place to have fun and rest especially in good weather. Furthermore, some informants have described the pool as a bar free of charge. An informant says that "it is in the open air you may see the people passing by and also you may drink your beer without paying additionally" (1). But some informants have mentioned that, especially in the evenings every kind of people come to the pool and it is not a place for the ordinary people who want to rest. While the pool is a place to rest, relax and spend leisure time for some, for some others it reminds aggressiveness, crime and the potential criminals.

Briefly, this case enables us to derive some conclusions. First, built environment is created by specific interests of social groups and conflicts (Savage and Warde, 1993). Urban built forms are constituted in different social processes and along various struggles by different actors. Second, as Harvey (1985c) indicates, built environment cannot be read simply as a product of a time period. Rather, it shows the struggle of specific social groups for the cultural hegemony and social political power. Therefore, it is important to relate space with power. Any place and the identity of place is constituted by the juxtaposition of conflicting social relations (Massey, 1994). Place is the land of the political practice (Ross, 1988). Accordingly, both the physical forms and the cultural projects have roles in the constitution of the meanings of the cities.

Here, Lefebvre's emphasis about the constitution of the meanings of the cities attracts our attention. According to him the meaning is given to the

cities through social and cultural processes. He also underlines the cultural images of the place. In his notion of "social construction of meaning" the issue of place is important. Lefebvre argues that, by the preference of the value of exchange to the value of use in capitalist societies, the struggle over the images of the places has gained importance in order to attract capitalist entrepreneur. Thus, the images of the places are constituted symbolically. But according to him the meanings of the cities are not only constituted by the cultural images. In this sense, the three spatial dimensions (lived, perceived, imagined) he mentioned are important. Mitchell (1995) points at the distinction made by Lefebvre, between the "representational space" and the "representations of space". According to him first marks out the appropriated, experienced space, the space in spontaneous use. Second, marks out the planned, controlled and ordered space. For him particular groups plan the space through particular claims. This is representations of space. But while being used by urban dwellers, these places become representational space. According to him this process makes the place political. In other words, the thing which makes the place political is the dialectics continuing between the ones seeking order and control and the ones desiring to manifest their own agenda.

Another view related with this case is Shields' notion of "social spatialization". This notion includes both the habitual practices and the structuring of social imaginary. According to him cultural form is a social spatialization. In this context Shields emphasizes that, both to accept the city only as a reality and to stress only the representation of the city are problematic. He tries to overcome the dualism between the representations and non-discursive material of everyday life.

When we look at the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, we can say that there is not a significant distinction between the real and the image in terms of the place but these dimensions intersect with each other. There is another notion of Shields relating with this case. According to this notion, representation of city

is a paradoxical process, because it is constituted upon continuous changes. Therefore, in the representation, particular sides of places become visible and other sides become invisible. In this sense it is possible to see different definitions and representations of the place.

In the case of *Sakarya Caddesi* we can say that it changes continuously in material and cultural terms and accordingly its representations also change. In this context, an informant told me that I would not be able to research *Sakarya Caddesi*. He explained this as follows: "Every day a new thing happens here, everything changes. While you are researching something the new ones occur. Here is like a flowing water, you can't catch it!" (17). As he considers the space as a closed, uncompleted entity this informant has asserted that I would not be able to find such a place.

Finally we can say that the boundaries in *Sakarya Caddesi* are constructed socially. But on the contrary of Shields' notion, it is hard to assert that these boundaries are dissolving and vanishing. The remarkable point in *Sakarya Caddesi* that while some boundaries are vanishing, new ones are being constructed at the same time.

6.2 LIVING IN A CITY: DIVERSITY AND STANDARDIZATION

Using the term "complex connectivity", John Tomlinson considers globalization as an empiric case of the modern world. According to him globalization marks out the network of the fast developing and intensifying mutual links and interdependencies which characterize the modern life. There are many approaches that formulate globalization as the intensification of the global connections such as Lash and Urry (1994), Castells (1996, 1997), Hall (1991, 1992), Massey (1995). These approaches emphasize that globalization operates through "mutual connections", "flows" and "networks". This situation of interconnectedness is explained by Harvey as the time-space compression. Allen and Hamnett (1995) reflect on globalization as the

stretching out of the social relations along space. Interconnectedness marks out that the distances between the spaces are experienced differently in our time. The distance between the spaces can be overcome easily in representative or physical terms (i.e. fast transportation technology) through media. This process increased the meeting of different cultures. At this point, the relation between the overcoming of physical distances and the overcoming of cultural distances becomes important. Accordingly, a discussion comes to the fore: Does the interconnectedness establish a cultural intimacy between different communities and does the culture establish a cultural intimacy between different groups? In this context a criticism arises against the cultural dimension of globalization. It is emphasized that globalization has created a standardized consumption culture, and it entails to be obeyed to its requirements. This effect of globalization appears as the sameness of every place and every culture. Jonathan Friedman (1994, 195) indicates that the discourse of cultural imperialism of the 1960s defines the globalization process as a characteristic of the hierarchical structure of imperialism. Within this discourse, globalization is considered as the spread of the American values, consumer goods and life styles. This discourse assumes that the various cultures which were previously considered to be independent would become a single unity through globalization. This criticism generates the question how the cultural products are received in various contexts. The movements between the cultural/geographical areas always include interpretation, translation, mutation, adaptation and "localization"; because recipient culture establishes connections with the imported culture through its own cultural sources in a dialectical way (Appadurai 1990; Lull 1995; Robins 1991; Tomlinson 1991, cited by Tomlinson 1999).

Today globalization is understood as a multi dimensional phenomenon. It is pointed out that globalization is not a one-directional, eternal process, there are various contradictory resistance relations. Emphasizing the cultural dimension of globalization, some approaches point out that it is a dialectical

process. John Tomlinson defines the general characteristics of a theory of culture which is very complex and hard to define as follows: Culture can be considered as an order of life where people try to construct through symbolic representation practices. He emphasizes that in a world where a complex connectivity exists, the fates of millions of people are connected with the fates of other unknown people, through their countless actions. All of these actions occur in a context where the dressing rules and nuances of fashion establish the personal and local identities. This happens in a context where the local and daily lives are culturally meaningful. According to him the results of these "cultural actions" are global and thus culture is an important issue in terms of globalization.

Moreover, to consider the cultural dimension of globalization as a complex interconnectedness would enable to read how the local experiences transform under these influences. According to Tomlinson, in general culture speaks of how the people give meaning to their lives through communicating with each other both individually and collectively. In a broader sense, whatever cast in symbols is meaningful. In this respect Tomlinson associates culture with every individual's problematic about the questions which has existential importance in everyday practices and experiences. Referring to Raymond Williams (1989) he points out that culture indicates life style in total as a whole in a "democratic and anthropological" sense. In this sense culture embraces all of the everyday practices. So it is important to evaluate the local practices and life styles in a cultural context. Therefore, it would be possible to research cultural differences and diversity.

Today it is discussed that, as a result of cultural globalization a single culture is spreading in the world. It is thought that this culture which is called postmodern consumption culture becomes a universal culture oriented towards the destruction of local cultures (Featherstone, 1991). In this sense it is asserted that differences between the places and the cultures have vanished. The cities are the places where these global influences are most

intensively experienced. Accordingly, it is important to know which culture characterizes the cities.

6.2.1 Urban Life Styles

Today some urban studies (Zukin, 1995) interpret urban culture by emphasizing the differences of life styles stemming from consumption. Although the term of "life style" has a more restricted social meaning which refers to distinctive life styles of specific status groups, it also reminds the expression of oneself, the individuality and stylist self-consciousness. Someone's body, clothes, speaking, use of leisure time, drink and food preferences, house, car and holiday choices etc. are considered as the signs of the individuality of consumers sense of taste and style (Featherstone, 1991, 83). In spite of, it is thought that the consumption culture has risen in modernity, some writers assert that consumption culture shows tendencies towards postmodern city (Zukin, 1988, Chambers, 1987). In this sense, in the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, it is possible to discuss the influences of postmodern tendencies and the consumption culture which I have mentioned in Chapter 2, on the life styles of city residents.

In this chapter, I will make a reading and an interpretation about the attitudes and practices on the issues such as consumption styles, men and women relations and media. First of all I will describe some bar types.

6.2.2 The Entertainment Places in *Sakarya Caddesi*: Bars

SSK İşhanı (a multi-floored building with bars in it) contains every kind of bars in *Sakarya Caddesi*: It is possible to classify the bars according to the kind of music listened, such as rock bars, *türkü* (Turkish folk song) bars, pop bars. As an exception, in *Bayındır* Street there is "*Büyük Express*" where is no live music and thus cannot be included in this bar category.

SSK İşhanı is at the entrance of *Sakarya Caddesi*, an entertainment area. Until 1985-1986 there were not any bars in the building but today it is known with the bars in it. The bars are spread beginning from the first floor to the upper floors of the galleria-like section. At the ground floor of the galleria section there are butcher shops and some other kinds of delicatessen shops. At the upper floors of the multi-floored section, above the bars there are the offices of book keepers, lawyers. In the galleria section shops are open to a courtyard. It is remarkable that, different kinds -or opposite genres- of music rise from the bars lined side by side but not one of them seems disturbed by each other. At the ground floor there is also a mosque.

If we begin with the pop bars, in the daytime young people, students (mostly high school students) come to these bars but in the evenings the ages of the customers increase by the attendance of the officials and the small-scale tradesmen. Although these bars call themselves as pop bars the music presented is not only pop music. For example one of the managers of these bars says that they began to play live music at 2 pm., they have two singers (one man, one woman) and the music played has an order such as; first pop music, than folk dance tunes, "*halay*" (a folk dance performed by holding hands and forming a circle) and finally foreign tunes (18).

In terms of the service there is also a difference between the pop bars and the other bars such as rock bars and *türkü* bars. In the pop bars there is a management director and a headwaiter, more than one waiter serve to a table. Waiters are dressed up in formal trousers, shirts and ties in a uniform style but in the rock or *türkü* bars the waiters serve in their casual clothes (and not alike).

A waiter of a *türkü* bar (12) describes the people coming to a pop bar as follows:

> The middle scaled tradesmen who have rightist culture go to those places in order to benefit from the favors -the girls from the provinces-. These girls are in the threshold of fleeing from home. They go under the protection of these guys. They don't buy their own clothes. Their accommodation, eating, drinking etc. are provided by these guys (12).

In one of the bars which I have gone I had the following impressions: In the daytime, around 2-3 pm. live music began and a few girls in the appearance of a dance group began to dance. There were not many customers inside since it was day time. At several tables few men about 35-40 years old few men were sitting. In spite of the day time the inside the bar was illuminated by disco-like red lights. After they have finished their dancing the girls came and sat at the tables of these men and began to chat with them. When the dance music started again they went to the dancing pool and began to dance again. The dressings of the girls were looking like the dressings of the VJ girls of the national music channel "*Kral TV*". But their clothes were not trademarked ones. I wanted to interview with these girls but I have been rejected by them. Also another remarkable thing was that the waiters who were inviting the passersby like barkers. Waiters were serving as if they are serving in a stylish restaurant. Very often they were changing the ash trays in the table with the clean ones.

Manager of a pop bar in *SSK İşhanı*, states that they have customers from the environs of Ankara such as Kırıkkale, Kalecik etc. and rarely the tradesmen in textile business and some industrialists from the cities like Adana or Gaziantep. This informant mentions that they have all kinds of alcoholic drinks in their bar but the mostly consumed drinks are rakı and beer. He adds that:

> Some of our customers know nothing about drinks. In order to show off for the woman with him he asks whiskey and when you serve a whiskey of poor quality he never realizes it. The other day a customer came he ordered champagne for the singer performing on the stage. I

> served something like soda-lemon, quite a poor quality
> thing, I blew it up, he didn't realize and even asked the
> drink to be served to the table (18).

The same informant notes that usually rich customers would not come to *SSK İşhanı* they would prefer *Çankaya*.

Another informant whom I have interviewed in a pop bar, purposing the ones sending champagne to the singer on the stage, says that "these type of men are the men who want to go to "*pavyon*" (low quality night-club), but they do not have enough money. If they go to *pavyon* they would pay 300-500 millions but they can have fun here for 50 millions".

The manager of a pop bar (18) states that there is mosque at the ground floor of *SSK İşhanı*, and he performs "*namaz*" (Islamic ritual of worship, performed by some physical movements) when he comes early. He adds that the bar owners, only on Fridays, do not play music until end of the *namaz* at noon time (Friday noon time prayers are traditional).

Another informant who is waiter in a *türkü* bar comments on the same case as follows:

> It also appeared in newspapers that the mosque and the
> bars are together in a building. The title of the report was:
> Postmodern life in SSK. The building would fill with the
> voice of azan but nobody turns off the music. But in the
> villages, music is turned off while azan is called (12).

Another point was remarkable for me in a bar in which I have interviewed its manager; there were 22 television sets over the American bar which the manager has proudly mentioned. The television sets were all turned on and each of them was showing a different channel, just for decoration. Moreover, outside the bar where it opens to the courtyard there were two gigantic television screens placed facing each other at the corners. The manager states that whenever the customers wish -in the case of football matches and

news reports- the sound volume of these TV sets are turned on. The same informant answers the question about the ones who are not allowed to enter to the bar as follows, "we don't let the ones dressed up like peasants, with the slippers on their feet. The *çakal* types (shady person, literally jackal) who cause troubles, we don't let them in also".

The *türkü* [2] bars in *SSK İşhanı* differentiate from the *türkü* bars on *Sakarya Caddesi*. The bars in *SSK İşhanı* stress that they present not only the Turkish folk music but also the folk music of different communities. Moreover, they emphasize that some *türkü* bars are mostly frequented by Alevi and Kurdish people but their bars are not only frequented by a particular ethnical group. In one of these bars, *Fikrim*, on certain days of the week some groups perform world music. Once a week some academicians make conversations on world music with the customers of the bar. The customers coming here are mostly university students or graduates, and journalists, lawyers, teachers, doctors, nurses who work in various institutions. According to the informants this bar is mostly frequented by intellectuals, leftists and anarchists. The users are between ages of 25-35. The waiter of the bar who is a university student notes that similar to the bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* the customers above the middle economical level do not come. He states that most of their customers use credit cards and most of them come here and drink beer even they have no money at the end of the month and he adds that at times they share the economical problems together. Mostly beer is consumed in the bar, rakı and vodka are the other consumed drinks.

In this bar, live music begins in the evening. Except some special occasions the users of the bar do not make *halay* [3] or other dances. Mostly they accompany to the songs, rarely they ask from the performing group to play their wish, because to ask a song from the group is not assented in this bar.

---

[2] Folk Song.
[3] Traditional Dance.

An informant (12) who is a waiter in another *türkü* bar states that generally the leftists come to their bar and describe their entertainment styles as follows:

> The ones coming here, legitimate their own life styles by covering up themselves with the intellectual identity and taking refuge behind the socialist theories. Actually they are not different from the ones who go to pop bars. If they want to experience a relation with the opposite sex they use their poetship and musicianship, in such a way they influence the people. Most of them have origins in rural areas and they are mostly officials but they create an image for themselves and thus they acquire a status among the others... These are the places that songs (*türkü*), poems and music are being exploited, it is not meaningful, in fact they don't have fun, only consume the alcohol more comfortably".

Besides *Limon Bar*, which we have given as an example of rock bars in the previous chapter, we can also include *Gölge Bar* into the case, which is one of the few rock bars in *SSK İşhanı* and the only one where foreign music is played. Some of the informants describe *Gölge Bar* as follows:

The manager of *Ada Bar* says that "The sons and daughters of bureaucrats, professors go to *Gölge Bar*. If I go there, wearing a tie they don't let me in. Besides there are no service, no tables" (18). University graduate, 29 years old another male informant says that "The young people go there, whose parents have professions " (20).

In *SSK İşhanı*, in the rock bars such as *Kavel*, *Rock*, *Baraka* the groups perform Turkish rock but in *Gölge Bar* the groups perform foreign-English rock. The ones who came to these bars to have fun are mostly university students who are 18-30 years old. As the informants state, *Gölge Bar* is a little bit different from the others. Comparable to the Western style garage bars, with its design and service, *Gölge Bar* has young customers who are generally good educated, speaking foreign languages, and having a relatively

higher economical level than the customers of other bars. They usually prefer the trademarked clothes, almost all of them have computers at home and use internet. There are differences between the users of the bars presenting Turkish rock and users of the ones presenting English rock. The groups who are close to each other in socio-economical terms come to both kinds of bars. But the users of the bars presenting Turkish rock have more political and anti-system attitudes in their discourses and everyday lives. There are more political discussions about Turkey and the world in these bars. For example the informants state that when America started war in Iraq the main issue that has been discussed in these bars was the war. It is also stated that most of these customers use an anti-war discourse and have actively participated to the anti-war protests and organizations. In the rock bars where English rock is performed, for most of the users to speak of politics while having fun in the bar is "to rescue the world and Turkey in the bar as the veteran leftists do", and they despise this manner (23). But it is also said that these people have an anti-war attitude albeit they are not fond of talking politics in the bar.

A woman informant who goes both to two kinds of rock bars and to *türkü* bars mentions that: "If I want to stroll about (to flirt, to find a boy friend or to make sex) and to dance I go to *Gölge*. If I want to chat with my friends and to speak of something, I go to the bars where Turkish rock is performed" (24).

In the bars where Turkish rock is performed while the customers sit around the tables the live music goes on. Although rarely there are some people who dance, the customers usually accompany the performing groups by singing. In *Gölge*, except a few tables there are not any sitting sets. After the live music begins the people in the bar gather around the performing group and they dance and accompany the songs. Both in *SSK İşhanı* and *Sakarya Caddesi* the only bars which has an entry fee for certain days are the rock bars (the ones where the English rock is performed). *Gölge* and *Limon* as being such rock bars are notable with their differences from the other

entertainment places of *Sakarya Caddesi*. It is indicated in the interviews made with the informants in different bars that these bars have a serious security group at their doors, "more modern types hang up in these bars" and "men-women relations are experienced more easily in these bars" (2). In general if we speak with the concepts of Bourdieu (1984), the people who have a relatively big cultural capital, go to the rock bars.

Another group of bars, consists of the bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* and *SSK İşhanı*, with various styles which cannot be included into these classifications. These bars address to particular groups which have similarities in terms of their ethnical origins and their economical and social capitals. These can be listed as; the bars which are frequented only by Kurds and Kurdish music is performed, the bars which are frequented only by Alevis and Alevi music is performed, the bars where frequented only by jobless men or interim workers who are nearly alcoholics and cheap beer is served, the bars where frequented by the university students who define themselves as "hippie", "anarchist", "marginal" and "rocker" and no live music available and cheap beer is served. Besides these in *Sakarya Caddesi* there is *Büyük Express* which has virtually become a trademark. Most of the informants who go or even who do not go to *Büyük Express* speak of it with praising words. *Büyük Express* is one of the oldest bars in *Sakarya Caddesi*. Its frequenters are generally the leftists, intellectuals, cinema people, writers, academicians, university students, media people and officials. According to some this profile has changed a little bit in 10 years. It has some frequenters who have been coming for 10-15 years. Among the users of this bar there are also the groups who prefer to go to *türkü* bars or to rock bars. Although less some conservative and liberal people also come here. For example stating that his family is a large and a conservative one, an informant (25) who is a university graduate and an official says that his life style is different from the other people who come to *Büyük Express*. He mentions that in spite of this difference he comes 4 or 5 times in a week after work to this bar, where he feels comfortable, in order to get rid of the work stress rather than to have

126

fun. According to him "cultured" people come to *Büyük Express* and it has a peaceful and decent atmosphere.

> "It is a place where I can come alone, there is no music, the frequenters are same people, waiters are not overly familiar... When I am on my own, I come here. With the friends we go to *türkü* bars" (25).

There is no live music in *Büyük Express*, the music is played on a volume level that does not disturb the customers. The people in groups of friends come here to chat and drink. The mostly consumed drinks are beer and rakı. While the other bars are open till the late hours of the night -till 1 or 4 am.- *Büyük Express* closes around 11.30 pm. A remarkable point in this bar is that as a tradition, assistant waiters of the bar are promoted to be waiters, namely the service has being made by the same staff for long years.

Besides the physical atmosphere of the bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* the cultural atmosphere should be also inquired. The overproduction of signs and the loss of referent are shown as the characteristics of the postmodern culture. Baudrillard (1983) indicates that the overproduction of the signs and the reproduction of the images and the stimulations do not allow to produce a stable meaning and emphasizes that people cannot develop a stable feeling in a feeling of aestheticized reality. He adds that today we live a hyper reality situation. Jameson (1991) and Harvey (1989) assert that in a complexity and a fragmentation that has been brought by postmodernism, people show inability in developing a cognitive meaning about the world.

The explanations of the informants who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* to have fun, about the meaning of the life are as follows: Almost every informant emphasized that the feeling they live most intensively is the feeling of insecurity and uncertainty about the world. Among the ones who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* to have fun -without being parallel to their social status-, generally there is worry about the future. Nevertheless, some informants,

emphasize that especially the economical worries bring along the worries about the other dimensions of the life. For example, a university graduate, commercial text writer informant who is one of the frequenters of Express says that;

> Seriously, I know nothing about the future, I don't know what shall I become. Here it is not as in America, Canada. There, somehow you may sustain your life, but here there is no such opportunity. At the moment I am jobless, I don't have any insurance. When I was in university I was making pieces of jewelry and selling them, I was happy. There is not any value that I am bound to with passion. I want to earn money and to live as I like, I want to have my own house (22).

Although he is an university graduate and commercial text writer this informant says that he feels himself insecure. Mentioning the monotony of the life he says that he comes to *Sakarya Caddesi* only to kill time. He adds that he has only a few beloved friends and his family is important for him. He indicates that he has not any grand social aims. Another informant mentions that he worries about the future and the most scaring thing for him is to lose his job. "I consider myself lucky for being to be able to find a job. I finance my brother/sister's education in university. I couldn't go to university because of economical difficulties. My biggest dream is to go to university" (7). This informant says that in the society we live in there is nothing to be surprised. He says that he only surprises to people who laugh in the cases they suppose to cry.

In spite of having a relatively good income another informant (13) stresses that he is afraid of losing his job. He says that many people left the country but he is not in need of since he has neither a job nor money. He mentions that he has no big dream and a goal in a social sense. He says that a few people whom he loves very much are the most valuable thing for him. He mentions that he is happy in a general sense.

128

Some of our informants emphasize that in the conditions of Turkey the life is very hard especially for the leftists. They indicate that many leftists -who were activists before 1980- come to *Sakarya Caddesi*, but they are unhappy because of the conflict between their imaginary and the "real" world. An informant who defines himself as a leftist says that

> How one can be happy in this system? My dream is a world governed by socialism, a society where the people live in equality and freedom... In this society it is not surprising for me to see the people undermine each other (10).

Another informant who defines himself as a leftist, says that the conditions of the world and Turkey, make the production of a positive meaning about life, difficult. He emphasizes that there is a very big impact of military coup of September 12, over many leftists who come to *Sakarya Caddesi*, and these leftists could not be able to get rid of this impact and could not create a new ideological development and accordingly they tend to life styles (referring to the entertainment styles in *Sakarya Caddesi*) which are different from their former life styles. He adds that these are the places to escape for them. He reminds that nowadays, individuality becomes more important than collectivity for these people. He underlines that in spite of his dream of an equalitarian world, his basic wish is a happy and peaceful life for his daughter (16).

An informant who is a frequenter of one of the cheap bars says that "The ones who have a meaningful life do not come here (*Sakarya Caddesi*) they go to *Çankaya*. We are only passing our time here".

When we make generalizations by taking the risk of neglecting some differences we see that the people here do not describe the life by profound and grand meanings. Their plans about the future are not long term plans they do not have comprehensive projects which embrace the other sections of the society or other societies. Leftist groups express their longing for a

socialist society as a dream. Some of the anarchists who have participated to international anti-globalization activities, ironically do not believe that a positive change will occur in the world. Their plans about the future are embracing only themselves and their close-bys. The desires and the goals which I have met are as follows: To be successful at job, to have a good job or a house, to study in a good school, to attend to a university master program, to have his/her child have a good education, to have a social security, to be able to travel to different places of the world.

6.2.3 Consumption Styles

Today important changes are being experienced in the realm of consumption. Fashion has an important influence on the increase of the consumption activities. Fashion can be influential in leisure and entertainment activities as well as in choice of clothing, decoration, furniture arrangement and consumption. For example for some groups *Sakarya Caddesi* is outmoded. As it was indicated in the discourses about the change and corruption in *Sakarya Caddesi* which I have mentioned before, nowadays some groups (the ones who prefer rock-bars) prefer *Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi* rather than *Sakarya Caddesi*. Some of the informants who come to rock-bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* say that now they come rarely to *Sakarya Caddesi*. Among these groups there the ones who mention that Rock and the Rockers will never be outmoded but some of them mention that the Rock culture is outmoded in the world and Clubber culture is in vogue now.

The informant who is a teacher, emphasizes that he used to come to *Sakarya Caddesi* with his friends frequently but now many of his Rocker friends do not come to *Sakarya Caddesi* any more. "Trend has changed, up to 5 years ago Rock was still in vogue in Turkey. We were trying to express our anti-system attitude through the Rocker life style. Now the fashion is to be a clubber. Some of my friends are trying to be a clubber but they do not have enough money. But by any means they want to follow this new trend".

Besides, there are people who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* since 10-15 years stating that they will continue to come without minding what the fashion is. Some mention that *türkü* bars (the ones presenting only the Turkish folk music) have gradually become outmoded. Therefore some *türkü* bar owners tend to present the ethnical and mixed folk music as a strategy.

As Bourdieu (1984) states, it is possible to mark out the social differences through consumption. The images created through fashion can be influential in this sense. Among the frequenters of the entertainment places the clothing styles are used to manifest the social differences. The clothing styles of the people who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* may vary according to the type of the bar they go. In my interviews with the responsibles waiting in front of the bars, they mention that they can guess who can enter to which bar. The most typical image signs are suits, mustache, chaplets (*tespih*), long hair, piercing, colored hair (red, blue etc.), sport shoes, jeans and hair styles. In the entertainment places it is possible to see different clothing styles. Some groups prefer the clothes with well-known trademarks and want these trademarks to be visible. Some groups albeit wearing the clothes with well-known trademarks they prefer to rip out the labels, so that they want to display an extraordinary, divergent image. Furthermore, another group tries to display their differences by sewing their own clothes, sometimes mixing these hand made clothes with the trademarked ones, they make new combinations. In recent years these type of clothing become a fashion among some youth groups. Nowadays, there is another style attracts attention in *Sakarya Caddesi*; a style appearing as a mixture of head scarf, all over covered body and the "rock" or "grunge" style. There is also a clothing fashion among the frequenters of the pop bars. At first sight these clothes seem similar. The owner of a pop bar describes this style as follows:

> We as the people working here and the ones coming here should be careful in outward appearance. The ones in disheveled appearance cannot enter here. In late hours at night, the people who dressed up like Miroğlu (Leading

character of TV serial "Deliyürek") come here. They are stylish and attractive" (18).

Except all of these, there are people who do not keep up with the fashion because of cultural and economical reasons. It is remarkable at this point that, many of the people strive to stylize their manner of dressing and their hair styles. As Featherstone (1991) states it would meaningful to speak of a stylistic hotchpotch rather than a single style. We can say that here, people have a hesitation whether to be similar to the others or to be different from the others. Another point about the consumption which is remarkable for us in *Sakarya Caddesi* is that, although most of the frequenters are from economically lower-middle or lower sections, they spend an important portion of their income in *Sakarya Caddesi*. For example, some of the government officials mention that they spend more than half of their salary here.

6.2.4 Man and Woman Relations

In this research, during the interviews about the entertainment places of *Sakarya Caddesi* the informants have mostly focused on and spoke of the man-woman relations and sexuality. Some express their views referring to cultural degeneration and some referring to liberation.

The first thing I have observed in the bars of *Sakarya Caddesi*, that there was not any woman waitress working in the bars. There are woman singers and dancers only in the pop bars. When I asked for the reason, bar owners gave different answers. The owner of a *türkü* bar (10) who defines himself as an equalitarian and leftist, states that he is against employment of woman waiters in the bars.

> There are some places using woman as a showcase but I don't employ women. Because women are considered as sexual commodities. Their sexual appearance becomes more important than their labor. So I am against it (10).

132

But the same informant states that, the potentiality of a place would increase if more women come, and adds that this would be a positive situation for his self-interest. An informant (18) who is the manager of a pop bar states that they do not employ woman waiters because the customers may disturb them by the effect of alcohol. But in these kinds of pop bars women are working as barmaid, singer and dancer.

According to some users the man-woman relations experienced here are annoying. A free lance businessman, high school graduate, 41 years old informant states that he yearns for the old relations and the love affairs, he feels very sorry for the young people who come to *Sakarya Caddesi* and he would not let his daughter to come these places. Meanwhile he says that everyday he comes to *Sakarya Caddesi* for a drink.

Another informant states that today the human relations become artificial like in the science-fiction films and he adds:

> You can be together with any girl you want in the bar. The children have grown very freely. These children have more depression, they haven't read philosophy, they are in a serious gap, they don't have ideologies, they don't have any theoretical thing. Alcohol, drugs, sex don't satisfy them. Sex is descending to ages of 15 (22).

This informant refers to particular bars in these comments about *Sakarya Caddesi*. He makes these comments for the rock bars where "men and woman sexuality is experienced more "easily", "transient, one-day relations" are founded and frequented mostly by the educated people. He usually goes to *Büyük Express* and rarely to rock bars. He states that in *Büyük Express* these relations are lived in more self-controlled manners in comparison to rock bars. The reason can be associated with the difference between the generations.

For some people, the relations experienced in rock bars are as it should be in our time. For this people, in modern communities to make "free sex" is considered as the most natural right of the people. For example a master program student, female informant whose parents are teacher, says that she adopts a hippie life style and makes comment about this case as follows:

> At this era we are not supposed to live *haremlik-selamlık* (an Ottoman life style, *haremlik* is the indoors section designated for the women, *selamlık* is the place for men, as an idiom it is used in modern Turkish to mark out the separate living of men and women). Here nobody forces anybody to do something. It is possible for anyone to live a one-night relation, some others may flirt here in order to have some fun or someone may hang up alone... First look at the situation of the world today and than look at the people of our society, you will see the oppositeness in this case... We oppress our own in the society anyway. In a sense here is the place we may have feel relieved. When we are coming here we are exposed to some small harassment but it is relieving here (24).

The people who come to the rock bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* -as I have explained before- have more "economical and cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1977) than the users of the other bars. In physical and representative terms they have more spatial mobility both on a local and a global scale. Most of them have the possibility to establish mediated and/or immediate connections with the people living in different places of the world. They mostly adopt the "counter-culture" trends which have emerged in 1960s. In this sense, we can say that some of them keep up with the dressing and life styles of 1960s. It can be observed that they have comfortable and informal dressing styles. In the same bars there are also the ones who dressed up in style of today's clubbers. The views of both groups about sexuality can be summarized as "today man and woman relations should be open and free-sex should be experienced" (24).

It is not possible to see such appearances and approaches in every bar of *Sakarya Caddesi*. For example, in the bars where jobless and interim worker

men begin to drink at 10-11 am. The case is different. These bars have a pub image and women cannot enter. Inside the bars there is a television set. Some watch TV -generally horse races-. Some sit inside or outside of the bar and watch the street, the passersby and chat with their friends. An owner of this kind of a bar states that there are also alcoholics, construction workers (*amele*) and officials among his customers. He says that since he sells cheap beer he earns money through the circulation. He mentions that some types come to *Sakarya Caddesi* in order to beguile women and claims that especially the customers of the rock bars live "*cıvık*,(impertinent) *laçka* (being lack of principles)" relations. But underlining that this is normal he says that "also in Europe men go to bars in order to find women". He emphasizes that he does not have such problems since only men frequent his bar. He states that: "A short circuit occurs when a man and a "*bayan*" (literally Miss, in colloquial use woman) come together, fuses blow up! Therefore, it is good to have only men in the bar" (28).

An informant who is the frequenter of the cheap bars states that the purpose of a man or a woman who comes alone here (*Sakarya Caddesi*) is to find a lover. Saying that he can marry to a woman whom he met here he says: "But this woman should fit to my shape (to his life style). My wife was an official, she was seeing high people. I am an alcoholic, she divorced me" (1). He says that he prefers cheap bars because he is not obliged to be with a woman to go there. "Expensive" bars annoy him because they do not let these men to enter there without a woman partner.

Some of the customers of Express and other rock, *türkü* bars -mostly leftist university students or graduates who have a relatively good income- stress that there is a change in terms of sexuality in *Sakarya Caddesi*: Relations are momentary; hedonism based, violence oriented relations has taken the place of sentimental relations. For them these are the influences of "global consumption culture" and "postmodern condition". People somehow become

subjected to this culture according to their social positions. For them, these experiences, to consume each other, is the last stage of the consumption.

Briefly, there is a big diversity in *Sakarya Caddesi* in terms of men and women relations and sexual experiences. Moreover, there is a notable tendency to live sexual experiences more intensively and more openly. In the relation styles we can meet with the forms of the modern life. Besides, we see that many traditional elements articulate significantly with these styles. Some events that I have witnessed here, reflect these mixtures: The lovers hitting to each other and the customers who do not intervene; A *tesettürlü* (the practice whereby some Muslim women cover their faces, wear long, all-enveloped garments) girl dances with her lover in an intimate manner; a signboard read as "no motors allowed" ("*motor*" is used in slang for the women who have desultory relations with many men).

6.2.5 Media

Most of people coming to *Sakarya Caddesi*, have a relation with media through television. Bu on the contrary of the prevalent opinion, the people coming here state that they watch television only for one or two hours in a day. The informants, who do not watch TV, mention the reasons as follows: Having no time to watch TV; the poor quality of the TV programs; imposition of televole culture in TV; degeneration and corruption of our culture through TV; spread of capitalist view through TV.

The informants, who watch television states that they usually follow up news reports, documentaries and sport programs. Most of the pop bars in *Sakarya Caddesi* have a television set. The music channel Kral-TV is always on the screen in these bars. There are signs at the doors of these bars indicating that they have "Digitürk" (satellite tv). The informants who are the frequenters of the rock bars state that they usually watch news channels such as CNN, BBC and music channels such as MTV.

Some informants state that they watch some of the Turkish serials and find something from their lives and families in these serials. These informants mention that they watch with interest the family-neighborhood serials such as *Ekmek Teknesi*, *Yeditepe İstanbul*, *Babaevi*, *7 Numara*, *Asmalı Konak*, *Sultan Makamı* and the mafia serials such as Deliyürek and Kurtlar Vadisi. A leftist, journalist informant says that he likes very much to watch the serial *Yeditepe İstanbul* and adds that he identify himself with a character of the serial:

> Screenplay was so strong. The role of Uğur Polat,* was the things we had lived. To be afraid to go out of home, fear from police these are the things we had lived. I have identified myself with Uğur Polat and my wife with Zuhal Olcay*. Her struggle to keep on her own feet has so influenced my wife very much (16).

Another informant mentions that he likes the serial *Babaevi*, he compares the characters with his family and Halil Ergün's* father character, his approach to the children reminds him his own father. This TV serial, illustrates a family which is below middle economic level and traditional neighborhood relations. It emphasizes the community relations, face to face relations and emotional bonds which are considered to be lost in modern times. Relating with this serial, this informant stresses that he misses this kind of "warm" relations and he adds that such disappearing values are important for his family.

A *türkü* bar frequenter informant says that the feature film, *Sultan* where Türkan Şoray* plays, tells his childhood story and he adds "The family in the film Sultan resembles our family. The children play in the mud, so and so...".

A notable point that attracted our attention was that the Turkish serials such as *Asmalı Konak* and *Sultan Makamı*, have been watched with the friends gathering at homes.

---

* Turkish Artists.

Some informants from different social groups state that they watch the same serial and explain the reasons of admiring it. An informant who is the manager of a pop bar says that he has one day off once a week and he uses his off day on Thursdays since the serial *Kurtlar Vadisi* is shown on Thursdays and adds:

> The most I like in the serial is Çakır. Çakır is both strong and brings justice to the society, he is a delikanlı (literally young, but used in slang to describe the ruffians) type. He is very sincere, I like to hear him while saying "*şerefsiz*" (literally dishonorable), "*adi*" (literally vulgar), he seems very sincere to me (18).

Another informant in a *türkü* bar who likes the same TV serial, mentions that he is a socialist. He says that *Kurtlar Vadisi* is a mafia serial, he watches it because he is curious about how the dirty relation between mafia and state is explained in the serial.

Even between the people who watch the same serial there are differences in their reception of the cultural codes. People derive messages in connection with their socialization environment. We can say that people act within the reference circle of their own social group when they are both selecting and receiving the program.

* * *

In general, I tried to interpret the influences of today's global cultural changes on urban culture in the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, in this chapter. I studied culture in terms of life styles. In this case, as a problematic I questioned the claim which asserts that global culture renders the place and every culture similar and destroys local cultures in a hegemonic way. I researched if a single global culture is observed on an urban level and more particularly in *Sakarya Caddesi*. Tomlinson states that the claim about the constitution of a single culture is based on the standardization and the "proximity" which is

observed in world wide cultural products. Standardization and proximity embrace many signifiers including the cultural. It extends from the clothes to food, music, films, television, architecture, particular life styles, trademarks, tastes and practices (Tomlinson, 1999, 118).

We can search the claim about the globalization that it increases the interconnectedness between the places and cultures, spreads a standard culture and destroys the local originalities in *Sakarya Caddesi* as a case. In this place some changes occur parallel to the cultural changes in the world. Growth of new life styles, the influence of media and the signs on everyday life, the prevalence of consumption in general sense, cultural products and leisure consumption, the central role of images and fashion in this consumption, the tendencies of the individuals towards a devotion to various, small communities, the juxtaposition of the modern and the traditional in the formation of these styles and the emerge of new mixtures are observed. There are many trademarks and icons as global cultural products. Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Levis, Nike, Marlboro, CNN, MTV, IBM, Microsoft are some of them. In this sense we can speak of a standardization in this place. But as Tomlinson (1999) states, it is disputatious to say that merely the existence of these cultural products show the tendency towards a global single culture.

On the other hand there is a significant diversity in the urban life styles in *Sakarya Caddesi*. Today the ability of the places and the cultures to contact with each other and their increasing power to influence each other, enable a heterogeneity between and within the cities. In this sense we can consider the cities as the juxtaposition and co-present places of the cultures. In this context we can consider Ankara and *Sakarya Caddesi* as a meeting place. In *Sakarya Caddesi* many people who come from different sections of the city, different socio-economical groups and different ethnical groups encounter and interact with each other. Meeting of different cultures in the society under global cultural influences generates new cultural forms. Moreover, this

diversity and mixture lead to some tensions. In this context, Hall's claim accords with this case; "Culture is not settled, enclosed or internally coherent. In modern world, culture, like place, is a meeting point where different cultural forces and discourse intersect". Besides, in terms of cultural life it is important to point out that in *Sakarya Caddesi* the people do not receive the codes passively, either they are local or global. In this place, different groups receive some of these various codes by appropriating them within their own socio-economical and cultural backgrounds. In this sense it is not possible to say that local cultures and places have completely lost their originality and uniqueness. Instead, it would be more meaningful to speak of their uniqueness that is constituted by the juxtapositions and mixtures.

In this case we can derive a conclusion in global cultural context that on the one hand there is a tendency towards standardization and homogeneity but on the other hand there is a diversity and a heterogeneity in the cities. In this sense Sarıbay's (2002, 37) view about the places can be repeated for the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*: In these places, we can see the mass culture with elite culture, traditional rural identities with the modern/postmodern identities, the manifestations of consumer life style with the imitator manners stemming from not to be able to realize this life style, the real human relations with the simulative ones side by side in all their inclusive contradictions.

CONCLUSION

The main departure point of this thesis has been the argument that space is an integral part of the social. The absolute view of space which dominated the related fields for such a long time argued for an external relationship between social relations and spatial structures. In this view, space itself is considered as a container within which social relations take place. Recently, this view has been challenged by the relativist view which considers space as a product of social relations. In line with this view the relativist view argued that as space is a product of social relations, therefore it is apt to argue that space is nothing other than social. In this thesis by following Lefebvre and Harvey it is accepted that both views are inadequate in understanding the multi-dimensional relationship between the social relations and spatial structures. Therefore, a third view, namely relational view of space is taken as a starting point. According to this relational view, it is true that spatial structures are products of social relations. However, this does not mean that space can be reduced to the social relations itself. Once it is created by social relations, space itself has its own peculiar effects on the social relations.

Dwelling upon the relational view, Lefebvre and later on Harvey and others concentrated on the historical relationship between the capitalist social relations and corresponding spatial structures. Harvey's main concern in this endeavor has been the forms and mechanisms of time-space compression under capitalism with reference to the recent changes from Fordism to post-Fordist flexible accumulation. He mainly focused on how contemporary capitalism has overcome the spatial barriers. In this sense, cultural forms of capitalism have been quite central to Harvey's analysis. As we have shown, despite sharing the relational view, a number of geographers and cultural analysts have criticized Harvey's approach for its economic reductionism. They argued that Harvey's analysis does not leave any room for human

agency. The logic of capitalism in Harvey's view determines the forms of social spatial relations including the cultural one. Massey, among others, argued for a more dynamic approach in understanding the interaction of social relations and spatial structures. In such analysis, cultural forms are considered to be a formative feature of socio-spatial relations rather than a mere reflection of the logic of capital.

The debate mentioned above is quite central to the cultural life in the cities under capitalism. According to Harvey, postmodernism is cultural clothing of flexible accumulation. Although Harvey recognized that globalization is not an even process creating same type of relations and spatial structures in all localities, he did not theorize the local specificities under global capital accumulation processes.

Massey, following her general conception, defends a more diversified view on the globalization and its spatial dimension. She questions whether globalization creates a uniform culture and place in different parts of the world. Although she agrees that global processes characterized by increasing flow of information and capital as well as the flow of people have challenged the well established local worlds, this does not represent a new power geometry within which local uniqueness has lost its meaning. On the contrary, local uniqueness has gained new meanings under global flows and invasions. However, the uniqueness of the place is not something to be constructed without referring to the place of that local world in the global networks. Thus, according to Massey on the one hand boundaries of the places become clearer than before. On the other hand, the complexity of interconnections has dramatically increased.

Such a conception has important repercussions for the construction of cultural identities. Replacement of settled, enclosed and internally coherent places with a new notion of place characterized by openness, contestation and multi dimensionality dissolves the singular place notion as the source of

identity. As a social construct, identities are contingent upon space and place. On the one hand, place is central to the construction of identities, on the other hand the very same identity is not fixed in terms of its spatial dimension.

An important outcome of the debate summarized above is that because there is an important role played by human agency in the construction of place, specific identities as well as a subjective process. Thus, the thesis put forward four main arguments regarding the identity formation in the city as a specific instance of society-space interaction and tried to test the argument by concentrating on the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*. These arguments were as follows:

Globalization process creates a new power geometry within which some global relations enter to the local worlds. However, this does not mean that world becomes a homogeneous place by destroying the local uniqueness. Rather within this new power geometry local uniqueness has become even more important than before as a part of contestation between the global and local forces.

Locality as a place is a social construct in the sense that it emerges as a result of conflicting interaction of different actors located at different geographical scales. In this sense, cultural identity is a formative part of place construction. Various actors attach different meanings to a certain place. For this reason there is hardly one single identity to be attached to a particular place. Rather there are conflicting and competing identities devoted to a particular place by different actors. Depending on the balance of power among the actors the identity of particular place could be identified with one of those competing place identities. Even in this case, there will always be challenging identities attached to that particular place.

143

Thirdly, identities in and of a place could not be fixed in the sense that identity of a place is not a frozen and fixed attachments. With the changing context and balance of power among the competing identities, the identity as well as the image of a place are subject to change within time.

As a place is a social construct, there is not any fix boundaries of locality neither as a geographical nor as a social space. For each social actor there is a different meaning attached to a particular place and in most cases the boundaries of the very same place are different for different actors. This is partly related to the power of the actors. For instance, the weak groups are only able to dominate a particular niche within a place whereas more powerful groups have claims on a wider territory within the very same place.

In what follows I will turn to the case of *Sakarya Caddesi* to show the validity of these four theses. Regarding the interaction of global and local worlds, it is true that as *Sakarya Caddesi* has been effected by the global changes in various respects. In the first place, the area has undergone a tremendous change during the recent years and part of this change could not be evaluated without taking the pressure of global trends on the area into account. This change was striking even for those who were a part of the change in the area. Certain kind of activities which could be called traditional have disappeared and given way to new kind of activities. Likewise, the activities located in the area have been diversified. Despite the image of the area as an entertainment place for the lower middle class people including the youth from this income group, the activities and functions taking place in *Sakarya Caddesi* are by no means restricted to entertainment. When we look at all these activities and functions concentrated in the area, it is true that part of the activities could be found in any part of the world as in the case of McDonalds fast food shop. However, this does not mean that area has lost its distinctive characteristics as a result of the homogenizing impact of global trends. It is partly for the reason that those who identify themselves with the place are far away from being an active participant of the global processes.

144

They rather feel that they are excluded from the so-called global world. Partly for this reason those who use *Sakarya Caddesi* are quite keen to keep the place as a "scene of their own way of life" which is quite different from those who are a "part" of global world.

Regarding our second thesis, that any place including *Sakarya Caddesi* has a different meaning for different actors: For some the area is a fun place where they feel secure and at home, for others it is a place of insecurity even if they intensely use the place. It is also possible to meet people who see the place as a witness to the disappearing relations. Moreover, some people value *Sakarya Caddesi* as a place where they can make money. Then a difficult question arises: is it possible to attach a single identity to a place? In the view of this study it is not possible to give a straightforward affirmative answer to this question. What this research has shown is that rather than one shared meaning over *Sakarya Caddesi*, there are competing meanings and identities attached to it. There are complementary definitions as well as conflicting ones and the relationship among them is nothing other than a power struggle for the place. Inevitably, there are different layers in this power struggle. In the first place there is a public perception of the place, which has been constituted by various experiences. Part of the experience is the experience of the public itself as a result of their direct interaction with the place. But there is also a strong impact of the media in the sense that public mostly hear about the place through the information provided by the media. Local authorities are also part of the image making through their intervention in the areas. For instance pedestrianization of the area has made a strong change in the image and use of the place.

The emerging meaning and identity of the place in the public is a negotiated outcome of these various experiences and as we mentioned earlier, in most cases different groups have different senses of the place and in most cases each definition is exclusive to other groups depending on the degree of openness of respective definition to other interpretations. It is also critical to

145

understand the linkage between the identity of the place and the identity of the groups. Although they differ in their social and geographical content, they are also very much related to each other. In the process of constructing group identity, each group draws upon the identity of *Sakarya Caddesi*, while doing so, each group also contributes to the construction of the identity of the place.

Regarding the third thesis, it is important to be aware of the fact that the place does not have a stable identity supported by the activities and functions attached to the place. In line with the changing contextual features, *Sakarya Caddesi* has undergone a tremendous change both in terms of its functions and attached identity to it. In the interviews, it is widely mentioned that the area has undergone a considerable change in the last two decades. In the late 1970s, there was little differentiation in the functions with little involvement of young population in the area. In terms of entertainment functions there was a selective middle class presence. There were also limited numbers of service sector functions such as law offices. The area was slowly invaded by the pubs, coffee shops and other entertainment activities in the late 1980s. Pedestrianization of the area further stimulated the concentration of entertainment activities in the area. Likewise in the recent years, other functions have started to be located in *Sakarya Caddesi*. It is not difficult to see the impact of global trends in the area in the sense that many activities located in *Sakarya Caddesi* could be found in any other place around the World. In this sense, the image and sense of the place have undergone an important change during the last decade along with the changing functions and users of the area.

While *Sakarya Caddesi* has undergone a deep change, so have been the boundaries of the area for each group. Each group defines the area with reference to different spatial locations in it. For some it is a pub which is implied when they talk about the overall area. For others it is the overall area without any serious reference to any particular setting. Perhaps more

146

interestingly, there are people who define the place and its boundaries with reference to the other areas in the city such as *Arjantin Caddesi* [*] in *Çankaya*.

In this study a local place and a local culture has been researched. But if anyone neglects the global dimension of the current reality, one would remove the issue from its context. Hence the opportunity that one obtains a sense of culture occurred within/along a particular urban space, can be lost. For this reason in this study, place, culture and relations between them are examined in the global context. The questions such as "In this context, what is the meaning of "place" in the times which are considered as global and mobile?" and "How the concept of place can be conceptualized in these times?" have become important.

Relating with these questions some issues have been researched, such as: The things which people think about place and the forms of their expressions about these issues; How *Sakarya Caddesi* is perceived by the people who experience this place?; The ways people express a sense of place.

These issues are related with our geographical imagination. Because of this, it is important to understand both constitution of physical place and its meaning. That is to say, it is crucial to pay attention to the notion of sense of place. When we look to the sense of place of the people who come to *Sakarya Caddesi*, we can say that it vary from an individual to another and from a group to another, according to their socio-economical, cultural, ethnical, gender positions. In other words, different social groups have different senses of place. The sense of place is constituted in different forms in the imaginations and practices of the people. Sense of place varies between different groups.

---

[*] Argentine Street, known for entertainment.

In the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, there are different ways to develop sense of place. One of these ways is that, people identify themselves with place. It can be observed that most of the informants identify themselves albeit partly with a place. Some of them identify themselves with Ankara, some with *Sakarya Caddesi* and some with the bar they go. Another notable point is that, there is a parallelism between the ways to define themselves and to define the entertainment place which they go. Most of the informants consider their own identity identical with the identity of the place.

Furthermore, but some people's way of imagining -defining, interpreting and representing- place is based on the exclusion of others. In this case there are people who are considered as "other", almost by every informant. Here we can reach to such a point: Various definitions and representations of place are socially constituted and they change over time. At this point we meet with another way to develop a sense of place. People establish their sense of place by contrasting themselves against somewhere and some people whom they feel different from them. Hence they pose their identities against these meanings and they constitute their identities through not being belong to the place they mark out. In addition, in the case some people hold on to particular place imagination in order to strengthen their self-confidence.

The meaning and representation of place is important. Because these meanings and definitions generate various claims on the future of place. The identities of place frequently contested. In this research it is remarkable that there is a struggle between the people who come to *Sakarya Caddesi*, over the definition of the identity of this place. Different people give preference to particular characteristics of *Sakarya Caddesi* and ignore some of its characteristics. There are different thoughts about the "real" characteristics of this place, among the groups. The conflicts which stem from these differences sometimes lead to violence. It is notable that the definition of the "real" properties of place is related with decisions and projects about the future of place. These are both about the built environment and social,

148

cultural life in this place. For example some want the bars to be separated by the walls. Some others find the Municipality's decision about the removal of the separators appropriate. There are some people who applied to separate the ways to bars physically. In the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*, different representations of place and conflicts between different groups have generated physical changes on built environment. This process shows the relation of built environment with the social and the cultural. The conflicts about the construction and demolition of a pool in *Sakarya Caddesi*, can be shown as an example. The meaning which is attributed to place also influences the future of social and cultural life. For example some people feel to be disturbed by the people who they consider as "others" in *Sakarya Caddesi*. These people claim that some people are spoiling the meaning, nature and culture of *Sakarya Caddesi*. And relying on this claim they are seeking the ways to prevent these people from coming to *Sakarya Caddesi*. For example they do not want "*şarapçılar*"[*], "fascists", "lumpen youth", the kids from "outskirts, fringes of the city" to come to *Sakarya Caddesi*. Sometimes acts of violence which end up with deaths are seen between these different groups.

We can say that different views about place are struggling and fighting with each other in this place. And we can see that the identity of place is being constructed in a power struggle. The dominant claims about place in power struggle are effective on the change and development of place. In brief, some arguments which I emphasize within my theoretical frame are parallel with the outcomes of my research.

Sense of place both reflects and effects power relations. To claim an identity for a particular place includes the constitution of the place against others. This refers to a "social othering" process. Moreover, social differences are established through spatial boundaries. Also spatial boundaries are constructed socially. Similarly spatial organization is an important element in

---

[*] Alcoholics.

"social othering" process -purified space marks out the potential effects of spatial organization on society. And "closed" definitions of place and culture reinforce each other. Thus it is said that our social and spatial imaginations are intimately related, and the spatial and the social should be considered together.

We can reach to another result such as, built environment is created by specific interests of social groups and conflicts. Urban built forms are constituted by different actors in different social processes along various struggles. Built environment cannot be read simply as a product of a time period. Built environment shows cultural hegemony of specific social groups and social political power struggle. As Massey states, a place is constructed with juxtaposition of conflicting social relations.

Moreover, I reached to the conclusions which affirm Lefebvre's and Shields' notion of social construction of urban meaning, which also my thesis is based on: As the both writers state, space is constructed through social processes. The meaning of space is both constituted by cultural images and experiences. Here, the relation of three spatial dimensions (lived, perceived, imagined dimensions) is important. In Lefebvre's approach space is on the one hand marks appropriated, spontaneous use, on the other hand it marks the planned, controlled, ordered one. That is to say, particular groups plan space through particular claims. But these spaces are changed and appropriated while being used by urban dwellers. Namely, there is a dialectical struggle between the ones who seek order and control and the ones who want to resist this and to express their own agenda. In this sense space is political. We can say that such a struggle continues in the case of *Sakarya Caddesi*. Additionally, when we consider *Sakarya Caddesi* as a place we can state that there is not an opposition between the real and the imaginary in terms of the constitution of place. These dimensions are interconnected and they are intersecting with each other.

Here, Shields' challenge against the opposition between the real and the imaginary in terms of space, is important. In order to understand space it is important to overcome the dualism between representations and non-discursive material of everyday life. Space includes both habitual practices and structuring social imaginary.

But the outcomes of this research are different from Shields' assumption stating that today the boundaries between spaces have disappeared. It is observed that the boundaries which are between various spaces are constructed socially. But we cannot state that these boundaries are damaged or disappeared. It will be rather proper to state that while some boundaries are disappearing some others are being constructed.

Furthermore, one of the aims of this study is to make a reading about the culture of a local place which is under global cultural flows. Today many people complain that all the places and all the cultures are the same. According to many people the world is being westernized. Specifically the culture of USA would spread all over the globe: Everyone is wearing jeans and drinking Cola from metal can; everywhere has McDonalds. They say that, postmodern culture or consumption culture is spreading everywhere, and a single type, standard culture is being constituted. According to this discourse, local cultures are loosing their uniqueness and a homogeneity in cultural terms is occurring both among the cities and places in the city. In this sense, I try to understand if a single global or consumption culture is observed on the urban level, specifically in *Sakarya Caddesi*. And I researched whether global effects lead to standardization or diversity in urban cultural practices and life styles.

Like all places and cultures in the world, *Sakarya Caddesi* is also influenced by global cultural flows. For example: The expansion of information market of cultural products has increased; new life styles have grown; the influence of media and signs on everyday life has increased; moreover, there is an

151

interest in cultural products and leisure consumption. The role of fashion and images in shaping of individuals' consumption habits, is important. There are many trademarks and icons as global cultural products. There is an interest in popular, spectacular culture rather than "high" culture, an interest in visual images rather than words. But the existence of global cultural products in this place does not indicate the existence of a homogeneous, singular, global uniform culture. Individuals and groups differentiate in receiving global cultural codes. Furthermore, the increase in both physical and representative contact between cultures has generated new cultural forms. For example in *Sakarya Caddesi*, there is mosque in "*SSK İşhanı*". While azan (*ezan*) is calling on the one hand, the bars play rock and foreign pop music and people dance on the other hand. The last technological improvements and last musical hits might reach here, but every group or even every individual experiences the bombardment of global cultural codes differently.

Additionally, many people who have lover economical income and have the connection with technological and cultural changes in the world only through television also have fun in *Sakarya Caddesi*. These people have fun completely in a "traditional" way, by drinking, chatting and watching the street. At this point we can say that consumption culture does not touch them much. In *Sakarya Caddesi* there are people -bar owners or some customers of rock bars- who have higher economical income and go abroad, such as for entertainment, education and business relations. These people are luckier in terms of spatial mobility. In addition they can benefit from the possibilities which are provided by the expansion of consumption. In this sense, with their different life styles they occupy different positions than the other people in the place.

In this context, Sarıbay (2002) mentions an ethic which is the basis of the construction of the identity of a metropol individual. According to him, the ethic which individual relies on while constituting personal identity is a life style which is based on consumption. He states that, life style is the language

152

of social identity and is the symbolic mediator between individual and community. In the city, individuals obtain their bonds of belongingness to a group, through their dressing, behavior and consumption styles on a symbolic level. However, not every individual can benefit from these possibilities of urban culture. At this point some differences are seen between the individuals in terms of accessing to consumption opportunities which are basic elements of contemporary urban culture. For example in *Sakarya Caddesi*, significant differences can be seen between the owner of a bar and an employee of it. On the one hand, there is a waiter who has come only a few years ago from his village to the city, has slept in the bar in the beginning and now has economical problems, on the other hand there is a bar owner who has high income and has more consumption opportunities, these two can be in the same bar. There are severe differences between their life styles. An informant who is in the position of the above mentioned waiter explains the different life style of his boss in terms of consumption. He says that "he has the opportunity to consume everything".

In addition to these, in *Sakarya Caddesi* especially in "*SSK İşhanı*" you can find two bars side by side which are completely opposite of each other. There are mentionable differences between the customers of two bars in terms of political views, ethnical origins, income levels, education levels, gender, clothing, life styles and entertainment styles. On the one hand in one of these bars you may meet with a gay or a lesbian, on the other hand you may meet with the people who stick completely to traditional male or female roles.

Briefly, in *Sakarya Caddesi* even in few numbers there are people who may access to international cultural networks, services, networks of travel, tourism and global communications. At the same time there are people who are jobless or working in low-paid jobs or have immigrated from villages or small cities. There are, religious, atheist, rightist, leftist people. Their relational worlds link them in particular cultural networks.

Sakarya Caddesi is a relatively small place. It reveals the diversity with physical proximity between different social, economic or cultural groups. In this sense we can say that; cities bring the cultures, people and flows together in material spaces. We can find diverse social worlds in cities which at first sight seem homogeneous. Such as Ankara which is mostly considered as the city of officials, the city of students. Moreover, global processes change and diversify the social and cultural lives in the city. On the one hand there is a tendency towards standardization and homogeneity but on the other hand there is a diversity and heterogeneity in the city lives. Within this diversity, the globalization experiences of individuals and groups, and their responses to global cultural flows are also different. In this sense we can speak of the change of places and cultures. But it is not possible to say that local cultures and places have completely lost their particular characteristics and uniqueness. It would be more meaningful to speak of their uniqueness that is constructed by the new cultural mixing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, J. and Hamnett, C. (eds.) (1995) *A Shrinking World? Global Unevennes and Inequality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University.

Amin, A. and Graham, S. (1999) "Cities of connection and disconnection". In Allen, J., Massey, D. And Pryke, M. (eds.) *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement.* London and New York: Routledge/The Open University, pp. 7-47.

Bali, R.N. (2002) *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan, Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Baudrillard, J. (1983a) *Simulations.* New York: Semiotext(e).

Baudrillard, J. (1983b) *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities.* New York: Semiotext(e).

Bauman, Z. (1988) "Is there a postmodern sociology?". *Theory, Culture and Society.* 5(2-3).

Bauman, Z. (1997) *Globalization: The Human Consequences.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical Reason.* California: Stanford University Press.

Castells, M. (1989) *The Informational City.* Oxford: Blackwell

Chaney, D. (1996) *Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Connor, S. (1989) *Postmodern Culture.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Eagleton, T. (1986) *Against the Grain: Essays 1975-1985,* London: Verso.

Erdoğan, N. (2002) *Yoksulluk Halleri*. İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı Yayınevi.

Featherstone, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism.* London: Sage.

Featherstone, M. (1995) *Undoing Culture.* London: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge.* Brighton: Harvester.

Foucault, M. (1986) "Of Other Spaces". *Diacritics,* 16, 22-27 (Translated from French by Jay Miskowiec).

Friedman, J. (1994) *Cultural Identity and Global Process.* London: Sage.

Garcia Canclini, N. (1997) "Urban Cultures at the end of the century: The anthropological perspective". *International Social Science Journal,* Vol. 49, issue 3, 345-356.

Giddens, A. (1981) *A Contemporary Critique of Historical.* London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gregory, D. And J. Urry (eds). (1985) *Social relations and spatial structures.* London: Macmillan.

Hall, S. (1979) "Culture, media and ideological Effect". In Curran, J., Gurevitch, M. and Woollacott, J. (eds.) *Mass Communication and Society.* London: Edward Arnold, pp: 315-348.

Hall, S. (1991) "The local and the global: Globalization and Ethnicity". In King, A.D. (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity.* London: Macmillan, pp: 19-39.

Hall, S. (1992) "Cultural identity in question". In Hall, S., Held, D. And McGrew, T. (eds.) *Modernity and its Future.* Cambridge: Polity Press/The Open University.

Hall, S. (1995) "New cultures for old". In Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University, pp: 175-213.

Harvey, D. (1975) "The geography of capitalist accumulation: A reconsideration of Marxian theory", *Antipode,* 7 (2): 9-21.

Harvey, D. (1978) "The urban process under capitalism: A framework for analysis". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 7, 101-31.

Harvey, D. (1985a) *The Urbanisation of Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Harvey, D. (1985b) "The geopolitics of capitalism". In Gregory, D. And J. Urry (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures.* London: Macmillan, pp. 128-63.

Harvey, D. (1985c). "Monument and myth: The building of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart". In Harvey, D. *Consciousness and the Urban Experience.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1988) *Social Justice and the City,* 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1990) "Between space and time: Reflections on the geographical imagination", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 80: 418-34.

Işık, O. (1994) "Mekanın politikleşmesi, politikanın mekansallaşması". *Toplum ve Bilim,* 64-65: 7-39.

Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism: Or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jencks, C. (1984) *The Language of Postmodern Architecture.* London: Academy.

Jess, P. And Massey, D. (1995) "The contestation of place". In Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University, pp: 133-174.

Kandiyoti, D. And Saktanber, A. (2003) *Kültür Fragmanları.* İstanbul: Metis

Kellner, D. (1988) "Postmodernism as social theory: Some challenges and problems". *Theory, Culture and Society.* 5 (2-3).

Kozanoğlu, C. (2001) *Yeni Şehir Notları.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Laclau, E. (1990) *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time.* London: Verso.

Lash, S. (1988) "Discourse or figure? Postmodernism as a regime of signification". *Theory, Culture and Society,* 5 (2-3).

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Sign and Space.* London: Sage.

Lefebvre, H. (1971) *Everday Life in the Modern World.* New York: Harper and Row.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space.* (First published in 1974). Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996) *Writings on Cities.* Selected, translated and introduced by Kofman, E. And Lebas, E. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lyotard, J.F., (1984) *The Postmodern Condition.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Massey, D. (1991) "A global sense of place". *Marxism Today,* June: 24-8.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Massey, D. (1995) "The conceptualization of place". In Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University, pp: 45-85.

Massey, D. (1995) "The conceptualization of place". In Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University, pp: 215-239.

Mitchell, D. (1995) "The end of public space? People's park, definitions of the public, and democracy". *The Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 85:   108-33.

Robertson, R. (1992) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture.* London: Sage.

Robins, K. (1991) "Prisoners of the city, whatever could a postmodern city?". *New Formations,* No: 15, Winter, pp: 1-22.

Rose, G. (1995) "Place and identity; a sense of place". In Allen, J. and Massey, D. (eds.) *A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford: Oxford University Press/The Open University, pp: 87-132.

Ross, K. (1988) *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Said, E. W. (1985) *Orientalism.* London: Penguin.

Sargın, G., A. (2002) *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Sarıbay, A.Y. (2002) "Kent: Modernleşme ile postmodernleşme arasındaki köprü". In Yıldırım, F. (ed.) *Kentte Birlikte Yaşamak Üstüne.* İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, pp: 37-50.

Saunders, P. (1981) *Social Theory and the Urban Question.* London: Hutchinson.

Savage, M. And Warde, A. (1993) *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity.* London: Macmillan.

Shields, R. (1996) "A guide to urban represantation and what to do about it: Alternative traditions of urban theory". In King, A.D. (ed.) *Representing the City.* NC: New York University Press, pp: 227-252.

Smith, M.P. (1994) "Can you imagine? Transnational migration and the globalization of grassroots politics". *Social Text.* 39: 15-33.

Smith, M.P. (2001) *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Soja, E.W. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory.* London: Verso.

Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture.* Cambridge: Polity Press (Türkçe çevirisi: *Küreselleşme ve Kültür,* 2004, İstanbul: Ayrıntı, çev: Eker, A.)

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places.* London: Routledge.

Zukin, S. (1988) "The postmodern debate over urban form". *Theory, Culture and Society,* 5 (2-3).

Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities.* Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Zukin, S. (1998) "Urban life styles: Diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption". Urban Studies, Vol. 35, Nos. 5-6, pp: 825-839.

Newspaper

Hürriyet, 10 May 2004.

APPENDIX A

INFORMANT LIST

1. 38 years old, graduate of primary school, casual worker, male.
2. 22 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (graphics designer), female.
3. 43 years old, graduate of high school, owner of bar, female.
4. 45 years old, left university, owner of bar, male.
5. 20 years old, private university student, male.
6. 47 years old, graduate of high school, clerk, male.
7. 26 years, graduate of high school, clerk (guardian), female.
8. 25 years old, masters degree, research assistant, female.
9. 36 years old, graduate of high school, worker, male.
10. 33 years old, graduate of university, owner of bar, male.
11. 19 years old, university student, female.
12. 25 years old, graduate of high school, waiter of bar and guard, male.
13. 26 years old, graduate of university, clerk, male.
14. 26 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (folklorist), male.
15. 35 years old, graduate of high school, owner of bar, male.
16. 39 years old, left university, journalist, male.
17. 34 years old, graduate of university, adviretiser, male.
18. 29 years old, graduate of primary school, manager of bar, male.
19. 27 years old, left high school, unemployed, male.
20. 28 years old, university student, part-time worker, male.
21. 22 years old, university student, waiter, male.
22. 39 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (advertisement author), male.
23. 24 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (Performing music at bar sometimes), male.
24. 23 years old, masters student, female.
25. 30 years old, graduate of university, clerk, male.
26. 29 years old, graduate of university, teacher, male.
27. 43 years old, graduate of secondary school, independent business, male.
28. 51 years old, graduate of primary school, owner of bar, male.
29. 41 years old, graduate of high school, independent business, male.
30. 35 years old, graduate of primary school, unemployed (causal worker), male.
31. 20 years old, university student, female.
32. 27 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (painter), female.
33. 21 years old, university student, female.
34. 38 years old, graduate of university, unemployed (public relations specialist), male.
35. 35 years old, graduate of university, correspondent, female.

APPENDIX B

MAP OF SAKARYA CADDESİ IN ANKARA