

PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
GROUPS LIVING IN ANKARA

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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 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 (METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu (METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın (METU, ARC)	_____

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Name, Surname: Barış Ekici

Signature :

ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS GROUPS LIVING IN ANKARA

Ekici, Barış

M.S., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç

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The aim of this study is to compare the cognitive maps of different socio-economic status groups living in Ankara. In-group and inter-group relations of divergent socio-economic status groups are the main focus of the study. In this perspective, perceptions of urban social space are examined in order to comprehend the in-group and inter-relations. Discussions are held both at city level and neighborhood level. These discussions are based on the research that was conducted between September 2003- February 2004 in the neighborhoods of Ankara; namely, Mamak, as a lower class neighborhood, Keçiören, Batıkent, Yeni Mahalle, as lower-middle class neighborhoods, Gazi Osman Paşa, Bahçeli, Ümitköy, Bilkent, Oran as middle class and upper-middle class neighborhoods. I studied with an accidental sample of 39 urbanites living in these neighborhoods of Ankara. In order to determine the socio-economic status of the respondents, Murat Güvenç's (2001a) spatial differentiation and socio-economic status map was used

as a guide. While examining the perceptions of urban social space, spatial behavior patterns and urban daily activities, this study aims to clarify definitions of ‘us’ and ‘other’, which inevitably create divisions in social geography of Ankara. Tensions between different socio-economic status groups reinforce these divisions in the city space of Ankara. Especially, limited social interaction between different socio-economic status groups in urban social space has crucial role in the construction of the boundaries between various divisions.

Keywords: Image, perception, cognitive mapping, urban social geography.

ÖZ

ANKARA’DA YAŞAYAN FARKLI SOSYO-EKONOMİK STATÜ GRUPLARININ ALGILARI

Ekici, Barış

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Ankara’da yaşayan farklı sosyo-ekonomik statü gruplarının bilişsel haritalarının karşılaştırılmasıdır. Farklı sosyo-ekonomik statü gruplarının grup içi ve gruplar arası ilişkileri bu çalışmanın odak noktasıdır. Bu doğrultuda, grup içi ve gruplar arası ilişkileri kavramak için, kent sosyal mekanına dair algılar araştırılmıştır. Tartışmalar hem şehir, hem de semt ölçeğinde yürütülmüştür. Bu tartışmalar, Eylül 2003-Şubat 2004 tarihleri arasında, alt sınıf komşuluk çevresi olan Mamak’ta; orta-alt sınıf komşuluk çevreleri olan, Batıkent, Keçiören ve Yeni Mahalle’ de; orta ve orta-üst komşuluk çevreleri olan, Gazi Osman Paşa, Bahçeli, Ümitköy, Bilkent ve Oran’da gerçekleştirilen saha çalışmalarına dayanmaktadır. Raslantısal olarak seçilen 39 kentli ile çalışılmıştır. Katılımcıların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünü belirlemek için Murat Güvenç’ in (2001a), mekansal farklılaşma ve sosyo-ekonomik statü haritası temel olarak alınmıştır. Bu çalışma, kent sosyal mekanına dair algıları, mekansal davranış özelliklerini ve günlük

kentsel davranışları araştırarak, Ankara sosyal coğrafyasında kaçınılmaz olarak bölünmeler yaratan ‘biz’ ve ‘diğerleri’ kavramlarını irdelemiştir. Ankara kentsel mekanında farklı sosyo-ekonomik statü gruplarının sosyal gerilimleri bu bölünmeleri desteklemektedir. Özellikle, farklı sosyo-ekonomik statü gruplarının birbiri ile sınırlı etkileşimi kent mekanında belli sınırların oluşumunda önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: İmaj, algı, bilişsel haritalama, bilişsel haritalama.

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To all urbanites....

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since the modern production of urban space, cities have become a place, in which masses of strangers started living. Especially, when the dichotomy between city versus country-side was ended with the victory of urban space, millions of people left their “homelands” and began living in urban geographies, where divergent life-styles have been conducted. These new geographies have been accepted as a peculiar invention of modernity, which have had unique features contrasting with those of rural-lands. Therefore, people, belonging to the disciplines of geography, architecture, sociology, planning, psychology and economy have begun to analyze these new inventions with their own methodologies. Although different methodologies produced divergent conceptualizations and dissimilar results, there has been a consensus about the main features of urban geographies and its effects on human behavior. These conceptualizations about the main features of urban social space help scholars, who try to comprehend urban issues.

The very idea of heterogeneity is one of the most important features of urban geographies. According to urban scholars, heterogeneity has been accepted as being characteristic of urban space that has its own social and spatial forms opposing to the socio-spatial structure of rural lands. Moreover, many urban scholars have dealt with the concept of heterogeneity, as a motive force in the production and reproduction of urban culture. By the impacts of heterogeneity, the social organization of the cities has been differentiated. Therefore, social life in the city has been structured

differently from that of rural lands. In this 'new' urban way of life, urbanite's new kind of consciousness that reshapes their all realms of life has been discussed by referring to the very idea of heterogeneity.

Discussions of heterogeneity and its effects on urban social life have been placed not only in contemporary urban readings but also in the classical works of urban sociology that emerged as a distinctive discipline in order to cope with the problems of urban life. It can be useful for this study to introduce the discussion of heterogeneity and urban social space by referring to the classical readings of urban sociology. The approach of Chicago School, founded in 1892, played a particularly important role in the discussion of heterogeneity. Members of the Chicago School, such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth, Roderick McKenzie, and others stressed the importance of heterogeneity both positively and negatively in their ecological approaches. In their empirical researches, conducted in different regions of Chicago, which was under the influence of high immigration, they elaborated the problem of urban interaction, social order in heterogeneous urban space.¹ One of the most important studies is '*Urbanism as a Way of Life*', published in 1938, by Wirth, who was a student of Park at the University of Chicago. Wirth examined the psychological and behavioral consequences of urban life, as a mode of sociation, by the help of an analysis based on the ecological aspects of urban life. In this essay, (Wirth, 1964) he discussed the most distinguishing characteristics of cities, as three

¹ This discussion of Chicago School can be enlarged by the main works of members of this school. Therefore, '*The City*' (1967) by Robert Park et al. '*On Cities and Social Life*' (1964) by Louis Wirth, '*Metropolitan Community*' (1933) by Roderick McKenzie and '*The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*' (1962) by Herbert Gans may be read as a complementary reading for this discussion.

independent ecological variables; size, density and heterogeneity. According to Wirth, the increases in population led to social and spatial complexity and people began living in space with density, reinforcing the effects of size. In this respect, heterogeneity governed the social interactions of diverse individuals, as a result of which rigid class distinctions were broken down in the city, where conflicts and contradictions were inevitable. These three variables produced new attitudes, psychological traits and behavioral patterns belonging to the new urban world. The growing importance of secondary relations over primary ones was stressed by Wirth as a new kind of a sociation.² Although he examined these secondary relationships as superficial ones under the influence of segregation patterns, he pointed out the importance of interaction of people belonging to different social classes, producing the new kind of sociation. In these relations, heterogeneous interests of divergent urbanites in a 'certain mode of production' inevitably create contradictions and conflicts. Therefore, urban space has been labeled as the place of conflict and contradiction governed by heterogeneous relations.

Before deepening the argument with a socio-spatial schema of contemporary cities, especially on the issue of heterogeneity, some arguments against the conceptualizations of Wirth should be expressed in order to elaborate critically his findings. Although many urban scholars accept his work as a base for urban sociology, some counter-arguments against him are always held. Especially, the main

² In order to grasp the perspective of Wirth, the main work of Georg Simmel, as an ancestor of Chicago School; 'The Metropolis of Mental Life' (1950) may be discussed. In this work, Simmel analyzed the new urban behavior, 'blasé attitude', which may be translated as a new kind of intellectuality. Hence, the reading of Simmel may clarify the points on former discussion.

critique is against his idea of 'the urban way of life,' which has been believed to dominate all other life-styles in urban spaces. In this perspective, many urban scholars have observed the persistence of collective life styles, which is against 'the urban way of life,' in places of the segregated groups. As an example, it is stressed that communities and divergent group cultures against the dominant 'urban way of life' have survived (Savage & Ward, 2003). Although there may be other objections about the arguments of Wirth, the former discussion of Savage and Ward helps to construct in a critical manner the importance of the concept of 'urban way of life' for this study. Existence of communities, survival of different sub-cultures against the dominant pattern of life should be taken into consideration, as a main critique of Wirth. For this work, tension between the argument of 'the urban way of life' and 'urban ways of life' is an important departure point to grasp the urban social space.

When the concepts of heterogeneity, contradiction and conflict are discussed in city space, spatial forms should be analyzed accordingly. Therefore, in this discussion of heterogeneity, contradiction and conflict; the importance of contact points should be stressed. Contact points may be defined as the 'nodes' in city space in which divergent individuals having different backgrounds may encounter with each other. These contact points, which may be a small streets shop, small bar, or a public space enriching the diversity of the city life, collects people with different claims on urban land. The common aspect of these points is that these are the places of attraction for different people having different life-styles, backgrounds and material condition. These contact points are important for urbanites to grasp the divergent life-styles in urban life. In these points, people share the experiences of

other urbanites that may have dissimilar claims on urban space. Contact points may be defined as the places in which the heterogeneous face of the city life with its conflicts and contradictions can be observed easily.

In this brief introduction on urban geographies, importance of the very idea of heterogeneity was discussed briefly in order to prepare a base for the methodological issues. Besides the discussion of heterogeneity, the importance of contact points was debated. This is an important point for the argument of contemporary conditions of cities that is reorganized according to the new understandings of heterogeneity and to the new definition of social arena. In this new epoch, many urban theoreticians belonging to different disciplines, such as sociology, geography, architecture, planning, psychology and economy, try to produce new urban social space without conflict. To organize conflict-free urban space, they tend to eliminate the contact points, in which the heterogeneous individuals may come up against each other, whether his or her own approval or not. By eliminating the contact points, it is believed that contradictions and conflicts will disappear. This is accepted as an aim of the contemporary urban planning by urban scholars who try to hide the results of the contradictions and conflicts, as products of uneven urban development in capitalist mode of production.

Although some scholars propose elimination of contact points, there are several studies indicating the importance of contact points to reproduce the urban culture and to generate the diversity of city life. The main argument is that urban space as a social arena having conflicts is the necessary condition of reproduction of urban social life. Jacobs (1961) argues that, the small street shops, grocers, cafes,

pubs are the contact points that enrich the city life. Disappearance of these contact points might destroy the public life, as a result of this destruction; residents develop the patterns of isolation in an ultimate degree. Additionally, urban space without these contact points may turn to a domesticated social arena, in which there is no interaction; therefore, there is no conflict. This pattern moves beyond the fact of residential segregation; moreover, it affects all actions taking place in urban social space. Divergent groups do not contact with each other; even more dramatically, they do not encounter with each other in urban space in which the urban daily life is conducted. This issue composes the one side of the problem. In order to broaden the perspective, critical manner against the very idea of heterogeneity and its results should be constructed. It is argued that in social contacts, especially; occurred between neighbors, homogeneity of backgrounds and values are the necessary condition to form regular friendships (Gans, 1975). Therefore, social contacts between divergent groups with dissimilar age, ethnicity, and socio-economic status may produce insincere social climate without any consensus, as some of the urban theoreticians discuss. They stress the positive aspects of homogeneity to catch the intimacy in relations. This composes the other side of the problem. Although there are many positive aspects of homogeneity in social relations and reproduction of them, the long-term effects of homogeneity should be examined. Especially, longitudinal studies should be conducted to explore the attitudes, spatial behaviors and mental representations of different generations towards 'others'. This kind of

studies helps to grasp the effects of the homogeneity and heterogeneity on social life, and their spatial reflections on urban space.³

Although the perspective, belonging to the in-between route on the issue of heterogeneity versus homogeneity, may be a fashionable manner, it is doubtful that it may help revealing the positive energies of urban geographies for the sake of ‘multitudes’ of urban space. Therefore, one of the aims of this work is to appreciate with diversity, conflict and disorder having full of potentials. This perspective is motivated by Sennet (1970), who believes the positive ‘uses of disorder’. In order to express the new epoch of urbanism, Sennet stresses the socio-spatial schema of modern metropolis, in which the divergent people may encounter in multiple of contact points. The example of Chicago in early 1900s is a case for Sennet, where the social interactions between divergent groups of people having different ethnic, and socio-economic status, were taken place. Especially, Halstead Street in 1910, having multiple contact points, may be a contrasting instance of contemporary cities, in which the contact points have been died out (Sennet, 1970). His emphasis of modern metropolis is an influential example to seek of what the contemporary urban spaces lack. Enthusiasm of being urbanite in modern metropolis could partly be directed by these multiple contact points such as little cafés, small bars, shops etc. According to Sennet, contact points are the necessary condition for the urban space, which is based on the very idea of heterogeneity. Marshall Berman (1982) makes another contribution to the point. As Berman argues, in his examination of

³ In this discussion of heterogeneity, contact points are accepted as the generators of diversity and heterogeneity. The relation between them is defined as reciprocal relation; change in one side affects the other side.

Baudelaire's experience of Paris, boulevards; the 'most spectacular invention of the nineteenth century', enables poor to see 'others' and to show themselves to 'others'⁴ (Berman, 1982, p.150). Additionally, it is argued that while the spatial transformations have important roles to survive a certain mode of production, they inevitably create inner contradictions for the capitalist mode of production.

The possibility of social interaction occurs between divergent people who participate in the urban spectacle is argued by urban scholars in contemporary socio-spatial order. This possibility may be difficult in contemporary urban scene, from the perspective of Sennet; as the main influential figure for this introductory part. According to Sennet, the suburban community life and new puritan family values reciprocally influence the very idea of 'narrowing the contact points' (Sennet, 1970, p.59). Therefore, there is no place for social contact between various groups of people in the contemporary urban scene. In departure from this point of view, new urban space should be re-examined by divergent experts, such as planners, geographers, sociologists, architects, in order to recreate the space encouraging the social interaction between various groups of people.

The former part deals with heterogeneity, contact points, contradiction and conflict in the city. In summary, it privileges the social interaction of divergent groups of people; additionally, it stresses the necessity of contact points against the conflict-free urban space.

⁴ It may be helpful to analyze the depictions; explicitly or implicitly made, of Baudelaire, Benjamin whose works are re-popularized in the discipline of urban sociology. These readings may have critical importance in understanding the unique features of modern metropolis, in which the diverse life-styles were combined. The concepts of boulevard, flaneur, arcade are critical words that Baudelaire and Benjamin elaborated in their writings on the modern urban scene.

Now, it is time to express the aim of this work in order to clarify the methodological framework. Although there are several minor aims, which were designed to support the main research question of this work; it mainly examines the divergent perceptions of the urbanites belonging to different socio-economic status groups living in the city of Ankara. In this sense, this work tries to grasp in-group and inter-group relations of divergent urbanites belonging to different socio-economic status groups by comparing the perceptions of them. This examination of the perceptions may reveal clues about the different meanings, values and attitudes of respondents that compose the main source of urban diversity. Additionally, the examination of the perceptions may reveal information about heterogeneity, conflict and contradiction in the city of Ankara. By examining the perceptions of divergent people, this study tries to grasp the tensions of divergent urbanites and their life-styles in urban social space. This comparative analysis of divergent perceptions may explain the dimensions of contradiction and conflict between dissimilar groups living in Ankara. How different people perceive themselves, and ‘others’, how they interpret socio-spatial issues in urban space are the questions that will be held to grasp the urban social geography of Ankara.

In the discipline of urban studies, there are lots of methods, which elaborate the socio-spatial issues differently. This study emphasizes on agency in the urban space of Ankara by analyzing the perceptions of urbanites. In other words, this is a study to re-read the city by analyzing different agents of urban life. Information about the objective world of city-space will be used to support the perceptions of the agents that shape and re-shape continuously the urban social life. In this respect, different

agents were selected from divergent neighborhoods of Ankara in order to express the tensions between them. There are three groups of people with divergent articulations with urban life; lower class, lower-middle class and middle, upper-middle class people. Although neighborhoods of these socio-economic groups will be discussed in the following chapters, it is also necessary for this introduction part to discuss them very briefly here. The first group of people from Mamak was selected to represent the lower class respondents; people from Keçiören, Batıkent, and Yeni Mahalle called as ‘the north part of Ankara’ was chosen to represent lower-middle class members. Finally, people from Gazi Osman Paşa, Kavaklıdere, Bilkent, Konutkent, Çankaya as ‘the south of Ankara’, were discussed to express the perceptions and life-style of the members of middle-class. Examination of divergent meanings of these urban environments constructed by individuals depending upon the past experiences, present conditions and future expectations is an important point for this study. These differences of meanings can be indicators of divergent spatial languages and spatial behaviors of urbanites in Ankara.

Before presenting the organizations of the chapters, the importance of this study in the spatial context of Ankara should be expressed, briefly. Due to the special role of Ankara in the Turkish modernity project⁵, divergent urban scholars to elaborate spatial characteristics have studied Ankara. Therefore, city-signs, meanings, codes have been explored by scholars who cope with these concepts in the objective

⁵ This discussion of the modernity and the role of Ankara will be discussed briefly in the following chapters. However, it should be noted that this discussion may be the topic of another work, examining the issue as a historical fact by referring to the socio-spatial, ideological facts of the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic.

space of Ankara. In other words, discussions have been held by referring to the contextual qualities of the objective space of Ankara. On the contrary, this work holds the discussion of Ankara by referring to the realities of the subjective worlds; subjective spaces. This kind of discussion on Ankara, examining the subjective worlds, may bring different perspectives to the urban studies on Ankara. In order to cope with the complicated realities of the subjective spaces, this work combines different methodologies from inter-related disciplines and operates different perspectives in a coherent manner, both in the process of data collection and data interpretation. These methods used in data collection and interpretation processes may enlarge the perspective of the urban analysis of Ankara.

Now, it is time to express the organization of the following chapters. First of all, the theoretical background of the work will be expressed. In this part, concepts like cognitive maps, image studies, and subjective spaces will be clarified by referring to the disciplines of sociology, geography, planning, architecture and psychology. Afterwards, in the methodology chapter, certain points on research method; questionnaire, sample, procedure, will be expressed. Next, the elaboration of the interviews will be held to introduce the subjective formation of the objective space. This will be discussed at two levels; in the first part, a discussion will be held at the city level, in the other part, issues will be discussed at the neighborhood level. Finally, in the conclusion part, a general evaluation will be made in the light of the interviews. Besides these final remarks, contributions and limitations of the study will be argued.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the relations of environment, human beings and their effects on the each other by the help of the certain concepts that will be discussed in the following sections. In this perspective, there are many theories, methodologies due to the multi-disciplinary nature of the field dealing with the relations between environment and the human beings. Geographers, sociologists, planners, architects, economists, psychologists have tried to developed their own methodologies to clarify the discussion topics in human beings, milieu relations. Although they have brought new perspectives, and operations, as a result of which the discussions gained ideological richness, these interests have been causing many theoretical problems. This may cause a lot of dispersions, misunderstandings in their discourses. It has been argued that fragmentation of conceptualizations and methods in the discipline of human geography went beyond the limits of liberty and this fragmentation threatens the discipline (Ley, 1997). Therefore, for the advancement of this study, many of the theories having divergent perspectives those are not directly related with this study will not be discussed. There will be the works selected by the help of ‘sociological imagination’ to explain the theoretical framework in a coherent manner. Additionally, important criteria for the selection of works are their relation with the former concepts of heterogeneity, contact points and social interaction forming the main research question. The main aim is to construct the theoretical

approach in a clear manner, and to prevent from unconcerned perspectives for the sake of enlarging the methodology.

After this brief remark, it is useful to express the progress of this chapter. First, interaction between human beings and urban environment will be discussed. In this discussion, the role of environment in human decision making patterns and effects of human beings on environment will be mainly taken place. Additionally, the scope of image studies will be explained to clarify the methodological position. Afterwards, certain concepts developed to understand the human behavior, interacting with the environment; will be discussed. Especially, for the operation of the data, this section composes the main body of the discussion in this chapter. Next, the important works, their contributions to the theory, problems related with the conceptualizations and methods, will be discussed. The influential work of Kevin Lynch; namely, 'The Image of the City', as a motive force for this study, will be explored. Moreover, complementary work of Donald Appleyard, 'Planning a Pluralistic City' will be elaborated.

2.1 Human and the Built Environment Relations

The relations between human beings and the built environment are accepted as the complex one, in which the divergent patterns of interactions may be observed. As a result of these complex relations, there is no unified theory that explains the certain relations in a clear manner. There are many disciplines and sub-disciplines; such as human geography, environmental psychology that conducts their own methodologies. In this sense, it is helpful for this study to re-conceptualize the built environment and relations between the built environment and human beings with its

own manner, in order to clarify its methodological position. First of all, the built environment is intended to be used for the concept of urban space, in which the certain kinds of interaction are taken place apart from the studies of environment belonging to the traditional geographical approach. Moreover, urban space is handled as a social product, rising from purposeful social practice, which is not a separate structure with its own laws; however, it has a complex, interconnected structure organized by socio-spatial dialectic⁶ (Soja, 1997).

Now, this understanding of urban social space may prevent this study from misunderstandings. In spite of the fact that there is no unified theory in relations of human beings and the built environment, there are some 'facts' accepted by the urban scholars. One 'fact' is the effects of environment; reshaped by people, on people. This interaction is defined as a two-way process occurred between individuals and his or her environment, where there are continues changes occurred in each side (Lynch, 1960). In this perspective, both sides carry some reflections of the other side. Therefore, social systems and spatial organizations involve each other. In this interaction, it is believed that individuals or aggregate of individuals compose behavior patterns, as they are affected and re-shaped by the dialectic interaction with the environment (Wagner, 1973). When the time variable is added to these interactions, even the same person's communication with the environment gains much

⁶ Although the concept of social space is not the main discussion topic of this study, it may be labeled as the departure point of this work, by the assistance of which this study is motivated. The influential works of Henri Lefebvre '*Production of Space*' and Mark Gottdiener '*Social Production of Urban Space*' can be read besides the former work of Edward Soja on socio-spatial dialectic.

more complex and unstable structure that is beyond the simple cause and effect relations.

Another important feature of the interaction between the environment and people is that it may be occurred in all scales of environment. It is believed that there are communication patterns, which are different in all levels of environment, such as behavioral environment, defined as individual's activity space, and geographical environment, as the broadest level, the most inclusive scale (Sonnenfeld, 1972). Therefore, this interaction patterns should be analyzed differently in divergent scales of the environment.

In summary, this complex and changing relations of people with the environment is pointed out by Ittelson as follows;

If we view the environment as a person-environment system, within which the individual is both an integral part and active participant, his experience of the situation is a complex set of significance ranging through the varieties of environmental experience which define from time to time reality for that individual. Each individual is lives in multiple realities, and reality from individual to individual or for one individual from time to time may be quite different in many aspects (Ittelson, 1978, p.198-199).

In this section of the work, complex relations between environment and people are briefly pointed out. Now, it is time to explain the main disciplines and their methodological frameworks that direct this study in many ways.

2.1.1 Environmental Psychology

Environmental psychology has an important place in the studies of interaction between human beings and the environment. It is often argued that environmental psychology is not part of the sub-field of psychology; on the contrary, it is an inter-

disciplinary area, collecting the scholars from various disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, planning, architecture, and economy. Mainly, environmental psychology is defined as the study of the interactions between human beings and the environment. The main features of environmental psychology are characterized by its interdisciplinary nature, its unitary approach on environment and behavior relations and its eclectic methodology (Bell, Baum, Fisher, Geene, 1990). In this perspective, environmental psychologists reject the methods that examine the environment or people as an isolated entity. Therefore, they argue that to understand the environmental problem or societal one, the departure point should be the interdependence of the relation.

Environmental psychology has been emerged as an academic discipline since late 1960s. At the beginning, the few psychologists, group of architects and designers, who explore the relation between the design and behavior, were interested with this discipline. As the theory was built-up, many other scholars produced studies on the topic of behavior and environment relation. These interests were enlarged the perspective of the study.

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, environmental psychology has not established its principles. However, it is accepted as an important tool to bridge the gap between designers and the users. In this way, environmental psychologists produce 'social design projects' to achieve the harmonious balance between the social, physical and natural environments (Gifford, 1997, p.381). To understand the behavior and design relations, environmental psychologists may observe designs at the different scales, such as the furniture arrangement, or the neighborhood plans. In

the neighborhood level, it is discussed that physical settings of the site plan may create propinquity and affect the visual contact, initial contacts among the residents; however, it can not determine the intensity or the quality of the relationships (Gans, 1970). As Gans points out, the built environment affects the social life in some ways, which is an important discussion topic in the field of environmental psychology. In addition to former issue, Ittelson, Proshonsky and Rivlin (1970) assumed that, people remain largely unaware of the surroundings; however, the built environment can affect his or her behavior.

In this study, some of the concepts, and methods of the environmental psychology have been used to understand different and the unequal opportunities of divergent people in urban land. Therefore, these concepts and methods governed by the ‘sociological imagination’ have been tried to be operationalized. It should be noted clearly that some perspectives from disciplines of planning, psychology, and geography are intended to be added to this work that is essentially ruled by the sociological methodology. In this respect, unequal opportunities in urban space will be discussed by referring the theories of inequality, and this discussion will be enlarged by the theories of other disciplines. Therefore, divergent parts of urban land, urbanites, their perceptions and their spatial behaviors will be analyzed and compared to grasp different, unequal opportunities that directly affect the urban life of people.

2.1.1.1 Research Methods in Environmental Psychology

Before analyzing the main research methods in environmental psychology, two important aspects about the methods should be remarked. The first one is related with its multi-disciplinary nature. Due to the field's multi-disciplinary nature, there

are various research techniques differing from each other by certain characteristics. The second one is related with complexity of the environment and people relations. There are still lacking points in research methods due to the complexity of relations. Therefore, scholars try to appropriate new research methods to tackle with the problem of complexity.

One of the most widespread methods in environmental psychology is the experimental research technique developed by psychologists. In order to identify the relation patterns, users of this method control some characteristics, sometimes in a laboratory. It is often used by psychologists to identify the cause and effect relations of the explored variables in controlled situations. The second one is the field study in which the social, psychological, physical data are used to test the variables. In this method, the respondents are observed in their 'uncontrolled' environments, in which their behaviors are formed and reshaped. Similar to the field study, there is a survey study seeking to find out how people think and feel in certain conditions, in which they present certain attitudes. These are the main research methods used in environmental psychology. Besides these methods, there is a 'holistic research' that is not 'the study of selected environmental variables, but rather the relationships' among the all variables (Ittelson, Proshansky, Rivlin & Winkel, 1974, p.210).

Although there are other methods having different features according to their data collection and interpretation techniques. In the following chapter, detailed observation of the research method will take place. It may be concluded that whether qualitative or quantitative, expletory or descriptive, divergent methods help to grasp the complex relations between human and the environment.

2.1.2 Image Studies

First of all, image studies should not be evaluated as a distinct discipline from the environmental psychology, in spite of the fact that it has certain distinctive features of its own. It can be labeled as a specialized branch of environmental psychology with its own research questions and techniques.

Image is defined as a concept beyond the physical appearance of an object. On the contrary, the main definition is related with the 'subjective knowledge structure' by the help of which different facts of objective world is stored in a subjective ways as facts and values (Boulding, 1969, p.11). Information belonging to the divergent realms of the objective world is stored differently which has been labeled as 'images' by some scholars. This process of storage includes both 'facts and values' about the objective world that is reproduced in the mind of the individuals. In this process of reproduction, individuals compose their images by attaching divergent meanings changing from individual to individual. In this perspective, the main aim of the image studies is to explore the different 'images' of people to understand the societal and spatial forms. Especially, Golledge and Stimson (1997, p.191) determine the framework of the image studies as 'a realization of the experiences external to the individuals' who store the objective environment as 'mental representations'. Understanding of the subjective reproduction of the objective world having diversity of information is the important aim of the image studies.

Image studies were popularized in the 1960s, when the geographers, sociologists, psychologists began to deal with the images of the environment and society. As a result of this popularization, scholars have observed the different images

such as, neighborhood images (Lee, 1968), consumer images (Down, 1970), national images (Gould, 1973), world images (Saarinen, 1973), environmental hazard images (Saarinen, 1966), and city image (Lynch, 1960). In these studies, scholars used divergent techniques to catch the images of the individuals.

In order to understand the environmental psychology and image studies, certain concepts developed by them should be defined. Certain theoretical framework can be expressed in a clear way by the help of these concepts. In this sense, some of the concepts and works that are not directly related with this work will not be worked out, however, there will be the studies, directly motivating this work in some ways.

2.2 Environmental Cognition and Environmental Perception

Works on environmental perception and environmental cognition have an important place in the environmental psychology and image studies. Researchers have tried to develop concepts and methods to tackle with the problem of subjective knowledge developments. The main aim of the works on environmental cognition and environmental perception is to explore the coding, storage and decoding processes that individuals develops to cope with the complexity of socio-spatial environment. For this study, social and spatial ways of cognition and perception are important rather than their neurological dimensions related with the functions of brain and other psychosomatic structures. Therefore, cognition and perception is discussed within the framework of image formation process of individuals.

According to the scholars, the distinction between environmental perception and environmental cognition is meaningless. On the contrary, there is a slide difference between the perception and the cognition. These differences are often

discussed by people belonging to the discipline of psychology. It is argued that classical psychology sharply categorized the psychological process with the labels of perception, cognition and memory opposing to the conceptualizations of contemporary psychology (Ittelson, Proshansky, Rivlin & Winkel, 1974). The term perception is often used to denote an active process in information gathering way. Geographers, planners and psychologists use perception with differences. Golledge and Stimson (1997) point out that, geographers has been used the term to denote how things are remembered or recalled. For planners and architects, it has been used to describe the mutuality of interests among various groups of actors in the design process, and finally, for psychologists, it has denoted the inferential process, when a person plays a role in interpreting, categorizing and transforming the stimulus input. In this perspective, perception is used as a concept beyond the mechanical responses of individuals. Additionally, it is also stressed that the term perception is usually responses, in which the stimulus is present. Opposing to this approach, Saarinen (1976) defines perception, especially social perception, concerning with the effects of social and cultural factors on cognitive structuring, and he argues that perception depends on not only present stimulus, but also, past experiences, values, needs, memories, social circumstances and expectations. The other term, cognition, is not linked with immediate behavior and proximate environment. It is labeled as a general term to indicate the importance of past experiences and future directions in organizing the spatial issues. Environmental cognition indicates a term that determines how people acquire, store, organize and recall information about the spatial issues, whereas environmental perception is linked with an information

processing system in which the individual actively explores the immediate environment.

In the studies of environmental cognition and environmental perception, besides the visual qualities of the environment, other qualities of the environment through all senses should be taken into consideration. Especially, the sense of hearing and smell has an important role in organizing the spatial information, both in the process of perception and cognition. Sometimes the factor of texture, noise affects the individual behavior as much as the effects of visual qualities.

As it was discussed, perception is linked with immediacy, whereas, cognition concerns with the past and its projection into the future. It is stressed that this distinction is not establishing a clear dichotomy between two similar concepts (Downs & Stea, 1973). Whether these concepts are analyzed as different systems or not, scholars agree that both concepts are important in the formation of images as subjective knowledge structures.

Before deepening the argument with the certain concepts related with the cognitive structure, the role of cognition and perception in image formation should be clarified. Although there is no unified theory in image formation, perception and cognition is meant as tools simplifying the complex external stimuli. Additionally, the other important point that scholars agree in the formation of images is the divergent structures of individual's images. The images of two individuals about the same objective condition may be varied as a result of image processing. Even, the same person may compose divergent images about the same objective fact through different times. This divergent characteristic of images is explained by 'the filter

process', in which the perception and cognition of individual play the role of filter in straining the objective information (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). In this model, the formation of images about the spatial environment is mentally ordered. Similar to this approach, Hudson and Pocock (1978) analyze the filter model, which composes the three kinds of responses. As they argue, the first response is related with the qualities of 'whatness' and 'whereness', the second one incorporates the evaluation and preferences and the final one is about the predictions and inference, as a result of which the individuals attach meanings and continuity to the external objects. In this process of formation, values, beliefs play similar roles like cognition and formation in straining the external stimuli.

As it was pointed out, the perception and cognition plays an important role in the formation of images. Although there is no unified theory about the formation of images, the filter method, and some basic characteristics of the process is explained briefly. In order to clarify the topic, some basic concepts should be discussed.

2.3 Cognitive Mapping

Although the spatial behaviors of individuals are predictable in certain conditions, there are many ambiguous points about the stages of everyday life, in which the complex structure of environment affects the behavior of individuals. How people find their ways, how they store their spatial information, how they cope with the complexity of environmental stimulus and how they reproduce their spatial knowledge in different ways are questioned by urban scholars. The concept of cognitive mapping is developed to understand these complex issues. Cognitive mapping is defined as 'a process composed of a series psychological transformations

by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls and decodes information' about the everyday spatial environment (Downs and Stea, 1973, p.8). As it can be inferred from this definition, it is a process about the production, reproduction and expression of the spatial knowledge. According to the researchers, it is impossible to find way, even in the simple journeys.

The process of cognitive mapping provides important clues to the urban scholars in analyzing the divergent spatial behaviors of individuals. To understand the interaction between the built environment and human beings, many urban scholars use the method of cognitive mapping in their research methods. Especially, it may be used for analyzing the environmental preferences, exploring the environmental learning and symbolic meanings of the environment. In this sense, it provides an important tool to understand the nature of the socio-spatial dialectic that opposes to the methods tackling the social and spatial problems as isolated ones.

Now, it is time to discuss the end product of cognitive mapping process to clarify the theoretical issues.

2.3.1 Cognitive Map, Mental Map and Socio-Spatial Schema

Cognitive map is defined as the end product of cognitive mapping process, convenient short-hand symbols by the help of which the individual can formulate the strategy about the environmental issues (Downs and Stea, 1973). Therefore, cognitive maps are composed of existing or imagined entities developed by the individuals. There are dissimilarities between cognitive maps and cartographic maps, as indicated by geographers. Although, both of them are used as tools to find the way in everyday spatial environments, cognitive maps are discriminated from cartographic maps with

some features. First of all, cognitive maps are subjective products containing realities, imaginations, truths and errors. It is argued that cognitive maps may not resemble the cartographic maps, because they contain and represent people's impressions and understandings of places that may not correspond to the objectivity of cognitive maps (Doddridge & Halseth, 2000). Therefore, cognitive maps are subjective formation of the environment. These maps are disjointed and distorted maps as a result of the subjective filtering process. While the conventional cartographic maps are composed of graphical expressions, there is no dominant way ruling the expression way of cognitive maps. Downs and Stea (1973, p.12-13) points out that.

Speculatively, it seems likely that cognitive representations may employ a variety of signatures simultaneously, some aspects of our composite cognitive maps may resemble a cartographic map, other will depend upon linguistic signatures (in which scale and rotation operations are irrelevant), and still others upon visual imagery signatures viewpoints (in which the scale transformations may be disjointed or convoluted).

As it may be inferred from this discussion, cognitive maps are representations in various forms compose distorted, incomplete and schematized spatial information stored subjectively. While individuals compose their cognitive maps, the whereness quality and the attached meanings play an important role. It is stressed that meaning has an inseparable importance from function, and additionally, people are believed to impose meaning to the built environment through the use of cognitive process (Rapoport, 1982). People may feel 'secure' or 'insecure' in certain environmental conditions by, explicitly or implicitly using these attached meanings.

Different scholars use mental maps synonymous to the cognitive maps. The main definition of mental map is the map in the minds of people, referring the spatial images (Gould, 1973). Different authors use these concepts with the same implications. Both of these concepts are also used to refer the subjective knowledge structures. Similarly, mental maps are labeled as specific type of spatial images gathered from the built environment (Rapoport, 1977). Whether it is called as mental map or cognitive map, urban scholars stress them as a primary factor affecting the spatial behavior. It is useful to stress that these effects of cognitive representations take place in the experienced and the inexperienced environments, in which the individual tries to conduct in everyday activities.

Another concept is socio-spatial schema developed by Terence Lee (1973). The fundamental emphasis of the concept is the subjective storage of 'real' space stored as a 'schema', a kind of cognitive representation. This mentally stored schema deals with the 'whereness' and 'whatness' qualities of the built environment governing the spatial behaviors. According to Lee, individuals are subjected to the effects of the built environment situated outside of the individual. As a result of the interaction between individual and the environment, the built environment is turned to cognitive representations like a schema. The features of this schema are diversified according to the individual's life-styles, social status and social networks. It should be added that the schema is reciprocally related with the variables of life-styles, social networks and spatial behaviors. The hierarchical structure of schema provokes individuals to subdivide places into the classes according to the local characteristics, spatial issues and social factors such as poverty, social mobility (Cox and Zannaras, 1973). This

process of subdivision may reveal the some clues about the socio-spatial fragmentation of the urban environment, in which the invisible boundaries spread through all realms of life.

In this section, cognitive map, mental map and socio-spatial schema were defined to clarify the methodological issues. Now, it is time to express the main variables determining the nature of these concepts.

2.3.2 The Main Variables Affecting the Cognitive Maps

The theories of cognitive maps are directed by the two way process between the environment and people. The divergent features of environment and people determine the nature of the cognitive maps. First of all, environmental qualities affect the structure of cognitive maps, or the schema. The audio-visual qualities of environments may help to produce dissimilar cognitive maps, because the quality and the quantity of the external stimuli are differentiated. Besides the attached meanings and other psychological factors, it is stressed that cognitive maps are affected by spatial qualities, and the travel plans of individuals are influenced by different components of physical environment (Garling et al, 1984). Hence, environmental factors play an important role in the formation of cognitive maps and spatial behaviors. For instance, cognitive maps of people living in urban spaces differ from the maps of the people in the countryside. Additionally, the environmental features of divergent urban regions, such as lower class residential areas or upper class neighborhood play dissimilar roles in the formation of cognitive maps. In this perspective, effects of the neighborhoods on space understandings of socio-economic status groups are important for this study. Therefore, some of the theories and

methods of cognitive mapping are added to sociological methodology, which may create divergent visions to understand the urban land and claims on it.

Urban scholars stress individual differences in the study of cognitive mapping. Especially, the effects of socio-economic status, age, gender, length of residence and ethnicity relation are mainly investigated. Although there are various ideas on the dimensions of the effects, the spatial activity patterns are analyzed by the assistance of the former variables. Besides the individual differences, urban scholars stress the aggregate group behavior, as a result of which the inter-group differences of cognitive maps are studied.

When the relation between socio-economic status and cognitive maps is examined, there are only a few studies dealing with this issue. Kevin Lynch (1991) argues that, the relation between social class and images needs further studies, while analyzing the semantic structure of the cognitive maps by the help of the adjectives such as "nice", "clean", "dirty", "rich", labeled as social terms. One of the major works on this issue is the work of Goodchild (1974), who analyzes the relation between the class differences and the environmental perception. He analyzes the divergent structure of aesthetic appreciation, recalling the environmental aspects, subjective orientations and environmental conceptualizations related with the inequality. However, it should be added that there are multiple variables affecting the structure of cognitive maps, therefore, the effects of one variable can not be discussed as an isolated case. There are other studies using divergent methods to observe the differences between the cognitive maps of people belonging to dissimilar socio-economic status groups. The divergent characteristics of the sketch maps, a popular

way of analyzing the cognitive maps, are used to indicate the group differences of cognitive maps according to the socio-economic status (Francescato and Mebane, 1973). Similarly; in this study, the cognitive map differences are analyzed according to the graphic techniques and verbal interviews.

Another important factor affecting the cognitive maps is the factor of age. As a main determinant factor of the spatial activity patterns, age is labeled as the one of the most important variable influencing the cognitive maps. Especially, scholars study the cognitive maps of children and elderly people, to emphasize the importance of the age factor in the everyday activities. It is hypothesized that the ability to experience, code, re-code, recall of environmental information increases across the life-span, however, the cognitive and perceptual abilities of elderly people begin to deteriorate, as a result of aging (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). Besides the cognitive abilities of children and elderly people, there are other studies stressing the effects of different life-spans on cognitive maps, in which the different aspects of the aging are pointed out. Mental health and spatial activity patterns of divergent age groups are studied to observe the effects of age on cognitive maps. In summary, as it was pointed out in the former part, the factor of age should be handled with the inter-related factor affecting the cognitive maps.

It is pointed out that the cognitive maps of men and women are diversified according to the different activities and mental factors. The works are directed by the emergence of gender perspectives in the urban studies, in which the 'inferior' condition of women are observed in the 'geographies of men'. In these studies, the spatial behavior of women is examined to explore the cognitive maps of the women.

However, it is argued that although women and men have different spatial behaviors in many cases, it is uncertain that these differences are caused by divergent neurological structures of men and women (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). The study of divergent neurological developments of males and females are discussed in the contemporary studies of cognition.

Next, length of residence is discussed in the studies of cognitive mapping. The argument is mainly based on the environmental learning. It is discussed that long term residents generally more comprehensive and balanced images, which may produce different meanings about the environments (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). The studies of length of residence grow in numbers to cope with the problem of integration of new urbanites to the urban life.

Urban scholars also emphasize the factor of ethnicity. The ethnocentric approaches of individuals are expected to influence the cognitive maps belonging to the certain places. Thomas Saarinen studies the national and ethnic identities, which may produce different cognitive maps. In his study, four groups of students belonging to the United States, Canada, Finland and Sierra Leone are examined according to their sketch maps of the world. It is hypothesized that each national groups have different mental images of the world as a result of the cultural factors, current events and spatial characteristics (Saarinen, 1973). There are also other studies to investigate the national and ethnic identities in different environments. For instance, the ethnic and national identities have some certain characteristics according to the group and sub-group memberships. In the study of territorial perceptions, it is argued that different ethnic groups in the pluralistic societies have divergent identification levels

with their regions, in which there may be emotional bonds with those regions (Schnell, 1993).

Although these arguments may be multiplied to clarify the methodological perspective, the discussion of these works is sufficient for this chapter. There will be the various cases to support the empirical data in the following chapters.

2.4 A Contemporary Discussion on Cognitive Mapping

Although there are urban scholars dealing with the methods of cognitive mapping to grasp the urban problems, the popularity of the studies of cognitive mapping has been declining in contemporary times. However, it may still helpful to construct the mental frameworks and methods to cope with the urban issues.

In the late eighties, cultural theorist Frederic Jameson re-popularized the concept of cognitive mapping, in his theories of postmodernism. He used the socio-spatial transformation in order to understand the new logic of the 'mode of the production' (Jameson, 1984). He discusses that all forms of the cultural resistance were absorbed by the multinational capitalism; therefore, there is no possible enclaves except the aesthetic of cognitive mapping. He argues that cognitive mapping, a pedagogical political culture, providing a sense of orientation in the fragmented global world, may produce new energies to catch the collectivity in acting and struggling, which does not resemble the old form of the resistance (Jameson, 1984). Contemporary theoreticians often criticize his usage of cognitive mapping, as a mean of resistance.⁷

⁷ For the critiques of the studies of Jameson, the works of Terry Eagleton about the 'illusions of post modernity' and the works of Mike Davis on 'urban renaissance' may be explored as further readings.

Explicitly or implicitly, these discussions of cognitive mapping re-popularized the concept in many realms of the studies. For instance by referring the Jamesonian category of cognitive mapping, Hale tries to develop an approach about New York and Philadelphia. This work is labeled as a way of navigating through a 'unrepresentable' environment by author, examining the new possibilities of new socio-spatial forms (Hale, 2002).

Besides the contemporary reflections, the major works of cognitive mapping may be useful to grasp the methodological issues.

2.5 The Major Works of Cognitive Mapping

Although divergent scholars produce different works on cognitive mapping, in this part, two important works will be discussed. In this selection their mental frameworks and operations are used as a base study to develop the methodology of the present study. These works are Kevin Lynch 's 'The Image of the City' and Donald Appleyard 's 'Ciudad Guayana Project'.

2.5.1 The Image of the City

Kevin Lynch is an important figure in the urban studies, who explore the relation between the built environment and human beings. Especially, his popular work, 'The Image of the City' (1960), contributes new perspectives to the field of urban studies. He devotes himself to produce new forms of cities, both socially and spatially, against the present dynamics of urbanization. Although he believes the potentials of the city life, he does not enjoy the very idea of urbanization. According to Lynch (1973), the earth is rapidly urbanized and the skin of the earth has been transformed. As a result of this drastic process, vast resources are consumed,

however, the end product is wasteful and monotonous, in which the segregation of social groups are increased, according to Lynch. This concern may be help to understand his major motive forces, by the help of which he produces new conceptualizations and methods related with the problem of urbanization. In this respect, he has never been pessimistic about the dynamics of the city life, even he labeled the metropolis as 'a characterless and confused'. Lynch believes that the help of the social and economic potentials of the city life may eliminate these discomforts of the urbanization (Lynch, 1961). To catch the potentials of the city life, he analyzes the city space, relations of the social and spatial forms. In this perspective, he tires to develop different methodologies to eliminate the gap between urban professionals and city users. In which ways city users perceive the spatial forms, how different people perceive the built environment differently and how city user's perception and cognition can be measured, composes the main questions of Lynch. 'The Image of the City' is directed by these concerns based on the analysis of mental maps of the city users.

In 'The Image of the City', Lynch tries to grasp the spatial images of Los Angeles, Boston and Jersey City by the help of the field studies. In this respect, compares the objective space and subjective space by analyzing the mental maps. The objective space is examined by the help of the various trips of the 'trained observers' taking notes and sketching maps about the urban environment. To analyze the images of the inhabitants, he develops different kind of method, called as 'array of methods', combination of different visual and verbal techniques (Lynch, 1960, p.150).

Before detailing his study on these cities, some remarks of Lynch on environmental image should be made to clarify his conceptualization of the city images. These are the critical concepts in grasping the two-way process occurred between the built environment and human beings.

2.5.1.1 On the Features of Spatial Images

Lynch develops a systematic approach to grasp the interaction between city and its inhabitants. He analyzes the spatial images under the three components, 'identity, structure and meaning' (Lynch, 1960, p.8). He refers to the identification of objects to imply their distinctions from other things with their identities. Second, structure is defined as 'the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects' (Lynch, 1960, p.8). Finally, meaning is conceptualized as the different relation from spatial and pattern relations that observer develops emotional or practical relation through meaning. These three components are the auxiliary of him to develop taxonomy of spatial images.

By the assistance of the three components, identity, structure and meaning; Lynch develops a concept on the legibility of the spatial environments. Divergent qualities of environment such as shape, color, and arrangement may be vividly identified and structured by the observer. This distinctive character of the environment may be called as 'imageability' or visibility, as a center topic of his discussion (Lynch, 1960, p.9). According to Lynch, imageable cities compose strong images in the individual's mind. Therefore, imageable spaces conduct unique relations with the individuals and invite the eye or ear to participate.

2.5.1.2 Five Components of Cities

The important contribution of the study of Lynch is the taxonomy of the city image. According to Lynch, physical forms of the cities are composed of five elements, 'paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks', influencing the imageability of the city (Lynch, 1960, p.46). Although these elements are criticized by some urban scholars, this analyze has influenced the many urban scholars in their methodologies.

Paths are defined as channels, in which the inhabitants may move, such as streets, roads, walkways, railroads etc. According to the study of Lynch (1960), paths are the dominant city elements, by the assistance of which the cities are formed. Moreover, it should be added that there is a hierarchy of paths according to their functional features. Besides the functional features, the special uses and a spatial quality of paths also affects the hierarchy of them. Second, edge is defined as boundaries between two conditions such as walls, shores and railroad cuts etc. According to Lynch, edge, not dominant as paths, is important feature in organizing the form of the cities. This component represents the existence of to different condition and the boundary. Next, district is the two dimensional extent as section of the cities, according to which inhabitants feel common identifying character. This identifying character may help to construct the feelings of 'inside' and 'outside'. The importance and significance of district diversifies according to the socio-spatial qualities of that region. For instance, Lynch stresses the ethnic and class based districts in Jersey City, however, Los Angeles lacks in strong districts except the Civic Center (Lynch, 1960). Additionally, dissimilar social and spatial features have identified different districts belonging to the divergent urban classes. Afterwards,

node is labeled as the strategic points, such as junction points, crossing of the paths or point with special uses. In this respect, social nature of the activity is important determinant in the composition of nodes, like subway stations, civic centers, in which the thematic concentration is appeared. Final element is the landmark, which is defined as a point reference such as building, sign, store, shopping mall or mountain.

According to Lynch, these components of the city are interrelated elements, which may help to simplify the understanding of a total system. In the study of Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles, Lynch pays attention to the emphasis of the respondents to these elements in describing their cities. Additionally, he presents the influences of these elements on the concept of the imageability.

2.5.1.3 Array of Languages

It was stressed that the conceptualizations of Lynch have great influence on the popularity of his work. The other important feature supporting his popularity is his method. He labels his method as 'array of languages'. The difficulty of catching the mental maps of the inhabitants and scaling these maps is eliminated by the development of different methods, combination of different techniques. In this sense, the verbal and graphical parts compose the main body of his research technique.

The first step in his method is the examination of the objective environment and its important spatial features, gathered by trained observers who take notes, sketch maps about the related space. After collecting the data about the spatial environment, the office interviews are conducted. In the first part of the office interviews, the respondents, chosen randomly, are asked to sketch map of the city and they are requested to explain the most distinctive parts of the city. According to

Lynch, this is an important part to gain information about the public images and imageability of the cities.

The second part is a in-depth interview to collect the information about the socio-spatial features. In this part, the distinctive parts of the city, symbols of that city and emotional feelings of respondents about the various parts of the city are asked, besides the cartographic questions. Additionally, Lynch asks respondents to make an imaginary trip from home to work and request them to explain what the respondents sees, smells and hears in the selected route. Next part is about the visual memory of the respondents. In this section, Lynch shows some photographs about the city and asks respondents to classify and describe them. In the final part, respondents are taken out to the field, in which the individual conducted his or her imaginary trip. While respondents rearrange his or her trip, the notes are taken to grasp the spatial behaviors and environmental effects on them.

This is the distinctive method of 'The Image of the City'. Lynch stresses the two important points about his method. The first one is the small sample size, and second one is the unbalanced nature of the sample size, composed by middle class people with nearly the same age (Lynch, 1960). As urban scholars argue, Lynch has methodological problems in his study, however; it creates new dimensions to cope with the problems of the city, which may be examined by an analytical approach by the help of the seminal work of Lynch. The main critiques are his focus on middle class beliefs and values while analyzing cities, the size of the sample used in his works, availability of the graphic techniques and applicability of his findings in local policies. Although there are many obscure points in his methodology, his

combination of the perspectives of planning, sociology and psychology creates new mental frameworks to elaborate the concept of the city as a whole.

The further discussion of the methods of cognitive mapping studies will be held in the following chapter of this work.

2.5.1.4 Future Directions of Lynch

First of all, it should be added that although the work of Lynch has some controversial points in his methodology, it presents important clues to understand the fragmented identity of urban spaces. Important for this study, against the segregation, isolation and social barriers between dissimilar socio-economic groups, Lynch proposes the 'open spaces' in which the new and unusual social contacts between divergent groups of people take place to break through the social barriers (Lynch, 1965, p.405). Additionally, controversial points are linked with the complexity of the issue of city and the issues of perception and cognition.

Lynch evaluates his study after about twenty years later in 'Reconsidering the Image of the City' (1985). He criticizes his earlier work, because the applicability of the work to the public policies remains questionable. In this perspective, Lynch stresses that his study does not set out the common problems due to the dissimilar mental maps of different individuals (Lynch, 1985). However, it is also added that the study provokes other works in many countries to catch the mental images of inhabitants, related with the social and spatial features of the urban space. Years later, his conceptualizations are used to indicate divergent spatial realities. For instance, Ford who has been motivated by the works of Lynch holds the critique of new urban patterns, especially suburbanization (Ford, 1999). Moreover, there are other attempts

to develop the methodology of Lynch by adding the categories of class, age, and gender in the examination of the images of the university campus (Banai, 1999).

2.5.2 On the Project of Ciudad Guayana

The importance of the project of Ciudad Guayana is linked with its divergent planning character, in which the social scientists, lawyers, architects, engineers, planners and economists combine their efforts in a multi-disciplinary way. Moreover, it is stressed by Appleyard that the project of Ciudad Guayana is the first project combining the viewpoints of inhabitants and the efforts of urban scholars (Appleyard, 1976). Therefore, it is a unique case in the planning discipline, in which the planners take decisions without any corporation with the inhabitants.

The project of Ciudad Guayana, settled in Venezuela, was developed by members of Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which had been asked by Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana to act as resident consultant for the redevelopment of the city. In this respect, economists, planners, social scientists, architects conducted divergent researches to forecast the long-term effects in macro-scale. The social, geographical, spatial, economical, cultural features of the region were researched with the divergent techniques conducted by professionals. Years later, it is labeled as the great city as a result of the 'continuous design, careful formulation of objectives and the realistic evaluation of success or failure will help to make it so' (Lynch, 1964, p.640).

The study of Appleyard, as a part of the project, was conducted, while the city was transforming both socially and spatially. The main aim of the study is to examine the mental maps of the inhabitants, according to their age, sex, socio-economic status

and length of residence. In this perspective, the research was conducted to 320 inhabitants selected according to their age, sex, and status to collect the representative sample. Similar to the approach of Lynch, research method included different techniques such as verbal and visual questions. It was stressed that questions were related with the naming the city, mapping of it, recounting a journey along the main road, and describing the selected districts and buildings (Appleyard, 1976). These are the methods to collect the data about the data about the social, political, spatial and functional significance of the respondent's mental maps. Besides these researches, there were also the field studies conducted by trained observers, to analyze the qualities of the objective environment.

There were important findings of Appleyard that help to direct the future researches and planning issues. The most important finding is related with the differences of perceptions of planners and of inhabitants, whose perceptions are also diversified according to the inter-group differences. Appleyard argues that urban knowledge is not spread homogeneously; on the contrary, social class affects the distribution of the urban knowledge, called as a 'one way visibility' (Appleyard, 1976, p.41). Additionally, differences of social class, age, sex determines the different ideals about a city. These may be explained by the developed meanings about the built environment.

Another important finding is related with the urban experiences of the inhabitants. According to Appleyard, urban experience was composed of four concentric zones, a 'zone of personal territory, zone of regular use and travel, surrounding zone of the visibility and the environment of the indirect experience'

(Appleyard, 1976, p.204). This spatial mapping may present important features of spatial behaviors of different inhabitants. It may be helpful to grasp the structured experiences conducted by different groups in the urban environments.

There are many other empirical findings of Appleyard that may harden to get the urban unity. This issue is analyzed in terms of its social, spatial, economical features to present the diversity of inhabitants. This may not cause pessimism for planners, if the diversity is handled correctly. The productive management of the 'plural city' could be worked out by identifying the groups and their claims and the plural participation of divergent inhabitants of the city (Appleyard, 1976, p.229).

These are the major points that help to direct the present study, influenced by the works of Lynch and Appleyard. This influence is not grasped as one to one mimesis of their work, on the contrary, re-evaluation and appropriation of these works is held to be applied the socio-spatial nature context of Ankara.

2.6 Conclusion

The theoretical framework of the study was discussed in this chapter. Although there are other works influencing the present work, the selected works and concepts are the major discussion points directing the methodology of this study. Some of the obscure points that could not be clarified in this chapter will be explained in the following chapters. The complexity of the relations and eclectic nature of the study is tried to be used positively to tackle with the problem of urban space.

This chapter began with the discussion of the relations between the human beings and the built environment. Afterwards, the help of the disciplines of environmental psychology and image studies specified the topic. Next, the environmental perception and environmental cognition was discussed to clarify the conceptual framework. After this discussion, the mental maps, cognitive maps and process of cognitive mapping help to specify the manner of the present work. Finally, two important works were explained to finalize the discussion by empirical studies having notable place in the studies of urban geographies.

CHAPTER III

RESTRUCTURING THE METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapters, the main framework of the methodology was expressed. Certain concepts, main research techniques and studies directing the present work were discussed to introduce the methodology of the work. However, this was not a detailed narration about the methodology that needs to an exhaustive way of telling. Therefore, the main aim of this chapter is to reorganize the methodological issues by describing the research techniques, data collection methods and data interpretation ways. Before deepening the argument with the research method section, some important remarks about the study will be pointed out. In this part, the contextual aspects of the study will be examined to specify the aims and objectives of the study. This section also includes the re-elaboration of the main research question, which was discussed in the previous chapters. Afterwards, the discussion on the research method will be held. In this section, the chosen method, and data interpretation ways will be clarified. In this part, some of the observations that were held while collecting the data will be discussed to elaborate the methodology of the work in a critical manner. Additionally, the main aspects of the chosen sample will be pointed out. While discussing the main features of the sample, the difficulties of the research will be also expressed.

In the previous chapters, conceptualizations and their positive and negative aspects were clarified. Therefore, this chapter mainly focuses on the research techniques of the study. As an important departure point of the works of social

sciences, the positive and negative features of the certain research method will be clarified to hold a critical manner on the methodology.

3.1 Remarks on the Study

As it was argued, this study is about the comparison of divergent perceptions of dissimilar socio-economic groups living in Ankara. In this regard, different perceptions will be examined by the help of the method of cognitive mapping. This method may provide useful information about the everyday spatial behaviors, divergent definitions, interests and claims on urban space. Beside socio-economic status of the respondents their articulation with urban culture is important to grasp the differences in their perceptions. Therefore, fragmentation of space in the context of Ankara is examined according to the socio-economic status, sex, age and length of residence. In this perspective, inter-group and in-group differences and similarities were examined to grasp the socio-spatial nature of fragmentation. The aspects of inter-group and in-group relations were revealed the useful clues about the subjective formation of knowledge, which may not correspond to the realities of objective space.

In order to grasp the inter-group differences, this study was held in the divergent neighborhood of Ankara that was selected according to their socio-economic structures. The interviews were conducted with 39 individuals, selected accidentally. Now, it is better for this study to remark that the difficulties of small-size sample were anticipated before conducting the researches, and some provisions were taken to eliminate the difficulties. In this sense, previous studies on the city and the observations of the author were used as the main assistances of this study. Additionally, the research technique appropriate to the small-size sample was

selected. The respondents of this study may not be representatives that can not be selected from the millions of people by using small-size sample. Over again, they may not be the representatives of their socio-economic status groups, due to the dynamic and heterogeneous character of the urban classes. On the contrary, their beliefs, attitudes and behaviors are analyzed according to the findings of the previous studies.

Besides the problems caused by the small-sample size, the possibility of the low-reactions of some respondents on spatial issues was anticipated. In order to eliminate this difficulty, the divergent techniques and materials were used in this study to enrich the reactions of the respondents. City maps, graphical expressions and photographs were used as the parts of the research technique. The success of this research technique in eliminating the difficulties will be discussed in the following chapters.

These were some of the foresights that had been formed before conducting the researches. Now, it is better for this study to examine the socio-economic differentiation of Ankara by referring the map of Güvenç (1998), by the help of which sample of this work is determined.

3.2 Spatial Differentiations in the Context of Ankara

Although there are only a few studies on the spatial differentiation and socio-economic contexts of the cities of Turkey, these studies have many contributions to the theory of the spatial differentiation of the cities of Turkey. These studies gain importance on analyzing the constructed myths produced in the language of the everyday life of the cities. In this perspective, the order of the spatial environment of

Ankara and special task of Ankara in Turkish modernity project may hide the realities about the spatial differentiation patterns of the city. Especially, dominant language(s) of the city and the debates on secularism versus Islamic way of life, which has been a popular debate in urban discussion on Ankara, may mask the realities, contradictions based on the material inequalities. Güvenç (2001a) debates that, the situation of Ankara in the project of modernity and its positive influences conceal the everyday life difficulties and objective negativeness. Therefore, socio-economic status search of the capital city can help to grasp clearly the spatial environment of the city.

There are several studies on the spatial differentiation at the neighborhood level in the context of Ankara. At the city level, Güvenç produces studies to grasp the realities of the objective environment, not only in Ankara, but also, other metropolitan cities of Turkey, such as İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa and Gaziantep. In his analysis, he declares the five cities have been many fluctuations in the project of the modernity, however, results and his interpretations of the demographic data supplied by the census of 1990 support the homogeneous structure of the spatial differentiation (Güvenç, 1998).

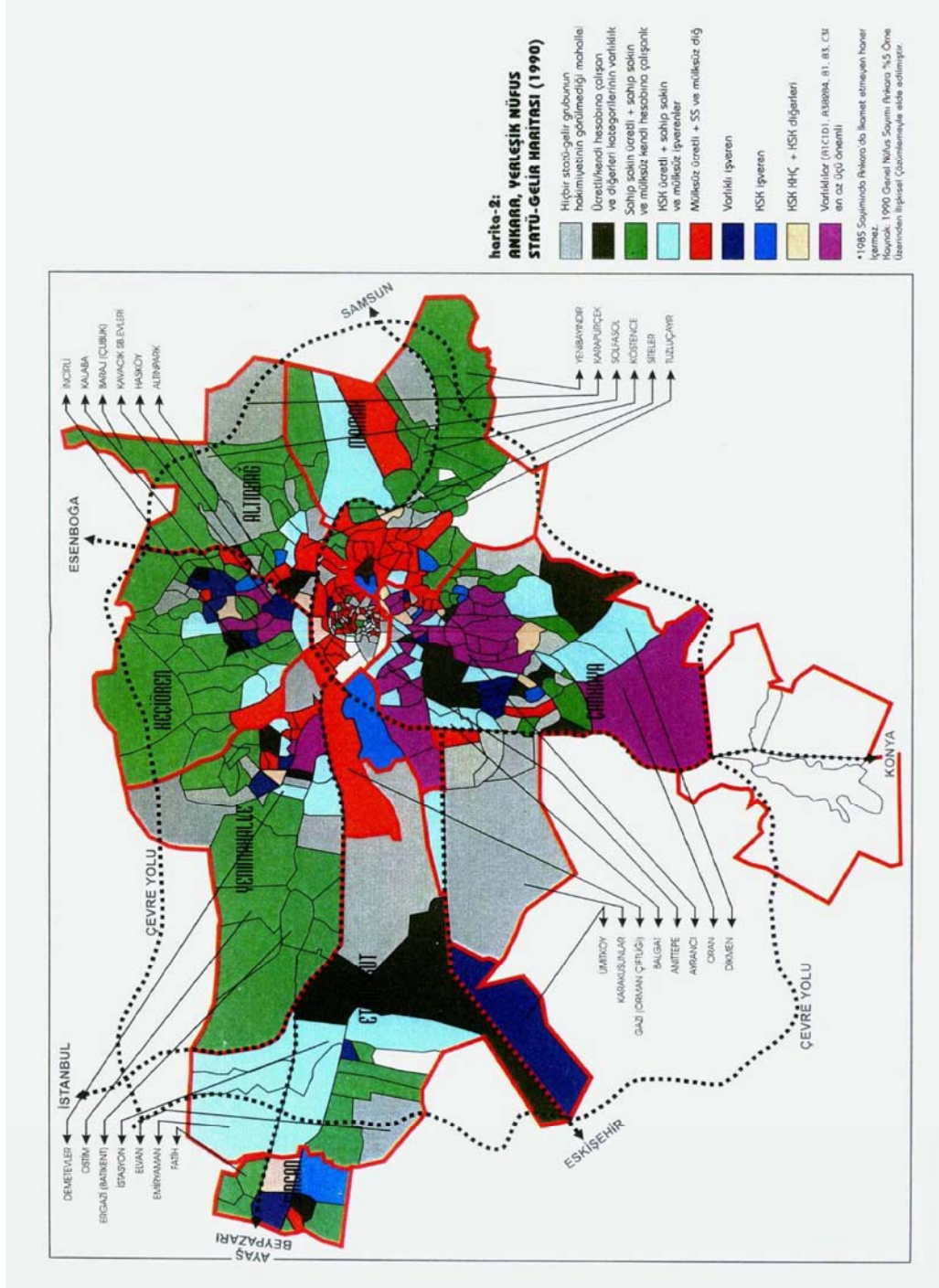


Figure 1 Socio-economic map of the spatial differentiation (Guvenç, 2001)

Güvenç uses the sample composed by 5% portion of 1990 census in order to map the spatial differences according to socio-economic status and origin. Güvenç (2001b) argues that, the data about over 30,000-house chief inhabited in 330 neighborhoods was used and interpreted in the context of Ankara. In this analysis, he mainly uses the professions, house ownerships, incomes and origin of the people in order to compose a map of socio-economic status and origin in Ankara. His findings on Ankara are interesting in many ways. Especially, polarization of the spatial geography is stressed by Güvenç. He declares that İstanbul-Samsun Road and the railway divide the city into two different parts, the north Ankara inhabited by people belonging to the lower socio-economic status and the south Ankara inhabited by wealthy section of urbanites. The poorest section of this map, represented by the color of orange on map of Güvenç, is placed at the center, called Mamak. Although detailed information will be supplied in the following chapters, it may be argued that poverty symbolizes the main image of this shanty-town. Besides the 'lower' quality of the spatial environment, solidarity patterns, strong web of social relations help to understand the situation of this neighborhood. Additionally, many urbanites symbolize their image of Mamak with 'gecekondu'.⁸ South part of Ankara, wealthy sections, such as Çankaya, Gazi Osmanpaşa, Oran, and Bahçelievler are separated from neighborhoods with the lower income by topographical features, according to Güvenç. According to Güvenç, the most privileged neighborhoods, where qualified restaurants, shopping centers, building with distinctive qualities are settled, are found

⁸ Gecekondu is squatter house, which mainly labels the illegal house, although some *gecekondu* s gain legal identities. Straight translation of gecekondu may be landed overnight. Besides the periphery of city, near the city center of Ankara, there have been large gecekondu settlements since 1950s.

at this section of the city. Moreover, it was added that besides differences of socio-economic condition, life-styles in the south part of Ankara have contrasting features with those of the north part. The north section of the city, Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle, Altındağ, represented with the color of the green on the figure, is structurally separated from the south Ankara. Güvenç also adds that in the north section, there are small, wealthy enclaves such as Kavacık, Kalaba surrounded by ‘green’ sections. However, these are very small parts may be labeled as ‘islands’ in terms of their socio-economic structure. Another distinctive group is wealthy employers mainly settled at the suburban settlements on the one side of the Eskişehir Road. These new settlements such as gated communities, upper-middle class neighborhoods are placed at the south-west of, represented by ‘purple’ on the figure. What is important for Güvenç is the structured existence of the homogeneous parts. The north versus south divisions, the poorest section mainly settled near Mamak, and new settlements on the south-west part as a result of suburbanization are the main findings of Güvenç, figured out on his map.

These are the findings based on the census of 1990. Dynamic structure of urban classes may be changed in the early 2000s, as a result of the changes in the political and economical condition of Turkey. Güvenç (2001b) adds that, new patterns of urbanization, changes in the central business district, urban renewal projects, urban dynamism and changing life-style, consumption patterns have to change this map. Therefore, these findings should be compared with the findings of the latest years in order to observe the changes on the socio-spatial environment of

Ankara. However, it may be assumed these structured homogeneous divisions can not be transformed easily.

This map of socio-economic status of Ankara by Güvenç may enrich the meanings, identities and signs of Ankara with its analytical approach. Especially, it may direct the arguments on the fragmented images of divergent urbanites. Before continuing with subjective reflection of the mentioned issues, some remarks about the map should be made. First of all, as Güvenç also argues, it carries the reflection of the census of 1990. Therefore, some of the patterns may be developed, changed or transformed as a result of the dynamic urban structure. Secondly, this kind of analysis of socio-economic status may not be appropriate to the new theories of inequalities. Therefore, new models of consumption analysis, politics of identity may be added to this work to adapt the study to the new theories of inequalities. Scott (1996) argues that, it is better to talk about the social identities focused on the relations of age, gender, and ethnicity, rooted by consumption patterns. On the contrary, wideness of the geography and the largeness of the sample make harder the application of the new methods of inequality on the city-level.

3.3 Research Method

As it was pointed out, the research technique of this study includes the combination of the divergent methods. To eliminate the difficulties in examining the cognitive maps of the inhabitants, verbal and graphical study techniques were used. In general, it may be labeled as in-depth interviewing, which is a useful data collection method in social sciences. Before discussing the details of the in-depth interviews, it is useful to express all the steps of the research method. In this respect,

evaluation of the method will be explained in the following chapters, step by step. This evaluation includes the comparison of the information of the objective environment and of the subjective environment(s) by analyzing the mental representations of the inhabitants.

3.3.1 Preliminary Works of the Research Method

First of all, as it was common in all works of science, literature review was made to compose the theoretical background. Afterwards, examination of the objective environment of Ankara was made. In this sense, some important landmarks, paths and nodes were described by the help of the previous studies on the socio-spatial context of Ankara. Afterwards, certain drifts⁹ were conducted to re-evaluate these important features and to collect the data about the divergent socio-spatial natures of Ankara. While drifting, the defined landmarks, paths and nodes were photographed. These photographs were designed to be used in the in-depth interviews to examine the spatial behaviors and mental representations of the inhabitants. These places were chosen according to their importance as symbols pointed out by urban scholars studying the symbols of Ankara. Certain landmarks, having symbolic meanings for Ankara, or having distinctive architectural quality, the major axis of Ankara as paths and some important nodes composed the main body of the selected figures. Besides taking photographs, some notes were taken during the trips to analyze the objective environment with an analytical manner. These drifts, which

⁹ It was a distinct type of experience of the urban geographies mainly developed by the members of Situationist International. It is also called as derive defined as a type free-form but a critical drift through urban terrain, which was composed of 'endless labyrinths'. It is developed against the cartographic analysis of the modern metropolis that may eliminate some realities of urban geography. It is also called as a specific act of mapping or the socio-spatial praxis to eliminate the illusions of the capitalist production of the urban space, against the spectacles of everyday life.

were taken about three weeks, compose the other part of the preliminary work of this study. These drifts or mappings of Ankara had many contributions on the formation of the research method, directly or indirectly.

3.3.2 Preparation of the Questionnaire

After completing the preliminary studies, questionnaire was prepared to compose the research method. In general, the selected method may be called as the structured in-depth interview technique, conducted divergent neighborhood of Ankara. It is argued that interview studies are specific type of social interactions between two persons, who form the instant primary relationship, as a natural result of the conducted conversations (Bailey, 1987). This research technique has many similarities with the ordinary conversations, as means of sharing information. However, Rubin & Rubin (1995) argue that, in-depth interviews have some differences from the ordinary conversations. An important dissimilarity is that qualitative interviewing is a research tool conducted by the researcher on the selected topic that determines the frame of the conversation. In this perspective, qualitative interviewing is about learning from the debates of the respondents who express the subjective world(s) with his/her language. By using this research technique in data collection and interpretation sections, researchers belonging to the divergent disciplines try to support their hypothesis with the empirical findings.

The qualitative methods have been widespread in urban studies as a reaction against the quantitative methods, as ‘positivist spatial science’. In geography, it is discussed that qualitative techniques are useful means to analyze the perceived realities in different ways by divergent people (Robinson, 1998). Additionally,

macro-scale socio-spatial researches, such as city level designs, have some difficulties in collecting the sufficient number of respondents in quantitative analysis, in which the numbers are the primary focuses of the researcher. Therefore, qualitative in-depth interviewing has some advantages at the city level, compared with the research methods of the quantitative studies.

Now, it is useful to discuss the questions to express the research method in a clear manner. First part of the questionnaire is related with the socio-demographic aspects of the respondents. Afterwards, there are questions about the ownership and occupational features of the respondents. Although map of Murat Güvenç is mainly used to determine socio-economic status of the respondents, answers of the questions about respondent's occupational and ownership status may be used as additional information. Next, there is a section including questions about the designative, appraisive aspects of neighborhood of the respondents. These questions are designed as open-ended questions, which provoke the respondents to think about the spatial issues of their neighborhood. In order to grasp the relation between respondent and his/her neighborhood, these questions are about the spatial identity patterns, developed differently by divergent group of people. Additionally, designative and appraisive aspects of the selected neighborhoods are asked to the respondents, to get an idea about the images of the respondents. Following section of the questionnaire is about the relation of the respondents with the city. In this part, spatial images of the city are also investigated. These questions are prepared to indicate the differences between the spatial images of the objective environment and subjective environments of Ankara. Afterwards, the selected photographs are asked to get an idea about the

relations of divergent urbanites with the popular images spatial images of Ankara. In this part, respondents are requested to remember the place that the photograph was taken in the different places of Ankara. This part also includes the option for respondent who is requested to indicate the missing landmarks of Ankara that was not photographed in this section. This may help to organize the information about the spatial images of the objective space of Ankara. Next, there are questions about the everyday spatial behaviors of the respondents. Besides questions on the everyday spatial behaviors, familiar and unfamiliar spaces are asked to the respondents. After this part, the imaginary trip part takes place. In this part, respondents are asked to organize an imaginary trip from the ‘old center’ of Ankara; Ulus, to Kızılay to Tunalı Hilmi, which were labeled as the three centers of Ankara by some urban scholars. In this imaginary trips, respondents are asked to indicate orderly the important points belonging to the socio-spatial environment, such as landmarks, nodes, districts and some characteristic features about the urbanites in that place. This part tries to stimulate the cognitive maps of the respondents by organizing the imaginary trips on the main paths dividing Ankara. Additionally, some interruptions and errors are also examined in this part, in order to express the divergent routes of the urbanites in their everyday lives. Final part is about the graphical skills, decoding the mental representations of the respondents. First, respondents are asked to point out the important landmarks on the schematic map, which was drawn by researcher indicating the main paths and nodes of the city on this base map. This part is used as additional information to grasp the cognitive maps. Second, respondents are urged to sketch map on a blank sheet, whether the respondent is likely to show the selected

part of the city with its details. These sketch maps are examined to indicate the inter-group differences in decoding the mental representations of the divergent urbanites.

Sketch maps and photographic technique as a research method have been criticized by a few urban scholars. However, it may provide necessary data, besides the data gathered from the verbal interviews. It is argued that sketch maps can be used to ‘draw conclusions about the comparative internal structuration and representational ability of the subjects’ rather than to measure the spatial knowledge of the respondents (Golledge, 1976, p.306). These representational abilities and internal structures may reveal clues about the cognitive maps of the divergent socio-economic groups. Additionally, the usage of the sketch maps are privileged by Wood & Beck (1976), who argue that sketch map may be the truest language for the respondents in expressing the mental representations, besides other languages. Therefore, research method is constructed as a verbal format and a graphical format to find the best way to re-conceptualization of the mental representations of the urbanites. Showing photographs to the respondents may enrich these formats and the expression of the mental representations may be canalized to the best route.

3.3.3 Research Sample and the Field Study

After completing the questionnaire, the field studies were conducted, which took about the one and half month. First of all, neighborhoods were determined, in which the studies were intended to be conducted. The main criteria of the selection of the neighborhood were the socio-economic condition of the region. The selected regions may be labeled as lower class, lower-middle class and middle class, upper-middle class neighborhoods, identified according to the data gathered from 1990

census. Field studies were conducted in the neighborhood of Mamak; as a lower class neighborhood, Yeni Mahalle, Keçiören and Batıkent as lower-middle class residential areas settled at the north Ankara, and finally, Bahçelievler, Oran, Ümitköy, Bilkent as middle class and upper middle class neighborhoods. Over again, it should be noted that these neighborhoods in the light of Güvenç's map, were used as a main factor determining socio-economic status of the respondents.

In this study, research sample was composed by the help of the snowball technique. It is argued that snowball sampling 'uses a process of chain referral' in order to enlarge the sample size (Singleton, 1988, p.163). In this technique, first of all, a few persons are found in the field, by the help of the mediator. Afterwards, these people are used as sources to find others qualifying the inclusion in the sample. The number of the sample was increased by the assistance of this technique in the divergent neighborhoods of Ankara. For each neighborhood, different mediators were found to use the snowball sampling method.

Before debating the field studies, it is important to express that the pilot study was conducted to few people in order to test the questionnaires, especially their reliability and validity. In the pilot study, the prepared questions were applied accidentally chosen individuals and some notes were taken to grasp the respondents' reactions to the questions. According to this pilot study, the questionnaire was re-organized before conducting the field studies. The importance of the field study is stressed that it is carried out to test the concepts, language and question order, conducting before the actual study (Carey & Maps, 1972).

Field surveys were taken about the one and half month. In these surveys, the respondents were appointed mainly in their homes and offices. In addition to the homes and offices, there were researches conducted in the public spaces, such as parks and civic centers. In these surveys, participant observation was also used in order to enrich the data about the divergent social worlds. This method is defined as the technique in which the observer is said to participate actively to the lives of the respondents and the observer may be labeled as the accepted member of the group of the respondents (Singleton & Straits, 1988). In these interviews, additional notes were taken about the condition of the neighborhoods and behavioral aspects of the respondents. It should be noted that qualities of the neighborhoods and attitudes of the respondents affect the nature of the interviews.

3.4 Difficulties of the Research

There were some difficulties that I was confronted with in the survey stage. The problems in the theoretical approaches and the research methods were the main sources of these problems. The discussion on the difficulties related with the eclectic nature of the theoretical approaches was held in the previous chapter. Therefore, this section of the work will include the difficulties belonging to the research part.

As it was pointed out, the research sample is small in size to represent the group differences in the socio-spatial environment of Ankara. This point is tried to be eliminated by the help of the empirical findings of the previous studies conducted in different cities. The empirical findings of this study on the socio-spatial environment of Ankara were compared with those findings of other studies. Especially, class-based inter-group and in-group differences were examined by the assistance of these

previous researches. This problem of the size of the research sample is the common problem of the all studies of social sciences due to the time and budget factors. In this perspective, studies on the socio-spatial nature of Ankara by architects, planners, sociologists are the main sources to eliminate these difficulties that may create methodological faults.

Another difficulty is the lack of interest about the spatial issues of the urbanites. Although many authors explain the lack of interest about the visible one by the cultural characteristics, Islamic practices, there is no clear explanation that all the scholars accepting as a common reason. Anyway, this issue created many research problems in the surveys. Many of the respondents had no clear ideas on the spatial preferences, their feelings reshaped by the environment. It may be concluded that the photographs, graphical techniques were used successfully to enrich their imaginations and answers on the spatial issues. These methods forced the respondents to think about the spatial features and their effects.

The last difficulty, very common in social science, is the problem of language. It was not easy to communicate each respondent having divergent background, interests with the same questions. Especially, sometimes two interviews were conducted in the same day in the divergent places. In these surveys, the language as a problem may reveal the divergent layers of the city. Therefore, open-ended questions were sometimes reshaped and conversation was restructured to eliminate the communication problem with the different respondents.

Table 1-Demographic data of the respondents

	name	sex	age	education	occupation	neighbh.	Number of household	Ownership of house	Other prop.
1	Arif	m	51	institute	teacher	Etlik	3	proprietor	-
2	Necla	f	49	institute	ret. civ. serv.	Etlik	3	proprietor	-
3	Necati	m	49	primry. sch.	ret. laborer	Keçiören	7	proprietor	-
4	Tahire	f	34	university	insurist	Keçiören	1	tenant	-
5	Yahya	m	28	high school	inf. officer	Yenimah.	2	tenant	-
6	Sergen	m	23	institute	student	Aydınlıkev.	4	proprietor	-
7	Neriman	f	50	high school	housewife	Batıkent	3	tenant	-
8	Nuriye	f	49	primry. sch.	housewife	Batıkent	4	proprietor	-
9	Nihat	m	32	university	elec.engineer	Batıkent	2	tenant	-
10	Çağrı	m	27	university	unemployed	Batıkent	3	proprietor	-
11	Nursen	f	68	high school	housewife	Batıkent	2	proprietor	-
12	Süleyman	m	28	primry. sch.	tea servicer	Mamak	4	proprietor	-
13	Umut	m	34	high school	insurer	Tuzlucaıyır	2	tenant	-
14	Ayla	f	28	high school	accountant	Siteler	2	tenant	-
15	Vehbi	m	62	no educ.	retired labr.	Tuzlucaıyır	3	proprietor	-
16	Ahmet	m	18	high school	unemployed	Tuzlucaıyır	4	tenant	-
17	Feyyaz	m	26	high school	redactor	Tuzlucaıyır	3	proprietor	-
18	Hüseyin	m	20	high school	peddler	Tuzlucaıyır	8	tenant	-
19	Sevgi	f	51	no educ.	housewife	Tuzlucaıyır	3	proprietor	-
20	Esat	m	19	high school	unemployed	Tuzlucaıyır	4	tenant	-
21	Remzi	m	29	high school	taxi driver	abidinpaşa	3	tenant	-
22	Aysu	f	25	university	mast. student	Anıttepe	4	proprietor	1
23	Belgin	f	54	high school	hairedresser	Bahçeliev.	3	proprietor	1
24	Muharrem	m	46	university	constructor	Kavaklıdere	4	proprietor	1
25	Bahar	f	25	university	doctor	G. Osmap.	3	proprietor	2
26	Tanık	m	53	university	retired teach.	Ayrancı	3	proprietor	1
27	Can	m	24	university	mast. student	Çankaya	4	proprietor	1
28	Hasan	m	50	university	inspector	Bahçeliev.	5	tenant	1
29	Tuna	m	22	university	lawyer	Kavaklıdere	2	tenant	-
30	Nuri	m	24	university	mast. student	Tunus	3	tenant	-
31	Nuran	f	51	university	ret.com.assis.	Bahçeliev.	3	tenant	-
32	Nihal	f	47	university	teacher	G. Osmanp.	3	tenant	2
33	Memduh	m	51	university	constructor	G. Osmanp.	1	proprietor	-
34	Aysel	f	24	university	resea. assis.	Oran	3	proprietor	1
35	Nur	f	26	university	lawyer	Konutkent	2	proprietor	1
36	Sibel	f	45	university	pharmacist	Bilkent Ko.	3	proprietor	-
37	Ayşe	f	51	university	housewife	Beysukent	3	proprietor	2
38	Zühtü	m	42	university	doctor	Konutkent	3	proprietor	-
39	Aydın	m	26	university	unemployed	Ümitköy	2	proprietor	-

Table II- Residence of the respondents

	name	place of birth	No. of years in Ankara	neighborhoods (from last to beginning)					
				Neigh. I	Ye.	Neigh. II	Ye.	Neigh. III	Ye
1	Arif	Diyarbakır	22	Etlik	22	-	-	-	-
2	Necla	Giresun	17	Etlik	17	-	-	-	-
3	Necati	Kırşehir	7	Keçiören	7	-	-	-	-
4	Tahire	Bolu	10	Keçiören	1	Telsizler	9	-	-
5	Yahya	Malatya	6	Y.Mahalle	1	Abidinpaşa	2	Demetev.	3
6	Sergen	İstanbul	20	Aydınlık	20	-	-	-	-
7	Neriman	Bartın	6	Batıkent	6	-	-	-	-
8	Nuriye	Ankara	29	Batıkent	17	Demetevl.	6	Y.Mahalle	3
9	Nihat	Sivas	20	Batıkent	3	Y.Mahalle	2	-	-
10	Çağrı	Bolu	6	Batıkent	6	-	-	-	-
11	Nursen	Kırklareli	32	Batıkent	17	Keçiören	15	-	-
12	Süleyman	Kırşehir	5	Kıbrisköy	5	-	-	-	-
13	Umut	Sivas	28	Tuzlucaıyır	8	İncesu	20	-	-
14	Ayla	Ankara	28	Siteler	2	Mamak	26	-	-
15	Vehbi	Kayseri	40	Tuzlucaıyır	40	-	-	-	-
16	Ahmet	Ankara	5	Tuzlucaıyır	1	Saimekadın	4	-	-
17	Feyyaz	Ankara	26	Tuzlucaıyır	26	-	-	-	-
18	Hüseyin	Ankara	20	Tuzlucaıyır	19	Keçiören	1	-	-
19	Sevgi	Kayseri	36	Tuzlucaıyır	36	-	-	-	-
20	Esat	İstanbul	11	Tuzlucaıyır	10	Misket	1	-	-
21	Remzi	Ankara	29	Abidinpaşa	1	Mamak	20	Etlik	8
22	Aysu	Ankara	20	Anıttepe	15	Kavaklıdere	5	-	-
23	Belgin	Çorum	39	Bahçelievler	31	Cebeci	8	-	-
24	Muharrem	Kütahya	14	Kavaklıdere	14	-	-	-	-
25	Bahar	Sivas	8	G.Osmanpaşa	5	Bahçelievler	3	-	-
26	Tarık	Mardin	40	Ayrancı	22	Aydınlıke.	18	-	-
27	Can	Kocaeli	20	Çankaya	10	Esat	10	-	-
28	Hasan	Konya	24	Bahçelievler	2	Eskiş. Yo.	5	Gazi mah.	17
29	Tuna	Ankara	30	Kavaklıdere	8	Keçiören	22	-	-
30	Nuri	Balıkesir	6	Tunus	4	Metu Dorm.	2	-	-
31	Nuran	Adana	34	Bahçeli	27	Metu Dorm	7	-	-
32	Nihal	Konya	15	Gaziosmanp.	3	Anıttepe	12	-	-
33	Memduh	Yozgat	33	Çankaya	13	Etlik	5	Bahçeli	6
34	Aysel	Ankara	24	Oran	4	Çankaya	20	-	-
35	Nur	Antalya	10	Konutkent	4	Ayrancı	5	Emek	1
36	Sibel	Bafra	7	Bilent Ko.	7	-	-	-	-
37	Ayşe	Tokat	3	Beysukent	3	-	-	-	-
38	Zühtü	Osmaniye	21	Konutkent	7	Çayyolu	3	Esat	11
39	Aydın	Ankara	20	Ümitköy	18	Abidinpaşa	2	-	-

*only the last three neighborhoods were indicated at the table.

*all names are pseudo-names.

*criteria of ownership are analyzed as a family feature.

CHAPTER IV

SIGNS, MEANINGS AND THE CITYSPACE

In the previous chapters, certain theoretical and methodological approaches were discussed. In these discussions, the dialectical relations between the human beings and the built environment were argued. These arguments on the dialectical relations between the human beings and the built environment were mainly supported by the findings of the previous studies, which were conducted in the divergent cities having dissimilar social, spatial, ideological and economical backgrounds. Now, in this chapter and the following chapters, discussion on socio-spatial structure will be held in the context of Ankara. The contextual features of Ankara will be discussed by referring the divergent perceptions of urbanites living in Ankara. The role of the socio-spatial signs in the formation of identities and the meanings will be explored in the capital city of Ankara. The discussion on signs, identities and meanings will compose the main framework of the present chapter. The arguments on identities, meanings and signs will be held on the city level. Before deepening the argument with the socio-spatial characteristics of Ankara, certain aspects about the ways that present work tackles with identity, meaning and sign in Ankara will be expressed in order to clarify the methodological position of the work.

There may be various ways to explore the identity, meaning and signs on the city level, which have been developed by divergent scholars. This work intends to express the certain concepts by analyzing the objective and subjective aspects of the environment of Ankara. This study will analyze the qualities of the

objective environment by referring the divergent images of the urbanites. While comparing the subjective knowledge structures to analyze the subjective spaces, this part will also investigate the validity of certain concepts in the objective environment. Especially, how the everyday experiences of divergent urbanites reshape the space of the objective environment will compose an important discussion part of this work. This dichotomy between the subjective and objective environments needs clarification to grasp the topic coherently. In Lefebvre's 'Theory of Social Space' (1996), this dichotomy is stressed to express the production of the space. Lefebvre conceptualize the 'representations of space' and the 'representational space'. According to Lefebvre, representations of space can be defined as,

'...conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent- all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived... This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)'(Lefebvre, 1996, p.38-39).

This is the one side of his analysis of the divided space, categorized as the 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and the 'representational space' as perceived, conceived and lived triad. The important concept for this study 'representational space is defined as,

'...directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe...The representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 39).

These theories of space may be operationalized in a coherent manner to escape the contradiction of space. In this chapter, socio-spatial environment of Ankara will be examined according to the mentioned theories of Lefebvre. Identities, meanings and signs are discussed in both representations of space and representational space. In this perspective, symbols, signs and codes of the spatial environment will be used to express the intended meanings. The production of the built-environment, especially architecture, by planners and architects, and reproduction of this environment through the daily activities of the inhabitants will be discussed. Before discussing the contextual aspects of Ankara, the capability of architecture, as a language and its communication with the inhabitants will be clarified. The main discussion of this chapter is based on the architectural signs and codes and architecture's communication with its users.

Before discussing the interviews, it is useful to express the organization of the following sections. First of all, *order as the language of the capital city* will be discussed. In this discussion, urbanites' divergent understandings of the very idea of order will be argued. Afterwards, *urbanites' perception of urban way(s) of life* will be discussed. This discussion will be mainly governed by the definitions of Wirth. Next, arguments on urban ways of life will be continued with the discussion on *signs and symbols of the spatial context of Ankara*.

4.1 Reflections in the Subjective Worlds

City speaks differently with different urbanites. In this section this divergent communication patterns will be analyzed. Similarities and differences of the subjective worlds will be discussed according to the formation of inter-group and in-

group relations. These relations will be examined by the guidance of the map of Güvenç. Although there may be numerous differences formed from individual to individual, the following part of the chapter will discuss intended meanings, languages, signs and identities referring to the characteristics of group formations.

4.1.1 Order as the Language of the City

Ankara has a peculiar mission in creating national identity and new modes of life-styles ruled by Turkish modernity. In this perspective, it has carried the symbols and signs of modernization, westernization and secularization. This was achieved special interests of bureaucrats, planners, architects, social engineers who re-designed the city with the intended meanings. Tanyeli (1997) labels Ankara as the first space, in which the urban life-style was modernized. In this process of modernization, spatial arrangements of the city reflect the intended meanings. These meanings have been supported by the ‘order of the city’. This very idea of order, inevitably affects the subjective worlds of the inhabitants and their image of the city. In this part, divergent understanding of the ‘order’ will be discussed according to the neighborhoods of respondents.

As Necla (49, f, university, retired civil servant) mentions,

Ankara da yaşamaktan memnunum, örneğin, düzeninden, trafiğinden. Düzenli bir şehir bence Ankara. Çok düzenli bir yer, ulaşım kolay. Olumsuz birşey söyleyemem.

I appreciate living in Ankara, for instance, its order, and traffic condition. In my opinion, Ankara is a city with order. It is a very ordered place in which the communicative facilities are very easy. I cannot say any negative point about the city.

As it can be observed from the argument of Necla, order of the city; as a dominant language, plays an important role in the contentment of urbanites. However; effects of order and urbanites' contentment are shaped differently according to the basic needs and different claims on the urban. Güvenç (2001a) argues that, urbanites' distance to the modernity project determines their contentment and it may hide the negative aspects of the social geography. Without doubt, their distance with the modernity project can be connected with the definition of the needs and different claims of the urbanites. In order to analyze this relation, the contentment of the respondents should be analyzed in a systematical manner.

Süleyman (28, m, primary school, waiter) from Mamak, inhabited by lower classes, mentions about his contentment as follows,

Ankara'da yaşamaktan memnunum. İş yönünden iyi, çalışacak bir şey buluyoruz, aç kalmıyoruz yani. Başkent olması güzel, semtler birbirinden ayrılrsa da, güzel bir yer. Sakin bir yer, İstanbul kadar karışık bir yer de değil mesela. Ankara'da, iyi bitmez tabi istek olarak, her şey iyi olsun isteriz, insanlar kardeşçe geçinsin, belediyeler daha fazla çalışsın isteriz tabii. Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye sinden de memnunum, çok memnunum. Yollardan, ulaşımdan, yardımlardan, fakiri gözetmesinden, çevre düzenlemesinden memnunum.

I m happy with living in Ankara. There are job opportunities, we can find something to work, we are not going to hungry. Although its neighborhoods are differentiated, it is a lovely place. Being capital city has advantages. It is a calm place, and it is not chaotic as Istanbul. We wish that naturally, desires are not limited, all the things would be better, people would live in brotherhood, and municipalities would work more, naturally. I like the works of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. I m happy with the roads, transportation facilities, municipality's aids and supervisions of the poor, and environmental arrangements.

He continues,

Ankara da son yıllarda yollar da büyük değişiklikler oldu, sokaklar değişti. İnsanlar biraz daha sakinleşti, daha önce sıkıntı vardı, ekonomik olarak kriz vardı, şimdi biraz daha rahatladık. Dar gelirli olanlar bunları daha çok yaşıyor tabii, 300 milyonla geçinen aile bir mutfak tüpünün 2 milyon lira pahalılaşmasında çok da etkileniyor tabii ki, çaydan, şekerden etkileniyoruz. Pazar yerlerinde, çocuk parklarında çok büyük değişiklikler oldu yani.

In the last years the roads of Ankara were changed, streets were changed. Inhabitants were calmed down, because there had been an economic crisis, now, we are quitting down. People having small income, naturally, are affected much more from these conditions; families having 300 million Turkish Liras are affected by the increase of prices, even increase of 2 million Turkish Liras of the gas, or the increase of the prices of tea, sugar. Additionally, there are huge changes in bazaars, playgrounds for children.

The arguments of Süleyman clearly show that city speaks differently to divergent inhabitants. He stresses the job opportunities, material conditions to express his contentment. In other words, his language with the city is formed according to his material conditions. In this language, the order of the city affected by his urban way of life, is shaped differently. Order of the city determines the definition of the basic needs in his language. His sketch map is also important with its characteristics reflecting the images of a lower class member. By the help of the cognitive mapping researches, this map may be examined according to its graphic style and contextual features that was drawn by the respondent. It is argued that lower class members draw sketch maps with non-scaled lines indicating streets and roads, on which they emphasize their home orientation, neighborhood, while excluding certain nodes and landmarks (Francescato & Mebane, 1973). In this case, Süleyman indicates different roads and streets with single lines as it is common among lower class members.

Ayla (28,f, high school, accountant) mentions about her contentment referring to economic criteria. She lives in Mamak for about 26 years. She has been living in a house located in Siteler, Çiğir Neighborhood for two years. Ayla reports by referring to the material conditions of the city,

Aslında Ankara’da yaşamayı seviyorum ama, benim gönlümde yatan İzmir’de yaşamak. İzmir in çok sıcak ve sevecen bir kent olduğunu düşünüyorum. Orada hayat standartları Ankara ya göre çok farklı, biraz daha rahat olduğunu düşünüyorum. Biraz da duygusal anlamda, İzmir’i Türkiye’nin incisi olduğunu düşünüyorum. Halkı konusunda çok da bilgim yok. Ankara’nın başkent olmasından mıdır nedir, belediyeler konusunda biraz daha rahat ediyorlar. Olumlu olarak düşünürsen, başkent olmasından dolayı bir takım avantajları var. Çok fazla olumlu yönü de yok, yemeği, gıdası, kıyafeti, İzmir’de mesela çok uygundur, İstanbul’da giyim çok uygundur. Ankara’nın böyle bir şansı yok, siyasetin kalbi olduğu için, onun verdiği avantajlar var, yoksa herkes bir tek’denizi olmadığını söylüyor ama öyle değil.

Although I like living in Ankara, I m willing to live in İzmir. I think İzmir is a hearty and lovely city. Living conditions of İzmir much better than those of Ankara, I think it is a comfortable place. Sentimentally, I think İzmir is the pearl of Turkey. I have not lots of idea about inhabitants of İzmir. Ankara is reasonable for the facilities of municipality whether it is resulted from being a capital city. When you think positively, it has advantages due to the being a capital city. It has not so many positive aspects, nutriment, dress are more expensive than those of İzmir, dressing is also reasonable in İstanbul. Ankara has not the same chance. Everyone mentions about the only negative aspect is the lack of sea; however, this is not true. There are only advantages resulted from being a heart of the diplomacy.

Not only the inhabitants belonging to the lower class living in Mamak and Siteler, (represented with the color of ‘orange’) but also the inhabitants living in the north of Ankara stress the importance of material possibilities in their contentment, too. Nuriye (49, f, primary school, house-wife) lives in Batıkent, as a suburban

settlement, mainly inhabited by lower-middle class members. She spent 17 years in Batıkent, 12 years in other parts in the north of Ankara, such as, Demet, Yeni Mahalle, Akdere. She mentions,

Ankara da yaşamaktan memnunum, yavrum, çevre, alışveriş imkanlarımız var, bütçemize göre bulabiliyoruz. Maddi manevi şeyleri burada bulabiliyoruz tabii. Valla genelde metro ile ulaşımımı sağlıyorum ve çok memnunum ulaşım olanaklarından.

I appreciate with living conditions of Ankara, my dear son, there are neighborhood relations and shopping possibilities that are appropriate to our budget. We can find material and moral things, naturally. I usually use subway, I m happy with the transportation facilities.

Of course, these narrations can be multiplied. Instead of increasing the cases, other definitions related with the feelings of inhabitants living in different neighborhoods may be helpful for a better understanding. In order to capture the languages the city speaking with its inhabitants differently, divergent neighborhoods' reasons of the contentment or discontentment should be explored. These narrations may be useful in comprehending the group behaviors and mental representations.

Especially, the inhabitants living in the south part of Ankara, belonging to the middle class and upper-middle class settlements, mention about the cultural activities and shopping facilities when relating to the idea of 'order', while explaining their feelings about Ankara. This emphasis on cultural facilities may exhibit the position of the middle class members towards the modernity project proposing 'the urban way of life' in Ankara. Memduh (51, m, university, constructor) from Çankaya, stresses the cultural condition of Ankara to indicate the changes. He argues that,

Şimdi İstanbul u tercih ederdim. Yahya Kemal in dediği gibi “dönüşleri güzel oluyor”. Ancak inşaatın kalbi Ankara’da, onun için burada yaşıyoruz ama Ankara’nın da kültür yapısı İstanbul’dan daha iyi. Lahmacun kültürü İstanbul’a daha belirgin girmiş durumda. Belki de benim bulunduğum semtler itibarı ile, burada o tür insanlarla karşılaşmadığım için, buranın en iyi tarafı o. İş imkanı benim için daha fazla, devletin kalbinin burada olması, bakanlıkların olması, bana iş imkanı daha çok sağlıyor. Eğlence ama Ankara’da kısıtlı ve pahalı.

Now, I prefer living in Istanbul. As Yahya Kemal said ‘returning from Ankara to is lovely’. We live in Ankara because the hearth of the construction is in Ankara, additionally, the cultural condition of Ankara is better than the condition of İstanbul. Lahmacun kültürü¹¹ significantly introduced to İstanbul. It is the best feature of Ankara in which I do not encounter with this kind of people, in my neighborhood. There are lots of job opportunities. Ankara as a heart pf the state, having ministries increase my job opportunities. On the contrary, entertainment opportunities of Ankara are limited and expensive.

Similarly, Nihal (47, f, university, teacher) mentions about the cultural condition of Ankara. She argues that,

Ankara da yaşamayı seviyorum, bana rahat geliyor, yani yaşantısı kolay geliyor. Daha bürokrasinin olduğu, insanların daha kültürlü olduğu, daha rahat bir yer geliyor Ankara bana. Kültür seviyesi belli oranda onu seviyorum Ankara’da... Ancak son yıllarda Ankara leriye değil de, geriye gidiyor, gibi bir his var içimde. Daha çok kapalı insanlar, daha farklı insanlar gözüme çarpıyor, beş yıl öncesine göre. Bir kapanma olayı var gözlemlediğime göre, bu arada Ankara’da güzel şeyler de oluyor. Güzel binalar yapılıyor, çarşıların açılması, büyük marketlerin açılması, yan, görüntüsü değişiyor.

I like living in Ankara, it’s comfortable, namely, living is easy, according to me. It is comfortable place where the bureaucracy is settled and cultured people lives. I like the cultural conditions

¹¹ It is used to define the new cultural conditions of the cities, ruled by the people from small towns and eastern parts of Turkey. In order to represent this eastern culture, this concept is used by some people. Additionally, *lahmacun* is a local food of the eastern parts of Turkey, and it is used as a symbol to define the culture of these people.

of Ankara...Nevertheless, in the last years; Ankara does not progress, but retrograde, as I feel. I come across abundantly with people with turban and different people, compared with the people before five years ago. Therefore, the number of the women with the turban is increased in Ankara, however, there are also good things in Ankara. Fine buildings are structured, big markets, shopping malls are opened, and namely, the appearance of the city is changing.

These are presenting important clues to analyze the identity and meaning in Ankara. Additionally, divergent meanings of the modernity project of Ankara and its reflections on everyday life can be read in these narrations. Divergent life standards, spatial behaviors of the inhabitants living in dissimilar regions determine the quality of the feelings about the city. Although the very idea of order and other designative aspects of the city are assumed as common features of all inhabitants, definitions and the effects of these common features are highly diversified according to the groups determined by socio-economic differentiation of the neighborhoods. While people belonging to lower class and lower-middle class mention about the order determining the minimum life standards and survival patterns; middle class and upper-middle class people discuss the order referring to cultural conditions, shopping and entertainment facilities. These cases clearly show how meaning and perceptions are reshaped accordingly.

4.1.2 Urbanism as Ways of Life

In the previous section, the special case of Ankara, divergent meanings and influences of order, an outcome of the capital city, was discussed referring to different social worlds and emotional feelings. Apart from the specific case of Ankara, the basic definition of city or urban life may help to restructure the different

social worlds with divergent perceptions in a coherent manner. As Wirth (1964) argues size, density and heterogeneity are the basic features determining the distinct character of the city, and inevitably, they produce an urban life that dominates the communal and traditional modes of relations. Besides the discussion of order, these three variables and their effects on appraisive aspects are differently shaped in the languages of divergent inhabitants. As a result, they present different urban ways of life at the scene of the modernity.

First of all, arguments of respondents living in the south Ankara will be discussed. For instance, Sibel (45, f, university, pharmacist) have been living in Ankara for seven years. She came from a small town, therefore, she enjoy the cultural facilities of Ankara. She is living in Bilkent, an upper-middle class suburban settlement in the south-west of Ankara. She stresses the possibility of urban activities, which are present in Ankara,

(Ankara’da yaşamaktan) Tabii memnunum, ben çok küçük bir yerden geldim, o yüzden çok memnunum. Orada sosyal yaşamı çok özlüyordum, burada ihtiyacıma cevap veriyor. Sinema, tiyatro, konser, hiç biri yoktu bunların geldiğim yerde. Artık hepsi var... Kızılay. Çok kalabalık, Ulus a zaten epeydir gitmiyorum. Ulus da çok kalabalık. 7. Cadde kalabalık ama seviyorum ben, dolaşmak hoşuma gidiyor. Yani, rahatsız edilmiyorum. Çok rahat tek başıma gezebiliyorum, ama Ulus’ da ya da Kızılay’ da, bilemiyorum. Huzursuzum, çantanızı kolluyorsunuz, insanlar çarpmasın diye dikkat ediyorsunuz, 7. Cadde de öyle bir problem yaşamadım. Tunalı da çok rahat gezerim, orada bir problemim olmaz.

I enjoy living in Ankara, namely, I came from a small place, therefore, now, I m happy. In my previous town, I missed the social life, now, I can catch it. In that town, there was no cinema, theatre, and concert. Now, in Ankara, there are man

facilities...I don't like wandering in Kızılay, it is too crowded. Essentially, I haven't been in Ulus for a long time, it is also too crowded. Although Bahçeli, 7th Street is too overpopulated, I like wandering there. No one disturbs me in there. I can easily walk about myself; on the contrary, in Ulus and Kızılay, I really don't feel calm. It is uncomfortable since you should watch out your bag all the time. I don't have this kind of problem in the 7th Street of Bahçeli. Similarly, I can easily walk about on the Tunalı Hilmi Road, there is no such a problem.

Similarly, Ayşe (51, f, university, house-wife) living in Beysukent, new suburban settlement as a '*gated community*', stresses the cultural facilities of Ankara. She was born in Tokat and she has been living in Ankara for 3 years. Due to her husband's job, they have been living in different cities. She emphasizes the urban life in Ankara that can not be found in a small town,

Ankara kışın güzel tabii ki. İklim olarak değil de tabii, sineması, tiyatrosu, alışveriş imkanları olarak güzel bir yer Ankara. Yazın ama, ya da yaz için güzel bir kent değil. İleride iki türlü oturmayı tercih ederim, kışın Ankara'da yazın İzmir ya da Kuşadası'nda oturmayı tercih ederim. Ankara'da kültürel etkinlikler bakımından güzel, sergiler, tiyatrolar, sinemalar. Ankara'nın kışı güzel ama yazında biraz sıkıcı bir yer, deniz olmadığından özellikle.

In winters, Ankara is a lovely place. Although its climate is not comfortable, I like its shopping facilities, and possibilities of the theatre and cinema. On the contrary, in summers, Ankara is not a lovely place for living in. In future, I prefer living in two places, Ankara in winters and İzmir or Kuşadası in summers. From the view of cultural activities, Ankara is a lovely place. I enjoy living in Ankara in winters, however, in summers, due to the lack of sea, It is boring.

These are the narrations that may support the arguments of Wirth. Especially, both of the respondents discuss their appreciation, as a result of the recreational facilities of Ankara. They especially stress the attractiveness of metropolitan life opposing the small city life. Particularly, the possibilities of cultural activities and

shopping are presented as positive aspects of the metropolitan life that enrich the everyday urban life. These arguments should also be evaluated by referring to the situation of Ankara in the project of Turkish modernity. Because as Uludağ (1998) argues the construction of new social life based on new norms opposing to the traditional ones was an important criterion for Ankara. In order to reach this new social life, new recreational places having new cultural activities were opened to represent the ‘new’, ‘modern’ face of the city. The arguments of Ayşe and Sibel do support the success of this project. Ankara, as the scene of order, gains special importance with its facilities of recreation. These increases in recreational facilities are stressed by the group of inhabitants, living in ‘wealthy sections’ of the city. In this perspective, their perceptions of urban life are shaped accordingly. However, it should be noted that these perceptions can not represent the general tendency towards an urban way of life, which is grasped differently in divergent regions.

Muharrem (46, m, university, constructor) has been living in Kavaklıdere for 14 years. He stresses his contentment by referring to the changes in the number of recreational facilities. As he argues,

İstanbul sonrası Ankara’yı yaşadığım için önceleri çok zorluk çektim, ama artık memnunum. Bir de Ankara’nın çevresi de değişti...Ankara çoğu sorununu çözmeye başladı. Bunları bazı şeylerle görme imkanı var, kişi başına düşen lokanta sayısı, tiyatro sayısı ne bileyim işte, üst geçit-alt geçit sayısı. Bunlar hep gösterge işte. Bundan 10 sene önce biz, hangi lokantaya gideceğiz dediğimiz zaman, lokantalar hep belli idi, şimdi yaklaşık otuz katı o zamanın. Gençler, eğlence mekanları, bunlar bir kentin değiştiğini gösteren ekonomik göstergeler, Ankara’da yaşam etkilendi, bunlarda kanıtları.

I had some difficulties at the first time, because I have started living in Ankara after my Istanbul experience, yet, I m happy.

It should be added that the texture of Ankara has changed... Ankara started solving its problems. They can be observed by referring something, such as number of the restaurants, theatres per person or the number of the fly-over and under-pass. These are all the indicators. Ten years ago, when we asked ourselves, 'which restaurants will we go?'; the choices were limited, but, now, the number of possibilities is thirty times greater than those of at that time. Young people, recreational spaces, these are the economic indicators that show the changes of the city. The life in Ankara has changed, these are the proofs.

He expresses the socio-spatial changes of Ankara. Additionally, he also stresses the effects of these changes on the lives of the inhabitants. However, it can not be generalized as the dominant way of life in Ankara. All the divergent groups having dissimilar socio-economic status were not articulated by the urban way of life. Although many scholars indicate that there are crucial changes in their life-styles after living in the big cities, sometimes, they preserve their old patterns of life. For the context of Ankara, Ayata & Ayata (1996) emphasize the new formations of cultural trends supported by the immigrated middle class families that stand against 'the culture' supported by the political elites of the republic. Additionally, they also indicate that 'the culture' of Ankara has also persistent character against other forms of cultures and it became the distinctive symbol of Ankara.

In order to analyze the perceptions of urban ways of life, additional cases should be analyzed. Umut (34, f, high school, insurant) notes important clues on social life and ecological variables, especially, the size of the city. He frequently mentions the negative aspects of the size on the social relations of the inhabitants. However, he isolates Mamak, Tuzluçayır; his neighborhood, from other parts of Ankara. He stresses on the closeness of the social relations in Mamak. What Umut

stresses on social issues, such as solidarity, and social bonds is similar to the point of Gans (1962), who emphasizes the importance of 'group-life', sense of concern in materially deprived neighborhoods of the city. In this perspective, Umut notes,

Açıkçası, Ankara' da yaşamaktan memnun değilim, küçük memleketlerde, illerde tanıdıklarım oturuyor, orada insanların yakınlıkları ve doğallıkları çok güzel. Ben Tuzluca'yı Ankara' nın bir semti olarak değil de, başlıbaşına ağabeyimin oturduğu bir Uşak gibi düşünüyorum, çünkü insanlar çok sıcaklar ve yakınlar. Ankara' ya baktığım zaman, ben Ankara' da bu sıcaklığı göremiyorum, doğal olarak. Bu şundan kaynaklanıyor, insanların ekonomik durumları olsun, yaşam tarzları olsun, insanlarda gözü açık olma durumu var...Ankara' da birçok ilden gelen insanların yoğunlaştıkları bir il ama, zamanla bu insanlar kendi kişiliklerini kaybediyorlar. O yüzden ben biraz yadırgıyorum Ankara'yı. Keşke diyorum, Ankara' yı dörde bölseler de, insanlar biraz daha yakınlığa. Yer büyüdükçe, insanlarda sevgi, saygı kalmıyor. Birisi, büyükşehirde tanımadığınız birisi, yakınlık göstermeye başladığında tereddüt etmeye başlıyorsunuz, gerçekten tereddüt ediyorsunuz, beni sömürmeye mi çalışıyor diyorsunuz. Bakıyorsunuz yardımsever insanlar da çıkıyor, rüşvet verip işini yaptırmaya çalışan da. Onun için hiç kimseye güvenemiyorsunuz Ankara' da.

I really don't like living in Ankara, I have acquaintance living in small towns, in which social relations are so natural and lovely. I compare Tuzluca to Uşak, in which my brother lives, instead of a neighborhood of Ankara. Because, relations are intimate and lovely in Tuzluca. When I observe Ankara, I can not see the intimacy in relations, naturally. It results from economical conditions that affects life-style and brings sharpness to their lives. ..There are many people from different cities; however, their personalities are corrupted by the time. I blame Ankara due to this way. I wish I could divide Ankara into four parts and people could live closer to each other. When the land is larger, affection and respect of people is decreased. When someone else, that you don't know, shows a sympathy and concern to you, you begin hesitating, you really hesitate, and ask about yourself, whether this person really tries to exploit me. In this situation, people may be benevolent, or in some cases, people try to bribe in order to solve his/her problem. Therefore, you can not trust anyone in Ankara.

Many points that Umut mentions support the argument of Wirth, on the dominance of the urban way of life. He clearly exemplifies the effects of the city life and ecological factors on the behaviors of people. He concludes how urban behavior is reshaped as a result of the ecological factors. On the other hand, he also mentions about his neighborhood as a privileged place, which is not affected by an urban way of life, socially and spatially. He stresses the different motivations of his neighborhood apart from the motivations of urban life. It can be grasped from these discussions that divergent interests of people having different backgrounds create dissimilar cognitions of urban life.

In order to grasp clearly indications of Umut, presenting the separation of his neighborhood from the rest of the city based on the polarized perception of ‘us’ and ‘others’, some fill-in maps should be analyzed. This separation can be visible graphically on these fill-in maps. For instance, Ayla (28, f, high school, accountant), who lived in Mamak for 26 years, labels Mamak as the best place to live. As it may be seen from her map, her landmarks are placed along with the Samsun Road that forms the boundary of Mamak. Outside of this boundary, she could not indicate any landmark. Additionally, the quality of her landmarks, including her relatives, the waste disposal area of Mamak, presents hints about urban social life of Mamak residents. Over again, this fill-in map supports the findings of Murat Güvenç, who emphasizes the importance of Samsun Road as a boundary between Mamak and the rest of the city. These divisions of the city stimulate the polarized perceptions of urban life-styles.

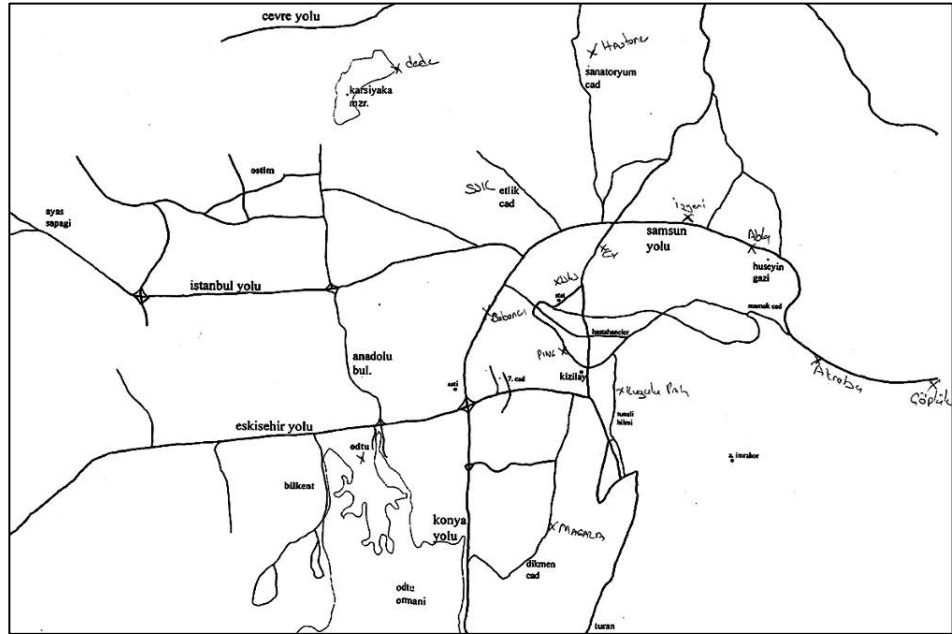


Figure iii-Fill-in map of Ayla pointing out the boundary of Mamak.

Besides this sketch map, Ayla complains about the absence of the photography on Mamak, when she was shown the photographs of Ankara. She critically adds that there should be photographs of Mamak, which may be a photograph of ‘gecekondu’, or a photograph of the waste disposal area.

Similar to the previous respondents; namely, Ayşe and Sibel, Arif (51, m, university, teacher) moved Ankara from a city that has limited socio-cultural activities. He was born in Diyarbakır. He has been living in Etlik placed in the north part of Ankara, near Keçiören. He complains about ‘the corruption’ of Ankara. Although he stresses the improvements of his economic oppportunities after immigrating to Ankara, he points out that his strong feelings and attachment to his hometown is alive. Additionally, his case emphasizes different articulation with urban way of life. Opposed to the arguments of Ayşe and Sibel, he complains about ‘the urban way of life’,

Valla memnun değilim, Ankara’da yaşamaktan memnun değilim. Diyarbakır’dan Ankara’ya geldiğimizde oturduk düşündük dedik ki, ya dedik burada çok mutlu olacağız ya da çok pişman olacağız. Aslında ekonomik yapımız değişti, onu söyleyeyim, Diyarbakır’da tek bir dikili ağacımız yok iken, buraya geldik arabamız var, evimiz var, ekonomik yapımız da problem yok. Ama ben Ankara’yı sevmedim, tabi bunda çocuğumun ölümünün de çok büyük etkisi var. Burayı suçluyorum ben açıkçası, Diyarbakır’da kalsaydım ben, bu acı yaşanmayacaktı diye düşünüyorum ben açıkçası. İnsanın doğduğu yer çok farklı tabii ki. Ama ekonomik açıdan hiç sıkıntı çekmedik, hatta, devamlı olarak yükseldik. Ben ev ve araba almayı hayalimde bile göremezdim. Şimdi imkanlarım artıyor tabii ki de. Eskiden çok yoksulduk, ilk geldiğimiz yıllar düşünürdüm, acaba bir gün otobüse binip Kızılay’a gidebilecek miyim diye düşünürdüm, çok yoksulduk, pazara bile gidemezdik. Pazardan bir file bir şey alabilir miyim diye düşünürdüm yani o durumda geldim Diyarbakır’dan... Gelişim var ama yozlaşma da var... Ankara’da Ulus’ta dolaşmayı seviyorum, Ulus bana nostaljik geliyor, belki de onlar da bizim gibi köylü de o yüzden mi acaba? İnsanları daha yakın hissediyorum kendime. Kızılay’da insanlar art niyetli, saygısız gibi geliyor, ama Ulus’ta köylü, doğulu gibi. Kızılay’ı sevmiyorum, sıkıcı ve boğucu, ayrıca gezecek bir yer yok ki, sadece mağaza vitrinleri var, izlenecek bir manzara yok ki sadece mağaza vitrinleri var. Oturulacak bir yer yok, insanlar niye Kızılay a giderler ben anlamış değilim hala... Özellikle,

kozmpolit yapı, GOP, Ayrancı civarını sevmiyorum çok lüks. Orada yaşadığım zaman kimseye selam veremeyeceğimi düşünüyorum. Özellikle ilk geldiğimde yaşadığım bir olay var ki, çok karlı bir hava vardı, bir adam kaydı ve yere düştü, hiç kimse yardımcı olmadı, yoksul bir adam belli. O Olay beni çok etkiledi. Belki de haklılar ama insan yardım eder.

I don' t like living in Ankara. When we came to Ankara from Diyarbakır, we thought and argued, 'either we will be pleased in Ankara, or we will be so upset.' Indeed, our economy was deeply changed, we did not have any property in Diyarbakır, after coming Ankara, we have a car, and a house, and we have no economical problems. However, I do not love Ankara, death of my son affects my feelings. I blame this place clearly. If I had stayed in Diyarbakır, this sorrow would not have been lived, as I thought. The hometown is, of course, very special. We did not feel any boredom, economically; on the contrary, we are going better. In older times, I could not even dream buying a house or a car. Now, our life conditions have improved. At the beginning, we were so poor that, I wondered if I could go to Kızılay by bus. I could even not go to bazaar. When I came from Diyarbakır I thought if I could fill my bazaar net, Nevertheless, there is a progress but also a degeneration in Ankara... I like wandering in Ulus, for me, it is a nostalgia. Besides , there are also villagers in Ulus , that is why I love Ulus and I feel comfortable there. I feel closer the people in Ulus. In Kızılay, people are seemed disrespectful and evil-intended, on the contrary, people in Ulus, are like villagers, easters. I don t like Kızılay, it is a boring place. Additionally, there is nothing interesting , there is no landscape to be seen, there are only stores and shop-windows. There is no place for sitting, I can not get why people goes to Kızılay...Especially, I really don t like Its cosmopolitan structure, Gazi Osman Paşa, Ayrancı and near neighborhoods, they are so luxurious places. I dream if I lived there, I would not greet with anyone. Particularly, when I first went there, I had a very strange experience . It was a snowy day, a poor person was felt down due to the slide. He was so poor, it is obvious, and no one tried to help him. This hurted me so much. Maybe, they had reasons ; but people should help him.

Arguments of Arif should be analyzed critically to grasp the divergent languages, perceptions, which are survived against dominant patterns of urban life.

Divergent claims on urban land stimulate different perceptions, cognitions according to which urban life-styles are reformed. In this regard, arguments of Arif emphasize the persistence of rural type life-styles in city space. These life-styles are widespread in the northern part of Ankara; and re-create different socio-spatial organizations in the context of Ankara. Especially, his observations on shopping centers, 'blasé attitudes' shows the polarization of the perceptions of urbanites. When they do not share experiences, as a result of narrowing contact points, their mental representations are extremely polarized.

Additionally, his arguments present the dichotomy of Kızılay versus Ulus. This dichotomy clearly shows, how divergent life-styles are practices in the urban scene. Divergent groups of people, according to their claims on the urban land, occupy the dissimilar parts of the city. Also city centers are reshaped according to their interests. These centers serve divergent needs of the different urbanites having divergent claims on urban land. Therefore, this discussion on city centers should show how divergent groups of people occupy different parts of the city and how they produce and reproduce their own life-styles. Different centers in Ankara direct the following discussions and will help us to grasp another face of the socio-spatial fragmentation of Ankara. In this respect, Osmay (1998) argues that various usage of centers and spatial behaviors of the urbanites may reveal clues about spatial differentiation of socio-economic status groups. She also argues that the members of lower class and lower-middle class members prefer Ulus, the old city-center, while Tunalı Hilmi Road is the center for the wealthy sections of the city. These occupations of the city centers which are also underlined in the arguments of Arif,

indicate polarized life-styles and perceptions. This dichotomous face of the city centers may be enlarged by the arguments of lower class members presenting extreme cases in terms of their spatial mobility patterns. Immobile conditions due to the economical restrictions should be expressed to present their conditions in the urban social space. The arguments of Sevgi (51, f, no education, housewife) indicates the condition of a lower class women. Her arguments bring new perspectives to the discussion of urban life-styles and condition of city centers.

Ben 36 senedir Ankara' da oturuyorum. Toplam 24-25 kere Kızılay'a gitmişimdir. Yılda bir kere filan Ulus' a, Kızılay'a giderim. Aslında, senede bir kere çıkar mı insan, sen daha fazla yaz, ayıp olur. Ama gerçekten, dolaşmayı sevmem.

I have been living in Ankara for 36 years. I visited Kızılay about 24-25 times. Once in a year, I may go to Ulus, Kızılay. Indeed, is it possible for any person to wander in a city once in a year? You should better to write down more than 24-25 times, otherwise it would be a shame for me. However, I really do not like wandering.

Not only the economical conditions, but also divergent life-styles affect the spatial behaviors of the members of lower class. Süleyman (28, m, primary school, tea servicer) from Mamak complains about his adaptation of the centers of the city. This rejection may be evaluated as a confrontation against 'the urban way of life'. This reveals the dichotomy between rural life-styles versus urban life-styles, in urban social space. Lack of social interaction with 'others' supports this kind of perspectives. When social interaction between people with different backgrounds is decreased, it becomes difficult to understand other's life-styles.

Ben Kızılay' daki insanların kişiliklerini sevmem. Bir aile ile dolaşmak istemem yani, çok karışık insanlar var, bana ters geliyorlar. İnsanların hal ve davranışları benim görüşüme ters

geliyor. Ulus da aile ile dolaşılacak yer değil. İnsanlar açısından söylüyorum, yani, benim ailem köylü, eşim türbanlı, oralarda kız ile oğlanı sarmaş dolaş gördüğümde bana ters geliyor, ailem ile dolaşmak istemiyorum yani. Çankaya civarına ise hiç gitmedim.

I don't like personalities of people in Kızılay. I don't like wandering with my family, there are many different people whom I contradict with. I contradict with the behaviors and attitudes of people. Neither I have wandered in Ulus with my family. From the people's point of view, my family is villager, my wife wears turban. Since I do not want to I see a boy with his girlfriend in a close embrace, I don't want to wander in Kızılay with my family. In addition, I have never been in Çankaya.

As it can be inferred from the arguments of Süleyman, emotional bonds with the city space can not be explained by one single factor. These relations have a complex nature, which can be grasped by the help of divergent factors. People's perceptions forming their urban life-patterns affect their choices of place. For instance Necla (49, f, university, retired civil servant) from Etlik presents her ideas on Ulus and Kızılay in a different way.

Ben yürümeyi seviyorum, Kızılay' da yürümeyi çok severim, Ulus' ta yürüyemem ama, insanlardan dolayı sevmem. Etraftaki insanlar daha gerici gibi geliyor, nasıl söyleyeyim, biraz kültür seviyesine de bakıyor tabii. Ben kendime uzak buluyorum oradaki insanları.

I enjoy walking, I like walking in Kızılay, however, I can not walk in Ulus, due to the people in Ulus. People around Ulus seem very conservative to me, how can I say, may be due to their cultural characteristics; I feel distant to those people .

Her arguments should be taken into consideration according to a gender perspective. Divergent motivations affect people's mental representations towards space and 'others'. Especially, Necla's arguments show that gender relations play a

vital role in the occupation of places, where divergent power relations take place. For women, it is not easy to join the urban activities in all places of the city. If urban activities are distributed heterogeneously, which provokes clear the contact points serving to all inhabitants, divisions of space won't be labeled by polarized mental representations. For instance, Çağrı (27, m, university, unemployed) from Batıkent indicates these divisions, while expressing his daily activities on urban space,

Ulus' u sevmem, insanları sevmem. Kız arkadaşınla gezerken falan çok ters bakarlar. Gazi Osman Paşa'da da kendimi yabancı hissederim, çok zengin insan var. Daha doğrusu oralara gitmiyorum, paramız olmadığı için gezmeyi de sevmiyorum. Ne ben ne arkadaşlarım oraları tercih ediyoruz. Hiç oradan arkadaşım da yok.

I don't like Ulus, I don't like people of Ulus. When you walk with your girlfriend, they glare. In Gazi Osman Paşa, I feel my self as a stranger, because, there are too many wealthy people. Indeed, I can not afford to go to that place. Because, I have not enough money, so, I don't like wandering there. Neither my friends, nor me prefer that place. I don't have any friend from Gazi Osman Paşa.

Meanings and identities of space are interpreted differently by middle class members. Especially, Ulus and in some cases; Kızılay, are not preferred because of spatial behavior characteristics. The interesting thing is their cognitive process, when they discuss the concept of 'crowd' or crowdedness?. Perception of the 'crowd' is argued as the main reason determining their spatial behaviors. Can (24, m, university, graduate student) from Çankaya mentions his feelings on Kızılay and Ulus by referring to his mental representation of the crowd,

Ben Kızılay' da, Ulus' ta dolaşmayı sevmiyorum, çok kalabalık. Tunalı Hilmi'de dolaşmayı seviyorum, gittiğim yerler hep orada.

I don't like walking in Kızılay, Ulus due to the crowd. On the contrary, I like wandering in Tunalı Hilmi, there are many places that I visit.

Similar lines are indicated by Sibel (45, f, university, pharmacist) from Bilkent. She argues that Kızılay and Ulus are crowded places to walk about; however, she likes walking on the 7th Street of Bahçeli, which is probably as dense as Kızılay and Ulus. These selections affected by the cognitive representations of such factors reflect the concept of social distance between divergent groups. They attach different meanings to divergent divisions of space. In this perspective, Ulus, Kızılay and Tunalı Hilmi Road as centers of Ankara that address different groups of people successfully represent divergent cognitive processes of the urbanites. While the shopping centers of Tunalı Hilmi symbolize exaggerated wealth and luxury for lower classes, the crowd of people in Kızılay, Ulus is perceived exaggeratedly by middle class members. These cognitive structures produce divergent routes in the city space, in which different groups of people do not meet with 'others'.

Divergent perceptions of urbanite's urban life are also readable on their fill-in maps, indicating clues about their spatial mobility. Fill-in map of Aysel (24,f, university, research assistant) from Oran, may exemplify the perceptions of the urbanites living in south Ankara. Although she “successfully” indicates the photographs taken in the south part of city, she can not determine the landmarks of the north part. On her fill-in map, her spatial mobility can be readable. Although she indicates many points settled in the south part of the city, she can not determine any

interviews, it is better for this study to briefly analyze the signs and symbols of the objective environment of Ankara. As it was argued, ideology of republican state has been carried since the early 1930s. In this respect, the movements of westernization, secularization and modernization have been supported by the socio-spatial geography of Ankara. Macro forms, buildings, statues have been designed accordingly. Although the ideology of the state has dominant character in the context of Ankara, there are other movements producing their own spatial objects. Especially, tension between ‘secularists’ against ‘fundamentalist’ composes an important part of this discussion. In this respect, the date of 1994 is important, when the candidate of the religious Welfare Party was elected as Mayor of Greater Ankara.. Spatial images reflecting Turkish-Islamic identity have been used against the images of the republican state. Erdentuğ & Burçak (1998) stress that the change of the official emblem of Ankara, from a Hittite Sun to a silhouette of mosque combined with the image of Atakule (needs footnote), and the changes of the street names, new names denoting the synthesis of the Turk-Islam identity were the important applications of the new ideology. They continue as,

‘New Islamic objects d’art, using Ottoman-period designs on the tiles, and forming fountains and sometimes giant replicas of coffee cups and saucers, tea pots etc.-like those in the ‘Mad Hatter’s Tea Party’ section in Disneyland- have been introduced in the municipalities under their control. The Prosperity Party’s obsession with decorating Ankara with water fountains of all sizes has revitalized a feature of Islamic and Ottoman Architecture’(Erdentuğ & Burçak, 1998, p. 598).

Batuman (2002) analyzes the period with the similar manner and he argues that, this period find its symbols representing the Islamic identity spreading out from

boundaries to the center of the city. These images present the polarization between the ‘secularists’ and ‘Fundamentalists’ whose interests have been clashing each other on the city space. Inevitably, the spatial texture of Ankara has been changed deeply.

Another important period is 1950s, when a multi-party system was in existence and each party used their own representations. It is debated that the power of the Democrat Party articulated a new modernity approach by traditional, anti-progressive and Islamic images contrasting with the images of the state of the 1930s (Batuman, 2002). These new images articulated the interests of new urbanites of Ankara inhabited squatter settlements in the ‘north’ of Ankara since the late 1940s. Batuman also adds that besides the Islamic images, the spatial environment of Ankara was highly influenced by the capitalist interventions. Both trends tried to find their representations on the city space. The Kocatepe Mosque settled on a dominant hill contrasting with the old images and the Emek Skyscraper having shadow covering the Security Monument; reflecting the ideology of the state, were the projects reflecting the ideologies of the both trends.

In this study, there are various techniques used in order to use the spatial images. Pocock & Hudson (1978) indicate that, environmental images having atheoretical nature should be seen in both its social and functional context while measuring these images. Although there is a wide-use of the quantitative methods, the present study intends to analyze these images qualitatively. Photographic, graphical and verbal questions are asked to respondents to catch the complex nature of the images. While respondents are asked to define the symbols of Ankara, they are also showed photographs to stimulate their imaginations, and they are asked to fill the

base map, on which the main paths are determined, with their landmarks. By using these various methods, some deductions will be made on the spatial images of Ankara. In this analysis, the factor of political interests, socio-economic condition and spatial mobility governed by spatial behavior are determined as the main variables. Additionally, interrelated with the former variables, urbanites' relations with the spatial images reflect their articulation with the urban way of life.

The main emphasize of the respondents is the change of the official emblem of Ankara. These discussions of the emblem mainly reflect the political interests of the urbanites. Belgin (54, high school, retired hair dresser) notes the change of the emblem as a negative aspect of the Metropolitan Municipality, although she enjoys other interventions of the municipality,

Melih Gökçek'in sadece o amblem değişikliğinden rahatsızım. O Hitit Güneşi 'ni seviyordum, o amblem benim çok hoşuma gidiyordu. Sıhhiye deki haykeli kaldırdı mı? Kaldırmadı, duruyor değil mi? Onu da kaldıracaktı ya, beceremedi. Heryerde olan onun yeni ambleminden rahatsızım, onu akli sıra atakule ye benzetmek için yaptı ama, o cami havasında birşey. Ankara yı temsil edecek birşey değil, onu beğenmiyorum. Yaptıkları iyi şeyler de var ama, o konuda rahatsızım, daha önceki amblemi seviyorum.

The change of the emblem is the only work of Melih Gökçek that I don't enjoy. I really enjoyed the old emblem, the Hitit Sun, did he demolish the statue at the Sıhhiye? He did not demolish it, did he? He tried to demolish the statue, but he could not do that. I don't enjoy the new emblem, he made this emblem in order to imitate the image of Atakule, but it looks like a mosque. It cannot represent Ankara, I don't like it. He made many good works in Ankara, however, I don't enjoy the new emblem, I like the old emblem.

Discussion of the change of the emblem may represent the clues about the spatial behaviors of the respondents. Aysu (25,f university, master student) lives in

Anıttepe and enjoys wandering in the south Ankara, especially, the Tunalı Hilmi Road. In her imaginary trip from Ulus to Kızılay to Sıhhiye, she declares that she can not remember any landmark between Ulus and Kızılay, which is a place that she does not enjoy wandering,

Bence Ankara nın sembolü Anıtkabir dir. Bir de eskiden Hitit Heykeli idi ama, Ulus a çok yakın olduğu için artık hayatımızla bağlantısı kalmadı. Bu heykel eski Ankara yı anlatması bakımından ele alınabilir. Bir de Kuğulu Park olabilir, çocukluğumun orada geçmiş olması, arkadaşlarımin orada olması önemli tabii ki.

I think the symbol of Ankara is Anıtkabir. Once upon a time, it was the Statue of Hitit Sun, however, now there is no relation of this statue with our live, because, it settles near Ulus. This statue may be observed as a symbol presenting the old Ankara. Additionally, the symbol may be the Park of Kugulu, the reason is that it is a place, where my childhood times were spent, and may of my friend inhabits.

She continues to express her spatial mobility in order to clarify her spatial behavior affecting her choices about spatial images.

Kızılay, işte oralar rahatsız ediyor beni, sevmediğim yerler. O Sakarya tarafı, Ulus filan, ortam hiç çekici gelmiyor. Pis, karanlık ve bunaltıcı, insanlar da pis...Yani, Sakarya' da bara gitmek ile Tunalı' da bara gitmek ayrı...

Kızılay, which I don't like, troubles me. Surroundings of Sakarya, Ulus are not attractive places for me. These are filthy, dark and depressive places; even people are dirty... Indeed, going to a bar in Tunalı is different from going to a bar in Sakarya.

Her sketch map is interesting with its landmarks that may express some clues about her daily practices. As it can be shown on her map that represents the surroundings of Tunalı Hilmi, the main organizers of map are the shops, cafes,

restaurants and bars of Tunalı Hilimi. Additionally, her graphic technique, proportion of the roads and streets, differentiate the previous example of Süleyman.

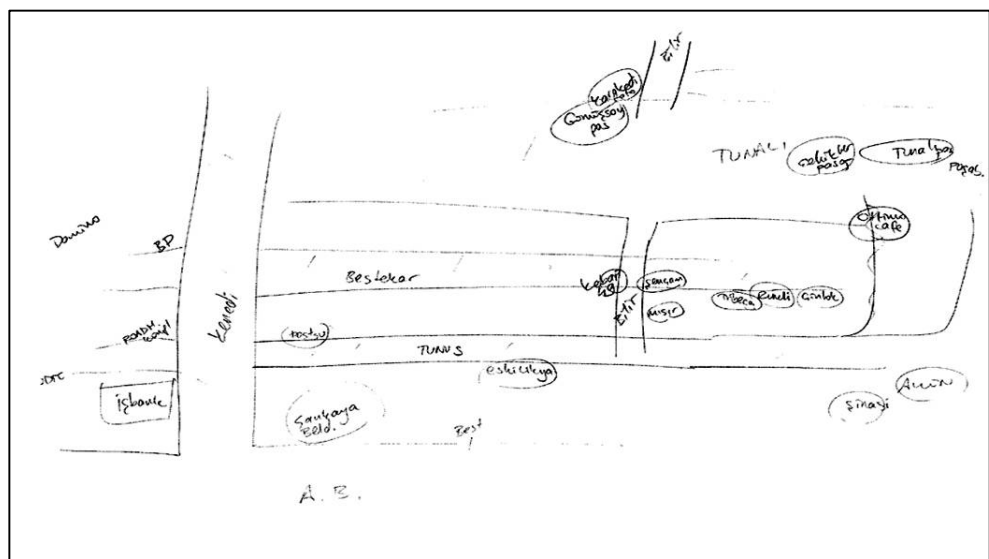


Figure v. -Sketch map of Aysu

Not only the old emblem, the new shopping malls are also mentioned by the inhabitants. Although there are many inhabitants arguing the new shopping mall as a symbol, some of them disagree with this idea strongly. Arif (51, m, university, teacher) from Etlik notes,

Ankara'nın sembolü Anıtkabir'dir, öyle de olmalı. Ankara'nın amblemi anıtkabir olmalı, Eti Güneşi de güzel ama, o olmazsa, bari Anıtkabir olmalı, cumhuriyetin simgesi. O döner kule (Ata Kule) filan simge olamaz ya.

The symbol of Ankara is Anıtkabir, and it should be so. The emblem of Ankara should be Anıtkabir, the Hitit Sun is also a lovely emblem however, the emblem should be Anıtkabir, as a symbol of the republic. That revolving tower (Atakule) can not be a symbol.

He continues to express his observations about the near environment of Atakule,

Oralar çok lüks, ordaki insanlar ile anlaşmam mümkün değil yani. Onlar özlerini kaybetmiş insanlar bence. Aşırı özentide olan insanların yaşadığı bir yer orası. Herkesin kucağında bir küçük köpek, nasıl diyeyim yani? Aslında onların da sıradan yaşamları var, bakma sen, özenilecek bir yaşamları yok, yaptıkları şeyler aynı.

These are the luxury places. It is impossible for me to negotiate with these people. I think they lost their selves. They do not behave in the way they feel; they imitate others. Everybody carry a little dog on his or her breast. How can I say? In fact, they also have ordinary lives; they do not have lives to be admired, since they do the same things.

As it was argued, people mainly select symbols according to the secondary functions of them. Importance of these secondary functions can easily be observed in the case of Arif. Additionally, there are also other respondents with different selections. Especially, people with strong religious beliefs, which may be observed from their arguments, their appearances, languages, indicate the importance of the Kocatepe Mosque, the Mosque of Hacı Bayram.

The emphasis of Necati (49, m, primary school, retired factory worker) from Keçiören is interesting,

...Burada yaşayanlar çamur içinde, orada yaşayanlar saraylarda yaşıyorlar, Çiğin' de yaşayan ile, Ümitköy' de yaşayan. ..Şimdi, Gazi Osman Paşa' dan bu yana, Kocatepe dışında bir minare görmem elde değil. Efendime söyleyeyim, Keçiören' i ele alalım. Keçiören' de her adım başı bir minare var, yani. Şimdi, orada oturan akıllı kesim, zengin kesim, bürokrat kesim, orucu bizim başımıza yıktı, namazı bizim başımıza yıktı, hac bizim, kurban bizim. Yani İslam' ın beş tane farz olan şeyi vardır, bu beş şey de fakirde. Zengin bunları atmış gitmiş, bizim sırtımıza yüklemiş. Bunlar mı akıllı, biz mi deliyiz artık?

...In this place (Çiğin), there are people, living in mud, in that place (Ümitköy), people live in palaces In the area from Gazi Osman Paşa to Keçiören, you can not see any minaret, except from the Kocatepe Mosque. We may observe Keçiören. Step by step, you may see the minarets of Keçiören. In that area, wise people, wealthy people, bureaucrats put away the oruç, namaz, pilgrimage on the side of us. In other words, five obligations of Islam are given to the 'poor'. Wealthy people put away these obligations; they load these obligations to us. I really don't know if they are clever or we are fool.

These contributions are important in grasping the distribution of the symbols and their secondary meanings on the socio-spatial nature of Ankara. Especially, it represents the fragmentation of Ankara according to the spatial images and their symbolic meanings.

4.2 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the languages of the spatial environment were discussed in order to grasp the intended meanings and identities. This discussion includes the reflections about objective and subjective environments. To catch the everyday meanings, identities; the languages of the divergent inhabitants were discussed. The main aim of this part is to show divergent perceptions and spatial behaviors of the urbanites living in different neighborhoods. This was an introductory part dealing

with the languages at the city level. The following discussion on the neighborhood level will be complementary in understanding the socio-spatial geography of Ankara.

CHAPTER V

NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY and SPATIAL BEHAVIOR

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the divergent identities of the neighborhoods selected according to their socio-economic structure. Socio-spatial images, spatial attachment patterns and satisfaction with the neighborhood compose the main framework of this chapter. These features should be thought as the complementary concepts related to the issues discussed in the previous chapter. While the previous chapter dealt with divergent group behaviors analyzed at the city-level, this chapter is organized according to the qualities of the neighborhoods. Although, various neighborhoods developed their own unique images, this chapter tends to analyze the common characteristics directed by the theoretical framework. Especially, group behaviors of different neighborhoods' members, producing common social and spatial images; are the main discussion topics of this chapter. Coleman & Neugarten (1971) indicate that analyses of the neighborhoods are important to indicate the social class positions. They argue that all the formal and informal relationship shaped by the neighborhood may reveal the clues about the social status of the members. Therefore, this chapter tends to examine the socio-spatial qualities of the divergent neighborhoods. A comparison of dissimilar and similar features of the neighborhoods will be held according to the perceptions of the residents. Similar to the approach in the previous chapter, this part also tackles with certain concepts to grasp the objective and subjective neighborhood environments. Rapoport (1977, p.163) argues that, subjective definition of neighborhood is 'based

on act of categorization involving a group defining itself as such, and having some boundary outside which is other.' These definitions are important in grasping the inter-group differences and similarities that may present the different realities of the social worlds.

Before discussing the interviews, the organization of the chapter should be clarified. First of all, the *socio-spatial images of the neighborhoods*, which may include the definitions, signs and symbols, will be discussed. In this part, the selected neighborhoods will be investigated according to the images produced by the residents of these places, as self-images and images produced by urbanites living in different neighborhood. The main emphasis of this part is the comparison of the images, which probably carry the definitions of the 'us' and 'other'. Beside the subjective definitions, there will be a discussion on the objective environment that may be differentiated from the subjective environments. In-group and inter-group differences according to the socio-economic status groups will be briefly argued in this part, as an introductory section. Afterwards, certain aspects on satisfaction with the neighborhood will be examined. Next, the concepts of spatial attachment and sense of place will be investigated to grasp the identities of neighborhoods.

5.1 Neighborhood Images

Urban social space with its different neighborhoods produces its own images representing the identities of the users. These images are the products of everyday social activities of urbanites. This section elaborates how socio-economic status groups produce and reproduce their images. In this perspective, members of the lower class, lower-middle class, middle class and upper-middle class, are asked to define

their own neighborhoods and other neighborhoods. Socio-economic bases of the images are important to understand the structured neighborhood differentiation, which may present homogenous structures according to the inter-group behaviors. In order to grasp a neighborhood differentiation, the following discussions should be examined by the assistance of the socio-economic map of Ankara by Güvenç (2001b). In this sense, Mamak as an example of the lower class neighborhood, Yeni Mahalle, Keçiören, Batıkent as lower-middle class residential areas and Gazi Osman Paşa, Oran, Ümitköy and Bilkent as middle and upper-middle class spaces will be discussed in this chapter. Ayata & Ayata (1996) argue that, these neighborhoods have their own unique aspects, representing some common characteristics of their socio-economic structure. The following discussion is ruled by these common characteristics determined by the social class of the neighborhoods.

5.1.1 Images of the Lower Class Neighborhood

In this part, images on Mamak will be discussed. Mamak is settled in the eastern part of Ankara, which is mainly inhabited by the members of the lower-class. The main images composing the objective environment of Mamak are '*gecekondu*'s, low quality buildings, where people who migrated from the rural areas of Turkey live. These rural-to-urban migrants mostly preserve their rural type life styles that confront against 'the urban way of life'. This inevitably creates adaptation problems in their life. Therefore, their self-images include polarized definition of 'us' and 'other'. In this perspective, their self-images will be analyzed with their similarities and differences. These similarities and differences may present the identities of the neighborhood.

Remzi (29, m, high school, taxi driver & doorkeeper) living in Mamak, indicates that his image of Mamak may be symbolized by the signs of poverty,

Bence Mamak ın sembolü gecekondu, bir de fakirlik tabii ki. Mamak deyince bir soru işareti koy oraya, sen anlamışsındır...Böyke gariban, fakir, Siteler' de amelelik yapan, Ulus' ta amelelik yapan, asgari ücretle çalışan, fakir bir bölge, ya Mamak. Başkentin yüzkarası demek ayıp ama...Çünkü vatanını, milletini çok seven insanlar çıkar, Mamak' tan ama yoksulluk oradaki insanların bellerini bük müştür. Yol paraları yoktur, yürür Mamak insanı, Mamak çöplüğüne bakarak. Bir de karmaşık bir yer orası, şu anda sağ kesimin elinde ama, öyle olması gerektiğinden öyle oldu.

In my opinion, the symbol of Mamak is *gecekondu*; of course, poverty is also a symbol. When you mention about Mamak, you must place a question mark in your writings, as you also understand what I mean...Mamak is a poor place in which miserable, poor people live. People of Mamak occupy as laborers in Siteler, Ulus, they are paid with the minimum wage. It is shame to mention this place as the disgrace of the capital city, but... Because, there are many people loving his/her country and nation, but, they are tortured by the poverty. They have no money for transportation facilities so residents of Mamak walk, while watching the garbage of Mamak. Additionally, it is a cosmopolitan neighborhood, now, right wing people occupy this place. It has been so, because it had to be in this way.

In addition to these arguments, while examining the photographs which were selected by the author as images of Ankara, Remzi stresses that there should be photographs from Mamak. Because, he mentions that Mamak has also lovely places to be selected as the images of Ankara. It is an important note to understand their adaptation problem and the oppressed languages of the city. Ayla (28,f, high school, accountant) also indicates that the photographs may include the garbage of Mamak

and *gecekondu* sites, they are also the symbols of Ankara, according to Ayla. Although she moved from Mamak to Siteler due to the condition of her job, she mentions her image of Mamak with strong desire. Naturally, this memory carries the images about the solidarity and network relations of the people living in Mamak.

Mamak Ankara yıldızı bence. Gecekondu semti, hayatında hiç görmediğin, hiç yaşayamayacağın dostlukları Mamak' ta yaşarsın, Mamak' ta belirli semtlerde ama. Boğaziçi Mahallesi mesela, benim mahallemdir. Sokakta herhangi bir insanın bir şekilde yardıma ihtiyacı varsa, her şekilde yardım edilir, yastık altındaki çıkarılır, yine de yardım edilir. Mamak özel bir yer, fakir ama mutlu. Şöyle de diyebilirsin, elindeki ile yetinmeyi çok iyi becerir Mamak... Mamak deyince insanın aklına geniş balkonlar, çiçekler, yeşillik geliyor. Yeni taşındığım yerde öyle birşey yok. Burada sembol olarak sadece çığlıklar aklıma geliyor, kavga, silah sesleri aklıma geliyor. Büyük kavgalar oluyor, burada çığlıklar, silah sesleri çok fazla. Belki çok insan burada yaşamaktan memnun ama biz memnun değiliz.

I think Mamak is the star of Ankara. Mamak is a gecekondu neighborhood, in which you see special relation that you can not see in any other place. You can see these relations in some neighborhoods of Mamak. For instance, Boğaziçi Neighborhood, it is my neighborhood. If any one needs help, people help this person in many ways, people may give their money hidden under the pillow, and they help him/her. Mamak is a special place, poor but happy. You may say like that Mamak manage to satisfy successfully with its own situation... In my mind, Mamak is presented by large balconies, flowers and greenery. However, my new neighborhood's situation is different. The symbols of this place are screams, weapon shots, fights that come to my mind. There are big fights, in this place, screams and weapon shots are so often. Maybe, there are many people who are happy with living in this place, but, we are not happy.

This case presents the importance of the solidarity patterns and network relations for the residents of Mamak. Strength of the network relations and solidarity patterns is supported geographically. Especially, their separation from other parts of

the city stimulates their production and reproduction of social relations. Respondents' infrequent determination of the photographs taken in different parts of Ankara and their troubles while indicating landmarks on fill-in maps shows social and spatial separation of Mamak from other parts of city. In this respect, Samsun Road is appeared as a spatial and social edge. This socio-spatial barrier stimulates the polarization of the images while defining 'us' and 'other', for all urbanites.

Besides the self-images of the residents of Mamak, images produced by others are also helpful to grasp the subjective knowledge formations on Mamak. The road of Samsun is again a factor determining the images on Mamak produced by the members of lower-middle and middle class. These people belonging to divergent classes, interestingly, have similar images on Mamak, although there are few slight differences. As it can be inferred from the verbal discussions and graphical representations, their knowledge on Mamak does not depend on first hand experience, which may cause similar patterns composing their mental constructs. Especially, Pocock & Hudson (1978) label the places that people gain information from as secondary resources such as mass-media, interpersonal contact; as 'far places' representing the physical and cognitive distance. In this perspective, Mamak may be labeled as far place by referring to the mental constructs of the members of lower-middle class and members of the upper-middle class.

Although Mamak is settled near the center of the city, many urbanites of Ankara mention about it as a far place, which represents the cognitive distance. Nihal (47, f, university, teacher) has been living in Ankara for 15 years. Although she

declares that she does not know the region of Mamak, she mentions the importance of the distance about Mamak,

Mamak' a trenle gidilir, sadece onu biliyorum; fakat iyi durumda değiller Mamak' takiler. Uzak bir yer orası.

The only thing I know about Mamak is, you can go there by train. I know this; however, people of Mamak are not in good conditions. Mamak is far from here.

There are also other urbanites who have not even seen Mamak, although they declare the unmanageable conditions of Mamak. Necla (49, f, university, retired civil servant) has been living in Etlik for 18 years. She argues that she does not know so much about Mamak,

Mamak için çok birşey söyleyemem, çok fazla bilmemekle birlikte çok iyi şeyler de söyleyemem Mamak hakkında. Genelde gecekondu semtidir, kültür seviyesi de düşüktür, yaşamadım, bilmiyorum ama.

I can not say many things on Mamak, I really don't know much about Mamak; and I can not say good things. In general, it is a gecekondu neighborhood, additionally; the cultural condition of Mamak is lower. I didn't live there, so, I don't know.

These people have images on Mamak based on the secondary resources. These discussions on Mamak represent the restricted social and spatial mobility on the separated geography of Ankara. Mamak settled at the center of the spatial geography of Ankara, either the unknown place or far place according urbanites living in Ankara except for those from Mamak. For the people of Mamak, this is the only place to live, willingly or unwillingly. Mamak case as a 'gecekondu' neighborhood of Ankara proves that 'the urban way of life' can not dominate all patterns of lives on the urban social geography. Divergent life-styles, cultures has

chance to compose enclaves, in which they have little touch with the urban way of life.

5.1.2 Images of the Lower-Middle Class Neighborhood

The members of the lower-middle class, who mainly settle in the north section of Ankara, will be analyzed briefly in this section. Similar to the approach of the previous section, self-images and images produced by others will be investigated in this part. In this respect, the images of Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle and Batıkent are discussed to catch the common aspects related with the life-styles of the lower middle class members. Before discussing the images of the respondents, some remarks should be made on the north part of Ankara. Batıkent is lower middle class mass-housing suburban project, designed at the mid-eighties, where civil servants mainly live. On the contrary, Keçiören is a place having Turkish-Islamic identity. Spatial objects of Keçiören, such as a castle denoting the victories of Turkish history, statues of the old Turkish commanders, waterfalls, decorative pools differentiate the context of Keçiören from other parts of the city. Moreover, it should be noted that Keçiören is a gecekondu neighborhood, before it turned into an urban renewal project. After this project, ‘low quality’ apartment buildings have been erected besides these ‘strange’ spatial objects of the neighborhood. Although each neighborhood has its own unique features, such as Batıkent with mass-housing, Keçiören with Islamic-Turkish type of socio-spatial symbols, such as imitation of the Estergon Castle, the common characteristics are sought in this part. In other words, the common symbols, signs and

images of the neighborhoods, as a result of the same socio-economic conditions influencing the life-styles, are discussed to clarify the divisions of the city.

The common aspect of the self-images of the inhabitants is the 'moderate' condition of the places, in which 'moderate' people live. Additionally, these places are represented as the neighborhoods of the civil servants, workers. Another common aspect appeared in their discussions that mainly present the polarization of the life-styles of the neighborhoods settled at the south part of Ankara. Finally, different conditions of Keçiören are emphasized. Besides its political structure, it is frequently mentioned by its residents that it is the place of poverty similar to Mamak. Şentürk (2004) labels the new condition of Keçiören after the urban renewal project, as a grotesque, a new with its irritating and all negative ways. This project creates a new identity for Keçiören, while diminishing the identity of a *gecekondu* neighborhood.

Tahire (34, f, university, insurer) has been living in Ankara for 10 years. She discusses the similar, 'moderate' condition of Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle and Batıkent,

Yeni Mahalle' de orta halli insanlar ve öğrenciler oturur, çünkü kira bakımından onlara hitap eder. Keçiören de orta halli, memur insanlar oturur. Batıkent hakkında çok fazla şey söyleyemem, ama gene orta seviye bir yerleşim, kendi evini almış, bir evim olsun diyenler gidip orada yatırım yapmışlar. İnsanların kendi evleri var ama binaların inşa edilmiş tarzları bakımından çok iyi bir yerleşim olarak görmüyorum.

In Yeni Mahalle, moderate people and students live, because rent conditions address them. In Keçiören, there are also moderate people and civil servants. Although I can not many things on Batıkent, again, it is a moderate settlement, people bought their own houses. People, who wanted to buy a house, make investments there. They have houses but, this settlement is not in good condition due to the construction styles of the buildings.

This is the common self-image of the neighborhoods of Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle and Batıkent, a moderate settlement, in which the civil servants, workers and retired people mainly live. Besides the self-images, discussions of the lower class and middle class members are interesting in many ways. For instance, Umut (34, m, high school, insurant) from Mamak compare these places with the neighborhoods of south Ankara.

Yeni Mahalle de benim eşim oturuyordu. Eşim Demetevler tarafında oturuyordu, aslında. Yeni Mahalle, Demetevler' e göre biraz daha lüks bir yer gibi geliyor bana, orada maddi seviye olarak orta seviye insanlar oturur. Tabii, orta seviye insanlar bile bana zengin geliyor.. Keçiören' e en son gittiğimde yeni yapılanma içerisinde olduğunu gördüm, şelaleler, yeni alış-veriş merkezleri, parklar açılmış, o yönden güzel bir semt ama kendimi soğuk hissediyorum. Orada da orta seviye insanlar oturur. Batıkent de Yeni Mahalle gibi orta seviye bir semt. Orta seviye insanlar, rahatlıkla gidip, görebileceğin insanlar. Bir Gazi Osmanpaşa da birine gittiğinde, açıkçası çok resmi olabiliyorum, samimi olamıyorum. Ama Batıkent, Yeni Mahalle de rahat davranabiliyorum. İnsanlara daha yakın olabiliyorum.

My wife lived in Yeni Mahalle. Indeed, she lived in Demetevler. Yeni Mahalle is more luxury place than Demetevler, in my opinion, moderate people line in that neighborhood. Naturally, moderate people seem wealthy to me... At my last trip to Keçiören, I observed the restructuring of this place; there are waterfalls, new shopping centers and parks. In this perspective, it is a lovely place, but I feel unfriendly. There are also moderate people. Batıkent, similar to Yeni Mahalle, is a moderate neighborhood. There are moderate people whom you easily visit. In Gazi Osman Paşa, when I visit someone else, I act formally, I can not act intimately. However, I act easily in Batıkent and Yeni Mahalle. In this area, I meet people in closure.

As it was discussed, many lower class urbanites mention the social distance between lower class people and lower- middle class people living in the North of Ankara with sympathy. Additionally, their opinions on life-styles, spatial behaviors

of people living in Keçiören, Batıkent and Yeni Mahalle, carry contrasting features to the ones of the south Ankara. It may be grasped more clearly by referring to the study of Ayata & Ayata (1996), who examine the life-styles and socio-economic structure of the various groups in Ankara. They indicate similarities of the life-styles, neighborhood relations of people belonging to lower class and lower-middle class, apart from the relation of the middle class. These empirical findings on Ankara may explain the social and cognitive distance of these various classes. Similar life-style of the lower class and lower-middle class members may produce a social and spatial closure between these groups.

According to the middle class and upper-middle class members, moderate life-styles, moderate economic structure and sometimes, poverty symbolize the north section of Ankara. In addition to these symbols, the main source of information on Batıkent, Yeni Mahalle, Keçiören for these people is based on secondary resources. They frequently stress that they have no acquaintance living in these places, so, they have no “deep” information about these places. This feature represents that their activity space has no relation or very little relation with the north part of Ankara. Their fill-in maps also clearly represent their lack of relation with this section of the city. Again, the Road of Istanbul-Samsun and the railway (as it can be seen from the map of Güvenç) appear as edges.

Aysel (24, f, university, research assistant) living in Oran, indicates her lack of interest with the north part of Ankara. Her discussion is about the life-styles and spatial geography of Ankara,

Ankara' da, Keçiören, Demetevler, Yeni Mahalle, Sincan, İskitler civarlarını hiç bilmiyorum. Çünkü, buralarda tanıdığım kimse yok, gitmemi gerektiren birşey olmuyor. Çünkü oralar ancak tanıdığın birisi varsa gidip görülecek yerler. Onun dışında yapılacak birşey yok, gitmiyorum o yüzden.

In Ankara, I don't know much about Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle, Sincan, İskitler. Because, there is no acquaintance of mine, so there is no reason to visit these places. Because you may go these place, if you have any acquaintance in these places. There is no reason, except from this one, therefore, I don't visit these places.

Similarly, Aysu (25, f, university, graduate student) living in Anıttepe, stresses the same point. Although she has been living in Ankara for 21 years, she has never gone to Keçiören, Yeni Mahalle or Batıkent.

Ankara' da Yeni Mahaale' yi hiç bilmiyorum, zaten yerini de bilmiyorum, zaten yaşamsal bir gereklilik de duymuyorum. Bağlantım yok orasıyla yani. Ulus' u bilmem ortamından dolayı. Keçiören' i filan hiç bilmiyorum. Oraya gitmek için sebep bulamıyorum yani.

In Ankara, I don't know Yeni Mahalle, even I don't know its place, as a matter of fact, I don't feel any vital necessity. I have no relation with this place. I don' t know anything about Ulus, due to its condition. I don't know anything about Keçiören. I have no reason to go there.

The new phases of urbanization and emerging life-styles have stimulated division of cities according to socio-economic status group. This problem, explicitly or implicitly, diminishes the reproduction of the urban culture based on diversity and heterogeneity. Decrease of the interaction between various interest groups, especially, socio-economic groups, may produce new polarizations, segregation patterns and strict definitions of 'us' and 'other' that may re-create purified life-styles.

5.1.3 Images of the Middle Class and Upper-Middle Class Neighborhoods

In this section of the work, the images of the middle class including the upper-middle class neighborhoods will be examined. In this sense, images of the neighborhoods, Gazi Osman Paşa, Bahçeli and Ümitköy will be analyzed. Although they may be labeled as neighborhoods with similar socio-economic conditions, the main distinction between these places for this work are their distances to the city center. Ümitköy, including Çayyolu, Beysukent and Bilkent are new suburban settlements of Ankara, in which new suburban life-styles are common. Ayata & Ayata (1996) resemble some of these neighborhoods to satellite towns with certain characteristics. Especially, after 1980s, there have been many people moving to these new suburban towns.

When the self-images of the residents are analyzed, the very idea of 'decent' to represent the quality of the neighborhood is argued. Besides the physical qualities of the neighborhoods, the residents frequently mention shopping facilities and cultural conditions of these places.

Aysel (24, f, university, research assistant) stress the higher cultural condition of these areas, besides their socio-economic structure,

Gazi Osman Paşa' da genellikle zengin insanlar oturur. Gazi Osman Paşa deyince aklıma biraz daha kültürlü, zengin bir tabaka aklıma geliyor. Bahçeli' de ise orta-üst düzey memurlar oturur bence. Özellikle, eski Ankaralı insanlar oturur. Ümitköy'de, kültür seviyesi olarak bayağı yüksek bir kesim. Yani, gelir düzeyi olarak Gazi Osman Paşa kadar yüksek değil belki ama, ortanın üstüdür. Yani, herhalde, Ankara' nın en kültürlü semtidir diye düşünüyorum.

Wealthy people live in Gazi Osmanpaşa. When I think Gazi Osman Paşa, wealthy sections with cultured people comes to my mind. In Bahçeli, upper-middle layer of civil servant lives, in my opinion. Especially, old urbanites live there. The cultural condition of Ümitköy is very high. Namely, income level of Ümitköy is not as high as the one of Gazi Osman Paşa, however, it represents the upper-middle section. Probably, in my opinion, Ümitköy is the most cultured neighborhood of Ankara.

Discussions of Aysel summarize the general condition, which is represented by the residents of the south Ankara. The main framework encircling the self-image is composed by the concepts of cultural condition, income level and shopping malls, which probably influence the new consumption patterns. These new life-styles ruled by consumer behavior, is presented in their fill-in maps, on which they frequently indicate shopping malls, while showing the common landmarks of the city.

Residents belonging to the lower class- and lower-middle class have similar images, which may present similar cognitive and social distance to the upper-middle class neighborhoods. The main difference in their images results from immobility of the members of the lower class. Therefore, many respondents even do not know the name of the neighborhood of suburban settlements such as Bilkent, Ümitköy; although they have little knowledge on Gazi Osmanpaşa and Bahçeli. Hüseyin (20, m, high school, peddler) from Mamak mentions the conditions of these neighborhoods as follows,

Gazi Osman Paşa ve Bahçeli' de lüks insanlar yaşar, ama Ümitköy'ü bilmiyorum gitmedim.

People live in luxury Gazi Osman Paşa and Bahçeli, however, I don't know Ümitköy, I did not go there.

These definitions may have strong polarizations representing the social and cognitive distance, besides the immobile conditions of the lower-middle class members. Feyyaz (26, m, high school, redactor) from Mamak mentions the 'strange' life-styles of the middle class members.

Gazi Osman Paşa'da zengin, burjuva insanlar oturur, orada kesinlikle oturmam. İlişkiler çok soğu orada, hayal kurmak çok zor orada. Kültürel yapımız uymaz orada; hayalleri ile var olur insan, bu çok önemli, insan orada hayal kuramaz. Bahçeli' yi de sevmem, rezillik yani, sevmiyorum. Oradaki kafeleri falan hiç sevmiyorum, oralarda oturan gençleri de sevmiyorum. Ümitköy deyince ise evlerinin önünde tenis kortu olan insanlar aklıma geliyor, ne işim var benim orada. Orta düzey insanlar da oturur orada.

In Gazi Osman Paşa, wealthy and bourgeoisie people live, it is impossible for me to settle there. The relations are so cold in there, additionally, it is hard to have dreams in Gazi Osman Paşa. Our cultural structure is not proper to adjust there. It is important for us to have dreams, people live with their dreams. However, people can not have imaginings in such a place. I don't like Bahçeli, it is a disgrace, namely, I don't like. I really don't like cafes of Bahçeli, additionally, I don't enjoy the young people of that place. Ümitköy brings to my mind, residents with tennis courts, in front of their houses. Living in Ümitköy is not my business. Additionally, middle section wealthy people also live in Ümitköy.

Umut (34, m, high school, insurer) stresses the same points implied by Feyyaz. Especially, he mentions on Gazi Osman Paşa by referring to the social relations of the residents. His definition of Gazi Osman Paşa includes the definition of his neighborhood and of 'us'.

Gazi Osman Paşa' yı ben Ankara' nın oturukacak en lüks semti olarak görüyorum. Benim maddi durumum iyi olsa da, ben yine de Gazi Osman Paşa'da oturmaya düşünmem. Küçüklükten beri belki de şartlanmışım. Biz gecekondudan gelen bir aile olduğumuzdan insanlar ile birebir, çok yakın ilişkiler kurmaya özen gösteririz. Gerçi bizim orada da, binalar yükseldikçe,

insanlar birbirlerine soğuk davranmaya başladılar. Ben gecekondlu hayatını özliyorum. Yakınlık çok güzel, istediğiniz gibi kapıları çalabiliyorsunuz.

I think Gazi Osman Paşa is the most luxury place of Ankara. If my material condition was good enough, I would not consider settling Gazi Osman Paşa, maybe, this because I have been conditioned since my childhood. As a family, we care about conducting close, having one-to-one relations with people, since we are coming from gecekondlu origin. It is true that in my neighborhood, after the high rise buildings are structured, people start conducting distinct relations to each other. I miss gecekondlu life. You are so close to your neighbors that you may knock any door that you want.

Arif (51, m, university, teacher) from Etlik, also stresses the life-styles of the middle class members. He compares his condition with their conditions in his image of Gazi Osman Paşa and Ümitköy. His arguments also represent the polarization of life-styles between members of the lower-middle class, middle class and the upper-middle class.

Gazi Osman Paşa çok lüks bir yer, oradaki insanlar ile anlaşmam mümkün değil, yani...Onlar özlerini kaybetmiş insanlar bence. Aşırı özentili içerisinde olan insanların yaşadığı yer. Herkesin elinde küçük bir köpek, yani nasıl diyeyim? Aslında onların da sıradan yaşamları var, bakma sen... Özenilecek yaşamları yok ama, yani, yaptıkları şeyler de aynı... Ümitköy' de aşırı rahat, bize yabancı ve kültürlü insanlar oturuyor. Aslında hepsi de bize göre kültürlü değil ama... Öyle görüyorum, yani kısaca, bize yabancılar. Daha çok ticaretle uğraşanlar orada oturur, ekonomik durumu iyi olanlar. Bir de öğrenciler var tabii, zengin öğrenciler.

Gazi Osman Paşa is a luxury place, it is impossible for me to negotiate with those people. I think they lost their essences. In Gazi Osman Paşa, people tend to imitate others, they all have little dogs, how can I say? In fact, they also have ordinary lives...Their lives do not have much to be admired, anyway, they do the same things... In Ümitköy, extremely comfortable, cultured people settle. Of course, all people are not cultured compared to us, but... I see them, in short, as strangers. They

deal with trade, people living in that place have good economical conditions. Besides, some students live there, wealthy ones, of course.

As it may be inferred from the discussion of the neighborhood members of the lower class and the lower-middle class, neighborhoods of Gazi Osman Paşa, Ümitköy, Bahçelievler are the places of embodiment of 'wealth', 'culture' and 'strange ones'. Additionally, the unreachable condition of the neighborhood for the members of the lower class, and the lower-middle class is very obvious in their discussions. Inevitably, it represents the invisible walls between divergent socio-economic groups under the illusion of 'order'. These places symbolize the values that the north section of Ankara lacks.

In this section, a brief analysis of contrasting images of the neighborhoods was made in order to introduce the basic characteristics of the neighborhoods in the minds of the respondents. In the following part, certain concepts will be elaborated to enrich the meanings of these discussions. Now, it is time to differentiate aspects of the satisfaction of residents with their neighborhoods.

5.2 Satisfaction with the Neighborhood

People conduct divergent relations with the space that they live in. This section of the chapter, different from the previous chapter, deals with the emotions of residents about their neighborhoods. On the neighborhood level, people's emotions on their neighborhoods are affected by various variables. Rapoport (1977, p. 61) defines, 'density, trees and greenery, social quality and the status of the area, safety and crime, quality of recreational and educational facilities, proximity of services, micro-climate and suitability for garden, freedom from pollution or noise, views and topography'

affecting the satisfaction factor of residents in their neighborhoods. In this study, these categories are tried to be classified according to preferences of the members belonging to the divergent socio-economic status groups. Rather than a quantitative analysis on respondents' happiness or discontentment in line with their social status groups (which will be difficult to measure with such a small-sized sample), the elaboration will be based on the investigation of divergent reasons that may shape group behavior. Ayata & Ayata (1996) analyze that, housing and neighborhood preferences in the lower class and lower-middle class of Ankara is mainly based on neighborhood relations; which do not significantly affect the preferences of the middle class members. The language they use while explaining the satisfaction with the neighborhood also reflects this feature. Besides the neighborhood relations, easiness of the transportation facilities is mentioned as an important factor affecting the contentment of the residents in all socio-economic groups.

Süleyman (28, m, primary school, waiter) from Mamak expresses his feelings on Mamak by referring to the social and spatial condition of his neighborhood,

Burada ulaşım sorunu var, su sorunu var, bizim orası ASKİ¹² ye bağlı değil. Okul var ama uzak, yani benim oturduğum gecekonduya uzak. Ama komşuluk ilişkileri iyi buralarda.

In my place, there is transportation problem, clean water problem. Our neighborhood is not serviced by ASKI. There is a school but, it's far away. Namely, it is too far to my gecekondu. However, our neighborhood relations are good in here.

¹² A general office of the Greater Municipality of Ankara dealing with the sewerage issues of the city. It may be translated as Government Office of Water and Sewerage of Ankara.

Additionally, urbanite's satisfactions also reflect some confrontations towards 'others'. Necati (49, m, primary school, retired factory worker) mentions about his happiness by giving reference to the life-styles of Gazi Osman Paşa, Ümitköy,

Ben Keçiören' den semt olarak memnunum. Yani, sosyal bakımdan şey bakımdan. Biz sizin gibi okumuş, bürokratlar yanında, Ümitköy de yaşayamayız. Boğuluruz, kafayı yeriz çoluk-çocuk. Orada para konuşur, etiket konuşur. Burası alt tabakaya hitap eden bir semt. Bir Ümitköy' le, Oran' la, Çankaya ile bir değil... Burada herşeyden memnunum yani. Semt olarak hep Kırşehirli olduğundan geldim, Kırşehir' in küçük bir ilçesi burası.

I enjoy Keçiören as a neighborhood. Namely, I like its social aspects and things like that. We can not live with the cultured, bureaucrats in Ümitköy. We would feel boredom and whole family members would all go mad. In those places, money and labels speak. However, this neighborhood is a better place for the lower class people. Here is not like Oran, Ümitköy, and Çankaya. I enjoy all things in here. I came to this place because all the residents are from Kırşehir. This place is much like a small country of Kırşehir.

As Necati stressed, the origins of people also affect their level of satisfaction, especially, places under immigration. In many lower class and lower-middle class neighborhoods of Ankara, these people form intermediate organizations to preserve their solidarity and special bonds affecting their lives in urban space. These network relations play an important role in the level of satisfaction of the members of north Ankara.¹³

Suburban residents have divergent motivations, when their satisfaction with their neighborhood is analyzed. Especially, Batıkent as a large suburban

¹³ This discussion may be enlarged by the arguments on 'hemşeri' translated as fellowmship. This is important criteria for urbanites, migrated from small-towns, by the help of which people form social organizations based on solidarity patterns. This concept of fellowmen ship indicates the persistent character of rural type life styles in urban spaces.

neighborhood of the lower- middle class stimulates this distinction in the preferences of the residents. Nihat (32, m, university, electrical engineer) mentions the positive aspects of the suburban life-style in Batıkent.

Batıkent' te yaşamaktan memnunum. Şimdi, çevre yönünden fena değil, onun dışında, havası temiz. Şehirden uzak olması, ondan sonra sakin olması ve çevre düzenlemesinin iyi olması olumlu özellikler, tabii ki. Tabii, önemli olan ulaşım benim için, metronun orada olması. İnsanları ortalama seviyede, nispeten iyi seviyede, çünkü Batıkent biraz daha eğitim seviyesi yüksek bir yer, o yüzden yerleşik olan Yeni Mahalle, Demetevler' e göre daha iyi konumda.

I enjoy living in Batıkent. Now, it is good enough in environmental ways, additionally, it has clean air. Distance from city-center, quietness and successful site planning are the positive aspects. Naturally, transportation facilities, especially, underground facility are important for me. People are at the average or in a relatively high level. Because education levels of Batıkent residents are higher, especially when it is compared with those of Yeni Mahalle, Demetevler.

Nihat's arguments have some reflections of suburban life; while implying the lower-middle class life-styles. When other cases are analyzed, it is observed that greenery, site planning, low-density is frequently mentioned, besides, economical appropriateness, easiness of the transportation facilities and neighborhood relations. On the other hand, satisfaction reasons of the upper middle class members are differentiated from the previous cases. In these cases, security, shopping facilities are replaced with the neighborhood relations and economical appropriateness. Additionally, stress of the neighbors on the designative aspects is increased. Ayşe (51, f, university, housewife) from Beysukent as a upper-middle class kind of “gated community”, emphasize the qualities of this kind of life-style.

Beysukent' i seviyoruz. Çevre olarak iyi bir site, oturan insanlar iyi insanlar. Ee tabii ki, site olduğundan dolayı güvenli ve evimiz çok rahat. Oturan insanlar iyi, güvenlik açısından iyi ve bakımlı bir semt. Olumsuz yönü ise, ulaşım olarak biraz uzak ve alış-veriş merkezlerine biraz uzak. Başka da olumsuz yönü yok.

I love Beysukent. In this group of dwelling, environment is good and people are well. Naturally, it is secure place and our house is comfortable, because, it is a group of dwelling. It is a well-cared dwelling, in which good people inhabit and it is also a safe place. Its distance to shopping malls and transportation facilities are negative ways. It has no other negative aspects.

These images of Ayşe reflect the new suburban life-styles in Ankara. In many respects these new life-styles resemble the popular images of the suburban life. Winter, Coombes & Farthing (1993) explain that, suburban image is deeply affected by the social status, social aspirations, personal identity and freedom producing new life-styles.

Finally, satisfactions of the upper-middle class neighborhoods settled near the center, such as, Gazi Osman Paşa, Bahçeli should be analyzed. In these places, easiness of the transportation facilities, social qualities of the neighborhoods are frequently mentioned. Especially, decent qualities of the places are always expressed by the main characteristics of these places. Muharrem (46, m, university, constructor) explains his feelings on Kavaklıdere by referring the social condition of the neighborhood.

Kavaklıdere' de yaşamaktan memnunum. Bunun nedenlerine gelince, burası Ankara' nın nezih bir yeridir. Her yere yakındır, eğlence de buradadır, yemek de buradadır, gezinti de buradadır. Keçiören' den, Yıldız' dan gelenler, 'haydi, şöyle bir şehri gezelim,' deyip buraya gelirler. Ondan sonra burası yeşilliktir, sakindir. Oturan grup nezihdir, oturan insanlar seçmedir. Mesela, kentin yeni gelişen dış semtlerine gittiğinizde, ayakkabılar merdiven başındadır. Bu hemen insan kalitesini

gösterir. Böyle birşey burada olmaz, bu semtte insanlar birbirini ikaz eder. Burada herşey iyidir, ama sıkıntı ne? Yerel yönetimlerin yıllardır yaptığı yanlış doğrultusunda park problemi var.

I enjoy living in Kavaklıdere, because it is a decent place of enough to all places, additionally, it has eating, wandering and recreational possibilities. People coming from Keçiören, Yıldız neighborhood say 'let's travel the city', and they spend their times in this place. Afterwards, it is a green and calm place. Groups of people living here are decent people, they are also elite ones. For instance, when you visit the new neighborhoods at the periphery of the city, you observe that people pull out their shoes at the outside of the door. This indicates the quality of people. It does not happen here, every person warns the other. Everything is ok in this place, so, what is the problem? As a result of the mistakes of local municipalities, there is a parking problem.

As it can be observed in the discussion of Muharrem, cultural structure and social identity increase the standards of life, although there are parking problems. This kind of discussions explains why some members of the middle class families still prefer living in the neighborhood near to the center rather than in suburban places. Additionally, these examples show the primary role of these places in the urban spectacle.

5.3 Spatial Attachments and Sense of Place

It is argued that sense of place is a broad concept determining the spatial attachment of neighbors. When the complex relation between people and environment is examined, divergent aspects affecting the nature of the sense of place should be analyzed. Pocok & Hudson (1978) argue that, physical, social and psychological qualities of space influence the concept of sense of place. In this respect, designative aspects play a vital role in the attachment patterns. They also

argue that chances of mobility, mass media, mass culture and mass production affect the concept of sense of place negatively. On the contrary, Hummon (1992) argues that, divergent groups of people have different senses of place and community attachments that stimulate the sentimental bonds with the place. The aim of this part is to analyze the spatial attachment patterns in the context of Ankara. The group characteristics and life-styles are the main discussion topics of this part.

Firstly, the members of the lower class will be discussed to grasp their spatial attachments. The long period of their length of residence is the main characteristic of these people, which is possibly a result of economical restrictions. Their discussions may clarify clearly their sense of place, whether it is a result of obligations or not. Although some of the respondents emphasize their strong social and emotional bonds with their neighborhoods, some of them complain about the difficulties of their lives. When these strong bonds are analyzed to grasp the spatial attachment patterns, also their complains should be taken into consideration. Remzi (29, m, high school, taxi driver & doorkeeper) complains about his life in Mamak.

Eğer Mamak' tan ayrılacak olsam, eski dostlarımı, komşularımı özlerim. Yani, kısaca mahallemi özlerim, başka da birşeyi özlemem yani. Neyini özleyeyim, sabah kalkıyorsun, her taraf çamur... Ben büyük bürokrat değilim, herkes kendi çapında yerde oturur, ben Bahçeli' de oturacak değilim ya.

If I decide to leave from Mamak, I miss my old friends, neighbors. Namely, I miss my neighborhood, I don' t miss any other things. What shall I miss? When you wake up in the morning, all the space of Mamak is in mud... I'm not a bureaucrat, everybody lives in a space according to his/her wealth. Is it possible for me to live in Bahçeli?

Sevgi (51, f, no education, housewife) from Mamak mentions her restricted condition, while blaming the local municipalities.

Ben buraya geldim geleli, her belediye aynı hareketi yaptı. Ben 36 senedir buraayım, aynı yol, aynı yaşantı, benim hakkım yok mu? Eğer ben de Türkiye' de yaşıyorsam, benim de hakkım var... Bak, yaşantı bu işte, biz böyle yaşıyoruz. Bak, bizle aynı hakla yaşayan insanlar nasıl yaşıyor, biz nasıl yaşıyoruz! Biz istemez miyiz doğal gazlı evde oturmayı. Buradan ayrılacak olsam, buranın komşuluğunu özlerim, yani çevreyi özlerim. Neyini özleyeyim, doğal gaz ben istemem mi, rahatlık olduktan sonra.

Since I started living here, all municipalities have done the same things. I have been living in this place for 36 years, all the roads are same, all the manners of living are same, I have also same rights, don't I? If I live in Turkey, I also have some rights as well as the others... Look, this is our life, we live in these conditions. Look, how people with the same rights live, and how we live in this place! We also want a house with natural gas. If I decide to leave here, I miss my neighborhood, I miss my neighbors. What shall I miss here! I also want a house with natural gas, which is more comfortable.

These lives should be evaluated critically to understand their life-styles and preferences. Although neighbors of this place have strong social bonds with their *gecekondu*s, their lives are also affected by the urban dynamism. Especially, new renewal projects that plan to replace these *gecekondu*s with new apartment buildings should be directed accordingly.

Some of the members of the lower-middle class also mention their lower life standards, while mentioning their sense of place. Necati (49, m, primary school, retired factory worker) argues that if his economic condition were good enough, he would start living in the upper-middle class residential areas.

Ben semt olarak Keçiören'i değişmem, yani. Keçiören güzel. Belki Keçiören ayarında bir yerde oturabilirim. Biz Oran' da

yaşayamayacağımıza göre, biz Ümitköy' de oturamayacağımıza göre. İmkanımız olsa niye istemeyelim oralarda oturmak. Ekonomik durum olsa, tahsilim olsa, rahat ederim. ..Para yok, etiket yok, ne yapacaksın?

I don't prefer any other neighborhood to Keçiören, namely it is a lovely place. Maybe, I can live in a neighborhood similar to Keçiören. We can neither live in Oran, nor in Ümitköy. If our means are available, why don't we want to settle there? If I had education, economical possibilities, I would be at ease... We have no money, no label, what will we do?

It may be an overestimation, if these arguments are presented as the reflections of the general condition of the lower class and lower-middle class. However, there are also people arguing in favor with his/her place, while discussing their sense of place. Additionally, they also argue that they do not prefer living in middle class neighborhoods due to the lack of social relations. Neriman (50, f, high school, housewife) from Batıkent stresses the importance of neighborhood relations that spatially attach her to Batıkent.

Ben Batıkent dışında hiçbir yerde oturmak istemem, hep burada oturmak isterim. Çok memnunum. Şimdi, en mühim şey, komşuluk ilişkileri. Yani, şimdi bir semt lüks olabilir ama, komşuluk ilişkileri azdır. Biz gece oldu mu, birbirimize ziyarete gideriz, öyle yerlerde yapamayız.

I don't want to settle to any other place, except Batıkent. I always want to live in this place. I'm so happy. Now, the most important thing is the neighborhood relations. Some neighborhoods may be luxury places; however, neighborhood relations may be very weak. In the evenings, we visit each other in Batıkent. We can not do this in those places.

Arif (51, m, university, teacher) stresses the same points. He emphasizes the importance of the memories and contrasting life-styles of the members of the middle class.

Valla, ben Etlik' ten ayrılmayı düşünmem. Evim burada çünkü, anılarım var burada, çok büyük mazim var burada benim. Evimi düşünürüm, mahalleyi düşünürüm, yani apartmanda oturduğum arkadaşlarımı düşünürüm... Buradan ayrılmayı hiç düşünmedim. Bazıları Çankaya der, bazıları Bahçeli der. Benim yaşam koşullarıma ters orası, insanlar çok uzak geliyor, çok yapmacık geliyor davranışları. Ekonomik koşullar da çok önemli tabii.

I swear it is so, I don't think leaving Etlik. Because my home is in this place; my memories, my past are in this place. I miss my home, neighborhood, my friends living in the same apartment building... I did not think leaving this place. Someone may prefer, Çankaya, Bahçeli. These places do not fit to my life-style. People seem to me so distant; their behaviors seem so superficial. Additionally, economical conditions are also important.

Contrasting the previous arguments, middle class members present their weak sense of place in their discussions. Shopping facilities and cultural conditions may be argued as important aspects facilitating their social and emotional bonds with their neighborhoods. As their mobile condition in the city is thought, the weakness of their bonds may be interpreted. Memduh (51, m, university, constructor) from Gazi Osman Paşa argues this condition of 'boundlessness' by the means of place,

Buradan ayrılacak olsam, belki bu semtin insan yapısını özlerim. O da şu şekilde olur, özleyip özlemeyeceğimi bilmiyorum, daha iyi bir yere mi taşınacaksın, daha kötü bir yere mi taşınacaksın? Sorun burada. Diyelim ki, Beysukent' e bilmem nereye taşınacağım, o zaman burada bir tek lokantaların yakınlığını, herşeyi bulabilmeyi özlerim. Ulaşım kolaylığını da özlerim. Batıkent' e taşınacaksam daha farklı şeyler özlerim. Herkes bir üst mevkiye baktığı için özlenecek bir şey bulunamaz aslında. Öyle değil mi?

If I decide to leave this place, maybe, I will miss the social structure of this place. I really don't know, whether I will miss or not. It depends on the condition of my new place, whether it is better than this one, or worse than this one. This is the problem. Suppose, I move to Beysukent or somewhere else, in

this condition, I may miss the nearness of the restaurants, possibility to reach everything that I want. I also miss the easiness of transportation facilities. If I move to Batıkent, I may miss other things. Indeed, everybody searches to reach the upper class, therefore, there is no thing to be missed. Does not it go like that?

Besides the ones who stress the mobile condition of middle class according to their preferences, there are other cases defending their strong bonds with the place. The main differences from the reasons of lower classes are dependent on the qualities of places that are attached to their neighborhood. The social quality, cultural conditions that make their neighborhoods popular are the primary reasons stimulating the sense of place. These arguments represent the contrasting spatial attachment patterns of divergent socio-economic groups. Their quality of relations with their neighborhoods and their reasons stimulating their moves are differentiated, when the concepts of spatial attachment, sense of place are examined. Divergent motivations of spatial attachment reinforce different life-styles of the neighborhoods of Ankara.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to understand the tensions between urbanites by referring to their subjective knowledge structures. In this perspective, their cognitions, perceptions were examined by the methods of cognitive mapping. Urbanite's divergent spatial behaviors, their articulation with urban ways of life were the issues that the present study tried to investigate. Similarities, differences of in-group and inter-group relations were examined according to the respondents' socio-economic status. The main criteria to determine the socio-economic status of the respondents were their neighborhoods, which had been studied by Murat Güvenç on his socio-economic status map of Ankara. Therefore; the findings of Murat Güvenç were used as raw data indicating the socio-economic status. Additionally, some other findings of Murat Güvenç; such as the north and the south division of Ankara by the Istanbul Road and separation of the neighborhood of Mamak by the Samsun Road, were used to comprehend deeply the arguments of interviewers. The findings of Güvenç were examined in discussions of the respondents. These different division of the capital city presented clues to grasp the polarized perceptions of the urbanites based on the sharp definitions of the 'us' and 'others'. In other words, these socio-economic divisions of the city space supported by the patterns of introversion and segregation were dealt as a factor stimulating the polarization of the images of divergent respondents. These discussions were held both at the city level and at the neighborhood level. Both levels of discussion differently helped to analyze the divergent images.

Before deepening the argument with the discussion of the findings, limitations and contributions of the study, the organization of the following parts should be expressed in order to prevent from misunderstandings. First of all the findings of the present work on divergent neighborhoods and socio-spatial structure of the city will be discussed. In this part, assumptions, which were made before conducting the field study, will be educated by the assistance of the findings. This discussion will be held at the city level and at the neighborhood level, similar to the discussions of the previous chapters. Afterwards, contributions of the work to the urban studies and limitations of the study will be argued. Especially, in the limitations part, points that might create some theoretical and methodological problems will be rethought with some solutions proposals, which may enlighten the following studies. Finally, some proposals will be expressed on the socio-spatial structure of Ankara, which will be made in order to enrich the urban culture and diversity of the urban ways of life.

6.1 On Findings of the Work

The following discussion includes the findings of the surveys and the findings of the interviews, which are the results of the critical readings of the arguments. During field surveys, one of the most important empirical findings has been the sympathy of the lower-class members towards the researchers and the research. This created a different atmosphere affecting the nature of the research. Mamak residents were more likely to contribute to the study, while arguing on their unmanageable living conditions in their neighborhoods. Therefore, field surveys conducted in Mamak, have take much more time, and compared with other interviews. Additionally, Mamak residents held their critiques about the present research, which

might enrich the discussion of the work. Their positive attitudes towards the research were important to grasp the oppressed languages of the capital city. They presented the exclusion of the urbanites of Mamak from the urban life. In this respect, it was observed that residents of Mamak perceived the study as a chance to participate to the urban life. Although they composed patterns of introversion against exclusion from the urban life, they claimed that they were also urbanites of Ankara with the same rights as middle class members. On the contrary, the formal condition of the interviews held in the middle class neighborhoods, presented different social, spatial and psychological factors of the urbanites. This formal condition was also supported by the spatial arrangement of the places, such as offices, homes, in which interviews were held. These polarized conditions of the interviews inevitably support their divergent perceptions and sharp definitions of 'us' and 'other'. In other words, dissimilar conditions of the interviews of the middle class urbanites and lower-class urbanites present clues about divergent perceptions, life-styles and languages of the neighborhoods. Additionally, it enlightens the layers of the city, in which space and time were designed differently. These layers with different social, spatial and psychological factors present divergent realities apart from these of the cartographic maps, on which the city is represented as a continuous whole without divisions. Different flows of time in the neighborhoods support these realities.

Besides the attitudes of the interviewees, answers of the respondents to the verbal and graphical questions were differentiated according to the socio-economic condition of the neighborhoods. In this respect, Goodchild (1974) argues that middle class members use more structured and formal languages during their

conceptualizations. Additionally, as Goodchild argues middle class members conceptualize the environment in a clearer manner both verbally and graphically. These arguments of Goodchild were clearly observed in the interviews, while respondents were answering the survey questions. These differences of the answers according to the socio-economic status of the neighborhoods' may be caused by social and spatial factors. In this perspective, divergent spatial mobility patterns and dissimilar levels of the achievement to the hierarchy of needs may cause difference in verbal and graphical languages of the respondents. It should be noted that social and psychological conditions of the neighborhoods' space critically affect these differences. Divergent atmospheres of the neighborhood space reproduce these differences in the verbal and graphical languages of the respondents. In other words, inter-groups similarities and differences of languages are produced and reproduced by the social and psychological character of different neighborhood space. Divergent languages of the neighborhood space inevitably affect the verbal and graphical answers of the respondents.

Besides the findings during the field surveys, a critical rereading of the interviews enriched the findings of the present work. These discussion and interviews may also be supported by the assumptions of Murat Güvenç and his socio-economic map of Ankara. Especially, his stress on the north and south division is important to grasp the divergent perceptions of the urbanites. At the city level, divergent languages that the city speaks with its inhabitants support the emphasis of Güvenç. In this perspective, images of the urbanites of north and south Ankara are differentiated. Their urban ways of life, spatial images and languages are diversified according to

the north and south polarization of Ankara based on socio-economical status. These differences should be socially and spatially examined to comprehend divergent images of the capital city. Different spatial lives do not contact with each other in the city space; therefore, their images are extremely polarized. When they do not share experiences of others; they develop sharp mental representations towards others. Spatially, this discussion can be enriched by the concept of narrowing of the contact points (Sennet, 1970), which was debated in the introduction part. As socio-spatial geography of Ankara lacks its contact points serving divergent people with different backgrounds, social lives of the urbanites living in north and south section of Ankara are extremely separated. As a result of this, Istanbul Road is appeared as an edge, socio-spatial barrier in the capital city. There are divergent life-styles conducted by urbanites having different images of Ankara living at both sides of the road. Therefore, this road affects negatively the heterogeneous faces of the urban life in Ankara.

When the neighborhood images are examined, polarization of the mental representations belonging to the urbanites of north and south Ankara may easily be observed. Each neighborhood with its own realities according to the socio-economic status of the neighborhood affects images of the urbanites differently. Members of each neighborhood settled in the south and north sections of the city do not even see the neighborhoods of others. They have sharp criticisms towards others. This stimulates the separated socio-spatial activities in different parts of the city. Without any social interaction pattern, the activity of one group can not be grasped by any other group. This creates new polarization patterns in city space. Even, they label

socio-spatial practices of other groups as ‘meaningless’ and ‘strange’ that may signify the social distance between various groups living in Ankara. This tension between divergent urbanites may harden the process of the reproduction of urban culture in Ankara. New urbanites can not adapt themselves to urban ways of life based on heterogeneity. When they can not articulate with urban life-styles, they tend to compose enclaves in the socio-spatial geography of Ankara. On the contrary, middle class members in their neighborhoods do not share the experiences of the member of other socio-economic status groups. Therefore, tension between divergent groups of people grows extremely. This affects negatively the heterogeneous face of urban life in the context of Ankara.

Besides the polarization between middle class and lower-middle class people, the condition of the lower-class people helps this study to comprehend the divergent interests of urban social geography. Murat Güvenç’s emphasis on the Samsun Road as a socio-spatial barrier in the city is critically supported by the findings of this study. Samsun Road encircles the neighborhoods of the lower class people, socially and spatially. This edge deeply shapes the perceptions of the urbanites. While spatial mobility patterns, urban daily activities of the lower class people are placed inside of this boundary, other socio-economic status groups do not enter this zone framed by the Samsun Road. Similar to the Istanbul Road, this socio-spatial edge affects negatively the heterogeneity of urban social life. Because, these barriers compose structured and homogeneous differentiations in the city. As a result of these homogeneous differentiations, polarized images of the city are developed. Although this is an important discussion for urban scholars studying urban culture and life-

styles, it has been shaded by the discussions of ‘secularism’ and ‘fundamentalism’ in urban studies of Ankara, which was briefly debated in the previous chapters. Constructed languages of the objective environment try to hide divergent images and their socio-economical bases, explicitly or implicitly.

In summary, this work examined divergent images of three groups living in Ankara, lower class, lower middle class and middle class people. Although it is evident that each group has own unique images, they produced extreme images about others due to the lack of interaction between various groups. Their social, psychological and spatial factors of the neighborhood reproduce their radical images. As a result, time and space is radically divided in the urban geography of Ankara. This limits the possibilities of urban social lives, and it affects negatively the diversity of urban culture. Additionally, divergent languages of urbanites compete with each other according to their power relations. Inevitably, the powerful side, language of the middle class dominates other languages; therefore, socio-spatial geography of Ankara is shaped according to the interests of middle class members. Domesticated social interaction patterns occurring between people having similar backgrounds can not create positive energies for urban life. Therefore, urban social life in Ankara can not propose any richness to its urbanites, who occupy their own spaces in the urban social geography.

6.2 Contributions and Limitations of the Work

Although this study has some methodological problems discussed in the following section, it may contribute to the literature with its inter-disciplinary perspective. First of all, by combining the disciplines of sociology, psychology and

geography, the present work tries to comprehend the socio-spatial system as a whole. Combination of the divergent disciplines is an important step to eliminate the divisions of the space. This inter-disciplinary perspective may help to grasp the complicated socio-spatial structure of urban life. In addition to its inter-disciplinary perspective, this work aims to read the city by referring to the images of its urbanites. In other words, besides the realities of the objective environment, a common way in the works of social science, this work focuses on the subjective worlds of the urbanites. This kind of discussion may enlarge the perspectives of the urban studies on Ankara.

This study has also contextual contributions, which should be discussed to understand the importance of the study for Ankara. The main contextual contribution of this study is related with the elaboration of the issues of cognition and spatial differentiation. In this respect, this work tries to seek the different perceptions of urbanites according to the socio-economic status of the neighborhoods. This may create new mental frameworks for urban discussions on Ankara, which are mainly based on the different interests of ‘fundamentalists’ and ‘secularists’. It tries to present unequal opportunities of the urbanites by analyzing their images of Ankara and its neighborhoods. This may change the nature of the urban discussions in Ankara. Additionally, it may contribute to the discussions of modernity and Ankara by analyzing dissimilar articulation of the urbanites with urban social life. It may provide a critical look to the project of modernity in Ankara. People’s articulations with the project of modernity may help to evaluate the ‘success’ and ‘failure’ of this project in the context of Ankara.

The present work may have some methodological limitations. First of all, combination of divergent disciplines causes fragmentation of conceptualizations and of research methods. This fragmentation may threaten the success of the work, if the work tries to deal with complicated structures, like socio-spatial systems of urban geography. In this study, a certain fragmentation may cause misunderstandings while analyzing the complex relations of urbanites and urban space. Besides the fragmentations caused by uncontrolled nature of the inter-disciplinary perspective, it is hard to define and compare three groups formed by socio-economic differences at the city level, in which in-groups and inter-groups relations take place. This can be labeled as the main problem of the studies, which investigate the group relations at the city level. Related with this issue, it is hard to collect a sample, whose members represent homogeneously group characteristics. This problem of sampling has been very common in the studies dealing with issues at the city level. It is evident that the arguments of 39 respondents can not represent in-group and inter-group relations of the urbanites of Ankara.

Next, related with the sample, some of the variables of it should be controlled to reach reliable results. For instance, people having same age would be studied to compare spatial behaviors. This kind of study with controlled variables may supply much more reliable results, which can be applied at the local policies.

Finally, this study did not deeply examine the spatial behavior patterns of the urbanites on a daily life level. This creates some limitations grasping the spatial mobility of the respondents. Additionally, the spatial mobility patterns of the respondents may reveal clues about inter-group and in-group relations in a coherent

manner. In order to achieve this, people's everyday life should be analyzed deeply using different methods. Especially, longitudinal studies may help to analyze urbanite's everyday life and to collect reliable data. In this respect, people can be observed in different time periods to grasp their mobility patterns in the city.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

This study tried to analyze the tensions between various groups by referring to their images of the city and different neighborhoods. By analyzing different perceptions, divisions of the city, polarized stereotypes of people and some arguments on urban culture of Ankara were debated. Although it may be an oversimplification to propose some solutions on the mentioned problems of Ankara, some arguments will be discussed to activate the positive energies of urban diversity. It is evident that these divisions of the city and extreme mental representations are fundamentally results of the process of urbanization. However, some proposals may be held to improve the quality of urban social life. In this respect, this study believes in the uses of disorder (Senn1970), full of potentials and energies. In order to catch the diversity of the urban life, some unexpected encounters should be designed by the help of the contact points. These contact points used by different urbanites should be distributed to all sections of the city to eliminate the divisions. Although social inequalities can not be solved by spatial solutions, space may be used as an active subject stimulating the changes in social structure.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Place of questionnaire: _____ **Neighborhood:** _____ **District:** _____

Date: _____/_____/_____

Number of questionnaire: _____

I. Socio-Demographic Features:

1 Age: _____

2-Sex: () female () male

3-Place of birth:

_____ (province) _____ (township)

_____ (village)

4- Marital status: () married () single () divorced
() other

5- How many people accommodate in your house (including you)? _____

6-Could you please explain the education level of the household?

<u>Person (degree of relationship)</u>	<u>Education level (according to last graduated school)</u>

7- How long have you been living in Ankara? ____

8- In general, what do you use for transportation in the city? (You may indicate multiple choices. Additionally, if you have a car, could you please indicate it?)

() having a car

a-with my own car b-by bus and minibus c-by subway d-on foot

e-other

9-How long have you been accommodating in your neighborhood, and in which neighborhoods in Ankara did you live before? Could you please indicate them orderly, from present to past neighborhoods?

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Accommodation time (year)</u>

II. Occupation and Ownership Features:

1- Could you please indicate the occupations of your household?

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Occupation</u>

2-How much is your monthly household budget? (Could you please indicate all kinds of revenues? (e.g. rental income))

- a- Below 500 milyon TL. b- Between 500 milyon- 1 milyar TL.
 c- Between 1 milyar- 2.5 milyar TL. d- Between 2.5 milyar- 4 milyar.
 e-Over 4 milyar TL.

3- a-Do you have ownership of your house?

b- If it is a rental house, could you indicate the rental charges?

_____ TL

4- If you have any other property or possession could you please indicate them?

<u>Type of Property</u>	<u>Place of Property</u>

III. Neighborhood and Municipality Features:

1- Are you pleased with the neighborhood that you live? Please explain your positive and negative opinions.

2- Are you pleased with the activities of your municipality dealing with your neighborhood?

3- Could you please explain the social and spatial changes of your neighborhood in last five years?

4- What is the symbol (e.g social, spatial) of your neighborhood?

5- If you leave your neighborhood, which features will you miss about your neighborhood? Why?

6- In which neighborhoods do you prefer living in Ankara?

7- What kind of people (socially, culturally, ideologically) does live in the following neighborhoods of Ankara?

-Gazi Osman Paşa:

-Yeni Mahalle:

- Bahçelievler:

-Keçiören:

-Ümitköy:

-Batıkent:

-Mamak:

IV. Kent/ Belediye Özellikleri:

1- Are you pleased with living in Ankara? Please explain your positive and negative opinions.

2- Are you happy with the activities of the Greater Municipality of Ankara?

3- Could you please explain the social and spatial changes of Ankara in last five years?

4- In your opinion, what is the symbol of socio-spatial environment of Ankara? Why?

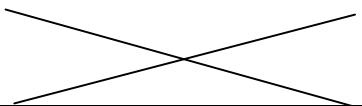
V. Spatial Usages I:

- In this section, you are going to be shown the photographs taken in different places of Ankara. Could you please try to define the places that you know?

-In your opinion, which other places should be photographed? Why?

VI. Spatial Usages II:

1- Please explain the places that you visit in Ankara. Could you please indicate the frequency of your visit?

Activity	Place	Frequency
Occupation		
Entertainment		
Shopping		
Visit		

2-Which places do you prefer visiting in Ankara? Why?

3- Please explain places that you dislike in Ankara? Why?

4- Could you please define the places that you have little idea about it or you did not visit in Ankara?

5-Which places will you show a person who conduct his/her first visit to Ankara?

VII. Spatial Usages III:

-Now, please dream that you are starting walking from Ataturk Statue in Ulus to Sıhhiye to Kızılay to Tunalı Hilmi. Could you please explain the social, spatial features of the places orderly in your imaginary trip?

Please skip the places that you can not remember.

VIII. Spatial Usages IV:

- Could you please indicate (e.g. park, road, street, building, neighborhood, etc.) the place that you want to show on the fill-in map?

APPENDIX B

PHOTOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS



1- Statue of Atatürk in Ulus. 2- Kocatepe Mosque. 3- A view from Atakule.
4- A view from Tunalı. 5- Armada. 6- View from Ankara Castle



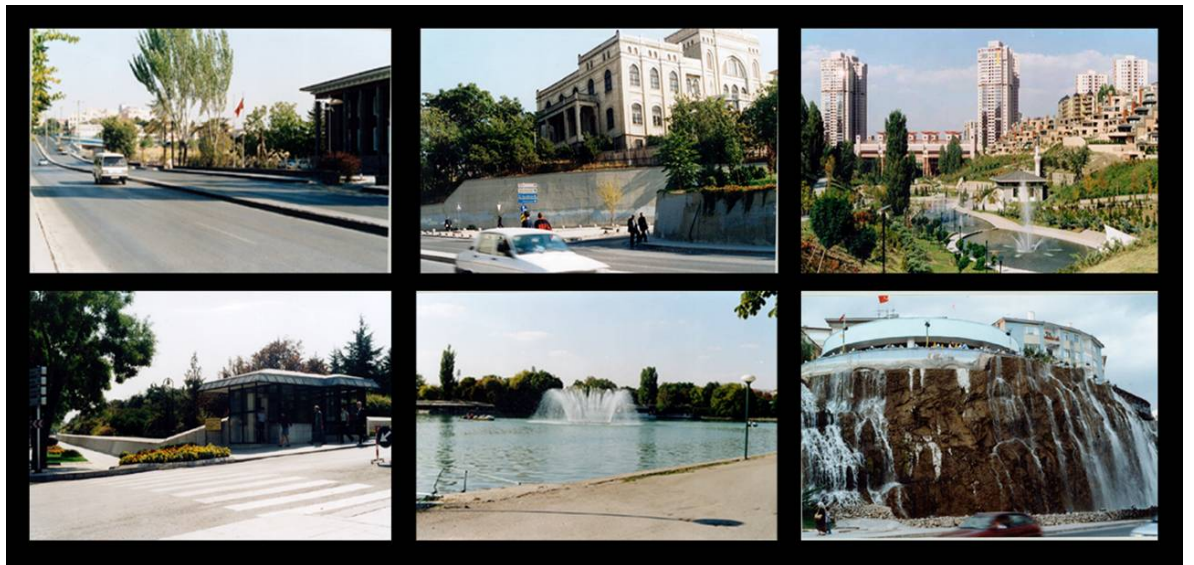
1- Güvenpark. 2- Estergon Castle. 3- Sıhhiye Square.
4- Railway Building. 5- AŞTİ. (Interurban bus terminal) 6- Ulus Bazaar.



1- Eskişehir Road.
4- Konya Road.

2- Boulevard of Atatürk.
5- Maltepe.

3- Sıhhiye
6- Balgat.



1- Opera.
4- Anıtkabir.

2- Resim-Heykel.
5- Youth Park.

3- Dikmen Valley.
6- Waterfall in Keçiören.



1- Kurtuluş Park.
4- Kızılay Square.

2- Beşevler.
5- Kızılay.

3- Kuğulu Park.
6- Ulus.



1- Meşrutiyet Road.
4- Sakarya Road.

2- Emek.
5- Bahçeli, 7th Street.

3- Hacı Bayram.
6- Yeni Mahalle.

APPENDIX C

FILL-IN MAPS and SKECH MAPS

