SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND CONSUMPTION PROFILES OF ANKARA: A CASE STUDY IN ANKARA RESIDENTIAL AREAS

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FİGEN AKPINAR

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Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ali Türel Head of Department

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

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç Co-Supervisor Prof. Dr. Sevgi Aktüre Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr.Gülden Berkman	(METU, ECON)	
Prof. Dr. Sevgi Aktüre	(METU, ARCH)	
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç	(METU, CP)	
Prof. Dr. Bahattin Akşit	(METU, SOC)	
Prof. Dr. Feral Eke	(METU, ARCH)	

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND CONSUMPTION PROFILES OF ANKARA: A CASE STUDY IN ANKARA RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Akpınar, Figen Ph. D., Department of City and Regional Planning Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Sevgi Aktüre Co. Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç

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This dissertation attempts to develop a social stratification model considering its spatial dimension for the households in the city of Ankara. The spatiality of social class has rarely been in the agenda of scholars and has not been explored empirically. For this reason, the study aims to test the hypothesis that social segregation in Turkish cities is empirically measurable and manifests itself in the common patterns of behaviours and similar conditioning of existence in the urban space. The focus of attention of the thesis is based on the relationship between the material inequalities of different social strata within its territorial context. If a class becomes a social reality, this must be shown in the formation of common patterns of behaviour and attitude, and manifests itself in urban space. In short the scope of the study is a twofold: Thesis questions are: (1) how and upon what basis social groups and strata can be located in the economic and socio-cultural structure of the society. This part of the study deals with the objective "set" of criteria; thesis question (2) whether the same coherency can be coincided in the space. This part deals with the analysis of the spatial dimension of social 'class' which means segregation. Thesis findings provide sufficient evidence that the differences stemmed from the material possessions and consumption patterns of the urban households cannot be understood by employing the conventional instruments as such rural/urban, traditional/modern as the division of axes.

New conceptualisation urgently is needed and consumption studies offer prospective and highly potential issue.

Key words: Class, social stratification, spatial segregation, consumption pattern, Ankara's residential areas, Ankara's consumption pattern and consumption expenses.

ANKARA KENTİNİN SOSYAL TABAKALAŞMA VE TÜKETİM PROFİLİ: ANKARA KONUT ALANLARINDA ÖRNEK ÇALIŞMA

Akpınar, Figen

Doktora, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Sevgi Aktüre Yardımcı Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Murat Güvenç

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Bu tez Ankara kenti konut alanlarında yaşayan hane halklarına yönelik sosyal tabakalaşma modeli geliştirmek ve mekansal boyutlarını araştırma girişimdir. Sosyal sınıf araştırmaları ve özellikle mekanla ilişkişi Türkiye'de çok az çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle çalışma, Türk kentlerinde sosyal sınıf temelli ayrışmanın görünür olduğu, sınıf ilişkilerinin benzer tüketim kalıp ve davranışlarını oluşturduğu ve tüm bu anılan unsurların görgül çalışmalarla sınanabileceği hipotezi üzere kurgulanmıştır. Tezin temel yönelimi farklı sosyal tabakalar ve mekansal bağlamlarının ortaya çıkardığı maddi eşitsizliklerin sosyal ve kültürel temellerine yöneliktir. Sınıf olgusundan söz edebilmek için benzer davranış ve tutumların var olduğunu ve bu benzerliklerin (farklılıkların) mekan boyutunda ortaya konulabilmesi gerekmektedir. Kısaca tezin amacı: (1) sosyal grupların veya tabakaları belirleyen unsurlar nelerdir? Bu bölümde sosyal grupları bir araya getiren nesnel kriterler belirlenmiştir; (2) sosyal grupları bir arada getiren unsurların mekanda benzer farklılıklar yaratıp yaratmadığı irdelenmiştir. Sonuç bulgular Ankara'da son dönemlerde ortaya çıkan tüketim davranışları ve maddi eşitsizliklerin geleneksel kent-kır, modern-geleneksel ayrımlarıyla tanımlanamayacak yeni farklılaşma eksenlerinin bir göstergesi olarak kabul edilmiş ve yeni bir kavramsallaştırmaya gereksinim olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Tüketim çalışmaları bu bağlamda önem kazanmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sosyal sınıflar, sosyal tabakalaşma, mekansal ayrışma, tüketim kalıpları, Ankara konut alanları, Ankara'da tüketim kalıpları ve harcamaları.

To my grandmother whom I never had a chance to meet...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	Х
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	XV
LIST OF MAPS	xvii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii

CHAPTERS

I. INTRO	ODUCTION	1
	I.1. Formal properties of the class concept	3
	I.2. What is social stratification?	7
II. HIST	ORICAL EVALUATION OF CLASS AND STRATIFICATION ANALYSIS	10
	II.1. Normative functionalism	10
	II.2. Marxist theory: A general framework	13
	II.3. Weberian apparoach	22
	II.4. Where to draw class "boundaries"	30
III. THE	CORETICAL (RELATIONAL) CLASS SCHEMES	32
	III.1. Class scheme I: Goldthorpe	33
	III.2. Class scheme II: Wright	42
	III.3. Problems associated with the occupational aggregate approach	47
	III.4. Main constituting elements of stratification: boundaries and the framework	49
	III.4.1. Degree of coverage	49
	III.4.2. Underclass debates	51
	III.4.3. Joint classification: composite index of social class	54
	III.4.4. Class struggle and urban space	57
	III.4.5.The third era after 1980s: emergence of consumption as a main source	of
	differentiation and new form of identity	75
IV. STR	ATIFICATION STUDIES IN TURKEY	86
	IV.1. Historical settings for the present pattern of stratification in Turkey	89

IV.2. An overview of some recent contributions to stratification studies	101
IV.3. An overview of analytical approaches on stratification studies	104
IV.4. A brief summary of Ankara's employment structure	120
IV.5. A brief summary of Ankara's housing structure	127
V. METHODOLOGY AND THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CASE STUDY	135
V.1.Basic questions and model(s) used in the study	135
V.2. Introduction of the data set	137
V.3. Critical reassessment for criterion to operationalize an analytical scheme	142
V.4. Introduction of the techniques used in the study	150
V.5. Technique of clustering of the census enumeration districts	157
VI. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF CLASS POSITION	173
VI.1. Income discrepancy, its composition and sources of income	173
VI. 2. Other structural factors, living condition of specific region and housing	201
VI. 3. Cultural practices	217
VI.4. Durable commodities possessed	233
VI.5 Consumption pattern	243
VI. 5.1: Food sphere	244
VI. 5.2: Other consumption items	257
VII. CONCLUSION	277
VII.1. Summary and Conclusions	277
VII.2. Concluding Remarks	287
REFERENCES	293
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Glossary	310
Appendix B: Sampling and estimation method of SIS	315
Appendix C: Types of consumption expenses	319
Appendix D: International Standard Classification of Occupation	320
Appendix E: Basic Statistical Data	331
VITA	336

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

2.1	Basic terminology of the normative functionalist theory	11
2.2	Study of the Status Dimension of Kansas city	12
2.3	Weber's social class scheme	24
3.1	Goldthorpe's class schema	36
3.2	Wright's first class scheme	43
3.3	Items comprising social Index and system of weighting values	56
3.4	Consumption Spheres	85
4.1	The inherited socio-economic values and manners of the Turkish society	91
4.2	Boratav's class scheme: axis of divisions	105
4.3	Subgroups, stratums in Boratav's scheme	105
4.4	Boratav's scheme	107
4.5	Independent variables of Boratav's Study	108
4.6	Variables of the index, VERI SESI	110
4.7	The components of the in-depth interviews	110
4.8	Attitudes towards consumption and leisure activities	112
4.9	Categories included in Geniş's scheme	115
4.10	Yasa's occupational scheme	117
4.11	Labor force composition and distribution by sex	120
4.12	Population not in labor force 1980-2000	121
4.13	Employed population by occupation 1980-2000 (%)	122
4.14	Population by literacy, education level 1975-2000	122
4.15	Working population by employment status (%)	123
4.16	Employment by economic activity (%)	124
4.17	Population by the place of birth (1935-2000)	125
4.18	Total household populations, number of households 1955-2000	125
4.19	Evolution of population growth of Ankara between 1927-2000	127
4.20	Number of household population by size of household	131

4.21	Number of rooms	133
4.22	Reasons to own other dwelling units	133
5.1	1987 and 1994: Household income and expenditures survey	138
5.2	Selected Cities for Household and Expenditure Survey	139
5.3	Proposed class scheme	149
5.4	Correspondence Table	151
5.5	Row profile of the educational level across the five spatial clusters	151
5.6	Summary Table	155
5.7	Margins of the income quintiles	159
5.8	Final clustering of districts (1994)	161
5.9	Final clustering of districts: Comparison	162
5.10	Comparison of income and education profile of the data 1994	165
5.11	Comparison of income and education profiles of the data 2001	168
6.1	Income composition (1994): Cross-tabulation of variables	178
6.2	Income composition (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	185
6.3	Income composition (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	186
6.4	Income composition (2001): Cross-tabulation of variables	193
6.5	Income composition (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	198
6.6	Income composition (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	198
6.7	Housing (1994): Description of variables	204
6.8	Housing (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	207
6.9	Housing (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	208
6.10	Housing (2001): Description of variables	210
6.11	Housing (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	213
6.12	Housing (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	214
6.13	Variables used for cultural consumption (1994)	222
6.14	Cultural practices (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	224
6.15	Cultural practices (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	224
6.16	Variables used for the exploration cultural practices (2001)	228
6.17	Cultural practices (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	231
6.18	Cultural practices (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	231
6.19	Variables used for ownership of the durable commodities (1994)	234
6.20	Durable commodities (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	236
6.21	Durable commodities (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	236
6.22	Variables used for ownership of the durable commodities (2001)	240
6.23	Durable commodities (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	241

6.24	Durable commodities (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	241
6.25	Variables used for food sphere (1994)	247
6.26	Food sphere (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	249
6.27	Food sphere (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	249
6.28	Variables used for exploring Food sphere (2001)	253
6.29	Food sphere (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	255
6.30	Food sphere (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	256
6.31	Distribution of Consumption Expenditures (urban Turkey)	259
6.32	Variables used for consumption items (1994)	260
6.33	Consumption items (1994): Overview Row Points(a)	263
6.34	Consumption items (1994): Overview Column Points(a)	263
6.35	Distribution of ownership status of the house (1994)	266
6.36	Variables used in exploring Consumption Sphere (2001)	270
6.37	Consumption items (2001): Overview Row Points(a)	273
6.38	Consumption items (2001): Overview Column Points(a)	274

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

3.1.	Wright's first Marxist class map	44
3.2.	Wright's second class map	45
3.3.	Theoretical perspective of Osborn and Morris's joint index	55
4.1.	Decline of Primary Sector in Ankara	124
4.2.	Evolution of urban population of Ankara in 1927-2000	128
4.3.	Ownership Status of housing	130
4.4.	Private car ownership	132
4.5.	Type of building	132
5.1.	Schematic representation of the modeling of the survey	137
5.2.	Two-dimensional symmetrical display of the hypothetical data	154
5.3.	Hierarchical cluster analysis: dendrogram	156
5.4.	Result of the Complementary use of CA with Cluster analysis	156
5.5	Graphical representations of region and income quintiles	159
5.6.	The distribution of the income quintiles defined by income (1994)	160
5.7.	Distribution of occupational categories (%) (1994)	164
5.8.	Distribution the level of education (%) (1994)	164
5.9	Distribution of income quintiles across spatial clusters (2001)	168
5.10	Educational level across spatial clusters defined by education (2001)	170
5.11	Distribution of occupational categories across spatial clusters (2001)	170
6.1	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile (1994)	180
6.2	The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile (1994)	184
6.3	The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile (2001)	195
6.4	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile (2001)	196
6.5	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of housing (1994)	205
6.6	The simplified schema of the MCA of housing (1994)	206
6.7	The simplified schema of the MCA of housing (2001)	211
6.8	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of housing (2001)	212
6.9	The simplified schema of the MCA of cultural practices (1994)	221
6.10	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of cultural Practices (1994)	223

6.11	Histogram showing the percentages of the level of education (1994)	225
6.12	Histogram showing the percentages of the level of education (2001)	228
6.13	The simplified schema of the MCA of cultural practices (2001)	229
6.14	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of cultural Practices (2001)	230
6.15	The simplified schema of the MCA of durable commodities possessed (1994)	234
6.16	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the durable commodities (1994)	235
6.17	The simplified schema of the MCA of durable commodities possessed (2001)	239
6.18	The Graphical presentation of the durable commodities possessed (2001)	240
6.19	The simplified schema of the MCA of food sphere (1994)	247
6.20	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of food sphere (1994)	248
6.21	The simplified schema of the MCA of food sphere (2001)	252
6.22	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the food sphere (2001)	254
6.23	The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption items (1994)	261
6.24	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of consumption items (1994)	262
6.25	The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption items (2001)	271
6.26	The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the consumption items (2001)	272
7.1	Simplified scheme about the findings	290

LIST OF MAPS

MAPS

Map I	Status-income map of Ankara	114
Map II	Distribution of census enumeration districts (1994)	140
Map III	Distribution of census enumeration districts (2001)	141
Map IV	Distribution of income clusters (1994)	163
Map V	Distribution of clusters of education (1994)	167
Map VI	Distribution of income clusters (2001)	169
Map VII	Distribution of clusters of education (2001)	171

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA	Correpondence Analysis
CTR	Relative contribution to inertia
COR	Absolute contribution to inertia
DİE	TC. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, DİE
	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics
HAD	Housing Development Administration
HICES	Household income and consumer expenditure survey.
ISCO88	International Standard Classification of Occupation
MCA	Multiple Correspondence Analysis
OPCS	Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (Britain)
QLT	Quality of display
SIS	State Institute of Statistics
TOKİ	TC. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı
	(Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation attempts to develop a social stratification model and explores its spatial dimension for the households in the city of Ankara. The spatiality of social class has rarely been in the agenda of scholars and almost has not been empirically tested for the Turkish cities. For this reason, the study aims to test the hypothesis that social segregation in Turkish cities is in process of decomposition and class base relationship especially in the form of common consumption patterns and behaviours can be measured empirically. The focus of attention of the thesis is based on the relationship between the material inequalities of different social strata within its territorial context by examining their socio-economic and cultural manifestation.

This research is embedded within the theoretical discussion around the social classes. We believe that any analysis of socio-spatial segregation should base upon the theoretical conceptualisation of social classes. The spatial differentiation will be analysed with regard to the social classes, socio-economic attributes, cultural competences and consumption patterns. We try to detect how spatial differentiation gives response to the stratification and patterning of consumption. According to the hypothesis, the differences between the households in terms of socioeconomic and cultural context would mainly be due to the differences in their class positions.

Although we accept to some extent the assertion that in Turkey it is highly difficult to conduct any stratification analysis because of highly dynamic character of the society, after the 1980s strong economic, social and political transformation have been partaken new forms of organizations in urban areas in general and particularly in Ankara. We expect that stratification is heavily influential in urban structure and in a similar vein different stratum reveals distinctive groupings in the urban space.

This study is considered as an attempt to elicit the new axis of social, economic and cultural differences in the urban areas. Although the term social class has been commonly used to explain the societal changes and cultural differentiation, very few empirical studies have been conducted to elaborate the issue (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 151; Ayata, 2002: 25; Kandiyoti, 2002: 16). The transformation from rural to urban society or decomposition of peasantry has always been seen as the most significant division axis to cut across the urban structure in Turkey. In a similar vein, the study of social class as being a life condition or study of stratification has remained generally untouched and empirically has not been studied. To explore the new axis of dichotomy in the urban space has been really very rarely conducted. This is the departure point of the objective of this study.

Thesis question (1); how and upon what basis social groups, strata can be located in the economic structure of a society. This part of the study deals with the objective set of criteria.

Thesis question (2); whether the same coherency can be coincided in the space. This part deals with the analysis of the spatial dimension of social "class" which means segregation. How spatial differentiation gives response to the socio-economic differentiation and patterning of consumption?

The first part of the study is composed of identifying coherent groups of people via their economic position within society. Typically, a social class distribution is obtained by eliciting information about both *employment status* (self-employed with employees, manager in large establishment and *occupational title* (for example electrician or nurse), and so forth.

It is thought that class formation has to be evaluated by considering the production and reproduction spheres together and has to be taken into account the relationship and interaction of two distinct however related spheres with a closer examination of particular cases. Many scholars argue that the city is full of source of new types of inequalities which is hard to reduce merely to those generated by the world of work i.e. world of production. This does not mean that to deny the wage inequalities as an important factor determining urban inequalities. The argument is based on the assumption that individuals' life chances are affected directly by income and as well as indirectly by relative access to other sources. Despite the common practice of the class conceptualisation taken generally as a pure category of the production sphere, in this study the social and spatial dimensions including consumption patterning is considered as a wholly.

As a conclusion the class concept structured solely around production relationship is indeed many difficulties and bottlenecks in the twentieth century onwards. There is a need of new conceptualisation to interrelate the distribution and spatial redistribution issues. This thesis has to be evaluated as an attempt to develop a new approach in understanding the recent urban structure shaped around the new axis of dichotomy which is, until now, to some extent untouched and waiting researchers for exploration empirically.

We adopt a modified version of the Boratav's scheme that his scheme was conducted empirically to explore the class profile of the city İstanbul. This scheme has been employed lately in various analyses (Aktaş, 2001; Özcan, 1998; Belek, 1999).

In the second part of the study we employ a bundle of statistical techniques to classify the census enumeration districts. Two prominent structural variables, income and education have been selected for the pre-clustering of the districts. The last section compromises the analysis of the social-class based segregation measured by in a series of socio-economic attributes and consumption patterns.

We use the "Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey" of State Institute of Statistics for the years 1994 and 2001. These surveys allow researcher to explore the household's income and consumption expenditure and provide sufficient information about the socio-economic profiles of household members. The data contains information about the subregion (ilce) and *districts* which allow us to examine the territoriality of the social stratification.

I.1. FORMAL PROPERTIES OF THE CLASS CONCEPT

Class is the indispensable tool of the multitude of the social scientists to explore how social world may best be comprehended and investigated. "Class" is a term with a variety of meaning and there is no agreed definition of the term shared by the majority of the social scientists (Crompton, 1993: 8; Crompton & Scott, 2000: 1). Class as a scientific object tries to explain or describe the "real social world" and "social relations" which are under investigation depending upon thoughts and action of the "real social actors". What scholars understand the term class is very distinctive from the mind of the lay people who are under investigation (Crompton, 1993: 9; Scase, 2000: 9).

In this study we confine ourselves with the discussion that ''class'' as mainly *modern* phenomenon¹ (Crompton, 1993: 4). We will focus to the characteristics of modern stratification systems, or industrial societies, by contrasting it with the ''traditional'' structures of inequality associated with ascribed or natural order² such as those feudal estates or religiously defined hierarchies³ (Crompton, 1993: 1-2; Kalaycioğlu, et. al., 1998: 126; Edgell, 1998: 11). In the study, class is considered as an impetus which provides the logic of structural order.

The development of capitalism dissolves the differentiation between labour and commodity markets and labour itself becomes a commodity. This is the basis of Marx's dichotomous model; those who are *propertyless* are almost completely powerless in the bargaining encounter as compared to those who own property in the means of production. The dichotomy based upon the ''property'' and ''lack of property'' are the basic categories of all class situation (Giddens, 1971: 37; Edgell, 1998: 13). Weber adopts the same view, although he then proceeds to suggest further to identify other attributes which create class differences among the propertyless; *Status groups* and *market distinction* (Edgell, 1998: 12-15).

Although class is very useful tool to understand the social world there is also ongoing debate that "how we identify the *reality* of class". The problem is relating the fact that whether class is "real" or "nominal" category, something which merely in mind of the scholar. Some asserts that because of the difficulty or problem associated with drawing *boundaries of class*, we cannot make any use of it explaining societal change (Crompton, 1993: 8). Class is a word with many different meanings, and connotations so that some writers argues that it has become so stretched as to encompass even all kinds of structured social inequality in the society (Crompton, 1993: 9-12; Crompton & Scott, 2000: 1).

The relentless debate about the concept of class oscillates between the advocates whose claim the death of class ([Nisbet, 1959; Clarks & Lispet, 1991; Pakulski &Water, 1996a] quoted from Crompton & Scott: 2000: 1) and those who stress the continuing salience of class (Scase, 2000; Marshall, 1989; Marshall, 1997; Crompton, 1993; Giddens, 1981, Parkin,

¹ By saying class as a modern phenomenon does not imply that pre-modern societies did not have class structure. However, we limited ourselves class structure in the capitalist era.

² In the pre-modern societies established status distinctions and social differences were heavily dependent upon religious or magical power of the nature (Crompton, 1993: 1-5).

³ We accept that in the modern era customary inequalities, particularly those associated with ascribed status associated with age, gender and race, have not been suddenly blown out, and on the contrary still persisted into modern era.

1978). Part of the problem lies in the question of definition about the individual social mobility stem mainly from the status or prestige rather than the 'class' as merely defined in economic terms. We have, in one hand classes as expressed in economic terms, and social cleavages stemmed from the status or prestige on the other hand. Class cleavages do not always bind together with status differences. This quality heavily affects our thesis problematic because we are going to analyses empirically class positions of households comparing them with the patterns of consumption frequently related with the status claims because each act of consumption produces distinctions.

In this point, it is necessary to highlight what class is *not*:

(1) A class is not a specific entity, bounded with social form in the way a business firm or a university. A class does not bear publicly sanctioned identity.

(2) Class has to be distinguished from ''stratum''. In a similar vein, class theory has to be evaluated distinctively from the study of ''stratification''⁴. For the divisions between strata, for analytical purposes, may be drawn very precisely since they may be set upon a measurement scale as in the case of the income strata. The divisions between classes are never of this sort; nor they easily becomes abstract visually, in terms of any ordinal scale of ''higher'' and ''lower'', as strata do. Bourgeoisie class or proletariat are of non-gradation kinds, however, intuitively some sort of gradation is inevitable. However what we mean by saying social stratification, we indicate the systematized form of structured inequalities (Scott, 1996:91).

(3) Finally we must distinguish clearly between class and elite. Elite theory, as formulated by Pareto and Mosca (Parkin, 1978: 599; Giddens, 1981: 106; Marshall, 1999: 182), developed in part as a conscious and deliberate rejection of class analysis. The elite theorist substituted the ''elite'' and ''mass'' in opposition to the Marxian juxtaposition of class society and classlessness. They substituted the idea of cyclical replacement of elites.

While there may be an indefinite multiplicity of cross-cutting interest between economic and social, created by differential market capacities, Giddens asserts that there are only, in any

⁴ Scase asserts that stratification refers the structured inequalities inherited in the capitalist's societies as a consequence of the class relationships (2000: 41). For him, class is 'cause' and stratification is the 'outcome'. However, the term stratification may be applicable for other source of inequalities not merely structured by class relation. As an example, the ideological domination of patriarchy put women in a subordinate position in a society which is lower than those of men.

given society, a limited number of classes stratified as upper, middle and lower classes (1981: 105-106).

In a preliminary manner, certain general parameters governing the application of class concepts are as follows:

(1) Classes are *large-scale groupings*. The emergence of classes presupposes a break with the some sort of social and economic system, characteristic of feudalism as well as other types of traditional society, based primarily upon the self-sufficient local community. The decisive factor promoting this transcendence of local community is the formation of market relationships and a division of labour allowing the production of commodities.

(2) Classes are *aggregates* of individuals rather than social groups. This does not mean that classes cannot give rise to concrete groups which have clearly definable ''boundaries'' and which are formed of a common pool of interactions linking members to one another.

(3) The appearances of classes presupposes the *dissolution* of personalised ties of fealty and obligations characteristics of feudal society, and their replacement by "impersonal" relationships of contractual kind.

(4) Classes are nominally *open*, that is to say, class membership is not determined by inherited position guaranteed by custom or law (Giddens, 1981: 84).

One point we have to make clear that the extensive researches to analyses of class structure of a given society are all socially constructed, which means that they are constructed by the social scientist, therefore different class schemes can produce quite different ''class maps''. For instance, for those who are the followers of the Marxist vein, may probably developed a class scheme based on the dichotomy axis along with the ''propertyless'' and ''property holder'' in an antagonistic opposition. Those who are the followers of the ''consensus'' thesis may have different class scheme. In the West, especially in British sociology⁵, three broad analytical categories of class schemes are issued:

 (a) Occupational class schemes which have been devised primarily for use as descriptive measures in empirical research (this type of analysis is frequently oriented for social policy objectives);

⁵ The extensive researches, and vibrant debates on class concept provides special place to British sociology in very privileged position in the social sciences.

- (b) Subjective scales of occupational prestige or social ranking;
- (c) Theoretical occupational class schemes, constructed with explicit reference to the theoretical approaches of Marx and Weber (Crompton, 1993: 50).

I.2. WHAT IS SOCIAL STRATIFICATION?

All complex societies are characterized, to varying extents, by the unequal distribution of material and symbolic rewards (Crompton, 1993: 1). There is no persisting structure of economic and social inequality has existed in the absence of some kind of meaning system(s) which seek both to explain and justify the unequal distribution of societal resources. Stratification is often pictured as a pyramid of social standing. Those at the very top control most of the society's resources. They also enjoy the most symbolic prestige and political influence. Those at the bottom are the most numerous and have the least power (Gottdiener, 1994:148). Social stratification⁶ describes these systematic structures of inequality (Kalaycioğlu, 1998: 126).

In capitalism, the *market* is intrinsically a structure of *power*, in which the possession of certain attributes some groupings of individuals relative to other (Giddens, 1981: 101-102). Distribution of power in the functioning of market is sanctioned and legitimate by a normatively defined system of authority. In the capitalist system, freedom of economic exchange is regulated in a bundle of norms and rights as such holding the means of production embodied in the form capitalist entrepreneur or sale of labor in part of the proletariat or availability of goods purchased and bought in the market. The existence of normative agreement sanctioned by the state defines the general conditioning of the formation of contractual ties, etc. The market thus a system of economic relationships built upon relative *bargaining* strengths of different groupings of individuals. This is point of departure for examining any class analysis.

The social stratification of a population, then, involves the formation of its members into a system of social strata that are distinguished from one another by the particular causal mechanisms and their life chances and their life styles that are responsible for these. Social

⁶ Social stratification compromises the gradation scheme, involves a criterion or set of criteria in terms of which individuals may be ranked descriptively along the scale.

stratification is more than just social inequality (Scott, 1996: 190). Structured social inequalities can occur around a variety of social differences, and they involve a wide range of *resources, capacities* and *possessions*. Age, gender, race are the other sources of inequality in a society. Social stratification occurs when structured social inequalities are systematically interrelated in the way that they shape people's life chances and are involved in the formation of large-scale collectivities that stand in hierarchical relations to one another.

Social strata can be defined as the formation of large-scale collectivities as consequences of complex interaction within the power structure of the society. Through the demographic processes of intra- and intergenerational mobility, informal interactions and household formation, people's life chances and lifestyle are mediated in both reinforcing and contradictory ways. On the other hand the term stratum takes its legitimacy among the collective *subjectivity* and interaction between different strata⁷. The members of a social stratum may develop *awareness* of its composition and boundaries and at the same time, of its relations to other strata in the society (Scott, 1996: 194).

The hierarchical relations among different classes lead a second common use of the term, which refers to social standing /status and *prestige* (Crompton, 1993: 10). In its everyday usage, the notion of status is derived from the Latin for 'standing' and relates simply to one's position in society (Turner, 1988: 2; Botton, 2005: 7). The word also had a more technical and legal meaning, namely the rights and obligations related to a position in society. The notion of status involves ideas about the political and legal rights of persons within a sociopolitical community, and as a result the issues surrounding status are closely related to the issues surrounding citizenship (Turner, 1988: 1-16).

A status is a position within the social structure by which an individual, according to various ascribed and achieved criteria, is evaluated by reference to prestige or honour. This evaluation will be both personal and objective, in that one's self-evaluation is closely related to the external evaluation that one receives from significant others according to one's location in a social hierarchy. Within the sociological literature, a ''subjective'' dimension of status (individual perceptions of prestige) and an ''objective'' dimension (the socio-political entitlements of an individual) find themselves a place.

⁷ Strata is the plural of "stratum".

Linton (1936) made a distinction between ''ascribed'' and ''achieved'' status. Ascribed ''qualities'' are personal attributes such as age, gender, ethnicity, which are generally regarded by actors as fixed, biologically based. ''Achieved performances'' are expected to have acquired through their own efforts such as ''educational credentials'' or ''occupational success'' (quoted from Scott, 1996: 105-106).

As Turner states that the tension between Weberian and Marxist sociology stems mainly from the problem of whether economic classes or status groups are the most significant features of social stratification (1988: 2). Weber anticipated the continuation of status differences and status-group conflicts under both capitalism and socialism whereas classical Marxism foresaw the disappearance of economic classes with the erosion of ownership of private property as a consequence of socialism.

In short status is a multifaceted concept. Thus it incorporates economic that is, a non-marketderived claim to entitlements, as well as cultural aspects, such as prestige, and finally it encompasses the political and legal rights of persons within a socio-political community (Turner, 1988: 2).

Historical evaluation of the concepts, 'class' and 'stratification' in social theory will be the major topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

II. HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF CLASS AND STRATIFICATION ANALYSIS

Although it is hard to date the theory of stratification, it is not inappropriate to say that the theory was mainly shaped by Marx-Engels and Weber who had been analyzing the class structure of the capitalist society at the turn of the nineteenth century. Today, the knowledge constituted class theory is mainly originated by the writings of Marx and Weber¹ (Parkin, 1978: 599).

There are two main channels to conceptualise the notion of inequality. The first is of the functionalist structuralist class analysis (developed after 1945 in USA), which is rooted from the Durkheimian social theory. The neo-liberal arguments have also their parallel in the functionalist theory of stratification in sociology.

II. 1. NORMATIVE FUNCTIONALISM

Social inequality is an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most qualified persons painstakingly fill the most important positions. In the particular case of advanced industrial societies, individuals must be induced to train for positions requiring a

¹ Parkin states that the distinction between pre-industrial and industrial system at the turn of the century were so fundamental that it tended to obscure a proper recognition of variety of social and class formations encompassed under each of the general types. This means that many different and highly incompatible types, including tribal, slave, caste, feudal, absolutist and Asiatic despotism has been employed as a catch-all for systems as unlike as welfare capitalism, fascism, state socialism and military dictatorship. This conceptual framework itself served to inhibit the recognition of historical cultural variation as a matter of inquiry. What makes Marx and Weber's contribution so distinctive and long-lasting lies at this point. Their wide-ranging interest in class structure of both Marx and Weber were not accompanied by the common classificatory urge to capture the complexities of the social world. Their respect to the historical record and their treatment of the class formation, conflict and change gives them distinctive place, so that, as Parkin claims this is the reason why the following scholars have remained loyal to class theory of Marx and Weber (Parkin, 1978:599-601).

high level of skills, and compensated for having to take risks. In brief, their theory suggested that in industrial societies, characterized by a complex division of labour, a new *consensus* reflected the rationality of modern industrial societies. Differentiated groupings are not perceived as necessarily antagonistic as in the case of the Marxist theory. For this reason, they are often described from within the functionalist perspective as socio-economic *strata*, rather than *classes*. In short, the best- that gets to the top, and therefore take the greater part of societies' rewards. Inequalities are *personal endowments*, rather than *structured* social processes.

Normative functionalist theory has its origin in the sociology of Durkheim (Scott, 1996: 93-126). Durkheim argued that the centrality of normative elements to social life, holding the actions of individuals and of groups; not their ''contractual'' relations as in the case of market. The distinctive feature of normative functionalism is its emphasis on the crucial significance of values and norms in the structuring of social action. According to normative functionalist theory, societies are organised around a ''common set of values'' and so constitute ''moral communities''. In contrast to the Marxist theory centred on economic resources and ''class conflict'', ''normative functionalist'' emphasised ''communal values'' and ''social ranking''.

Table 2.1: Basic terminology of the normative functionalist theory		
Normative functionalist terminology	Preferred terminology	
Status	Position	
Rank	Status	
Class	Stratum	
(Social stratification)	Stratification by status	
(Economic stratification)	Stratification by class	

Source: Scott, 1996: 95.

This theory had been highly influential post-war Anglo-American sociology (Scott 1996:110-117, Parkin, 1978: 603-604). The departing point was to explore whether social class were "real social actor" like family and church or imaginary statistical artefact of the mind of the researcher. American sociology preferred to aggregates individuals by measuring position ranking, composed of similar scores, instead of model of inequality. Every individual was considered according to their overall position in the status ranking. In reality they had been trying to refute the Marxist class concept replacing Weber's status groups in order to measure the inequality among different occupation groups and social mobility (Parkin, 1978: 603). They have been preferred "status" (Weber) instead of "class" (Marx). On the other hand, studies of the Warner school had been developed social anthropological investigation techniques to put forward the formalized class structure in the

American cities. Lynd found two classes in Middletown; four in West Plainville; five in Hollingshead Elmtown. Warner discovered six classes in the Yankee City (Parkin, 1978: 603). Warner school's terminology describe classes by employing such jargons, "the tops and the bottoms"; "the people who living like animals"; "good lower-class people", "middle-class".

Table 2.2: Study of the Status Dimension of Kansas city
Occupation of male head of household
Total family income
Neighbourhood of residence (quickest index to a family's social status)
Quality of housing
Education of male head and wife (often wives played an important role in influencing social
placements)
Quality of housing
Education of male head or wife
Education of female head or wife (wife's educational background played important role her
pattern of social participation)
Church affiliation
Community association (including factor of ethnic identity)
They developed 'Index of Urban Status'' to explore Kansas city's social geography. For each of these eight dimensions a seven step scale (scores 1 to 7) was devised with each step on the scale roughly equated with one or another of the social status level. The main findings of the study:
. The subjective method of evaluation requires knowledge of particular status symbols of the community being examined beforehand.
. Income status within class is important in explaining a family's consumption patterns and recreational choices.
. Residential address was considered the quickest index to a family's social status.
. Families tended to live near others of similar status.
. Club membership by invitation only was a good indicator of the elites. Only well-do-of could afford and money to belong.

Source: Coleman & Neugarten, 1971: 80-113.

Warner and Lunt's study of Yankee City series, in order to predict the population's social stratification, they used residential districts and more generally consumption patterns. They asserted that the status competition is heavily implicated in acts of consumption. Status competition is pursued largely through the accumulation of cultural capital and through the acquisition, display and exchange of things. Consumption might become entire reorientation to life in modern communities. They described each neighbourhood according to status groups and as a conclusion they drew the boundaries of the high-low residential neighbourhoods (Kıray, 1999: 80). In Yankee city the socio-economic stratums were coincided with the consumption pattern and they assumed highly functional correlation between stratification and consumption.

This highly qualitative and subjective terminology cannot provide any insights to grasp the struggles among individuals for different resources and chances in the society. Parkin has been highly critical against the American way of class conceptualisations:

Notwithstanding Warner's insistence to the contrary, an evaluative system of ranking can hardly be said to constitute a model of class relations. This is not simply because class entails considerably more than a set of subjective estimates of social worth, but more importantly because it is a societal, not a community, phenomenon. Class relations are played out within the context of social, legal arrangements, such as those surrounding private property, the market, the division of labour, and so forth, which are controlled by groups and agencies external to any local community (Parkin, 1978: 603-604).

II.2. MARXIST THEORY: A GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Karl Marx (1818-83) provided both a theoretical model for the analysis of industrial capitalism and a specific application of this model to the development of capitalism (Bocock, 1993: 39-40). The theory which Marx developed was used by him to analyse the capitalist societies of the mid-nineteenth century. Marx theory was primarily developed in order to analyse the advanced forms of capitalism of his time. Marx's analytical concepts have remained as an intellectual foundation for the analysis of modern capitalism-despite the many criticisms which have been made of his work (Bocock, 1993: 35).

Marx's theory had found its root in Saint-Simon's theory as well as other German philosophy and the orthodox political economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo. His theory had been nurtured by the enlightment and rise of modernist thoughts.

The theory of Marx was designed to understand and explain the industrial capitalism, which had been originated from the 18th century's political revolutions His aim was to provide a comprehensive analysis of capitalist society with a view to effecting its transformation. Marx's claims that this transition can be depicted as a threefold movement of feudalism-capitalism and eventually, -socialism.

Feudalism (feudal lords-manors) →Capitalism (bourgeoisie versus proletariat)→ Socialism (classless society) We summarized the most important components of the Marxist theory as follows:

Historical Materialism

My inquiry led me to the conclusion that neither legal relations nor political forms could be comprehended whether by themselves or on the basis of a so-called general development of the human mind, but that on the contrary they originate in the *material conditions of life*¹...In the social production of their existence, men inevitable enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely *relations of production* appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.

Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 1859²

Marxist theory is composed of two distinct but complementing disciplines; *dialectical materialism* and *historical materialism*. Historical materialism is the historical understanding of the structure of the past and present human societies, how they function, the evolutions they go through and the changes that take place after the evolution period is over. Dialectical materialism is the philosophy of explaining the process of thinking and it is the philosophical basis of Marxism. Marxist philosophy sheds light into history and it helps it to become a system (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 139).

Marxist philosophy is *materialistic* because:

(1) It sees reality as a material, contrary to the idealism that tries to explain it as absolute idea (ide), the universal reason or consciousness. According to materialism, the world and universe events are different forms of evolving material.

(2) On the contrary to the idealism that believes existence, materialistic world and nature only live in our conscious minds, the dialectical materialism accepts the fact that materialistic existence and nature are independent of our consciousness (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 140-141).

¹ Italics belong to author.

² Karl Marx: Selected Writings, Lawrence Simon (ed.), 1994: 209-213.

Marxist philosophy is also *dialectical* because:

(1) Metaphysical thought sees different events as independent from each other. However, for the dialectical thought, each event is a part of another event and causes it to happen.

(2) Metaphysics sees the world as static and immobile. However, for the dialectical thought, everything is ever changing and dynamic. There is nothing that does not go through the change process.

(3) In metaphysics, there is no internal conflict in the events and objects. However, for the dialectical thought, everything is in conflict. An event has a positive and negative aspect and has a past and future. Dialectics is the struggle of conflicts.

(4) In metaphysics, the development is simply a quantitative event. However, in dialectical approach, every quantitative development brings spontaneously along with qualitative development (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 141).

Thus dialectical materialism, as a guidance of history, stands against idealistic philosophy on the one hand and metaphysical thought on the other. According to dialectical materialism, what lies behind the reality is the *material life* and the change of the reality is only as a result of evolution of material life (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 139-141).

Man cannot have a capacity to select a community to live in. The society, in which man lives in, is derived from the material conditions of that society. Human beings never produce simply as individuals, but only as members of a definite form of society. The conception of the ''isolated individual'' does not exist in the Marxist thought (Giddens, 1971: 35). Marxist scientific history tries to unveil or to illuminate the objective material conditions of society and to explain the superstructure of the society and its construction.

History is nothing but the succession of separate generations, each of which exploits the materials, capital, and productive forces handed down to it all preceding generations. On the one hand, it thus continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances and, on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity.

Ideology in General, Particularly German Ideology, German Ideology Part 1³:

³ Karl Marx: Selected Writings, Lawrence Simon (ed.), 1994:122.

Mode of production

If a society is derived from material conditions, then the question arises, "what are the determinants of the material conditions of a given society?". The answer is the *mode of production*. According to Marx *mode of production* can be expresses as a specific kind of activities realized by individuals. Individual's identity is directly related with what s/he produces and in what way s/he produces (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 142).

Marx believed that the development of society is depended upon and the outcome of the continuous interaction between men and nature. Men begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to *produce* their means of subsistence (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 142-143). The ''production and reproduction of life'' is both an exigency dictated by the biological needs of the human organism and, more importantly, the *creative source* of producing new needs and capabilities. Thus productive activity is the backbone of society in the analytical sense. Production is ''the first historical act''; and ''the production of material life'' is a fundamental condition of all history. Every individual, in his day-today actions, recreates and reproduces society at every moment; this is both the source of what is stable in social organisation and the origin of endless modification.

He was critical against the conception of the ''isolated individual'' as in the case of the bourgeois philosophy of individualism, and claimed that only serves to conceal the social character in which production always manifests. Adam Smith and his followers have correctly identified labour as the source of man's own self-creation. But what the economists have obscured is that the self-creation of man through production entails a process of social development. Human beings never produce simply as individuals, but only as members of a definite form of society (Giddens, 1971:35-36).

In production, men not act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place.([Selected Works of Marx & Engels, vol.1, p.89] quoted from Giddens, 1971:35).

In every form of society there exists 'a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its processor.

Theory of surplus value

In order to understand surplus value we have to comprehend the 'use-value'' and "exchange-value", which can be defined as the two dimensions of any commodity. Use value is the actual concrete uses to which an object may be put. We use a computer writing for the PhD thesis; we don't make a use of it as a vacuum cleaner. Under the capitalism, any object can be made equivalent to particular proportions of other object, so, for example a computer is equal to the 3 times vacuum cleaner. The second dimension then arises. An object has not only use-value but also exchange-value that makes possible to make exchange of goods in the market. So in Marxist thinking, objects appear not as things to be analysed according to use but rather as things to be analysed according to exchange. When commodity X is exchanged for n amounts of commodity Y, equivalent amounts of labour power are being exchanged (Corrigan, 1997: 34-35). Exchange value refers to which value of a product has offered in exchange for other products (Giddens, 1971: 46-47). He argued that in capitalist society *labour* has become a *commodity*, which is used and exchanged, sold and bought in the capitalist market like any other commodity, for instance, a sack of potato or cell phone (Crompton, 1993: 24). For the first time in the human history, human labour appears having a capacity to create *new* value because it is purchased (and therefore owned) by the capitalist. Under capitalism the use-value had been disappeared and exchange-value had been replaced into it (Corrigan, 1997: 35).

Marx saw the "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat" as the major historic actors of the capitalist epoch. He put these two classes in an antagonistic position. Ownership of the material forces of production is the means to the exploitation of proletariat by the bourgeoisie within the production process. Part of the working day, the value created by an extension of human muscle is paid as equivalent to its price (wage). The rest of the working day is spent in the creation of *surplus value*, which is retained by the capitalist (Crompton, 1993: 24). According to Marx, this relation must rest upon the *appropriation of surplus value* by the capitalist class. Under the capitalism, the derivation of surplus is not to be traced to the direct extraction of products, either through force or through customary appropriation as in the case of feudalism. The *appropriation* under the capitalism stems from the *exploitation* of the wage-labour which is sold and bought at its value on the market, like any other commodity. However, what is sold or quantified or assessed in monetary terms in the market, is the "cost of production". This cost covers the sufficient returns to *produce* and *reproduce* of the labour power of the worker. The difference between this and the total value created by the worker is equivalent to the surplus value.

Relation of production and class

For Marx, class relationship are embedded in ''production relationships''; more specifically, in the patterns of *ownership* and *control* which characterized these relationships. Thus the two great classes of capitalist society, the ''bourgeoisie'' and the ''proletariat'' are to be divided as separate classes along with the axis of the ownership and control. The former is the owner and controller of material means of production, the latter owning only their labour-power. The proletariat is compelled to a position of selling his labour to the bourgeoisie for his survival. The former has a power to control the extraction of the majorities' surplus product in return of their livelihood (Divitçioğlu, 2003; Öngen, 1996; Scott, 1996; Giddens, 1971).

In each type of class society, there are two fundamental classes: the ''bourgeoisie'' and the ''proletariat''. In Marx's theory, class is not to be identified with source of income in the division of labour; moreover classes are never income groupings. The essential fact, in Marx's theory, is that the *distribution* and *consumption* are primarily determined by relations of production (Divitçioğlu, 2003: 142; Giddens, 1981: 85-87). This explains why it is possible for two individuals to have identical incomes, and even the same occupations, and yet belong to different classes; as might be case for example, with two carpenters, one of who owns his business, while the other works as the employee of a large firm. In Marx's theory, class is not to be identified with source of income in the division of labour; moreover classes are never income groupings.

His attempt was mainly focussed on to draw a picture of "how the class structure of capitalism generates a new form of classless order" (Giddens, 1971: 60-61). The new classless order would be achieved by the proletariat revolution. The revolution depends on the maturation of the historical conditions. Each stage of the history comprises its revolutionary seeds, for instances in feudalism bourgeoisie tumbled down the domination of aristocracy with the development of the capitalist production and by doing so they henceforth created their graveyard (Crompton, 1993: 25).

The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production-antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that
emanates from the individuals' social conditions of existence-but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism.

(Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 1859⁴)

It is important to emphasise that the dichotomous class conception appears in Marx's writings as a theoretical construct. And, only bourgeois society has ability to projects its future development (this class had been proven its revolutionary ability by the bourgeois revolution).

All historical class societies show a more complicated system of relationships which overlaps with the dichotomous axis of class structure. Thus in bourgeois society, these *complicating* groupings are of three sorts:

(1) Classes which, although they play an important economic and political role in the extant form of society, are marginal in the sense that they derive from a set of relations of production which are either being superseded or, conversely, are in the ascendant. An instance of the first is the case of the *free peasantry* is becoming drawn into dependence upon capitalistic farmers, or is being forced to join the urban proletariat.

(2) Strata which stand in a relationship of functional dependence upon one of the classes, and which consequently tend to identify politically with that class. Marx calls the "officers" among administrative workers (white-collar) in industry, the higher managerial staff-fall into this category. (Capital. Vol.III).

(3) Finally, there are heterogeneous clusters of individuals in the *Lumpen-proletariat* who stand on the margins of the class system because they are not wholly integrated into the division of labour. These are composed of ''thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, people without a heart or home (Giddens, 1971: 38).

Problems of the Marxist Class Theory

For our purpose of the thesis, we confine ourselves with the problem of "middle class" and "petty bourgeoisie" debate. The most important critiques raised by the scholars of class theoreticians are summarized as follow:

⁴ Karl Marx: Selected Writings, Lawrence Simon (ed.), 1994: 212.

(1) Marx's theory⁵ failed to explain the plurality of classes. This mainly because of class is stemmed from the dichotomous division is the main axis of the social structure. This division cannot permit to explain the existence of the third group (Giddens, 1981: 101; Edgell, 1998:12). The theory makes no room to a transitory or third class. The existence of third group is highly problematic in the Marxist theory.

(2) Transitional classes represent elements of a superseded set of relations of production that remains within a new form of society. Giddens gives the remnants of feudal class as an example within the social structure in the capitalist societies of nineteenth-century Europe⁶ (Giddens, 1981: 30-31).

(3) Marxist approach glorifies only economical process in any social stratification system of the society (Crompton, 1993: 26).

(4) Marx proclaims that under capitalism relationship between humans has been converted relationship between things. Use-value losses its meaning and exchange value has been replaced. However, there is other source of value, which is sign-value, which does not exist in the Marxist theory. The relationship is just a relationship in production but not included in consumption. Any relationships out of production relations compel in a position of passive receptor (Corrigan, 1997: 35).

(5) Marxism has been blamed so often for the inadequacy in the theory of action. The question of how the proletariat are capable of achieving high-order *rationality* or *reason* without breaking the seduction of short-term advantages and/or not to fall into false-consciousness trapping has never been contested fully. Marxism explains proletarian deviations from rational action as being "irrational" (ignorance or whatsoever reasons) or as a consequence of ideological domination, for example religion or nationalism. (Crompton, 1993: 97-100).

The problem related with the Marxist class scheme is mainly due to the generally accepted the presence of the two different classes, the ''middle class'' and the ''petty bourgeoisie''. The problem here is associated with the where the ''middle class'' is replaced in the class structure in general: Marxian schema treats middle classes, part of a dichotomous class order of a *different type*. Marx relates class in capitalist society directly to property (or propertylessness) and to the operation of the division of labour and labour process which produces a tendency toward polarisation and class conflict. As a conclusion he declared that three big classes in modern society: wage labourers, capitalists and landowners. This

⁵ Marx died before completing his theory of class leaving his theory unfinished.

⁶ The third category includes two principal historical examples: the slaves of ancient world, and the independent peasantry of the medieval and post-medieval period.

conceptualisation bears some ''boundary problem'' when at a time to establish clear class categories based upon forms of labour and production, are exacerbated when the ''middle class'' tried to insert to the whole scheme. Giddens argues that bourgeoisie is kind of middle class in the post-feudal society. As far as accepting Bourgeoisie as middle, intervening (between aristocracy and the serf) class in feudalism, this is in effect to take proletariat as ''middle class'' which is in turn Marxist theory in a controversial position (Giddens, 1981:30-33).

These problems, of establishing clear class categories based upon forms of labour and production, are exacerbated when we consider the vexed question of the 'middle class'. The historical dilemma has been to identify a class whose name denotes not a role or activity but 'a space, a between, a foot in both camp...a groups that fails or refuses to fit the dominant social division between rich and poor'' (Beynon, 1999: 40).

Giddens asserts that there always exist a third class, "middle class" which has a place in both foot. Thus the bourgeoisie is a middle class in feudalism, while the petty bourgeoisie, the small property owners, whose interests are partly divergent from those of large-scale capital, form "middle classes" (1981: 31).

Marxist class theory has remained incapable to explain the presence of the rapidly expanding white-collar workers. Although white-collar workers as intermediary stratum share some commonalities with manual workers, they confer some material and moral privileges which prevent to flourish the shared identity among those white and blue collar workers (Parkin, 1978: 605-606). Thus the growth of *non-manual occupations* has always been seen as problematic for Marxist analysis. Not only are the levels of material rewards of the expanding middle class far from proletarian condition, but also even at the lower levels of white-collar employment, they share very little with the proletariat and indeed there are common evidence that they carefully to distinguish themselves from that of proletariat (Giddens, 1981: 188-192). As Lockwood argued that the ''work'' and ''market'' situation of the clerk was superior to that of the manual worker, and they could not share the same ''class situation'' (Crompton, 1993: 34).

Skill differential within the general category of manual labour also seems problematic. The manual worker, who has undergone apprenticeship, or a comparable period of training, possesses a market capacity which sets him apart from the unskilled or semi-skilled worker. There are certain factors promoting structuration on the basis of this differentiation in market

capacity (e.g., that the chances of intergenerational mobility from skilled manual to whitecollar occupations are considerably higher than they are from unskilled and semi-skilled manual occupations) (Giddens, 1981: 110).

Second problem is related with the position of the "petty bourgeoisie". Thus the petty bourgeoisie is so in virtue of a difference in scale of enterprise owned, not because it is in an exploited position *vis-à-vis* the latter class. Ownership of small property in the means of production might come to be differentiated both from the upper class and from the middle class (Giddens, 1981: 110).

If it is the case that the chances of mobility, either inter- or intra-generationally, from small to large property ownership are slight this is likely to isolate the small property-owner from membership of the upper class as such. But the fact that he enjoys directive control of an enterprise, acts to distinguish him from those who are part of a hierarchy of authority in a larger organisation. On the other hand, the income and other economic returns of the petty bourgeois are likely to be similar to the white-collar worker, and hence they may belong to similar distributive groupings (status groupings).

In short, in Marxist theory, classes are composed of purely economical relationship. Other source of differentiation or proponents of class situation such as status excluded theoretical employment-based class analysis. We'll clarify this issue in the forthcoming chapters.

II.3. THE WEBERIAN APPROACH

After Marx, the most important contribution to the theory of class was materialized by Max Weber⁷ (1864-1920). He rejected the overall theories of historical development applies to Hegelianism and Marxism. But a further basic conceptual and empirical line of thought in Weber's work is particularly relevant to the claims of Marxism. Weber made critical to Marx's formulation of class meanwhile he had been directly influenced by his ideas (Bottomore, 1978: 129). For Weber:

⁷ Like Marx, Weber did not complete a detailed analytical account of the notion of class and its relationship to other bases of stratification in society (Edgell, 1998: 21).

We may speak of a 'class' when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of commodity or labour markets ([*Gerth & Mills 1948:181] quoted from Crompton, 1993:29*).

Weber's interpretation of class situation is nothing more than the market-determined ''life chances. The causal components contributing to such life chances includes *property* as in the form of ''owners'' and ''non-owners'', and *skills* and *education*, giving rise to positively and negatively privileged ''acquisition'' or ''commercial'' classes (Crompton, 1993: 29-30). Commercial classes are those in positively advantaged groups who are either entrepreneurs offering goods for sale on the market, or those who participate in the financing operations, such as bankers. The kind of property which may be used to obtained market returns can be divided again into two parts: possession (*rentier*) and acquisition (*entrepreneurial*) classes. Both rentier and entrepreneurial classes occupy the positively privileged type (Scott, 1996: 28).

On the other hand the class situation of the propertyless are also differentiated in relation both the types and degree of "monopolisation" of "marketable skills" (negatively privileged and less privileged class situations). Consequently, there are various types of "middle class" which stand between the "positively privilege" classes (the propertied) and the "negatively privileged" classes (those who possess neither property nor marketable skills). The middle classes include the petty bourgeoisie, peasant and administrative officials in government or in industry. While these groupings are all nominally propertyless, those who possess skills which have a definite "market value" are certainly in a different class situation from those who have nothing to offer except their labour power (unskilled) (Giddens, 1981: 43; Edgell, 1998: 23; Scott, 1996: 28).

Those who share the same market or 'class situation' are all subject to similar economic exigencies, which causally influence both the material standards of their existence, and what sorts of personal life experiences they are able to enjoy. A 'class' denotes an aggregate of individuals who thus share the same class situation.

Weber developed a multi-dimensional approach to class and accepted the plurality of classes (Giddens, 1981: 104). However he was aware of the infinite variability of "market situation" which might have caused the empirical plurality, so he defined "social class"

(Crompton, 1993: 29-30). Weber distinguished what he calls simply "social" classes from the class situations: Whereas economic class situations comprise the specific causal components in individuals' life chances that are determined by property and lack of property, social classes are the actual social groups that are formed on the basis of these class situations (Scott, 1996: 29). Weber describes the social class composition of capitalism as consisting of the following:

Table 2.3: Weber's social class scheme							
1. Manual working class (skill differential plays important role							
to distinguish skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled)							
2. Petty bourgeoisie							
3. Propertyless white-collar workers: Technicians, various kind							
of white-collar employees, civil servants (possibly with							
considerable social differences depending on their educational							
differences)							
4. Privileged through property and education (dominant							
entrepreneurial and propertied groups)							
Source: Crompton, 1993: 29-30							

The major problem, in the theory of class, mainly arises from detecting the processes whereby ''economic classes'' become ''social class''. Thus Weber employs *social class* by stressing the interdependency of economy and society. Within the Weberian tradition (and Weber's own close interest in the intersection between the economic and social), the focus has been on the relationship between ''economic'' and ''social'' orders, rather than in the specific operation of the ''economic'' itself. This has led to an interest in how economic inequalities lead to class formation⁸ which has been led afterwards to Giddens's theory of ''structuration'' (Devine & Savage, 2000: 186).

Weber's conception of class takes its point of departure from his more generalised analysis of economic action in a market. Economic action is defined by Weber as conduct which seeks, through peaceful means, to acquire control of desired utilities (Crompton, 1993: 29-32). In Weber's terminology, utilities include both goods and services. A market is distinguished from direct reciprocal barter in so far as it involves speculative economic action oriented towards the securing of profit through competitive trading. Classes can only exist when such a market has come into existence, and this in turn presupposes the formation of a money economy.

⁸ This ''class '' formation is one of the main concerns in the actual class debates, whether and how the ''culture'' and ''identity '' forms distinct social classes (Devine & Savage, 2000: 186).

Money plays an extremely important part in this because it makes possible the estimation of the value exchanged in quantitative and fixed, rather than in subjective terms. Economic relationships thus free themselves from the particular ties and obligations of local community structure, and become fluidly determined by the material chances which individuals have using property, goods or services which they possess for exchange on the competitive market. At that point, Weber adds, ''class struggles begins''.

Weber insists that a clear-cut distinction must be made between "class in itself" and "class "for itself" in his terminology, always refers to market interests. The relationship between the existence of similar class interests and the occurrence of class conflict is historically *contingent*. Groups of individuals may share a similar class situation without being aware of it, and without forming any organisation to further their common economic interests. It is not always likely to occur where most marked inequalities in the distribution of property which lead to class struggles. Class conflict is likely to develop only where the unequal distribution of life-chances comes to be perceived as not an "inevitable fact": in many periods of history, the negatively advantaged classes accept their position of inferiority as legitimate (Giddens, 1981: 104).

Status groups

What do you mean? The villa?
Everything is about estate
You are being Marxist, said Irena by smiling.
Did you see how bourgeoisie got together in few days after 40 years of communism? They did everything to stay alive, some were jailed, some were fired from their jobs, some who were seasoned had successful careers like being ambassador, professor. Now they are together with their sons, grandchildren. It is a cult, they are in command of banks, parliament, press and government⁹.

L'ignorance, Milan Kundera

Weber makes a distinction between ''class'', ''status'' and ''party'' in his work, *Economy and Society* 1922 (Giddens, 1981: 42-50). The discussion of ''class'', ''status'' and ''party'' thus can be taken as three ''dimensions'' of stratification, each of them is conceptually separate from the others whereas on an empirical level, each may, on an empirical level,

⁹ Translation belongs to author.

causally influence each others. The separation of *class* from *status* and *party* can be argued his emphasis to *pluralistic* conception of *classes* (Giddens, 1981: 42).

Weber deliberately contrasts that of Marx's theory by offering other source of power (or axis of dichotomy cut-across society drawing boundaries of classes. As Turner indicates:

The tension between Weberain and Marxist sociology are focused on the problem of whether economic classes or status groups are the most significant features of social stratification, and thus around the character of political conflict in modern societies (Turner, 1988: 2).

As Turner states he meant by saying status group, a plurality of social actors who within a larger social environment claimed a specific social honour and enjoyed certain social privileges (1988: 6). Status groups are communal groups which have privileged access to scarce resources, especially entail a cultural, moral or symbolic attributes.

Weber defined status position ...as the effective social claim to honour or esteem in terms of both positive and negative privileges. Status is normally based upon a specific style of life, a formal education, or the formal prestige following from certain occupational positions within society. Status is furthermore maintained and expressed through commensality (that is through shared living and eating arrangements), the monopolistic enjoyment of privileged access to power and wealth, connubium (that is the social solidarity which is brought about by marriages alliances), and finally upon certain customary or status conventions (Turner, 1988: 6).

Contrary to Marxist theory, which holds the view that with the advent of the socialist society, social classes would be disappeared, Weber argues that the status groupings still continue to exist even in the socialist regimes (Turner, 1988: 2).

Status group is, then any set of social relationships which derives its coherence from their application. By adding status as the power relation to differentiate social classes the act of consumption becomes an integral part of it. Status group expresses its claim to distinctiveness and classes will tend to manifest common styles of life by the act of consumption (Giddens, 1981: 80). The contrast between classes and status groups can be evaluated as the one between *production* and *consumption*. The objective classes find its ground involving production sphere whereas status groups express themselves in the form of specific *styles of life* (Scott, 1996: 31). Standing in the society's hierarchy also depended on particular cultural attributes, such as prestige or symbolic differences, and on the possession

of political power. According to him what constitute the life chances of the individual are mainly economic however along with politic and cultural factors.

Stratification by status is not, for Weber, simply a "complication" of class hierarchies: on the contrary, status groups, as differentiated from classes, are of vital significance in numerous phases of historical development. Moreover, status groups may act to influence in a direct way the operation of the market, and so may causally affect class relationships.

As Giddens states that many instances can be adduced in which men draw clear distinctions between economic possession and status privilege (Giddens, 1971:167).

The possession of material property is not by any means always a sufficient basis for entry into a dominant status group. The claims of nouveaux riches for entry to an established status group are not likely to be accepted by those within it, although the individual can ordinarily use his wealth to ensure that his offspring can acquire the necessary criteria for membership. 'it is still case that property is 'in long run' recognised 'with extraordinary regularity' as a status qualification (Weber in Economy and Society, vol.2, p.932 quoted from Giddens, 1971:167)

The crucial differences between Marx and Weber can be summarised as follows: (1) Marx and Weber identified "classes" as groups within the social structure emerging from the dominant patterns of production, distribution and exchange. The relationship to the dominant *mode of production* assumed most significance for Marx; the workings of the capitalist *market* were more significant for Weber. (2) For Marx class action is seen as inevitable, whereas for Weber classes "merely" represent, bases for communal action (Crompton, 1993: 31-32).

Problems of the Weberian Theory of Class

Weber did not specify clearly how the potentially very large variety of differing "class positions" are to be reduced to a number of classes manageable enough for the explication of major components of social structure and process of social change.

The development of capitalism dissolves the differentiation between labour and commodity markets which exists in more rudimentary forms of economy, since labour itself becomes a commodity. This is the basis of Marx's dichotomous model; those who are propertyless are almost completely powerless in the bargaining encounter as compared to those who own property in the means of production. The dichotomy based upon the ''property'' and ''lack of property'' are the basic categories of all class situation. Weber adopts the same view, although he then proceeds to suggest further that we may identify other attributes which create class differences among the propertyless.

Weber recognises the unsatisfactory character of the Marxian standpoint, particularly as regards the *undifferentiated* category of the ''propertyless" (Giddens, 1981: 102-103). In the Marxian view, the notion of ''propertylessness" is something of a misnomer. For if ''property" is conceived of as a set of capacities of action with reference to the operations of the market, it is evident that the wage-labourer does possess such capacities. The ''property" of the wage-labourer is the labour-power which he brings for sale in entering into the contractual relation. While this fundamentally disadvantages him in the competitive bargaining situation in relation to the owner of capital, this is not simply a one-way power relationship: the ''property" which the wage-labourer possesses is *needed* by the employer, and he must pay at least some minimal attention to the demands of the worker- providing a basis for the collective withdrawal of labour as a possible sanction. This in turn indicates that both capital and the labour-power of the worker can be evaluated as ''property". ''Property'' in conventional use refers to the means of production whereas Giddens introduces the term ''market capacity'' as an inclusive manner to refer to all forms of relevant attributes which individuals may bring to bargaining encounter (1981: 103).

It is an elementary fact that where ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of a minority and in a society in which the mass of the population are employed in industrial production, the vast majority consequently offer their labour for sale on the market. Because of his general emphasis upon ''productive labour'', and because of his expectation that it is in the nature of modern technology to reduce productive operations to a homogeneous skill-level, Marx failed to recognise the potential significance of differentiation of *market capacity* which do not derive directly from the factor of property ownership. Such differentiation are contingent upon the scarcity value of what the individual ''owns'' and is able to offer on the market. As Weber indicates, possession of recognised ''skills''- including educational qualifications- is the major factor influencing market capacity. Differentiations in market capacity may be used, as various recent authors have indicated, to secure economic returns other than income as such. These include, principally;

- 1. Security of employment
- 2. Prospects of career advancement

3. And a range of "fringe benefits", such as pension rights, etc. (Giddens, 1981: 103)

In the same way as the capacities which individuals bring to the bargaining process may be regarded as a form of "property" which they exchange on the market, so these material returns may be regarded as forms of "good" which are obtained through the sale of labour-power. As Giddens states:

In the market structure of competitive capitalism, all those who participate in the exchange process are in a certain sense in (interest) conflict with one another for access to scarce returns. Conflict of interest may be created by the existence of many sorts of differential market capacity. Moreover, the possible relationships between "property" and "propertyless" forms of market capacity are various. Speculative investment in property may, for example, be one of the specific market advantages used by those in certain occupations (thus directors are often able to use "inside knowledge" to profit from property deals. Marx himself, of course, recognised the existence of persistent conflicts of interest within property-owning groupings: notably, between financial and industrial sectors of large bourgeoisie, and between large and petty bourgeoisie (Giddens, 1981: 104).

The difficulty of identifying ''class'' with common market capacity has already been referred to with reference to Weber. While Weber's concept of ''market situation'' successfully moves away from some of the rigidities of the Marxian scheme, it tends to imply the recognition of a plurality of classes (Giddens, 1981:104). There would appear to be as many ''classes'', and as many ''class conflicts'', as there are differing market positions. The problem here, however, is not the recognition of diversity of the relationship and conflicts created by the capitalist market as such, but that of making the theoretical transition from such relationships and conflicts to the identification of classes as structured form.

The connections between ''class positions'' i.e. the typology of *Besitzklassen* and *Erwerbsklassen*, and ''social classes'' in Weber works, remains unsatisfactorily and illdefined (Giddens, 1981:104). Marx was certainly conscious of the problematic character of the links between class as a latent set of characteristics generated by the capitalist system and class as an historical, dynamic entity, an ''historical actor''. But his contrast between class ''in itself'' and class ''for itself'' is primarily one distinguishing between class relationships as a cluster of economic connections on the one hand and class consciousness on the other. This emphasis can be found in the very in-depth interest on the understanding and promoting revolutionary class in the capitalism. The problem here lies on the issue that 'how we identify the *reality* of class''. The problem relating the fact that 'whether or not class is 'real'' or 'nominal'' category.

One of the major problem in Weber theory is mainly come from the question, "under which e processes the "economic classes" would become "social class". Giddens's theory of structuration of class, without abandoning the insights as put forward by Marx that all economic relationships and any sort of "economy" presuppose a set of social ties between producers. The focus here is based upon the modes in which "economic" relationships become translated into "non-economic" social structure¹⁰ (Giddens, 1981: 105).

II.4. WHERE TO DRAW CLASS ''BOUNDARIES''

A vast and vibrant debate in the analysis of class situation along the question of "where to draw line between different stratums" was lead relentless debates in the post-war era in Europe. Nevertheless, all these vivid discussions have not eventually satisfactory answer in the case of the boundary problem.

Marx himself concentrated principally on the divisions that resulted from property ownership, and he gave little attention to the great diversity of class situations that can arise from the structuring of labour power by skill differentials (Scott, 1996: 196). Although Marx was aware of the existence of other class forms which did not fit his theory and labelled them ''transitional'' classes, his approach involved the identification of only relatively small number of distinct class situations. His class categories were large and heterogeneous. On the other hand, Weber identified many more possible sources of differentiation in class relations; his work implied the existence of a vast mosaic of class situation. Beside the fact that his scheme offers a vast mosaic of class situations, he even set out no systematic account of these issues (Giddens, 1981: 31; Scott, 1996: 196).

Class situations for Parkin ([Parkin, 1971] cited from Scott, 1996:197) are categories of occupations that are rooted in the distributions of property and of marketable skills. Those who hold certain occupations can achieve higher rewards: where property and skills are

¹⁰ The terminology in question a bit confusing as if economic class presupposes social class. Generally speaking, it is assumed that ''economic category'' and specifiable cluster of ''social groupings'' bind together. Thus Weber employs *social class* by stressing the interdependency of economy and society.

scarce relative to the demand for them, those who possess these resources have a greater bargaining power in the market. Parkin argues that the greater the level of skill that is involved in an occupation, the greater is its scarcity in the market-place. The degree of scarcity relative to demand largely determines occupational reward. Parkin sees occupational order is the entire reward system of modern Western society (Crompton, 1993: 50). He points out, as an example, that the investment of personal savings is a means through which small-scale property holdings can reinforce occupational earnings. However, Scott states that he does not provide any detailed delineation of potential class situations (1996: 197).

Gidden's commentary on the Weberian approach to class situation does provide very coarsegrained schema (Scott, 1996: 197). His work depicts class situations as rooted in ''market capacities'' by which he understands ''all forms of relevant attributes which individuals may bring to the bargaining encounter'' (Giddens, 1981: 107-12). Giddens proclaims that even the proletariat has bargaining power as a condition that their very existence is indispensable for the bourgeoisie. On this basis, he recognises property credentials (as embodied in the forms of knowledge and skill) and labour power as the principal market capacities that generate class situations in capitalist societies. He recognised only three class situations in the capitalist society: the upper, middle and working classes (Giddens, 1981: 107). Such an approach has no place a room a fine dissection of class situations as a departure to any investigation of their possible formation into a smaller number of social classes.

The work of Goldthorpe and Wright are evaluated a more fine-grained approach to the delineation of class situation and will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

III. THEORETICAL (RELATIONAL) CLASS SCHEMES

In capitalist societies, occupational categories and occupational status are accepted as satisfactory variables represented the empirical and observable attributes of the capitalist mode of production. Occupation is considered as systematized outcomes of the reality of daily life. Occupation as an instrument can be considered as ways of benefiting economic capital, accessing for miscellaneous privileges and finally providing social prestige and honour (Scase, 2000: 11; Crompton, 1993: 50). In the capitalist countries there suppose to be a common consensus that wages in professional and managerial occupations are rewarded generally with high wages.

British sociology has distinguished by the vivid and radiant debate about the class in the post-war period. Key contributions to this debate were the works of David Lockwood (1958) and John Goldthorpe (1963). As Crompton & Scott state that all the contributions and three volumes, emanating from the "Affluent Worker¹" project has a decisive influence on British sociology until the middle of the 1980s (2000: 2). In this research Goldthorpe closely linked to occupational structure and class position as if they were synonymous with each other. Many critics had been raised then. Some claims that occupational structure does not give any direct indication of the wealth or property holdings that many have seen as central to the formation of the higher classes (Crompton, 1993: 80).

In the 1970s two cross-national class schemes had been highly effective in class studies: John Goldthorpe's and Erik Wrights's class scheme (Crompton, 1993: 58-78; Marshall, 1988: 13-29).

¹ The study of "Affluent Workers" suggests that decline locality-based status orders, extension of the sphere of citizenship, demographic and socio-political maturity of the working class have encouraged members to exploit to the full such market advantages as they may possess. Workers are thus pecuniary in their attitude to labour, instrumental in support of working-class organizations ..., and privatized in their role as consumers (Marshall, 1997: 46). The theoretical foundations of the "embourgeoisement" thesis were clarified in the study (Marshall, 1997: 126).

Their schemes composed of occupation aggregates which provide an instrument for the forthcoming empirical analysis. The work of Goldthorpe, forming part of a long- running investigation of social mobility, set out an explicitly Weberian programme of research on class issues (Goldthorpe & Hope, 1974).

On the other hand, the international class project of Erik Olin Wright, was devised class schemes that classified occupations according to Marxist analysis of relations of *domination* and *exploitation* in employment (Marshall, 1988: 21-29).

Theoretical, relational class schemes have been constructed on the assumption that the underlying processes identified by particular class theories are systematically reproduced within the structure of employment and occupations. The scheme is based upon the actualities of class *relationships*. This type of theoretical scheme or any in character *relational* has more emphasis on asymmetrical dichotomy and *conflict*. Class schemes divides the population into ''social classes'' which corresponds to the kind of groupings described by Marx and Weber. The class scheme of both writers, Wright and Goldthorpe are of this type, where division of labour and the development of classes are likely to be endless source of conflict and tension in society. The logic behind this is that the occupational order does indeed bear the imprint of class processes.

The analytical part of this chapter is fourfold. In the first part Goldthorpe's class scheme, in the second part Wright's scheme are elaborated. In the third part which is composed of the problems associated with the occupational aggregate approach is revised. In the last part of this chapter the boundaries of the ''stratification'' studies are evaluated as the main framework of this study.

III.1. CLASS SCHEME I: GOLDTHORPE

Goldthorpe elaborated a ''class schema'' for use in empirical research, which derived from the idea that in modern societies class positions are best understood as being defined by differences in employment relations. The key concepts guiding the Goldthorpe's class scheme is based upon the allocation of occupations whose incumbents share in broadly to ''market'' and ''work'' situation (Scott, 1996: 217; Crompton, 1993: 58). They combine occupational title (for example carpenter or urban planner) in terms of their *sources* and level of *income* and other conditions of employment, in their degree of *economic security* and in their chances of *economic advancement*; on the other hand in their location within the system of 'authority' and 'control' governing the process of production in which they are engaged.

Goldthorpe, generally accepted as a neo-Weberian class analyst (Crompton states that Goldthorpe can be considered as left-Weberain, 1993: 58). He has conducted a scheme by defining conditions of employment delineated by the mobility boundaries which is crucial to the identification of "social classes".

For purposes of applying the data of this inquiry to questions of class mobility, we have formed...a sevenfold class schema or, more precisely, a schema of class positions, by aggregating categories from the collapsed (36-category) version of the Hope-Goldthorpe occupational scale. A distinctive feature of these categories is that they provide a relatively high degree of differentiation in terms of both *occupational function* and *employment status*: in effect, the associated employment status is treated as part of the definition of an occupation. Thus, for example, 'self-employed plumber' is a different occupation from 'foreman plumber' as from 'rank-and-file employee's plumber' (Goldthorpe, 1987: 40).

Goldthorpe's approach shares much in common with those authors, such as Lockwood, Dahrendorf, those who emphasized, not interdependence and integration, but the significance of persisting economic and political *inequalities*, and the social *conflicts* and *competition* in the shaping of the stratification order (Scott, 1996: 159).

Goldthorpe argues that class situations and command situations intertwined in the capitalist societies so that it is impossible to work them out separately. Occupational titles are able to serve as useful proxies for specific combinations of power situation. The work of Goldthorpe is shown how command and status situations can be mapped alongside class situations (Scott, 1996: 197-198). His concept of class situation involves both "work situation" and "market situation". Following Lockwood, Goldthorpe sees that market situations are seen as structures of employment relations (in a similar line with Weber). On the other hand, work situations are defined as the "social relationships in which the individual is involved at work by virtue of his/her position in the division of labour (Scott, 1996: 198). Social relations are depicted as the relations of authority through which the division of labour is regulated. The work situations of individuals, Goldthorpe has argued, refer to their "location within the system of authority and control governing the process of production in which they are engaged, and hence in their degree of autonomy in performing their work-tasks and roles".

Goldthorpe analysis cannot be evaluated a reduction of stratification to the analysis of occupation (Scott, 1996: 198). For him, the underlying power situations as a unity of market and work situation, that are of critical significance.

Goldthorpe's mapping of class situation involves a consideration of occupational titles and the categories into which they can be grouped. He used a large list of occupational titles derived from the directory occupational unit groups produced by the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) (Scott, 1996: 199; Stewart, 1980: 18-19. Using information on employment relations and the characteristic skills and conditions of work that were associated with each group, an initial 1061 ''unit groups'' were reduced to 124 occupational categories that Goldthorpe held to be uniform with respect to their market and work situations. Goldthorpe asserts that these categories are homogenous in terms of ''the net extrinsic and intrinsic, material and non-material rewards and deprivations typically associated with the occupations they compromised'' (Crompton, 1993: 58-60).

While the 124 occupational categories were held to correspond to differences in market and work situation, Goldthorpe also sought to incorporate some aspects of status situation into his scheme (Scott, 1996: 199). The initial 124 categories were ranked according to their occupational status, as this was judged by respondents in a national sample survey. Then after, he grouped these occupational categories together the occupational categories that had a similar status. Wherever adjacent categories in the status ranking were particularly close in their measured prestige, these categories were merged. As a result of this operationalisation the initial 124 categories were reduced to 36 categories. In his scheme, status judgement is considered integral part of his classifications. Finally the following scheme has been obtained:

Briefly Goldthorpe's classification (Table 3.1) differentiates positions within labour markets in terms of employment relations. More specifically, distinctions are made between individuals having relatively advantaged and disadvantaged conditions of employment; between those involved in agricultural and non-agricultural activities; and those having different employment statuses (notably the self-employed and employees) (Marshall, 1997:1).

Market situationService class I Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietors.I+II Service class: professionals, administrators and managers: higher-grade technicians: supervisor of non-manual workersMarket situationI. a. Sources & level of income I. b. Conditions of employment (economic security and chances of economic advancement)I Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials; higher grade technicians; managers in small business and industrial establishments, supervisors of non-manual employees.Intermediate class IIIa Routine non-manual-largely clerical- employees, higher grade (administration and commerce):III Routine non-manual work in administration and commerce	mals, :: kers:
advancement) Intermediate class IIIa Routine non-manual-largely clerical- employees, higher grade (administration and commerce): III Routine non-manual work in administration and commerce sales personnel: other rank-ar	kers:
IIIb Routine non-manual employees, rank-and-file employees in sales and file service workers	rce: nd-
IVa Small proprietors and self-employed artisans with employees.IVa+IVb Petite bourgeoisie: small proprietors and artisan with and without employees.II. Location withinIVa+IVb Petite bourgeoisie: small proprietors and self-employed artisans without employees.	: etc.,
Workthe system of authority and control within the productionIVc Farmers and smallholders; other self- employed workers in primary productionIVc Farmers and smallholder and other self-employed work in primary production	rs 'kers
process. V Lower-grade technicians, supervisors of manual workers. V Lower grade technicians: supervisors of manual workers VI Skilled manual workers	rs
Working class VI Skilled manual workers. VIIa Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture) VIIb Agricultural and other workers in primary production	emi- rs rs in

Source: [Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992a] cited from Marshall, 1997: 89

As a conclusion, Goldthorpe suggests that social stratification in contemporary capitalist societies can be broadly understood in terms of division between (1) dominant service class; (2) intermediate white collar and finally (3) subordinate manual class.

SERVICE CLASS

Class I (H-G¹ categories 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7):

All higher-grade professionals, self-employed or salaried;

Higher-grade administrators and officials in central and local government and in public and private enterprises (including company directors);

Managers in large industrial establishments;

Large proprietors

¹ Hope and Goldthorpe scale (to see the occupations in rank order in Hope-Goldthorpe scales with scores please see Stewart, 1980: 77).

Goldthorpe asserts that in Class I, employer, self-employed and employee categories have been combined within one category. By doing so, the employment status tends to be rather ambiguous, for instances, company directors, working proprietors or managers come together in one class. The common point in this class is that they afford incomes which are high, generally secure, and likely to rise steadily over lifetimes. Moreover, they are positions which typically involve the exercise of authority and/or expertise and thus offer considerably autonomy and freedom from control by others (Goldthorpe, 1987: 41). Service class are required to exercise delegated authority or specialized knowledge and expertise on behalf of their employing organization, in return for which they enjoy relatively high incomes, security of employment, incremental advancement, enhanced pension rights, and a good deal of autonomy at work (Marshall, 1997: 88-90, Scott, 1996: 161). Class I might therefore be taken as very largely corresponding to the higher and intermediate levels of what Dahrendorf² has termed the ''service class'' of modern capitalist society composed of those exercising *authority* and *expertise* on behalf of corporate bodies and such elements of the classical bourgeoisie (independent businessmen and ''free'' professionals).

SERVICE CLASS

Class II (H-G categories 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 16):

Lower-grade professionals and higher grade technicians; Lower grade administrators and officials; Managers in small business and industrial establishments and in services; Supervisors of non-manual employees;

Class II positions guarantee income levels that ranks directly below those of Class I and also carry ''staff'' status and conditions of employments. The occupational roles of Class II members tend to be located in the middle and lower ranges of bureaucratic hierarchies of one type to another, so that they exercise some degree of authority and discretion in the performance of their work-task meanwhile being the subject to control from the above. Goldthorpe claims that this positioning as complementary to the Class I in representing subaltern or *cadet* levels of service class (Crompton, 1993: 91).

² Dahrendorf sees the spread of the joint stock company as having produced a separation of "ownership" from "control". When "legal ownership" of the means of production is separated from their "factual control", he argued, the Marxian model of class can no longer be applied. In the joint stock company the role of capitalist is structurally differentiated into two new roles: those of the "shareholder" and the executive or "manager". The shareholder is an owner only of shares in a joint stock company. Conversely, managers are salaried officials who occupy bureaucratic posts and who have no financial stake in the share capital of the company (Scott, 1996: 160).

INTERMEDIATE CLASS POSITIONING

Class III (H-G categories 21, 25, 28, and 34):

Routine non-manual- largely clerical- employees in administration and commerce; Sales personnel; Other rank-and-file employees in services.

The level of incomes of men in Class III positions is clearly lower than that of men in Classes I and II, and indeed falls below that of men in various kinds of manual employment in British case. The majority of Class III positions do, however provide relatively high security of employment, and tend in some degree to be integrated into the base of bureaucratic structures, often thus offering al least some features of "staff" status. Men in the occupational roles covered are not usually engaged in the exercise of authority or, if so, only through the application of standardized rules and procedures in which their discretion is slight. Beside that they are themselves likely to be subjected to quite detail bureaucratic regulations. Concerning the above features, Class III is to be regarded as separate from the service class, and might be seen a "white-collar labour force" functionally associated with, although marginal to, the service class. With respect to Goldthorpe words, Class III, IV and V, are named as *intermediate class* as being structurally located between the "service" and "working class".

INTERMEDIATE CLASS POSITIONING

Class IVa+IVb (H-G categories 11, 13, 19, 24, 29, and 36): Small proprietors including farmers and smallholders; Self-employed artisans; All other ''own account'' workers apart from professionals; Class IVa+IVb Farmers

Class IVa and IVb can be defined as *petite bourgeoisie* which share conditions of employment that take an intermediate form, experiencing a degree of autonomy that is characteristic of the salariat, but also the necessity of exchanging money for effort on a "piece" or time basis.

The market situation of its members is distinctive in virtue of their employer or selfemployed status, although income level shows considerable variability. Economic security and prospects must also be regarded less stable in comparison with the salaried employees. Their market capacity is limited and their activities operate in the interstices of the corporate economy. However, they have the advantage of small amount of capital and they have a high degree of autonomy in the form of direct supervision in their work-task.

Class IVc is composed of farmers and smallholders and other self-employed workers in primary production. They are distinguished from other proprietors and employees, because of distinctive elements in the conditions of employment found in the primary sector.

INTERMEDIATE CLASS POSITIONING Class V (H-G categories 15, 17, and 20): Lower-grade technicians whose work is to some extent of a manual character; Supervisors of manual workers

Class V positions afford relatively high income levels, comparable almost with those of Class II, and reasonable security of employment may also be supposed. In their occupational roles they involve in some degree in the exercise of authority and discretion (more than, for example, routine non-manual employees) but again subject to close monitoring and control from above. As Goldthorpe named them as the "aristocracy of labour" or "blue-collar elite" of today's, they are constituting separate entity in the class scheme depending upon their function and their conditions of employment within the enterprise, while remaining still marginal as compare to management group.

WORKING CLASS

Class VI (H-G categories 18, 22, 23, 27, and 30): Skilled manual wage-workers in all branches of industry³, Class VIIa+VIIb (H-G categories 26, 31, 32, 33, and 35): All manual wage-workers in industry in semi- and unskilled grades Agricultural workers

Class VI and Class VII, respectively skilled manual and unskilled manual wage-workers; together hold the *working class* position. Men in Class VI tend to have higher income levels than those in Class VII. Skilled men tend to have more job security than the non-skilled and also have some job autonomy in work. However, what they share in common is heavily stem from their market situation that they sell their labour power in more or less discrete amount in return for wages and their work situation through labour contract, placed them in an

³ Skilled manual wage-workers include all who have apprenticeships and also who have acquired a relatively high degree of skill through other forms of training.

entirely subordinate role, subject to the authority in terms of more intensive supervision or control of their employer (Crompton, 1993: 58-60). Class VIIb is consisted of agricultural workers are distinguished from other proprietors and employees, because of distinctive elements in the conditions of employment found in the primary sector, arising from the holding of property in land, the organization of production being often family-based, and the substitution of payments-in-kind for at least part of monetary wage.

Measurement of "class structure" via the structure of employment, a feature of all such approaches is based upon the empirically separate identification of class structure and class action. Goldthorpe's approach to class analysis follows a systematic **structure** \rightarrow **consciousness** \rightarrow **action model** (Crompton, 1993: 60). This model has occasioned much criticism (Crompton & Scott, 2000: 5). Goldthorpe accepts his analysis did not consider class structuration. He draws an analytical separation between *class formation* and *class action* and treats them empirically separate phenomenon.

One of major limitation of Goldthorpe's classification is that it takes little account of property ownership (Scott 1996: 200). While employment relations figure centrally in his delineation of class situations, property is seen only as a secondary factor. This is the case, for example, in self-employed, entrepreneurial occupations, although they only possess small-scale property. Large-scale personal possession and property ownership that is not directly tied to entrepreneurial activities has been found no room in his classification.

Scase has been highly critical towards the analysis which ignored the *property owning*. He insists on saying that the accumulation process in Britain has an effect to solidify particular property holders' stratum by virtue of ability to transfer their possessions and wealth to their followers (2000: 46). They have an ability consciously produced and reproduced their wealth which has been eventually shown in their consumption pattern.

For Goldthorpe, the patterns of social mobility are crucial for the identification of a ''class'' (Crompton, 1993: 59). Thus the construction of class scheme is just the starting-point of his analysis. His scheme, divided occupied population according to their *market* and *work* situations provides an impetus for the further mobility studies. For the complete picture it is necessary to detect how a class have emerged as ''specified social collectivities''. These collectivities are identifiable through the degree of continuity as consequences of patterns of class mobility and immobility. For that reason, under what conditions the upward and

downward leverages are formed the overall structure and how the inter and intragenerational formation occurs.

Goldthorpe's study has demonstrated that a considerable long-range mobility has occurred with the expansion of middle and upper classes. However, he argues that these result did not demonstrates that Britain had become a more ''open'' society (Crompton, 1993: 64). The distinction between absolute and relative rates of social mobility employing odd-ratios, demonstrates that the chance of a service class son, rather than to the working class, being recruited to the service class. Despite high rate of absolute social mobility, there were marked, and persistent, differences in the relative chances of men of different backgrounds moving into higher level occupations. This findings is of utmost importance, even an advanced industrial society, despite legislative efforts (such as educational reform etc.) to achieve greater ''openness'' and equality of opportunity, this has not, as yet, been completely succeeded yet (Crompton, 1993: 68). Although overall rates of upward mobility have risen; differential relative rates of class mobility prospects have proved remarkably resistant to change.

As a conclusion, Goldthorpe argues that, in Britain, the extent of mobility associated with classes III and V implies that these classes are nascent and unformed and thus highly unlikely to generate class-based socio-political action (Crompton, 1993: 68-69). In addition to this, Britain possessed ''demographically mature'' working class which might expected to generate systematic socio-political action as well as an emerging "service class" which, although not as stable as the working class, is nevertheless in the process of development as a significant social force (Crompton, 1993: 68). As a demographically and socio-culturally ''mature'' social formation, Goldthorpe claims that the working classes interests lie in a social-democratic strategy of politics against markets. Meanwhile, the service class must be viewed as having a major interest and commitment to preserving its situation of relative advantage and thus the status quo of structured social inequality.

These conclusions have been widely criticized. Pahl and Saunders claim the working class interest's shows very little indication of this type awareness but rather they are more preoccupied with their homes, families and other aspects of consumption (Pahl, 1989; Saunders, 1984, 1986).

III.2. CLASS SCHEME II: WRIGHT

Goldthorpe has been described as a "neo-Weberian" or "left Weberian" sociologist in contrast, Wright (an American sociologist) has been following a self-consciously Marxist project, a central feature of which has been his efforts to develop a Marxist class scheme (Crompton, 1993: 69).

Wright's class scheme was developed in a critical dialogue with Poulantzas's work. Unlike Poulantzas, Wright argues that the position of many lower-level white-collar employees is objectively ''proletarian''. In developing this argument, the influence of Braverman's ''Labour and Monopoly Capital'' (1974) was crucial (Crompton, 1993: 71). Wright has employed first the notion of *contradictory class* locations, then *asset exploitation*, in order to locate various middle groupings within class structure. His work may be seen as one of the more sustained of a number of different attempts by Marxist theoreticians, which came to prominence during the 1970s, to identify ''correctly'' the class location of burgeoning numbers of non-manual employees (Crompton, 1993: 69-75; Scott, 1996: 172-174).

Wright draws sharp distinction between ''class'' and ''occupation'' (Crompton, 1993: 70). Occupations, he argues, are understood as positions defined within the technical relations of production; classes, on the other hand, are defined by the social relations of production. For him, classes can only be defined in terms of their social relationship to other classes, or in a sense that by their location within the social relations of production ([Wright 1980: 177] quoted from Crompton, 1993: 70). On the other hand, Wright also drew a sharp distinction between the status or prestige order and the analysis of occupational class. He has argued that as status bears no relation to production, it has no place in class analysis ([Wright 1985: 79] quoted from Crompton, 1993: 127).

He argues that occupational aggregations cannot produce ''classes'. His schema has been relied on the ways to elaborate in which class relations are embodied in specific jobs, since jobs are the essential ''empty places'' filled by individuals within system of production. Individual jobs are then located within Wright's class scheme, which has been derived from explicitly Marxist principles. Notions of control and exploitation within the ''social relations of *production*'' are central to Wright's analysis, by doing so he distinguishes his scheme to the Weberian approaches as grounded in *market* relationship.

Wright argues that the social relations of production can be broken down into three interdependent dimensions:

(1) Social relations of control over money capital.

(2) Social relations of control over physical capital.

(3) Social relations of authority (i.e. control over supervision and discipline within the labour process (Crompton, 1993: 71).

One of Wright's major preoccupations has been to give an empirical account of the ''middle class'', or ''non-proletarian'' employees which are the most susceptible part of the Marxian view, in contemporary capitalist societies (Crompton, 1993: 71). The middle class position can be evaluated as ''foot in both camps'' an intermediary position between the bourgeoisie and proletarian. Wright has been labelled them as ''contradictory class locations''. According to him such jobs were said to represent positions which are ''torn between the basic class relations of capitalist society''. The contradictory class position in Wright's scheme are the ''managers and supervisors'', ''semi-autonomous employees'', ''small employers''⁴.

Table 3.2: Wright's first class scheme										
Production	Ownership Control Authority	Bourgeoisie are characterized by their economic ownership, and exercise social control over both the physical means of production and the labour power of others. Managers and supervisors, who, even if they do not legally own the means of production, nevertheless exercise <i>de facto</i> control over both the material means of	Semi-autonomous employees, who, even if they do not own or control over their own labour- power.	Petty bourgeoisie, they own and control their means of production even though they do not control the labour-power of others.						
		production and labour-power. Proletariat are characterized by lack of control both their ownership and their lack of control even their own labour-power (which is purchased by bourgeoisie).	Small employers							

Source: Crompton, 1993: 70

According to Wright's scheme, the bourgeoisie are characterized by their economic ownership, and exercise social control over both the physical means of production and the labour power of others. On the other hand proletariat are characterized by lacking both ownership and control, merely hold their own labour-power eventually purchased by the

⁴ Contradictory class positions are highlighted in the scheme represented in the Table 3.2.

bourgeoisie. Petty bourgeoisie own and control their means of production even though they do not control the labour-power of others (Crompton, 1993: 71).



Fig. 3.1: Wright's first Marxist class map (Marshall, 1989: 24; Crompton, 1993:70).

Wright's first class scheme was subject to a number of theoretical criticisms and he revised and remodelled of his original model. Most fundamentally, Wright came to the opinion that his original class map had not provided an analysis of the Marxist account of *exploitation* within capitalist relations of production but rather, it had given merely a descriptive account of *domination* (Marshall et. al., 1988: 32). Domination can be taken as the consequence of the class exploitation rather than being cause of it.

Under such criticism Wright had revised his scheme by using game-theoretic principles. He believes that the mechanism of class inequality can be inferred deductively from game theory (1985) or rent theory (1996) and thereby focuses his attention on showing the ways that such deductively defined classes become socially manifest (Devine & Savage, 2000: 186). Under the principles of game theory, a group would be better off at the expense of other, by withdrawing from the first game, and entering into an alternative game, then exploitation can be said to be taking place under the conditions of the original game. Under the light of this abstract reasoning, Wright distinguishes four types of assets, the unequal ownership or control of each of which forms the basis of different type of exploitation. These are; (1) Labour power assets (feudal exploitation); (2) Capital assets (capitalist exploitation); (3) Organisation assets (statist exploitation); (4) Skill and credential assets (socialist exploitation) (Crompton, 1993: 73).

Classes with particular assets may be simultaneously exploited through one mechanism of exploitation, meanwhile exploiters of others mechanism. From this view Wright develops a further class map reflecting relations of exploitation, rather than domination.

Production assets Owners of means of production			Non-owners (wage labourers)				
Own sufficient capital to hire workers and not work	1 Bourgeoisie		4 expert managers	7 semi- credentialed managers	10 uncredentialed managers	+	
Own sufficient capital to hire workers but must work	2 small employers		5 expert supervisors	8 semi- credentialed workers	11 uncredentialed supervisors	0	Organizat ion assets
Own sufficient capital to work for self but not to hire workers	3 Petty bourgeoisie		6 expert non- managers	9 semi- credentialed supervisors	12 Proletariat	-	
			+	0	-	-	

Skill/ credential assets

Source: quoted from Crompton, 1993:72 [Wright, 1985:88]

Fig. 3.2: Wright's second class map

The six classes of Wright's first scheme has been raised to twelve (Fig.3.2) in his second scheme. The major difference between Wright's first and second scheme, is that whereas the presence or absence of work autonomy was central to the identification of significant 'contradictory' class groupings in his first scheme, this element is absent in the second. The class groupings are now identified through their possession of organizational assets, expertise and credentials. Many criticisms have been raised, claiming that Wright's scheme had been much closer to the Weberian approaches in the identification of the individuals' class situation according to the kind of services that can be offered on the market (Marshall et. al., 1988).

Wright & Singlemann ([1982: 198] quoted from Crompton, 1993: 74) have used empirical data classified by Wright's class categories in an analysis of the American occupational structure. Their findings have been revealed that American class structure was undergoing a process of ''proletarianization ''. Within given economic sectors there was ''a systematic tendency for those positions with relatively little control over their labour processes to expand during the 1960s and for those positions with high levels of autonomy to decline.

Wright's further investigations show some sort of deviations from the traditional Marxist proletarianization thesis whereas by no means that he rejects Marxist analysis. He argues that national units of capitalism are not necessarily representative of capitalism as a whole and, in any case, such internationalization means that there will be a tendency for managerial class

locations to expand more rapidly in the core capitalist countries and proletarian positions to expand more rapidly in the Third World.

Wright uses comparative data drawn from Sweden and the United States to develop his arguments relating to class structure and politics. The long tradition of left-corporatist social democracy in Sweden has shaped not only the ''class'' (i.e. occupational) structure but also, perhaps paradoxically resulted in a heightened salience of ''class thinking'' and thus class attitudes which are more polarized. Thus he is careful always to stress that the effects of class structure are mediated by *politics*. Like Goldthorpe, who considers the mature working class in Britain as a source of left democracy, Wright see at the heart of the political struggle for socialism is *radical democracy* ([Wright, 1985: 287] quoted from Crompton, 1993: 75).

Marshall assert that in spite of the fact that Wright blurs the distinction between Weberian and Marxist accounts of class processes, both in his theory and his method, need no way affect the utility of his substantive analysis. They continue on saying ''granted, it would be surprising were Wright's theoretical and methodological difficulties to have *no* adverse effect on the coherence of his empirical findings'' (Marshall et.al., 1989: 48). As Scott claims that the most striking innovations made by Wright (he also includes Carchedi) were the attempts to look at the transformation of capitalist relations themselves and the ways in which these generated new intermediate class situations (1996: 174).

All these different classification schemes provide a convenient measure of the broad contours of structured social inequality in the late twentieth-century capitalism. Goldthorpe and Wright's class schemes had been both emphasized *order* rather than *conflict*, within the stratification system and employed subjective and/or intuitive occupational rankings in its 'class' analyses. It is generally accepted that, in reality, class analysis deriving from the structure of employment can never provide *uncontaminated* empirical measures of 'class'' (Crompton, 1993: 76-77). Other factors in particular 'ascribed'' features such as gender, ethnicity, as well as specific national factors will all have significant effects on the level of power, material reward accruing to particular jobs, as well as on the kind of persons recruited to them.

III.3. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE OCCUPATIONAL-AGGREGATE APPROACH

In the theories of both Marx and Weber and their followers, the economic relations of class had been seen as shaping attitudes and behaviours. Marx saw class *conflict* as the main impetus of the class action and main source of the societal change, which was stimulated by economically conditioned class interest. However, at the turn of the century, with the winds of the globalisation accompanied with the change in the property relations, occupations as well as employment relations has been changed radically. The collapse of state socialism and welcoming the capitalist market in former socialists countries, Russia and Eastern Europe have also accelerated the ''death of the class'' arguments.

Occupations are related with the economic resources, right to obtain various privileges, social prestige and reputation. It is the most powerful single indicator of levels of material rewards, social standing and life chances in modern societies. Related with the substantial changes mentioned above, the critiques against the occupational aggregate approach is focus around the arguments that "work" in the form of employment has lost its capacity to shape the lives and identities of the individuals. Some have argued that consumption, or "multiple mosaic of status communities' now provide more insights than the employment (Pahl, 1989, Saunders, 1984, 1986). Based upon these arguments there are two different approaches; first is to develop new and improved approaches to class and stratification instead of previous models because of their inadequacy and failure to grasp the changing condition in the society in general. Others have argued that new approaches to class are best constructed out of the elements that have already been identified by the class theories of Marx and Weber (Scott 1996). Those who are favour in the first approach have been influenced by post-modern arguments to the effects that the unifying meta-narrative of class theory has proved inadequate and that new insights are therefore to reflect the contemporary diversity of culture and identity.

As parallel with the recent employment relations and occupational structure, the changes have been taken place as the following topics:

(1) Increasing feminization of the labour force together with a movement of women into higher-level occupation (Crompton, 1993: 4).

(2) An increase in long-term unemployment;

(3) The decline of manual occupations and the growth of service sector employment;

(4) Increasing flexibility of work relations through deskilling and reskilling;

(5) Increasing job insecurity and instability at all levels,

(6) The increasing globalization of capital and labour markets, with consequent implications for division of labour.

Capitalism triumphant has been widely interpreted as marking the final death of the Marxist theory. The demise of Marxism is also joining the demise of other meta-narratives of history in which class consciousness or action plays a crucial role (Crompton & Scott, 2000: 6). However, studies reveal the opposite pictures. As Scott asserts;

This kind of assertion conveniently fails to note that the capitalist class would seem, despite recent upheavals, to be both remarkably well organized and able to protect its interest ([Scott, 1997] quoted from Crompton & Scott, 2000: 6).

In a similar vein, Marshall asserts that despite many improvements, realized in the advanced countries of the West as such rising general level of education, increased participation of women to the labour market, expansion of newer non-manual forms of work at the expense of traditional proletariat posts, class inequalities have remained constant throughout the twentieth century. For that reason it is not the time to discuss the ''death of class'' but rather to explain why class still has been extremely persistent as a potential social force (Marshall, 1997: 1).

Large-scale, aggregate-level "class analysis" in sociology, as in the work of Goldthorpe and Wright, has sought systematically to exclude considerations of "status" from its investigations. Many scholars state that explicit recognition of the interrelationship of class and status is also necessary (Crompton, 1993; Scott, 1996). Large data sets and sample surveys have had and continue to have a central place in empirical investigations of the "class structure". However, it has been argued that the investigation of the processes of class structuring- which will include the examination of aspects of status requires an alternative methodology and completed with the wide range of ethnographic studies.

Pahl argued that occupational aggregates produced by the conventional class scheme were not made any use to explain the links in chain between class structure, class consciousness, and class action. The lacking point of the conventional scheme considered that little attention has been paid to show how class interest are generated and articulated (Pahl, 1989). In the employment aggregate approach, classes are represented by occupational groupings at the expense of other structuring factors such as neighbourhoods and communities, identities, social movements, status groupings and actual or potential political actors. Many scholars point out other sources of differentiations in structuring the *class identity* and *action* (Pahl, 1989; Saunders, 1986). In special ascriptive differences, such as gender, race, age, which of them has gone to considerable significance in structuring the division of labour.

The critics against occupational categories can be summarized as occupation is not only a single explanatory variable to determine the social standing of individual, but also inadequate to explain other sources of income, revenues and ownership position. Albeit the household head employment status is a good indicator of the household social status but far from adequate. The potential workforce, the income of the working wife must be evaluated in the class positions.

Problems associated with the theoretical schemes provided by Goldthorpe and Wright can be summarized under three headings:

(1) Failure of class action

(2) Ignoring alternative sources of social identification and status

(3) The women problem

(4) Problem where to put people in any class scheme (unit of analysis whether household or individuals).

III.4 MAIN CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF STRATIFICATION: BOUNDARIES AND THE FRAMEWORK

III.4.1 DEGREE OF COVERAGE

In the literature, in general, class analysis is rooted in the sphere of production (Marshall et. al., 1989). Class positions are allocated on the basis of work situation, authority in workplace and other attributes pertaining to employment. However, there are substantial amount of evidences subtracted from the case studies reveals that this kinds of class schemes has some problems. In the first place, inactive groups, such as the retired, long lasting unemployed, domestic housekeepers are excluded from the research agenda. Both unemployment and domestic labour are not embraced by the structural criteria for class analysis because these

positions are not directly defined by the social relations of production (Marshall et. all., 1989: 87).

Vic Duke & Stephen Edgell, point out that excluding economically inactive adults yields a "restricted and distorted view of the class structure" (1987: 453). For Britain, as an example, the 40 per cent of the adult population is consisted of the inactive. These authors proclaim that "generalisations about the class structure and class relationships are hard to be asserted as "valid" in the case of high rate of excluded populations.

The problem of " missing millions", in the class analyses has lead to substantial debates (Marshall, 1997). A variety of pragmatic solutions are offered: one could refer to the last job of those unemployed or retired or; for cohabiting non-employed respondents to the job of their employed partners. Some claims that unemployment category is not homogeneous, the time elapsed between last job may be oscillated from few mounts to years. Some does not have employed partners. The advocates, indicating these problems assert that class studies cover only some part although whole population is affected by the class structure. These issues have been led to discussions, "what is the unit of analysis".

In the case of unemployment the critique has been focussed on the distinction between the short-term and long-term unemployed position. The former is considered by taking the last occupation and the latter as an "underclass" having their own distinct class location.

Some scholars propose the ''multiple indicator'' approach. These apply additional criteria such as family consumption patterns, income, educational attainment, etc. (Osborn & Morris, 1979) in detecting the class standing of both household and their constituent members.

The procedure by which a Goldthorpe class distribution is created for a population routinely omits the various non-employed individuals earlier identified, and said by critics to undermine class analysis by their absence; namely, the ''retired'', ''disabled'', ''domestic housekeepers'', ''unemployed'' and ''other welfare dependants''. How do these missings limit the utility of this form of investigation? (Marshall, 1997: 90)

A variety of strategies applied for the "economically inactive":

- a) Allocating the "economically inactive" to an occupational class.
- b) Giving all household members the same 'class' as that of the 'head of household' or 'main bread winner'.

- c) Locating the retired in the "class" indicated by their last occupation, and so on.
- d) There are also other factors, in particular the ascriptive differences associated with *gender* and *race*, which are of considerable significance in structuring the division of labour.

The cross-national study conducted by Marshall came to the conclusion that the various categories of non-employed was taken solely as displaced class actors. He insists that there is little to be gained by incorporating into the research programme of class analysis those individuals without employment, since they are not very different from their matching (employed) class counterparts. It seems that the shortcomings of social class research on this particular issue may well have been greatly exaggerated (Marshall, 1997: 93). The critics are miscellaneous and hitherto no agreed alternatives have been reached yet. As a summary we can say that, some scholars preserve that the excluded can satisfactorily incorporated within existing approaches and theories. Some argues the social classes of men and women should be classified separately. Radicals insist that we should abandon the class analysis (Marshall, 1997).

III. 4.2. UNDERCLASS DEBATES

Unemployment has been emerged problematic in the stratification studies especially based upon the gradation of the occupational scheme. Some scholars, to avoid this problem, has been appropriated the underclass notion. The term underclass is related with the two distinct however correlated phenomenon, high-rate of long-term unemployment among the youth and the increasing number of single-parent households. Underclass has problematic in the stratification studies. Two questions are of importance:

(1) The really serious problem for social class research is created by the large numbers of impoverished welfare dependants who are not in employment, at least not on a regular basis, and have therefore fallen through or dropped out of the class structure entirely?

(2) Are there not growing numbers of people who are so irregularly in work, and therefore so marginal to civil society, that they constitute a discrete group, whose existence is simply overlooked in the conventional class literature, and whose class-related attributes are so distinct that they require separate treatment in a class analysis?

The debate related with underclass, arises from predominantly American literature.

The black population is disproportionately affected by both joblessness and single parenthood. The term ''underclass'' itself suggests a group which is in some sense outside the mainstream of society- but there is little or no agreement about the nature and source of the exclusion. Marshall, 1997: 94

High levels of youth unemployment, disabilities, rising proportions of single-parents households are the main components of the underclass (Marshall, 1997: 94). The underclass positions of the long-term unemployment can be caused because of lack of minimal skills, through dept, etc. Many of these individuals are members of ethnic minorities, and women (particularly single mothers). Their long-term unemployment and therefore welfare dependency (rather than ethnicity or gender as such) defines their position as members of underclass.

Giddens⁵, describes underclass ''where ethnic differences serve as a ''disqualifying'' market capacity, such that those in the category in question are heavily concentrated among the lowest-paid occupations, or are chronically unemployed or semi-employed'' (1981: 112). For him, underclass separated from the working class as a whole, has potential sources of tension or contradiction within the existing class framework in neo-capitalist societies (Giddens, 1981: 290).

Two approaches related with underclass held dominant in the field: cultural attributes in question on the one hand, and structural disadvantages on the other. Former stresses the distinctive counter-culture accompanied with a kind of socialisation characterised cynicism, devaluation of work, resignation and despair, and encourages criminality, as Marshall states (Marshall, 1997:96);

"culture of fatalism" and earlier apparently similar sociological constructs, such as the "culture of poverty" (much discussed in the United States during the 1960s) and the "dependency culture" transmitted by so-called cycles of deprivation (a focus of controversy in

⁵ Giddens states that the Marxist term, *Lumpenproletariat*, is only an underclass when the individuals in question tend to derive from distinctive ethnic backgrounds. Leggett has referred to the underclass as the 'marginal working class' defined as a sub-community of workers who belong to subordinate ethnic or racial group which is usually proletarianised and highly segregated (quoted from Giddens, 1981: 327).

Britain in the 1970s)...an underclass culture comprising largely negative traits which include apathy, indifference towards authority, and defeatism.

On the other hand, an alternative view, proposed by Douglas Glasgow ([1980] cited from Marshall, 1997: 94) and others, emphasizes the *failure* of the economy to provide equal opportunities for the secure employment, and the tumbling down the classical role of the man as a main breadwinner of the household. Glasgow points to the structured inequality that disadvantages particular groups in society. Latter view insists that the disadvantages confer the underclass does not stem from their ascribed qualities such as skin colour but the absence of employment or highly unstable employment positions. Wilson for instance, in his early writings has been claimed that "a vast underclass of black proletarians- that massive population at the very bottom of the social class ladder, plagued by poor education and lowpaying, unstable jobs". However, in a latter study he writes about "individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not members of the labour force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behaviour, and families that experience long term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency' ([Wilson, 1987:8] cited from Marshall, 1997: 94-95). The structure of opportunities is the explanation of poverty and the often accompanying pathologies. The dispute between "culturalists" view underclass culture comprising largely negative traits which include aberrant behaviours, apathy, denying authority, and defeatism on the one hand and "structuralist" approach without explicit references of the causality on the other.

it is widely (though not universally) held that the underclass shares in a distinctive subculture of cynicism, resignation and despair...'culture of fatalism'' and earlier apparently similar sociological constructs, such as the 'culture of poverty'' (much discussed in the United States during the 1960s) and the 'dependency culture'' transmitted by so-called cycles of deprivation (a focus of controversy in Britain in the 1970s)...an underclass culture comprising largely negative traits which include apathy, indifference towards authority, and defeatism (Marshall, 1997: 96).

The notion underclass has been welcomed for the class analysts to overcome the problem of inactive in the stratification scheme based upon the occupational categories. Runciman ([1990: 381, 388] cited from Marshall, 1997: 94) points out that the underclass, is of vast majority of people who are far from the conditions to be able to be a part of the reserve army in the employment market. So, they have nothing for remedy to become dependent on the state transfer. Runciman has considered their faith as long-term unemployment. However, his argument has based upon a vast group consisted of the people like disabled, elders,

suffrages of permanent illness who are definitely and persistently out of the labour market. The others, although they are so often fail to integrate labour market, have a possibility to find a job.

Duncan Gallie has explored the potential for cultural cohesion and collective self-awareness as defining underclass and concluded that the non-standard employment forms, and also with the long-term unemployment of the 1980s may have brought a structuring base to the class structure as a whole (Marshall, 1997: 95). As a conclusion, underclass debates has been mainly shaped by the radiant discussion among the American and British scholars, are split into, those who are in favour of the very presence of the underclass and those who are opposite to this. The only common point they share is that it is hard to define. Herbert Gans, have come to a conclusion that underclass is highly genuine and composite term which covers huge variety of people. He also states the political importance of underclass is far beyond its sociological meaning (Marshall, 1999: 43-46).

III.4.3. JOINT CLASSIFICATION: COMPOSITE INDEX OF SOCIAL CLASS

In the cross-national investigation of Marshal using the data from the International Social Justice Project, some of the evidence is clearly contrary to conventionalist expectations that the unit of class composition is the household and class membership is most appropriately assigned via the husband occupation (1997: 118). The alternative view considers the individual, is the unit of analysis within the households on the basis of their own employment.

There is a third possible strategy for assigning class positions by adopting some kind of joint classification of husbands and wives. In this way one might distinguish single-earner and dual-earner households and by doing so it is possible to differentiate the various types of class-homogamous and cross-class families (Marshall, 1997: 119). In this way again the unit of analysis is the household however instead of taking solely head of household's employment status or political orientation, class membership is assigned by employing joint classification of the husband's and wife's employment status or political preferences.

As an example of joint classification we give, as an example, Osborn and Morris' composite index (1979: 39-60) of social class which attempts to treat economically active and inactive
members of the population together by generating an index score for each family using summed and weighted scores for seven variables as indicated in the Figure 3.3.



Source: Osborn & Morris 1979: 45.

Fig. 3.3: Theoretical perspective of Osborn and Morris's joint index

Osborn & Morris accepted that occupational status is a valid index of social class. Its strength lies in the fact that it is highly predictive of many social and economic inequalities. The dependence on occupation alone to obtain a social stratification ranking also means that only economically active members of society can be classified reliably. By employing joint classification, the domestic housekeepers, the unemployed and the retired are included.

In their model occupation or employment status does not appear as the sole equivalent of the class, but as a structured system of inter-related social factors in which there is a tendency for some social groups to be relatively privileged in almost every respect, e. g., power, status, income, education, etc., and for other groups to be relatively disadvantaged in almost every respect. Occupation has become accepted as an index of this system of inequalities because it correlates with many of the socio-economic variables of which it is it is comprised. It should nevertheless, be placed on the same theoretical footing as other aspects of social class.

In their conceptualization, the cultural and symbolic aspects of class have been considered equally by giving same weighting to all factors. The system of ideologies and beliefs that form the bases for decision making, social action and behaviour and which are dialectically related to social and economic conditions of life remain largely undocumented (Osborn & Morris 1979). J. H. Goldthorpe and K. Hope make the important point that:

...if [occupational] ''prestige'' is to be understood in any way approximating to its established sense within the sociological tradition then it must refer to the position of an individual or group within a structure of relations of deference, acceptance and derogation, which represent a distinctive ''symbolic'' aspect of social stratification. Relative advantage and power in terms of prestige stem from the ability to an actor to exploit and benefit from meanings and values-rather than, say, economic resources, authority or physical force (emphasis in original) (Osborn & Morris 1979: 46).

The social index is comprised of seven different variables all of which are measures of social or economic inequality. Categories within each variable have been allocated weighted scores according to their manifest social desirability or disadvantage. Categories which are "neutral" in the context of a variable or where there is insufficient information are given a zero weighting. The Social Index score is obtained by summing the weighted scores of all seven separate variables comprising the index and adding 50 to produce all positive scores.

Table 3.3: Items Comprising Social Index and system of Weighting Values
Classification of father's occupation
Social class I
II
III non-manual
IV
V
No father figure
Insufficient information
Total
Parents' education
Highest qualifications of mother and father:
Degree or equivalent and above
Social ratings of neighbourhood of residence
Poor
Average
Well-to-do
Rural
Tenure
Owned or being bought
Total
Crowding index- person per room ratio
> 2.0 severe overcrowding
$> 1.5 \le 2.0$ overcrowding
\leq 1.5 not overcrowded
Bathroom availability
Bathroom lacked
Sole use or share use of bathroom
Type of accommodation
Lives in rooms
All other situations
Insufficient information
Total

Source: Osborn & Morris, 1979: 48

This kind of composite index of the particular combination of indicators are criticised heavily in part of the advocators of the class. They claim that the index which compromises seven variables together reduces all the different dimensions into a single-space (Marshall, 1997: 125).

As a summary, the critics against occupational categories puts stress on the fact that occupation is not only single explanatory variable to determine the social standing of individual, but also it is inadequate to explain other sources of income, revenues and ownership position. Although the employment status of the household head is a good indicator about the household social status however this is not satisfactory. Some insists that the potential workforce, the income of the working wife must be evaluated in the class positions.

As a final remark we can infer from the above debates that although there is not any agreed definition of the class and there is not a sole approach to the social stratification, we can say that class dynamics surrounded by both production and distribution, and consumption can shape social stratification system. For this reason in this study we are going to relate consumption study with the production sphere.

III. 4.4. CLASS STRUGGLE AND URBAN SPACE

Most discussions about class have abstracted their subject from its territorial context. In Marxist tradition the majority of theoretical contributions have indeed ignored the importance of territoriality upon the class formation. On the other hand geographers have been generally involved in describing the pattern thereby neglecting the process (Harris, 1984: 29; Şengül, 2001:9). However, although very few, some Marxists have made important contributions regarding the territoriality of the class process. The contributions of Frederick Engels, Henri Lefevbre, Manuel Castells and David Harvey are worth mentioning. In this part of study we discuss the class struggles in its territoriality context and the important contributions brought by Marxist writers. At the first hand we give some definition about the significance of segregation in the class formation.

Classes have both an *objective* and *subjective* existence (Harris, 1984: 28). The objectivity of class is derived from the rankings of the people in the production process. Subjectivity can

be defined as people's and class's view (consciousness) about their situation. This point is important because people act as individuals or as collectivise. Class formation is the process of which masses of people become conscious of their common interests and then act as a social or political entity.

According to Przeworski class formation has two related aspects (quoted from Harris, 1984: 28): (1) the manner in which, a class organizes itself as a more or less coherent social entity. Activities as such informal neighbouring or union or neighbourhood association are of this kind. This will be referred to as the process of *intraclass* formation. (2) Classes⁶ form through their relationship and struggles with one another. Legal strike and lockouts are the known forms. The less institutionalized form of boycotts, slowdowns and resistance on the job can be given as examples. These struggles are termed as process of *interclass* formation. Class formation involves a combination of both as in the case of union, the professional or employers' associations. Both intraclass and internal class formation has implications in providing internal cohesion to respective classes whereas each exists as a means for pressing particular demands upon other.

Internal class formation is purely political process. Marxist view proclaims that because of the class exploitation capitalism is unjust at the expense of working class. The Marxist tradition has been trying to find out the political struggles of working class as a basis for progressive social transformation of the society. The question than arises ''does segregation encourage or hide the political struggles of the working class'' or ''does segregation advance or retard the socialist cause?''. These became the important questions which subsequent Marxist writers were trying to find out answers for in 1970s.

The most exceptional and pioneering arguments concerning the spatiality of the stratification in the Marxist tradition begin with Engels. As a spatial phenomenon, segregation can have significant consequences on the process of class formation. However the effect of segregation upon the political and social life of the city has been precariously investigated. For Engels, segregation in Manchester in 1844 was only one of more visible aspects of the emergence of a new class system under capitalism (Harris, 1984: 30; Gottdiener, 1994: 123-124). His observation of different quarters of city of Manchester was that segregation has

⁶ In this formulation class has been used in Marxian sense that classes are historical phenomena which develop through mutual antagonism and struggle. Harris adds that segregation is difficult phenomena because of the ambiguities in the concept of class. The definition of concepts connotes different meaning for different scholars so any attempt to investigate class segregation must be rooted in a particular conception of class (1984:28).

restricted contacts between members of different classes. He argued forcefully that, in mid nineteenth-century Manchester, residential segregation fostered of the local working class's awareness and promoted its revolutionary potential. He wrote in 1844,

...is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with out-spoken conscious determination, the working people's quarters are sharply separated from the section of the city reserved for the middle class ([Engels, 1969 78-79] quoted from Harris, 1984: 33).

Unlike Marx who wrote very little about the city, Frederic Engels devoted some time to the topic (Gottdiener, 1994: 122). He studied the working-class situation based upon the field observation of the great city Manchester in nineteenth-century. For Engels, the large industrial city was the best place to study to take the general picture of capitalism as a social system and the factory was the best place to study the specific details of the relationship between capitalism and labour. Three important conclusions can be drawn (Gottdiener, 1994: 122-124).

(1) Capitalism had a doubled tendency of concentration: concentration of capital investments or money, and also workers. This centralizing process made industrial production easier because of large scale and close proximity of both money and people.

(2) In the city of Manchester, development of investments moved away from the old centre and extended further out the periphery. He observed growth as a multiplication of centres without following any kind of plan and he concluded that capitalism unregulated by government planning caused spatial chaos of multiplying minicenters.

(3) The breakdown of traditional society and operation of capitalism created severe social problems of *deprivation* and *poverty*. This misery was a result of the exploitation at the place of work which went largely unseen in the factory itself, along with the failure of capitalism to provide adequate housing for everyone. At this point contribution brought by Engels is important. He made a connection between the conditions of workplace with those in the ''living-space'', or what Marxists call the *extended conditions of capital accumulation* where the reproduction of social relations generation over generation took place. Whenever the social problems become so severe this may put the reproduction of labour forces into jeopardy. Poverty and homelessness are taken as a threat for the future capitalism. Hence neighbourhood or living-space relations and

quality of daily life are as important to the survival of capitalism as are relations of the work place.

Engels argued that segregation acted as suppressor producing mutual ignorance regarding potential class struggle. He anticipated the view that the more working class members would probably become aware of their living conditions and the conflict created by the capitalism in the urban space and the more their awareness would rise and this eventually would lead to the revolution. However Engels did not say anything about in what ways working class attitudes and manners were rendered the ignorance to the mutual antagonism. Engels speculated upon the significance of segregation for the process of class formation. However, he pointed out the importance of taking the processes of production and reproduction together and by doing so he contributed a lot to the theory of Marxist class and urban space (Şengül, 2001: 14).

Traditionally, Marxists have made a clear distinction between the production relations of the workplace and those which characterize the sphere of "consumption" or "reproduction". According to the classical Marxist view, the latter sphere consisted of consumption of commodities and domestic labour that took place separately from the production sphere. So the classes are defined only within the workplace. In a similar vein, if class exploitation under capitalism is to be challenged that challenge must take place, definitely, in the workplace not in the sphere of reproduction. As a consequence, political organizations, such as "tenants" and "consumers" groups, which concern themselves primarily with reproduction issues, are seen to divert valuable political energy away from more important political tasks (Harris, 1984; Şengül, 2001). In accord with this view the segregation plays role in the development of wrong type of political activity or solely encourages political activity related with reproduction issues.

A half a century later, eminent Marxist French thinker Henri Lefebvre indicates how the bourgeoisie uses and manipulates the urban space. The success and long lasting stand of capitalism is by virtue of using and creating urban space successfully (Lefebvre, 1991). This is the important turning point in the Marxist vein (Şengül, 2001: 15) by which Lefebvre stressed the theoretical transition from the production in the space to the ''production of space'' as commodity like any other commodities. In the orthodox Marxist perspective, society analysis is primarily of economic base. Labour, division of labour and organization of work produces material goods and commodities. The society is structured by the economic base which is shaped by the property relation of social relation of production.

Afterwards, the juridistic-political structure composed of corporate bodies, law, state, institutions (family, religion, education system, political parties) and ideologies (science, art, philosophy) takes place. The super structure according to Marxists view, is nothing else than a reflection of the economic base.

Lefebvre is the first figure in Marxist vein who stressed the importance of everyday life at the core of the critical theory (1947, 1998). Daily life is depicted as the "residue" of the super structure by Marxist view and it is generally despised by the theory. However daily life has two important functions: it is originated from the societal practices and it is evaluated as the outcome of the totality of the social. The revolution can upsurge when the people cannot sustain their daily life. As the human beings live their daily lives, the old social relationships recur again.

Lefebvre asserts that the capitalist production of space has become integral both in generating surplus value in accord with the Marxist formulation of exploitation of labour by bourgeoisie and in realizing profits all along with the commodification of space which has created vast new market (Saunders, 1986: 158). The gradual transition from industrial to urban base of modern capitalist production as Lefebvre likens it with the shift from agriculture to manufacturing, is the potential "urban revolution" of the actuality. The "urban" in Lefebvre's mind cannot be equated with the physical object of the city, "the urban" rather for Lefebvre consists of the three related concepts: space, everyday life and reproduction of capitalist social relations. Capitalist social relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space because space has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to capitalistic hegemony.

The reproduction of the relations of production cannot be localized in the enterprise...Reproduction (of the relations of production, not just the means of production) is located not simply in society as a whole but in space as a whole. Space, occupied by neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity yet fragmented, becomes the seat of power ([Lefebvre 1976:83] quoted from Saunders 1986:159).

Because space bears the imprint of capitalism, it imposes the form capitalist hegemonic relations on the whole everyday life. Capitalist social relations are reproduced in everyday life through its spatial patterning (Saunders, 1986: 159). However Lefebvre stresses the ongoing controversy over space. While capitalism is consolidated through the exploitation of space, it fosters, at the same time, contradictions which threaten to undermine capitalistic

domination. Capitalism uses abstract space which emanates from the living space or space as living organism. This is so because in capitalism the exchange value is of importance not of its use value. For these reason, space as historical construct or space which is the bearer of social values are of no importance. Under the capitalism the historical and social value of space is treated as any commodity that is bought and sold in the market. Everyday life gauges all aspects and richness of the human life; it covers the political aspects, work, family and even private life. The class consciousness, identity, citizenship, all these concepts are embedded into daily life so the critic of daily life implicitly is the criticism of the political life (1998). Capitalism has broken the integrity of the human life, work has been split into different parts; family life has been broken off by the production process.

Space contains vast sources of confrontation. This argument kept Lefebvre away from orthodox Marxism, because in his view at the core of conflict lies the ''urban crisis'' whereas in classical view the contradiction is between private profit and social need, between capitalist domination and social life. The struggle in advanced capitalism is the struggle around the use of space and the control of everyday life.

The practical political implications of Lefebvre's analysis are clear, the workers' movement must organize in order to harness the productive forces to social needs, and this will involve a strategy that links the periphery (meaning not only the regions, but also ''urban peripheries'' such as black city ghettos and migrant worker shanty towns, and international peripheries in the Third World) to the labour movement and organizes both production and everyday life in term of self-management (Saunders, 1986: 161-162).

For Lefebvre, the critical struggle in the urban phase of capitalist development is the struggle to free everyday life from the hegemony of capitalism and bring about the management of space to the hands of masses. The potential offered by urban society for human liberation can only be possible through the struggle against the capitalist domination of space.

Lefebvre, in his the formulation offers that the socialist space which accommodates all kinds of differences and richness of the daily life has a capacity to avoid the abstract space produced by capitalism. He defended the space of daily life and its use value against the abstract space of capitalism which gives primacy to the exchange value primordial place. The formulation of Lefebvre has many new insights for the strategies of the working class. His formulation has challenged the inadequacy of the Marxist tradition that generally has seen class formation restricted in production sphere and given reproduction issues and daily life secondary status. However, the weakness of his formulation lies at this point. He did not say anything about how a serious of distinctions in production and reproduction, work place and place of daily lives, the ethnic groups for instances come together to exterminate the capitalism (Şengül, 2001: 17).

In 1970s the two Marxist scholars have a great deal on the politics of reproduction. Manuel Castells and David Harvey, both under the influence of Lefebvre's works have made important contributions. Castells, follower of the Althusserian structuralism, has directed his attention to the reproduction of labour power whereas Harvey has focused on the role of urban built environment in the accumulation process of capitalism.

The politicization of urban issues in *collective consumption* was first stressed by Castells (Duke & Edgell, 1984: 181). In addition to the centrality of the sphere of consumption, Castells emphasizes the importance of urban social movements in the formation of *multiclass* and *crossclass* alliances. Castells viewed the growth of urban conflict over consumption issues as the basis for radical social change to be brought about by a fusion of the struggles over consumption and production issues. In this view, political activity within the sphere of reproduction is seen to have a direct impact upon the conditions under which labour power is produced.

The concept ''collective consumption'', drew attention to the need to understand the role of the state, and its relation to capital, in the process of physical, material and social reproduction (Shove & Warde, 1998). For Castells as capitalism becomes dominant in the second half of the 20th century, the reproduction of labour has been increasingly under the responsibilities of the state. As consequences of working class struggles, state has increasingly taken part in education, housing, transportation and so on. However, state has difficulty to meet all the demands and this has created tensions and new forms of conflicts which can never be reduced as labour-capital conflicts in urban space. The tension is now between the state and the users of the urban services.

In his reformulation of the urban question, Castells asserts that unlike units of production, which are organized on a regional (or even national or international) scale, units of consumption are socially organized and provided within the context of a *spatially (urban)* bounded system. Production entails the application of human labour to the material environment to create commodities, exchanges on the other hand involves the circulation of these commodities, and eventually consumption involves the final utilization of these commodities by individuals as their means of life and sustenance. It is through the process of

consumption that individuals reproduce their labour power (i.e., by consuming food, housing, recreation, education and so on), which then re-enters the system as a resource to be used in the process of producing new commodities (Saunders, 1986:172-173).

However the question here is the nature of the relation between the conflicts as consequences for obtaining better education or improvements of urban transportation and the conflicts stemmed from the production sphere. (Şengül, 2001: 18). Can this struggle in the urban space taken directly as the extension of the class struggles in the production and if the answer is no, then what is the nature of relationship between urban space in terms of class struggles?

Castells pays special attention to the relation of what he called "urban social movements" with the class base actions. The participants in such activities may not define their actions in class terms, often identifying themselves as tenants, consumers and so forth. Nevertheless, these actions commonly have a direct impact upon the development of class relations. The nature of this impact depends not only upon the nature of the action but also its context. The merits of the action are therefore contingent and cannot be settled by theoretical determination (Harris, 1984). Whenever urban social movements coincide with class based movements, they gain anti-capitalist character and become impetus to interrogating capitalist social relations. Although Castells has implicated the struggles between production and reproduction processes, he has failed to provide satisfactory conceptualization about the dynamics of the construction of this relationship. Sengul asserts that this is because of the influence of Marxian structuralism which does not lead to developing historical analysis and concrete events (19). In Marxian structuralism the question of how action and structure are articulated remains unresolved (Keskinok, 1997: 31) and the primacy of structure over action is taken as granted. However, the following work of Castells based on the voluntaristic interpretation of human action in his City, Class and Power (1983). In this study the interests and values of the human agent dominate over the "structure", while altering and transforming it and producing a different space (Keskinok, 1997: 33). He rejected the conception of collective action as a reaction to crisis created by an economically structural logic. He argues that "...we are left with urban systems separated from personal experiences, with structures without actors, with cities without citizens and citizens without cities" (quoted from Keskinok, 1997: 35). However, this radical change shifts the clear-cut separation of the production from the reproduction spheres (Sengül, 2001: 20).

The premise that was put by Lefebvre that the crisis encountered in the process of capitalist accumulation was solved by appropriating space, was the starting point of the Marxist geographer David Harvey. For Harvey, the dynamics of urbanisation in capitalist societies cannot be understood independently from the capitalist process of accumulation (Harvey, 1981). According to Harvey there are two driving forces which provide specific meaning to the urban process under capitalism: *accumulation of capital* and *class struggle*. The built environment is the rational product of the process of capital accumulation. In his explanation, in the *primary circuit* of capital, all commodities are produced and consumed within one time period. The supply of capital invested in urban property, construction, and financing is created by over accumulation in the primary circuit of capital. This is the tendency whereby the production of commodities produces *too much* capital (through profits), and finds themselves in the (less lucrative) secondary circuit of capital, *the built environment*. This includes fixed capital investments in both productive (offices, factories) and consumption (housing for instances) sector.

In his schema, the creation of a physical environment cannot be separated from the accumulation of capital. The investment directed through the physical environment has a function to overwhelm the problem of over accumulation and at the same time creates new demands so helps to solve the crisis of capitalism. Under capitalism the building and rebuilding of urban space is like the creation and modification of machine that makes capital (the creation of profit) works more efficiently. The state intervenes with policies that facilitate circulation in the form of, for instances, guaranteeing mortgages, creating municipal debt through the investment of public fund, and so on. Harvey asserted that the creation of built environment which serves as a physical infrastructure for production, at the same time includes an appropriate system for the transport of commodities. There are abundant opportunities for the productive employment of capital through the creation of the built environment for the production. Harvey shows how the articulation of surplus capital and government policy have worked together to modify the built environment, creating suburbanisation and metropolitanization (Harvey, 1981: 93-112). He gave as an example the overaccumulation in United States in 1945s were resolved in part with the creation of new style of life proliferated through the suburbanisation. The rising individual homeownership for the affluent workers ensures the social stability thus the crisis of over accumulation resolved. The city must therefore be constructed and continually reconstituted to serve those uses, in order to assure the reproduction of capital (accumulation) and capitalist social

relations- *class struggle* those who own and control the means of production and those who do not.

Production may, as Marx averred, produced consumption and the mode of consumption, but it does not do so automatically, and the manner in which it does so is the locus of continuous struggles and conflict (Harvey, 1976: 279).

Production, distribution, exchange and consumption...all form the members of a totality, distinctions within a unity. Production predominates not only over itself, in the antithetical definition of production, but over the other moments as well. The process always returns to production to begin anew. That exchange and consumption cannot be predominant is self-evident...A definite production therefore determines a definite consumption

([Marx, Grundrisse, 1973: 99] quoted from Saunders, 1984:216).

The extension of private property to workers also meant that the expansion of the built environment into suburban⁷ locations, enormous public expenditures on roads that facilitated the marketability of suburban homes, an enormous increase in automobile dependency, and transformation into metropolis (Flanagan, 1993: 90).

The tertiary circuit of capital comprises investment in science and technology (science as a contribution to production and revolutionise the productive forces in society). It also comprises a wide range of social expenditures which relate primarily to the process of reproduction of qualitative improvement of labour power from the standpoint of capital (investment in education and health by means of which the capacity of the labourers to engage in the work process will be enhanced).

⁷ Walker has interpreted, by employing the Harvey's thesis of the accumulation of capital, the importance of residential differentiation within the specific context of suburbanisation in the late nineteenth century US cities (Walker, 1981: 388-403). Factories were located on the city outskirts and working-class communities grew up around them. At the beginning of the industrial era major loci have spiralled outward, at the expense of investment in the old manufacturing districts. Walker explains this parallel to the Harvey that this cannot be explained the mere loci of the over congestion of the centre. Strong forces of polarity are at work. These processes involve both the dynamic accumulation and those of class struggle. Capital operates on as in the supply side as in the demand side. It not only generates a demand for improvements, it virtually guarantees their emergence by channelling surplus capital into the secondary circuit of fixed capital formation and the tertiary circuit of research and development...Class tension threats the reproduction of the capitalist class called into question. As the urbanized working class in the industrial centres and to an effort to improving capitalist class became more organized, more independent of capital in its daily life, it became a threat to profits, factory discipline and social control generally. Suburbanisation was thus seen as a way to attract a better brand of, removed from the bad moral atmosphere of the inner city, and promising the stability of homeownership for the better class of workers (Walker, 1981:400).

According to Harvey, not only capital is becoming urbanised but also the ''consciousness'' becoming urbanised. Harvey defines four types of focus of consciousness beside class consciousness (Şengül, 2001: 21). These are individual, community, family and the states. In the process of urbanisation local communities and other focus of consciousness have an effect to blur the class consciousness. For instance local communities can create solidarity bounds which go beyond the other sources of consciousness especially class base type and also abstract the members of community freed from the other kinds of social relations⁸. Although Harvey has not depicted this blurring effects as ''false consciousness'' he has indicated the complex structuring of the urbanisation. This complex structuring has an effect to hinder the rising awareness towards what the capitalism has lead many disasters and the logic tried to insert to the cities. For instance slum areas are seen as the real causes of high rate of crime, not as a consequences of the dynamics of capitalist urbanisation and creates negative attitudes against the people living these areas (Şengül, 2001: 21).

To demonstrate the effect of segregation to the class consciousness the transformation of city of Paris in 1850-1870 can be given. The intervention of Haussman in the form of urban renovation project of Paris had resolved both the capital crisis by directing the investment to the built environment and by the exclusion of lower layers out of the city centre so the isolation of 'unwanted' had been succeed. The poor and working classes had been thrown away from the centre and the class base segregation, which had not been existed in the city before was achieved (Şengül, 2001: 21-22). Harvey asserts that this segregation made the class distinctions more visible. The segregation strengthens somehow locally determined type of consciousness and it has a role to hinder the class-base consciousness. Harvey claims that the more alternative consciousness focal points become apparent, and also extends and fragments, the more the political passivity related with class base upheaval occurs.

Harvey stresses the collective forms of *consumption* and individual *homeownership* as manipulated by capital to mediate the workplace tensions. The capital gains are twofold.

⁸ In Turkey the so-called Islamic movements holds many different socio-economic classes and various status and gender differences together with the populist discourse of 'otherness'' or 'excluded'' under the adhesive flag of religion. As Jenny White wrote; 'However, the Islamist movement is also very much a political project rooted in issues of social class and, more importantly, in values of working-class and migrant communities. The seemingly unified identity and symbolic repertoire of the Islamist project is premised upon contradictory impulses: a populist non-recognition of class, status and, to some extent, gender cleavages in the party (she means the Islam-inspired Virtue Party and its predecessor, the Welfare Party); the attempt to situate itself as the party of the poor and disadvantaged; and the attempts to re-classify Islamic symbols as elite cultural market (White, 2002: 192)''.

The apparent entrance of workers into petite form of property ownership in housing is, to a large degree, its exact opposite in reality-the entry of money capital into a controlling position within the consumption fund. Finance capital not only controls the disposition and rate of new investment in housing, but controls labor as well through chronic dept-encumbrance. A worker mortgaged up to the hilt is, for the most part, a pillar of social stability, and schemes to promote homeownership within the working class have long recognized this basic fact. An in return the worker may build up, very slowly, some equity in the property...Ownership of housing can also lead to petty landlordism, which has been a traditional and very important means for individual workers to engage in the appropriation of values at the expense of other workers (272-273)...Working-class demands for health care, housing, education, and social services of all kinds are usually expressed through political channels, and government arbitrates these demands and seeks to reconcile them with the requirements of accumulation...By collectivization, consumer choice is translated from the uncontrolled field of state enterprise (1976: 278).

Harvey claims that the working class cohesion around political action would possible occur however any attempt which is not embedded in urban processes would not be probably have any success.

Insofar as capitalism has survived, so we have to conclude that capital dominates labor not only in the place of work but in the living space by defining the standard of living labor and the quality of life in part through the creation of built environments that conform to the requirements of accumulation and commodity production. To put it this strongly is not to say that labor cannot win on particular issues, nor does it imply that there is one and only one definition of use values for labor that fits the need for accumulation. There are innumerable possibilities, but the limits of tolerance of capital are nevertheless clearly defined. For labor to struggle within these limits is one thing; to seek to go beyond them is where the real struggle begins (1976: 279).

As a summary, the conceptual framework set forth by Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey can be taken as the powerful challenges to scepticism towards which Marxist viewed, the politics of reproduction (Harris, 1984: 37). Traditionally Marxists made a clear distinction between production relations of workplace and reproduction spheres of "consumption". This view puts the production in centre and pushes consumption and reproduction aside. Classes are defined only within the workplace and class exploitation has to be challenged in the workplace not in the sphere of reproduction. The urban movements such as "tenants", "consumers" or "neighbourhood action" are considered to divert valuable political

energies from more important political tasks. In this view segregation is seen to contribute wrong type of political activity.

The criticism against this traditional view has been raised on many grounds: First criticism, the unilinear assumption sees political activity only within the workplace and ignores reproduction spheres (Harris, 1984: 37). Political activity within the sphere of reproduction is seen to have a direct impact upon the conditions under which labour power is produced. The participants in such activities identify themselves as tenants, consumers and so forth. Their actions may have a direct impact upon class formation but these impacts are highly context dependent so the merit of action are therefore contingent not causal.

The second line of criticism of working class politics that has centred upon the group interest is shaped by territorially-defined interest groups rather than class. As Harris put emphasis,

Territorially-defined interest groups, according to this view, may foster parochiality and class fragmentation, setting working people in one area against similar people in other areas... this argument must distinguish carefully between political activities which are *territorially based* and those which are *territorially defined*. The former are limited in scope to a particular territorial scale, but interests may be defined in non-territorial terms. The actions of the local branches of a union, a 'labour'' party, or a large association of tenants or consumers, are good examples. The latter are not only restricted in scope to a particular territory but are also defined in terms of the common interests of all people living within that area. A residents' association is a case in point. Only the latter are legitimate objects of criticism on the ground that they may promote a territorially-based process of class fragmentation (Harris, 1984: 38).

The impact of parochial political activities on particular residential areas, upon class cohesion is not clear. The role played in part of segregation in the formation of such groups is extremely obscure. As a summary, segregation may both inhibit contact between classes and facilitate within it. It may reinforce ignorance between classes or produce self-satisfaction or disinterest (Harris 1984: 38).

We believe that class formation should be evaluated in both production and reproduction spheres together and should consider the relationship and interaction of two distinct but somewhat related spheres with closer examination of particular cases. The important question here is that, what are the ways in which segregation affects the process of class formation. Four elements are of significance: (1) class structure, (2) housing tenure (3), communication technology and lastly (4) political activity. The first element is related with the significance of segregation that depends upon the nature of class structure and in particular to the degree in which classes are economically polarized. In the modern metropolis, contrary to the nineteenth century industrial city of Manchester that Engels clearly described the polarization the class structure is complicated with the existence of middle class.

The second element is related with the spread of domestic property ownership. The debate has been focused around the relationship between class and homeownership. The assertion is that tenure groups have different economic interest and different political activity heavily dependent upon the place of residency. The advocates of this view (Saunders, 1984, 1986; Pahl, 1989) assert that homeownership, household commitment to its place of residence and territoriality based on political activity, are the effects that are functioning independently of class.

Pahl argues that the city is a source of new inequalities which is hard to tie to those inequalities generated by the world of work. This does not mean that to deny the wage inequalities as an important factor determining urban inequalities. She argues that individuals' life chances are affected directly by income and as well as indirectly by relative access to other sources. The public allocation of resources and the degree of accessibility of public provision are important sources of inequalities for the urban people.

Those who have to travel long distances to work (such as central city service workers who cannot afford to live in central areas) are therefore worse off than those who can choose to live near their employment, just as those who live near to positive public resources such as shops, parks and so on are better off than those who live near to negative ones such as gasworks or motorways. While high wages enable people to buy privileged access to positive urban resources, it is also the case that, in a country like Britain, allocation of public resources by the state is also important in distributing life chances ([*Pahl, 1970: 53*] quoted from Saunders, 1986: 119).

Pahl proclaims that the task of urban sociology is to study the distributional patterns of urban inequalities because these patterns are affected by both market and state regulations (Saunders, 1986: 119).

According to Saunders, each consumption issue affects a different social base which cannot be defined in class terms. He thus insists on the analytical distinction between class struggles over social investment and sectoral struggles over social consumption (Saunders, 1981, 274). Thus 'the boundaries of consumption sectors bear a necessary non-correspondence to class boundaries (in Weberian terms they are 'status groups'), nor do they necessarily exhibit any significant degree of overlap with each other''.

The line of arguments related with the significance of consumption suggest that more of an emphasis should be given to cultural rather economic construction of class and class identity in the "postmodernist" capitalist consumer societies of today (Crompton, 1993). Saunders has developed a "sociology of consumption" which he offers as an alternative to the "sociology of production", or "class":

It is suggested that a major fault line is opening up in countries like Britain between a majority of people who can service their key consumption requirements through the market and a minority who remain reliant on an increasingly inadequate and alienative form of direct state provision. This division, arising out of social relations of consumption, is, it is argued, becoming as if not more significant than the more familiar class divisions arising out of the social relations of production, for it is fundamentally influencing not only political alignments but also material life chances and cultural identities (Saunders, 1986: 290).

Saunders suggests that the main axis of dichotomy in consumption cleavage is between those whose income, housing needs, transport, education, and health requirements are met by the state and those whose needs are met by the purchase of such services in the private market. He claims that this shift is also associated with the 'class dealignment'' in voting behaviour, in particular with the decline of the votes of the Labour Party in Britain. He is critical of 'realism'' in the sense that Althusserianism because it accords explanatory primacy to causes which can only be identified theoretically and are therefore immune to empirical testing. (Saunders, 1986: 360). Thus Saunders consistently rejects the utility of *class* concepts either in the Weberian or Marxian sense. Saunders asserts that resources are not allocated only as a basis of market power but also by a political logic determined by the exercise of state power⁹. Those who satisfy their consumption needs through private purchase, it is argued, will tend to align themselves with political parties which stress the importance of individual self-reliance, and the market, rather than the state, provision of consumption requirements in fields such as housing, health, education and transport.

⁹ Saunders is not the sole defender who defends the primacy of consumption over production. Scholars such as Bauman (1982), Lash & Urry (1987) and Offe (1985a) have all argued that the emphasis on distributive issues, which became, increasingly the focus of organized class action during the twentieth century, has resulted in the increasing dominance of consumption issues within contemporary political debates (quoted from Crompton, 1993: 104).

Saunders asserts that consumption should be regarded as an *independent* dimension of social stratification.

His main empirical field of study is on housing. He argues that those in the population who are disadvantaged in the market, and thus forced into a reliance on state-provided (local-authority) housing have emerged as a peculiarly deprived "underclass" in Britain. Thus when the conservative government, elected in 1979, put into practice its policy of selling off local-authority-owned housing to tenants at substantial discounts, Saunders welcomed this as a move in the extension of the privatization of consumption, and thus the extension of real consumer power. These, Saunders argues, are satisfied through the "ontological security" engendered by a "home of one's own".

However, many experts both Marxist and non-Marxist in the field of social policy have also been highly critical of the neo-liberal strategies of the British government of 1980s (including the privatization of local-authority housing), which have exacerbated the range of material inequalities in British society (Walker 1981).

Arguments relating to ''class dealignment'' in the patterns of voting behaviour in Britain may have been effectively critiqued by demonstrating the continuing association between working class occupations and non-Conservative voting, but these findings do not illuminate what some might consider the larger issue of the long-term diminution of the ''working class''.

However, although the conventional class concept needs revision and different conceptualisation under the light of developments in the new age, scholars signals the importance of production issues in the form of "work" will still continue to describe the considerable extent of material inequalities, in capitalist societies and these inequalities will, to varying degrees, be reproduced across generations (Crompton, 1993: 106). There is a need for new conceptualisation both holds production and reproduction sphere.

What the consumption-sector debate has demonstrated, however, is that,..., occupational or employment class (in all variety) still remains as a very powerful indicator of the structure of material advantage and disadvantage, and associated attidutes, in contemporary societies (Crompton, 1993: 170)

However all these arguments and counter arguments must be evaluated in the context of British society and what homeownership means differs in other nations¹⁰. However interaction between class and tenure has been to some extent remains under studied generally (Harris, 1984: 39-40).

Another example of the neo-Marxian theories of sectoral fragmentation of classes has been proposed by Dunleavy (Duke & Edgell, 1984: 182). He draws on the work of Habermas, O'Connor and Castells. He suggests that consumption sectors may be said to exist wherever consumption processes involve competition between public/state and private/market forms of provision. He argues that the polarization between the two modes of consumption constitutes an important basis for the growth of social and political cleavages, for instance between users of public and private transport. Different users react to the government spending on state provision that the spending contributes to a potential for social and political polarization.

Dunleavy argued that sectoral cleavages forms groupings of non-class or "immediate" interests, which may crosscut (or overlap with) social class. He accepts only for the *partial* independence of consumption sectors from social class. He asserts that the most striking fragmentation between state and market provision in housing and transport develops as a consequence of sharp cleavages. Moreover, consumption locations in different consumption processes may overlap and thereby reinforce the process of fragmentation (Duke & Edgell, 1984: 183).

Duke & Edgell (1984) has employed empirical study to test a series of hypothesis derived from recent theoretical developments in neo-Marxist urban political sociology by utilizing purposefully collected data on the public spending cuts in Britain. They have tired to see the fragmentation of social class by consumption sectoral cleavages.

¹⁰ The recent article about the relationship between poverty and homeownership in Britain showed that the proportion of the poor home-owners was very much higher than one might have surmised from the an acquaintance with the great bulk of previous research on poverty and housing policy (Burrows, 2003: 1223). The study which was based on the former study held in 2000 by Wilcox employing official data sources, revealed that at least one-half of all households living in poverty were of the home-owners ([Burrows and Wilcox, 2000] quoted from Burrows, 2002: 1224). However Burrows's stated that although home-owners formed half of the poor, there were substantial differences between poor home-owner and poor tenants.

	Housing Own council	Transport Own car	Health private	Education private
Employer				
Petty bourgeoisie				
Controller ¹¹				
Worker				

Source: Duke & Edgell, 1984: 185-194.

Some conclusions from their empirical tests are as follows:

(1) In both data sets (Manchester and Britain) controllers emerge as more privatized than workers on all services. Employers are predictably the most privatized of all.

(2) Social class positions emerge as a stronger influence than consumption location on attitude to the government's spending cuts in general.

(3) Wholly private controllers are more Conservative (vote to the Conservative party) than wholly private workers but wholly public controllers are also more Labour than wholly public workers. This contradicts Dunleavy's thesis of consumption sectoral cleavages resulting in a weakening of the link between the Labour party and the working class rather than between the Conservative party and the middle class.

As a result, they asserted that social class (defined in terms of the social relations of production) is indeed fragmented by consumption sectoral cleavages in the manner suggested by Dunleavy. Predominantly private consumption processes produce greater fragmentation in the working class, whereas predominantly public consumption processes generate greater fragmentation in the middle class. The most salient result of their search was the finding that their indicator of overall consumption location results in greater fragmentation among the working class. They argued that this was because of the capitalist nature of British society in which essential services consumed like housing and transport are predominantly private. They found that political party alignment is influenced more by overall consumption location than by social class (at least in terms of controllers and workers) as indicative of the Dunleavy model.

The role of communication technology upon the spatial segregation is depended upon the levels of personal mobility and the capability of individual to learn about one another. With the rise of personal mobility, the distinctive opportunities provided by segregation will decrease. In the absence of segregation it is easier to sustain class inequalities. Another

¹¹ Following Dunleavy, they prefer the term 'controller of labour' instead of 'manager'. Thus controllers of labour constitute the middle class whereas workers constitute the working class. Other categories are the capitalist class (employer) and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (Duke & Edgell, 1984: 184).

assertion is that in parallel to the higher literacy levels and greater availability of newspapers, radio, cable television, movies, personnel computers, etc., people are able to acquire a great deal of information about their social environment and the importance of segregation will decline. However the groups which have limited access to the media, the importance of segregation remains same or becomes the only source of getting information.

Lastly the effects of segregation upon class formation are dependent upon the political upheavals. As an example in the early 1960s, political militancy was sustained through a solidarity which segregation enhanced (Harris, 1984: 40-41).

As a conclusion, the class concept structured solely around production relationship caused many difficulties and bottlenecks in the twentieth century onwards. However, without abandoning the importance of production its limitations should be recognized. There is a need of new conceptualisation to interrelate the distribution and spatial redistribution issues.

The impact of segregation upon class structure has highly complicated and contested the issue. However it is clear that the class formation and processes of class formation cannot be grasped by taking as a starting point solely to the spheres of production (Şengül, 2001: 24). There is common agreement to consider class formation and class consciousness without separating production and reproduction relationship (Crompton, 1993: 126-134).

III.4.5. THE THIRD ERA: AFTER 1980s: EMERGENCE OF CONSUMPTION AS A MAIN SOURCE OF DIFFERENTIATION AND NEW FORM OF IDENTITY

I went to visit Berlin with Micheal. He in search of old friends, dispersed in the war, might be anywhere...The most significant incident this one: Micheal ran into some people he knew from before the war...One of them, a woman with flaming angry eyes, said: "What are you doing, comrade, wearing that expensive suit?" Micheal's clothes are always off the peg, he spends nothing on clothes. He said: "But Irene, it's the cheapest suit I could buy in London. Her face snapped shut into suspicion; she glanced at companions, then a sort of triumph. She said: "Why do you come here, spreading that capitalist poison? We know you are in rags and there are no consumer goods." Micheal was at first stunned, then he said, still with irony, that even Lenin had understood the possibility that a newly-established communist society might suffer from a shortage of consumer goods. Whereas England which, 'as I think you know, Irene,'' is very solid capitalist society, is quite well-equipped with consumer goods...'Imagine Anna, that all those heroic communists have died to create a society where Comrade Irene can spit at me for wearing a very slightly better suit than her husband has.¹²

The Golden Notebook, Doris Lessing

The wider social and economic changes which took place during the 1970s, affects the discussion of class in respect of their effects on employment. The transition from modernity to post-modernity indicates the continuing break of older, mass production industries and the growth of new, computer-based production and flexible specialization. More generally, if work as employment is declining in its significance towards the close of the twentieth century, then it has been argued that other factors, notably *consumption*, are becoming more relevant for the analysis of stratification system. People's identities are being increasingly expressed and manifest through consumption, rather than production. As a consequence, outdated nineteenth-century class theories, obsessed with productivism, should be finally abandoned (Crompton, 1993: 166-167).

In 1980s consumption become key issue for social theory in general. The concepts of ''consumer culture'' and ''consumer society'' are central to unlocking some of the mysteries of contemporary societies. If we now inhabit a social world where consumption has replaced work as people's central life interest (Shove & Warde, 1998). In post-modern societies individuals, more and more, are obliged to choose their identities. Consumption then becomes more than just the pursuit of use-values or a claim to social prestige for it is also deeply associated with the sense of self and personality. An answer to the question: "what sort of person is s/he?" is now likely to be answered in terms of lifestyle or form of visible attachment to a group rather than in terms of personal virtues or characteristics. Chaney defined consumption as all types of social activity that people do that might be used to characterise and identify them, other than (or in addition to) what they might do for living (Chaney, 1996: 15).

...lifestyles are features of the modern world or what I shall also call modernity. Lifestyles are patterns of action that differentiate people...Lifestyles therefore help to make sense of (that is

¹²Bocock claims the reason behind the collapse of communist regime was the regime's failure to fulfill the people's desire of becoming consumers and even to promise for the near future to the public (1993: 53). He states ''The consumer goods and services which capitalism has been able to deliver to many people in the West failed to be delivered by the communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Yet more and more young people in these societies became potential consumers. Their desire to become consumers, a state of being which most people in the West can take for granted, changed world history, because of the failure of communism to deliver consumer goods and experiences, or even to hold out any hope of delivering them in the foreseeable future''. We've cited this assertion not to discuss the reason of the collapse of the regimes but to indicate the role of consumption played in the contemporary era.

explain but not necessarily justify) what people do, and why they do it, and what doing it means to them and others (Chaney, 1996: 4)

In 1980s consumption become key issue for social theory in general. Many scholars believe that the main characteristic of this era is the emergence of *lifestyle* as a project (Featherstone, 1991; Bocock, 1993; 109). Consumption has become a process, which typifies late modern or *post-modern* capitalism. Bocock states that many people's sense of identity is now bound up with their *patterns of consumption* rather than their work roles, it can be said that a new phase of capitalism, which may usefully be called *post-modern* to distinguish it from earlier phases, has emerged (1993: 109). In a similar line, Featherstone states that:

The imagery of consumer culture presents a world of ease and comfort, once the privilege of an elite, now apparently within the reach of all. An ideology of personal consumption presents individuals as free to do their own thing, to construct their own little worlds in the private sphere. Individuals are also encouraged to enjoy freedom of association, not to be constrained by family obligations, religious ethics or *civitas*. The basic freedom within the culture is the freedom to consume; yet the hedonistic lifestyle and ever expanding needs ultimately depend upon permanent economic expansion (Featherstone, 1991: 176).

In its historical context we can say that consumption studies were generally confronted as part of the study of social stratification. Weber's analyses of status groups and Veblen's conspicuous consumption are concerned with processes of social classification and the demonstration of prestige. Simmel explored fashion and taste as aspects of the anatomy of modernity. The Frankfurt School made the other main contribution through its concerns with the spread of mass culture and the impact of *commodification* on cultural standards, social relations.

The American sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) analyzed the *nouveaux riches* of the late 19th century industrial capitalism. He scrutinized the new urban lifestyles emerged at the beginning of the century in his famous, *Theory of Leisure Class*. He was the first sociologist who was concerned with processes of social classification and the demonstration of prestige and tried to find out functional relationship between them (Kıray, 1962: 78).

Veblen, in his famous book, Theory of Leisure Class, depicted the newly emerged consumption pattern of the *nouveaux riches* of the late nineteenth century industrial capitalism. He asserted that the meaning of consumption was far more exceeded satisfying the basic human's needs; consumption should have exhibited her social status. Veblen added

that, the members of the *leisure class* whose wealth came from accumulation of money from industrial capitalism freed themselves working with hand. That wealth should now be revealed itself in the form of differentiated pattern to mark its distinction from the rest of the society. He made a clear-cut distinction between *basic* human needs and *non-basic* human needs (Corrigan, 1997: 21-26).

The quasi-peaceable gentleman of leisure...consumes freely and of the best, in food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accoutrements, amusements, amulets, and idols or divinities...

Closely related to the requirement that the gentleman must consume freely and of the right kind of goods, there is the requirement that he must know how to consume them in seemly manner. His life of leisure must be conducted in due form. Hence arise good manners...High-bred manners and ways of living are items of conformity to the norm of **conspicuous leisure**¹³ and **conspicuous consumption**. ([Veblen, 1912-1953: 64] quoted from Bocock, 1993: 18).

This new consumption patterns took place nowhere else than in big cities. Simmel also scrutinized the new urban metropolitan lifestyles appeared in big cities at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Simmel explored fashion and taste as aspects of the anatomy of modernity. The city life should be marked its difference. The consciousness of having specific lifestyle means being member of specific group or class in which its boundaries defined according to her way of consuming. The consumers changed dramatically, they were no more Calvinist who restricted them consuming in a manner irrational and non-exhibitionist type. People sense of identity created through the style of appearances, manners, displays etc. All they wanted to do transmitting the messages as members of special tribe. Urbanities can do it only by sharing cultural symbols with the others (Bocock, 1993: 27). What he tried to find out is to explore fashion and taste as aspects of the anatomy of modernity. Simmel argued that the daily lives of people who lived in a great metropolis were affected by the need to cultivate a *blasé* attitude towards other:

For it was only by screening out the complex stimuli that stemmed from the rush of modern life that we could tolerate its extremes. Our only outlet...is to cultivate a sham individualism through the pursuit of signs of status, fashion, or marks of individual eccentricity.

(Harvey, 1989: 26).

¹³ Bolds belong to the author.

The never-ending desire of being seen by the other leads the *trickle-down effect*. The process of emulation whereby lower classes seek to imitate the practices of their superiors, implying that there will be no cessation of demand for particular goods until the lower class has the same possessions as the higher. Once it is acknowledged that in such a system the higher class will constantly be seeking new items to mark its social status, and then perpetual demand for new products appears inevitable (Shove & Warde, 1998). Fresh desires replace previous ones, novel items replace established ones. This is not a cycle of replacing, that which is worn out, but one of inevitable obsolescence, driven by a mechanism of invidious social comparison¹⁴.

After the war era, The Neo-Marxist approach, known as Frankfurt School by Horkheimer (1936), Adorno (1972) and Marcuse (1964) had been arisen (Featherstone, 1991: 38). They criticized severely the newly emerging consumption society. Frankfurt School of critical sociology is to be considered on the midway between utopian anarchism and historical materialism. Its principal concern is a radical critique, grounded in Hegelian and Marxist categories, of the multifaceted cultural manifestation of capitalism, including the deification of technical reason itself (Friedman, 1987:62).

Frankfurt school believes that "change" will be achieved by revolution. For this, the new classes should hold the power. Holding power can be realized through the class-consciousness. It is this consciousness that the new classes can achieve the power to realize revolution. The illusory, false effects of the *culture industry*, where advertisements, media are the main mediators and manipulators, are the main obstacles because of its blurring effects of achieving the consciousness. Especially in the studies of Adorno and Marcuse, *culture industry* lays at the heart of their studies (Tekeli, 1994).

The progressive expansion of market is discredit traditional norms and unhinges long-held meanings, which were firmly grounded in social relationship and cultural objects. Advertising plays a crucial role in this process and has become one of the central purveyors of the new consumer culture values. An effect of the extension of the commodity form to more and more aspects of social life ([Lukács 1971] quoted from Featherstone, 1991: 38) has been the *reification* of social relationships and cultural artefacts, which leads to the primacy

¹⁴ This traditional sociological explanation of consumer behavior has been criticized extensively, for its weak specification, because there is evidence of 'trickle-up' as well as down, and because of the now contested presupposition that consumers share the same hierarchical evaluation of possessions and activities (Shove & Warde, 1998).

of a secondary exchange (monetary) value which rests uneasily alongside, and even conceals the original use-vale or meaning (Featherstone, 1991: 38-39).

Theodor Adorno has put a step further this metaphor of exchange-value means that last vestiges of the original use-value of goods have been obliterated and forgotten. The exchange-value was being used to illuminate symbolic value. Hence goods are free to take on the mantle of a secondary, *ersatz* use-value, which now becomes perceived as their real use, which will vary with whatever illusions are saleable (Featherstone, 1991: 39).

Goods are emancipated in capitalism bearing wide cultural connotations and illusions. Commercials role has utmost importance in assigning and imposing romantic love, exotics, desires, beauty, and good life over the ordinary consumption goods like soaps, washing machines, and automobiles. Scientific management and fordist capitalist production glorifies itself invading new markets and expanding them far beyond the national boundaries. In these processes, the masses should be converted *mass-consumers*, mediated by advertisement industry and media standing ready at the service of capitalism¹⁵.

We can find similar arguments in the studies of Baudrillard, in his theory, taking the advantage of semiotics shows the continuous and active manipulation of *signs* and *symbols* by advertising the ''floating signifier'' in consumption (Corrigan, 1997: 20).

The same process of rationalization of productive forces, which took place in the nineteenth century in the sector of *production*, is accomplished, in the twentieth century, in the sector of *consumption*. Having socialized the masses into a labour force, the industrial system had to go further in order to fulfil itself and to socialize the masses (that is, to control them) into a force of consumption ([Baudrillard, 1988a: 50] cited from Corrigan, 1997: 21).

Baudrillard's assertions are:

(1) The social determinants of meaning have been overturned so that the signs and symbols of fashionable display circulate without any specific logic. There is no longer any determinacy internal to the signs of fashion, hence they become free to commute and permutated without limit.

(2) The consequent meaningless is not horrifying chaos as we might expect, but is instead enchanting a form of hallucination.

¹⁵ Not all the members of the Frankfurt School remained loyal to this position. Lowenthal emphasized democratic potential of the mass-books marketing in the eighteenth century (quoted form Featherstone, 1990: 40).

His assertion depends upon the developments at the end of the 20th century, the signifiers of economic value that is units of currency, have been divorced from any necessary relationship with signified of real value. Freed from the market itself, money becomes an autonomous simulacrum, far from of every message and every signification of exchange, becoming a message of it and exchanging amongst itself. The rootlessness of money has been caused that we cannot refer anything out of system of communication. Today the whole system is swapped with indeterminacy and every reality is absorbed by the *hyper reality* of the code and simulation.

Political, social, historical, economic etc., reality has already incorporated the hyperrealist dimension of simulation so that we are now living entirely within the "aesthetic" hallucination of reality. We are moving from the capitalist economy that Marx analyzed through the labor theory of value, and we move into a world of dreams (or nightmares) driven by the sensuality of representation (Baudrillard 1998). In his perspective consumption is something that is tightly linked not to the individual consumer but to the overall economic system as a whole. Consumption becomes part of a communication system, but not one tied to individuals (Corrigan 1997: 19-21).

In the limits of the thesis we are interested in the role of consumption practices in the process of social differentiation and its refinement in sociological thought. Two theories that have been influential in the development of sociological accounts of consumption: Pierre Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) and Douglas & Isherwood (1979) anthropological approach to consumption.

Pierre Bourdieu, and particularly with one of his major studies, that of cultural discriminations, he examined distinctions between groups in French society. He aimed to analyse how various consumer goods, ways of presenting food and eating meals, home furnishings and interior decoration etc., were used by specific groups, socio-economic classes in particular, to demarcate their distinctive way of living, to mark themselves off from others (Bocock, 1993: 61). He made a societal map based on the consumption patterns.

Bourdieu seeks for a middle way between the abstract logic of structural determinations and the atomising subjectivity of personal creativity. He tries to find out the necessity of dialectic between the structural conditions of possibility and the actor's use of those possibilities (reflexivity). He aimed to analyse how various consumer goods, ways of presenting food and eating meals, home furnishings and interior decoration etc, were used by specific socioeconomic classes to demarcate their distinctive way of living, to mark themselves off from others.

His way of departs stem from the language: dialectical relationship between the objective relations of the language and the dispositions making up linguistic competence and this is dialectic of internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality. The way, in which this dialectic is institutionalised for Bourdieu, is through the concept of *habitus*. Habitus are system of durable, transposable dispositions; *structured structures* predisposed to function as *structuring structures*. It is this mechanism that the objective requirements of cultural order are inscribed as predictable courses of action for individuals. The habitus makes possible the contingencies of local circumstance in an historical context. According to Bourdieu, lifestyles are thus the systematic products of habitus. System of dispositions (habitus), are the characteristics of the classes and class fractions. Aesthetic discriminations and attitudes necessary for the cultural discourse of the privileged part of the habitus of those who possess symbolic mastery, and thus the disadvantaged are violently forced into the reproduction of their disadvantages (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]: 169-172).

He is concerned with the social organisation of the acquisition and manipulation of cultural (or symbolic goods) because this organisation is held to be structured in ways that are homologous with the social structures of economic capital. There is a crucial distinction between those who acquire their cultural capital through inheritance and those who acquire it purely through educational qualifications (Chaney, 1996: 62).

For Bourdieu, it is possible to combine these two different sorts of capital, so that, to mention the four main possibilities, certain social groups will be (1) high in both economic and cultural capital: (2) high in economic but low in cultural capital; (3) low in economic capital but high in cultural capital; (4) low in both economic and cultural capital. Groups can also combine all sorts of intermediary amounts, and so it is possible to place social groups in a map of social space according to their peculiar combinations of the two types of capital. Bourdieu (1984 [1979]: 128-9) does just that for the various groups one finds in French society. Indeed, he takes two different things the space of *social positions* that we have just been discussing and the space of *lifestyles*- and superimposes the map of one on the map of other. This enables us to see how particular sorts of lifestyle characterize particular social groups (Corrigan, 1997: 27).

Bourdieu is able to reveal the logic of social relations with respect to their operation in the social domains where economic position would appear to be less directly relevant in the determination of social position generally. His account can be completely different from the classical class theories of Marx and Weber, who saw classes as groups of economic actors. For Marx, classes were also major historical actors (all history is the history of class consciousness), and the development of class-consciousness and identity cannot be separated from each other.

Constructing a theory of social space presupposes a series of breaks with Marxist theory. First, a break with the tendency to privilege substances- here, the real groups, whose number, limits, members, etc., one claims to define- at the expense of *relationships*; and with the intellectualist illusion which leads one to consider the theoretical class, constructed by sociologist, as a real class, an effectively mobilized group. Secondly, there has to be a break with the economism which leads one to reduce the social field, a multi-dimensional space, solely to the economic field, to the relations of economic production, which are thus constituted as coordinates of social position. Finally, there has to be break with the objectivism which goes hand-in-hand with intellectualism and which leads one to *ignore* the symbolic struggles of which the different fields are the site, where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world and, in particular, the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields (Bourdieu, 1985: 195).

According to Bourdieu the origin of power lies in the production of social differences, which may be, real or symbolic, economic or cultural. Class is real, but is not being confused with a purely economic classification on the one hand and with just ''lifestyle'' on the other. Class is a field of practices, shared by people, but also used by them to compete, not only with other classes, but also with the members of the same class. Real struggles take place, however, symbolic, and this struggle is largely through consumption. He detects a constant struggle over the legitimacy of class cultures, with groups competing to establish their own preferences as superior because this is a way of validating cultural capital, which is valuable in conflict of positions of social power (Bocock, 1993: 62). Bourdieu noted that:

Struggles over the appropriation of economic or cultural goods are, simultaneously, symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs in the form of classified, classifying goods or practices, or to conserve or subvert the principles of classification of these distinctive properties. As a consequence, the space of life-styles, i.e., the universe of the properties whereby the occupants of different positions differentiate themselves, with or without the intention of distinguishing themselves, is itself only the balance-sheet, at a given moment, of the symbolic struggles over the imposition of the legitimate life-style, which are mostly fully

developed in the struggles for the monopoly of the emblems of 'class'-luxury goods, legitimate cultural goods- or the legitimate manner of appropriating them...'Distinction', or better, 'class', the transfigured, misrecognizable, legitimate form of social class, only exists through the struggles for the exclusive appropriation of the distinctive signs which make 'natural distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]: 249-250).

Bourdieu employs aggregate-occupational categories in his vast ethnographic study of the French class structure (1984[1979]). He does not consider these categories to constitute ''classes'', even though he recognizes that occupation is generally a good and economical indicator of position in social space, and provides information on occupational effects such as the nature of work, the occupational milieu, and ''its cultural and organizational specificities''. Nevertheless, the classes so identified are not ''real, objectively constituted groups'' (1984[1979]). The commonalities of their location, their similar conditions of existence and conditioning, might indeed result in similarities of attitude and practices.

In a similar vein Douglas & Isherwood, like Bourdieu, pointed out forcefully how consumption could be designed by different social mechanism to control and protect the existing status system within a society hierarchically organized.

Douglas & Isherwood propose an anthropological approach to consumption when asking the question: what are the uses of goods? Firstly, goods "are needed for making visible and stable the categories of culture" (1979:59). This seems directed against the model of the consumer generally adopted in economic thought. For the economist, the consumer is an individual and that individual exercises sovereign choice in fulfilling needs. The economic model remains locked within the individual. Douglas & Isherwood move beyond this to the much more general societal level of culture (Corrigan, 1997: 18). So goods here not only show us what particular social categories are relevant in a given culture, but they stabilize these categories in a concrete ways.

It is standard ethnographic practice to assume that all material possessions carry social meanings and to concentrate a main part of cultural analysis upon their use as communicators''. But goods have another use that is also important: they ''make and maintain social relationship'' (1979: 67-69).

They suggest stratifying a modern society by the dominant type of goods produced through industrial production, and the service sector (1979: 112). Three social categories are defined by their consumption of three sets of goods: one, a staples set, corresponding to the primary

production sector; the next, a technology set, corresponding to the secondary production sector; and the third, an information set, corresponding to tertiary production. They proposed three distinctive consumption patterns:

(1) Small scale, defined by high proportion of total expenditure on food;

(2 Medium scale, defined by a relatively higher proportion of total expenditure on the set of goods representing advanced consumer technology, and a high income elasticity for this set, combined with a relatively declining proportion of total expenditure on and lower income elasticity for food;

(3) Large scale, defined by a relatively higher proportion of expenditure on information (formal and informal), combined with high-income elasticity for the technology set, and lower income elasticity and lesser proportion of income spent on food.

They provide the scheme in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Consumption Spheres				
Consumption scale	Periodicity constraints in household processes	Frequency of major consumption rituals involving large units		
Small	Heavy constraints, high-frequency household routines	Infrequent		
Medium	Less periodicity constraints, improved technology basis of consumption	Infrequent and excluded from circulation of marking services in larger-scale consumption circles		
Large	Freedom from periodicity constraints thanks to improved technology or employment of domestic labor	Frequent, involving large units and monopolistically excluding middle and low ranks		

Source: Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 111

The poor people access for the first pattern is limited with the food consumption. The upper class affords the commodities and skills to make judgement about the specialities, available in the information packages of the service goods and services. Our consumption practices, at the same time reveal our social statues. 'Lifestyles then, can be evaluated as ways of mediating technologies and information, structure of relationship and symbolic meaning''. As a conclusion we can assert that class strategies can be found in one's lifestyles and act of consumption gives one's social status, social standing in the social space.

CHAPTER IV

IV. STRATIFICATION STUDIES IN TURKEY

"You type well" I told Mehtap. "I always learned money making skills" "Like my learning how to play piano. I learned many things that would never amount to anything" "Don't think that way, what you were taught may have some worth"... "Like the increasing desirability of a girl graduated from private school""

'Yıldırım Bölge Kadınlar Koğuşu'', Sevgi Soysal.

Although many opponents' voices have become strong steadily after the collapse of the eastern block and the tumbling down of the communist ideology, many western scholars have remained faithful to social class and continued on giving a privileged place in their voluminous studies (Goldthorpe, 1996; Wright, 1997, Marshall, 1997; Crompton, 1993; Scott, 1996; Scase, 1992). They continue to investigate dynamics behind the inequalities, deprivation, destitute by looking at voting behaviour, collective identities, social values and attitudes, through either nationwide or cross-national studies. Unfortunately, Turkish social studies do not take part in all these efforts (Aktas, 2001: 210; Ayata & Ayata, 2000; Kandiyoti, 2003:2). Ayata & Ayata state that social and class-base differentiations, community life and patterns, urban culture have been rarely subjected to scientific investigation (2000: 151). They also indicate that those studies based upon these issues have been mainly concentrated on particular social process or particular area of the city. As Kandiyoti states 'rarely have the study of patterns of social stratification and culture remain further apart". She continues on saying that, whereas the western scholars passionately involved in the studies covering the connections between the production of styles and tastes, and the reproduction of class and status, sub-cultures and their dynamics and resistance, Turkish social scientists were utilising the "blunt tools of modernisation theory".

¹ Translation belongs to the author.

The combined effects of modernisation and Marxist theories in the formative years of Turkish social science often translated into powerful statements of teleology. The inevitable transformation of society from traditional, rural and less developed to modern, urban, industrialised and more developed, or alternatively, from feudal to capitalist, meant that the complexities on the ground could either be dismissed or treated as transient forms, often absolving social scientists from engaging in serious cultural analysis (2002: 2).

Kandiyoti argues that post-colonial theory has flourished under the representation crisis brought by the inadequacy of the modernist theories to explain the changes taken place recently all over the world. Marxist and liberal paradigm, although highly differentiated, at the same time they all had nurtured the similar, common assumptions, belief to the efficacy of the scientific rational, particular progressive concepts of humanity and liberal autonomous individuals. However, universalistic enlightment narratives have excluded the major part of the geography (non-western parts), non-white and women (2). The reflection of this critique in Turkey took specific questioning of the republican period of Kemalist modernity (mainly discussed in the ''Rethinking Modernity and National Identity'' in Turkey by Kasaba & Bozdoğan, 1998). According to Kandiyoti, both advocators of Turkish modernist and its critics have been highly ''deficient in interrogating the notion ''modern'' itself, and charting its local specifities (2002: 4).

This has meant that studies of the ways in which codes of class and status were produced, reproduced and politicised as competing cultural styles, preferences and orientations have been largely absent from sociological and anthropological accounts of Turkey. The transformations brought about by the political economy of the post-1980s, precipitating both a greater fragmentation of social identities and an increasing complexity in their public complexity in their public articulation makes this absence even more glaring, stimulating public intellectuals and the media to fill the intellectual gap (5).

On the other hand, Aktaş's argument for the scarcity of stratification studies in the field has been all around that Turkey is underdeveloped and not-industrialised country (2001: 211), and the major part of the population employed in primary sector, etc. Mardin, in a similar vein asserts that highly sophisticated occupations as functioning of highly advanced capitalist market structure are the main prerequisite for any stratification analysis. In the West, occupations are particularly specialized in control of goods and services under the functioning of the operation of the market economy. Mardin claims that the insufficient and immature character of Turkish capitalist market system makes occupational category difficult to utilize as a base of any class and stratification study for the Turkish case. This commentary forces scholars to develop other kind of measures.

At this point we have to mention Kıray's studies which have been notably exceptional (Tekeli, 2000; Kandiyoti, 2002). In her pioneering works patterns of stratifications and consumption, social change and material culture were central. On the other hand at the theoretical level there has been a fair existence of observatory investigations referring classes, squatters, class struggles. Kalaycıoğlu states that as parallel to the political atmosphere of the 1960s and 70s class studies primarily have focused on the ''working class history'' (Kalaycıoğlu et. al, 1998). However, empirical studies far beyond the simply socio-economic differentiations have been rarely encountered.

At the turn of the 1980s, Turkish economy that entered a period of integration into the world economy has been faced with the rapid and unforeseeable transformation that brought fragmentation of identities and blurred the boundaries of social lives. Studies have been held by popular writers¹ and media studies. 1980s liberalisation and privatisation politics accompanied by conscious and determined effects of creation of new forms of lifestyles² and elites (based upon bare observations and with slight commentaries) have been other sources of interest among the scholars. Until recently, urban stratification or "middle-class" issues surprisingly was unable to find a place in the field (Kandiyoti 2002, Kalaycioğlu et. al., 1998) Aktas, 2001). This might have been given priority to other dichotomies such as rural/urban split (translated as tradition to modernity) which were seen more influential and effective However, the effects of liberalization policies resulted in unprecedented fragmentation and polarization within the "middle class". While public sector functionaries were worseningoff³, some employees of multinational firms were getting better off. (Kandiyoti, 2002:5). The newly emerged *sites* highly protected and affluent lifestyles were becoming ever more visible in the city space. Ayata's works are good example of attempts for understanding the economic and cultural underpinnings of the new-form of middle class identity (2000, 2002).

¹ Can Kozanoğlu's *Cilalı İmaj Devri* and Nurdam Gürbilek's *Vitrinde Yaşamak* are good examples.

² Rıfat Bali's book *Tarz-ı Hayat'tan Lifestyle'a: Yeni seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* deserves special attention for pointing out the newly emerged lifestyle in Turkey which can be observed by reading the newspapers and the editorials published in media.

³ Köse and Öncü, in their exploration of economic classes and class-based ideologies of the two significant occupational groups ''engineers and architects'' in Turkey, have concluded that in special engineers and architect working in public sector as wage employee have been exercising in parallel with the recent economic upheavals impoverishment and proletarianisation (2000). Recent economic changes have an effect to lower their class position as middle class and have an effect to equate them with the working class positions.

Formation of wealthy enclaves can be defined as new trend affecting urban morphology as a whole.

Under the light of all these debates, can we accept that class relationship, stratification, or class-base attitudes and ideologies would have some scientific issues irrelevant to the Turkish urban social structure? If the Western class schemes cannot be applicable to the Turkish society, is it impossible to produce a new one for Turkey? We believe the contrary and we have some sound base argument to verify this view. Firstly, we claim that the previous municipality election revealed the fact that some sort of the ideologically objective clues have been upsurged in Turkish urban society. In Ankara the district *Çankaya*, in Istanbul *Şişli* and finally in Izmir *Karşıyaka*, are worth mentioning. A newly published study on the everyday life of Modern Turkey, in the *Fragments of Culture* has proclaimed that the Turkish society is now exercising a social differentiation based on new axes which are hard to explain by the conventional instruments as such rural/urban, traditional/modern. New conceptualisation urgently is needed and consumption studies offer prospective and highly potential issues. As Kandiyoti claims;

There is little doubt that class cultures in Turkey are increasingly being shaped and redefined through the medium of *consumption*⁴. Although we may concur with Miller (1995) that movement of consumption to centre-stage is part of a global phenomenon, the specific meanings with which different consumption habits and styles are invested, and the way these define social identities, can only be captured through detailed ethnographies. (2002:7)

The design of this section begins with the historical determinants of the present stratification system of Turkey. Afterwards the recent contributions and studies will be summarized and finally the empirical studies will be evaluated.

IV.1. HISTORICAL SETTINGS FOR THE PRESENT PATTERN OF STRATIFICATION IN TURKEY

Ülgener states that the overseas trade competition in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between the east and west was broken against east after the beginning of the ocean trade through the Atlantic coast. The Ottoman trade was limited to Mediterranean and to the

⁴ Italic belongs to author.

caravan ways which had been established way before it begun to go into recession as a consequence of stagnation both in production and the market (1991: 141-151). Economic activity had never been rationalized in Weberian sense as in the case of objective management and rational calculations, properly seeking profits in an expanding market. On the contrary, economic activity had been continuously loosing its ground as normal economical base. "Profit" in the west was formed as a refinery and disciplinary business which had been evolving gradually after the beginning of the capitalism. In the Ottoman era, parallel to the ancient philosophy (not totally because of the religion), opposite to the west there were the dominancy of contemption and scornful moral bigotry against the trade activities. Ülgener provides example of the term "kârhane" derived from the "kâr" which means profit was converted a shameful "kerhane" (1991: 170). To own wealth and its accumulation was not as a result of laborious working day or rational calculations but rather political stands. The power and social standing went hand in hand and those two which had been complementary factors in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Ottoman society. The level of wealth was not taken as a function of production and labor force but rather functioned to stand and to use the position of various social estates that held the top position of the society. It is not surprising that wealth was not accumulated on the hands of tradesmen but rather on the hands of political power holders. Wealth was primarily a political category so for those who wanted to get more than their average daily substances in the distribution of the wealth had to hold a position which was politically powerful or to enter the ranks of the politically powerful civil servants (1991: 177-78).

Ülgener has shown that how in an economy where political functions were paramount instead of economic activity. As Mardin states;

...the position of the Ottoman state in relation to the economy is not so much that the state had a position of control as the more subtle fact that dealings with power were more central in Ottoman society than transactions of the market. Power was a "commodity" that was more precious than the wealth, and "trade" in power was a distinguishing characteristic of the Ottoman system. This preponderance of power was paralleled by an economic ethic and a symbolism that was also different from that of Western capitalism. The taxes collected by the state were to be used to give an official the resources that he needed to keeps his office functioning: a military and civilian staff and the symbols of political office such as robes, rich garments, and jewel. Money thus was as much a political as an economic medium" (1980: 31).

The corner stone of the ''lifestyle'' or a way of life in the middle ages in Turkish society has been described by Ülgener characterized as the *passivity* and a kind of consciousness to stay
distant further away from the *material sphere*. The ethic and mentality of middle age was defined as a kind of "distance" consciousness. A world view was depicted as introverted, contentment with less, inertia and tranquility (1991: 66-67). This passivity against the material world shapes and moulds the economic activity in the spatial and temporal spheres:

By virtue of *spatiality*: the closure of the neighbourhoods and reluctance towards the outer spheres which far exceeds the neighbourhood boundaries. In a community close and frequent, face to face relationships are created inside the community. Ülgener explained this timidity of community with the hazardous, dangerous and disappointed relations of past experiences lived outside of the community. So the secure niches of the community, religious sects or guild organisation were born out the desire of ontological safety.

By virtue of *temporality*: 'lack of anxiety towards the future' because present is the same as it was in the past and the future won't be different. The human needs were not diversified in a way which might have lead accumulation. Small-size production, low level of accumulation and associated insecurity about the future were converted all those futuristic calculations futile. Ülgener added that the religious and theological motivations shaped the Middle Ages moral and intellectual world which eventually depicted the social life in general.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, even the rising period of the Ottoman Empire in the field of military and administration, the economic and social life had been functioning in accord with this feudal mind. To work, for instance, had been considered something inferior and incompatible with the reputation and greatness which led involvement of the non-Muslims in the trade activity. The vibrant bourgeoisie mentality, which gives values to the commerce and money as the sole and main assets as in the case of West had never flourished in Turkish society (1991: 115). Money, for instance, had not been evaluated something as economic and rational but rather considered as an instrument of particular emulation and grandiosity, social prestige and honour (1991:123). Ergüder has summarised the socio-economic values and manners by using Ülgener's thesis in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The inherited socio-economic values and manners of the Turkish society
- Fatalism
- Severe state control on the market
- Contentedness
 Avoids taking risk and individualistic entrepreneurship
- Avoids competition
- Belief the so-accepted presence of divine and perfect order
 Lack of confidence beyond the limits of small community
- Distrust outside the family enterprise
- Work is compulsory
- Working schedule is short and avoids hard and continuous work
- Living on a daily basis, planning for future is unnecessary
Querra Englisher et al Till Tenley De Yerley 1001, 11

Source: Ergüder, et. al., Türk Toplumunun Değerleri, 1991: 11.

According to Mardin the ideology of artisans and small tradesmen is of character of the "sustaining ideology⁵" whereas the upper stratums' ideology can be characterised as the extension of his political standing. He claims that these two different ideology had been functioning in a "conservative" way and resisted to the idea that wealth that resulted by capitalism had not been accepted as sole purpose by itself (1991:24). In a similar vein with Ülgener, Mardin states that "money was as much a political as an economic medium (1980: 31).

The economic ethic that fitted with the traditional Ottoman economic system was that of "equity". This implied the acceptance of social hierarchy as inevitable and justified. It also meant the expectation that a given position in society would bring with it its "just rewards". For the lower classes it meant the minimal style of life they associated with their position in society (1980:31).

In the nineteenth century, Ottoman Empire had been far from economical integration brought by the modernity, depicted as highly complex and diffused infrastructure which connected all the fragments of society with each other. In this system each fragments were in a need of interdependency. Mardin explains the political structure of the Empire, on one hand there was ruling class ''for whom status, power and rule (*herrschaft*) were primary values, on the other, there were those who were ruled''. In such a situation, market forces did never have a chance to flourish the autonomy, legitimacy and power base that they did in Western Europe'' (1980: 412). It was commonly argued that the distinguishing feature of the Ottoman society was lack of the civil society. Ottoman Empire had been a communitarian structure whose bond was religious organization, under the heavy influence of ''state (*devlet*)'' and conditioning being devoted to it. Mardin continues:

As Montesquieu observed so well, the absence of structures intervening between state and the individual was the core of "oriental despotism". The situation in the Ottoman Empire was not as stark as Montesquieu described it, since the community structure may be described as a *quasi-civil society*⁶ and structure intervening between the individual and the state, and certainly it took upon itself much of the functions of civil society. But the fact that the individual was socialized in the traditions of community and the state-both authoritarian and tight and cozy in their comprehensiveness, without legitimate, intermediate, autonomous, power structures-made

⁵ He makes a distinction between 'sustaining' ideology and 'innovative, progressive' ideology (1991: 24).

⁶ Italics belong to author.

the impact of a civilization based on the autonomous structures of "civil society" shattering (1980: 413).

The ability of the ''centre'' of a traditional society of the ''Oriental Despot'' in Montesquieuian term, depicted as the ability to stop the growth of an autonomous intermediary body between the sovereign and his subject is very important. One of the strategies used by the Ottoman state to this effect was that if the member of a guild became too wealthy he had to opt out of the craftsman slot and become a merchant. The wealth of merchants, on the other hand, was more monetized and thus controlled more easily by the state. In the nineteenth-century, Ottoman statesmen reversed their stand on this issue; they became persuaded that such an ''intermediate'' social class was a necessity for a powerful state, although it is not quite clear whether they realized that some class autonomy was a requisite for the success of such an undertaking. Western advice about the desirability of a growing ''economic pie'' had finally been accepted, and the idea of the benefits to be reaped from a Turkish entrepreneurial class was derived from this new idea of economic growth.

Mardin analyses those protagonists who were the seeds of the new entrepreneurial class by examining the Turkish novels such as ''Araba Sevdası'' with his protagonist ''Bihruz bey'', ''Felatun Bey ve Rakım Efendi'' by Ahmet Mithat Efendi a later prototype is ''Satıroğlu Şöhret'', Hüseyin Rahmi's novel ''Şık'' and so on after the ''Tanzimat'' decree which led to the changing social structure of the Empire and the influence of the deep transformation by modernization and industrialization of the West. The rights of private property holdings, protection of state functionaries were significant reforms for the upper Bureaucracy and the newly emergent classes and their artificial westernization were so often subjects to the Turkish novels. Mardin stresses the authors' negative and highly critical attitudes towards the new manners and lifestyle heavily rooted with the traditional Ottoman culture. For instance, the protagonist of the novel *Araba Sevdası*, ''Bihruz bey'' is the prototype of westernized snob overwhelmingly ridiculed and caricaturized by using a language full of irony. What lies behind this irony and caricaturizing according to Mardin was intentionally being instrumentalised with the strict social control: be a conformist to your community or stay ''alien'' (1974: 43).

Mardin states the writer of 'Felatun Bey'', snobbish westernized protagonist, Ahmet Mithad Efendi was rooted from the Ottoman's small tradesmen and was naturally allied their values, parsimony, contentedness, industriousness, in parallel with the avoidance of conspicuous consumption and being honest, summarized as community Puritanism (1974:45). In this way

of viewing the world, it is not surprising blaming or labeling consumption as something immoral a cultural crime or betrayal.

Mardin pays attention the distinctive way of conspicuous consumption in the Ottoman society. Consumption of the wealthiest had been shown excessively for the visitors, servants, servitudes, etc. Ottoman type richness can be characterized as gathering crowd for security but restrictions on the personal superfluity. He notes that in the boundaries of the Empire very few wealthy had a chance to freely enjoy luxurious lifestyle in a Westernized sense (1974:50). Wealth belongs to the social standing not the personal holding. It was believed that wealth possessed the social function. The strict criticisms raised against the nouveau rich of "Tanzimat" mainly stem from the society's norms.

Mardin asserts market base economy and personal consumption had been perceived as if thread for the coherence of the community life⁷. Syndrome of "Bihruz bey" can be taken as conservatism and anti-modernism in the community level, and this cannot be evaluated something non-plausible because modernism inevitably creates substantial burden for the communitarian way of life. And again we know that "community" had been of utmost importance for the Ottoman Empire because they had been engaged in many duties and responsibilities, which the state had failed to provide and especially when the economy had worsened, its role had been increased.

⁷ The conspicuous consumption was seen as a threat and punished severely in the Republican era. One example is the "Wealth Taxation" (Varlık Vergisi). The places like casinos, entertainment clubs were punished severely by exercising the highest rate of taxes on them, as they were considered to be the places where the extravagant, conspicuous consumption was demonstrated (Aktar 1996:118-119). This also is valid in today's Turkey; remember the discussion in the media about ''Laila'', famous entertainment place recently established in Ankara. As Aktar mentioned, the ''the brothels'' were taxed at lower rates because in brothels, the class base alignment was not seen and the wealth was not displayed. Also, the brothels were controlled strictly by the state. Behind the mentality that implemented the "Wealth Taxation" lies the fact that the places where the richness and personal wealth were displayed, were considered as a threat to break the homogeneity, "the classless" order of society which the "Kemalists" desired. Among the non-Muslim minorities, the ones who spent their wealth in an emulative way were punished by paying higher taxes than the ones who spent their money inconspicuously although their wealth was the same (Aktar 1996). The luxury was also seen as a threat and strictly controlled in the Ottoman era. One example, as Jirousek stated, would be the severe sanctioning of the luxury dresses that showed up in Ottoman Society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the consequence of the mass fashion development in Europe. Moral proscriptions against luxury dresses intended to disarm any tendency to systematically exploit the vanities of fashion as a market incentive at a time when mass fashion was taking hold in Europe. The quranic admonitions to modesty and simplicity in dressing contradicted the desires for showing off and luxury. For example, between 1759 and 1760, an edict forbade women from wearing "extravagant clothing" in public. There is a clear suggestion that a luxurious and unsuitable dress is a moral failure that threatens society (Jiroseuk, 2000: 206).

As a summary, the classical period of the Ottoman era can be depicted as the centrality and dominance of the political dimension (Ülgener, 1981; Mardin, 1980; Kıray, 1973). In the Ottoman era the centralized government was formed by top levels of bureaucracy. The power of this bureaucracy, stem from their authority on controlling the surplus of wealth and their occupancy of non-inheritable offices. The weak periods of the state bureaucracy for whatever reasons had allowed gaining strength of the local hereditary upper class. The vast number of peasants made up the other edge of the stratification system. These two main classes which the former were consisted of "guardians" and the second formed the "ordinary" citizens. This society favors the principle of the "constant pie". However, the guardians sometimes might have been let to support a new emerging class because of the growth of the economic product being liable. It was probable that this newly emergent class might challenge the hegemony of the guardian and shatter the existing equilibrium of society (Mardin, 1980: 24-25) or in opposite direction the weak periods of the state bureaucracy for whatever reasons had allowed strengthening of the local hereditary upper class (Kıray, 1973). In such a society the conflict groups contrary to the Marxian sense which competes for or control resources, use strategies to seize political power rather than simply to fitting into positions of ownership or control of means of production.

In between controlling the elite and the peasants there was an intermediary group consisted of merchants, artisans and craftsmen who engaged in the production of manufactured goods whose surplus was controlled by guild organization and taxes for transferring the surplus under the control of bureaucratic or hereditary upper class (Kıray, 1973: 12). In this simplified stratification system the power and status in the form of prestige and privilege was intertwined. The power structure of the stratification system was essentially political, bureaucratic power resting on state.

Modernization efforts in Turkish history generally date back to the second half of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman economy had opened up to the world economy. The Empire's economy was obliged to integrate into the capitalist market as a consequence of the development of the capitalist economy brought by the industrial revolution. The modernity as a project had been expanded to whole Europe and had influenced the Empire. After 1840⁸, the two significant events had changed the Ottoman economy and its institutional system: the differentiation of the public and private space; and property owning had been institutionalized, individual right to property ownership had been acknowledged. All these

⁸ For instances, the status of private immovable property had been considerably liberalized by a law of 1868 (Mardin, 1980: 34).

changes deeply affected the social and economic life and also changed the physical structure and organization of the city space. Instead the managerial masses composed mainly from the military elite's newly emergent salaried state functionaries took place in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Cities also had exercised many developments in the form of the composition of the modern CBD accompanied with the construction of the new banking, insurance and office building, new public bodies, hotels, etc. The newly built infrastructures, railroads, harbors, etc. were begun to circulate in the centre and in the periphery as well (Tekeli, 1998). However, Mardin states that even in the early republican period of 1923 the economic transactional network and necessary infrastructures and juridical regulation, were not fully established (Mardin, 1980:27). The communication, construction of necessary infrastructure creation national market network for the integration into the world economy was completed between 1923 and the early 1960s and with the additional economic links abroad, Turkey was eventually ''integrated'' into the world economy.

The modern systems of communications not only facilitate social interactions but also provide *ways of thinking* about the ways in which one may implement changes in a society.

...a developed market system provides *means* for redistributing income but also forces social engineers or policymakers of today to think in terms of the manipulation of economic variables to effectuate changes in the social system (27-28)...the idea that income can be manipulated with sophisticated with the growth of the complexity of the modern system of social communications, of which market system constitutes one link. In earlier societies with less complex communication structures, statesmen who wanted to work for a more equitable system were not drawn to think in terms of changes in economic variables but to proceed rather in terms of cruder interventions such as demotion from status positions, promotion to higher status; or confiscation of property. On the other hand the segmentation of the Ottoman economic system forces one to think in terms of sectoral patterns of income distribution in that system (Mardin, 1980: 27-28).

The Experience of the Republic

The first and foremost concern of the government of the newly found republic was to repair the war damage done to the society. To build an infrastructure for the economy was the primary concern of the republican administrations. Mardin depicts the attitude of government toward the social structure of Turkey as 'solidarism' that it was a 'conciliation' theory of society which denied the inevitability of *class conflict*. In 1931 Mustafa Kemal, following in the steps of Young Turks theoreticians, was to state the following: "It is one of our fundamental principles to consider the people of Turkish Republic, not as composed of different classes, but as a community divided into members of occupations". This view was added to the main principles of the single political party in 1935 (Mardin, 1980: 38).

In the years following the War of Independence, the 'vacating of Anatolia by minorities'' deeply affected the country's social mobility frames and economic structures.

About 15% of the cultivable area of Western Anatolia was abandoned by the leaving Greeks...To this we should add that the population which was supported by the Anatolian land had diminished by 20 percent between 1914 and 1923 ... (Mardin, 1980: 38)

The craftsmen's positions in the manpower pyramid that were vacated by emigrants enlarged the ''opportunity space'' of the Turkish population of the towns. The unskilled carpenter moved into the slot formally occupied by a master carpenter who already had emigrated. In addition to that the educational expansion avidly manifested in the state's modernization efforts and in the 1930s industrialization created a completely new layer of middle and lower bureaucratic positions in the manpower pyramid and the service sector (Mardin 1980:39-40). All these achievements were accomplished rather than as a consequence of the ''redistribution policies'' but mainly as a consequence of the enlargement of what Mardin calls ''opportunity space''. For persons who became teachers it also meant an opportunity to move away from the village. This type of expansion of opportunity rather than redistribution of wealth is still the most widely used of political impetus in Turkey and has blurring the effects of the income inequality among the different layers of the society.

In the 1920s the beginnings of accumulation were leading to the growth of a new ''class'' in the provinces drawing its new wealth from the favorable policies of the Turkish government. The governments generally have given greater priority to the goals of economic independence and growth rather than the greater equity. The official class, together with the new hybrid lower official group had control of the communication structure, and this gave them a clear preponderance of power. Provincial notables, some lower officials and peasants were the groups excluded from socioeconomic framework and they combined against the official centre in the late 1940s in a political struggle (Mardin, 1980: 41). Exclusion meant being excluded from the political scene. The main institutional response to the crisis of participation was the transition to a multiparty system in 1946 (Özbudun & Ulusoy, 1980:

10). Increasing the amount and changing the nature of political participation might be expected to have had a major impact on the patterns of distribution.

Mardin asserts that in this second phase of social development in 1950s after the transition to the multi party system, the egalitarian values similar to the Ottoman context became dominant however with the rising power of a class of landowners and provincial merchants.

The shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activities has been exercised since the 1950. This is the period also accompanied with the rapid urbanization as a consequence of large countryside mobilizations created by the squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) of large cities. Urbanization is more accelerated than the industrial development so the majority of new comers have not had a chance to find a job in manufacturing. However, although the inhabitants of squatters might take place in the bottom of the Turkish social scale, squatter settlements have become the focus of politicians' efforts to draw votes to themselves.

Aral's investigation reveals that occupational distribution of the labor force in 1960 and 1970 indicates rapid increase in occupations which require technical training and in the number of free professionals (1980: 483). There is also a steady increase in the relative numbers of wage earners since 1960. These findings indicate the upgrading of the labor force and increase in specialization. The educational level's increase has also been accompanied by the upgrading of the labor. However, all these changes have gone hand in hand with the highly unequal distribution profile during the 1950-1975 periods. Though distribution was problematic, the period was also one of markedly increased political participation (Özbudun, & Ulusoy 1980). It might have been expected the broadening political participation should generate egalitarian pressures for firmer action by the state to reduce the inequalities. Özbudun & Ulusoy stress that the responses to the demands of low-income groups can mainly be observed in three areas:

(1) One has been the government's efforts to reduce regional disparities.

(2) The *legalization of squatter houses* in and around large cities. The net effect of legalization has been to transfer valuable property rights to some lower-income city dwellers. The legalization of squatters has been taken as the overall redistribution of income. Political pressures from *gecekondu* voters were also often instrumental in securing for themselves such municipal services as running water, electricity, paved streets, buses, etc.

(3) A Third major area of response to political pressure is that of agricultural support policies (1980: 9-10).

Class dynamics is subject to the economic, social and political changes taken place after the 1980s. The import-substitution model was abandoned in the economy and neo-liberal economy and integration with the global market has begun. Today the economic power shaped by the market mechanism seems to becoming more and more important. The entrepreneurial activity has grown rapidly during 40 years under review and increasing reliance on better articulated market mechanisms, both internal and external. This, of course, has been at odds with the salience of bureaucracy and controls, and with the inward-turned, import-substituting economic strategy. The resistance to entrepreneurial market trends has been eroding progressively. The relative slippage in government salaries may be one crude indicator (Özbudun & Ulusoy, 1980). The fact of a rising share of internal economic outcomes due to market determination and the growing recognition of the need to reorder external relations in behalf of expanding exports are more pivotal indicators.

However the stratification system of Turkey after all the efforts of republican era still seems to be in the process of transition between traditional and new order (Kıray, 1973: 17; Aral 1980). Aral for instances, provides examples for the misalignments between various dimensions of stratification. Such misalignments are observable in status-inconsistency of individuals between those who earn rather high incomes yet enjoy limited amount of prestige, or those who are in positions of considerable power with only limited income as a result of her empirical investigation of the 40 occupations. For example occupations such as primary school teacher, economist, university professor, newspaper reporter represents high status profile (Aral, 1980: 485). She also gives the income discrepancy of public and private sector employees (low wages of the former as compare with the latter) as evidence of the former similar to the traditional stratification system and the latter is characterized by a stratification in which economic power is the determining factor (Aral, 1980: 484).

However, among all these examples, the most striking evidence of the transition from old stratification to the market dominated system is in the education. In her investigation education is used as a means of attaining diffuse high status rather than being one of the

main mechanisms of upward mobility as in the case of industrialized countries. Education⁹ as a main vehicle for upward mobility is limited at present (Aral, 1980: 493). Moreover, the people under investigation did not perceive inequalities in income to be highly correlated with inequalities in education. On the other hand inequalities in education were relatively highly correlated inequalities in prestige. These findings verify that education is perceived to be a means of attaining high levels of prestige but not high levels of income. We share the findings of Aral although her investigation was realized almost 20 years ago. Today high level education is not a guarantee to get the higher position which means higher income. However for many people the aspiration of their children having better education has been still persistent.

The exploration of Ergüder et. al., about the values of Turkish society also indicates the intermediary position of Turkish society (1991: 11). They state that it is hard to define the socio-economic values and manner of Turkish society as pre-industrial, or industrial and or post-industrial. They state that in Turkey via of industrialization, national wealth is relatively low, education as public service is highly problematic in both curriculum and years of education completed. There is considerable lack of supply for skilled labor force because of the inadequacy of education and health.

They claim that Turkish society still has some old values carried from the past, although it is not correct to expect all of them at the same time and same frequency. Their findings show that the highly appreciated values are respectively family, Turkish army and the religion (1991: 24).

The primary group relationships are still held dominant in society. The family and kinship ties are the basic trustful institutions and socio-political implications of nepotism still widely exist in the society. This finding indicates the severe bottlenecks in composition of big corporations, firms or companies or organizations as such labor unions, political parties (1991: 24). The research detects somehow mistrust towards the tertiary relationships and institutions like labor unions, voluntaristic institutions and political system and media (1991: 51) which can be evaluated as the obstacles in the democratization process of the society.

⁹ Kıray also share the view that education not only means to a chance of obtaining higher income but means more than this for the middle classes in climbing up the social ladder. Education is an instrument to become member of the elite groups (1973: 16).

The importance given to the state as the main bread-distributor (r_{12k}) has been evaluated as the continuation of the past value system (1991: 51). However, the competition in the free market has been accepted at the same time. In the value system the free market concept can find a place although the role of the state as equal, wealth distributor is still continuing.

They concluded Turkish society is far from traditional, industrial or post-industrial society. Although there are some footprints of values and attitudes inherited from past there is also considerable evidence supporting the decomposition of the old values (1991: 51).

As a conclusion we can say that the distribution and redistribution of income is the basic component of the class problematic. And it is commonly accepted that the distribution of material goods (income, wealth, and services) is highly unequal (Özbudun & Ulusoy, 1980: 10) in Turkey. The distributional and redistributional problems have increased after the two main economic crises and the societal tension has been increasing with a rough monitoring of the media news. The poverty has been so overt that it became one of the urgent and major problems of the nation. In such a society inherited from the past the equity values although at the same time holds the 'explosive potential' as Mardin asserts and such a society where the dominant ideology never really has legitimatized 'bourgeois exploitation' as a justified basis for inequality (Özbudun & Ulusoy, 1980: 19), and the education cannot be warranted as a way of getting high income (Aral, 1980: 493), one can expect the highly probable break with the past values. The protests of small tradesmen and artisan during the February 2001 crisis can be evaluated as an evidence of the changing situations. The recent 'imams'' protests demanding increase in their salaries is another evidence supporting the view.

IV.2. AN OVERVIEW OF SOME RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRATIFICATION STUDIES

It is generally accepted that studies based on social differentiation, class base segmentation is hardly met in Turkey (Kandiyoti, 2002; Ayata &Ayata, 2000; Ayata, 2002; Aktaş, 2001). There may be many reasons but the main problem based upon the belief that the main axis of dichotomy for social differentiation is accepted generally as decomposition of peasantry and rural urban controversy, transition to modernism etc. One reason might be the belief that the low capital accumulation does not create social classes similar to those of the advanced capitalist societies. In this section of the study we'll make a summary of the stratification studies which were realized up to now.

Although the subject of investigation of stratification had been ignored in part of social sciences, Kiray has given stratification the privilege role in her analysis of the transformation of Turkish social structures (Tekeli, 2000; Kandiyoti, 2002). Kıray's one of pioneering studies before the 1960s was based upon the consumption patterns and its relation with different social stratum. In her article, she defines "consumption patterns",10 as activities of housing, apparel, food and leisure and values related with them. Consumption pattern varies according to the different societies and different cultural contexts. In primitive societies the population is not stratified and differentiated in a pyramiding way consumption trends are commonly in the form of consuming basic biological needs, the conspicuous and competitive consumption does not occur. In a society which is highly stratified however the vertical movement does not allow as in the case of Ottoman Empire or sixteenth century England where social stratums were clearly isolated and consumption was defined by law and regulated under heavy control. In these societies consumption are mainly conspicuous but not competitive. And finally in an open society where people have a chance to change their status in an upward fashion, there is inevitably very competitive consumption activities among the members, consumption are both highly competitive and imitating (Kıray, 1999: 84-5). After 1960s durable consumption goods have served two important functions in the social life, to facilitate the domestic housekeeping whereas acted as symbolic status meaning as items of conspicuous consumption. Kiray interpreted all these changes as first step for the new comers integrating to the city life (Tekeli, 2000:36).

Some recent important contributions realized in Ankara especially focusing on the newly emergent middle class suburban areas and their distinctive lifestyle patterns. Ayata & Ayata proclaim that in Ankara, social class base segregation is highly visible. In special, in districts concentrated with apartment blocks class segregation is more visible and evident as compare to the religious or ethnic segregation (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 151). They put emphasis on consequences of recent trends to reside in the same neighborhoods getting more and more becoming the functioning of social class. They state that this trend can be taken as the structural transformation far more exceeding the submission of traditions and old practices. They continue on saying that this issue will necessitate further investigations focused on the potentials of political and social implications brought by these developments.

¹⁰ "İstihlâk Normları", Kıray 1999: 77-98.

Their study reveals that occupation and education are the main division axis of the spatial and social class base segregation. In the districts, *Gazi Osman Paşa, Oran, Çayyolu*, which are of mid and upper-mid stratum this can be characterized by high level education. *Keçiören* and *Abidin Paşa*, mid-lower stratum exhibits the mid-level education and finally ''gecekondu'' areas is of low education. Education also coincidences with the occupation, high-level education districts is also featured by mainly professionals and managerial groups. As parallel to the decrease in the education, manual workers, small scale service workers are increasing. In the lower-mid stratum neighborhoods, state functionaries are becoming dominant. As an extension of education and occupation, income plays a solidifying role of the stratification system of the Ankara (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 164).

Ayata & Ayata indicate the rising level of education in Ankara, elementary schooling is almost universal, and in near future there will be no illiterate women. The considerable weight of the state functionaries in the labor market also contributes to the rising level of education. Although not the entire wage earner category in the public sector has high level of education, however it is noteworthy that being state functionary means regular income and secure job. Half of the respondents in their investigation, for example have not changed job during the course of his/her work (2000: 152).

One important aspect of their findings is the rising number of working women as they have been considered as a dimension of the social class differentiation. The more socio-economic level diminishes the more the districts become districts of domestic housekeeper. In the midstratum district the number of working women increases (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 153).

As a recent trend in Ankara, in parallel with the accelerated suburbanisation, the segregation has been entered a period of differentiation. The more a person climbs up the social ladders, the more s/he wants to have a new and bigger home. The demand for bigger house is increasing especially for the middle class group, who cares more for their social standing. New suburban districts far from the city centre are the residents of newly emergent middle classes. In these districts the community ties and solidarity relationships have been weakening and the privacy of family has been gaining more importance (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 154).

Among the middle class families the preferences of living with "his/her own type" is becoming noticeable. In their findings districts, *Gazi Osman Paşa*, *Oran* and *Çay yolu* are composed of the population with the shared world view expressed as defending secularism, civilized behaviors, using western culture's high culture elements, going to the opera, theatre, concerts, etc. And they constantly create and recreate the sense of ''us'' and ''others''. After the rapid transition to the neo-liberal economy, the segregation in Turkish cities which was of the ''gecekondu'' and ''apartment'' dichotomy is replacing to the differentiation in between ''gecekondu''-''apartment''- and ''suburbanites''. Among the high level professionals the trend to move out of the city centre is increasing, however the youngster prefer to utilize the facilities and opportunities offered by the vibrant city centre. In the middle class districts the traditional communal control is weakening rapidly and the autonomy of the individuals is strengthening (Ayata & Ayata, 2000: 154).

IV.3. AN OVERVIEW OF ANALYTICAL APPROACHES ON STRATIFICATION STUDIES: *BORATAV, KALAYCIOĞLU, GÜVENÇ, GENİŞ, YASA*

Boratav's schemes:

In the 1980s, the process of economic liberalization in Turkey led to a shift in previous policies of protectionist import substitution to a new development strategy based on the promotion of domestic export industries, and the encouragement of foreign investment. This led Turkey to open up to the world socio-culturally as well as economically. Under the deep transformation, from protectionist imports substitution to neo-liberal economy, how households of different class standing have, by and large been affected and changed was Boratav's main concern (1995). According to him ''within the Republican history, a simplified class scheme which represents the class structure of Turkey, should be produced alongside the production relationship''.

A fundamental proposition of historical materialism is that a particular class structure emanates from the, hence, corresponds to particular relations of production. As for various relations of production in class societies, they are defined and distinguished by specific mechanisms of extracting the surplus product from direct producers. This initial extraction of the surplus constitutes primary relations of distribution (1993: 130).

The main classes are then ''capitalist'', ''semi-feudal'' and ''petty'' commodity production''. Classes are then bourgeoisie and working class, landlord and serf (*yariciortakçi*), small producer and merchant and usurer.

Table 4.2: Boratav's class scheme: axis of divisions					
Mode of production	Class dichotomy created to each mode of production				
I. Capitalist production	Working class/ bourgeoisie				
II. Semi-feudal modes of production	Landless tenant-farmers/ landlord				
III. Petty commodity production.	Market-oriented peasantry/ merchants-money lenders				
G D ((1002-121)					

Source: Boratav (1993: 131)

Boratav first has distinguished classes in the context of capitalist mode of production, then after "the task of clarifying *social groups/ strata* and distinguishing them from classes" by introducing the concept of "redistribution of the surplus product" has to be introduced.

In each social formation the initial extraction of the surplus is modified through market and non-market processes of redistribution, i.e., *secondary relations of distribution*. Those who participate in this redistribution process in specified forms or distinguishable regularities constitute and hence define social groups/strata. A division into two broad groups is relevant in this context: *Subgroups of economically dominant classes* should be distinguished from *intermediate social strata*. In the former case in a capitalist economy, an internal division of surplus value takes place between *industrial, financial, commercial capital* and *rentiers* as subgroups of the bourgeoisie. In the latter case, in capitalist economy, surplus transfers to the bureaucracy, to the self-employed professionals or (in the Turkish case) to the so-called "marginal groups" takes place through the intermediation of the market or of state (1993: 131).

Table 4.3: Subgroups, stratums in Boratav's scheme						
Subgroups of bourgeoisie	Wage earner	Three intermediate social strata				
Industrial/agrarian	Professionals	Self-employed (Petty bourgeoisie)				
Financial and commercial	White collar workers	Educated professionals				
Rentiers	Unskilled service employees	Urban marginal (small tradesmen, artisan)				
	Blue collar					

Source: Boratav 1993, 1995.

Three intermediate social strata can be proposed as constituting the social groups subservient and peripheral to and outside of the basic class structure. The sub-classification of the wage earner group is depended not on the authority relationship as in the dichotomy of managers/subordinates but heavily dependent upon market skill so that as in the case of professionals like medical doctors, attorneys, occupations which conditioned the university degree, or in the white collar occupation which necessities some degree of specialization or education as such nurses, secretary, draftsmen, police officers, teachers, accountants etc., and finally working class workers who involve in the production sphere (Boratav 1995: 6). For Boratav, the detachment wage earner groups should be based upon "market capacity" and the context (not condition) of work (occupation). Introducing "market skill" as a source of differentiation Boratav's schemes is getting closer to the Goldthorpe's (better claims to the Weberian line) classifications. Like Goldthorpe Boratav's employs both occupations and employment status to differentiate social classes. By doing so he, like Goldthorpe conflates both work situation and market situation to obtain class situation. Although his approach takes it's depart from the class perspectives of historical materialism in order to explain societal dynamics he admits that his scheme is albeit highly correlated with the Marxist view however it is hard to assert they are identical (Boratav, 1995: 3-4).

The empirical study based on the above scheme was utilized by him in the exploration of Istanbul's class profile (1995), and he made a sharp distinction between urban and rural classes. In his article about the rural classes, he asserts that class standing is clearer in urban structures than the rural one. For instance, the differentiation between similar wealth holders but membership of different classes is more meaningful in urban environment. In this classification post-capitalist production and exploitation mechanism newly emerged as a consequence of the globalization in the urban sphere has ever hardly met in Boratav's scheme (Aktaş, 2001: 213).

Boratav's İstanbul study (1995) was materialized empirically covered 797 households. In the questionnaires the initial class classification was based on wage earners/ employers (property holders and excluded) groups. In a capitalist economy the basic cleavage is in between capital and salaried working class, and this is also the starting point of the study. Afterwards employers were separated into two distinct groups: (1) employers who employ continuously two or one employee were labeled as petty bourgeoisie/ employer; (2) employers who employ three or more employees are defined as the *medium-big size bourgeoisie/ employer*. In addition to these groupings, (3) self-employed group was accepted as an intermediary group. This group is a combination of three major groups; small tradesmen-artisan and marginal (informal sector) and besides these two, skilled but not-employed by someone continuously (doctors, attorneys, accountants etc).

Wage earners/salaried group were divided into four subcategories: highly qualified professionals; white-collar salaried; unskilled service employees and lastly blue-collar workers. This classification was derived from the respondents' ''occupations'' and the ''type

of work¹¹". For instance, a night guard of the factory was placed into the category of the unskilled service employee, whereas a carpenter who worked for a small workshop in the university was replaced to the blue collar category. The division of labor (authority relationships) in the workplace was not included in his scheme, for example a foreman and unskilled manual workers are classified as manual workers. Highly qualified professional group (somehow elite group) was composed of respondents holding university degree, as such doctors, engineers, attorneys etc. On the other hand, white-collar group (without taking into consideration of the education level) was constituted from respondents somehow needed education but mainly composed of those who were specialized (but relatively low than the professional group) within his/her occupations. The nurses, bank employees, teachers, secretaries, police officers etc, were considered as members of the white collar employees. Unskilled service workers were typically waiters, safe-guards, salesperson, chauffeurs and so on. And the last group, depicted as 'classical proletariat' or blue-collar workers were consisted of those who directly involved in material production (in industry, construction and mining, etc.). There was also a residual category of the retired and unemployed groups. Boratav classify them according to information about the last job instead he's considered retired and unemployed as a separate, isolated category. Eventually the final form of the scheme was in the Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Boratav's scheme					
Categories					
Unemployed ¹²					
Retired					
Highly qualified professionals					
White-collar employees					
Unskilled service workers					
Blue-collar workers					
Small tradesmen/marginals					
Small employers					
Mid-big employers					

Source: İstanbul ve Anadolu'da Sınıf Profilleri, (Boratav, 1995: 7)

After constructing the class scheme, the independent variables shown in the table were employed to explain the social group's behavior, characteristic, lifestyle, and ideologies (Table 4.5). Boratav has proposed two different schemes confined four intergenerational

¹¹ Kalaycıoğlu and Geniş claim that the use of occupation converts the Boratav's scheme similar to Goldthorpian kind. However, Boratav made his main axis of dichotomy based on, in parallel with the Marxist vein, ''property'' holdings whereas it has been lacking in Goldthorpe's scheme. On the other hand it is similarly difficult to assert Boratav's scheme purely Marxian because he uses ''occupation'' in his classification.

¹² Both 'unemployed'' and 'retired'' were considered as independent groups. However, this did not stem from their structural position but rather from their situation which cannot be classified within any category.

mobility models begins with the rural origin expanded horizontally and after a while the vertical move may possible (1995: 28):

Scheme I: Agricultural worker → (unemployed & small tradesmen/informal employee) → self-employed → mid-big bourgeoisie Scheme II: Farmer → (blue-collar & unskilled service employee & white collar) → highly qualified wage earner → mid-big bourgeoisie.



Those who occupy the bottom stratum always face with the problem of unemployment, risks and insecurity. For many the only chance of finding a job may be possible in the informal sector. Very few members among new comers' to the city can have an opportunity to climb the social ladder up and join in the urban bourgeoisie. Small commodity production is the means of production realized by the presence of limited capital accumulation; however the upward mobility detected as a result of the Boratav's empirical findings can be explained not by the implicit characteristic of its internal dynamics but rather by the possibilities created by urban rents.

Socio-economic status index of Kalaycıoğlu et. al.

Kalaycioğlu et. al., (1998; Tüzün 2000) have proposed a socioeconomic index¹³ for Turkey. The main motive of the study is to develop a new insight to comprehend the empirical reality of class structure and stratification principles. They also have pointed out that how it is possible to propose an index which holds the societies social structure adequately where there a very few previous empirical studies available is in country like Turkey. Do the schemes developed for other countries offer any explanatory validity for Turkey? Which variables will be able to be proposed for Turkey? These are the main questions they try to find answers within the scope of their articles.

The authors have employed the *VERI SESI* index for settlements, which have a population more than 20.000. The index tries to merge the Weberian at the same time by employing the Marxian dynamic approach. The unit of measurement is the "household" and the "individual" as a member of household. They do not evaluate isolated individual who freed himself/herself from the family, nor are they in favor of considering head of household as the sole representative of the family. They considered the interaction effects of the members within the family atmosphere.

They have not included "occupation" to the index, commenting that occupation did not bear any explanatory power for Turkish society, instead they preferred employment status. They have taken "retired" as an independent category because they have salary obtained in a regular base for the household income. Unemployed and domestic workers have been considered differently regardless they are the head of the household. The logic behind this is that as a head of household they have more influence on the household consumptions.

After selection of variables for the model, they have weighted the variables with a varying degree. The weighted scores were given subjectively by themselves. The authors argued that each variable have substantial role to distinguish the household in between and within the households, however rarely have explanatory power by taking them isolated. The *VERI* SESI is able to differentiate social layers as upper, upper-middle, middle and lower-middle strata.

¹³ Their study has not been completed wholly.

Table 4.6: Variables of the index, VERI SESI								
Employment status ¹⁴	Educational status	Consumption goods	Place of living ¹⁵					
			& tenant					
Employer	University degree	A. Automobile	Price of land*					
who employs more than 6	High school	B. Computer,	Status of					
employee	Secondary schooling	dishwasher,	homeownership					
who employs fewer than 5	Elementary schooling	automatic washing						
employee	Literate without	machine						
Self-employed	diploma	C. VCR musical						
Acquired knowledge traditionally		equipment, cameras						
Acquired knowledge from the	Students							
formal education								
Wage earner								
Manager								
Non-manual wage earner (state								
functionaries)								
Manual worker								
Farmer								
Retired								
Unemployed/ housewife								

To verify the validity and universality of the index, authors have conducted in-depth interview as a complementary step held qualitatively. Their aim has been to understand to test the index variables, and then to evaluate other source of differentiation which was not included in the index. In-depth interview was held with 23 households within the "middlesocioeconomic" layer according to the previously realized index.

Table 4.7: The components of the in-depth interviews
Emigration history
Education
Employment records (history)
Saving
Consumption patterns
Social networks
Field of interest
Political opinions
The place where they place in themselves in the society

Source: Kalaycıoğlu et. al. 1998: 131

The design of the in-depth interview regarding the various issues shown in the table based upon the consideration that, what it means to belong the "C" level (mid-level) with respect to measure of the index in a sense that they might offer similar socio-cultural networks and even to demonstrate similar political standing (or not). The qualitative research also may shed light on to examine the dimensions not included in the index.

¹⁴ Household head and other working members of the family.
¹⁵ Land price per m².

The authors state that the index and in-depth interview study was realized in Ankara so it is expected that the outcome may represent the structural attributes of the city and explain the so-called "mid-strata" of Ankara. They have concluded that "immigration" and "family relationship" were the most influential factors affecting the household standing which begins with "where they came here" and "which is the possible root for future". The positioning in the gradational scale, occupying upper or lower standing, is heavily dependent upon these two notions: emigration history and the concentration of family networks. Their findings maintain the Boratav's conclusion for his study of stratification, emigration is the most important 'life strategy' as 'defense mechanism' or 'safety valve' especially for the groups, for "the most disadvantaged". Kalaycioğlu's findings verify the view that the mid-strata standing have not been reached easily, many mid-strata families have begun by emigrating from impoverished regions and conditions, and they have been struggling constantly, painstakingly for climbing the social ladder. The journey has neither been easy nor in a short period. Majority of the households came to the city at the end of late 1950s and late 1960s (rarely 1970s). The first days were harsh and troublesome, and full of labor intense work. And, all these painful experiences could not have ended without the support and reciprocity of the neighbors of the same origin, countrymen "hemsehri".

The role of family relationship and interaction is the other most important factor of the ''social standing'' in a certain position. Without their support, in both objective and subjective meaning, there might be a fall-down for many households. Family solidarity functions in two different mechanism: ''pooling'' of all kinds of monetary sources and then to distribute them in an equal manner; and secondly what Bourdieu calls ''social capital'' using the head of household's (father's position) job connections to occupy a position in the labor market. They claim that in such mechanism any kind of rebellious or individualistic reaction would probably, hardly find a place for itself. All these mechanisms deeply affect the lives of the households and their political opinion and attitudes (Kalaycioğlu et.al., 1998: 133). Other findings of the study have been summarized in the Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Attitudes towards consumption and leisure activities						
Consumption practices	Leisure activities					
To buy on credit is extremely dominant	Eating ceremony in the family	Frequently				
To be in-depth is extremely dominant	Picnic					
	Visiting relatives, neighbors					
Age is important function to differentiate youngster ¹⁶ from the elders.	Wedding ceremony/circumcision					
	TV watching	Very high				
Youngsters are fairly addicted to the brands.						
	Theatre/cinema is very low	Low				
Place of shopping differs between the elders						
(prefer <i>Ulus</i> for instance), and youngsters (<i>Kızılay</i>).	Newspaper reading Reading habit	Low				
Dissatisfaction among youngsters towards practices of executing traditional ceremonies	Birthday party/Gift giving occasionally	Occasionally				
Dissatisfaction among youngsters towards the furnishing the house	Music	Folk music, Turkish art music				

Source: Kalaycıoğlu et. al. 1998

The index developed by Kalaycioğlu et. al., cannot be evaluated as class analysis which identify the ''groupings of real sociological importance'' i.e. social classes. They rather have developed a gradational stratification model by employing subjective assessment of ''employment status'', ''education'', ''consumption patterns'', and lastly ''place of living''. Employment status refers to the production sphere and education belongs to the status, by putting together they merge class and status without into one stratification dimension without employing any theoretical discussion. Their composite index reduces the various and multi dimensional indicators without arguing their compatibility or their role in structuration of class relationship.

Urban spatial segregation studies of Güvenç

Güvenç, in a series of studies (1996, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001b), explores the spatial segregation by employing the social and spatial variables in metropolitan cities such as employment status, housing tenure, income and origin of birth place. By employing relational representation methods which are sensitive to the locational differentiation, the composite index is composed of the employment status and ownership typology of housing. Güvenç asserts that the typology of housing type is one of the most explanatory and powerful differentiated variables in explaining the household income and consumption

¹⁶ Authors admitted that they could not have an opportunity to make sufficient conversation with the youngsters.

patterns (see Map I). He uses the number of houses owned by the household as the income variable. The hypothesis tested in the study is based on the assumption that different groups located in the metropolitan area have a different view of the world. In other words, they live in the same world having different world view (1999). By looking at different angles they probably share highly different perception.

Güvenç's series of studies can be evaluated as being the leading and pioneering studies of the spatial segregation. By doing so, he has analyzed the social and spatial together for the first time. Although the methodology employed was highly complicated he succeeded to reveal the social in the form of spatial order. In the status and income map of Ankara in 1990, Samsun-İstanbul highway divides the city in a east-west direction by locating the low-income wage earners and self-employed households in the north, poor section in central area surrounded by the railway and the highway, and finally by showing the wealthiest living in the southern part (2001b: 18). As a conclusion, Ankara's urban morphology offers highly differentiated and fragmented representation. As compared with the other cities, the civil and military lodgment residential areas mainly consist of a concentration of tenant-house owner composite category. The similar tenant-owner category concentration around the small scaled industrial areas of *Siteler* and *Ostim* has been explained with the proximity of the workplace.

The Samsun-İstanbul highway draws the boundary between the highly differentiated sections of Ankara regarding status, origin of birth place, participation of labor market. In the northern part of the city, the natives and low income groups reside whereas in the southern part the provincial-origin wealthy groups lives in. The poorer households live in and around the citadel of Ankara and in the areas designated by the highway and railroads.

Güvenç's studies bear important insights by adding the spatial dimension in explaining the social differentiation. He gives the spatial positioning a privileged place in the constitution of social formation. Spatial practices are one of the basic foundations of social formation that their role has long been ignored in the social field. Spatial practices contribute to both the visibility and invisibility of the social group's distinctions. However, Güvenç has only dealt with detecting spatial representation without discussing the interaction and mutually constitutive nature of the distribution and redistribution mechanism of economic, social and cultural spheres and this needs further investigation.



Status-Income Differentiation in Ankara (1990)

1

No status-income differentiation

Salaried/ self employed and other categories (rich fractions)

Tenure + Tenure and no property owner self-employed

Tenant (house owner)+ Tenure and not owner employer

Not owner salaried+ Tenure and not-owner others

Rich employer

Tenant (house owner) employer

Tenant (house owner), self-employed and tenant (house owner) others

Rich people (A1C1D1, A3B2B4, B1, B3, C3D3) at least three of them meaningful

*Households who did not reside in Ankara were not included Source: Population census 1990 Sampling 5%, Relational analysis

Source: Güvenç, Murat (2001b) ''Ankara'da Statü-Köken Farklılaşması'' [Status-origin Differentiation in Ankara], in Y. Yavuz (ed.) *Tarih içinde Ankara II*, METU Faculty of Architecture press, Ankara.

Working class scheme by Geniş

The dissertation, "Workers in the Small Industry: Employment, Social Space and Patterns of Class formation" by *Geniş* (2002) is an attempt for sociological exploration of the workers in small-industry. His case study was held in OSTİM, one of the small-size industrial establishments in Ankara. The 276 questionnaires were distributed and complemented with in-depth interviews and work place observations.

In the dissertation, Geniş adopted the Boratav's scheme as an analytical framework. The sample used in his thesis was completely compromised of the wage-earner population. Because the aim of analysis to explore small-scale enterprise then there was no need of any kind of dichotomy between small and mid-large employers (all the employers were small in size in his data set). He left aside self-employed professionals whereas Boratav merged it with the petty bourgeoisie and informal sector. The 'retired'', because of the lack of sufficient information in the data set, was considered as ''position unknown'' whereas ''unemployed'' was omitted totally. Boratav's treatment towards blue-collar workers stayed solely for those who work directly ''material production''. Geniş puts them separate into three distinct subgroups: workers in transportation and lodging; workers in maintenance and mechanization; and final group, manufacturing. The degree of specialization and division of labor in shop-floor was also taken into account. And eventually the final scheme was obtained:

Table 4.9: Categories included in Geniş's scheme
<i>Unskilled service worker:</i> Those who work in a variety of works in service sector accompanied with low skill level and education; food stuff, cleaning, waiters of cafeterias, chauffeurs, etc.
<i>Blue-collar workers:</i> Those who work in manufacturing; maintenance and mechanics; transportation and lodging, and those who have responsibility to control and coordination.
<i>White-collar workers:</i> Clerical and technical workers, as such teachers, officers, nurses, secretaries, accountants, etc.
<i>Professional employee:</i> managerial and technical professionals with high level of education and skill credentials: managers, engineers
Self-employed professionals: physician, accountant, lawyers
Employer: Owners of work and employs workers.
Artisan & informal: Small shop-keepers and those who work in self- employed informal activities.
Farmers & peasants

As a conclusion, Geniş states that the differences in the political attitude, lifestyles, worldviews, ideological orientations fall white collar workers apart the proletariat. He indicates the main distinction between white and blue collar workers stems mainly from the "education". However, this means that their distinction comes out achieved status not the structural positioning.

He detected even in the same sub-category, contradictory tendencies are highly to occur, those who shares liberal ideologies become very conservative in women issue or religion. He argues that differences in attitudes and beliefs do not necessarily constitute sufficient theoretical ground to consider them as ''different classes''. Their class cleavages are born out greatly differences in the labor process.

The data shows that the ideologies labeled crudely ''leftist'' and ''right'' has shown similarities with the rest of the country. OSTIM workers are more ''right'' than the rest of the population of *Ankara* and *İstanbul*. They, for instance, have not shown strong disapproval towards the recent economic politics and implementations. However they are extremely conservative in the issue of women and religion. Workers in the small industry do not differ in terms of their socio-cultural and demographic attributes; however they do differ from the rest of the working class in terms of the workplace organization. Workers in small-industry have been faced with unfavorable conditions in terms of distinct regulation in shop-floor levels as compare with the big factories. There is no division of labor in the labor-intensive small manufacturing units, they are under direct control of the managers, the intensity of the workers has been generally very low, etc.

Stratification Studies in ''Gecekondu'' areas of Ankara by Yasa

In the article published in "Social Stratification and Development in the Mediterranean Basin" Yasa conducted a study on the occupational patterns and socio-economic differentiation of the *gecekondu* families of Ankara (1973). His analysis was based upon to explore the people in the "gecekondu" and old city settlements fill the bottom stratum of the population. He continues on saying that this layer has shown significant differences and forms of representation as compare to the industrialized western countries or pre-industrial societies. The horizontally-extended people of this peculiar stratum has revealed nebulous and floating socio-demographic structure in which some writers call it "classless class¹⁷" and others visualizing its proletarization in the industrializing societies, the "sub-proletariat". Yasa's analysis has been one pioneering research of "underclass" in Turkey

¹⁷ Taking into consideration of the recent discussions, the 'classless class' concept can be equated with the underclass debate.

and it has to be evaluated the ''gecekondu'' debate which was typical of its period where his research conducted. The ''gecekondu'' reveals very distinct feature today and even the term ''gecekondu'' not often to employ, rather new term ''*varoş*'' has been preferred to put emphasis about their dangerous position against the society (METU 1999: 21).

Yasa has chosen occupational category to measure socio-economic differences of ''gecekondu'' families. This is rather surprising because it was one of the very few empirical research (Yasa's empricial which had been started 1962 and till 1973, the findings was published in 1973) that it is hard to encounter among social scientist conducted empirically.

Yasa states that, with the exception of jobs demanding proficiency and technical skill, the classification of 'gecekondu'' occupations was posed a difficult problem (1973: 151). For those who acquired the knowledge or some skills during military services or obtained after arrival of the city have an opportunity to find place in the labor market. He classified 170 different posts and reduced them to the eight subgroups.

Table 4.10: Yasa's occupational scheme							
Type of occupation	Family heads	%					
Skilled worker ¹⁸ / craftsman (54 different job)							
Unskilled workers (12 different job)							
Manual employee (13 different job)							
Small tradesman and merchant (36different job)							
Farmers and cattle dealers (4 different job)							
Income holder							
Civil servant (48 different job)							
Unemployed							
Not clear							
No answer							
Total	1000	100					

Source: (Yasa, 1973: 138-155)

Yasa's occupational scheme was based on the skill credential. His main concern was analyzed the impact of occupation on social structure and "how the lives of the population were affected and transformed into the city life". The two large stratums, skilled workers and small tradesmen were constituted the top stratum in his empirical findings. His initial stratum "skilled workers" is composed of those who possess a certain skill and exercising works required some technical knowledge. Some of them work in factories, some for private employers and the rest works in their own work-place. The second largest is of small tradesmen and merchants, those who involve in retailing goods. They have not held as the

¹⁸ Because the main concern of the research was the impact of occupation on social structure and the order of families, Yasa classified state-employed drivers as skilled workers even though they are conventionally referred to as "manual employers".

same technical and practical knowledge and skill as those with skilled workers, but they pertains some sort of knowledge limited in the field of trade and business and they tend to be out-spoken and active in the community. As a result, these two broadest groups, on the one hand skilled workers-craftsman and on the other, small tradesmen and merchant of their occupation are together forms the widest social stratum of the population and they both form the most important occupational groups in the ''gecekondu'' settlements of Ankara.

Among this group hawker, old-clothes peddlers, and open market dealers plays important role in the economic life of the city, and they spend each day of the week in a different quarter of the city and most people buy their weekly food from them. Old-cloth peddlers make really work because second hand cloths are sold to people who cannot afford to buy new raiment.

The importance as the top stratum, skilled worker-craftsman and small tradesman-merchant, not only lies in their financial means but also the flexibility offered by the nature of their job (street selling). The ability to work in different fields in the form of holding more than one job gives the families much strength in financial term and to find a job so easily. The majority of them was composed of the first immigrants to the city so that they had have opportunity to adapt and adjust urban conditions and developed a learning capacity about the city life in general. Yasa asserts that as compare to other strata, the top group has attained more stability and higher income. They have greater interest in political matters and some sort of involvement with politics and politicians.

Other groups, unskilled workers and manual employees, they both lack education and have unsatisfactory earnings. If the group ''unemployed'' add to the above strata, then we obtained the lowest stratum of the ''gecekondu'' population.

The middle-strata, according to Yasa are consisted of the office-workers (civil servants) and doorkeepers (*kapici*). The household heads of this group have better educational background and get monthly salaries. They have some sort of pretence and certain behavioral habits of belonging civil servants. Although they are more conscious about the social problems as compared to skilled workers, the subservient nature of their job nature, makes them apathetic among the ''gecekondu'' population in general.

Stratification studies in health: Belek

In the article ''Social Class, Education, Income and Neighborhood: Which is the most Significant Determinant of the Health'', Belek has interrogated which of the four variables, social class, education, income and districts were the most influential in health status (1999, 2004). The study was held in two districts in Antalya in 1997, one of which was heavily ''gecekondu'' areas, the other was in the centre and composed of apartment blocks. The spatial variable (neighbourhood district) was employed to measure whether person health status was affected from the personal socio-economic attributes of the respondent or some other structural socio-cultural factor to be found out living conditions of a specific region. The dichotomy was built on contrasting ''gecekondu'' with apartment blocks; low-income groups with high income counterpart; workings class versus property holders (employer).

As a cross-sectional study, 1092 adults aged over 15 were covered. Dependent variables of health status are psychological health, perceived health and temporary disability.

Social class as independent variables was selected. The study showed that social class had a substantial control on health as in the case of material wealth and also related with the closeness of the information networks. Belek states that there is an inverse ratio between social standing and the status of the health (the more it is possible to climb up the social ladder, the better health status of the person).

Belek accepted Marxist class approach claiming that Weberian scheme had complicated the picture by employing occupation, income and education in the same class scheme. Belek provided example that position of the two medical doctors, those who work for a hospital full-time on a full-time base as general practitioner, on the other those who posses private policlinic. These two groups hold the same occupation however according to the differences of their objectives against the means of production; they probably would hold very distinct material possessions, world view and ideology. So Belek employed Marxist scheme. Boratav's scheme was utilized however with slight differences; the last job of the respondent was employed for the retired category. The variables selected are: 'Blue collar workers''; 'unskilled service workers''; 'white-collar'' (teacher, police officer, nurses); white collar professionals (doctors, attorneys, engineers, etc); Self-employed (not hires anyone except him/her); and finally bourgeoisie.

As a conclusion, this analysis provided adequate evidences to suggest that the most important determinant of health was the "class position".

IV.4. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF ANKARA'S EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

In this part of the study the economic and employment structure of the city of Ankara is going to be analyzed as a basis of assessment of the main structuring elements of social stratification. The last census findings of the year 2000 of Ankara are useful to provide the information about the economic structure of the city and also lead to evaluate the historical trends and changes. Table 4.11 is prepared to show the employment pattern and labor force composition of the city in 1980-2000 period.

	Table 4.11: Labor force composition and distribution by sex									
		Age 12	Total							
	Years	and over*	labor force	Actives	%	Unemployed	%	Inactive	%	
Total	1980	2.024.744	1.044.586	984.207	48,61	60.379	2,98	980.158	48,41	
	1985	2.408.435	1.180.546	1.090.330	45,27	90.216	3,75	1.227.889	50,98	
	1990	2.469.735	1.191.857	1.103.325	44,67	88.532	3,58	1.277.878	51,74	
	2000	3.212.970	1.548.276	1.378.699	42,91	169.577	5,28	1.664.694	51,81	
Male	1980	1.046.721	782.824	736.189	70,33	46.635	4,46	254.897	24,35	
	1985	1.241.321	893.576	820.157	66,07	73.419	5,91	347.745	28,01	
	1990	1.265.920	916.983	849.358	67,09	67.625	5,34	348.937	27,56	
	2000	1.619.290	118.208	1.010.476	62,40	107.732	6,65	501.082	30,94	
Female	1980	987.023	261.762	248.018	25,13	13.744	1,39	725.261	73,48	
	1985	1.167.114	286.970	270.173	23,15	16.797	1,44	880.144	75,41	
	1990	1.203.815	274.874	253.967	21,10	20.907	1,74	928.941	77,17	
	2000	1.593.680	430.068	368.223	23,11	61.845	3,88	1.163.612	73,01	

Note: See Appendix A for definitions and explanations

* We excluded unknown category from the population of 12 years of age and over.

Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara, SIS (p.50).

In the Table 4.11 active population proportion is in trend of decreasing in the period of 1980-2000 (from 49 percent in 1980 to 43 percent in 2000) in Ankara in parallel with the increase in the unemployment rate (3 percent in 1980 and 2000 it's climbed up to 5 percent). Unemployment has been also in a trend of increase for female work force (in 1980 unemployment among female is 1, 4 percent whereas in 2000 it has been reached to 4 percent). Only 43 percent of the total labor force of the population works in Ankara. This finding is of utmost importance for the ''class'' studies which takes household head as the unit of study. Any study which considers the only the active population is more probable that would exclude the major part of the population.

In Ankara the rate of non-working females is two times higher than the male labor force and the majority of females (73 percent) do not work. Females labor force participation is notoriously low supporting the view that in the city is opted to become domestic housekeepers ([Şenyapılı, 1981; Ayata & Ayata, 1996] quoted from Özyeğin, 2003:65).

	Table 4.12: Population not in labor force 1980-2000									
		Inactive*	Retired	%	Housewife	%	Student	%	Other**	%
Total	1980	973.926	58.173	5,94	597.320	61,33	273.947	28,13	44.486	4,57
	1985	1.227.889	93.620	7,62	703.855	57,32	367.519	29,93	62.895	5,12
	1990	1.277.878	117.107	9,16	734.845	57,51	393.930	30,83	31.996	2,50
	2000	1.664.694	236.506	14,21	842.224	50,59	479.408	28,80	106.556	6,40
Male	1980	248.697	48.046	18,85	-		164.054	65,97	36.597	14,72
	1985	347.745	79.878	22,97	-		212.151	61,01	55.716	16,02
	1990	348.937	95.985	27,51	-		223.561	64,07	29.391	8,42
	2000	501.082	174.599	34,84	-		256.531	51,20	69.952	13,96
Female	1980	725.229	10.127	1,40	597.320	82,36	109.893	15,15	7.889	1,09
	1985	880.144	13.742	1,56	703.855	79,97	155.368	17,65	7.179	0,82
	1990	928.941	21.122	2,27	734.845	79,11	170.369	18,34	2.605	0,28
	2000	1.163.612	61.907	5,32	842.224	72,38	222.877	19,15	36.604	3,15

* We excluded the category ''unknown'' which included ''income recipients'' and for 2000 Population Census ''sought a job without using any channel in the last three months''.

****** "Others" as a category is composed of those persons, 12 years of age or over, whom are not working and not seeking jobs on the reference date because of being disabled, old, etc. except from those who are retired, students, housewives or income recipients

Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara, SIS (p.54).

In the Table 4.12, the composition of the population not included in the labor force shows that half of the inactive is the domestic housekeepers followed by the students with 29 percent and half of the male population (51 percent) those who are at the age of recruiting labor force but do not work is consisted of the students. Retired is also a large category with 14 percent and highest with 34 percent in male population, and unexpectedly females with a 72 percent are fellow members of the ''housewives''.

In the Table 4.13, which shows employed population by occupation in 1980-2000 period, the most striking feature is increase of the percentage of females in the occupation "scientific, technical professional and related and related workers" as parallel the increase of the general education level. After primary sector, more women have professional occupation. The rate of manual workers (non-agricultural production) in the industrial sector has a decreasing trend in male population. With respect to the total population Ankara is a city of professionals on one hand (16 percent) and manual workers (29 percent) on the other. The share of the agriculture is in a trend of sharp decreasing. The portion of managerial workers is predominantly low (4 percent) in the occupation structure of the city.

		Table 4.13	: Employed po	pulation l	by occupation	n 1980-20	00 (%)	
		Scientific, technical, professionals	Administrative and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Commercial and sales workers	Service workers	Agriculture	Non- agricultural production
Total	1980	9,9	2,8	11,7	6,5	10,3	27,6	31,1
	1985	11,2	2,3	11,8	7,1	10,5	26,5	30,6
	1990	13,7	3,1	12,5	8,6	11,3	18,3	32,7
	2000	15,9	3,8	13,8	9,1	11,8	16,5	29
Male	1980	8,6	3,2	9,6	8,3	12,7	16,8	40,6
	1985	9,8	2,7	9,6	8,8	12,8	16,5	39,7
	1990	11,2	3,4	9,3	10,2	13,3	11,3	41,3
	2000	13	4,3	10,2	10,4	13,7	10	38,2
Female	1980	13,7	1,3	18	1,2	3,4	59,4	2,9
	1985	15,4	1,1	18,4	1,8	3,5	56,8	3,1
	1990	21,8	1,8	23,1	3	4,8	41,6	3,8
	2000	23,9	2,4	23,4	5,6	6,7	34,2	3,8

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

In order to explain why the rate of females is in trend of increase (this increase is also valid for male population) in ''scientific, technical, professional and related workers'' category we have to examine the educational level a bit closer. Although female labor force participation to the employment is extremely low, the women's occupation, after agriculture, is in the scientific, technical and professional categories which necessitate education and specific knowledge and skills. We will expect this trend will continue in the future.

Table 4.14: Population by literacy, education level 1975-2000*							
	V	Illiterate	No school completed	Primary school	Secondary schooling	High school	Higher education
Total population	Year	<i>%</i> 0	%0	%0	70	<i>%</i> 0	70
	1975	31,22	6,74	40,29	6,17	8,71	6,87
	1980	29,59	5,94	39,42	6,45	9,30	9,29
	1985	19,07	6,01	45,83	7,36	11,97	9,76
	1990	15,35	3,76	46,94	8,25	13, 82	11,88
	2000	9,37	4,07	41,28	10,45	18,38	16,46
Male	1975	14,80	8,22	48,96	7,48	10,05	10,48
	1980	13,23	6,02	47,85	8,28	10,74	13,89
	1985	8,00	4,76	49,94	9,25	14,07	13,97
	1990	5,99	2,74	49,23	10,28	15,77	15,99
	2000	2,92	2,54	39,33	13,62	21,78	19,82
Female	1975	48,61	5,17	31,11	4,77	7,29	3,04
	1980	46,06	5,86	30,94	4,61	7,86	4,67
	1985	30,39	7,29	41,62	5,43	9,81	5,46
	1990	24,74	4,78	44,64	6,21	11,87	7,76
	2000	15,65	5,55	43,19	7,36	15,07	13,18

*25 years of age and over.

Source: 2000 Census of Population, Ankara, SIS Statistics (p.47).

The years of schooling has increased in the total population, the illiteracy has sharply decreased as compared to the year of 1975 (31,22 percent of the population illiterate in the year 1975 whereas 9,37 per cent in 2000, Table 4.14). The high school and higher education of male population has almost reached 42 percent. The year 1990 has witnessed the jump in higher level of schooling (after primary schooling). There is also an increasing trend in the level of education of female population, 28,25 percent of the female population have high school and higher education although lower than the male population. Only 15.65 percent of the female population is illiterate whereas it was 49 percent in 1975. These trends show substantial increase of education level in general in population of Ankara and parallel trend is valid for female population.

Table 4.15 Working population by employment status (%)						
		Wage earner*	Employer	Self-employed	Unremunerated family worker	
Total	1980	60,5	1,7	17,1	20,4	
	1985	62,3	1,4	16,8	19,5	
	1990	68,7	2,2	15,9	13,1	
	2000	72,1	3,9	11,6	12,3	
Male	1980	67,8	2,1	21,4	8,2	
	1985	69	1,8	20,9	8,3	
	1990	72,6	2,8	19,20	5,5	
	2000	75,3	4,8	14,7	5,2	
Female	1980	39	0,2	4,4	56,3	
	1985	41,9	0,3	4,3	53,4	
	1990	55,9	0,4	5	38,7	
	2000	63.1	1.4	3.4	32	

*Included causal employee

Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara, SIS (p.53).

The census findings verify once more that Ankara is the city of overwhelmingly salaried employees which is valid both male and female populations. The city specializes in the service sector. Public administration, social and cultural public services predominate the city (Table 4.15). One interesting result is the decreasing trend of the self employed category. This category may be equated with the presence of informality but having slight inclination. However this assertion should be taken carefully for further close examination.

Table 4.16 shows the sectoral distribution of employment in Ankara and declares that Ankara is not an industrial city; service sector is the most important activity in the urban economy. The 13.4 percent of the active population employed in industry, however there is a slight increase of female labor employed in the same sector. The primary sector is in recession in the urban economy is the other findings we obtain based on data of the last population census.

Table 4.16: Employment by economic activity (%)					
		Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Services
Total	1980	27,6	13,9	5,8	51,5
	1985	26,4	13,1	5,5	53,9
	1990	18,1	14,3	7,2	60,1
	2000	16,2	13,4	6,4	63,8
Male	1980	16,8	17,4	7,6	56,8
	1985	16,4	16,4	7,2	58,8
	1990	11,1	16,9	9,3	62,3
	2000	9,7	16	8,4	65,6
Female	1980	59,7	3,4	0,2	35,7
	1985	56,8	3,3	0,2	38,9
	1990	41,7	5,5	0,2	52,4
	2000	34,2	6,3	0,8	58,6

Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara, SIS (p.51).

The tertiary sector tends to become the largest source of employment in Ankara's economic structure (Figure 4.1). However if we merge industry with the construction sector, we can say that industrial sector has a fairly considerable weight for the city economy with 20 percent. The role played by service sector is no doubt stems from the attributes of being capital city and because of this attributes the city resides many public sector organizations and related units.



Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara, State Institute of Statistics (pp.51).

Fig. 4.1: Decline of Primary Sector in Ankara: Employment distribution of economic activities

In Table 4.17 that holds the birth place data, it is revealed that immigration still takes place in Ankara. In 1985 and 1990 population born outside Ankara has substantially increased (6 percent more). We insist that "migration" has still been one of the significant protagonist in the urban agenda.

Table 4.17: Population by the place of birth (1935-2000)					
Year	Total	Ankara (%)	Other provinces or abroad %		
1935	534025	80.48	19.52		
1945	695526	72.45	27.55		
1950	819693	72.94	27,06		
1955	1120864	68.22	31.78		
1960	1321380	64.00	36.00		
1965	1644302	62.02	37.98		
1970	2041658	57.84	42.16		
1975	2585293	57.92	42.08		
1980	2854689	59.78	40.22		
1985	3306327	59.37	40.63		
1990	3236626	53.86	46.14		
2000	4.007.860	52.55	47.45		

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

The average size of households living in Ankara shows that the majority of the households are of nuclear family (Table 4.18). In the year 2000 the average size has fallen down to 4 demonstrates the intermediary period in between the rural-urban taxonomy and gaining more urban characteristics. However at this point we have to clarify that what the nuclear family means for Turkish society is highly different than the Western counterpart. Even the family members do not live together, under the same roof their interactions is strong and reciprocity is common. In Ankara the survival strategies is the main objective of the family not of the individuals [Ayata, 1996] quoted from METU, 1999: 289). Nuclear family in Turkish society takes upon some functions of the large family.

Table 4.18: Total household population, number of households and average size of households 1955-2000					
Census years	By Σ population	By Σ household population			
1955	6,55				
1960	5,52				
1965	5,50				
1970	5,35				
1975	5,34				
1980	4,97	4,85			
1985	4,83	4,62			
1990	4,47	4,23			
2000	3,94	3,82			

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

The findings are summarized as follows:

Working population is 43 percent of the population 12 years of age and over. Unemployed has been increasing steadily however only constituted 5 percent. On the other hand the "inactive population" is the most dramatic figure, which is more than half of the total "workable" population with 52 per cent and reaches 73 per cent in the females. Only 23 per cent of the women have work.

The decomposition of "inactive" has shown that half of the "not working" population at a productive age has been composed of "housewives" with 51 per cent and all belongs to female labor force. The "students" is also large category with 29 percent, this might be due to the worsening economic condition resulted difficulty to find a job, has caused to increase years of schooling or to avoid military services. Half of men "not working" is also of the "student" group "Retired" is also a significant group and reaches 35 per cent among male population.

Occupation structure of the city reveals the fact that the primary sector has in trend of diminishing whereas the "scientific, technical, professional and related workers" has increasing. The manual workers in the industry sector although has slightly diminished still constituted substantial part of urban occupational composition. Especially in male population, thought not deviate substantially from the past trends, those who manual workers employed in industry are slightly diminishing.

For the females, their share in agriculture has been decreasing while the numbers in 'scientific, technical, professional and related workers' occupations are increasing. As related to the increasing education level we can easily assert that women after having higher educational degree can play important role in the economic life of the city. Women labor force has been employed substantially in clerical works (23 per cent). Service workers are also reflecting some augmentation in female labor force.

Education level is strikingly rising in the population of Ankara in general, significantly following similar trend for females. While women is still disadvantaged as compare with men in the case of educational level, in Ankara almost 80 percent of the female population have at least primary formal education and more. Illiteracy has remained 16 per cent although still represents the problem for the socio-economic structure of the city.

Employment status of the city once more declare that Ankara, predominantly is the city of 'wage earners''. Two third of the male labor force has been worked as salaried. The ratio is again high for the female's counterparts, 63 per cent. In the period 1980-2000 the growth of the females as salaried is highly impressive, from 40 percent to 63 percent. The increasing level of education has helped many educated women to find a job as wage earners. However, the high rate of women labor force as unremunerated family workers is still employed in primary sector although we expect with the rise of education level this trend will diminish in future.

Self-employed category has been unexpectedly low because self-employed workers might be equated with the presence of informal sector. After 1990 there has been quite notorious decrease in this category however this needs further investigations. Finally employer category has shown some increase.

Employment by economic activity shows the dominancy of the service sector as expected beforehand. As the time passes industry has remained more or less the same and the share of agriculture in the city economy has been decreasing. Population distribution by sex to the economic sector demonstrates the growth in service sector in part both males and females.

The birth place table indicates that population "born in city of Ankara" has been decreasing steadily. After 1985 the "place of birth outside Ankara" has been on an increasing trend. The "migration" still persists in the city.
One of the most striking findings among the information obtained in the last census data is the decrease in the average family size, 3.94. This may be partly due to the relative increase in the household size or because the household composed of a single families.

IV.5. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF ANKARA'S HOUSING STRUCTURE

In this part of study we give a brief description of the housing structure of Ankara. We especially concentrated on the recent studies of "Ankara from 1985 to 2015" (1986) and "1999 Turkish Housing Survey" (2004) of SIS because these two studies were held considering the entire housing structure of the city.

When it was declared the capital of new Turkish Republic in 1923 the population of Ankara hardly reached to 25,000 to 30,000 (Ayata, 2002; Bademli, 1990: 36). The population today has passed over 3, 5 million¹⁹ according to last census year of 2000. The time period of 1923 to 2000, the population has been increased 160 times more and its structured was change completely.

	Table 4.19: Evolution of population growth of Ankarain the years between 1927-2000					
	Years	Population				
1	1927	99.066				
2	1935	152.695				
3	1940	188.416				
4	1945	279.491				
5	1950	348.552				
6	1955	551.364				
7	1960	783.851				
8	1965	1.069.761				
9	1970	1.467.304				
10	1975	1.997.980				
11	1980	2.238.967				
12	1985	2.737.209				
13	1990	2.836.719				
14	2000	3.540.522				

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

¹⁹ Total population of Ankara which is of urban population with 3.540.522 adding the village population 467.338 has been reached 4, 007 860 (Census of population, SIS, 2000).



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

Fig. 4. 2: Evolution of urban population of Ankara in 1927-2000

The population of Ankara has grown steadily after being declared as capital city. The massive flow of rural immigrants especially after 1950 has transformed the city structure deeply. Until the 1990s, the city reveals dual pattern housing composed of immigrants' huge settlements areas around the city periphery and the planned central areas. The new comers composed of huge masses depicted as "not being urbanities" has shown distinctive sociocultural patterns, low urban income level, illegal living environment has been entering although very painful and with full of tensions, in phase of articulation of urban environment (Bademli, 1990: 38). The poor immigrants invaded the outskirts of Ankara and constructed their dwellings by themselves on a generally illegally occupied public land plots. On the other hand the city has witnessed the expansion of middle-class residential areas of apartment blocks in central parts (Ayata, 2002: 26). As Kıray asserts the housing problem of the masses of salaried and workers was solved with the high rise apartment blocks provided economies of scale of using the same the plot (Kıray, 1982: 386). Apartment blocks are the housing type of the middle classes of the modern industrial societies²⁰. The alliances created between the limited purchasing power of the urban population with the owners those who have the limited capital accumulation, the "constructer", has overwhelmed the problem of housing shortage as a result of high land price, low investment in infrastructure and low income capacity to buy a house (Ayata, 2002: 27).

²⁰ Kıray asserts that a society's ability to create middle class can be measured by its performance to create apartments blocks (1982).

Türel claims that intensification of the population regarding income and social attributes in various specific regions can be considered as a consequence of the differentiation of the housing price and the difference of affordability of the individuals for buying houses (1986: 163-169). Higher income strata demand wider space so they prefer suburban areas. Lower strata on the other hand prefer not to pay more money for transportation to reside near central areas. Higher-income groups want to live with neighbors of "their own kind" so they are ready to pay more for housing. Heterogeneous districts are stationary and intermediary positions. In the 1980s the centre-suburban polarization was not as visible as Ankara of 2000s. In this study "Çankaya", "Gaziosmanpaşa", "Kavaklıdere", "Aşağı Ayrancı", "Bahçelievler" were the districts of the high income families. The three settlements "Or-An", "Ümitköy" and "Mesa-Batı" districts which were built up in 1980s were settled in the city fringe and revealed the characteristics of relatively higher income residential areas.

1980s and 1990s are the turning points for the city which has become more fragmented and complicated. The middle classes have overflowed out of the centre and the "gecekondu"/ apartment blocks ratio with the superiority of "gecekondu" at the beginning has left its place to apartment blocks. Low-mid stratum has been both seen in centre and periphery as well. Ayata depicted this period as follows:

The spread of the city like a grease stain, the overcrowding of its centre, the growing heterogeneity of its population, excessive increases in land prices, and the gradual invasion of housing areas by business, led local authorities and city planners to open the city's western corridor to new construction. The linear development of the city along this axis was very much based on government efforts to provide cheap land for housing. Large plots of public land, well-equipped with infrastructure, were given either to co-operatives or to large-scale developers, and both state and private banks contributed significantly to the financing of new housing there...As construction gained pace in the 1990s, a vast area of suburban housing of nearly 300,000 units was created (Ayata, 2002: 27).

As a consequence, the north-western belt of lower middle-class apartment housing and south-western belt of middle-upper-class residential areas²¹ made up of a mix apartment and luxury villas. Ayata depicts in detail the auto-sufficient functioning and enormous facilities provided by *site* and the distinctive lifestyles emerged there.

²¹ Marketing studies show that in Ankara "Kızılay", "Çankaya", "Yıldız" districts still preserves their importance for being prestigious districts in a sense that both housing and business (Fırat, 2000).

The spatial segregation based on the dichotomy ''gecekondu'' versus apartment blocks has left its place to ''gecekondu'', apartment blocks and suburban axis.

Ownership of housing

In this part of the study we give some information about the housing statistics of Ankara. The data sets we've got information are "Census of Population 2000: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population" and "1999 Turkish Housing Survey" held by with the cooperation of the SIS and the HAD (Housing Development Administration). This study has been conducted by virtue of the necessity to collect detailed information about housing. Previous studies provided restricted number of questionnaires of the population and building censuses. The census data and Housing Survey provide information about the entire city. The objectives of "Housing Studies" are stated as follows in the preface of the study;

- to evaluate the housing standards of the dwellings constituting the housing stock in Turkey,
- to compile information on the ownership status and finance of the houses;
- to obtain the proportion of unlicensed buildings which constitutes an important part of the housing stocks,
- to determine the social, economic and demographic characteristics of households.

The data set of ''Housing Survey'' provides information about the population 3.010.507 and 834.654 households. The Census data of 2000 of Ankara also offers some information about the housing. In census study the total number of households in the main municipal area is 841.488. The findings are as follows: The homeownership in Ankara was 36.6 % in 1955, 42% in 1965, and 45.9 % in 1970 in Ankara. The last census of 2000 is declared that in Ankara the households that are owner of their housing unit are 56.2%.



Source: 2000 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics of Population of Ankara SIS. Fig. 4.3: Ownership Status of housing

Size of Households

Table 4.20:	Table 4.20: Number of household population by size of household*							
Size of household	Number of households	%	Household population	%				
1	59940	7,2	59940	2,0				
2	152795	18,3	305589	10,2				
3	185363	22,2	556090	18,5				
4	230405	27,6	921619	30,6				
5	123691	14,8	618455	20,5				
6	54050	6,5	324299	10,8				
7	15245	1,8	106714	3,5				
8	7969	1,0	63751	2,1				
9	1039	0,1	9355	0,3				
10+	4158	0,5	44695	1,5				
Total	834654	100	3010507	100				

*Average size of households: 3.6

Source: 1999 Turkish Housing Survey

The most important lesson we can get from the table that the single households constitutes the 7,2 % of the total. This finding can be interpreted as the transformation of the urban family and rising tendency of people living alone in the city. Türel indicates the rising trend of single-headed families in parallel with the rise of life expectancy will encourage the demand for housing in the city (cited from Firat, 2000: 169). However changing family types does not only result in encouraging the housing demand but also result from the diversification of housing preferences. As Van Kempen claims post-industrial city reproduces the so-called new urbanities e.g. the singles, childless couples and two-earner families. The benefits and burden of city life are differently valued by new urbanities and traditional families. New urbanities for example prefer inner-city areas because of the concentration of many facilities in a distance of the easy reach. On the contrary traditional one-headed families with children are more inclined to suburban living²² (Van Kempen 1994). This might explains the mix character of some lower-income neighborhoods. In the North American culture, best place for growing up children is strongly believed that suburban areas (Urban Poverty in Canada 2000).

²² In the North American culture, best place for growing up children is strongly believed that suburban areas (Urban Poverty in Canada 2000).

Car ownership



Fig. 4.4: Private car ownership

The 34 percent of households have at least one and more than one car in Ankara. The owner of 2 cars is 2.4% is very indicative that this trend will continue on rising in the future and causes many implications for the city traffic. The car owner percentage is higher than Istanbul with a 27 percent of the households has a car whereas a two cars holder is almost same as Ankara with 2.3 percent. The car owning is 5 percent more as compared with Istanbul, a 32 percent in Ankara. "Not having" is 66 percent whereas 71 percent in Istanbul.

Type of Buildings



^{*}A separate building not located in a housing estate Source: 1999 Turkish Housing Survey

This table does not reveal information about the "gecekondu" so it is most probable that "detached houses" are composed of "gecekondu" however we use this assertion very cautiously that not the all detached houses are of "gecekondu" type. Although one of the objective of the Housing Survey is to provide information about the unlicensed houses, the

Fig. 4.5: Type of building

"type of building" does not included the number and percentage of the "gecekondu" in the total housing stock of the city. Detached houses in housing estates can be considered as the high level suburbanization after 1980s in Ankara in the form of auto-sufficient well controlled housing estates. The majority of the dwellings are the apartment blocks. The 70 per cent of the housing stock is consisted of apartments. One interesting finding of the figure is that 13 per cent of apartment blocks are located in a housing estate. Housing estates have been becoming important instrument in providing houses to the total stocks in Ankara.

Number of rooms of the dwellings by size of households and number of rooms per person

Table 4.21: Number of rooms*								
Size of households	1	2	3	4	5	6+	Unknown	
1	1,7	10,4	42,2	42,2	2,3	-	1,2	
2	0,9	3,6	30,8	60,8	3,4	-	0,5	
3	0,6	6,7	29,5	60,7	1,3	0,6	0,6	
4	0,2	5,9	28,1	61,2	3,6	0,6	0,5	
5	-	8,1	30,5	57,7	2,2	1,1	0,3	
6	-	5,1	37,2	53,8	3,2	0,6	-	
7	-	4,5	45,5	50,0	-	-	-	
8	4,3	8,7	21,7	65,2	-	-	-	
9	-	-	33,3	33,3	33,3	-	-	
10	-	8,3	33,3	41,7	16,7	-	-	
Total	0,5	6,3	31,2	58,4	2,7	0,5	0,5	

Source: 1999 Turkish Housing Survey *Number of rooms per person: 1

The major portion of the households lives in houses with four rooms. Even small-size families, single-headed households or couples without any children or one child families, more than half of them live with four room houses. The smaller the household size the higher the number of room we can say as a conclusion. The majority of households live at least 3 or 4 room houses.

Reason to own other dwelling unit/units

Table 4.22: Reasons to own other dwelling units					
	%				
For inhabiting by the household	22,5				
For inhabiting by the household seasonally or at weekends	12,8				
For getting rent income	19,3				
For occupation by a member of the household	24,4				
For selling after restoration	0,4				
For investment	12,8				
Inheritance or transferred	6,2				
Other	1,6				

The other dwelling is generally demanded for the children's future. One quarter of the households want a house for securing their children's future. The desire to change the dwelling for a better house occupies the second place and it can be interpreted as the demand for those who are able to afford to buy a new house. Buying another house for rent income is also relatively high, 20 percent.

CHAPTER V

V. METHODOLOGY AND THE ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK OF THE CASE STUDY

V. 1. BASIC QUESTIONS AND CONCEPTUAL MODEL USED IN THE STUDY

Social stratification occurs when social inequalities are systematically interrelated in the way that they shape people's life chances *(differences)* and is involved in the formation of large-scale unity, cohesion and collective identities (*similarities*) that stand in hierarchical relations to one another. If a class becomes a social reality, this must be shown in the formation of common patterns of behaviour and attitude, and manifests itself in urban space. We'll try to develop a segregation model which holds both social stratification and cultural patterns for Urban Ankara in order to detect the commonalities and differences. The first part of the study is composed of identifying coherent groups (classification of the class fraction) of people via their economic position within the society. In the study we adopted the Boratav's scheme as an analytical framework for the delineation of class fractions. To do so, we employ the employment status and to some extent occupational category to measure socio-economic differences of households. The categories are obtained by eliciting information about *employment status* (manager in large establishment, self-employed with employees etc.) and to some extent *occupational title* (for example electrician or nurse).

Secondly, we classify the census enumeration districts with respect to the two structural properties; income and education. The last section compromises the analysis of the socialclass based segregation measured by in series of attributes. In short the scope of the study is a twofold:

Thesis question (1); how and upon what basis social groups and strata can be located in the economic and cultural structure of a society. This part of the study deals with the objective ''set" of criteria Thesis question (2); whether the same coherency can be coincided in the space. This part deals with the analysis of the spatial dimension of social "class" which means segregation.

In the analyses a bundle of techniques and approaches applied for the adequate representation of the social class base segregation in Ankara. The objective here was to grasp how the societal relationship of social life in urban sphere can function to differentiate the spatial segments of the city of Ankara. We tried to provide a picture of urban social stratification in its spatial context. Correspondence and cluster analysis were employed in clustering coherent spatial unit of the neighbourhoods. And lastly it was tried to measure the socio-economic and status groupings and their correlation potentially stem from the consumption pattern. The context of the analytical study in Ankara was highly directed by the possibilities of the data available in our hands on household basis.

The application of the technique to the data set consisted of two complementary stages. First we obtained the spatial clusters by employing both CA and cluster analysis, in the form of income groupings of the households and their educational levels. The clusters were grouped and recoded as dependent variables and in the second part of the study they will be inserted into the analysis for exploring the class-based segregation in Ankara. We use "class" as a general description of structures of material inequality and cultural differences and try to prove that this class base inequality cannot be understood without exploration of the space. Class-based inequalities are also the geographical inequalities which draw sharp lines among households living in urban space.

Our exploration bears some important difference as compared with the Bourdieuian sense of exploration of the social space. Our data is not designed for exploration of the lifestyle organized around the same practices and products of a given agent in form of the 'set of choices'', or 'taste'' that constitutes lifestyle. Rather, our data contains information about the resources that households or members of the households have and provide information about the socio-economic context in which different households act and practice. The data gives information about 'what a household consumes'' but not 'what they *do* with those consumption items''. We can only infer some ideas about their way of behavior. The study about the lifestyles necessitates ''daily life'' study, in a sense that the way of doing, thinking and exercising agency. One should take into account that consumption patterns is not equivalent of lifestyle are constructed and maintained (Holt, 1997: 339). However

consumption patterns provide substantial insight about the symbolic boundaries of different social strata.

The main concern of the study focused on the identification of the homogeneous groupings or exploration of the class as a life condition, therefore, is fundamentally to depict a map of geography of social structure. The schema of the structural determinants of the class condition can be seen in the Figure 5.1.



Fig. 5.1: Schematic representation of the modeling of the survey: the fields and variables used.

V.2. INTRODUCTION OF THE DATA SET

The sample used in this research which represented Ankara and was ''Household income and expenditure survey'' collected by State Institute of Statistics (SIS) in 1994 and 2001. It is a multi-stage stratified cluster sample (see the Appendix B for the explanation of the multi-stage stratified cluster methodology). The objective of the HICES is to determine consumption patterns and income level of individuals and households, and eventually for the calculation of consumer price indices. The survey allows researchers to get information as a unit of household and individuals. Household Consumption Expenditures Survey which comprised the sample of households of the Turkish citizens living in Turkey by SIS in 1987¹. In 1994 the survey was applied to a total 236 urban and rural settlements and 26256 households in overall Turkey between dates January 1, 1994 and December 31, 1994.

Table 5.1: 1987 and 1994: Household Income and Expenditures Survey					
	1987	1994			
Urban settlements	50	62			
Rural settlements	89	174			
Total	139	236			
Annual sample household numbers (urban)	14 424	18264			
Annual sample household numbers (rural)	11 976	7992			
Total	26 400	26 256			
Monthly sample household number (urban)	1 202	1 522			
Monthly sample household number (rural)	988	666			
Total	2 190	2 188			

The survey was conducted in every month by rotation. For instance 2188 sample households were interviewed in January to get information about the consumption expenditure, employment status and income information of the household members; in February another 2188 households were interviewed. This alternate process continued until December at 1994. The survey was applied to 1522 households in urban areas and 666 households in rural areas.

Interviewers visited 6 households once every 3 days at each month i.e. in total ten times in a month to get information about the consumption expenditure and income. The method which was used during the interview was based on recording, field observation and interview with the members of the households.

Diaries which were used for recording expenditure were given to the household before the survey was started. During the month of survey, members aged 14 years and over of who purchased goods and services recorded these expenditures to the diary. The diaries were controlled on a regular basis by the interviewers. Furthermore they took notes about the environmental quality of the place of residence and socio-economic status and occupation of household members and finally the properties of the house lived in.

Information about the expenditures on food, apparel, health, transportation, education, entertainment, house furniture etc. and durable goods were all asked during the interview.

¹ Before 1987, the consumption expenditure survey was dated back to 1964-65 for Ankara. After 2001, SIS published HICE survey of the years of 2002 and 2003 however these studies are not available for Ankara at the neighbourhood level.

Moreover information such as source of income, occupation, employment status, economic activities, the level of income etc., were obtained at the month of final interview.

The variables used in the survey are the ownership status of the dwelling, properties of the street, the amount of rent, the head of household, members of the households, active and inactive households members, consumption expenditures (food, beverages, apparel, housing, house furniture, health, transportation, entertainment, leisure, various goods and services), geographical units (see for the definition of variables used in the survey in the Appendix C). We use the Household income and expenditure survey conducted by SIS. Although the SIS conducts survey for the whole country, for the selected 19 cities listed below the survey is also available.

Table 5.2: Selected Cities for Household and Expenditure Survey						
Adana Ankara Antalya Bursa İçel	Diyarbakır Erzurum Eskişehir Gaziantep Denizli	İstanbul İzmir Kayseri Kocaeli Konya	Malatya Samsun Trabzon Zonguldak			

We have information on 647² households and 2650 individuals in Ankara in the form of questionnaires in 1994 for Ankara. The data set offers information as a basis of enumeration districts that allow us to evaluate the social class position and spatial dimension of the city. The multi-stage stratified cluster sample method employed in the survey provides information to the totality of the city. The design of survey is realized according to the whole structure of the city (see Map II for the distribution of census enumeration districts of the year 1994).

The second data set is the "household income and expenditure survey" of SIS conducted by the year 2001. However the data is not complete and just contains information of the first three months of the year 2001. The SIS did not complete the survey 2001 because of the economic crisis of February 2001. So we have first three months of information in the data set of 2001 which comprises 332 questionnaires from Ankara households. Hence we have to be cautious in interpretations of the year 2001 because of the unfinished character of the data (see Map III for the distribution of census enumeration districts of the year 2001).

 $^{^{2}}$ In the raw data set the number of questionnaires is 657 however 7 of them have been eliminated because of the missing information.



ÇANKAYA 50.yıl-Çanka Erzurum-Ça Ş.C.Özdemi Barbaros Karakusunla Naci Çakır

Yalçınkaya

(SIS), 1994

SUBREGIONS (<i>ilçe</i>) AND DISTRICTS							
CONSUMPTION EXPENDED OF CENSUS ENUMER	NDITURE SUR						
A aya ankaya ir ar	KEÇİÖREN Ş.Kubilay Ufuktepe Kanuni Ayvalı Atapark Şenlik Yeşilöz Uyanış Şefkat Kalaba Pınarbaşı						
Š	MAMAK Şahap Gürler Boğaziçi Mutlu Demirlibahçe K.Orbay Abidinpaşa Tepecik Ekin Balkiraz						
IALLE	SİNCAN Fatih Plevne Tandoğan						
tate Institute of Statistics 4		April 2005					



141

YENİ MAH Karşıyaka Demetevler

Source: Sta (SIS), 2001

SUBREGIONS (<i>ilçe</i>) AND DISTRICTS							
O CONSUMP ON ÓF CENSI	TION EXPENDITURE SURVEY US ENUMERATION DISTRICTS	3					
A	KEÇİÖREN A.Menderes Pınarbaşı						
niz	Ayvalı Subayevleri						
Ğ n ler 1	MAMAK Anayurt Yeşilbayır Saimekadın						
HALLE	SİNCAN İstasyon Tandoğan						
ate Institute of	Statistics April 2005						

V.3. CRITICAL REASSESMENT FOR CRITERION TO OPERATIONALIZE AN ANALYTICAL SCHEME

Any analysis with regard to the social class perspective must lie behind the society's dynamics embedded within the macro level analysis of historical, economical, political and cultural contexts (Boratav, 1995: 2). Our aim of the study is to analyse how at the micro level of households and individuals demonstrates similarities and differences in their structural, behavioural properties and attitudes with respect to their position in the social classes. By doing so we analyse micro sub-groups or different stratum derived form the major distributional and redistributional processes.

In Turkey the participation of labour force in urban area is very low, this is mainly due to the fact that after migrating to the city the women are converted to the domestic housekeepers. In the rural areas women participate with the status of unremunerated family workers in the primary sector however the picture has changed substantially after migrating to the city. Inactive groups are composed of those who are vulnerable to the fragile economic conditions of the country. The country's most crucial economic crisis in 1994 and more recently in February 2001 has caused serious structural changes in the labour force. Our data set belongs to these two crucial periods. The second data set which belongs to 2001 contains the information for the first three months, with the emergence of the February 2001 the SIS was decided not to continue on dissemination of the Household Income and Consumption Expenditure survey. As a summary both sets represents the imprints of economic crisis.

This research will examine the social and spatial extent of different social classes in the city of Ankara. This study takes it's depart from the distribution problematic. As in the process and consequences of the macro dimensions of the distribution, how, those households and individual members of different social classes show similarities or differences. This research is embedded within the theoretical discussion around the social classes. We believe that any analysis of socio-spatial segregation should be dependent upon the discussion of social classes (Harris, 1984: 28). All those social strata, subgroups are derived from social classes and their analysis can only be meaningful under the class perspective. In the research, we employ social classes as dependent variables together with the socio demographic attitudes, education, income and consumption patterns as expected to explain the phenomenon of social class based segregation. We strongly believe that households and individuals living in the city have some socioeconomic, political and cultural similarities and differences which mainly due to the differences between the class positions. Although we accept the view that

it is highly difficult to realize any stratification study in such a dynamic society as Turkey we believe that after the 1980s strong economic, social and political transformation have been partaken new forms of organizations in urban areas in general and particularly in Ankara. We expect that stratification is heavily influential in urban structure and in a similar vein different stratum reveals distinctive groupings in the urban space.

This study is considered as an attempt to elicit the new axis of social and cultural differences in the urban areas. Although the term social class has been commonly used to explain the societal changes and cultural differentiation, very few empirical studies have been conducted to elaborate the issue. The transformation from rural to urban society or decomposition of peasantry has always been seen as the most significant division axis to cut across the urban structure in Turkey. In a similar vein the ''social class'' as life condition or ''stratification'' studies has remained untouched in general and empirically studied in particular. To explore the new axis of dichotomy in the urban space has been really very rarely conducted. This is the departure point of the objective of this study. The first part of the study is composed of identifying coherent groups of people via their economic position within society. Typically, a social class distribution is obtained by eliciting information about both *employment status* (self-employed with employees, manager in large establishment, and so forth) and *occupational title* (for example electrician or nurse).

The best fitting model of stratification for Turkish social structure necessitates highly comprehensive historical and painstaking researches and this is really problematic for a country faced with dynamic changes and historically evolved so long and different than the advanced societies. We confine ourselves at the limits of this study with the testing the occupation and employment status base stratification scheme in one side and spatial differentiation in the other side. However this undertaking does not mean that we do measure one determinant with the other separately, on the contrary we consider them together and measure the performance of their capacity to represent the inequalities. The data set that we have provides such a design of the stratification problems as in this way the stratification scheme with the variables occupation and employment status and then the spatial variables to find the clues of social segregation in urban space.

Employment status and occupation³ have been not considered as variables to differentiate social classes but rather they have been considered as the best reflections of the dynamics of the internal stratification of social classes defined through which social relations of production (Geniş 2002). We admit that Turkish social formation and urban experiences show tremendous differences and peculiarities as compared with the developed countries. Turkish social structure represents originalities having both Islamic and modern-secular features, and both middle eastern and European. Historically the struggle between state and civil society was more dominant than the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. The feudal and pre-capitalist controversy still persists and is vivid in the daily life and has substantial effects on the capitalist production (Aktas, 2001: 210). Keyder asserts that early Republican period has witnessed the dominancy of bureaucratic military class (1989:9-14). However, as a consequence of 80 years of modernisation efforts, urbanization which is in the process of maturation, the economic transformation and opening up to the world economy after 1980s, all these changes encourage us to trace stratification in the city of Ankara. Turkish capitalism still holds the imprints of small-scale production and the continuing state influence. Especially in the urban sphere we need new conceptual tools based upon differentiations of market skills, authority and managerial conflicts along with the property owning and excluding. The stratification is no doubt about it, is multidimensional and multifaceted in the new era.

We employ employment status and occupational-aggregate categories without claiming that these categories constitute ''classes''. Bu doing so we defend that both employment status and to some extend occupation can be taken as an effective economic indicator of one's position in the social life and social status as well (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]). The nature of work, the occupational milieu and its ''cultural'' and ''organizational specificities'' provides a basis of differentiation. The commonalities of their location, their similar conditions of existence and conditioning, might indeed result in similarities of attitudes and practices. For this reason our objective is to analyze an adequate class scheme where variables may fit the urban socio-space to explain the inequalities brought by the distribution and redistristribution processes as a whole.

We adopt a modified version of the Boratav's scheme, this is due to the fact that his scheme was adapted empirically not only by Boratav's study (1995) but also examined empirically in

³ We employed "occupation" to differentiate the wage earner category into four fractions in parallel with Boratav's classification; managers, highly qualified professionals, unskilled service workers and finally manual workers.

a series of studies (Geniş, 2002; Aktaş, 2001; Belek, 1999; Özcan, 1998). Belek found by employing Boratav's scheme that the ''social class'' was the most meaningful determinant of health (1999: 2004). Following Boratav's scheme the first division of axis is stemmed from extracting the surplus product which fell apart the profit gainers who have the power of control of means of production and wage earners on the other. The concept of *redistribution of the surplus product* is then introduced. In each social formation the initial extraction of the surplus is modified through market and non-market processes⁴, i.e., secondary relations of distribution. Subgroups of *economically dominant classes* should be distinguished from *intermediate social strata*. In the former case in a capitalist economy, an internal division of surplus value takes place between *industrial, financial, commercial capital* and *rentiers* as subgroups of the bourgeoisie. In the latter case, in capitalist economy, surplus transfer to the bureaucracy, to the self-employed professionals or (in the Turkish case) to the so-called ''marginal groups'' takes place through the intermediation of the market or of state (Boratav, 1993).

The examining of the Ankara's socioeconomic context drawn from the census data of 2000 shows that, the city economy has absorbed the very minor part of the active population. The ''bourgeoisie'' in Marxist sense does not stem from the property owning of the means of production but rather as a wage earner category of what Ayata indicates in his studies, the employees of international or other global business organisation or the higher ladder of the administrative unit. The employer category of Ankara however is far from to appropriate surplus produced by capitalist economy because it is hard to depict Ankara as industrialized city. However we maintain the basic cleavage stems from the control over means of production (profit-gainers and wage earners) because we cannot apart Ankara from the

⁴ Most social policies are directly framed as attempts to maintain a given distribution of income within a social system or to redistribute income among the various social groups that make up a society. State collects directly taxes from the income. The second intervention is stem from the *redistribution* of the revenue from these direct taxes as in the form of non-transferable government payments (Gürsel et. al., 2000). It has generally been accepted that some redistribution must take place since there are always those elements in a population who by ill-luck, bad judgement, age or frailty, cannot attain an adequate standard of living through the usual means (Harvey, 1973: 52). Retirement wages is also of this kind. In any analysis of comparing pre-tax and transfer (market distribution) and post-tax and transfer (redistribution) gives opportunity to evaluate whether the government's intervention is effective to reduce the inequality or to measure through which social stratums are affected by the redistribution. To do so the information of the gross income of the tax-payers must be known. In the advanced countries tax revenue collected with respect to the individuals declaration about information of their income. Yet in Turkey taxation realizes at the main source so it is not possible to get information about the gross and net income in the questionnaires. Other difficulty stem from the widespread application of tax leak, many respondents avoid to give correct answer. For this reason, the SIS prefers not to ask the ''true income'' composition in the Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey. This is the main cause of the deficiency for the true assessment of how and in what direction different social stratums would be affected by the redistribution and related policies (Gürsel et. al., 2000: 21).

nation economy and also global economy as well. We maintain the major class division which differentiate employer category from the wage earner. In the employer category, we follow Boratav's assumption that (1) small employers those who employ one or two (2) mid (big) -employers for those who allow more than three or more workers permanently.

We believe that Turkish societal formation after the 80 years of Republican period, the formation of urban areas can lead to study the growing number of middle classes. Recent economic, social and political changes taken place after 1980s, exploration of class dynamics are important tasks of the social scientists. Social class studies must now consider and conceptualize the market situation and work situation to analyse more closely the wage earner groups. By saying market situation we mean the economic position narrowly conceived, consisting of source and size of income, degree of job security and opportunity for upward occupational mobility, on the other hand work situation is generally related with the authority and control within production processes.

The overwhelming majority of the wage earner category imprints throughout this study and deserves special merit. We strongly believe that the income gap of wage earners between public⁵ and private sector has been widened at the expense of the state functionaries. We thought at the beginning to consider the wage earner category of public and private sector separately⁶. However, although the level of wages is low for public sector professionals some sort of additional factors and benefits as such the secure job contracts, having vacations with wages and as such. Additional non-monetary benefits and security in a country where economic instability is extremely common can be considered as positive factors which

⁵ In their exploration of the economic ''class position'' of the engineers and architects of Köse & Öncü claim that the majority of engineers and architects work as wage-earners and the overwhelming majority have been employed in the public sector. Their findings indicate the impoverishment and proletarianisation because of the recent economical conditions. Their deficient economic capacity and possibilities place them in similar class position of manual workers (2000: 34). The authors also mentioned that the socio-economic background of this group shares similarity generally from the low ladders of Turkish University systems. Their vertical mobility is difficult and full of many obstacles so they move from being wage earners to being small employers and try to climb up the social ladder. On the other hand engineers who work for big-scale advanced capitalist corporations as executives have been getting closer to that capitalist class because the capitalist employer leaves some important liabilities of intrinsic capitalist production to the managers whose positions as being managers convert them to a sub capitalist group. A fairly high number of the graduates of METU, Bosporus University, ''Bilkent'' are of this kind according to Köse and Öncü's findings.

⁶ The distinction between public and private sector professionals cannot be considered as theoretical class, rather it is of practical necessity taking into account of the worsening condition of public sector employees as whole after 1980s. In parallel with the worsening economic conditions the chambers of the technical and medical organization shows civil reaction and protest similar to those of the working class unions. We consider the activities of the chamber of medical doctors as an example.

public sector still holds. We consider highly qualified public and private sector professionals together constituting the "professionals category".

Unlike Boratav we include the administrative and managerial groups to see the role of bureaucracy and managerial groups. We try to measure the role work situations played in stratification. As mentioned before "work situation" is defined as the "social relationships in which the individual is involved at work by virtue of his/her position in the division of labour. Social relations are depicted as the relations of authority through which the division of labour is regulated. We try to see the system of authority and control governing the process of production in which workers are engaged, and hence in their degree of autonomy in performing their work-tasks and roles. We think that this attribute is of utmost importance for the city of Ankara where the chief administrative and public institution settled where the nation's most effective bureaucracy found. On the other hand Ayata's studies shows in 1980s and 1990s the middle class goes beyond the bureaucratic and military segments and the social structure of the city has been transformed recently by producing the expanded professional, managerial and entrepreneurial components which can be considered as an effect of the globalisation (2002: 30).

One of the indicators of the stratified social structure of the city is the presence of the very heterogeneous and numerous informal service and production sector (Bademli 1990). As an intermediary form, informal economy both provides employment for the vast labour force which has a difficulty to find opportunity to absorb the formal economy and on the other hand, provides life chances for an economy which had been industrialized properly. For this reason we include informal sector as separate stratum in this study.

The main division axes of what constitute informal sector depends upon whether having social security contract or not. Wage earning without any social security contract is accepted as informal sector. Second notion which is of significance is the membership of the two main institutions: *SSK* and *Emekli Sandığı*. Both *SSK* and *Emekli sandığı* cover the health services and retirement wage. The services provided by *Emekli Sandığı* are better than those of the SSK.

Informal sector

- . Wage-earners not-affiliated any security programme
- . Causal employee⁷
- . Unremunerated family workers⁸
- . Self-employed with the exception of those in professional specialities
- . Seasonally works

We excluded the highly qualified (having university degree) self employed category (see Appendix D for the ''International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO 88)'', ''professionals or technical workers, entrepreneurs, executive or managerial workers'' from the self-employed category in order to obtain the informality apt to the definition. Occupations such as lawyers, medial doctors who exercise their employment activities in accord with their occupational diploma normally cannot be evaluated same as the small repairmen in his/her small shop. Those occupations obtained as a consequence of university degree or equivalent to the higher educational institutions cannot be evaluated as informal sector. In a similar vein, entrepreneurs, supervisors, high executives are considered outside of informality. Self-employed with the exception of those in professional specialities are of artisans, small shop-keepers etc.

We include retired and unemployed as separate category like Boratav. These categories cannot be evaluated as class position they rather represent the situational position in the society. Moreover in the case of retired, the last occupation before retirement did not ask in the Household Income and Consumption expenditure survey that we, otherwise would have been inserted them to their respective position.

⁷ The causal employee was defined in the "Census of Population, 2000" as "the person employed with an employer, or working seasonally or irregularly, or when he finds a job".

⁸ Unremunerated subsistence activities are composed of those as housecleaning, washing, ironing, sewing, etc. Wives are generally responsible for these tasks, which grow in numbers as income shrinks. However in Turkish society, the women's working outside of the home is not always welcomed. The role played culturally in man's honour does not let woman go out easily and work as a house cleaner. Many women admit that they do so by hiding under the restrictive monitoring of the neighbours (Erdoğan, 2002; Özyeğin, 2002: 65). But the harder striving for family substances, the more women is pushed into the labour market. They develop new way of economic activities such as cleaning apartment stairs within a block or blocks where there are no doorkeepers "*kapıcı*" (Erdoğan, 2002: 49), or working in their home, washing other people's laundry.

The modified version of the class positions is as follows:

Table 5.3: Proposed class scheme							
Three Divergent lines of	Strata	Three intermediate social strata					
stratification structures							
Control over means of production	Mid (big) employer	Small employer					
(profit-gainers and wage earners)							
Control over labour-power (those	Administrative and managerial	Educated professionals					
with managerial power)	workers						
Payment types (job security those	Professionals	Self-employed (petty bourgeoisie)					
with stable job and income, fringe	Semi-professionals and white collar	(artisan & informal)					
benefits etc.).	Unskilled service workers	Urban marginals					
	Blue collar workers						

Social classes emerged from the above lines of the class structures are;

(1) *Mid-big employer*: those who are owners of manufacturing, trade and service workplaces and employ wage labour (employer hires more than 3 employees).

(2) Small employer: Employer hires 2 or less than 2 employees.

(3) Administrative and managerial workers⁹: This group is intended to include persons who are directors or chief executives, as directors or chief executives, managers of enterprises or organisations

(4) *Professionals*: This group includes occupations whose main tasks require a high level of professional knowledge and experience in the physical, mathematical, engineering sciences, life science and health professionals whose main tasks require a high level of professional knowledge and experience with high level of education commensurate with a university degree or equivalent.

(5) *Educated self-employed professionals*¹⁰: Own account workers with high level of educational qualifications such as attorneys, doctors, accountants, etc. who do not employ wage earner on a regular base.

(6) *Semi-professional white-collar employees and clerks:* Those who perform mostly technical and clerical tasks and teach at certain educational levels. Teachers, nurses, secretaries, accounting, technicians are of this type.

(7) *Unskilled service workers:* Those who works in various services with low level skill and education such as food preparation in cafeterias, cleaning or personal services, driving.

(8) *Manual workers*: Those working in manufacturing, repairing and maintenance, construction, transportation, loading and unloading and those who both work in and have responsibilities for controlling and coordinating such tasks.

(9) Artisan and informal workers (petty bourgeoisie): small-scale entrepreneurs (low profit and labour intensive techniques), small shop-keeper, self-employed informal activities.

(10) Retired

(11) Unemployed, domestic housekeepers, elderly, disabled, students, temporally works.

⁹ In the ''International Standard Classification of Occupation'' (ISCO 88) *Administrative and managerial occupations* are defined as ''all occupations which consist of jobs in which the workers have mainly legislative, administrative or managerial tasks and duties should be classified to major group 1 *Legislators, senior officials and managers*''. We did not classified ''working proprietors'' as manager although they work as managers. We considered them by looking at their employment status as ''employer''. In this study administrative and managerial workers are classified by looking at their employment status marked as ''salaried workers''.

¹⁰ In our data, this category was consisted of only four household head for 1994 and 2 for 2001 so we decided not to include for the empirical study.

And finally, the selected unit of analysis in this study was "household". We have considered the utmost importance of the family in the Turkish social structure. The intense and close interactions and strong reciprocity holds the family in a special place in the society. Although the majority of them are nuclear families, their functioning bear the large family attributes. The class position of the family heavily depends upon the class position of the head of household. However, in the case where the household head do not work (in our data set, a limited number of the household head has a job), we consider the working partner's class position as the representative of the class position of the family. By doing so, we try to include as many respondents in the households as to be considered major part of the population.

V.4. INTRODUCTION OF THE TECHNIQUES USED IN THE STUDY

CA is a graphical technique for representing the information in a two-way contingency table, which contains the counts (frequencies) of items for a cross-classification of the two categorical variables (Rencher, 2002: 514). With CA we construct a plot that shows the interaction of the two categorical variables along with the relationship of the rows to each other and of the columns to each other. We use the volume and structure of the economic and cultural assets for the already defined clusters of the neighbourhoods (enumeration districts). Our aim is to try to find out the social topology in relation to the space¹¹. In the exploration of multi-dimensional representation of the structural space, the closer the units situated within this space, the more common properties they have, and the more distant they are, the fewer they have (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]). In the graphical display, the spatial distances coincide with social distances in relation with the space. The social relationships will be used for depicting the spatial representation. The people who are close in the physical space are supposed to have higher probabilities of association (membership of the same class positions). CA is a useful tool for the representation of societal relationship in urban space. The multi-dimensional structural positions will be constructed and visualized by employing CA. The method is particularly helpful for researchers who collect categorical data in social survey analysis (Greenacre 1993). CA is a graphical method of data analysis in which

¹¹ Our intention is limited with the exploration of the structural space as in the case of social conditions and positions, and the resources of the lifestyle. The exploration of the symbolic space is not possible in the limits of the data set we have because *taste* is not a component of the Household Income and consumption data of the SIS. Only very tiny part of the survey offers some insights about the choices of the consumers.

graphical display permits more rapid interpretation and understanding of the data. It offers the researcher a visual representation of the data since it allows us to see the row and column variables in the same space. Before going ahead, we want to give a brief explanation of CA for the convenience of the reading the text easily.

The primary concepts in CA, are namely *profiles*, *masses*, *chi-squared distance* and lastly the term *inertia* (Greenacre, 1993: 8-16; Greenacre, 1994: 9-10). The profile of a set of frequencies is simply the frequencies divided by their total, i.e. the set of relative frequencies. Each row and each column has a different number of respondents, called the *base* of respondents. For comparison we need to reduce either rows or columns to the same base. It is customary to reduce the rows or columns to the common base of 100% by computing percentages relative to the row or column totals. Such set of percentages calculated for a row or a column frequencies, is called a *profile*, as an example we can give a hypothetical profile as in the form of profile values for the first row of the Table 5.5 which corresponds to the level of education ''illiterate'' is [59,6% 15,4% 13,5% 1,9% 9,6%].

Table 5.4: Correspondence Table							
	Spatial clustering						
Level of education	Region1	Region2	Region3	Region4	Region5	Total	
Illiterate	31	8	7	1	5	52	
Grade school	134	65	44	12	21	276	
Junior high school	26	17	19	3	10	75	
High school	14	37	15	26	34	126	
University	8	1	19	10	71	109	
Total	213	128	104	52	141	638	

Table 5.5: Row profile of the educational level across the five spatial clusters							
	Spatial clustering						
Level of education	Region1	Region2	Region3	Region4	Region5	Total	
Illiterate	59,6	15,4	13,5	1,9	9,6	100	
Grade school	48,6	23,6	15,9	4,3	7,6	100	
Junior high school	34,7	22,7	25,3	4	13,3	100	
High school	11,1	29,4	11,9	20,6	27	100	
University	7,3	0,9	17,4	9,2	65,1	100	
Average	33,4	20,1	16,3	8,2	22,1	100	

The last row is called average profile. This is the profile of the column totals of the table, which are 213, 128, 104, 52, and 141, respectively, with a grand total of the sample size of 638. Thus 33,4% of the whole sample is in the region1. The profiles are examples of mathematical 'vectors' (Greenacre, 1994: 10). Vectors have a geometric interpretation since they define points in multidimensional space. For instance, the elements of the first row profile, 59,6% 15,4% 13,5% 1,9% and 9,6%, can be used as coordinates to situate the

vectors in a four-dimensional space (the number of dimension is one less than number of the column variables, in our case the variable "region" has five levels which means that the number of dimension is equal to 5-1=4).

The second fundamental concept in CA is the *mass* associated with each profile. The marginal frequencies of the row total 52, 276, 75, 126, and 109, are divided by the grand total (sample size) of the table, which is 638, to obtain quantities 0,082, 0,433, 0,118, 0,197, and 0,171 which are called *row masses* and which are used to weigh each respondent to contribute equally to its corresponding profile point. The object of this weighing system is to allow each respondent to contribute equally to its corresponding to its corresponding profile point. The object of this weighing system is to allow each respondent to contribute equally to its corresponding profile point (Greenacre 1993: 17-23; Greenacre, 1994: 10). Mass associated with each profile has a role to quantify the importance of the profile in the analysis. The criterion used in CA is thus a weighed sum-of-squared-distance criterion. The average profile in the last row of the Table 5.5 which is the profile of the column totals of the data of the Table 5.4, turns out to be weighed average of the individual row profiles, where the weights are the corresponding masses. The average profile can be thought of as occupying an average, or central, position in the cloud of profile points, however tends to lie more towards the profiles which have higher mass.

The last important concept of the CA is the *distance* which is known as the *chi-square distance*. In CA, the distances between profile points are measured by the weighted Euclidian distance as in the case of $\sqrt{(0,596-0,073)^2/(0,334+(0,154-0,009)^2/(0,201+(0,135-0,174)^2/(0,163+(0,019-0,092)^2/(0,082+(0,096-0,651)^2/(0,221))}$ to measure the distance between profile points. As Greenacre indicated, this weighing has the effect that less frequently occurring response options are made to contribute more highly to the inter-profile distance, while those that occur more frequently are made to contribute less. This is done by dividing the squared Euclidian distance by the average profile. Because of the analogy with the chi-squared concept of calculating squared differences between proportions relative to their expected or mean values, this distance is known as the *chi-square distances* (Greenacre, 1993: 24-31; Greenacre, 1994: 11-12).

In our sample case, we have a set of profile points with masses adding up to 1, these points have a *centroid* (the average profile) and there is a measure of distance (the chi-square distance) between profiles. The inertia is the mass value times the square of the chi-square distance between the first row (then after the other rows) profile and the average row profile. The total inertia is this sum which is calculated for each row. The higher the inertia the more spread out the points (Greenacre, 1994: 12). As an example the inertia of the first row is,

 $0,082x [(0,596-0,073)^2/0,334+(0,154-0,009)^2/0,201+(0,135-0,174)^2/0,163+(0,019-0,092)^2/0,082+(0,096-0,651)^2/0,221].$

CA provides a picture of the association between the row variables and column variables. In most applications the cross-tabulation of the row and column variables which are of interest has many rows and columns and the profiles lie in a space of higher dimensionality. With reference to our example, we are interested in the profiles of the five educational levels across the regions, which are the column profiles in our case. We have a four dimensional map (one less than the number of the column variables) for the display which is hard to visualize. Educational levels are scattered in a four dimensional space, four-cornered simplex represents the different regions at the unit points stretched along the four axes (Greenacre 1993: 38). The dimensionality of the certain points needs to be reduced. This reduction of dimensionality cannot be accomplished without a certain amount of loss of information, but the idea is to restrict this loss to a minimum. By projecting the profiles onto a line¹² we lose some knowledge of their true positions and this loss may be expressed as a percentage of the total inertia. Both quality of approximation and discrepancy, or loss, are measured in the form of percentages of the total inertia, and they add up to 100%: the lower the loss, the higher the quality, and the higher the loss the lower the quality (41). In our example, the quality of one-dimensional approximation of the profiles is equal to 77,4% with a loss incurred by projecting the points onto the straight line turns out to be 22,6%. The second axis is accounted 20% percent and the total reached by the first two axes is equal to the 97,4% with a loss to only 2,6%. The accuracy of the display in Figure 5.2 is measured by a quantity called "proportion of inertia". In our case 97,4% of the inertia of the profiles is represented in two-dimensional subspace, then the residual inertia, or error, which lies external to the subspace, is only 2,6%. In other words, the display quality in Figure 5.1 is 97.4% and the display error is only 2,6%.

Dimension	Singular Value	Inertia	Chi Square	Sig.	Proportion of Inertia			
					Accounted for	Cumulative		
1	,564	,319			,774	,774		
2	,287	,082			,200	,974		
3	,102	,010			,025	,999		
4	,016	,000			,001	1,000		
Total		,411	262,500	,000(a)	1,000	1,000		

Summar

a 16 degrees of freedom

¹² The required calculations about the reduction of dimensionality using mathematical operations are summarized and described more fully in Greenacre's book 'Correspondence Analysis in Practice'' in appendix 1 and appendix 2 (1993: 178-183).



Fig. 5.2: Two-dimensional symmetrical display of the hypothetical data

The major part of the CA as a technique is based on the assumption that the researcher should not prescribe to the individuals or the groups under investigation which attributes of an object should taken into account. Instead, it is the researcher's task to identify these attributes ex post on the basis of the ultimate configuration of objects¹³ In general, the theories considered in CA do not refer to causal relationships, they are based on social sciences theories such as the ''assumptions'' of Bourdieu's *Distinctions* (1984 [1979]). Correspondence analysis is very useful technique to define as ''social topology'' which implies a relational conception of social reality. CA seems to be especially adequate, as Bourdieu put it, ''is essentially a relational procedure, whose philosophy corresponds

¹³ This feature is also valid other multivariate techniques such as *Multidimensional Scaling* (Nijkamp 1979: 112).

completely to what in my opinion constitutes social reality. It is procedure, that 'thinks' in relations'' (quoted from Wuggenig & Mnich, 1994: 304).

Lebart proposes the use of cluster analysis to complement the CA (1994: 162). He claims, depending on his experience of processing of the data set provided by the "National Survey about the Aspiration and the Living Conditions of the French", from 1978 to 1984 (169), that large data arrays issued from sample survey through multiple CA, the results are too complex for interpretation. A combined use of both techniques is highly recommended for the complex data set. The most significant categories or variables characterizing each cluster are automatically selected and sorted with the use of SPSS for condensation of the data which is the series of the enumeration districts in our case. This preliminary clustering is useful in order to reduce the complexity of the analysis (163). The successive merging of the rows (or columns), also known as *hierarchical clustering*, can be depicted graphically in a pair of binary trees (dendrogram) (Greenacre, 1993: 114). In hierarchical clustering using Ward's criterion, the successive merging of the rows corresponds exactly to a node of the classification.

Table 5.6: Summary Table				
	Mass	Score in Dimension (coordinates)		
		Axis 1	Axis 2	
R1 (illiterate)	0,082	-0,636	-0,535	
R2 (grade school)	0,433	-0,572	-0,095	
R3 (Junior high school)	0,118	-0,273	-0,088	
R4 (High school)	0,197	0,457	0,999	
R5 (University)	0,171	1,411	-0,599	

Table 5.6 is a hypothetical representation of the typical hierarchical structure: the non-zero coordinates on two principal axes can take only two distinct values opposing two groups of elements. The first axis, for example, opposes (R1, R2, R3) to row (R4, R5). The second axis, within the first group isolated by axis 1, opposes (R4) to (R5).

Figure 5.4 is the display of the first principal plane after running the CA, whereas Figure 5.3 represents the *dendrogram* issued from the hierarchical clustering. The Figure 5.3 gives no detailed information about the distance between E1 and R1 although they seem closer to each other. With cluster analysis we know the exact distance between the points.



Fig. 5.3: Hierarchical cluster analysis



Fig. 5.4: Result of the Complementary use of CA with Cluster analysis

By employing cluster analysis, the similar profiles are clustered according to the knowledge of the coordinate's points provided by CA. We assume that the similar profiles have the similar points of coordinates. Each cluster is identified a posteriori by the objective characteristics of the respondents (Lebart, 1994: 174)

We'll employ cluster analysis for the categorization of census enumeration districts with respect to the two structural determinants of any stratification analysis. Then we are going to use the recoded spatial unit regarding the similar structural determinants and insert the analysis as a new spatial variable for the analysis of the social stratification with respect to spatial segregation. This is a simple overview of the theory and the application of the methodology we are going to apply for the exploration of the class inequality and class-based attitudes of Urban Ankara.

V.5. TECHNIQUE OF CLUSTERING OF THE CENSUS ENUMURATION DISTRICTS

We introduce the spatial positions composed of the different income levels and different educational levels of the households from different enumeration districts. We follow the distinction introduced by Bourdieu that not only the economic capital, cultural capital as well which can be converted into economic capital and at other times act in opposition to it. The second kind of capital is known as cultural capital. Cultural capital can be translated as the idea that it is not enough merely to consume, but one must consume in a proper and seemly manner, this manner having been attained through an expenditure of time and money on such unproductive matters (Corrigan, 1997: 26). We take the level of education as a key concept that the longer one has attended educational institutions is considered to be, the higher one builds culture capital.

The data set has information of the 63 wards for 1994 and 25 wards for 2001 (Map II and Map III). The subgroup, "*ilce*" information provides rather readable insight however can be evaluated as an administrative spatial unit which is far from being the homogeneous entity that represents the solid base social reality. First, we calculate the meaningful spatial cluster in association with the both techniques of CA and cluster analysis. Our intention is to obtain a meaningful typology of the enumeration districts based on the properties the respondents have (Lebart, 1994: 169).

Step 1: The *active properties* which are selected as principles of constructing the representation of the social space in reference to the urban space are the different kinds of

structural properties which act as power or capital which may exist in objectified form of material properties and cultural capital.

We use the *income* and *educational level* of the head of household as structuring variables. Income can be taken as the sole benchmark of the material well-being. By doing so, we try to construct a multidimensional space of class positions. These two distinct capitals are the main division of axes which cut across basically the social space. Moreover we try to find out the relationship between geographical space and social space which never coincide completely. The first step is to find meaningful groupings of the wards defined by the unequal distribution of different kinds of capital in geographical space. The opposite can be explained by the high income clustering with the low income clusters, or higher educational level cluster or lower cultural capital in Ankara. This way, we claim that both economic and cultural factors are important in exploration of the stratification profile of the city and both are decisive for the stratification order.

Step 2: To draw the map of the typology of the households by employing socio-economic variables. Three spheres are of importance: material endowments both in terms of income and properties possessed and the sphere of living environment, housing as other important structural factors, consumption habits in relation with cultural competence and patterning of consumption. The modeling of the study can be seen in the Figure 5.1.

Each cluster will be defined according to the groupings of the monthly income of household identified *a posteriori* by the objective economic competence of the households involved (Lebart, 1994: 174). We run CA to obtain the coordinate points of the similar profiles because the proximities between the points represent the affinities between the households (the two close points, belong the two household hold by the same income groups of the households). The clustering will highlight the main groupings of income (and in a similar manner cultural competence regarding educational level) with respect to their level of income (Lebart, 1994: 172). By obtaining the coordinate points and with the use of hierarchical clustering, we then will get a series of groupings. The number of classes is not known before hand, and there is no clear-cut groupings however *dendrogram* describes the proximities between these clusters.

Grouping households according to their income is a popular technique to show the income distributions. To facilitate a comparison of the income distribution among spatial units and socio-occupational categories, we've used a common set of four income cut-offs to sort

households into five groups, referred as quintiles. The monthly income variable is taken as the main axis of dichotomy for defining urban space regarding the distribution of income in the form of income quintiles which can be seen in the Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Margins of the income quintiles ¹⁴				
(1994)		(2001)		
Lowest income	0-7,000	Lowest income	0-266,000	
Second lowest band	7,001-10,000	Second lowest band	266,001-406,000	
Mid income	10,001-14,000	Mid income	406,001- 537,000	
Fourth income	14,001-21,000	Fourth income	537,001-901,000	
Top income	21,001+	Top income	901,001+	

Seven clusters are revealed through classification process. The dendrogram describes the proximities between these clusters. For a better and clearer picture, we run CA once more by using the seven spatial clusters as column variables and five income clusters as row. As a result we achieve the five regions with similar income property. The final result can be seen in the CA map in Figure 5.5. We see that except the second weakest income region, we've succeeded to obtain quite homogenous spatial clustering. Region 2 can be taken as an intermediary region in-between the lowest and second lowest income quintiles.



Fig. 5.5: Graphical representation of region and income quintiles

¹⁴ The income value was divided by 1000 for convenience of the presentation.



Fig. 5.6: The distribution of the of the income quintiles across spatial clusters defined by income: data 1994

The histogram shows clearly the income profiles of each region. Each region is characterized by the dominancy of the respective income quintiles. For example, the lowest income quintile has the highest share in first region whereas the top income quintile is depicted with the dominancy of the top income quintiles. The histogram proves that by exercising cluster analysis it is possible to classify the district of the same properties. The Table 5.8 shows the final result of the distribution of wards across each the region.

Household income and consumption expenditure survey (1994) was conducted with a sampling method to represent the entire urban structure. The number of districts used in the survey is limited and scattered around the city. This causes some difficulty for commenting about the whole structure of the city. For the ease of interpretation, we compare the data with the ''status-income'' map realized by Güvenç (Map I) by using the population census of Ankara, 1990. We make a comparison between the districts of the lowest and highest income region to see whether the distribution can overlap or not. As can be seen from the table below, the poorest and second poorest income regions mainly coincide with the poorer districts of his map. We have seventeen districts in lowest and second lowest income clusters and twelve of them can be found in his map. In a similar vein, we have ten districts in the fourth income and thirteen districts in top income region whereas seven of them and ten over the thirteen can be found in the ''wealthy'' part of his map.

Table 5.8: Final clustering of districts (1994)					
Districts		Ratings	Districts		Ratings
50.yıl Yalçınkaya Baraj Başpınar Ali Ersoy Doğu Ş.Gürler Boğaziçi Ş.Kubilay Ufuktepe Kanuni Ergazi	ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ MAMAK MAMAK KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN Y.MAHALLE	I. Poorest	Barbaros Anıttepe İncesu Karakusunlar Öveçler S.Demirsoy Alemdağ Pınarbaşı Varlık AOÇ	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ KEÇIÖREN Y.MAHALLE Y.MAHALLE	IV. Fourth income
Hacılar Çamlık Mutlu Demirlibahçe Ayvalı	ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ MAMAK MAMAK KEÇİÖREN	II. Second poorest	Aziziye İlkadım Maltepe Seyran Güven Sağlık Fidanlık Dikmen N.Çakır Harbiye Esatoğlu Doğantepe	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ	V. Top income
Erzurum Ş.C.Özdemir Ziraat K.Orbay Abidinpaşa Tepecik Ekin Balkiraz Şenlik Yeşilöz Uyanış Şefkat Kalaba Atapark Yahyalar Burç Fatih Plevne Tandoğan	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ MAMAK MAMAK MAMAK MAMAK MAMAK KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN Y.MAHALLE Y.MAHALLE SİNCAN SİNCAN	III. Mid-income			

In parallel with the status-income map of the Güvenç, we can say that the ''poor'' districts can be found in the north and north-eastern periphery of Ankara. The districts compose predominantly the three ''poor'' subregions (*ilçe*) of the city: *Keçiören*, *Altındağ* and *Mamak*. On the other hand the ''wealthy'' households are found in, almost purely (except one districts from *Doğantepe-Altındağ*) in *Çankaya*. The mid-groups are of a mix of various districts whereas the fourth income region is again predominantly the districts of *Çankaya*. However there are some exceptions, for instance in the top income region, *Doğantepe* is a district of *Altındağ* can be found whereas *Ellinci yıl* and *Erzurum*, which are the districts of *Çankaya*, are the members of the lowest income region. *Keçiören* is slightly dominant in the mid-income region.

As a final remark, accepting the railway which cut-across the city in an opposite directions, east and west, separates the city into two different parts is again verified as a result of our classification of districts regarding income. The wealthier stays in the south whereas poor resides generally in the northern part of the city. *İstanbul-Samsun* highway can also be taken as a main axis of dichotomy which causes the duality in urban structure which can be characterized in the form of north-south polarization (see Map IV).

Table 5.9: Final clustering of districts: Comparison					
Districts		Ratings	Districts		Ratings
50 vil	CANKAYA	I. Poorest	Barai	ALTINDAĞ	Poor (1 st component
Yalçınkaya	ALTINDAĞ		Başpınar	ALTINDAĞ	Block I.2)
Baraj	ALTINDAĞ		Ş.Gürler	MAMAK	
Başpınar	ALTINDAĞ		Boğaziçi	MAMAK	
Ali Ersoy	ALTINDAĞ		Kanuni	KEÇİÖREN	
Doğu	ALTINDAĞ		Ş.Kubilay	KEÇİÖREN	
Ş.Gürler	MAMAK		Ufuktepe	KEÇIOREN	
Boğazıçı	MAMAK		Ergazı	Y.MAHALLE	
Ş.Kubilay Ufuktono	KEÇIÜKEN				
Kanuni	KEÇİÖREN				
Froazi	V MAHALLE				
Ligazi	I.WATALEL	II Second poorest			Poor (1 st component
Hacılar	ALTINDAĞ	II. Second poorest	Hacılar	ALTINDAĞ	Block L2)
Çamlık	ALTINDAG		Çamlık	ALTINDAG	<i>bioti</i> 112)
Mutlu	MAMAK		Mutlu	MAMAK	Poor (1 st component
Demirlibahçe	MAMAK		A .1.	VECIÓDEN	Block I.1)
Ayvali	KEÇIÜKEN	III Mid in some	Ayvan	KEÇIÜKEN	
Erzurum	ÇANKAYA	III. Mid-income			
Ş.C.Özdemir	ÇANKAYA				
Ziraat	ALTINDAĞ				
K.Orbay	MAMAK				
Abidinpaşa	MAMAK				
Tepecik	MAMAK				
Ekin	MAMAK				
Baikiraz	MAMAK				
Şennk Vesilöz	KEÇİÜKEN				
Ivanis	KEÇİÖREN				
Sefkat	KECİÖREN				
Kalaba	KECİÖREN				
Atapark	KEÇİÖREN				
Yahyalar	Y.MAHALLE				
Burç	Y.MAHALLE				
Fatih	SİNCAN				
Plevne	SİNCAN				
Tandoğan	SINCAN				
Barbaros	CANKAYA	IV. Fourth	Barbaros	CANKAYA	Wealthy
Anittepe	CANKAYA	income	Anittepe	CANKAYA	(II.component,
İncesu	ÇANKAYA		İncesu	ÇANKAYA	Block II.2)
Karakusunlar	ÇANKAYA				(III. component Pleak
Öveçler	ÇANKAYA		Öveçler	ÇANKAYA	(П. сотронен, вюск
S.Demirsoy	ALTINDAĞ		S.Demirsoy	ALTINDAĞ	Block III.2)
Alemdağ	ALTINDAG				Diotit IIII_)
Pınarbaşı	KEÇIOREN		Varlık	Y.MAHALLE	
Varlık	Y.MAHALLE		AOÇ	Y.MAHALLE	
AOÇ	Y.MAHALLE	¥7.70. •			
Aziziye	ÇANKAYA	V. Top income	Aziziye	ÇANKAYA	wealthy (purple color
İlkadım	ÇANKAYA		İlkadım	ÇANKAYA	in the map of Guvenç)
Maltepe	ÇANKAYA		Maltepe	ÇANKAYA	
Seyran	ÇANKAYA		Seyran	ÇANKAYA	
Güven	ÇANKAYA		Güven	ÇANKAYA	
Sağlık	ÇANKAYA		F '1 11	CAN WE STO	
Fidanlik Dilaman	ÇANKAYA		Fidanlık Dilmen	ÇANKAYA	
Dikmen N Colur	ÇANKAYA CANKAYA		Dikmen	ÇANKAYA	
IN.ÇaKII Hərbiyə	ÇANKAYA CANKAVA		Harbiya	CANKAVA	
Featočlu	ÇANKAYA CANKAVA		Fatořby	ÇANKAYA CANKAVA	
Doğantene	ų αίνκαι α Δι τινίδαğ		Doğantene	AI TINDAČ	
Dogantepe	ALTINDAU		Dogantepe	ALTINDAG	


ME	CLUSTERS,	1994	4
est ind	come region		
	ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ		
er ay	MAMAK MAMAK KEÇIÔREN KEÇIÔREN KEÇIÔREN Y.MAHALLE		
orest	t income region	R4: Fourth inc	come region
	ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ MAMAK	Barbaros Anittepe Incesu	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA
ęe	MAMAK KEÇİÖREN	Öveçler S.Demirsoy Alemdağ Pınarbaşı Varlık	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ KEÇİÖREN V MAHALLI
		AOÇ	Y.MAHALLI
ncom	e region	R5: Top incom	e region
ir	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ MAMAK	Doğantepe Aziziye İlkadım Maltepe	ALTINDAĞ ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA
	MAMAK MAMAK MAMAK KEÇIÔREN KEÇIÔREN KEÇIÔREN KEÇIÔREN	Seyran Esatoğlu Güven Sağlık Fidanlık Dikmen Naci Çakır Harbiye	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA
	KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN Y.MAHALLE Y.MAHALLE SİNCAN SİNCAN	. aloge	<i>2</i> ,000,114

The graph below shows the distribution of employment category across the income regions. The lowest income region (R1) is composed of predominantly by the unskilled service workers, artisan & informal, manual workers and retired. On the other hand, in the highest income region we see professionals, semi-professionals, mid-big employers, administrative and managerial workers and finally retired. The mid-income and fourth income region can be featured as the presence of semi-skilled professionals, unskilled service workers, artisan & informal workers, and retired. The distribution of occupational categories reveals rather subtler feature as compared with the household income.



Fig. 5.7: Distribution of percentages of occupational categories across spatial clusters defined by income: 1994



Fig. 5.8: Distribution the level of education (%) across spatial clusters defined by years of schooling¹⁵: 1994

¹⁵ For obtaining the cluster with respect to the level of education, we've recoded five levels of education however to see the distribution of level of education in detail across the regions, we've included ''just read & write'' and ''post-university degree''.

The percentages of the level of education of the household head have been spread over respectively across the regions in the Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Comparison of	of income and education profile of the data 1994 ¹⁶
Income clusters	Education clusters Comparison
Districts	Districts (I/E ¹⁷)
I. Poorest 50.yıl ÇANKAYA Yalçınkaya ALTINDAĞ Baraj ALTINDAĞ Başpınar ALTINDAĞ Doğu ALTINDAĞ Ş.Gürler MAMAK Boğaziçi MAMAK Boğaziçi MAMAK Ş.Kubilay KEÇİÖREN Ufuktepe KEÇİÖREN Kanuni KEÇİÖREN Ergazi Y.MAHALLE	I. Illiterate50 yılÇANKAYAUfuktepeKEÇİÖREN1-1FizzurumÇANKAYAKanuniKEÇİÖREN3-11-1YalçınkayaALTINDAĞKalabaKEÇİÖREN1-13-1BarajALTINDAĞErgaziY.MAHALLE1-11-1Ali ErsoyALTINDAĞBurçY.MAHALLE1-13-1DoğuALTINDAĞBurçY.MAHALLE1-13-1DoğuALTINDAĞVarlıkY.MAHALLE1-14-1ÇamlıkALTINDAĞ2-13-13-1BoğaziçiMAMAK1-11-11-1EkinMAMAK3-13-13-1EkinMAMAK3-13-13-1
II. Second poorest Hacılar ALTINDAĞ Çamlık ALTINDAĞ Mutlu MAMAK Demirlibahçe MAMAK Ayvalı KEÇİÖREN	II. Grade school ¹ 1-2 Başpınar ALTINDAĞ 1-2 K.Orbay MAMAK 3-2 Ş.Kubilay KEÇİÖREN 1-2 Atapark KEÇİÖREN 3-2 A. Eglence KEÇİÖREN 3-2 Güçlükaya KEÇİÖREN 3-2 Fatih SİNCAN 3-2 Tandoğan SİNCAN 3-2
III. Mid-income Erzurum ÇANKAYA Şenlik KEÇlÖR Ş.C.Özdemir ÇANKAYA Yeşilöz KEÇlÖR Ziraat ALTINDAĞ Uyanış KEÇlÖR K.Orbay MAMAK Şefkat KEÇlÖR Adinpaşa MAMAK Kalaba KEÇlÖR Tepecik MAMAK Atapark KEÇlÖR Ekin MAMAK Yahyalar Y.MAHA Balkiraz MAMAK Burç Y.MAHA Fatih SİNCAN Plevne ŞİNCAN	III. Junior high schoolENAziziyeÇANKAYA5-3ENÖveçlerÇANKAYA4-3ENİncesuÇANKAYA4-3ENPinarbaşiKEÇIÖREN4-3ENYeşilözKEÇIÖREN3-3ENUyanışKEÇIÖREN3-3ELEŞefkatKEÇIÖREN3-3LLEBalkirazMAMAK3-3AOÇY.MAHALLE4-3
IV. Fourth income Second Stream Barbaros ÇANKAYA S.Demirsoy ALTIND Anttepe ÇANKAYA Alemdağ ALTIND Incesu ÇANKAYA Pimarbaşi KEÇİÖR Karakusunlar ÇANKAYA Varlık Y.MAHA Öveçler ÇANKAYA AOÇ Y.MAHA	IV. High school Bahçelievler Çankaya AĞ Bahçelievler Çankaya N K. Kusunlar ÇANKAYA LLE Ziraat Yahyalar Y.MAHALLE
V. Top income Aziziye ÇANKAYA N.Çakır ÇANKA İlkadım ÇANKAYA Harbiye ÇANKA Maltepe ÇANKAYA Esatoğlu ÇANKA Seyran ÇANKAYA Doğantepe ALTINE Güven ÇANKAYA Sağlık ÇANKAYA Fidanlık ÇANKAYA Dikmen ÇANKAYA	V. University and more Barbaros CANKAYA N.Çakır ÇANKAYA 5-5 5-5 YA Anttepe ÇANKAYA Harbiye ÇANKAYA 4-5 5-5 YA Anttepe ÇANKAYA Harbiye ÇANKAYA 4-5 5-5 YA Maltepe ÇANKAYA Esatoğlu ÇANKAYA 4-5 5-5 AĞ Seyran ÇANKAYA Etlik KEÇİÖREN 4-5 5-5 Güven ÇANKAYA Doğantepe ALTINDAĞ 5-5 5-5 Sağlık ÇANKAYA S.Demirsoy ALTINDAĞ 5-5 5-4 Fidanlık ÇANKAYA 5-5 5-5 5-5 5-5 Dikmen ÇANKAYA 5-5 5-5 5-5 5-5

¹⁶ We excluded the profile points which did not been well represented in the two-dimensional display with respect to the ''quality'' values which is the sum of the relative contributions (squared correlation of the principal axes). The low quality value means that the profile's position is not accurate in the map so they are excluded. Therefore the number of districts in the clusters regarding income and education are not the same because in each running of the CA, different profile points of districts were omitted. For this reason the census enumeration districts composed of income and education are not equivalent. ¹⁷ The symbol, I-E indicates the place of income in rating versus the place of education. For example

¹⁷ The symbol, I-E indicates the place of income in rating versus the place of education. For example if the symbol is 1-2 then it means that the districts are of the lowest income quintiles and second education (predominantly grade school level). The districts which are highlighted by the bold letter on the left side of the table do not present the income regions.

¹⁸ We run CA separately for income and education for the reason that in each run the quality value of points was different. We excluded the low quality of values in each step so the number of enumeration districts for income and education are not the same. The districts in bold letter indicate that these are not included in ''income clusters''.

We've applied the same procedure to obtain the homogeneous spatial clusters regarding the level of education (see for the spatial distribution of the districts in Map V) and the results can be seen in the Table 5.10. The educational units can be seen at the third and fourth column. The first two columns belong to the income regions so we can compare the income and education level of the districts.

It can be seen that the income districts has been fairly overlapped with the education districts, 24 districts over the 51 total districts have coincided perfectly. Especially for the highest income regions, the majority of districts have been overlapped with the level of education. The districts which show variation however are generally one step further or one step behind the respective income or education levels. The highest variation is only valid for the first region where the districts like *Erzurum* (*Çankaya*), *Tepecik* (*Mamak*), *Ekin* (*Mamak*), *Burç* (*Yeni Mahalle*) which are of mid-income but lowest level of education (3-1), and finally *Varlık* (*Yeni Mahalle*) fourth income but lowest level of education (4-1). As a result we can say that the income and education vary in the same direction, whenever income raises the level of education also rises. One last remark, the district *Doğantepe* (*Altındağ*) is composed of both the highest income and highest educational level. The district is, despite situated in *Altındağ* composed both rich and educated households.

Clustering according to the level of education: 2001

We've applied the same procedure for the data of 2001. The income region and education clusters can be seen in the Table 5.11. The data contains very few districts so it is difficult to interpret the large spread of districts across the whole city. We can see that the north and north-eastern part of the city again welcomes the lower income and level of education households whereas the ''wealthy'' lives in generally in the southern part of the city. The comparison of income and education ratings shows that the majority of the districts have been overlapped. There are some substantial variations in case of the first cluster, for example the district *Alemdağ* (*Altındağ*) is of the fourth income quintiles however the level of education is of the second group. As a conclusion we can say that for the data 2001 the level of income and education are correlated.



CATION CLUSTE	CRS 1994	5
st education	E4: Fourth le	vel of education
ÇANKAYA	Bahçelievler	ÇANKAYA
ÇANKAYA ALTINDAČ	likadim	CANKATA
	Ziraat	ALTINDAĞ
ALTINDAĞ	Yahvalar	Y. MAHALLI
ALTINDAĞ		
ALTINDAĞ		
ALTINDAĞ		
ALTINDAĞ		
MAMAK		
MAMAK		
MAMAK		
MAMAK		
KECIÖREN		
KECIÖREN		
KEÇİÖREN		
Y. MAHALLE		
Y. MAHALLE		
Y. MAHALLE		
d lowest	F5. Top level	of education
ALTINDAĞ	Doğantene	ALTINDAĞ
MAMAK	S.Demirsoy	ALTINDAĞ
KECİÖREN	Barbaros	ÇANKAYA
KEÇİÖREN	Anittepe	ÇANKAYA
e KEÇİÖREN	Maltepe	ÇANKAYA
KEÇİÖREN	Seyran	ÇANKAYA
KEÇİÖREN	Güven	ÇANKAYA
SINCAN	Sağlık	ÇANKAYA
SINCAN	Fidanlik	ÇANKAYA
	N Calur	CANKATA
	Harbive	CANKAYA
	Esatoğlu	ÇANKAYA
	Etlik	KEÇİÖREN
evel of education		
ÇANKAYA		
ÇANKAYA		
ÇANKAYA		
KEÇİÖREN		
KEÇİÖREN		
KEÇIOREN		
KEÇIOREN		
MAMAK		
Y. MAHALLE		

Table 5.11:	Comparison of the in	come and education profiles of the data 2001				
Income	clusters		Education clusters			
Districts	Ratings	Dis	stricts	Ratings	(I/E)	
Anayurt MAMAK A.Menderes KEÇİÖREN İstasyon SİNCAN	I. Poorest income profile	Alemdağ Zülfazıl Anayurt A.Menderes İstasyon	ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ MAMAK KEÇİÖREN SİNCAN	I. Lowest level of education	4-1 2-1 1-1 1-1	
Zülfazıl ALTINDAĞ Yeşilbayır MAMAK Kaletepe Y.MAHALLE	II. Second poorest income profile	Ata Y. Selim Yeşilbayır Pınarbaşi Karşıyaka Kaletepe	ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ MAMAK KEÇİÖREN Y. MAHALLE Y. MAHALLE	II. Second weakest level of education	4-2 2-2 3-2 3-2 2-2	
Cumhuriyet ÇANKAYA Saimekadın MAMAK Adinpaşa MAMAK Pınarbaşı KEÇİÖREN Karşıyaka Y.MAHALLE	III. Mid-income income profile	Saimekadın Ayvalı Subayevleri Sincan	MAMAK KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN TANDOĞAN	III. Mid level education	3-3 4-3 4-3	
Ata ÇANKAYA Fakülteler- ÇANKAYA A.Evler ALTINDAĞ Alemdağ ALTINDAĞ Ayvalı KEÇİÖREN Subayevleri KEÇİÖREN İnönü Y.MAHALLE	IV. Fourth income income profile	Cumhuriyet Fakülteler A. Evler	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ	IV. Upper-mid level education	3-4 4-4 4-4	
Güzeltepe ÇANKAYA O. Temiz ÇANKAYA Sancak ÇANKAYA Demetevler Y.MAHALLE	V. Top income income profile	Güzeltepe O. Temiz Sancak Demetevler İnönü	ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA Y. MAHALLE Y. MAHALLE	V. Higest educational level	5-5 5-5 5-5 5-5 4-5	

To understand the district composition better, the histograms which show the level of income, education and occupational groups are necessary. We begin with the income. The Figure shows the high correlation with the level of income of the households and the regions defined with respects to the income quintiles (see Map VI for the spatial distribution of districts regarding income composition in urban area).



Fig. 5.9: Distribution of income quintiles across spatial clusters defined by income: data 2001



E CLUSTERS,	2001	6
income region MAMAK KEÇİÖREN SİNCAN		
rest income region ALTINDAĞ MAMAK Y.MAHALLE SİNCAN	R4: Fourth inco Cumhuriyet Abidinpaşa Saimekadın Pınarbaşı Karşıyaka	ome region ÇANKAYA ALTINDAĞ MAMAK KEÇİÖREN Y.MAHALLE
come region ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ar ALTINDAĞ ALTINDAĞ KEÇİÖREN KEÇİÖREN	R5: Top income Güzeltepe Osman Temiz Sancak Demetevler	region ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA Y.MAHALLE



Fig. 5.10: Educational level across spatial clusters defined by education²⁰: data 2001

The histogram shows quite fair distribution with respect to the level of education except the middle group where grade schooling and high schooling are both dominant however we can accept this cluster as an intermediary from the lower to the higher level of education (see Map VII for the distribution of districts regarding educational level in urban area).



Fig. 5.11: Distribution of occupational categories across spatial clusters defined by income: data 2001

The histogram shows the percentage distribution of occupational categories across the region defined by level of income that as we move from the left to the right we see that the number

²⁰ For obtaining the cluster with respect to the level of education, we've group all different level of education into five subgroups of education, however to see the distribution of level of education in detail across the regions, we've included 'just read & write' and 'post-university degree''.



A, SUBREGIONS (ilç	ce) AND DIS	STRICTS
TION CLUSTERS 20	01	7
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d lowest ÇANKAYA im ALTINDAĞ MAMAK KEÇİÖREN Y. MAHALLE Y. MAHALLE	E5: Top level o Güzeltepe Osman Temiz Sancak Demetevler İnönü	of education ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA ÇANKAYA Y.MAHALLE Y.MAHALLE
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pted from Municipality of rict map	A	april 2005

of administrative and professionals increases whereas the number of unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal decrease. The retired, employer and semi-skilled professionals are dominant in the mid-income region (R3).

This is the brief overview of the classification of the census enumeration districts, their dispersion and contents with respect to the income, years of education and occupational status. We've obtained quite homogeneous spatial categories regarding the two structural elements, income and education and now we can run the CA analysis to see the socio-spatial segregation and their respective pattern of practices

CHAPTER VI

VI. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF CLASS POSITION AND ITS SPATIAL DIMENSION

VI.1. INCOME DISCREPANCY, ITS COMPOSITION AND SOURCES OF INCOME

The economic capital in Bourdieuian sense describes the level of material resources as in the case of income, property and so on. The empirical association between measures of employment class and structures of inequality and/or life chances or between employment class and aspects of social attitudes and behaviors is important in any kind of social analysis in a multitude of scientific fields. Therefore, in this section, we'll explore the dimension and characteristics of households' income. We analyse the total monthly income of the family accompanied with the sources and proportions of additional income. For the assessment of the position of the households in social classes one of the basic criterions, no doubt is the level of the income so household income was taken as the best available proxy for the assessment of the economic capital. The types of investment derived from family saving will be included for the exploration of material well-being of the family.

Class in accord with the Marxist terminology refers to the ownership, control and possession of economic resources. The differences that stem from different class positions reveal the observable differences in income, wealth and other material benefits ([Wright 1979; 1985] quoted from Turner 1988:67). We try to explain the variation of the income composition between the particular class fractions in relation to the spatial clustering. We assume variables selected to measure the economic resources of the household may provide the commonalities of the similar condition of existence and conditioning and may indeed result in similarities of attitude and practices.

A household income is the most pertinent indicator of the household's economic capital but not always taken for granted for a household welfare (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 131-132).

Wealth as a social trajectory through the lifecycle of the family should be analyzed also in the course of the personal history and the society's socio-economic conditions.

However, income is the foremost indicator about the material well-being of the people or one's family. For the analysis, to obtain a valid measure for comparison, household income has been pooled, and then divided into five equal groups, or quintiles, according to the respective income levels. The five equal cut-offs have been applied to households in each class fractions to show variations in the income distribution across different spatial units. In addition to the income quintiles, income has been recoded into twenty (5 percentile) equal income bands for each household and the bottom 5 per cent is taken as a poverty threshold (Marshall, 1997: 196) and top five percent income band has been used as the richest group according to their disposable income.

In this section we try to construct homogeneous groupings with respect to total income, sources and amount of additional income and finally type of investment that a household constructs. Then after by virtue of comparison between the data of 1994 and of 2001, we try to detect the variation between two time periods. Although we can accept that this comparison should not be robust because the data for 2001 contains only one third information of the year (the first three months), some clues about the changes in the stratification profiles can be grasped. We'll be cautious of interpreting the data of 2001.

The household income and consumption expenditure survey offers information about the total income, main components and sources of income, and provides comparison between income and consumption expenditure. The survey contains the information about the household's net monthly income and its components. The data allows researcher to employ either "household" or "individual" as the unit of analysis. Nonetheless throughout this study "household" is used as the unit of analysis because a household based measure that is inclusive of the retired and economically inactive is appropriate for the studies of consumption behaviors and attitudes (Duke & Edgell, 1987: 445).

Any stratification study not only shows the income discrepancy among various class fractions but also considers the fringe benefits obtained by the main economic activity or different channels. The HICES provides considerable detailed source of information about the side benefits that a household obtained.

The income constituents are divided into the income obtained from the main economic activity as earnings in the form of wages or salaries, or profits and "other kind incomes" derived from various sources. The latter is in form of either government transfer as retirement wage, disability, elderly payment, or in the form of urban rent or benefits, interest or dividend. In the survey, 1994 income is derived mainly from "earnings", "government transfer", "urban property", or "stocks & shares" and "profits".

In Turkey, retirement wages constitutes the major part the government transfers (Gürsel et.al., 2000: 60). In contrast, in welfare societies, government transfer in the form of "minimum subsistence aid", "unemployed payment", or aid for children or elderly are important sources especially for the vulnerable groups (*Measuring Poverty in Canada*, 2001: 70). However, in Turkey, government transfer does not play major role in the household's economic capital except the retired groups. Therefore, to include "government transfer" might have caused some sort of distortion because we use "retired" group as a variable. We have excluded "income from abroad" because the frequency is extremely low among the variables only 2,5% of households have income from abroad.

The analysis of the other source of income is also related with the ability to save money in the household economy. "Saving" by itself is a good indicator to see whether a household has the ability to make long-term plans and invest to gain economic prosperity and also invest as a safety net for bad times in the life-cycle of the family. The ability to save money and the orientation of saving are important indicators to draw lines between the different stratum. Saving is investment, it is also consumption postponed (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 11-35). Depositing money in the bank is also typical characteristic of city dwellers (Yasa, 1973: 150) which necessitates the familiarity of transactions and mastery of information, and at the same time it can be taken as the distinguished form of investment as expected with the increase of the market economy in the urban sphere.

Ownership of a bank account is taken to indicate a minimum payment for professional information and services. In richer households, stronger information linkage (represented here minimally by bank charges) will balloon out into a very wide array of specialist advisory and administrative services. A household using none of these is like a less developed country in respect of its administrative and financial sectors (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 140).

The HICES questionnaire provides a great variety of variables about the types of savings which are in the form of "urban rent", "interest rate obtained from bank account", "shares

or stocks and bonds", "capital investment", "membership of building cooperatives" or "foreign exchange" and finally the traditional type of buying "gold". We've excluded "membership of a building cooperative" and "capital investment" because they did not have an impact to differentiate the households. We run MCA for the income from bank account, stocks and shares, interest or bonds to see to what extend this kind of compensatory income has an impact upon the class profile. The percentage of additional income with respect to the household income was calculated and recoded in the Table 6.1.

For measuring the economical well-being of the households, we employ Multiple Correspondence Analysis which is applied to a contingency table in which more than two categorical variables are cross-tabulated. By doing so, we deal with the associations among more than two categorical variables. The use of "multi-way" case is often referred as multiple correspondence analysis (MCA). We construct "concatenated tables", where crosstabulations of variables with a single variable are analyzed jointly (Greeenacre, 1993: 141). This case is of interest when one variable is considered as a whole variable to be described by other variables. In this case, we are interested to see several indicators of economic capital, e.g. class fractions as in the form of socio-occupational categories, income groups recoded in quintiles and 5 per cent income bands, the amount of additional sources of income and finally savings as various type of investments which is considered as a differentiating indicator of the economic strategy and urban way of behavior. These variables have been cross-tabulated with the spatial clusters defined according to the income quintiles. In the study, we assume that the "spatial clusters" can be considered as a variable to be described, or dependent variable, whereas the others are considered as the describing variables, or independent variables (Greeenacre, 1993: 143).

Apart from the income to assess the economic inequality; we also include the ownership status of an automobile. We are interested to see as a luxurious consumption item, how "car ownership" varies among different segment. We focus our attention on the relationship between material inequalities of different segments and its socio-cultural manifestation. The major axes of differentiation are found not only in relations of production and/or market, but between those who are able to satisfy their main consumption needs through personal ownership. There will be always luxuries as pointed out by Douglas and Isherwood that, for rank must be marked (1979: 85).

The ownership status of ''automobile¹'' has been recoded into three categories as ''have no car'', ''have one car'' and finally ''have more than one car''. And finally the last variables is the level of education of the household head. The objective is to see any differences between the those who has the different educational competency and those who has not. Here we try to construct a kind of ''linkage test'' which was applied by Douglas & Isherwood in the 1973 Family Expenditure Survey of consumption class in Britain (1979: 131-146). They used variables, occupational categories and related income level together with technological set off good, which was ''car ownership'' and informative consumer goods which were ''telephone'' and ''bank account'' to measure the three consumption scales; small, medium and large scale. The former indicates the finding food and satisfaction of basic human needs. The medium indicates the larger proportion of expenditure on set of goods representing advanced consumer technology. And lastly, large scale defined by expenditure on information set of goods. In this study we include education level to indicate the respondent level of capacity to process information.

Input data is the raw frequencies of 47x5 contingency tables of variables corresponding to the "economic capitals". The five tables are concatenated by maintaining the given column structure by the categories of the combined variables "occupational categories", "income quintiles", "recoded amount of additional income", "types of investment", and finally "ownership status of the automobile". The matrix of input data is given in Table 6.1.

¹ For a better understanding of "ownership status" of automobile, the brand of automobile would indeed have been useful information to see the variation between different groups however after the completion of the survey although the questionnaires contained the information, the SIS sent questionnaires for recycling. The brand would have been indicative for the price of the car and provided more sound base information for comparison.

Ta	ble 6.1: Income composition (1994): C	Cross-tabulation	of variab	les with	spatial	cluster	5
			R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
adm	Administrative, managerial worker		0	0	2	2	10
pro	Professionals		0	0	2	13	21
semi	Semi professionals, clerks		9	4	41	20	13
mbe	Mid-big employer		3	2	20	10	10
unsk	Unskilled service workers		30	10	30	6	9
man	Manual workers		18	5	22	6	7
smae	Small employer		1	0	4	3	2
art	Artisan & informal workers		37	17	40	31	8
ret	Retired		17	6	34	25	28
inac	Inactive		7	3	12	4	8
inc1	Lowest income quintile	$>7.000^{2}$	75	17	26	6	0
inc2	Second lowest income	7.000-10.000	19	12	68	18	6
inc3	Mid income quintile	10.000-14.000	14	12	58	30	10
inc4	Fourth income quintile	14.000-21.000	9	6	40	28	36
inc5	Top income	21.000+	5	0	15	38	64
low5	Lowest 5 percent	>4.000	24	5	2	1	0
mid5	In-between lowset5 and top 5 per cent	4.000-36.000	97	42	202	111	99
top5	Top 5 per cent income band	36.000+	1	0	3	8	17
noimmo	No have income from urban property		106	43	172	99	81
immo1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,		10	2	14	11	11
immo2	 20 percent of additional income, 		1	1	12	6	18
immo3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,		1	0	4	2	2
immo4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,		1	0	2	0	1
immo5	41 - 50 percent of additional income		0	1	3	1	2
immo6	51+		3	0	0	1	1
nomob	No have income from mobile property		102	39	157	85	58
mob1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,		20	7	49	26	43
mob2	11 - 20 percent of additional income,		0	0	0	3	10
mob3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,		0	0	0	1	2
mob4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,		0	0	l	3	1
mob5	41 - 50 percent of additional income		0	0	0	1	1
mob6	51+	D 1 ()	0	I	0	1	1
urprol	No investment in urban property	Real estate	119	46	202	116	111
urpro2	Investment in urban property	Development and	5	1	3	4	5
gold I	No investment in gold	Purchasing gold	11/	43	192	106	110
gold 2	No investment in family such an op	Familan anahanaa	3	4	13	14	07
IOP1	Investment in foreign exchange	Foreign exchange	0	40	180	99 21	97
10F2 bonk1	No investment in form of bank account	Pank account	121	16	202	21	19
bank?	Have investment in form of bank account	Dalik account	121	40	203	0	16
shoro1	No investment in form of stocks and shares?	Stocks & shares	122	1	206	110	115
share?	Have investment of stocks and shares	Stocks & shares	0		200	1	1
bond1	No investment as type of bonds	Bonds	122	17	207	117	110
bond?	Investment in the form of bonds	Donus	0		207	2	6
outo1	Have no automobile		110	36	153	8/	63
auto?	Have one		12	11	53	35	50
auto2	Have more than one automobile		0	0	1	1	3
illi	Illiterate		10	4	6	6	1
re≀	Only read and write		9	1	7	4	2
orade	Grade school		74	26	111	41	14
Secon	Junior high school		15	7	26	12	12
highse	High school		12	8	42	26	29
univer	University degree		2	1	15	31	55
postgr	Post university		$\overline{0}$	0	0	0	3

We can reduce the five maps to just one map in which the pair wise relationships can be represented. In such a map the ''spatial clusters'' (R1, R2, R3, R4, and R5) should be represented only once (Greeenacre, 1993: 145). The five different tables are concatenated into one table by stacking one top of each other. Now we can perform a CA on this set of

² The income value was divided by 1000 for the ease of the presentation.

³ We use stocks and shares as the amount of money exchanged in the market by the companies selling the shares and the purchasers buying them. On the other hand we use bonds as an investment certificates issued by the government or a company which shows that someone lent them an amount of money and that they promise to pay the purchaser a fixed rate of interest.

tables as they are given in Table 6.1. In other words the complete 54x5 matrix of the table is analyzed as if it were a single cross-tabulation. Under the ''no missing data assumption'', the inertia of this concatenated table is equivalent of the average inertias of the individual tables⁴. The MCA map can be seen in Figure 6.1. The Figure is a symmetric display of the columns that refer to the regional distribution with respect to income and the rows consist in series of variables. The row variables are composed of socio-occupational categories (class fractions), income quintiles and the lowest and highest five percent income bands together with the intermediary position in-between two edge category and additional sources of income recoded with respect to the level of percentages in the total income of the households. On the other hand the saving type in the form of investment has also been included in the analysis. And the ownership status of an automobile has been selected as luxury item that might be accepted as differentiation of class fractions in different regions. The level of education is the last category in the analysis.

⁴ For more information please go for Greenacre's 'Multiple and Joint Correspondence Analysis (1994: 141-161).



Fig. 6.1: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

Summary								
Dimension	Singular Value	Inertia	Chi Square	Sig.	Proportion of Inertia			
					Accounted for	Cumulative		
1	,311	,097			,756	,756		
2	,154	,024			,185	,941		
3	,074	,006			,043	,984		
4	,045	,002			,016	1,000		
Total		,128	1017,730	,000(a)	1,000	1,000		

a 232 degrees of freedom

The table ''summary'' reveals the information about the decomposition of inertia with respect to the four principal axes. The first principal axis customarily defines the horizontal axis of the map and the second principal axis defines the vertical axis (Greenacre, 1993: 64). The inertia in the horizontal axis is 0,096 which is accounted for 76% of the total inertia whereas it is equal to 0,023 in the vertical axis which means 18,5% of the total inertia. 94% of total variation can be explained so we've kept two dimensions for interpretation. The rest of dimensions explains 5,8% of the total variation. This indicates that by sacrificing two dimensions we have lost only 6 % of the positional information of the profile points.

The notion of "contribution" is of utmost importance for a better understanding and interpretation of the map. SPSS provides numerical information about the row and column contributions of the CA. There are two types of contribution, the first one is named as *absolute contributions* as in the form of contributions of the points to an axis and the second one is *relative contributions* which refer to contributions of the axes to a point (Greenacre, 1993: 89). The former indicates the contributions of the points in determining the geometric orientation of the axes and the second refers the angle cosines as correlations of the variable categories with the axes. In the Table 6.2 and Table 6.3, the sixth and seventh columns are the absolute contributions labeled as CTR and eighth and ninth columns are the relative contributions labeled as COR, in which the heading of "1" refers the contribution of the profile points.

On the other hand under COR, the cell the number '1' indicates the correlation of the profile points to the first axis whereas the number '2' shows the correlation of the profile points to the second (vertical axis).

Following the determination of the particular orientation of the principal axes, which points are best explained by the axes or by subspaces formed from the first two principal axes is to be examined. The columns labeled as COR which is the angle cosines as correlations of the variable categories with the axes (Blasius, 1994: 26), is very useful for this procedure. The idea behind inspecting COR value is that a point which has been a major contributor to an axis to lie fairly close to that axis⁵ (91). As an example, the column point R1 contributes 35% to the first axis. As Greenacre points out that it is not only the major contributors which have high correlations with principal axes.

⁵ This operation is similar to the "factor loadings" which is interpreted as correlations between the original variables factors constructed as linear combinations of the variables (Greenacre, 1993: 91).

A point which makes very little contribution to the orientation of an axis might well lie in the direction of this axis and so be well explained by that axis (Greenacre, 1993: 91).

Blasius warns researchers that they should bear in mind that the value of contributions of inertia is obtained by using mass values as multiplier. Therefore, high contribution of inertia can be stemmed from the high value of mass only, whereas a low contribution of inertia does not allow the conclusion that the variable category is poorly correlated with the axis (Blasius, 1994: 35). For a better interpretation of CA contribution of inertia, the squared correlations (including their signs) and the masses have to be considered simultaneously.

The ''quality'' which is represented by the label QLT in the last column of the table gives information about the points which are well represented in two dimensional display. This is the sum of the values of COR1 and COR2. An examination of the quality of display and it of each point helps us to diagnose which points are far off the plane and whose positions are inaccurate in the map (Greenacre, 1993: 91). We know that 6% of the inertia of all profiles is unaccounted for on the two-dimensional map. Some profiles are not accurately represented because they lie more along the third or fourth axes than along the first two. For the column variable, we see that the quality of display values is very high. However, when we examine rows, the row for ''inactive, unemployed group'' is poorly displayed since its value is very low (0,083). Due to the poor quality of display for the ''inactive'' group, we should be more careful when interpreting its position in the map.

In summary, together with the ''sign of coordinates'', the squared correlation refers on which axis certain variable categories load jointly (Blasius, 1994: 33). By inspecting the sign of coordinates as directions, it is possible to interpret the column variables which is spatial clusters regarding income in our case, and the rows of class fractions and various income levels and luxury items. By doing so the indirect comparison of rows and column is possible.

Before examining the display of the profile points and numerical results, we want to give a brief summary about the findings. The schema below shows the distribution of the profile points in the plane and the variables which have the high contribution points are highlighted. The results of the CA provides sufficient evidence that the spatial segregation based on the income can act as an axis of dichotomy separating managers, professionals, retired as "wealthy" categories from the unskilled service workers, blue collar workers, and artisan & informal as "poor" categories in terms of economic capital. The mid-big employer and small employers are slightly correlated with the high income side of the first axis. Mid-big

employer category seems to correspond more with the positive side of the vertical axis. Their income composition shows similarity with the semi-skilled professionals.

As a result of the CA the privileged class fractions in terms of income are the administrative, managerial workers and professionals in the data of 1994. These two wage earner categories are the richest among all and this result can be taken as a characteristics of Ankara. Together with the two former class fractions, we see "retired" as a group as materially better-off. On the other hand the level of education shows parallelism with the income and orients in the same direction. The more economic capital rises the more level of education we obtain. Taking into consideration of the income composition of the privilege class fractions, university degree's absolute contribution is substantially high.

Our study reveals that market is not the primary source of income for substantial part of the population. The source and amount of income show that the wage-earner categories have substantial amount of income from urban property and more importantly from the market transactions as in the case of interest, stocks and share, bond, dividend etc. This implies a web of involvement in places where the information circulates mutually. It is rather risky that only rich (both in capital and information) may have an ability to compensate their loses (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 117-118).

The amount of additional income reaches half of their total income. Their investment is of a mix type using various instruments. On the other hand, for the middle class, income in the form of urban property is more common than the market instruments. One of the important finding is of their preference on gold as an investment which is a common and traditional type of savings in Turkish society.

For the poorer fractions it is not surprising that, the market income is their only monetary sources. No special type of saving is marked. However, in the lower part of the vertical axis in which the unskilled service workers take place, we detect the existence of substantial amount of additional money as in the form of urban rent. Although the highest income region is also related with the lower quadrant of the vertical axis we did not detect any attributes of being ''wealthy''. And as a final remark, the wealthy part is characterized by the ''having automobile'' and ''more than one automobile'' whereas the poor part is featured as ''have not an automobile''. The preliminary result can be shown in the Figure 6.2.

	R3 Semi-skilled professionals Mid-big employer Small employer (LOW) Second weakest income quintiles 20% Mid-income quintiles 21 - 30 percent from urban property 41 - 50 percent from urban property (LOW) Investment in gold High school
R5	R1
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals	Unskilled service workers Manual workers
Retired Mid big employer (LOM)	Artisan & informal
Small employer (LOW)	
Top income 20%	Lowest income quintile 20%
Fourth income 20%	Lowest 5 percent Have NO income from urban property
11 - 20 percent form urban property	Have NO income from mobile property
21 - 30 percent form urban property 41 - 50 percent form urban property	NO investment in urban property NO investment in foreign exchange
Less than 10 percent mobile property	NO have investment in form of bank account
11 - 20 percent mobile property 21 - 30 percent mobile property	NO have investment of stocks and shares NO Investment in the form of bonds
41 - 50 percent mobile property	Have NO car
Investment in urban property Investment in foreign exchange	Illiterate Only read and write
Have investment in form of bank account	Grade school
Investment of stocks and shares	Junior nign school R1 , R5
Have one car	Unskilled service workers (LOW)
High school	Lowest Income quintile 20%
University degree	11 - 20 percent form urban property (LOW)
Post university	41 - 50 percent form urban property Only read and write

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

Fig. 6.2: The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

For the diagnostic of the plane more profoundly, we first examine which rows and columns have played a major role in determining the first two principal axes. This is accomplished by looking at the columns labeled CTR for each axis (Greenacre, 1993: 90). In the Table 6.3 we can see that the horizontal axis (76% of total inertia) is defined heavily by R1, which is the poorest income region, and R5 which is the richest income region with a contribution respectively 0,307 or 31% and 0,545 or 54,5%. In other words, 31% of the inertia along the

first axis, which explains the 76% of the total inertia (which can be seen in the table summary), is accounted for by the point R1 and 54,5% by point R5. The horizontal axis is defined by the lowest income region R1 on the right side (CTR, 31%) opposing the highest income region R5 (CTR, 54,5%) on the left.

Table 6.2: Income composition (1994): Overview Row Points(a)									
						Co	ontribution	1	
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C	(R		COR	
_		k = 1	k = 1		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,002	-2,224	-1,002	,003	,028	,011	,828	,083	,912
pro	,005	-2,079	-,//4	,007	,063	,018	,915	,063	,978
seim	,011	-,095	,849	,001	,000	,051	,023	,880	,909
unsk	,006	-,409 787	,/44	,001	,003	,020	,301	,390	,951
man	,011	,787	-,435	,003	,021	,014	,740	,124	,809
illali smaa	,007	,381	-,220	,001	,008	,002	306	,038	,627
art	,001	594	- 084	,000	,001	,003	,500	,297	,005
ret	014	- 378	- 031	,003	,015	,000	963	003	966
inac	.004	025	- 150	.000	.000	.001	.004	.077	.082
inc1	.016	1.638	-1.583	.019	.135	.254	.683	.316	.999
inc2	.015	.531	1,037	,004	,014	,108	.326	,615	.941
inc3	,016	,202	,964	,003	,002	,094	,077	,864	,941
inc4	,015	-,699	,241	,002	,023	,006	,942	,056	,998
inc5	,015	-1,724	-,651	,015	,147	,042	,925	,065	,990
low5	,004	1,923	-2,553	,009	,048	,170	,533	,465	,999
mid5	,069	-,011	,193	,000	,000	,017	,007	,992	1,000
top5	,004	-1,904	-,847	,005	,042	,017	,910	,089	1,000
noimmo	,063	,128	,031	,000,	,003	,000	,846	,025	,871
immo1	,006	-,214	-,223	,000	,001	,002	,386	,208	,594
immo2	,005	-1,306	-,074	,003	,026	,000	,858	,001	,860
immo3	,001	-,381	,579	,000	,001	,002	,284	,326	,610
immo4	,001	,084	-,033	,000	,000	,000	,006	,000	,006
immo5	,001	-,530	,740	,000	,001	,003	,234	,243	,500
nomob	,001	,341	-2,403	,001	,001	,023	,074 946	,703	,039
moh1	,035	- 492	- 021	,001	,014	,001	823	,013	,905 824
mob1 mob2	002	-2.555	-1 449	,002	034	022	848	135	983
mob3	,000	-2,339	-1,137	,001	,007	,003	,890	,104	.994
mob4	,001	-1,054	,677	,001	,002	,002	,296	,060	,357
mob5	,000	-1,988	-,629	,000	,003	,001	,771	,038	,809
mob6	,000	-,798	-,410	,001	,001	,000	,124	,016	,140
urpro1	,075	,013	,007	,000	,000	,000	,879	,111	,990
urpro2	,002	-,434	-,219	,000	,001	,001	,879	,111	,990
gold1	,071	,009	-,042	,000	,000	,001	,034	,354	,388
gold2	,006	-,119	,548	,001	,000	,011	,034	,354	,388
forl	,067	,064	-,009	,000	,001	,000	,636	,006	,642
10r2 hank1	,010	-,445	,063	,001	,006	,000	,030	,006	,642
bank?	,073	,088	,032	,000	,002	,000	,930	,062	,992
share1	,004	-1,044	-,001	,004	,034	,009	,930	,002	992
share2	,000	-1 133	532	,000	,000	,000	,050	,090	920
bond1	.076	.035	.017	.000	.000	.000	.890	.104	.994
bond2	,001	-2,339	-1,137	,002	,020	,009	,890	,104	,994
auto1	,056	,268	-,063	,001	,013	,001	,929	,026	,955
auto2	,020	-,684	,192	,003	,030	,005	,917	,036	,953
auto3	,001	-1,897	-,542	,001	,007	,001	,916	,037	,953
illi	,003	,866	-,608	,001	,008	,008	,616	,150	,766
re≀	,003	,688	-,604	,001	,004	,007	,564	,215	,780
grade	,033	,710	,193	,005	,054	,008	,959	,035	,994
secon	,009	,162	,056	,000	,001	,000	,564	,033	,597
highse	,015	-,419	,313	,001	,008	,009	,772	,214	,986
univer	,013	-1,746	-,531	,013	,128	,024	,954 672	,044	,998
Total	1.000	-3,041	-2,132	.128	1.000	1.000	,075	,107	,039

Table 6.3: Income composition (1994): Overview Column Points(a)											
						Contribution					
Variables	Mass	Score in	Dimension	Inertia	C	ГR		COR			
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT		
R1	,199	,692	-,567	,040	,307	,417	,748	,249	,996		
R2	,077	,492	,004	,008	,060	,000	,761	,000	,761		
R3	,338	,179	,439	,014	,035	,424	,233	,696	,928		
R4	,196	-,290	,138	,010	,053	,024	,539	,060	,599		
R5	,190	-,946	-,331	,057	,545	,135	,932	,057	,988		
Total	1,000			,128	1,000	1,000					

By projecting the five column variables on the first axis we see that the contrast is inbetween "R1" and "R5" so we call the first axis a "sharp contrast in terms of highest and lowest income". As for the row points, the major contributors are the lowest income quintile (inc1, CTR, 0,135) and in the opposite direction, the highest income quintile (inc5, CTR, 0,147). The highest level of education "having university degree (CTR, 0,128) also contributes more on the negative side of the horizontal axis in parallel with the highest income quintile. As Greenacre points out that the principal axes finds an optimal orientation in each cloud of points and contributions show which points the most *influential* in determining this orientation (1993: 90).

At the column level, the variable categories R1 and R5 have the highest influence on the orientation of the first axis i.e. the first axis is determined 85% by the two extreme income categories of the spatial clusters. And, the second axis is determined 42% by the R3, mid-income region versus, by the R1 with 42%. The second axis puts aside the mid-income quintile region (R3, 0,424) versus lowest income regions (R1, 0,417). The row points which are active in the geometric orientation of the vertical axis are the lowest income region (inc1, CTR, 0,254), and the lowest five percent income band (low5, CTR, 0,170) corresponding with the lowest income region (R1). On the other hand the second income quintiles (inc2, CTR, 0,108) and mid-income quintiles (inc3, CTR, 0,094) are the most influential row pointS in determining the geometric orientation of the vertical axis at the upper (positive) side of the display. We have 54 row variables so the row points contribution is hard to detect because of the low mass value.

Before going ahead we have to mention that the absolute contribution of row profiles to the principal axis has not been salient except the income quintiles because of the low mass values because of the high number of row variables (54 rows). We've preferred alternative interpretation by looking at the relative contribution (COR values) to examine which row points are best explained by the horizontal axis. The same procedure is valid for the opposite side of the horizontal axis and the vertical axis as well. As Greenacre indicates that once the

particular geometric orientations of the principal axes have been found, then it is possible to examine which points are best explained by the axes or subspaces such as the principal plane formed from the first two principal axes. This can be achieved by inspecting COR values which is the ''contribution of the k^{th} axis to the inertia of the i^{th} row'' (Greenacre, 1993: 89). This contribution is the *relative contribution* equivalently as squared correlations between the profile points and the principal axes. This quantity attains the maximum value of "1" if the profile point lies on the principal axis and the minimum of "0" if the profile is perpendicular to the principal axis so that its projection has zero length (1993: 89-90). Considering this information we can say that class fractions, administrative, managerial workers, professionals and retired people are the variables which are highly correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis (the sign of the coordinate point in the first axis shows the orientation) (adm, pro, ret, COR, 828, 0,915 and 0,963 respectively). The managers and professionals as wage earners are the richest fractions among all. Together with these class fractions we see "retired" as a group which is characterized materially better-off. This is rather striking result however has to be considered with precaution because the survey does not have information about the last job prior to the retirement.

To a lesser extend the mid-big employer and small employer load more on the first axis (COR, 0,361 and COR, 0,306) however much more weaker than the administrative, managerial workers, professionals and retired.

The fourth and top income quintiles (inc4, inc5) together with the top five percent income band (top5) load strongly on the first axis unexpectedly (COR, 0,942, 0,925, and 0,910 respectively). The variables, which are in relation with the most specific for the ''highest income'' part of the horizontal axis, are the income obtained from urban property (11-20% of the total'', immo2, COR, 0,858) and income obtained from market transaction with a varying degree (less than 10 percent, mob1, COR, 0,823; and 11-20 of the total income, mob2, COR 0,848; and 21-30 of the total income, mob3, COR, 0,890; and finally 41-50 of the total income mob5, COR, 0,771). This is remarkable result that the ''materially wealthier'', at the same time, has substantial amount of additional income which has reached to some extend almost half of their total income. Another important point is that the share of income from market transaction is much more higher than the income obtained from urban property. This is mainly because of the new economic instruments in the market introduced especially after the integration of the nation's economy with the global world in1980s.

The analysis reveals that the ''resourceful'' prefers urban property (urpro2, COR, 0,879), foreign currency (for2, COR, 0,636), bank account (bank2, COR, 0,930), stocks and shares (share2, COR, 0,830), and finally bonds (bond2, COR, 0,890) as for saving. They prefer multitude of ways for saving with an exception of the traditional way of buying and keeping gold. As a final remark we can say that car ownership considered as an important luxury of our society is related with the richest regions and richest fraction (auto2, COR, 0,917). Even ''having more than one car'' is in negative part of the horizontal axis as expected (auto3, COR, 0,916).

The level of education has almost exactly paralleled that of income. The more economic capital rises the more level of education we have. High school graduation (highsc, COR, 0,772) and "having university degree" (univer, COR, 0,954) even post-university education (postgr, COR, 0,673) loads heavily on the negative part of the horizontal axis.

On the opposite side with the strong emphasis of "poor", the "unskilled service workers" (COR, ,746), "manual workers" (COR, 0,769) and to a lesser extend "artisan & informal" (COR, 0,666) take part in the right hand side of the display. These three fractions are materially and culturally the most deprived fractions among all the groups. The horizontal axis shows the systematic differences between the wage-earner fractions, on the one hand administrative, managerial workers and professionals which are materially better-off and in opposition to them we see unskilled service and manual workers, and finally artisan & informal as the poor block. The lowest income quintile (inc1, 0,683) and lowest five percent which is offered as the poverty ratio (low5, 0.533) are situated on the right side of the axis. Our data verifies that informality cannot guarantee to become poor. However this is also valid for the unskilled service workers and manual workers that even formality which goes hand in hand with the secure job regulations and lifetime warranty with pension fund and other improvements has not been able to avoid with becoming poor. At this point we have to admit that because of the worsening economic conditions of the nation, the social security regulation cannot be guaranteed for the improvements of working people's life for a longer period.

It is not surprising that the variables "not having any kind of savings neither in the form of urban rent or market transactions" are highly correlated with the right hand side of the horizontal axis (noimmo, COR, 0,846 and nomob, COR, 0,946). In parallel with this result, neither of the variables, "no investment in the form of urban rent" (urpro1, COR, 0,879), "no investment of foreign exchange" (for1, COR, 0,636), "have no bank account" (bank1,

COR, 0,930), "not having stocks and shares" (share1, COR, 0,830), and finally "not having any bonds" (bond1, COR, 0,890) have loaded to the right hand side of the horizontal axis. And finally, "have no car" has a high correlation (auto1, COR, 0,929) with the right side of the first axis.

The level of education in the positive part of the first axis is highly correlated with the illiteracy (illi, COR, 0,616), ''only read & write'' (re&wr, COR, 0,564), and elementary school certificate (grade, COR, 0,959). However the grade schooling correlation is higher than illiteracy and only read&right categories. In parallel with remark junior high schooling is quite correlated with the right side of the axis (second, COR, 0,564). This result indicates the existence of some sort of elementary level of education that these people are not considered predominantly illiterate.

The second axis differentiates the mid-income region versus the poorest region. The positive part of the vertical axis with the strongest connotation of the ''mid-income'' or being in ''mid-position'' with respect to income and education corresponds with the ''semi-skilled professionals'' (semi, COR, 0,886), mid-big employer (mbe, COR, 0,590) and, although loading more on the first axis, to some extend small employer (smae, COR, 0,297). It is striking that mid-big and small employers are grouped with the semi-skilled professionals in the positive side of the vertical axis. These three fractions can be depicted as the middle income groups because second weakest income and mid-income quintiles (inc2, COR, 0,615 and inc3, COR, 0,864) are highly relevant with the positive side of the vertical axis. The families related with this side of the vertical axis have high level of additional income which comes from urban rents (immo3, 0,326; immo5, 0, 245). And the type of saving in part of semi-skilled professionals and employers is slightly relevant with the traditional investing in gold (gold2, COR, 0,354). The level of education is weakly equated with the high school certificate (highsc, COR, 0,214).

On the opposite end of the vertical axis, the poorest income region takes side (R1, CTR, 0,417). The lowest income quintile's contribution to the second axis is high for the orientation of the axis (inc1, CTR, 0,254). Moreover the poverty ratio's (lowest 5 percent income band) contribution to the negative side of the vertical axis is also substantial (low5, CTR, 0,170). The absolute contributions of these two low income categories has reached 42,4% in determining the orientation of the negative side of the vertical axis. For the geometric orientation of vertical axis, the income component is very influential. In parallel with the high contributions of the lowest income bands, these variables' relative

contributions are also highly correlated with the negative part of the vertical axis (inc1, COR, 0,316 and low5, COR, 0,465 respectively). However, surprisingly enough some of them have the highest additional income (''immo6'' which means more than 51 percent of the total, COR, 0,765) in part of them. Despite the fact that they are deprived the existence of some amount of additional income can also be part of their reality.

Income as an axis of dichotomy has distinguished the administrative, managerial workers, professionals and retired people most specific for the highest income region from the manual workers, unskilled service workers, artisan & informal workers associated with the lowest income region. The axis reflects clearly a sharp dichotomy among these wage earners fractions according to their income composition and its selected components. The wealthiest has substantial amount of additional income from both urban rents and, to a higher extent from bank account, interest or dividend whereas the poor has not any kind of additional, supportive economic sources. Taking into account that horizontal axis explains the major part of the variation (76%) we can assert that this axis represents the ''rich'' and ''poor'' in economical terms.

Differences in the composition of head of households by level of education appear to have a substantial influence on the variation of income. In this study, the intermediary quadrants which show variation between high income-low education and low income-high education did not occur as in the case that Bourdieu found for the French society. Instead we have middle fractions, semi-skilled professionals and employers with mid income region (R3)high schooling characterized by the positive side of the vertical axis (18,5% of inertia). The negative part of the vertical axis explains the poor position as in the case of the positive part of the horizontal axis. The upper part of the vertical axis can be used as an intermediary position between the rich and poor. We expect to draw the characteristics of the middle class position which is never overlapped unproblematically with the mid-income level, however we can draw the contours of the positioning in being "middle". We believe that the vertical axis is helpful in illuminating the position of middle class fraction and related attributes whereas the horizontal axes is very clear to understand the position of "highest" and "lowest" properties as top class fractions and the most disadvantageous. As Giddens states there is always a middle class emerged in an intervening position between two extremes or a fraction which has both feet in one shoe (1981: 31). The vexed question of where to put "middle class" in establishing clear class categories which basically depends on the labor and capital in Marxist class theory is highly problematical.

The historical dilemma has been to identify a class whose name denotes not a role or activity but a space, a between...a group that fails or refuses to fit the dominant social division between rich and poor (Beynon, 1999: 36).

In this study, the fractions found in the "middle" positions are the semi-skilled professionals, mid-big employer, and although shows slight relation, small employer (they also have some substantial correlation with the "rich" part of the horizontal axis) with the mid-income quintile (0,864). They have considerable additional income from urban property (20-30 percent) and prefer gold (0,354) as savings. This is highly instructive because among the various forms of investment offered by the market mechanism the only way they preferred is the collecting gold which is purely traditional way of saving money. This can be evaluated as the very characteristic of the city of Ankara, city of administration and service not the industry.

On the opposite (negative) side of the vertical axis the lowest income region is held dominant whereas at the same time loads heavily to the right side of the first axis. The attributes accompanied with the "poor" connotations are the lowest income quintile, lowest five percentage income band (also load highly to the first axis). With a slight correlation with the unskilled service workers, income from urban rent with more than half of the main income is situated in the "lowest" income section of the vertical axis. This finding is rather contradictory however can be taken as the evidence of some amount of urban rent even for the lowest income groups.

We can conclude that the horizontal axes will illuminate the position of "highest" and "lowest" properties as top class fractions and the most disadvantageous and as a spatial unit reflect clearly the clusters of census enumeration districts featured by the highest and lowest income properties⁶. The second axis is dominated by the opposition "middle" category versus the low income.

One of the interesting findings of the display belongs to the "Retired" category. The job security and lifetime warranty with pension funds and other improvements can provide substantial amount of income accumulation in their lifecycle. This is also the positive indication of the past economic condition of the nation for the wage-earner categories.

⁶ At this point we have to urge the reader that we are always interpreting profiles and never absolute values (Blasius, 1994: 31). And in a similar manner when we are talking about high values we are talking about high values as compared with the average.

Worsening working conditions and the new regulations facing the salaried people today may not permit households to have such a positive trajectory for the future.

Income profile of the data set 2001

The second data set is composed of the *unfinished* "Household income and consumption expenditure survey" of SIS for the year 2001. The data offers information for the first three months of 2001 for Ankara. The data has not been completed because of the February 2001 economic crisis. The SIS decided not to advance the survey because the economic crisis was affected the socio-economic structure of the society. Those who held foreign currency were benefited more during the crisis and on the contrary those who held Turkish currency were affected negatively. The survey was conducted one year after the crisis in 2002 for the nation as a whole without including 19 selected cities. The formal HICE survey was held in 2003 and later published however the data was not available for Ankara.

Although not complete, it contains useful information which allows the comparison of the data for1994 and 2001 although it should be done with precautions. The data set has information of the 317 households and 1234 individuals of Ankara for the period of the first three month of 2001. We want to use the data because it is difficult for the researchers to find such comprehensive data at the neighbourhood level.

The data of HICES of 2001 offers some additional information in which the data for the year of 1994 did not have. The ''not having any kind of investment'' and ''having more than one way of saving'' are of this type. These two information have been considered in the analysis of the data 2001 as separate categories of ''no investment'' and ''multi-level type of investment''. The categorization of the ways of investment in 2001 is slightly different than the data set of 1994. In 1994 each category considered as in the form of ''having'' or ''not having'' answers, for instance purchasing foreign currency has been divided into ''Yes'' or ''No'' types of answers. In 2001 the recoding offers more detailed information. For instances, if a household does not have one type of investment it does not mean that they do not prefer another type of investment.

The frequency of the variables of the "capital investment", "shares in funds (*fon katılım belgesi*)" and "lending money for collecting interest, or usury" have extremely low frequencies in the data set so we decided not included in the analysis.

Table 6.4: Income composition (2001): Cross-tabulation of variables with spatial clusters									
		4	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5		
adm	Administrative, managerial worker		0	1	4	3	7		
pro	Professionals		0	1	9	4	5		
semi	Semi professionals, clerks		2	6	7	6	4		
mbe	Mid-big employer		0	0	3	0	2		
unsk	Unskilled service workers		9	12	9	9	3		
man	Manual workers		8	11	11	10	1		
smae	Small employer		1	0	7	5	6		
art	Artisan & informal workers		16	15	19	15	6		
ret	Retired		4	12	25	10	9		
inac	Inactive, unemployed		0	1	4	3	7		
inc1	Lowest income quintile	>266.0007	26	21	11	6	1		
inc2	Second lowest income	266.001-406.000	9	16	21	13	1		
inc3	Mid income quintile	406.001-537.000	3	15	24	15	6		
inc4	Fourth income quintile	537.001-901.000	4	8	22	27	5		
inc5	Top income	901.001+	1	0	25	2	35		
low5	Lowest 5 percent	>148.250	13	11	5	3	1		
mid5	In-between lowset5 and top 5 per cent	148.251-1.992.200	30	49	90	60	23		
top5	Top 5 per cent income band	1.992.201+	0	0	8	0	24		
noimmo	No have income from urban property		40	54	88	53	35		
immo1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,		0	1	4	4	4		
immo2	11 - 20 percent of additional income,		2	3	6	4	2		
immo3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,		0	2	2	1	4		
immo4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,		1	0	1	1	1		
immo5	41 - 50 percent of additional income		0	0	2	0	0		
immo6	51+		0	0	0	0	1		
nomob	No have income from mobile property		41	58	99	62	34		
mob1	Less than 10 percent of additional income,		0	0	1	1	3		
mob2	11 - 20 percent of additional income,		0	0	1	0	4		
mob3	21 - 30 percent of additional income,		0	1	0	0	2		
mob4	31 - 40 percent of additional income,		1	1	2	0	2		
mob5	41 - 50 percent of additional income		0	0	0	0	1		
mob6	51+		1	0	0	0	1		
urpro	Investment in urban property	Real estate	0	0	4	1	2		
coop	Membership of a building cooperative	Building cooperative	0	1	4	1	2		
gold	Investment in gold	Purchasing gold	0	0	2	2	0		
for	Investment in foreign exchange	Foreign exchange	0	4	8	4	5		
bank	Investment in form of bank account	Bank account	0	0	7	1	3		
share	Investment in form of stocks and shares	Stocks & shares	1	1	0	1	0		
bond	Investment as type of bonds	Bonds	0	0	2	0	0		
multi	Multi-way investment	Multi-way investment	0	1	6	1	9		
NOsaving	Not having saving	No savings	42	52	67	51	24		
auto1	Have no automobile		32	47	72	43	19		
auto2	Have one		11	13	30	20	21		
auto3	Have more than one automobile		0	0	1	0	8		
illi	Illiterate		8	8	5	1	0		
re≀	Only read and write		6	2	4	2	0		
grade	Grade school		25	33	34	30	4		
Secon	Junior high school		2	7	18	10	4		
highsc	High school		2	10	31	16	16		
univer	University degree		0	0	11	4	18		
postgr	Post university		0	0	0	0	6		

Before analyzing in details, we want to give a short summary about the findings. Managers, professionals, mid-big employer, and small employers are economically wealthiest fractions. The high values of correlation of the top five percent income band and top income quintile have forcefully supported this finding. The car ownership as in the form of ''having an

⁷ Income values were divided by 1000 for the ease of presentation.

auto" and "having more than one automobile" is very indicative their economically privileged position. Substantial amount of additional income in form of both urban property and from the various market instruments is valid almost all the fractions. The multi-way investment is also dominant. Car ownership and level of education also verify the existence of "materially endowed" households in the negative part of the horizontal axis.

In opposition to the economically privilege fractions, the most deprived fractions regarding income, are the unskilled service and manual workers together with the artisan & informal workers. Savings in any form is not part of their reality.

We detected income decline in professionals and retired people. Professionals, although highly correlated with the ''highest income'' region also loads to the ''mid-position''. This can be taken as an indication of the some sort of economic recession in part of them. Retired groups and to a lower extend semi-skilled professionals are grouped together with professionals holding the ''middle position'' in the upper side of the vertical axis.

The junior high school and high school certificate dominate the "mid-position" as level of education. In 2001, it seems that the type of investment is diversified as compared the results of 1994: beside "gold" we also see "bonds" which is rather not risky type of investment. In opposition to the mid-income position, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal take place on the lower quadrant of the graph. Even for the low income groups we detect the existence of saving as in the case of stocks and shares related with the low income fractions in the lower side of the vertical axis. The amount of additional income obtained form stocks and shares with more than half of the total income is also correlated with the "poor" connotation part of the vertical axis. The presence of the lowest five percent income as poverty thresholds indicates their poorest position. The illiteracy is also accompanied with them. This means that manual workers' education level is better than the service workers and artisan however without providing any improvements in their economic conditions. The Figure 6.3 shows the attributes of each quadrants.

	R3, <i>R4</i> Professionals Retired Semi-skilled professionals (LOW) Mid-income quintiles 20% <i>Fourth income quintiles 20%</i> 11 - 20 percent from urban property 41 - 50 percent from urban property (LOW) Investment in bonds (LOW) Investment in gold High school
_	
R5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Retired Mid-big employer Small employer Inactive (LOW) Top income 20% Top 5 percent Less than 10 percent form urban rent 21 - 30 percent from urban property 51+ from urban property Less than 10 percent mobile property 11 - 20 percent mobile property 21 - 30 percent mobile property 21 - 30 percent mobile property 41 - 50 percent mobile property Investment in urban property Member of a building cooperative Investment in foreign exchange Have investment Have one car Have more than one car High school University degree	R1, R2 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Lowest income quintile 20% Lowest 5 percent (LOW) Second lowest income quintiles 20% Have NO income from urban property Have NO income from mobile property Have NO income from mobile property NO savings Share Have NO car Illiterate Only read and write Grade school Junior high school
University degree Post university	R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW) Artisan & informal <i>Lowest income quintile 20%</i> <i>Lowest 5 percent</i> 31 - 40 percent from mobile property (LOW) 51+ percent from mobile property <i>Illiterate</i>

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

Fig 6.3: The simplified schema of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

Figure 6.4 indicates that the horizontal axis (74% of total inertia) is predominantly defined by the highest income region (R5) with a highest contribution 0,718. In other words, the profile point of highest income region (R5) has contributed heavily to the geometric orientation of the first axis by itself with 72 percent whereas on the opposite side the lowest income and second lowest income region contribute to the geometric orientation of the first axis with 14% and 11%. These three profile points are the most influential (97%) in determining the orientation of the horizontal axis. The horizontal axis shows the contrast between the lowest and second lowest income region (R1, R2, CTR, 14% and 11% respectively) on the right side, and in the opposite the highest income region (R5, CTR, 72%) takes place on the left side of the axis.



Fig 6.4: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the income profile with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

The second axis (16% of total inertia) is defined by the lowest income region (R1, CTR, 46%) on the negative side of the vertical axis and on the contrary the mid and fourth income regions (R3, R4, CTR, 20% and 21% respectively) are found on the positive side of the axis. The vertical axis contrasted the mid-income regions (R3, R4) against the lowest income region (R1). When we look at the row contribution, we see that for the horizontal axis the contribution of highest income quintile (CTR, 18%) and top five percent income band (CTR, 16,5%) are highly influential for the negative orientation of the first axis. As for the vertical axis lowest income quintile (inc1, 21%) and lowest five percent income band (low5, 12%) contributes more to the negative orientation of the vertical axis opposing the fourth income quintile (inc4, CTR, 10%).

As for the relative contribution, it can be seen that the class fractions with a high connotation of the "materially better-off" are the administrative, managerial workers (adm, COR, 0,944), professionals (pro, COR, 0,642), mid-big employer (mbe, COR, 0,737), and small employers (smae, 0,726). The "inactive, unemployed" group loads slightly to the first axis (inac, COR, 0,430). The income compositions have been coincided with the top income quintile and top five percent income band as expected. Materially these are the wealthiest groups among all the fractions. The presence of the top five percent income band with a high correlation (top5, COR, 0,941) has supported this finding forcefully. The car ownership as "having an auto" (auto2, COR, 0,853) and "having more than two automobile" (auto3, COR, 0,888) are also strongly emphasized their economically privileged position.

Additional source of income and investment types show parallelism to the economic superiority of these fractions. The members have income from the urban property with less than 10 percent of the total (immo1, COR, 0,646) and 21-30 percent of the total income comes from urban property (immo3, COR, 0,771) and, finally more than half of the total income (immo6, COR, 0,845) form urban property are highly correlated with the managers, professionals and employers with the highest income region.

Table 6.5: Income composition (2001): Overview Row Points(a)									
X7 · 11	м	с · г		T (C	Col	ntribution		
Variables	Mass	Score in I	<u>Dimension</u>	Inertia	<u> </u>	<u>1 K</u>	1	<u>200</u>	OLT
adm	006	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	005	024	000	944	000	944
nro	,000	- 736	,005	003	,024	,000	,944	311	953
semi	,000	-,730	163	,005	,000	,017	,042	118	126
mbe	,010	-1 371	302	,001	,000	,001	737	018	755
unsk	.017	.502	- 405	.003	.009	.012	.668	.217	.886
man	.016	.614	085	.003	.013	.001	.948	.009	.957
smae	.008	- 843	426	.003	.012	.006	726	.093	.819
art	.028	.383	318	.003	.009	.012	.675	.232	.907
ret	.024	-,123	.335	.002	,001	.012	,103	.386	,489
inac	,008	-,502	-,249	,002	,004	,002	,430	,053	,483
inc1	,026	,940	-1,386	,022	,049	,214	,475	,516	,991
inc2	,024	,544	,177	,004	,015	,003	,880	,047	,926
inc3	,025	,113	,558	,003	,001	,034	,055	,668	,723
inc4	,026	,165	,938	,008	,002	,100	,039	,625	,663
inc5	,025	-1,803	-,284	,039	,176	,009	,967	,012	,979
low5	,013	,896	-1,430	,011	,023	,116	,439	,558	,997
mid5	,100	,187	,295	,004	,008	,038	,444	,556	1,000
top5	,013	-2,451	-,858	,037	,165	,040	,941	,058	,999
auto1	,084	,252	,047	,003	,012	,001	,920	,016	,935
auto2	,038	-,311	,017	,002	,008	,000	,853	,001	,855
auto3	,004	-2,880	-1,318	,015	,064	,027	,888,	,093	,981
immo1	,005	-,776	,563	,002	,007	,007	,646	,170	,817
immo2	,007	,078	,260	,000	,000	,002	,145	,804	,950
immo3	,004	-1,151	-,363	,003	,010	,002	,771	,038	,810
immo4	,002	-,327	-,436	,001	,000	,001	,129	,115	,243
immo5	,001	-,136	1,628	,002	,000	,009	,004	,294	,298
immo6	,000	-3,223	-1,686	,002	,009	,005	,845	,116	,960
noimmo	,107	,094	-,026	,000	,002	,000	,910	,034	,944
mob1	,002	-1,850	-,261	,003	,015	,001	,915	,009	,924
mob2	,002	-2,606	-1,024	,007	,029	,009	,923	,071	,994
mob3	,001	-1,774	-1,442	,003	,008	,011	,569	,188	,757
mob4	,002	-,683	-,813	,001	,002	,007	,496	,352	,849
mob5	,000	-3,223	-1,686	,002	,009	,005	,845	,116	,960
mobo	,001	-,864	-2,748	,002	,001	,026	,137	,090	,833
nomod	,110	,129	,082	,001	,004	,003	,820	,100	,987
urpro	,003	-,919	,732	,002	,003	,007	,596	,200	,790
coop gold	,003	-,004	,559	,001	,003	,004	,385	,195	,//9
for	,002	,210	1,077	,002	,000	,024	,020	,195	,815
hank	,008	-,499	,442	,002	,004	,007	,380	,228	,807
share	,004	1,059	,709	,005	,003	,011	538	186	,007
bond	,001	- 136	1,628	002	,000	,004	,004	294	298
multi	007	-1 655	- 249	009	,000	,002	981	,2271	992
NOsaving	093	268	- 138	004	015	008	826	109	935
illi	.009	.947	-1.265	.007	.017	.060	.493	.441	.934
re&wri	.006	,842	-1.000	,004	,009	,024	,403	,285	.688
grade	,050	,585	-,113	,008	,037	,003	,948	,018	,966
secon	,016	,027	,720	,002	,000	,037	,003	,946	,949
highsc	,030	-,435	,538	,005	,012	,037	,558	,427	,984
univer	,013	-1,736	-,119	,018	,085	,001	,993	,002	,995
postgr	,002	-3,223	-1,686	,013	,054	,029	,845	,116	,960
Total	1,000			,287	1,000	1,000			

Table 6.6: Income composition (2001): Overview Column Points(a)										
					Contribution					
Variables	Mass	Score in Dimension		Inertia	CTR		COR			
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT	
R1	,136	,689	-,878	,056	,140	,456	,531	,432	,962	
R2	,190	,518	-,220	,031	,111	,040	,764	,069	,833	
R3	,325	-,063	,375	,018	,003	,199	,033	,594	,627	
R4	,199	,256	,490	,025	,028	,208	,246	,449	,695	
R5	,150	-1,485	-,389	,158	,718	,098	,964	,033	,997	
Total	1,000			,287	1,000	1,000				
Moreover the ''wealthiest'' has income from the various market transaction such as interest, shares, dividend etc., for almost all the categories (mob1,2,3,4,5) which indicates the amount of additional income with less than 10 percent, in between 11-20, 21-30, 31-40 and 41-50. Considering this information we can assert that type of investment or saving shows the existence of substantial amount of additional income or their ability to mastering various instrument for saving. The members of rich fractions prefer urban property (urpro, COR, 0,598), membership of a building cooperative (coop, COR, 0,585), foreign currency (for, COR, 0,580), bank account (bank, COR, 0,492) and the more importantly a mix of various ways (multi, COR, 0,981).

The best region to be positioned in is towards the lower left of the display. In a similar manner, as the level of education increases the income level also increases. High school certificate, university degree and post-university education are found on the left bottom quadrant of the map (highsc, univer, and postgr with COR, 0,558, 0,993 and 0,845 respectively).

Considering the positive part of the horizontal axis, the fractions with the strongest connotations of ''poor'' are the unskilled service workers (unsk, COR, 0,668), manual workers (man, COR, 0,948) and artisan & informal workers (art, COR, 0,675). This result confirms the findings of the data for 1994 that the most deprived fractions regarding the level of income, are the unskilled service and manual workers together with the informal workers. By considering the signs in column three (k=1) in the table, the poorest part of the horizontal axis which is on the right bottom of the map is highly correlated with the lowest income quintile (inc1, COR, 0,475), second weakest income quintile (inc2, COR, 0,880) and the lowest five percent income band which can be taken as the poverty threshold (low5, COR, 0,439). It is not surprising that 'not having income from urban property' (noimmo, COR, 0,910) and, in a similar vein, "not having any money from market transaction" (nomob, COR, 0,820) are highly correlated with the positive part of the horizontal axis. Moreover, the members of these fractions have not own an automobile (auto1, COR, 0,920). Among the investment type "not having any kind of saving" (NOsaving, COR, 0,826) is the characteristics of the low income region and fractions. However, surprisingly we see the stocks and share in some part of the fractions (share, COR, 0,538). This is rather controversial that we have difficulty to explain in such precarious conditions economically.

The points that are most influential in the geometric orientation of the vertical axis are midincome and fourth income regions (R3, CTR, 20% and R4, CTR, 21%) in the positive part of the axis. In accord with the strongest connotation of ''middle'' positions, it can be seen that, professionals (pro, COR, 0,311) and retired people (ret, COR, 0,386) are fairly correlated with the upper part of the vertical axis. In 2001, both professionals and retired people which held the economically privilege position before the economic crisis seem to loose ground in 2001. This can be taken as an indication of the some sort of economic recessions in part of both professionals and retired groups. However, it should be taken into account that professionals at the same time, have more correlated with the economically privilege part of the first axis.

The education level for the mid positions which is highly related with the junior high school (second, COR, 0,946) and to a lower degree high school (highsc, COR, 0,427), it is probably related with the education level of the retired people. The income of the ''middle-position'' matches both mid-income and fourth income level. There is additional income in form of urban property with 11-20 percent (immo2, COR, 0,804) and the preferences for investments are the ''gold'' and ''bonds''. Again in 2001, the middle position has overlapped the traditional type of saving, ''gold''. On the other hand the low quality of the ''semi-skilled professionals and clerks'' category (QLT, 0,126) makes difficult for comparing their position in between 1994 and 2001.

The negative part of the vertical axis, with a substantial connotation of "poor" (at the same time loads to the first axis) unskilled service workers (unsk, COR, 0,217) and artisan & informal (art, COR, 0,232) take side. Lowest income quintile (low5, COR, 0,516) and lowest five percent income band (COR, 0,558) have the high value of the squared correlation with the lower part of the vertical axis. As detected in the diagnostic of the first axis, the highest additional income, more than half of the total and slightly investment in the form of stocks and share are found in the negative side vertical axis. Finally as for the level of education, illiteracy counts along with the horizontal axis and the vertical axis (illi, COR, 0,441).

VI. 2: OTHER STRUCTURAL FACTORS, "LIVING CONDITION OF SPECIFIC REGION AND HOUSING"

In this part of the study, our aim is to detect how the variables which are related to housing tenure and spatial qualities play a role in the formation of stratification. The objective is to demonstrate the "inequality" by measuring variables of living condition of the living environment and housing. The four variables are of importance: Housing type, ownership status of the house, the quality of the place to live in (district property) and housing conditions. Housing type has been divided into three categories, "detached houses", "apartment blocs" and finally *gecekondu*. The definition of SIS regarding housing types is:

Housing type

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

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

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

Gecekondu: Buildings which were illegally constructed on plots to those who the ownership did not belong to the occupiers (SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

Source: 1999 Turkish Housing Survey of SIS and HAD.

Any response to social stratification in the society should recognize its spatial component. Considerable differences among different social strata signify that the prosperity and opportunity are not shared equally by the members of the different class fractions. Furthermore, concentrations of precarious conditions may probably lead to isolation and exclusion from the opportunity networks for some disadvantageous strata. The importance of space as emphasized in *Distinction* by Bourdieu is so structural in the operation of the social life that he considers it as vital as other determinants of axis of dichotomy between different fractions.

To account more fully for the differences in life-style between the different fractionsespecially as regards culture-one would have to take account of their distribution in a *socially ranked geographical space*. A group's chances of appropriating any given class of rare assets (as measured by the mathematical probability of access) depend partly on its capacity for the specific appropriation, defined by the economic, cultural and social capital it can deploy in order to appropriate materially or symbolically the assets in question, that is, its position in social space, and partly on the relationship between its distribution in geographical space and distribution of scarce assets in that space. (This relationship can be measured in average distances from goods or facilities, or in traveling time- which involves access to private or public transport.) In other words, a group's real social distance from certain assets must integrate the geographical distance, which itself depends on the group's spatial distribution and, more precisely, its distribution with respect to the ''focal point'' of economic and cultural values, i.e., Paris or the major regional centres (in some careers- e.g, in the postal banking system-employment or promotion entails a period of exile). (1984[1979]:124).

We tried to obtain information at the neighbourhood level from the municipality of Ankara but failed to succeed. The only information available is about the ''properties of street lived in'' by considering the information of direct field observations and neighbourhood's ''Mucktar'' and local information provided by municipalities. The street property has information about the rent which provides relatively sound indicator about the quality of the living environment.

The properties of street lived in:

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

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

Poor (gecekondu): Buildings which were illegally constructed on plots to those who the ownership did not belong to the occupiers (SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

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

Ownership of houses for urban population is almost the most important investment for their lifetime. Housing is at the core of the life struggles for many people. Tekeli (1992:3) summarised the complex functions of the housing: a shelter, a commodity as many others goods produced, security for families to their future, a tool for the reproduction of societal relationships, reproduction of the labour force, investment instrument for the appropriation of the urban rents. We add all these functions the sign value of house as status indicators.

Housing is one of the most important subsistence strategies for urbanities and for urban poor as well. Ownership of a house removes the burden of paying rent. Ersoy listed the practical functioning of house for poor households;

(1) Saving the money otherwise would have been paid as rent and as a result the consumption increase.

(2) The direct or indirect revenue comes from extension of *gecekondu* with new rooms.

(3) The expectation stemmed from the rise of the exchange land value as a consequence of including *gecekondu* areas to the urban plans. For many unemployed and insecure labour market employees housing means security for them and their children. The flexibility of housing makes all these functions possible for urban poor (METU, 2000: 244).

Ownership status of dwelling

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

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

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

Other: It is an ownership status of the households who live in a house like a family house, relative house etc. without paying rent. If households live in a family house and pay some money for it, they are considered as tenant (SIS Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys 1994).

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

The type of household is apt to test Ayata's assertion that in the apartment blocks the social segregation is clear. Our data set unfortunately does not cover the information about the luxury detached houses constructed by housing estates in *site as* recent trends, so we will observe the findings with precaution. The lodgements and others categories mean that the household is not in need of paying rent so they have the opportunity to accumulate or save money.

Home is best conceived of as a type of relationship between people and their environment. House as a conceptual space is abstract, geometric and objectively measured to be a kind of context within which places, people and things exists. Home ownership is the foremost indicator of one's socio-economic status. Owning a house is one of important luxuries of the economy, a principal consumption item distinguishing the rich from poor (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 143). However, In Turkey the rate of home ownership is relatively high. Boratav states that home ownership is very high in Turkey as compared with many other European countries (1995: 50). Even for the unemployed groups, his empirical study reveals that more than average, 55 percent of the unemployed are homeowners. This rate reaches to 60 per cent for the whole household head under investigation and 80 percent for the retired. He asserts that the homeownership provide important source of security for the wage earners. Indicators of housing conditions are considered to be meaningful variables for the objective living conditions. The variables which will be analysed are the size of the house, the use of space per household members, toilet, bathroom, hot water availability and heating system. We accepted the heating system, size of house, system, hot water storage as ''luxuries in the house''. We expect that as the socio-economic level of the household is improved, the size of house will increase.

Figure 6.5 shows a symmetric display of rows and columns. With two out of four possible factors being 96,3 % of the total variation can be explained. The first axis explains the major part of the total inertia by itself, 87%. The vertical axis explains only 9,4% of the total inertia. Another characteristic of the display is that all five income region have been distributed to the four quadrants of the display, where the lowest income region is settled down on the right bottom quadrants, the second lowest and mid-income regions are found in the upper right of the quadrants, the fourth region is in the upper left whereas the highest income resides in the bottom left quadrant of the graph. The description of the variables can be seen in the Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Hous	Table 6.7: Housing (1994): Description of variables									
Ownership status	Own1	tenure								
	Own2	tenant								
	Own3	lodgment								
	Own4	others								
Type of the House	Hou1	Detached								
	Hou2	Apartment								
	Hou3	Gecekondu								
Street property	Str1	Poor								
	Str2	Average								
	Str3	Well-to-do								
Dwelling area per person	Dwe1	less23,8	Less than Ankara's average							
	Dwe2	more23,8	More than Ankara's average							
Crowding index- person per room ratio ⁸	Cro1	SEVERE over crowding	> 2.0 severe over crowding							
	Cro2	OVER crowding	$> 1.5 \le 2.0$ over crowding							
	Cro3	NOT over crowding	\leq 1.5 not over crowded							
Heating system	Heat1	Stove								
	Heat2	Radiator								
	Heat3	Other								
Toilet availability	Toil1	OUTSIDE toilet								
	Toil2	INSIDE toilet								
Bathroom availability	Bath1	HAVE NO bathroom								
	Bath2	HAVE bathroom								
Hot water availability	Hot1	HAVE NO hot water								
	Hot2	HAVE hot water								

⁸ We borrow the crowding index of Osborn & Morris (1979: 48).



Fig. 6.5: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of housing with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

For a better understanding the simplified scheme can be seen in Figure 6.6. Considering the strongest connotations of "wealthy" section of the left-bottom quadrant, the profiles "apartment", "lodgement", "well-to-do street", "dwelling area per person higher than the average", "not overcrowding", "radiator as heating", "toilet inside", "having bathroom" and finally 'hot water availability" are correlated with the negative part of the horizontal axis. Class fractions, as managers, professionals, retired and to a lesser extend mid-big employer have the higher correlation with this side of the display.



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

Fig.6.6: The simplified schema of the MCA of housing with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

In the opposite, for the ''poor'' region, housing represents serious problem. Crowding (severe overcrowding, small houses, crowded families) and unsanitary conditions (toilet outside, have not bathroom) are the characteristics of the squatter areas (street property ''gecekondu''). Houses are mainly *gecekondu* or detached houses and ownership status

indicates ''tenants''. Living in poor neighborhoods can be interpreted not just the unsanitary conditions, vulnerability or high risk but also being isolated from opportunity network.

As for the "mid-position", we see semi-skilled professionals and mid-big employer. However this region does not provide sufficient information about the housing conditions. The only information we can get is the ownership status as "tenure". The lower quadrant of the vertical axis holds both the wealthiest and poorest. This might be called as an interaction axis however we cannot grasp any indicative results so that we left without any comment.

		Table 6.8:	Housing ((1994): Ov	erview R	ow Point	s(a)		
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,002	-1,653	-1,688	,004	,014	,045	,642	,224	,866
pro	,006	-1,637	-1,410	,009	,036	,080,	,796	,197	,993
semi	,014	-,172	,757	,002	,001	,056	,103	,666	,769
mbe	,007	-,413	,572	,001	,003	,017	,516	,330	,846
unsk	,014	,720	-,186	,004	,016	,003	,878	,019	,898
man	,009	,529	-,067	,001	,006	,000	,894	,005	,898
smae	,002	-,428	,358	,000	,001	,001	,415	,096	,511
art	,022	,460	,163	,004	,011	,004	,561	,023	,584
ret	,018	-,307	-,163	,001	,004	,003	,890	,084	,975
inac	,006	,019	-,139	,000,	,000	,001	,004	,063	,067
own1	,055	-,017	,117	,000	,000	,005	,044	,674	,718
own2	,031	,116	,127	,000,	,001	,003	,443	,175	,619
own3	,003	-1,373	-2,210	,004	,012	,093	,527	,456	,983
own4	,011	,105	-,404	,001	,000	,012	,068	,334	,402
hou1	,010	,962	,477	,005	,021	,015	,803	,066	,869
hou2	,063	-,716	,133	,014	,074	,008	,983	,011	,994
hou3	,027	1,342	-,488	,022	,110	,044	,952	,042	,994
str1	,028	1,347	-,519	,023	,115	,051	,951	,047	,999
str2	,014	,857	,107	,005	,024	,001	,860	,004	,864
str3	,058	-,854	,221	,019	,097	,019	,973	,022	,995
dwe1	,056	,483	,209	,006	,030	,017	,916	,057	,973
dwe2	,044	-,619	-,268	,008	,038	,022	,916	,057	,973
cro1	,007	,866	,077	,002	,012	,000	,953	,003	,956
cro2	,018	,877	-,125	,006	,031	,002	,947	,006	,954
cro3	,076	-,281	,022	,003	,014	,000	,974	,002	,976
heat1	,068	,621	,331	,013	,060	,051	,913	,087	1,000
heat2	,032	-1,309	-,699	,026	,124	,106	,913	,087	1,000
heat3	,001	-1,286	-,677	,001	,002	,002	,878	,081	,959
toil1	,007	1,855	-1,990	,015	,054	,187	,681	,261	,942
toil2	,093	-,137	,147	,001	,004	,014	,681	,261	,942
bath1	,008	1,508	-1,133	,010	,043	,074	,812	,153	,965
bath2	,092	-,137	,103	,001	,004	,007	,812	,153	,965
hot1	,092	,116	,083	,001	,003	,004	,838	,143	,981
hot2	,008	-1,397	-,998	,008	,034	,053	,838	,143	,981
Total	1,000			,220	1,000	1,000			

	Table 6.9: Housing (1994): Overview Column Points(a)											
						0	ontributio	on				
Variables	Mass	Score in Dimension		Inertia	C	CTR		COR				
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT			
R1	,199	1,019	-,470	,097	,474	,302	,933	,066	,999			
R2	,077	,421	,308	,011	,031	,050	,560	,100	,661			
R3	,338	,110	,407	,011	,009	,384	,158	,726	,885			
R4	,196	-,486	,083	,023	,106	,009	,873	,008	,881			
R5	,190	-,935	-,442	,078	,379	,254	,923	,069	,991			
Total	1,000			,220	1,000	1,000						

The horizontal axis separates clearly the lowest and highest income regions in opposite direction; lowest income region on the right (R1, CTR, 47%), highest income on the left (R5, CTR, 38%). The axis can be interpreted as the income scale. The lowest and highest income regions are the most influential for the first axis where 87% of the total inertia has been explained. Taking into account that the horizontal axis expresses 87% of the total inertia that the contributions of the R1 and R5 gain utmost importance for the explanation in general.

As for the row points, the type of house, *gecekondu* (hou3, CTR 11%), street property, *gecekondu* (str1, CTR, 11,5%) and heating with ''stove'' (heat1, CTR, 6%) are the most influential profiles for the orientation of the positive part of the first axis. On the contrary, street property, ''well-to-do'' (str3, CTR, 9,7%), the heating system ''radiator'' (heat2, CTR, 12%) and ''apartment'' (hou2, CTR, 7,4%) are the most influential profiles in determining the negative part of the orientation of the horizontal axis. For a better explanation we look at the correlation values.

Considering the first axis, the attributes with stronger connotations of "rich" are the administrative, managerial workers (adm, COR, 0,642), professionals (pro, COR, 0,796), retired (ret, COR, 0,890) and to a lesser extend, mid-big employer (mbe, COR, 0,516), small-employer (same, COR, 0,415) taking place at the negative part of the horizontal axis. It can be seen that ownership status of the house "lodgement" (own3, COR, 0,527), housing type "apartment" (hou2, COR, 0,983), street property "well-to-do" (str3, COR, 0,973) are highly correlated with the negative part of the horizontal axis. In a similar vein, dwelling index "more than the city average" (dwe2, COR, 0,916), crowding index "not overcrowded" (cro2, 0,947), heating system "radiator" (heat2, COR, 0,913), toilet "inside the house" (hot2, COR, 0,838) are heavily related with the strongest connotations of "wealthy" part which can be found in the left hand side of the graph.

Considering the quantity which attains the maximum value of '1' if the profile point lies on the principal axis, the profiles, type of housing 'apartment', street property 'well-to-do'', dwelling area per person higher than the city average, 'not overcrowding'', heating system 'radiator'', 'toilet inside'', 'having bathroom'' and finally 'hot water availability'' have highly correlated with the first axis.

In the opposite side of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal blocks take side on the right part of the first axis. The other attributes related with this side of the axis are the "tenant" (own2, COR, 0,443), "detached houses" (hou1, COR, 0,803), gecekondu (hou3, COR, 0,952) together with street property in gecekondu areas (str1, COR, 0.973) and in average street (str2, COR, 0.860). Their houses are small which are less than city average (dwe1, COR, 0,916), and they face with severe overcrowding (cro1,COR, 0,953) and overcrowding (cro2, COR, 0,947) as person per room ratio. Furthermore for heating the "stove" is used (heat1, COR, 0.913) by them for heating and the toilets are "outside" of their houses (toil1, COR, 0,681). Even bathroom does not exits (bath1, COR, 0.812). And finally, the houses do not have hot water storage (hot1, COR, 0,838). The CA reveals sharp dichotomy in terms of housing between the class fraction and different regions as well. The analysis shows how precarious and vulnerable living conditions of the fractions, unskilled service, manual workers and artisan & informal as compared with the administrative, managerial workers, professionals and employers and finally retired groups. The quality of display for the "inactive" has been so low (QLT, 0,067) that we did not include it for the interpretation.

The vertical axis (9,6% of total inertia) puts emphasis on the mid-income region versus the lowest and highest income regions. However, the squared correlations of the lowest and highest income regions (COR, 0,066 and 0,069 respectively) are quite low as compared with the high value of loading of the mid-income region (COR, 0,726). Moreover, the highest and lowest income regions' squared correlations have been so high that they would almost overlap onto the horizontal axis (COR 0,933 and 0,923 respectively). These values are very close to '1''.

The row profiles reveals that semi-skilled professionals (semi, COR, 0,666) and mid-big employers⁹ (mbe, COR, 0,330) in accord with the positive sign of the coordinate point of the mid-income region, are characterised by the ownership status of the house "tenure" (own1,

 $^{^9}$ Mid-big employer category is at the same time highly correlated with the first axis (mbe, COR, 0,516).

COR, 0,674). For the middle class fractions the tenure status is the most remarkable among all the attributes. On the negative side we do not detect any distinctive and coherent feature for differentiating class fractions. Taking into account that the low level explanation in part of the vertical axis (only 9,4% of the total inertia) we can only say that the middle class fractions are semi-skilled professionals & clerks and to a lesser extend the mid-big employer featured heavily with the ownership status ''tenure''.

Living condition of specific region and Housing of the data set 2001

The data set of 2001 offers more detailed information than that of the data for 1994 about the living condition and housing. The ultimate luxuries are offered by the sophisticated technologies such as floor heating, garbage disposal, etc. can be found in the questionnaires of the survey. We've included the material of the floor coverage for the living room of the house to differentiate regions and fractions.

Table 6.10: H	Table 6.10: Housing (2001): Description of variables									
Ownership status of the house	Own1	tenure								
	Own2	tenant								
	Own 4 ¹⁰	Others								
Type of the House	Hou1	Detached								
	Hou2	Apartment								
	Hou3	Gecekondu								
Street property	Str1	Poor								
	Str2	Average								
	Str3	Well-to-do								
Dwelling area per person	Dwe1	less23,8	Less than Ankara's average							
	Dwe2	more23,8	More than Ankara's average							
Crowding index- person per room ratio	Cro1	SEVERE over crowding	> 2.0 severe over crowding							
	Cro2	OVER crowding	$> 1.5 \le 2.0$ over crowding							
	Cro3	NOT over crowding	\leq 1.5 not over crowded							
Heating system	Heat1	Stove								
	Heat2	Radiator								
	Heat3	Other								
Toilet availability	Toil1	OUTSIDE toilet								
	Toil2	INSIDE toilet								
Bathroom availability	Bath1	NO HAVE bathroom								
	Bath2	HAVE bathroom								
Hot water availability	Hot1	NO HAVE hot water								
	Hot2	HAVE hot water								
Residential floor coverings	Floor1	Parquet								
	Floor2	Tiles								
	Floor3	Linoleum								
	Floor4	Wall-to-wall carpeting								
	Floor5	Concerete (<i>şap</i>)								
	Floor6	Mosaic								
	Floor7	Marble								
	Floor8	Other								

The preliminary results are shown in Figure 6.7. It can be seen that the horizontal axis represents the sharp polarization regarding the income regions. The class fractions which are

¹⁰ The ownership status of the house 'lodgment' does not exist in the data, 2001.

highly correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis with a high connotation of "wealthier" are the administrative, managerial workers, professionals, mid-big employer and small employer categories. On the opposite side of the horizontal axis, we see unskilled service workers, manual workers, and artisan & informal as class fractions. The housing type is contrasting the apartment and *gecekondu* in opposite directions. As in the case of the living environment the "well-to-do" street takes the left side whereas "poor" (*gecekondu*) street property takes the right. The housing facilities show contrast between the right and left side of the principal axis that the "richness" can be accompanied with the rising housing standard whereas the poor's house is deprived of even the basic human and living standards. As for the vertical axis, second lowest income region versus lowest income can be observed. Semi-skilled professionals are better-off in terms of housing conditions than those inactive groups. The vertical axis is contrasting the mid-income versus lowest income groups.



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

Fig. 6.7: The simplified schema of the MCA of housing with spatial clusters of the data set 2001



Fig. 6.8: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of housing with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

The total inertia represented in the two dimensional display is 88% in which the first axis gauges 76% and second axis demonstrates 12%. The first axis explains the major part of the variation whereas the second axis holds relatively low level of information. We know that the total inertia of the frequency table (cross-tabulation of income region and selected attributes of the class fractions and housing) is a measure of total variation of the elements in the table (Greenacre 1993: 86) so the two axes explain 88% of the total variation.

	Table 6.11: Housing (2001): Overview Row Points(a)											
Variables	Mass	Score in l	Dimension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR				
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	OLT			
adm	,004	-1,097	,030	,004	,011	,000,	,639	,000,	,640			
pro	,005	-,865	-,110	,002	,009	,000,	,909	,006	,915			
semi	,007	-,052	,516	,000	,000,	,010	,025	,948	,973			
mbe	,001	-1,117	-,929	,002	,004	,007	,502	,137	,638			
unsk	,012	,558	,201	,002	,008	,003	,829	,042	,871			
man	,012	,516	,248	,002	,007	,004	,671	,061	,731			
smae	,005	-,933	-,295	,002	,010	,003	,917	,036	,953			
art	,020	,388	-,158	,002	,007	,003	,691	,045	,736			
ret	,017	-,154	,142	,001	,001	,002	,167	,056	,223			
inac	,006	-,269	-,846	,002	,001	,022	,127	,494	,621			
own1	,055	,015	-,043	,001	,000,	,001	,008	,028	,036			
own2	,027	,012	-,183	,002	,000,	,005	,001	,103	,104			
own4	,009	-,132	,853	,001	,000,	,034	,057	,932	,989			
hou1	,006	,955	-1,751	,006	,012	,100	,416	,550	,967			
hou2	,058	-,767	,313	,017	,073	,031	,919	,060	,979			
hou3	,027	1,459	-,287	,028	,121	,012	,952	,014	,966			
str1	,013	1,348	-1,444	,016	,049	,143	,663	,299	,962			
str2	,030	,862	1,038	,017	,048	,178	,615	,351	,965			
str3	,048	-,902	-,278	,019	,083	,020	,952	,036	,987			
dwe1	,023	,189	,224	,001	,002	,006	,340	,190	,530			
dwe2	,068	-,065	-,077	,000	,001	,002	,340	,190	,530			
cro1	,003	1,759	-,518	,005	,019	,004	,834	,028	,863			
cro2	,013	1,090	-,050	,008	,033	,000	,920	,001	,921			
cro3	,075	-,260	,029	,002	,011	,000	,978	,005	,982			
heat1	,048	,972	,064	,021	,097	,001	,991	,002	,993			
heat2	,041	-1,099	-,037	,024	,105	,000	,979	,000	,980			
heat3	,002	-,788	-,685	,002	,003	,006	,318	,095	,413			
toill	,003	1,803	-,159	,006	,024	,000	,939	,003	,942			
toil2	,087	-,071	,006	,000	,001	,000	,939	,003	,942			
bathl	,003	1,726	,612	,005	,018	,006	,875	,043	,918			
bath2	,088	-,056	-,020	,000	,001	,000	,875	,043	,918			
hotl	,021	,934	-,477	,009	,039	,026	,906	,093	,999			
hot2	,070	-,279	,143	,003	,012	,008	,906	,093	,999			
floor1	,024	-1,133	-,605	,022	,066	,048	,657	,0/4	,/31			
floor2	,001	,932	2,262	,003	,002	,032	,1/1	,396	,566			
floor3	,015	-,333	1,077	,009	,004	,097	,091	,373	,463			
floor4	,004	-1,404	-,159	,006	,017	,001	,604	,003	,608			
floor5	,027	1,224	,558	,021	,087	,046	,910	,0/4	,984			
floor6	,017	,010	-,834	,007	,000	,064	,000	,296	,296			
1100r/	,000	-,58/	-1,14/	,001	,000	,002	,078	,11/	,195			
floor8	,002	2,137	-2,807	,007	,017	,074	,502	,340	,842			
Total	1,000	1		,290	1,000	1,000	1					

	Table 6.12: Housing (2001): Overview Column Points(a)											
						С	ontributio	on				
Variables	Mass	Score in Dimension		Inertia	C	ΓR		COR				
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT			
R1	,136	1,026	-,739	,082	,304	,402	,812	,166	,978			
R2	,189	,881	,593	,085	,314	,361	,815	,145	,960			
R3	,325	-,275	-,212	,020	,052	,079	,585	,136	,721			
R4	,199	-,407	,370	,034	,070	,148	,458	,149	,607			
R5	,151	-,896	-,111	,070	,259	,010	,817	,005	,822			
Total	1,000			,290	1,000	1,000						

Table 6.10 gives necessary explanation of the abbreviation used in the display. And, the following Tables, 6.11 and 6.12 displays the numerical results of CA in detail in the output format of SPSS.

The principal axes find an optimal orientation in each cloud of points and the contributions show which points have played major role, or have been the most influential, in determining this orientation. Looking at the columns first we see two major contributors to the first axis: the lowest and second lowest income regions (contribution to inertia CTR, 30% and 31% respectively) on the right side opposing the highest income region (R5, CTR, 26%) on the left. In a similar way, we can see that the second principal axis is determined essentially by the region 2 and region 4 (CTR, 36% and 15%) on the upper part of the vertical axis whereas region 1 (CTR, 40%) is highly influential on the lower part of the second axis.

As for the row points, heating system ''radiator'' (heat2, CTR, 11%), the street property rated as ''well-to-do'' (str3, CTR, 8%), ''apartment'' as housing type (hou2, CTR, 7,3%) and the material used for floor coverage, ''parquet'' (floor1, CTR, 7%) have been the most influential as in the same direction with the region 5. The highest income region (R5), and the variables, ''radiator'' for heating, living in ''well-to-do'' street, living in ''apartment'' and using parquet for covering the house floor are highly relevant with the increase of income level. On the contrary, highly related with the ''low level of income'' (region 1 and region 2) the row contributors are the housing type, *gecekondu* (hou3, CTR, 12%) and ''stove'' used for house heating (heat1, CTR, 10%), to a lesser extend, poor street and average street (str1, CTR, 5% and str2, CTR, 5%) and floor coverage ''concrete (*sap*) (floor5, CTR, 9%) are the major contributors on the positive side of the first axis. It is no doubt that ''gecekondu'' is the foremost indicator of one's social position and this has been verified once more in this analysis. The heating system represents a sharp cleavage contrasting the wealthy who uses radiator and poor person who can only afford a stove for heating. The floor type has a role for differentiating the poor houses covering with concrete

(*şap*) whereas rich houses prefers parquet. All these differences can overlap clearly with the lowest and second lowest income regions.

As for the squared correlations which indicate the part of the variance of a variable explained, the first principal axis with a high connotation of "high income" are consisted of the class fractions, administrative, managerial workers (COR, 0,639), professionals (COR, 0,909), mid-big employer (COR, 0,502), and small-employer (COR, 0,917) on the left side of the display. These points are highly correlated with the left hand side of the horizontal axis. For the distribution of house comfort indexes we see that housing type "apartment" (COR, 0,919), street property "well-to-do" (COR, 0,952), crowding index "not overcrowded" (0,978) are the profiles points which have heavily loaded on the left side of the horizontal axis. In a similar vein, heating system "radiator" (COR, 0,979), toilet "inside the house" (0,939) and "have bathroom" (COR, 0,875) and finally, "have hot water storage" (hot2, COR, 0,906) have related with the rich regions and fractions on the left hand side of the graph.

Considering the quantity which attains the maximum value of 1 if the profile point lies on the principal axis and the minimum of 0 if the profile is perpendicular to the principal axis (Greeenacre, 1993: 90) the row profile points, type of housing ''apartment'', street property ''well-to-do'', ''not overcrowding'', heating system ''radiator'', ''toilet inside'', ''having bathroom'' and hot water availability have high correlation with the negative side of the first axis. Among the class fraction, ''professionals'' and surprisingly ''small employer'' have the highest correlation with the horizontal axis. Although we've detected some economical worsening of the professionals, their living environment has far from affecting this worsening neither in their living environment and housing conditions.

And finally, the material used for floor coverage provides useful information to differentiate the rich and the poor. Floor type, 'parquet', 'wall-to-wall carpeting' are predominantly loading to the left side of the horizontal axis. The higher income groups have floor coverage of either 'parquet' (floor1, COR, 0,657) or wall-to-wall carpeting (floor4, COR, 0,604 respectively).

On the opposite side of the horizontal axis, we see unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal as class fractions (COR, 0,829, 0,671 and 0,691 respectively). Housing types, "detached houses" is fairly loading and *gecekondu* is substantially loading on the right side of the horizontal axis (hou1, COR, 0,416 and hou3,

COR, 0,953 respectively). Street property "average" and "poor" take place as their living environments (str1, COR, 0,663 and str2, 0,615). The severe overcrowding (cro1, COR, 0, 834) and overcrowding (cro2, COR, 0,920) are very indicative to their negative housing conditions together with the use of "stove" (heat1, COR, 0,991) for heating. Toilet being outside of the house and "not having bathroom" (toil1, COR, 0,939 and bath1, 0,875 respectively) show that they even lack of basic house quality. It is not surprising that their houses do not have hot water storage (hot1, COR, 0,906). Finally, their houses have been furnished by using solid concrete (*sap*) (floor5, COR, 0,910).

Horizontal axis reflects the sharp dichotomy between different fractions, on the one hand administrative, managerial workers, professionals and employers and on the other unskilled service and manual workers accompanied with the artisan & informal. Moreover, in fact this dichotomy can be expressed as enormous inequalities between different groups and regions which are not merely economic or social but also geographical. Housing conditions and quality of living show remarkable and very clear-cut contrast between different groups and geographies.

In a similar manner, the vertical axis (12% of total inertia) is determined essentially by the lowest income region (R1, CTR, 0,402 or 40%) as column variable which is located on the negative side of the display, whereas the second lowest and fourth income regions (R2,R4, CTR, 0,361 or 36% and CTR, 0,148 or 15% respectively) are located on the positive side of the display. The second dimension has opposed the two low level income regions and mid-income region with respect to their varying housing conditions.

As for the row variables, we see the class fraction on the upper part of the vertical axis is the semi-skilled professionals (semi, COR, 0,948). This fraction is heavily correlated with the positive side of the second axis and is highly relevant with the second lowest income region (R2) and fourth income region (R4). The vertical axis is worth examining closely because it represents the variation among the regions which have relatively similar income levels. Although their income level does not vary too much, their housing conditions and living environment show relative differentiation. The row points which are influential to the geometric orientation of the second axis are the *average* street (str2, CTR, 18%), and ''linoleum'' as a material preferred for floor coverage (floor3, CTR, 10%). As for the relative contributions, the ownership status of the house (own4, COR, 0,932) and floor type ''linoleum'' (floor3, COR, 0,373) and ''tiles'' (floor2, COR, 0,396) are highly relevant with the positive part of the vertical axis.

In contrast, on the negative side, it can be seen "inactive, unemployed" people (inac, COR, 0,494) characterized by the "detached" (COR, 0,550) houses in poor quality of environment (str1, COR, 0,299). The floor type is *mosaic* (floor6, COR, 0,296) and "other" (floor8, COR, 0,340) are related with the negative part of the second axis. The "poor" part of the vertical axis reveals some improvement in terms of housing (detached not *gecekondu*) and floor coverage, "mosaic", which is much better than the *concrete*. The poor featured in the positive side of the horizontal axis can be defined as the poorest whereas the poor in the negative side of the vertical axis is not as poor as the former considering their different housing type.

VI. 3. CULTURAL PRACTICES

Throughout the study, we endeavour to adopt a multidimensional class scheme which is not merely constructed purely as a category of production sphere; in fact it can be seen to be reformulated and redefined by considering its spatial and social aspects accompanied with the act of consumption. Consumption as a way of life is an urban experience. Urbanities are most likely to define and create their lifestyles through consumption. Cities are the arena of consumption. We strongly believe and try to demonstrate that what the household consumes is highly correlated with the social standing of that household.

The objective of this part of the study is to demarcate social space of consumption patterns or as set of groups characterized by different social classes and different spatial segments. The study here depends upon the exploration of consumption pattern of the households in the form of their preferences and demanding of different goods and services in relation with the class dimensions of the urbanities. We consider consumption as an impetus to read the societal relation to distinguish the social classes. We take the following variables from the household consumption survey. The total amount spent on various consumption items, possession of durable commodities and finally consumption behaviours and spare time activities for the adequate representation of social space. The idea we inspire for this section is stemmed from the fact that each act of consumption reproduces social differences, and cultural consumption is the most visible part of the variation. If, among all these fields of possibles, none is more obviously predisposed to express social differences than the world of luxury goods, and, more particularly, cultural goods, this is because the relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed within it, and is reactivated, intentionally or not, in each act of consumption, through the instruments of economic and cultural appropriation which it requires (Bourdieu, 1984[1979]: 226).

This section of the study seeks to determine how the cultural practices make differences between the preferences of the cultural goods consumed (Bourdieu 1984[1979]: 13). The assumption here is basically to measure the close relationship between the cultural consumption (practices) and educational capital without abandoning the systematic differences between the economic and cultural. Bourdieu defines three forms of objectified cultural capital which are (a) in embodied or internalized state, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (like knowledge, taste or hexis), (b) in an institutionalized state, in the form of graduation or academic titles being proof of cultural competency, and (c) in an objectified state, i.e. "in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematic, etc." (Wuggenig & Mnich 1994: 306). We have only the (b) type information for measuring the cultural competences. HICE survey has only information about the level of education of the respondents¹¹. However we used the wife's level of education for the social standing of the family. Moreover the survey, unfortunately does not have the information about the social origin of respondent related with the 'father's occupation. For this reason we are unable to see the differences among the respondents of same level of educational level with different social origin.

In the previous sections we employed spatial clusters of the census enumeration districts classified according to the income. In this part of the study we'll employ the spatial clusters obtained with respect to the level of education to see how cultural competences vary among different regions according to level of education. However, we'll use income variables as row attributes to detect the relation between two main structural elements.

This section explores the consumption of cultural goods and their distribution among different segment of society. Our data is limited with the questions asked in the survey so we can only document some aspects of the cultural consumptions rather than the more refined lifestyle analysis. Selected variables are whether it is customary "having dinner out", "drinking alcohol", "reading daily newspaper", "reading magazines", "going to a

¹¹ In Bourdieu's analysis, *Distinction*, he employed the level of education of the respondent's father (1984 [1979].

cinema, theatre, concerts etc.", "going soccer matches", and finally "using credit card". The survey nevertheless asked the frequency and contents of the habits. For instance, we do not have information about whether a respondent prefers European films or western, whether prefers popular activities or highly sophisticated art events. This might have been provided by an additional survey to draw the contours of the taste however since the SIS did not give the addresses of the respondents, we didn't have a chance to make in-depth interviews to coincidence the socio-economic characteristics provided by the survey and in-depth interviews for more sophisticated lifestyle analysis and symbolic struggles among different segments. Our data is limited with the information about selected consumption habits of the consumption expenditure surveys.

We expect that the use of "credit card" may act as an axis of dichotomy to differentiate fractions according to the level of income and level of knowledge. As Pahl indicates "financial citizenship" in considering of consumption as a way of differentiating social groups can create common dependence on access to credit.

Yet if consumption is the central symbol it not the main focus for new forms of collective consciousness. Shoppers are rarely bound together in solidarities of shared experiences and aspirations. On the contrary, shoppers, individual consumers of goods and services, are extraordinarily diverse. What may provide a possible base for the emergence of common consciousness and putative action is their common dependence on access to credit. The international banking system has made it remarkably easy to get access to credit through mortgages for home ownership and through a whole range of credit cards for general consumption goods. Some cards are store specific such as those for Next or Marks and Spencer. Others such as Visa, Access and American Express are worldwide in scope so that the same card can get access to goods and services in Hungary, Mexico and Hong Kong with equal facility. The market is thus globalized but people's vulnerability is directly related to interest rates and levels of inflation that are perceived to be matters for national economic management. Cities are becoming machines for generating consumer credit dependence. (Pahl, 1989: 718)

She looks, at the circumstances of the credit card poor and the consequences for the excluded who are forced to remain in cash economy. She indicates the penalties for those groups who remain in the cash economy and pay more interest to being excluded from discounts so that the groups who can least afford it and paying more. Thus despite the fact that it is easier to operate in the cash economy, those on low incomes are being further disadvantaged by the rise of new forms of money (Devine & Savage, 2000: 189-190).

Although the use of credit card was not as widespread in 1994 as today, it's usage can be taken as the magnetic needle to point to those more privileged people with respect to both income and well-informed people.

We recoded the census enumeration districts with respect to the educational level of the household head. The same procedure was applied as we did in recoding neighborhoods according to the different income profiles. We replaced the income with educational level for the analysis of the cultural consumption. The objective is to analyze how different educational profile clusters react and consume "cultural commodities.

As a preliminary result, we detected a great variation concerning cultural consumption among higher and lower class fractions. There are marked differences between the administrative, managerial workers, professionals, and to a lesser extend mid-big and small employer in terms of practicing various kind of cultural activities whereas on the opposite side unskilled, manual workers, artisan & informal workers are immune to any of them. As for the mid-position we have only semi-skilled professionals and to a lower extend small employer that have been characterised by the sporting event of the soccer matches. For the ''poor'' the cultural consumption is really a matter. It is not only question of having money, they face with the difficulty to make choices between different consumption objects, their low level of education is in almost perfect harmony with the low level of income. Moreover even for the mid-position, the variation of practising various cultural and leisure activities is very minor for the middle position that the only activity they practice is the ''going to a soccer match'' and to a lesser degree eating out as leisure activities. The results can be seen in the Figure 6.9.



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

Fig. 6.9: The simplified schema of the MCA of cultural practices with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

	Table (6.13: Variables used for	cultural consumption	tion (199	4)
Education clusters	E1	Lowest level of education	Eating out	Eat1	NO eating out
	E2	Second weakest		Eat2	YES eating out
	E3	Mid level of education	Drinking alcohol	Drink1	NO drink
	E4	Forth level		Drink2	YES drink
	E5	Highest educational level	Daily newspaper	Daily1	NO daily newspaper
Education level	Hilli	Illiterate		Daily2	YES daily newspaper
of HHR	Hre≀	Only read and write	Reading magazines	mag1	NO reading magazine
	Hgrade	Grade school		mag2	YES reading magazine
	HSecon	Junior high school	Going cine	cine1	NO cine
	Hhighse	High school		cine2	YES cine
	Huniver	University degree	Going sport events	spo1	NO sport events
	Hpostgr	Post university		spo2	YES sport events
Wife's education	Willi	Illiterate	Credit card	cre1	NO credit card
	Wre≀	Only read and write		cre2	YES credit card
	Wgrade	Grade school			
	WSecon	Junior high school			
	Whighse	High school			
	Wuniver	University degree			
	Wpostgr	Post university			
Income quintiles	inc1	Lowest income quintile	>7.00012		
	inc2	Second lowest income	7.000-10.000		
	inc3	Mid income quintile	10.000-14.000		
	inc4	Fourth income quintile	14.000-21.000		
	inc5	Top income	21.000+		

The Figure 6.10 shows remarkable characteristics about the social stratification profile of Ankara regarding cultural practices. It is of interest here to compare the cultural competence of the different spatial clusters with respect to the socio-occupational categories, and their related attributes. At first glance we can see the clear correlation between the level of education and income. As income rises the level of education also rises. There is a sharp contrast between the level of education of the spouse, post-university and lowest income quintile in the opposite direction horizontally. In two dimensional display, 94% of total variation can be explained. For a better diagnostic we'll examine the types of contributions. The numerical results can be seen in the Table 6.14.

¹² Income values was divided by 1000 for convenience of the presentation.



Fig. 6.10: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of cultural Practices with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

	Tabl	le 6.14: Cu	ltural Pra	ctices (199	4): Over	view Row	v Points(a)	
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C	ſR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,002	-1,664	,603	,002	,015	,006	,940	,043	,983
pro	,005	-1,853	,442	,007	,050	,008	,979	,019	,999
semi	,013	-,088	-1,126	,002	,000	,125	,017	,982	1,000
mbe	,007	-,231	-,215	,001	,001	,002	,212	,064	,275
unsk	,013	,648	-,025	,002	,014	,000	,973	,001	,974
man	,009	,397	,108	,001	,004	,001	,572	,015	,587
smae	,001	-,588	-,864	,001	,001	,008	,155	,116	,271
art	,020	,643	,344	,004	,022	,018	,840	,083	,923
ret	,016	-,492	,312	,002	,010	,012	,834	,116	,950
inac	,005	-,023	,135	,000	,000	,001	,003	,040	,043
eatl	,060	,205	,132	,001	,007	,008	,855	,122	,977
eat2	,032	-,390	-,248	,002	,013	,015	,850	,119	,968
drink1	,083	,067	-,009	,000	,001	,000	,881	,005	,886
drink2	,009	-,699	,063	,002	,011	,000	,858	,002	,861
daily1	,063	,423	-,045	,004	,030	,001	,989	,004	,993
daily2	,029	-,956	,094	,010	,070	,002	,992	,003	,995
magl	,084	,130	-,008	,001	,004	,000	,954	,001	,955
mag2	,008	-1,402	,055	,006	,042	,000	,956	,001	,957
cinel	,082	,174	-,019	,001	,007	,000	,992	,004	,996
cine2	,010	-1,505	,136	,008	,059	,001	,989	,003	,992
spol	,086	,039	,034	,000	,000	,001	,718	,185	,904
spo2	,006	-,602	-,490	,001	,006	,012	,777	,178	,955
crel	,081	,169	,004	,001	,006	,000	,983	,000	,984
cre2	,011	-1,331	-,049	,007	,050	,000	,990	,000	,990
incl	,018	1,124	,768	,011	,062	,084	,799	,129	,928
inc2	,019	,493	-,683	,003	,012	,06/	,589	,393	,982
inc3	,018	,182	-,469	,001	,002	,031	,196	,450	,646
inc4	,018	-,494	,094	,003	,012	,001	,629	,008	,037
inco	,018	-1,350	,290	,013	,089	,012	,950	,015	,9/1
HIIII The Count	,004	,/84	1,061	,002	,007	,035	,603	,382	,985
Hreawri	,003	,/10	,831	,001	,005	,019	,004	,290	,900
Hgrade	,040	,090	,213	,007	,030	,014	,904	,032	,990
Higheo	,011	,500	-,090	,001	,003	,001	,525	,010	,554
Hinglise	,018	-,301	-1,419	,007	,012	,202	,229	,057	,800
Humver	,015	-1,740	,713	,018	,123	,000	,943	,033	,990
mpostgi W/m	,001	-2,282	,031	,001	,008	,000	,039	,000	,000
Wrokwri	,015	951	,702	,003	,019	,049	,702	,238	,999 948
Warada	,005	530	,409 - 165	,002	,011	,008	,075 951	,074	,740 983
Wsecon	,005	- 226	-1 005	001	,029	,000	081	,052	,205
Whighse	,003	-1 115	- 404	,001	037	014	917	042	958
Wuniver	007	_2 162	-,-0-+ 808	,000	,007	,014	904	,042	958
Wnost	,000	_2 728	1 842	001	,002	,040	789	124	913
Total	1,000	-2,120	1,042	168	1,000	1,004	,109	,124	,115
i viai	1,000			,100	1,000	1,000			

	Table 6.15: Cultural Practices: Overview Column Points(a)											
					Contribution							
Variables	Mass	Score in dimensions		Inertia	C	TR		COR				
		k = 1	$\mathbf{k} = 2$		1	2	1	2	QLT			
E1	,335	,570	,336	,046	,290	,291	,884	,106	,990			
E2	,201	,354	-,434	,016	,067	,293	,602	,314	,916			
E3	,163	-,049	-,134	,005	,001	,023	,027	,069	,096			
E4	,081	-,354	-,691	,012	,027	,297	,326	,431	,757			
E5	,220	-1,024	,239	,089	,615	,097	,979	,018	,997			
Total	1,000			,168	1,000	1,000						

A very large proportion (84%) of the inertia is displayed along the first principal axis, which opposes the lowest education cluster (E1, CTR, 29%) on the right-upper quadrant of the map and highest educational level cluster on the left-upper quadrant of the map (E5, CTR,

61,5%). The second axis captures rather subtler feature, opposing on the upper side of the vertical axis the point E1 (CTR, 29,1%) which is the lowest educational level cluster and on the opposite second weakest cluster (E2, CTR, 29,3%) and fourth cluster (E4, CTR, 29,7%). This may be due to the very characteristics of the cluster E2 because it is of predominantly the elementary education however, it is also compromise substantial number of high school graduates. In a similar manner, E4 has quite high number of grade school respondents whereas the high school graduates are predominant. So E2 and E4 are fairly akin to each other because they have rather similar profiles. This can be seen in the histogram in Figure 6.11.



Fig. 6.11: Histogram showing the percentages of the level of education across the clusters (1994)

As for the row points, the major contributors are household head with university degree (Huniver, CTR, 12%), spouse with university degree (Wuniver, CTR, 9%), and finally the top 20 percent of income quintiles (inc5, CTR, 9%). To a lesser extend the row categories, professionals (pro, CTR, 5%), together with the specific leisure activities which are the ''reading daily newspaper'' (daily2, CTR, 7%), ''going to a cine, theatre or concert'' (cine2, CTR, 6%) are the other influential points. We can mention the use of ''credit card'' (CTR, 5%) with these attributes as a point influential for the geometric orientation of the first axis.

In a similar way we can see that the opposite side of the first principal axis is determined essentially by the row categories of those lowest income quintiles (inc1, CTR, 6%) and the head of household with grade school degree (Hgrade, CTR, 5%).

The row points, administrative, managerial workers (adm, COR, 0,940), professionals (pro, COR, 0,979) and retired people (ret, COR, 0,834) have a very high correlation with the left hand side of the horizontal axis. The mid-big employer¹³ (mbe, COR 0,212) and small employer (same, COR, 0,155) are loading extremely weakly on the left side of this axis. The cultural practices fall them apart managers and professionals. On the other hand, most specific for the region 1 (lowest income region, E1), unskilled service workers (unsk, COR, 0,973), artisan & informal workers (art, COR, 0,840) are loading heavily on the right side of the horizontal axis. Manual workers (man, COR, 0,572) is highly correlated with the right side of the axis however not as much as the unskilled service workers and artisan. Income composition shows the similar segmentation that fourth and top income quintiles (inc4, inc5, COR, 0,629 and 0, 956 respectively) are highly correlated with the left side of the first axis whereas the lowest and second weakest income quintiles (inc1, inc2, COR, 0,799 and 0,589 respectively) are mainly correlated with the right side of the first axis.

Concerning the level of education, it is not surprising that high level of education, university degree and even post university education are defined by the left side of the first axis. Spouse's education with high school (Whighse, COR, 0,917), university degree (Wuniver, COR, 0,904) and even after university graduation (Wpostgr, COR, 0,789) are correlated primarily by left side of the axis.

As expected the low level education is highly accounted by the positive side of the horizontal axis represented by the categories of the education level of household head "grade school" (Hgrade, COR, 0,964) and "illiterate" (Hilli, COR, 0,603), "just read & write" (Hre&wri, COR, 0,604) are explained by the right side of the axis. The low level of education goes hand in hand with the low level of income for these fractions. The education level of the spouse which are illiterate (Willi, COR, 0,762), "read & write" (Wre&wri, COR, 0,875) and "grade school" (grade, COR, 0,951) is also highly correlated with the positive side of the first axis.

As for the lifestyle characteristics, the horizontal axis distinguishes very neatly the right and left side representing 'not having any kind of cultural consumption'' with the lowest education and lowest income level. On the opposite edge of the axis with high connotations of ''educated'' we see special activities as ''having dinner outside'' (eat2, COR, 0,850), ''drinking alcohol'' (drink2, COR, 0,858), ''reading daily newspaper'' (daily2, COR, 0,992)

¹³ The quality of display for the employer category (both mid-big and small employer) was so low (mbe, QLT, 0,275 and same, QLT, 0,271) that we did not make any comment for these fractions.

and "going to soccer matches" (sport2, COR, 0,777) seems to mainly correlated with this side of the axis. The most specific with the high level of education "reading magazines" (0,956) and "going cine, theatre or concert", which are those activities depicted as purely urban experiences (0,989) seem to forcefully correlated with the left side of the first axis. "Owning a credit card" (credit2, COR, 0,990) is the other strong characteristics of the left side of the axis.

In the second axis, most specific for region 2 and region 4 is the ''semi-skilled professionals'' (semi, COR, 0,982) which takes place on the negative side of the vertical axis. The second weakest income and mid-income (inc2, COR, 0,393 and inc3, COR, 0,450), are slightly correlated with semi-skilled professionals. Their preferred cultural activities are ''having dinner outside'' (eat2, COR, 0,119) and ''soccer match'' (sport2, COR, 0,178) with a very minor correlation. High schooling for the household head and junior high school for the spouse, (Hhighsc, COR, 0,637 and Wsecon, COR, 0,555) are accounted mainly by the negative side of the second axis. On the other hand the positive side of the vertical axis indeed shows very subtler feature which is hard to explain. As a final remark, it can be state that the education level of the family accompanied with the household income is the key factor in the household cultural consumption.

Cultural practices of the data 2001

The survey of the year 2001 offers more information which was not available in 1994. In parallel with the changing technologies and socio-economic structure, internet shopping was included in the survey. We used playing 'lottery' instead of sporting event because 'going soccer matches' was not asked in 2001. The histogram below provides a better understanding of the five spatial clusters which are in the form of profiles of the five educational clusters.



Fig. 6.12: Histogram showing the percentages of the level of education across the clusters (2001)

Table 6.16: Var	Table 6.16: Variables used for the exploration cultural practices (2001)									
Class fractions	adm	Administrative, managerial worker								
	pro	Professionals								
	semi	Semi professionals, clerks								
	mbe	Mid-big employer								
	unsk	Unskilled service workers								
	man	Manual workers								
	smae	Small employer								
	art	Artisan & informal workers								
	ret	Retired								
	inac	Inactive, unemployed								
Education level of HHR	Hilli	Illiterate								
	Hre≀	Only read and write								
	Hgrade	Grade school								
	HSecon	Junior high school								
	Hhighsc	High school								
	Huniver	University degree								
	Hpostgr	Post university								
Spouse's education	Willi	Illiterate								
	Wre≀	Only read and write								
	Wgrade	Grade school								
	WSecon	Junior high school								
	Whighsc	High school								
	Wuniver	University degree								
	Wpostgr	Post university								
Eating out	Eat1	NO eating out								
	Eat2	YES eating out								
Drinking alcohol	Drink1	NO drink								
	Drink2	YES drink								
Daily newspaper	Daily1	NO daily newspaper								
	Daily2	YES daily newspaper								
Reading magazines	mag1	NO reading magazine								
	mag2	YES reading magazine								
Going cine	cine1	NO cine								
	cine2	YES cine								
Lottery	lotol	NO lottery								
	10102	YES lottery								
Credit card	crei	NO credit card								
I	crez	YES clean card								
Internet snopping	internet1	NO internet shopping								
Incomo quintilos	incl	Lowest income quintile	>266.00049							
income quintiles	inc?	Second lowest income	266.001-406.000							
	inc2	Mid income quintile	406.001-537.000							
	inc.	Fourth income quintile	537 001-901 000							
	inc4	Ton income	901.001+							
	nicə	10p meone	701.001 F							

⁴⁹ Income values were divided by 1000 for convenience of the presentation. 228

We detected very minor changes as a result of comparison the data between 1994 and 2001. The low education and low income were again corresponded with the manual workers, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal workers. They have not any kind of cultural consumption or any specific leisure activity. However we detected minor changes by comparing the data of 1994 and 2001. In 2001 semi-skilled professionals (although the correlation slightly weak) come closer to the professionals, administrative, managerial workers with as a result of similarity of the cultural consumption they have. In the data of 2001, we see mid-big and small employer are grouped together in part of the higher educational respondents. Employers show similar behaviors and attitudes as professionals and managers.

	<i>E2, E3</i> Manual workers (very LOW) Unskilled service workers (very LOW) Head of household, junior high school Head education, high school Spouse education, junior high school Mid-income quintiles Fourth income quintiles Playing lottery
E5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Semi-skilled professionals Inactive, unemployed Mid-big employer Small employer	E1 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal
Top income Fourth income Head of household, university degree Head of household, post university Spouse, university degree Spouse, high school Spouse, university Spouse, post university Daily newspaper Going to a cine Eating out Drinking alcohol Reading magazine Using credit card Playing lottery	Lowest income Second lowest income Head of household: illiteracy Read & write Grade school Spouse: illiteracy Read & write Grade school Not reading daily newspaper Not going to a cine Not eating out Not drinking alcohol Not reading magazine Not using credit card Not using credit card

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

Fig. 6.13: The simplified schema of the MCA of cultural practices with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

Row and Column Points



Fig 6.14: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of cultural Practices with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

The first (horizontal) axis explains the 78% of the total inertia whereas the second (vertical) axis explains only 11% of the total inertia. The total inertia explained in the two dimensional display is 89,5%. By projecting the five column variables on the first axis we see that the factor is dominated by the contrast between ''lowest'' and ''highest'' level of education: the region 1 which is the lowest level of education (E1, CTR, 29%) is located on the right hand side whereas the region 5 which is the highest level of education (E5, CTR, 57%) is located on the left hand side of the display. The total model receives 89,6% of its geometric orientation mainly from highest and lowest educational level. As for the vertical axis lowest educational cluster (E1, CTR, 42,5%) and second and mid-educational level (E3, E2, CTR, 22%, 15%) effective on the opposite side of the axis are the most influential variables.

	7	Table 6.17:	Cultural	Practices:	Overview	w Row Po	ints(a)		
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	OLT
adm	,004	-1,205	-,665	,003	,014	,011	,697	,081	,778
pro	,005	-,985	,331	,003	,012	,004	,815	,035	,850
semi	,007	-,331	,293	,001	,002	,004	,267	,079	,346
mbe	,001	-1,195	-1,380	,002	,005	,017	,534	,271	,805
unsk	,011	,470	,367	,002	,006	,009	,582	,135	,717
man	,011	,701	,578	,004	,013	,023	,584	,150	,734
smae	,005	-1,088	,253	,005	,015	,002	,571	,012	,583
art	,019	,447	-,151	,002	,009	,003	,902	,039	,942
ret	,016	-,074	-,429	,001	,000	,018	,035	,444	,479
inac	,006	-,149	-,275	,000	,000	,003	,295	,379	,674
Hilli	,006	1,266	-1,637	,007	,024	,104	,568	,361	,929
Hre&wri	,004	1,219	-1,153	,003	,013	,030	,644	,218	,862
Hgrade	,034	,613	,088	,006	,030	,002	,953	,007	,960
Hsecon	,011	,077	,538	,002	,000	,019	,013	,236	,249
Hhighse	,020	-,780	,679	,008	,029	,058	,644	,185	,829
Huniver	,009	-1,613	-,540	,010	,056	,016	,936	,040	,976
Hpostgr	,002	-2,584	-2,060	,006	,027	,045	,723	,175	,898
Willi	,008	,924	-1,015	,004	,015	,049	,684	,313	,997
Wre&wri	,005	,690	-,555	,002	,006	,010	,578	,142	,720
Wgrade	,035	,520	,266	,005	,023	,016	,834	,083	,916
Wsecon	,009	-,212	,820	,001	,001	,037	,133	,753	,885
Whighse	,012	-1,191	-,239	,008	,040	,004	,815	,012	,828
Wuniver	,005	-1,387	,270	,005	,023	,002	,799	,011	,811
wpostgr	,000	-2,584	-2,060	,001	,004	,007	,723	,1/5	,898
eat1	,052	,428	-,1/0	,005	,023	,010	,855	,051	,907
eal2	,032	-,704	,202	,008	,038	,014	,857	,045	,902
drink?	,071	,104	,041	,001	,002	,001	,405	,027	,492
daily1	,015	-,003	-,231	,004	,012	,003	,301	,033	,554
daily?	,034	- 948	-,039	,000	,035	,001	,939 047	,002	,942
mag1	,050	-,,)40	,035	,012	,005	,001	050	,001	,948
mag1 mag2	,075	-1 908	- 650	,002	,009	,005	955	,037	997
cine1	064	371	081	004	021	003	937	,012	954
cine2	020	-1 215	- 279	013	071	010	933	019	952
loto1	051	220	- 298	002	006	029	460	320	781
loto2	.033	351	.444	.004	.010	.042	.487	.296	.783
credit1	.047	.552	- 290	.007	.035	.025	.894	.093	.987
credit2	.037	-,718	,360	.009	.046	.030	,903	,086	.989
internet1	.083	,020	,016	,000	,000	,000	,604	,150	.754
internet2	,001	-2,584	-2,060	,003	,013	,022	,723	,175	,898
inc1	,018	1,028	-,807	,010	,045	,073	,810	,189	1,000
inc2	,017	,543	,413	,003	,012	,018	,798	,175	,973
inc3	,017	,109	,585	,001	,000	,036	,057	,626	,683
inc4	,016	-,093	,830	,002	,000	,069	,024	,717	,741
inc5	,017	-1,635	-,918	,022	,111	,092	,884	,106	,990
Total	1,000			,221	1,000	1,000			

Table 6.18: Cultural Practices: Overview Column Points(a)										
					Contribution					
Variables	Mass	Score in		Inertia	CTR		COR			
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT	
E1	,238	,713	-,531	,061	,290	,425	,820	,173	,992	
E2	,232	,407	,315	,024	,092	,146	,655	,149	,805	
E3	,199	,027	,417	,011	,000	,219	,005	,478	,483	
E4	,125	-,379	,300	,020	,043	,071	,368	,088	,456	
E5	,207	-1,075	-,325	,104	,574	,138	,957	,033	,990	
Total	1,000			,221	1,000	1,000				

Examining the negative signs of the coordinate, the first axis with higher connotations of high level of education, are dominated by the administrative, managerial workers,

professionals (COR, 0,697 and 0,815 respectively) and to a lesser degree by the mid-big employer and small employer (COR, 0,534 and 0,571 respectively) as class fractions. The row points "educational level" of household head, which are high school, university degree and post-graduation (COR, 0,644, 0,936 and 0,723 respectively) and in a similar vein, the spouse's "level of education", which are high school, university and post-graduation (COR, 0,815, 0,799 and 0,723 respectively) have a high correlation with the left hand side of the first axis.

As the lifestyle indicator, highly correlated with the negative side of the axis the categories of "eating out" (COR, 0,857), "reading magazines" (COR, 0,955), "reading daily newspaper" (COR, 0,947), "going to cinema, theater or concert" (COR, 0,933) and finally, "use of credit card" (COR, 0,903) are highly correlated with the negative side of the first principal axis. It is not surprising that the highest income quintile is also highly correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis (inc5, COR, 0,884). To a lower extend, other consumption habits as "drinking alcohol" (COR, 0,501) and "playing lottery" (COR, 0,487) are quite correlated on the negative side of the first axis. It can be seen that internet shopping is accounted mainly by the first axis (COR, 0,723).

The rows which explained mainly by the right side of the first axis are the unskilled service workers (COR, 0,582) manual workers (COR, 0,584). The artisan & informal workers is highly correlated with the positive side of the first axis (COR, 0.902). The elementary education (Hgrade, COR, 0.953) is loading more on the positive part of the horizontal axis. The categories of "read & write" and "illiterate" are other attributes which shows strong correlation (Hilli, COR, 0.568 and Hre&wri, COR, 0.644) with the positive part of the axis. As for the level of education for spouses, we see that "illiteracy", "read & write" and "grade school" categories are substantially accounted by the positive side of the first axis (Willi, Wre&wri, Wgrade, COR, 0,684, 0,578 and 0,834 respectively). The row points related with the cultural and leisure activities which are loading on the right hand side of the horizontal axis are "not having dinner out" (eat1, COR, 0,855), "not reading daily newspaper" (daily1, COR, 0,939), "not reading magazine" (mag1, COR, 0,959), "not to going to cinema, COR, 0.933) and finally "not using credit card" for shopping (credit, COR, 0,894), and eventually "not having internet shopping" (internet1, COR, 0,604). As expected, the lowest income quintiles is highly correlated with the positive side of the horizontal axis (inc1, COR, 0,810). The variables "not drinking alcohol" and "not playing lottery" are slightly loading on the right hand side of the axis (drink1, COR, 0,465 and loto1, COR 0,460).

In a similar procedure, the upper side of the second principal axis is determined essentially by categories "E2" and "E3" representing the "middle position" in accord with the rows attributes, mid-income and fourth income (inc3, COR, 0,626 and inc4, COR, 0,717) and education level for spouse "junior high school" (Wsecond, COR, 0,753). Class fractions related with the "mid-position", contrary to the previous findings, are the manual and unskilled workers however with a very slight correlation (man, unsk, COR, 0,271 and 0,135 respectively). Together with these two fractions the secondary schooling and high schooling of the head of households (Hsecon, COR, 0,236 and Hhighsc, COR, 0,185) are loading very weakly at the positive side of this axis. At the lower part of the vertical axis it is difficult to explain because of the mixing of the highest and lowest education clusters together. As for the row points the illiteracy and having post graduate degree together might have been substantial controversy that we decided not to analyses the subspace.

VI.4: DURABLE COMMODITIES POSSESSED

In this part of the study we examine the commodities possessed. We selected the main durable goods¹⁵ as fridge, automatic washing machine, dish washer, telephone, video, audio system, computer and cable TV. Commodities like the washing machine, fridge, and telephone can be considered as necessities in large part of the society (METU, 2000: 94-95). We also includes commodities for entertainment such as sound system, video and cable TV to see the variation among different regions and fractions. Goods such as video, music set, cable television and computer etc., can be considered as the welfare indicators for a household. The computer as an information set of good can draw boundaries of different classes between those who have an ability mastering the information and those who don't. We also employed ''hiring someone for domestic services'' to see the variation of different segments. Owning a cell phone, having internet connection were not available for the data set of the year 1994 however we'll employ them for the diagnostic of the data, 2001. Owning a television set is extremely common so we excluded it from the analysis. The selected items are listed in Table 6.19.

¹⁵ About the history of the durables commodities in the Turkish daily life, please see '' Üç Kuşağın Eşyaları [Goods of Three Generations]'' by Ayla Ödekan, (237-244) in '' Cumhuriyet Modaları: 75 Yılda Değişen Yaşam Değişen İnsan [Republican's Fashion]. The personal bibliography of Altan Öymen in ''Değişim Yılları [Years of Changes]'' (44-48) is another good example.

Table 6.19: Variables used for ownership of the durable commodities (1994)						
Fridge	fridge1	NOT having fridge				
	fridge2	Having fridge				
Washing machine	washing1	NOT having washing				
	washing2	Having washing				
Dishwasher	dish1	NOT having dishwasher				
	dish	Having dishwasher				
Telephone	telephone1	NOT having telephone				
	telephone2	Having telephone				
Video	video1	NOT having video				
	video2	Having video				
Audio system	audio1	Not having audio				
	audio2	Having audio system				
Computer	computer1	NOT having computer				
	computer2	Having computer				
Cable TV	cableTV1	NOT having cable TV				
	cableTV2	Having cable TV				
Hire someone for domestic maintenance	servant1	NOT having servant				
	servant2	Having servant				

	R3 Semi-skilled professionals Mid-big employer Small employer Having washing machine Having fridge Having telephone
R5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(low) Small employer(low) Retired	R1 Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal
Having fridge Having telephone Having audio system Having cable TV Having washing machine Having dishwasher Having video Having computer Hiring someone for domestic services	Not having fridge Not having washing machine Not having dishwasher Not having telephone Not having video Not having audio system Not having computer Not having computer Not having cable TV No servant R1 , R5 Unskilled service workers Inactive (LOW) Not having fridge Not having washing machine Not having telephone

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

Fig. 6.15: The simplified schema of the MCA of durable commodities possessed (1994)


Fig. 6. 16: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the durable commodities possessed (1994)

	Table 6.20 : Durable commodities (1994): Overview Row Points(a)								
						Ca	ontributio	n	
Variables	Mass	Score in D	Dimension	Inertia	C	ГR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,002	-2,234	-1,099	,004	,034	,029	,890	,063	,953
pro	,006	-2,017	-,674	,009	,072	,028	,917	,030	,947
semi	,014	-,056	1,123	,002	,000	,186	,008	,975	,983
mbe	,007	-,370	,992	,001	,003	,075	,315	,658	,973
unsk	,014	,720	-,723	,004	,022	,075	,665	,196	,861
man	,009	,536	-,353	,001	,008	,012	,695	,088	,783
smae	,002	-,377	,983	,000,	,001	,016	,243	,483	,726
art	,022	,592	-,189	,004	,023	,008	,705	,021	,726
ret	,018	-,363	,031	,001	,007	,000	,944	,002	,946
inac	,006	-,053	-,262	,000,	,000	,004	,021	,147	,168
fridge1	,002	1,095	-,920	,001	,007	,016	,746	,154	,900
fridge2	,098	-,020	,017	,000,	,000	,000	,746	,154	,900
washing1	,043	,850	-,597	,012	,094	,159	,874	,126	,999
washing2	,057	-,645	,453	,009	,071	,120	,874	,126	,999
dish1	,077	,471	,090	,006	,051	,006	,989	,011	,999
dish2	,023	-1,546	-,296	,019	,169	,021	,989	,011	,999
telephone1	,011	,803	-,784	,003	,021	,069	,731	,203	,935
telephone2	,089	-,097	,095	,000,	,003	,008	,731	,203	,935
video1	,086	,193	-,040	,001	,010	,001	,929	,011	,940
video2	,014	-1,166	,239	,007	,058	,008	,929	,011	,940
audio1	,073	,321	,086	,003	,023	,005	,945	,020	,965
audio2	,027	-,850	-,226	,007	,060	,015	,945	,020	,965
computer1	,095	,110	,053	,000,	,004	,003	,929	,062	,990
computer2	,005	-2,221	-1,059	,008	,071	,055	,929	,062	,990
cableTV1	,095	,086	,022	,000,	,002	,000,	,921	,017	,938
cableTV2	,005	-1,721	-,439	,005	,042	,009	,921	,017	,938
servant1	,090	,232	,088	,002	,015	,007	,959	,040	,999
servant2	,010	-2,060	-,776	,015	,130	,063	,959	,040	,999
Total	1,000			,123	1,000	1,000			

	Table 6.21: Durable commodities (1994): Overview Column Points(a)								
						С	ontributio	n	
Variables	Mass	Score in D	imension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	,199	,666	-,427	,033	,267	,375	,889	,107	,995
R2	,077	,494	-,211	,007	,057	,036	,838	,045	,883
R3	,338	,197	,340	,009	,040	,404	,490	,425	,916
R4	,196	-,213	,173	,006	,027	,061	,498	,097	,595
R5	,190	-1,032	-,251	,068	,610	,124	,979	,017	,996
Total	1,000			,123	1,000	1,000			

The first axis explains the 88,8% of the total inertia whereas the vertical axis counts only 7,6% of the total inertia. The two dimensional of display explains 96,4% of the total variation. The horizontal axis almost explains total variation by itself.

As for the first axis, the highest income region is the most influential in determining the geometric orientation (R5, CTR, 61%). On the contrary, the lowest income region is fairly influential for the orientation in opposite direction (R1, CTR, 27%). The vertical axis is

determined more by the mid-income region (CTR, 40%) in contrast with lowest and highest income quintiles (CTR, 37,5% and 12%). However mid-income region's squared correlation with the second axis is slightly higher than the lowest and highest income regions. As a final remark, we can say that the vertical axis differentiates the mid-position whereas the lowest and highest positions are combined together in the opposite direction in the vertical axis.

The row points, professionals (CTR, 7%) and having household durables; washing machines (CTR, 7%), dishwasher (CTR, 17%), video (CTR, 6%), audio system (CTR, 6%), computer (CTR, 7%) and finally ''hiring someone for domestic services'' (CTR, 13%) were the points which are highly influential in determining the geometric orientation of the first axis on the left hand side. The most influential contribution were brought by the dishwasher and ''hiring domestic servant''. These two row points can act as a main discriminating agents. As for the relative contribution we see that managers, professionals are highly correlated with the ''wealthy'' part of the horizontal axis (COR, 0,890 and 0,917 respectively). The mid-big employer and small employer are loading slightly to the wealthy side of the first axis (COR, 0,315 and 0,243). The retired people is also highly correlated with the ''higher income'' side of the first axis (COR, 0,944).

The durable commodities taking place in the wealthy part of the axis are the ''fridge'' (COR, 0,746), ''washing machine'' (COR, 0,874), ''dishwasher'' (0,989), ''video'' (0,929), "audio visual equipment" (0,945), "computer" (0,929), and finally "cable TV" (0,921). In a similar manner, telephone owning represents quite high correlation with the first axis (COR, 0,731). One might think that owning a telephone should not create any problem for the wealthier fraction however we can see that telephone is also loading to the positive part of the axis so it's relative contribution is slightly low as compared with the other necessity items. Finally, hiring someone for domestic service (COR, 0,959) loads more on the negative side of the horizontal axis.

On the positive side of the horizontal axis, we see manual workers (COR, 0,695), unskilled service workers (0,665) and artisan & informal workers (COR, 0,705) corresponding with the categories of the "not having washing machine" (COR, 0,874), "not having fridge" (COR, 0,746), "not having telephone" (0,731), "not having dishwasher" (COR, 0,989) accompanied with the lowest income region. These are the fractions which show similarities with the "not having household's durables" classified as necessary items for families. Not surprisingly, entertainment items such as audio system, video system and cable TV, or

information based items such as computers do not take place in the positive side of the horizontal axis.

On the positive side of the vertical axis which represent "the mid-position", we find semiskilled service workers (semi, CTR, 19% and COR, 0,975), mid-big employer (mbe, CTR, 7,5% and COR, 0,658), Although slightly correlated, small employer (same, COR, 0,483) is also loading to the positive side of the vertical axis. The commodity related with them is "telephone" although its loading is very minor (telephone2, COR, 0,203).

The negative side of the vertical axis is characterized mainly by the lowest income region (R1, CTR, 37%) although, at the same time the highest income region can be found there (R5, CTR, 12%). There can not be found any variable among the row attributes to characterized the ''wealthy''. Unskilled service workers absolute contribution is substantial on the negative part of the second axis in contrast to the semi-professionals and mid-big employer (unsk, CTR, 7,5% and COR, 0,196). The related attributes are ''not having washing machine'' (washing1, CTR, 16% and COR, 0,126) and ''not having telephone'' (telephone1, CTR, 7% and COR, 0,203). However we have to admit that the level of explanation of the negative side of the vertical axis is highly low because the variables load more on the positive side of the horizontal axis.

Durable commodities for the data of 2001

The data of 2001 offers information about the cell phone ownership and the availability of internet connection. Cell phone usage spread over even across the lowest groups whereas internet usage is available for the top three segments (managers, professionals and employers). Variations in the ownership of household durables are substantial among different segments in 2001 and a different patterning emerges with respect to the class fraction's location in each quadrant of the graph. The survey shows that managers, professionals, employers have household durables (washing machine, dish washer and telephone). They have, at the same time, entertainment goods (DVD, video, sound system) and more importantly telecommunication items such as cell phone, satellite dish, and internet connection and, finally computer. On the other hand, unskilled service workers, blue collar workers and artisans are characterised without having any of the items. One of the important result we can get from the data of 2001 that the groupings of professionals together with the ''retired'' people appeared as ''middle-position'' regarding income in the upper quadrant of the display. Although they face with declining wages, their standard of

living does not follow this trend. The ownership of "more than one cell phone" can be taken as an indication of this observation. As compared with the "mid-position" of the 1994 data, we see that the ownership type reflects the existence of entertainment items like DVD. However, the low quality of display in part of the semi-skilled service professionals does not permit a sound base comparison of mid-position between 1994 and 2001. We only detected some variation. The preliminary results can be shown in the Figure 6.17.

	R3 Professionals (LOW) Retired people Having more than one cell phone Having DVD Having washing machine
R5 Administrative, managerial worker Professionals	R1, R2 Unskilled service workers Manual workers
Mid-big employer Small employer	Artisan & informal
Inactive, unemployed (LOW)	Not having telephone (LOW)
Having telephone (LOW)	Not having dishwasher
Having cell phone Having audio system	Not having telephone
Having satellite dish	Not having video
Having washing machine Having dishwasher	Not having DVD Not having audio system
Having DVD	Not having computer
Having video Having computer	Not naving internet connection Not having satellite dish
Having internet connection	No servant
HIRING SOMEONE FOR DOMESTIC SERVICES	Unskilled service workers
	Artisan & informal (LOW)
	Not having washing machine
	Not having telephone
	Not having cell phone

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

Fig.6.17: The simplified schema of the MCA of durable commodities possessed (2001).

Table 6.22: Variables used for ownership of the durable commodities (2001)						
Fridge	fridge1	NOT having fridge				
	fridge2	No have fridge				
Washing machine	washing1	NOT having washing				
	washing2	Having washing				
Dishwasher	dish1	NOT having dishwasher				
	dish	Having dishwasher				
Telephone	telephone1	NOT having telephone				
	telephone2	Having telephone				
Video	video1	NOT having video				
	video2	Having video				
Audio system	audio1	Not having audio				
	audio2	Having audio system				
Computer	computer1	NOT having satellite dish				
	computer2	Having satellite dish				
Satellite dish	satellite1	NOT having cable TV				
	satellite2	Having cable TV				
DVD	dvd1	NOT having DVD				
	dvd2	Having DVD				
Cell phone	cell1	NOT having cell phone				
	cell2	Having a cell phone				
	cell3	Having more than one				
Internet connection	Red1	NOT having internet connection				
	Red2	Having internet connection				
Hire someone for domestic services	servant1	NOT having servant				
	servant2	Having servant				



Row and Column Points

Fig. 6.18: The Graphical presentation of the durable commodities possessed of the data set 2001.

Table 6.23: Durable commodities (2001): Overview Row Points(a)									
						С	ontribution	ı	
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,004	-1,569	-,240	,003	,026	,002	,964	,007	,971
pro	,005	-,871	1,021	,002	,010	,043	,678	,301	,979
semi	,006	-,040	,125	,000	,000	,001	,011	,034	,044
mbe	,001	-1,529	,572	,001	,008	,004	,693	,031	,724
unsk	,010	,596	-,593	,002	,010	,032	,696	,223	,919
man	,010	,709	-,102	,002	,015	,001	,934	,006	,940
smae	,005	-1,014	,515	,002	,014	,011	,796	,066	,863
art	,017	,451	-,410	,002	,010	,026	,687	,183	,870
ret	,015	-,127	,513	,001	,001	,034	,083	,440	,523
ina	,005	-,527	-,199	,001	,004	,002	,358	,016	,375
tel1	,005	,649	-,802	,003	,006	,029	,233	,115	,348
tel2	,072	-,046	,058	,000,	,000	,002	,231	,116	,347
cell1	,033	,692	-,488	,006	,046	,071	,857	,137	,994
cell2	,013	-1,289	-,072	,007	,061	,001	,968	,001	,969
cell3	,031	-,209	,545	,002	,004	,084	,305	,666	,971
com1	,065	,272	-,010	,002	,014	,000	,945	,000,	,945
com2	,012	-1,452	,058	,009	,074	,000	,946	,000,	,947
red1	,071	,196	,092	,001	,008	,005	,917	,065	,981
red2	,006	-2,195	-1,020	,011	,088	,059	,918	,064	,982
video1	,064	,313	,097	,002	,018	,005	,969	,030	,999
video2	,013	-1,559	-,479	,011	,091	,027	,970	,030	1,000
dvd1	,070	,073	-,074	,000,	,001	,003	,695	,228	,923
dvd2	,007	-,788	,801	,002	,012	,038	,690	,230	,920
audio1	,042	,457	-,127	,003	,025	,006	,957	,024	,981
audio2	,035	-,541	,152	,004	,030	,007	,957	,024	,981
fri1	,003	-,176	,177	,000	,000	,001	,108	,035	,143
fri2	,074	,007	-,006	,000,	,000	,000,	,108	,029	,137
dish1	,047	,677	-,243	,008	,063	,025	,954	,040	,994
dish2	,030	-1,081	,389	,013	,100	,040	,954	,040	,994
was1	,007	,973	-1,433	,004	,020	,134	,542	,379	,921
was2	,070	-,102	,150	,000	,002	,014	,538	,380	,918
ser1	,069	,330	,216	,003	,022	,029	,869	,120	,989
ser2	,008	-2,940	-1,915	,027	,195	,256	,869	,119	,988
satellite1	,072	,078	-,033	,000	,001	,001	,914	,052	,966
satellite2	,005	-1,241	,399	,003	,021	,007	,963	,032	,996
Total	1,000			,139	1,000	1,000	-	-	-

	Table 6.24: Durable commodities (2001): Overview Column Points(a)								
						С	ontribution	n	
Variables	Mass	Score in I	Dimension	Inertia	C.	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	,136	,632	-,539	,024	,157	,354	,765	,180	,945
R2	,189	,508	-,188	,020	,141	,060	,862	,038	,900
R3	,325	-,042	,327	,006	,002	,311	,033	,657	,690
R4	,199	,110	,265	,005	,007	,126	,170	,319	,489
R5	,151	-1,256	-,331	,084	,693	,149	,978	,022	1,000
Total	1,000			,139	1,000	1,000			

The horizontal axis explains 85% of total variation whereas the vertical only explains 9% of the total inertia. The two dimensional display explains 94% of the total inertia. The horizontal axis by itself explains the major part of the variation (85%) whereas the vertical axis's role is limited in explaining the total variations (only 9% of the total).

The horizontal axis opposes highest income region (R5 contribution to inertia CTR, 70%) versus second weakest and lowest income region (R1 and R2, CTR, 16% and 14% respectively). In a similar manner, we can see that the second principal axis is determined essentially by the region 3 (R3, CTR, 31%) on the upper part of the vertical axis whereas region 1 and region 5 (R1 and R5, CTR, 35% and CTR, 15% respectively) are highly influential on the lower part of the second axis.

In the first axis, most specific for the highest income are of the fractions managers (COR, 0,964), professionals (COR, 0,678), mid-big employer (COR, 0,693) and small employer (COR, 0,796). The ''inactive'' group loads slightly on the negative side of this axis (COR, 0,358). The households durables related with them are the cell phone (COR, 0,968), computer (COR, 0,946) ''having internet connection'' (COR, 0,918), video (COR, 0,970), sound system (COR, 0,957), dish washer (COR, 0,954), satellite dish (COR, 0,963). Other items like washing machine (COR, 0,538), ''having DVD'' (COR, 0,690) and ''hire someone for domestic services'' (COR, 0,869) are also loading substantially on the left side of the axis. These are the durables that differentiate the ''wealthiest'' from the rest of the fractions. We see that both having necessities and entertainment items like audio system, video, DVD are characterized by richness. Moreover, they are materially well-endowed technological items such as cell phone, computer, satellite dish and internet connection which are characteristics of the integration of the global networks and at the same time indicates their ability to use the information.

In the opposite part of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan were appeared once more with a high connotation of being poor in terms of income. The row attributes featuring them are 'not having cell phone'' (cell1, COR, 0,857), 'not having computer'' (com1, 0,945), 'not having internet connection'' (red1, COR, 0,917). If In order to grasp ''how poor urban poor are'', being isolated from the communication network of the society can be used as a measure. And, in this study unskilled workers, blue collar workers and artisans are those groups characterized standing far from the social and communication networks. Even necessity items are precarious for these groups. Not having dish washer is highly correlated (dish1, COR, 0,954) whereas the washing machine

(washing1, COR, 0,542) is loading slightly. Not having entertainment items like video (video1, COR, 0,969), DVD (dvd1, COR, 0,695) and sound system (audio1, COR, 0,957) are loading on the right side of the first axis. The correlation of 'not having servant' for domestic maintenance is highly correlated with them (ser1, COR, 0,869).

On the positive side of the vertical axis, we find professionals (COR, 0,301) (although loads more on the horizontal axis), and "retired" people (COR, 0,440) representing "the mid-position" The mid-position is correlated with "having more than one cell phone" (cell3, COR, 0,666) "having DVD" (dvd2, COR0,230) and washing machines (was2, COR, 0,380). We detect the income decrease in part of the professionals however this does not mean that their standard of living is also worsening. The high cell phone owning and as an entertainment item, DVD, are loading on the upper side of the axis. However this variation cannot be as strong as the variation in the horizontal axis.

In the opposite direction we see unskilled service workers (unsk, COR, 0,223) and to a lower extend, artisan & informal workers (art, COR, 0,183). They are characterized by ''not having cell phone'' (cell1, COR, 0,137), ''not having washing machine'' (was1, COR, 0,380), and ''not having DVD'' (dvd1, COR, 0,228).

VI.5. CONSUMPTION PATTERN

Consumption patterns, although extremely elusive, are just as important to tract as prices on the stock exchange.

Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 89

The objective of this part of the study is to demarcate social space of consumption patterns or as a set of groups characterized by different social classes in relation with spatial clusters. The study depends upon the exploration of consumption pattern of the households in the form of their preferences and demands for different goods and services in relation with the class base dimensions of the urbanities of Ankara. Our assertion is based on the assumption that what a household consumes is highly correlated with the social standing of that household. We consider consumption as an impetus to read the societal relation which is in our case to distinguish the social classes in accord with their distinctive pattern of consumption. By detecting consumption patterns, we calculate the percentage of consumption expenditure of different subgroups. We try to provide some idea about the symbolic boundaries of different social classes.

We have ten consumption subgroups which are: (I) "food, alcoholic beverages and tobacco"; (II) "clothing and shoes"; (III) "expenses for the residence (housing expenses containing housing rent, water, power and gas services)"; (IV) "expenses for domestic products (furniture, domestic appliances, etc.)"; (V) "expenses for health related items"; (VI) "expenses for transportation"; (VII) "expenses for entertainment"; (VII) "expenses for education"; (IX) "hotel, restaurant and café"; (X) various expenses (see appendix IV for the explanation of the each subcategories).

VI. 5.1: FOOD SPHERE

We begin with the food ratio as the poverty threshold and food subgroups because food sphere is biologically the basic human existence and at the same time, it is a cultural and social construct as well. Food expenditure can act as a marker of the people's social standing (Douglas & Isherwood 1979: 84-86). According to the general rule, which is known as Engel's law, a higher proportion of the total expenditure is for food than other goods in the poor households. Whenever the food expenditure in the budget of a household declines, the expenditure on other items increases. Stigler reformulated this general formula extending the relation between income and expenditures of the other consumption groups in more details. According to Stigler, as income rises, (1) the share of the food expenditure in total income decreases; (2) the proportion of the expenditure on apparel and housing stay constant and finally (3) the share of the expenditure on luxuries in total income increases (Özer, 2001: 84). In this section of the study we are going to use food expenditure as poverty threshold calculated from the food expenditure of household's budgets.

In Turkey, households spend on the average 35,62 percent of their consumption on food (SIS 1994; Erdoğan, 1996). We use total household expenditure as a base in our calculation and comparison of the consumption items¹⁶. The ratio of food expenditure to total household expenditure is formed and 40 percent cutoff point is used as the poverty line¹⁷. In order to

¹⁶ It is of common practice to use household expenditure in place of household income. In special for the estimation of the Engel curves, it is generally used total expenditure as a common practice of econometricians (Tansel, 1986: 244).

¹⁷ A similar analysis for the data 1994 of the SIS can be found in Erdoğan's study (1996).

allow a detailed analysis, percentage of food in the total household income is calculated and recoded as follows:

Food ratio as poverty threshold	
Less than 40 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Flw
41 - 60 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Fpoor
61 - 80 percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food	Fprer
81 - 100percent of total monthly expenditure spent on food.	Frest

Here, respondents who were in the second through fourth categories are defined as poor. For the detailed analysis where gradations among poor are needed, the second group can be termed as being poor, the third being poorer and the fourth being the poorest.

The consumption expenditure surveys of 1994 and 2001 provide detailed information about the food subgroups which can be seen in the table below. We selected ''cereals'', ''meat'', ''milk'', ''vegetables'' as the main food subgroups. Bread is one of the most important sources of nutrition of our society. As the income rises there is a tendency to consume more meat and less bread and cereals (Kasnakoğlu, 1999:2-5, 22). The fish consumption is relatively low in families so we included fish consumption in ''meat'' category. Other important sources of nutrition are milk and milk products and vegetables & fruit. Lastly we included ''beverages'', mainly ''tea'' and ''coffee'' as they are the traditional addiction for the Turkish families in the food sphere. We did not include fats, sugar and tobacco because they generally have very low percentages in the family's budget of food expenses.

Type of food	
Bread, cereals	
Meat, poultry and fish	
Milk, eggs, cheese and yogurt	
Fats	
Vegetables and fruits	
Sugar and confectionary and sale	t
Salt, sauces and spicy ¹⁸	
Beverages,	
Tea, coffee and cacao	
Other non-alcoholic drinks	
Alcohol	
Tobacco	

According to the results of the HICES¹⁹ of SIS for 2002, the main difference in 1994 and 2001 consumptions has been the decrease in meat consumption and increase in poultry and fish consumption. The cheese consumption diminished while the milk and yogurt

 ¹⁸ Salt is extremely too low so we have not included this category in CA.
 ¹⁹ http://www.die.gov.tr/english/SONIST/HHGELTUK

consumption went up. This kind of detailed analysis is valid for the whole nation or for the comparison of the geographic regions however the subgroups have a little share in the main subgroups so we consider the meat, poultry and fish in "meat" group, and in a similar logic the milk, cheese, eggs and yogurt in "milk" group.

We split the groups into three subgroups and numbered them. For example for the ''cereals'', the first three places are grouped as ''bread1'' which indicates the ranking of percentages of cereals appears on the first, second or third place in the total food expenditure of the household. In the same way, ''bread2'' shows the expenditure which is in the intermediary stage in between the highest and lowest composite ranking (4th, 5th, 6th place as percentages in the total food expenditure in the household budget). And finally, ''bread3'' is the composite category of the ultimate places in ranking, which occupies the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th place. The variables used in CA can be seen in the table below the figure.

As a preliminary conclusion we can say that in accord with the ''high income'' connotation, managers, professionals, retired spend more on 'meat, fish and poultry'', ''milk, cheese and eggs'', and ''beverages & alcohol'' as food subgroups. These are their main source of nutrition whereas on the opposite side, with the strongest connotation of ''low income'' position, bread and cereals are the basic food sources for unskilled service, manual and informal workers. As concerned with the share of food expenditure in their total consumption expenditure, the service, manual and artisan are the ''food poor'' families according to the Engel law.

On the other hand the vertical axis differentiates the middle-income position by grouping semi-skilled professionals and mid-big employer and to a lesser degree small employer at the bottom of the second axis. For these fractions, vegetables and fruits are the main sources of nutrition whereas meat and milk expenditure occupy generally intermediary places in their food budget. Food sphere differentiates clearly three social blocks and their related food pattern. As the income rises consumption of food is more oriented towards meat, fish, poultry and milk, cheese, yogurt. This tendency is valid for managers, professionals and retired people in data of 1994. On the contrary, as income decreases, the food expenditure is predominantly becoming bread and cereals. In between these two opposite trends, we have semi-skilled professionals and employer categories at the upper part of the vertical axis characterized by the dominancy of the vegetable and fruit whereas their meat and milk spending also occupies the mid-ranks. The results can be shown in the Figure 6.19.

Table	e 6.25: Variab	les used for food sphere (1994)
Food expenditure as	Flw	Less than 40 percent of total monthly income spent on
_	Fpoor	41 - 60 percent of total monthly income spent on food
	Fprer	61 - 80 percent of total monthly income spent on food
	Frest ²⁰	81 - 100percent of total monthly income spent on food.
Bread, cereals	bread1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	bread2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	bread3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Meat, poultry and fish	meat1	1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} place in the total food expenditure
	meat2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	meat3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Milk, eggs, cheese and	milk1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	milk2	4^{th} , 5^{th} , 6^{th} place
	milk3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Vegetables and fruits	veget1	1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} place in the total food expenditure
	veget2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	veget3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Beverages:(tea, coffee and	bever1	1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} place in the total food expenditure
other non-alcoholic drinks)	bever2	4^{th} , 5^{th} , 6^{th} place
	bever3	7 th , 8 th ,9 th place
Alcohol	alcohol1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	alcohol2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	alcohol3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place



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

Fig. 6.19: The simplified schema of the MCA of food sphere with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

²⁰ We have only one families for this category so we've considered this household in ''poorer (Fprer)''category.



Fig. 6.20: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of food sphere with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

Figure 6.20 illustrates the symmetrical two-dimensional display of the data 1994. The first axis explains 76% of the total inertia. The second axis explains 12% of the total inertia. By projecting the five column variables on the first axis we can see that the income factor is dominated by the contrasting highest income region (R5) on the left and lowest income region (R1) on the right as in the case of the previous analysis. As for the second axis, it can be seen that the category of mid-income region versus lowest income region are the most influential in determining geometric orientation of the axis. The first two axis together explain the 88% of the total variation.

	Table 6.26: Food sphere (1994): Overview Row Points(a)								
						Co	ontribution		
Variables	Mass	Scor	re in	Inertia	C	ſR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,003	-2,405	-1,177	,005	,066	,041	,783	,073	,856
pro	,007	-2,328	-,966	,011	,160	,070	,927	,062	,990
semi	,018	-,112	1,077	,002	,001	,211	,024	,860	,884
mbe	,009	-,448	,958	,001	,007	,087	,338	,604	,942
unsk	,017	,914	-,549	,004	,058	,054	,794	,112	,905
man	,012	,670	-,268	,002	,021	,009	,784	,049	,833
smae	,002	-,525	,752	,000,	,002	,012	,350	,281	,631
art	,027	,653	-,120	,004	,046	,004	,655	,009	,664
ret	,022	-,420	-,029	,001	,016	,000,	,978	,002	,980
inac	,007	,014	-,151	,000	,000	,002	,001	,050	,051
Flw	,090	-,334	,053	,003	,041	,003	,971	,010	,980
Fpoor	,030	,857	-,069	,006	,088	,001	,935	,002	,937
Fprer	,004	1,465	-,369	,002	,033	,005	,915	,023	,938
bread1	,086	,507	,059	,006	,090	,003	,993	,005	,998
bread2	,033	-1,155	,077	,011	,179	,002	,990	,002	,992
bread3	,004	-,983	-1,417	,002	,017	,093	,528	,429	,957
meat1	,060	-,332	-,067	,002	,027	,003	,974	,015	,990
meat2	,047	,126	,308	,001	,003	,046	,288	,678	,966
meat3	,018	,846	-,518	,004	,051	,049	,839	,123	,962
milk1	,053	-,447	-,097	,003	,043	,005	,961	,018	,978
milk2	,070	,223	-,072	,003	,014	,004	,283	,012	,295
milk3	,008	,139	,110	,001	,001	,001	,077	,019	,095
veget1	,101	,011	,184	,000,	,000	,035	,007	,805	,813
veget2	,022	-,050	-,730	,002	,000	,118	,007	,581	,588
veget3	,002	,545	-,814	,000	,002	,012	,410	,357	,766
bever1	,005	-,908	,553	,001	,016	,015	,855	,124	,979
bever2	,041	,026	-,423	,001	,000	,076	,009	,927	,936
bever3	,078	,056	,207	,000	,001	,034	,131	,695	,825
alchol1	,003	-1,020	,250	,001	,012	,002	,840	,020	,860
alchol2	,006	-,290	-,185	,002	,002	,002	,071	,011	,082
alchol3	,115	,049	,015	,000,	,001	,000,	,313	,011	,325
Total	1,000			,081	1,000	1,000			

	Table 6.27: Food sphere (1994): Overview Column Points(a)								
						Са	ontributio	n	
Variables	Mass	Score in l	Dimension	Inertia	C	ГR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	,198	,598	-,458	,022	,285	,427	,795	,182	,978
R2	,080,	,535	,027	,010	,092	,001	,548	,001	,548
R3	,334	,172	,355	,008	,040	,435	,317	,531	,849
R4	,197	-,326	,087	,009	,085	,015	,604	,017	,621
R5	,191	-,803	-,248	,033	,498	,122	,940	,035	,975
Total	1,000			,081	1,000	1,000			

By matching the solutions of columns (five income regions) and thirty-one rows of class fractions and food expenditures classified according to the percentages of the total consumption spending of six main subgroups. In the horizontal axis we can see managers (CTR, 7%, COR, 0,783), professionals (CTR, 16% and COR, 0,927), retired (COR, 0,978) and -to a much lesser degree mid-big employer (COR, 0,338), small employer (COR, 0,350)

are located on the left-side of the graph. In a continuation, these fraction are similar in their related food consumption characterized by the lowest food expenditure (Flw, less than 40 percent, COR, 0,971), bread and cereals which are not occupied first three place in ranking of the each subgroups (bread2, 4th, 5th, 6th place, COR, 0,990) and to lesser extend bread3 (COR, 0,528), which is in the last three places in ranking. However they have the highest meat consumption which has taken the first three places, (meat1, COR, 0,974) and milk consumption (milk1, COR, 0,961) which is again occupied at the first three places. The consumption of beverages and alcohol is also loading the left side of the first axis (bever1, COR, 0,855 and alchol1, COR, 0,840).

All these features correspond to the highest income region on the left-hand side of the graph. It can be summarizes that in accord with the rising income, managers, professionals, retired spend more on meat, milk, beverages and alcohol than the bread in their budget for food consumption. The consumption of beverages constitutes tea, coffee, cacao, and other non-alcoholic beverages. We do not have information about whether this consumption is mainly stemmed from the traditional, *oriental* hot drinks as tea or Turkish coffee, or the kind of soft beverages like Coca-cola, Pepsi etc. which are categorized as cold drinks which have been invading the market at a increasing pace. Orçan indicates that although the Coca-cola factory was built in 1964 with the introduction of fast-food 22 years ago, the traditional drinking habit never has lost its importance in the Turkish daily life however as a consequences of the globalization the share of the cold drinks has shown substantial spread in society (2004: 264). To understand the nature of ''beverages'' in part of richer fraction some further detailed micro ethnographic studies are needed.

The alcohol consumption in part of the 'wealthy groups' is occupied at the first three places of the food expenditure. This is also important findings of the analysis that richer families spend more on alcoholic beverages.

On the contrary highly related with the ''lowest income'' region, unskilled service workers (CTR, 6% and COR, 0,794), manual workers (COR, 0,784) and to a smaller extend artisan & informal (COR, 0,655) are related with the food poor (40-60 percent of total consumption expenditure goes for food in their total consumption; Fpoor, CTR, 9% and COR, 0,935) and food poorer (60-80 percent of total consumption expenditure spends on just for food; Fprer, COR, 0,915 respectively) categories. In parallel with this result, bread and cereal expenditures are occupied at the first places in their total food expenditure. They are ''food poor'', ''bread rich'' and ''meat poor'' families. Their meat and vegetable spendings are

occupied lower places (meat3, CTR, 5% and COR 0,839 and veget3, COR, 0,410). Their food consumption depends heavily with the bread and cereals²¹.

As for the vertical axis we can see that the mid-income region (R3) is located on the top of the vertical axis whereas the lowest income region and highest income region are located together on the bottom. Previously we've interpret generally vertical axis to distinguish solely to the middle position. Despite the fact that the lowest income group generally takes place in opposition with the mid-position it explains very little because the variables generally load more on the first axis. This is valid for this section of the analysis of the food sphere that the lowest income region is highly correlated with the first axis (COR 0,795). We interpret the vertical axis to explain the middle position. We see that, highly correlated with the "mid-income position" semi-skilled professionals &clerks (semi, CTR, 21% and COR, 0,860) and mid-big employer, although to some extent loads to the first axis, loads more to the positive part of the second axis (mbe, CTR, 9% and COR, 0,604). And finally, to a very lesser extend the small employer (COR, 0,281) are correlated with the "mid-income position. The row attributes related with them are the intermediary place of meat consumption (meat2, COR, 0,678) and highest spending on the vegetable and fruits (veget1, COR, 0,805). For a final remark we see that their spending on beverages occupies the last places in their food expenditure (bever3, COR, 0,695).

Food sphere for the data of 2001

Comparing the results of the data of 1994 with the data of 2001, the dichotomy between "higher income " and "lower income" in parallel with meat versus bread was verified once more. The wealthy part is composed of managers, professionals, employers (both mid-big and small employer) and to a lesser extend retired and inactive people on the left hand quadrant of the horizontal axis. In opposition to them, the poor part is consisted of unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisans on the right quadrant of the first axis. The wealthy is of "food low" category whereas the poor spends substantial part of their total expenditure on food (fpoor and fprer). Meat and bread occupy the opposite side of the first axis differentiating the "wealthy" and "poor". The wealthy spends more on meat and beverages and to a lesser degree milk and milk products in their family budget. On the

²¹ Considering this finding, it is not surprising to see why the meat is the remarkable symbol for many urban poor in a sense that their destitution and deprivation have been crystallized (see the in-depth interviews in Necmi Erdoğan's *Yoksulluk Halleri* [Poverty Forms: The Societal Views of Urban Poverty in Turkey], where a woman mentioned that when the neighbor prepared meat on the barbecue in the garden, she picked her son immediately and went to the park before the child realized the smell of the meat (2002: 74).

contrary, the poor households spend mostly on bread whereas their meat, milk, vegetables and alcoholic drinking spending are quite low.

The vertical axis is contrasted the mid-income region versus the fourth and top income region. The positive part of the vertical axis is composed of retired and inactive people whereas the negative part holds together managers and semi-skilled professionals. The food expenditure of the managers and semi-skilled professionals has shown similar pattern. They spend less to the bread & cereals, whereas they spend more on milk, cheese, eggs and yogurt, and non-alcoholic beverages.



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

Fig. 6. 21: The simplified schema of the MCA of food sphere with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

Table 6.28	: Variables us	sed for exploring food sphere (2001)
Food expenditure as	Flw	Less than 40 percent of total monthly income spent on
	Fpoor	41 - 60 percent of total monthly income spent on food
	Fprer	61 - 80 percent of total monthly income spent on food
	Frest ²²	81 - 100percent of total monthly income spent on food.
Bread, cereals	bread1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	bread2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	bread3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Meat, poultry and fish	meat1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	meat2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	meat3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Milk, eggs, cheese and	milk1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	milk2	4^{th} , 5^{th} , 6^{th} place
	milk3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Vegetables and fruits	veget1	1^{st} , 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} place in the total food expenditure
	veget2	4^{th} , 5^{th} , 6^{th} place
	veget3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Beverages:(tea, coffee and	bever1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
other non-alcoholic drinks)	bever2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	bever3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place
Alcohol	alcohol1	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd place in the total food expenditure
	alcohol2	4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
	alcohol3	7 th , 8 th , 9 th place

The symmetrical display of the CA and numerical solutions in the table can be seen in the Figure 6.22. The horizontal axis explains 72% of total inertia whereas the second axis explains 11,6%. The two dimensional display contains 84% of total variances. The horizontal axis opposes the highest income region (R5, CTR, 29%) and the lowest income region (R1, CTR 40%). The vertical axis puts mid-income region (CTR, 53%) on the upper hand side of the second axis, in opposition to the fourth and highest income region (R4, R5, CTR 29% and 16%) on the lower quadrant of the second axis. This is fairly different picture as compared with the analysis obtained before.

²² This category was absent in the data 2001.

Row and Column Points

Symmetrical Normalization



Fig 6.22: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the food sphere with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

The row points, managers (adm, CTR, 6%), professionals (pro, CTR, 5%), high meat consumption (meat1, CTR, 8,5%) and intermediary bread consumption (bread2, 10%) are the points which are the most influential in the negative geometric orientation of the horizontal axis. In opposition, for the positive geometric orientation of the first axis unskilled service workers (unsk, CTR, 5%), artisan & informal (art, CTR, 5%) accompanied with the

high food poor category (fpoor, CTR, 18%), high percentage spending for bread and cereals (bread1, CTR, 6%) and finally low spending on meat (meat3, CTR, 6%).

In a similar way we can see that the lower part of the second principal axis is determined essentially by the category administrative and managerial workers (adm, CTR, 17%) together with the high consumption of non-alcoholic beverages (bever1, CTR, 23%). In opposition to them, on the upper quadrant of the vertical axis, retired people (ret, CTR, 4,5%), high meat consumption (meat1, CTR, 7%) and low level of vegetables and fruit consumption (veget3, CTR, 7%) are the most influential points for the geometric orientation of the axis.

Table 6.29: Food sphere (2001): Overview Row Points(a)										
						C	ontribution			
Variables	Mass	Score in Dimension		Inertia	CTR		COR			
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT	
adm	,006	-1,551	-1,649	,005	,061	,173	,632	,286	,919	
pro	,007	-1,273	,124	,003	,052	,001	,975	,004	,979	
semi	,010	-,057	-,442	,001	,000	,021	,014	,350	,365	
mbe	,002	-1,976	,700	,002	,033	,010	,778	,039	,817	
unsk	,017	,852	-,188	,003	,052	,006	,958	,019	,976	
man	,016	,816	,169	,003	,046	,005	,832	,014	,846	
smae	,007	-1,187	-,613	,003	,045	,030	,733	,078	,812	
art	,028	,636	,071	,003	,049	,002	,917	,005	,921	
ret	,024	-,352	,421	,002	,013	,045	,430	,247	,677	
inac	,008	-,601	,614	,002	,012	,032	,313	,131	,444	
flw	,110	-,244	,009	,002	,028	,000	,871	,000	,871	
fpoor	,015	1,684	-,059	,011	,178	,001	,859	,000	,860	
fprer	,001	2,752	-,151	,002	,026	,000	,812	,001	,813	
bread1	,077	,433	,150	,004	,062	,019	,907	,044	,951	
bread2	,048	-,698	-,218	,006	,100	,025	,928	,036	,964	
bread3	,000	,157	-2,905	,002	,000	,036	,001	,194	,196	
meat1	,065	-,552	,310	,005	,085	,067	,868	,109	,978	
meat2	,050	,482	-,285	,003	,050	,043	,823	,115	,938	
meat3	,011	1,104	-,553	,004	,056	,035	,816	,082	,898	
milk1	,065	-,079	-,148	,000	,002	,015	,324	,456	,779	
milk2	,058	,024	,204	,000	,000	,026	,028	,787	,814	
milk3	,002	1,908	-1,061	,003	,031	,024	,604	,075	,679	
veget1	,091	,015	-,055	,000	,000	,003	,041	,212	,254	
veget2	,034	-,025	,098	,000,	,000	,004	,018	,108	,126	
veget3	,000	-1,370	4,188	,001	,003	,074	,210	,784	,993	
bever1	,009	-,388	-1,499	,003	,006	,229	,117	,697	,813	
bever2	,092	,025	,052	,000,	,000	,003	,067	,118	,185	
bever3	,024	,059	,398	,001	,000	,040	,038	,680	,718	
alcohol1	,002	-,291	-,203	,001	,001	,001	,068	,013	,081	
alcohol2	,013	-,312	-,429	,001	,005	,026	,270	,205	,475	
alcohol3	,110	,043	,055	,000	,001	,004	,472	,308	,780	
Total	1,000			,075	1,000	1,000				

Table 6.30: Food sphere (2001): Overview Column Points(a)											
					Contribution						
Variables	Mass	Score in l	Score in Dimension		Score in Dimension		C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT		
R1	,136	,827	,069	,025	,400	,007	,871	,002	,873		
R2	,189	,450	-,097	,013	,165	,019	,710	,013	,723		
R3	,325	-,318	,389	,012	,142	,529	,624	,374	,998		
R4	,199	,037	-,270	,005	,001	,156	,012	,261	,273		
R5	,151	-,669	-,421	,020	,292	,289	,786	,124	,910		
Total	1,000			,075	1,000	1,000					

For a better diagnosis the correlation of the points with the principal axis has to be examined. Class fractions, managers (COR, 0,632), professionals (COR, 0,975), mid-big employers (COR, 0,778) and small employers (COR, 0,733) are highly correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis in accord with the highest income scaling. To a smaller extend, retired (COR, 0,430) and inactive respondents (COR, 0,313) are also correlated with the negative side of the horizontal axis. For the food ratio with respect to the higher income connotations, we see that the lowest food expenditure in the total consumption expenditure (flw, COR, 0,871) is on the negative side of the first axis. In a continuation, bread2 (intermediary place, COR, 0,928) and meat at the first three places in the household expenditure (COR, 0,868) are highly correlated with the left hand side of the axis. Milk expenditure at first place (milk1) is also loading more to the left hand side of first axis however slightly (COR, 0,334). Non-alcoholic beverages is another row points related with the left side of the axis however with a very slight correlation (COR, 0,117). The intermediary consumption of the alcoholic beverages is the final point which has to mentioned that it is slightly correlated with the left side of the first axis (alcohol2, COR, 0,270).

On the positive part of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers (COR, 0,958) and manual workers (COR, 0,832) and artisan & informal (0,917) are highly associated with the right hand quadrant of the horizontal axis. The row attributes which are highly related with the ''poor'' part of the horizontal axis are the ''food poor'' and ''food poorer'' households (fpoor, fprer, COR, 0,859 and 0,812 respectively), high consumption on bread and cereals (bread1, COR, 0,907), low consumption of meat, fish and poultry (meat2, meat3, COR, 0,823 and 0,816 respectively), and finally low consumption of the milk and milk products (milk3, COR, 0,604).

In the negative sphere of the vertical axis, the semi-skilled professionals (COR, 0,350) is the closest fractions to the administrative and managerial workers (COR, 0,286) according to the food expenditure pattern. These two fractions are accompanied with the high income regions

(R4 and R5) in opposition to the mid-income region (R3). They spend more on milk, cheese and yogurt (milk1, COR, 0,456), spend slightly more on vegetables and fruits (veget1, COR, 0,212) and non-alcoholic beverages (bever1, COR, 0,697). In opposition to managers and semi-skilled professionals, in the positive part of the axis with a connotation of the mid-position, we see retired (ret, COR, 0,247) and inactive (inac, COR, 0,131) groups. Their milk spending is intermediary (milk2, COR, 0,787). They spend less for vegetables and fruits (veget3, COR, 0,784) and non-alcoholic beverages (bever3, COR, 0,680).

VI.5.2: OTHER CONSUMPTION ITEMS

In this part of the study we try to demarcate the social space of a set of consumption items characterized by different spatial units and social blocks. The consumption expenditure survey contains the information about the ten subgroups about various consumption categories. The kind of services or consumption items included for each consumption category can be seen in the Appendix C.

Main expenditure Groups
Food, beverages, alcohol & tobacco
Clothing
Housing and rent
Residence expenses
Health care
Transportation and communication
Recreational and cultural activities
Education
Hotel, restaurant, cafe expenditures
Other goods and services

We follow a procedures for recoding each items that we first assumes among the ten subgroups which are the main necessity categories⁵⁸ in which a household must to do; we've

⁵⁸ According to the Consumption expenditure of SIS for the data 1994 (whole nation), the categories which had have the highest expenditure were food, housing & rent, residence expenses, clothing and transportation. We selected food, housing & rent, residence expenses and transportation as main spending categories. We preferred residence expenses as a necessity category instead of clothing by taking into consideration that the expenditure on furniture, and household appliances mainly realized by the motivations to integrate to wider societal networks (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 118-119). We recoded the four main consumption categories differently than the rest of the categories because we wanted to see the role these items play in household budget. The other consumption items are health, education, hotel, restaurant or café, and various expenditures. For the sake of clear presentation we excluded the expenditure on ''various'' goods and services because its share in the total expenditure was very low. The percentages of the consumption items in the total expenditure of

decided food, housing expenditure and transportation as necessities. In order to distinguish the place of necessity in the ten ranking cell we've put the first three category as first place, second place and third place and the residuals have been recoded as a single category labeled as fourth category. For instance, the food expenditure in the form of percentages has been obtained to divide each expenditure by the total expenditure and then multiplied by a hundred. Afterwards, we obtained the ranking scale by comparing each percentage that begins with the first place and ends in the tenth. We picked up first three rankings as separate category, for example, if a household spends most of the total expenditure on "housing" which means the highest percentage s/he has and at the same time occupies first place we recoded this as "house1". In a similar logic, the second ranking percentage was recoded as "house" whereas the third as "house3". A sub category "house4" means that the housing percentage in the total household expenditure occupies either fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth or tenth places. The rest of the categories, spending on clothing, health, entertainment, hotel and restaurant etc., have been recoded with respect to the three ranking subgroups in which the first three, the intermediary three and finally the last three places of ranking grouped. The table explains the variables recoded in the mentioned procedures.

The consumption expenditure survey has been given in a format that does not allow researcher to make a detailed analysis and to create their variables. For example, ''housing and rent'' category is not homogenous to detect the rent expenditure at one side and the expenses about the collective consumption of paying the price of electricity, water and gas on the other side. So we decide to use the additional variables to distinguish, in case of housing, the share of rent in the total budget of household for the tenure and tenant dichotomy. The question about ''having someone in the house going private school or not'' has been used to differentiate the variation between public and private education. The car ownership has been included whether a household spends money for gasoline or public transportation.

Before running the CA, we want to give a brief summary about the shares of the consumption expenditure categories for urban areas of the nation to see the general tendency of the consumption patterning of the various related items. In the table below, the shares of selected 10 consumption categories in the total household are given by the urban areas of Turkey.

the nation as a whole and selected cities can be seen in the SIS web page (http://www.die.gov.tr/english/SONIST/HHGELTUK/).

Table 6.31:Distribution of Consumption Expenditures (urban Turkey)							
	1994 ²⁴	2002 ²⁵	2003 ²⁶				
Expenditure Groups	%	%	%				
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00				
Food, beverages, alcohol & tobacco	30.7	27,7	27.9				
Clothing	9.00	6.3	6.2				
Housing	24.8	29.2	30.2				
Household items	9.30	6.9	5.7				
Health care	2.6	2.1	2.1				
Transportation	9.5	9.5	10.3				
Communication	2.0^{27}	4.7	4.4				
Recreational and cultural activities	2.7	2.5	2.5				
Education	1.9	1.5	2.3				
Hotel, restaurant, cafe expenditures	3.2	4.9	4.6				
Other goods and services	4.2	4.6	3.8				

It can be seen that the food expenditure has decreased whereas expenditure of housing & rent, transportation, communication, education and finally expenses in hotel, restaurant and café categories have risen. The increase in communication can be taken as an indication of the integration with the outer world by internet, digital television or the increase in use of the cell phones. The increase in education may be taken as the parallel trend in the privatization of the education after 1980s. And lastly, the rise of the hotel, restaurant and café expenses shows the change of social behaviors and form of social relations regarding lifestyle and increase of the leisure activities in a wider part of the population.

As a brief summary, we can say that the households in highest income region is of class fractions, managers, professionals and retired with a kind of food expenditure found in the relatively at the bottom of the total household expenditure. As for the ''lowest income'' connotation of the horizontal axis, it is not surprising the food occupied at the first place in total household expenditure in relation with the class fractions service and manual workers, artisan & informal workers. However to a varying extend ''housing expenses'' is very important for both ''rich'' and ''poor''. The large part of the consumption expenditure goes to the housing expenses. For the poor fractions spending on transportation is substantial in their total expenditure. Taking into account that they don't have an automobile we can interpret this result as the heavy burden regarding collective consumption such as inner city transportation services, buses, and train tickets. They consume urban services at a very high ratio which always occupy the first places in their total expenditure.

²⁴ http://www.die.gov.tr/english/SONIST/HHGELTUK/270196.html

²⁵ http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SONIST/HHGELTUK/HANE6.gif

²⁶ http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SONIST/HHGELTUK/140904/tab1.1.tur.gif

²⁷ The data set 1994 for urban Ankara did not allow us to consider communication expenses as a separate category however it is possible for the data, 2001.

We see that ''entertainment'', ''education'' and ''hotel, restaurant and café'' expenses occupy the upper places in the total household spending as income rises. In a similar vein, ''having someone who goes to private school'' (PRIeduc2, COR, 0,977) is heavily correlated with the ''highest income'' part of the first axis. Education expenses and private schooling are highly correlated with the high income. On the other hand, the increase in spending for eating out and lodging indicates that Turkish families more and more exercise lifestyle choices like ''having vacation'' or ''eating out''. The employer (both mid-big and small) and semi-skilled professionals have shown similar consumption pattern in data 1994. They spend quite amount of money for education however not for the private schooling. They spend fairly some amount for hotel, restaurant and café. Their spending on clothing and shoes takes the first three places in their budget. Especially for the semi-skilled professionals this can be considered as high status aspiration and also indicates some clues about their social environment open to the status competition.

FOOD food1 1st place food2 2 nd place food3 3 rd place food4 4 ⁿ , 5 ⁿ , 6 ⁿ , 7 ^h , 8 ^h , 9 ^h , 10 ^h place HOUSING house1 1 st place house2 2 nd place house3 3 rd place house4 4 ^h , 5 ^h , 6 ^h , 7 ^h , 8 ^h , 9 ^h , 10 ^h place FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICES furni1 furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni4 4 th , 5 th , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION trans1 trans3 3 rd place trans4 4 th , 5 th , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place trans4 4 th , 5 th , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place trans4 4 th , 5 th , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place trans5 3 rd place health1 1 st , 2 st , 6 th appare12 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place HEALTH health1 1 st , 2 st , 3 th , 9 th , 10 th p
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$ \begin{array}{c} \mbox{furni2} & 2^{nd} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{furni3} & 3 \ rd \ place \\ \mbox{furni4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{furni4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{furni4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{frans2} & 2^{nd} \ place \\ \mbox{frans3} & 3 \ rd \ place \\ \mbox{frans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{frans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{frans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{frans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{apparel1} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{apparel2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{apparel2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{health1} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{health2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{health2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{td} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{entermatin} & 2^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ $
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$ \begin{array}{c} \mbox{trans2} & 2^{nd} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{trans3} & 3 \ rd \ place \\ \mbox{trans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{trans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th}, 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{apparel1} & 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, 3^{rd} \ place \\ \mbox{apparel2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th} \\ \mbox{apparel2} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th} \\ \mbox{apparel3} & 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{trans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{th} \\ \mbox{apparel3} & 7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th} \ place \\ \mbox{trans4} & 4^{th}, 5^{th}, 6^{$
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$\begin{array}{c c} \mbox{health2} & 4^{\rm th}, 5^{\rm th}, 6^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{health3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{ENTERTAINMENT} & \mbox{entertain1} & 1^{\rm st}, 2^{\rm nd}, 3^{\rm rd} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{entertain2} & 4^{\rm th}, 5^{\rm th}, 6^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{entertain3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{EDUCATION} & \mbox{educ1} & 1^{\rm st}, 2^{\rm nd}, 3^{\rm rd} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ2} & 4^{\rm th}, 5^{\rm th}, 6^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{place} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 9^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} \mbox{educ3} \\ \mbox{educ3} & 7^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 8^{\rm th}, 10^{\rm th} p$
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educ2 4 th , 5 th , 6 th place educ3 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place
educ3 7^{th} , 8^{th} , 9^{th} , 10^{th} place
HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND CAFE hotel1 1 st , 2 ^{na} , 3 ^{ra} place
hotel2 4 th , 5 th , 6 th place
hotel3 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th place
hotel4 $4^{\text{th}}, 5^{\text{th}}, 6^{\text{th}}, 7^{\text{th}}, 8^{\text{th}}, 9^{\text{th}}, 10^{\text{th}}$ place
OWNERSHIP STATUS OF THE HOUSE H1 Tenure
H2 Tenant
H3 Lodgement
H4 Other
OWNERSHIP STATUS OF THE AUTOMOBILE carl No have automobile
car2 Have one
car3 Have more than one
HAVING PRIVATE EDUCATION PRIeduc1 Not having private education
PRIeduc2 Having private education

	R3
	Semi-skilled professionals Mid-big employer Small employer (LOW) Residence expense (bottom places) Education (intermediary)
	Hotel, restaurant and café (intermediary) Apparel (top, LOW)
	Tenure
R5	R1
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place)	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW)	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel restaurant and café (TOP)	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement Car owner More than one car	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant Have not private education
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement Car owner More than one car Private education	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant Have not car Have not private education R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement Car owner More than one car Private education	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant Have not car Have not private education R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW) Manual workers (very LOW)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement Car owner More than one car Private education	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant Have not car Have not private education R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW) Manual workers (very LOW) Residence expense (first and second, LOW) Residence expense (third place)
Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer(LOW) Small employer(LOW) Retired Food (second, third, bottom places) Housing (first place) Residence expense (second places) Transportation (second LOW) Health (bottom place) Entertainment (TOP and intermediary places) Education (TOP) Hotel, restaurant and café (TOP) Lodgement Car owner More than one car Private education	Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal Food (first place) Housing (second, third and bottom places) Transportation (first) Health (intermediary place) Entertainment (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Education (bottom places) Apparel (bottom) Tenant Have not private education R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW) Manual workers (very LOW) Residence expense (first and second, LOW) Residence expense (third place) Transport (first, LOW) Hotel (bottom)

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

Fig. 6.23: The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption items with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

After this brief introduction we'll run the CA to see patterning of consumption among different regions and class fractions.



Fig 6.24: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of consumption items with spatial clusters of the data set 1994

Table 6.33: Consumption items (1994): Overview Row Points(a)										
					Contribution					
Variables	Mass	Score in D	imension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR		
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT	
adm	,002	-2,620	-1,032	,003	,052	,021	,857	,052	,908	
pro	,005	-2,444	-,668	,007	,117	,022	,941	,027	,968	
semi	,011	-,035	1,133	,001	,000	,156	,002	,925	,927	
mbe	,006	-,410	1,031	,001	,004	,067	,269	,663	,932	
unsk	,011	,869	-,742	,003	,035	,065	,678	,193	,871	
man	,007	,666	-,397	,001	,014	,013	,752	,104	,855	
smae	,001	-,417	,913	,000	,001	,012	,209	,389	,598	
art	,017	,652	-,184	,003	,031	,006	,598	,019	,617	
ret	,014	-,431	,025	,001	,011	,000	,930	,001	,932	
inac	,004	-,045	-,228	,000	,000	,002	,010	,104	,114	
100d1 food1	,034	,793	,032	,005	,091	,000	,979	,001	,979	
100d2	,034	-,481	-,009	,002	,034	,000	,914	,000	,914	
10003	,007	-,834	,214	,001	,021	,004	,943	,024	,968	
10004	,003	-1,/91	-,904	,002	,035	,023	,800	,086	,952	
housel	,032	-,974	,076	,007	,131	,002	,975	,002	,977	
house2	,033	,624	-,025	,003	,055	,000	,921	,001	,922	
houses	,009	,//1	,166	,002	,023	,003	,008	,012	,680	
nouse4	,003	1,116	-,920	,001	,018	,032	,//5	,205	,980	
furnii formia	,003	,475	-1,104	,001	,003	,039	,181	,381	,503	
furni2	,001	-,793	-,935	,000	,004	,015	,014	,332	,940	
furnis	,007	,102	-1,115	,001	,000	,095	,021	,971	,992	
IUrni4 Anona1	,000	-,015	,185	,000	,000	,025	,010	,948	,904	
trans?	,002	,501	-,047	,000	,005	,009	,010	,295	,903	
trans2	,001	-,452	,391	,000	,001	,005	,217	,145	,302	
trans	,014	,245	,219	,001	,004	,008	,233	,074	,509	
ti alis4 hoolth1	,039	-,007	-,040	,000	,001	,001	,245	,045	,209	
health?	,004	323	326	,001	,005	,008	531	211	,504	
health3	,018	- 141	,520	,001	,008	,022	561	,211	631	
entertain1	,003	-,141	-,000	,000	,005	,004	740	255	995	
entertain?	028	-,072	018	,000	021	,010	973	,233	973	
entertain3	,020	304	038	,001	,021	,000	973	,001	979	
educ1	003	-1 516	423	002	029	,001	713	022	734	
educ2	012	- 009	286	000	000	011	002	864	866	
educ3	062	073	- 077	,000	001	004	488	211	698	
hotel1	.004	- 561	- 064	.000	.006	.000	.830	.004	834	
hotel2	.027	.095	.398	.001	.001	.047	.089	.604	.694	
hotel3	.046	-,003	-,226	,000	,000	.026	,000	.687	,688	
apparel1	.026	,176	.264	,001	.003	.020	,272	.237	,509	
apparel2	.032	,119	-,302	,000	,002	.032	.230	.576	.806	
apparel3	.020	-,422	,147	,001	.015	.005	.800	.038	.838	
HÌ	.042	,008	,156	,000	.000	.012	,005	,747	,752	
H2	,024	,185	,124	,000	,004	,004	,597	,104	,701	
Н3	,002	-2,312	-1,820	,003	,049	,079	,793	,191	,985	
H4	,008	,015	-,703	,001	,000	,045	,001	,626	,627	
car1	,056	,309	-,116	,001	,023	,008	,918	,051	,969	
car2	,020	-,788	,336	,003	,054	,025	,904	,064	,968	
car3	,001	-2,208	-,452	,001	,013	,001	,924	,015	,939	
PRIeduc1	,074	,072	,006	,000	,002	,000	,978	,002	,980	
PRIeduc2	,003	-2,025	-,159	,003	,047	,001	,978	,002	,980	
Active Total	1,000			,070	1,000	1,000				

Table 6.34: Consumption items (1994): Overview Column Points(a)									
					Contribution				
Variables	Mass	Score in l	Dimension	Inertia	C	ΓR		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	,199	,568	-,454	,019	,278	,456	,791	,197	,988
R2	,077	,265	-,059	,004	,023	,003	,280	,006	,286
R3	,338	,215	,322	,008	,067	,390	,462	,405	,867
R4	,196	-,234	,145	,006	,046	,046	,391	,059	,450
R5	,190	-,846	-,224	,033	,585	,105	,956	,026	,982
Active Total	1,000			,070	1,000	1,000			

Figure 6.24 shows that the first axis explains 76,3% of the total inertia whereas the second axis explains 11,6% of the frequency table. The first two axes explains substantial amount of the total variation, (87,9%). Two dimensional display provides major part of the information. Considering the numerical output of the CA solution, we see that the first axis reflects the sharp contrast between the lowest (CTR, 27,8%) and highest income regions (CTR, 58,5%). On the negative side of the horizontal axis, we see professionals having most influential in determining the orientation of the first axis (CTR, 12%). In the same direction, housing expenditure occupies first place in per capita household budget. However it can be seen that the contribution of inertia is not as high as the column contribution since the mass values are quite low because of the excessive number of variables (50 variables) so we'll examine the relative contribution to detect which row attributes are correlated with the first horizontal axis.

As Blasius indicates that the simultaneous monitoring of contribution of inertia, squared correlations with the principal axis (by examining at the sign of the coordinate points) and the masses which act as multiplier should be considered together for better diagnostic. Because a high contribution of inertia can be due to the high mass only, whereas a low contribution of inertia does not allow the conclusion that the variable category is poorly correlated with the axis (Blasius, 1994: 35). For instance, the lowest income region is more influential in determining the geometric orientation of the second axis however; it' value of the squared correlation indicates that it's correlation with the first axis is much higher than the second axis. Although the lowest income region's contribution to the first axis is lower than the second, we cannot interpret that it's contribution to the first axis does not mean that this point is less correlated with the first axis. In a similar manner, up until now, we see that the row contributions are not as noticeable as the column contributions because we use many variables for row attributes and the high number causes decrease in mass values which is functioned as the multipliers. For this reason, after a quick glance at row contributions, we move on quickly to relative correlation to see which rows are correlated with the selected axis. We have to take into account all kinds of information provided as numerical output of CA for interpretation.

By considering the signs in column k=1, it can be seen that managers (adm, CTR, 5% and COR, 857) and professionals (CTR, 12% and COR, 941) are highly correlated with the highest income region on the negative part of the horizontal axis. The retired group as in the case in the previous results of the CA, is also as highly correlated as the managers and

professionals (ret, COR, 0,930) in the same direction. On the other hand, the mid-big employer and small employers are slightly correlated with the negative part of the horizontal axis (mbe, COR, 0,269 and same, COR, 0,209).

In contrast to the negative part of the horizontal axis, we see unskilled service workers (COR, 0,678), manual workers (COR, 0,752) artisan & informal workers (COR, 0,598) on the right hand side of the first axis. These findings correspond with the previous results that the income regions contrast managers, professionals and retired groups in the negative side of the axis and unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal workers in the positive side of the axis. The income axis reveals sharp contrast which fell apart as the highest income groups managers, professionals and retired in an opposition with the unskilled, manual and artisan & informal workers at the lowest income side. In-between them we see mid-big employer, small employer and semi-skilled professionals in an intermediary position at the vertical axis however much closer to the administrative, managerial workers and professionals.

Moving on, we see that food expenditure per capita expenditure in the household budget has not taken at the first place in the ''wealthy'' part of the axis. However although not in the first place, food expenditure takes the important part of the budget (food2, COR, 0,914 and food3, COR, 0,943). As for the ''lowest income'' connotation of the horizontal axis, it is not surprising the food occupied at first places in total household expenditure (food1, COR, 0,979).

As a major expenditure category, housing expenditure is highly influential for the geometric orientation of the first axis (CTR, 13%) and at the same time highly correlated with the negative part of the axis (COR, 0,975). For the interpretation, we have to examine the ownership status of the house which shows 'lodgment' (H3, COR, 0,793). Then we have difficulty to understand why the housing expenditures which are in the form of paying rent, maintaining houses and paying electricity, water gas expenses are so high. The public sector staff pays very few money as rent for residing lodgment and they have the ability to save money. To understand this finding we have to look at the ownership pattern of housing of the different fractions. The Table 6.35 shows the distribution of ownership pattern of housing among different class fractions. The 'tenant'' category has substantial for almost all the fractions so this may cause the high spending in the 'housing'' category. Our data provides sufficient evidence about the difficulty to realize similar analysis which held in Britain about

Table 6.35: Distribution of ownership status of the house across different fractions (1994)									
		Tenure	Tenant	Lodgement	Others	Total			
Administrative	Count	7	5	1	1	14			
	%	50,00	35,71	7,14	7,14	100			
Professionals	Count	20	14	1	1	36			
	%	55,56	38,89	2,78	2,78	100			
Semi professionals	Count	29	43	5	10	87			
-	%	33,33	49,43	5,75	11,49	100			
Mid-big employer	Count	31	11	0	3	45			
	%	68,89	24,44	0,00	6,67	100			
Unskilled service workers	Count	40	29	4	12	85			
	%	47,06	34,12	4,71	14,12	100			
Manual workers	Count	25	19	6	8	58			
	%	43,10	32,76	10,34	13,79	100			
Small employer	Count	7	2	0	1	10			
	%	70,00	20,00	0,00	10,00	100			
Artisan & informal	Count	63	49	0	21	133			
	%	47,37	36,84	0,00	15,79	100			
Retired	Count	95	12	0	3	110			
	%	86,36	10,91	0,00	2,73	100			
Inactive	Count	21	8	0	5	34			
	%	61,76	23,53	0,00	14,71	100			
Total		338	192	17	65	612			

the ''housing classes''. The ''tenure'' category is generally high for almost all the fractions and the ''tenant'' category does not varies substantially among different fractions.

On the positive part of the axis with the "lowest income" connotations, housing expenditure is also highly correlated. Taking into account of "tenant" as ownership status of the house for the poor regions and related fractions, substantial part of their income goes to the "paying rent" (house2, COR, 0,921). However "housing expenses" as quite equally important as for both "rich" and "poor".

The category of residence expenses which contains spending on furniture, floor coverings, furniture repair, kitchen appliances, etc., is distinctive for the "rich" income region and fractions. The residence expenses occupies the second largest expenditure category for the majority of managers, professionals and retired (furni2, COR, 0,614). This suggests a more intensive social use of the home for entertaining and a sign of social standing of the family. On the opposite side of the axis residence expenses does not show any correlation.

The car ownership reveals high correlation with the negative part of the axis ''having one car'' (COR, 0,904) and ''having more than one car'' (COR, 0,924) however transportation expenses have slightly correlated with the negative part of the axis which occupies the second places (trans2 COR, 0,217) and last places (trans4, COR, 0,235). This can be interpreted as the gasoline expenses does not bring such a big burden in their consumption budget. As for the positive part (poor) of the axis, in parallel with the ''not having an

automobile'' (car1, COR, 0,918) we see that ''expenses for transportation'' occupies the first place (trans1, COR, 0,610) for ''poor'' region and fractions. This indicates that the heavy burden for poor household because of the expenses on collective consumption such as inner city transportation services, buses, and train tickets. They consume urban services with a very high ratio which occupies substantial amount in their total expenditure.

The expenditures on ''entertainment and cultural events'', ''education'' and ''hotel, restaurant and café'' show remarkable picture in relation with highest income region. We see that ''entertainment'' (entertain1, COR, 0,740), ''education'' (educ1, COR, 0,713) and ''hotel, restaurant and café'' (hotel1, COR, 0,827) expenses occupy the upper places in their total household spending. We see that ''having someone who goes to private school'' (PRIeduc2, COR, 0,978) is heavily correlated with the negative part of the first axis. The increase of the spending on education is highly correlated with the existence of the private education.

On the other hand, the increase in expenses for eating out and lodging indicates that Turkish families exercise more and more lifestyle choices like "having vacation" or "eating out". On the other hand entertainment and cultural activities has also shown some substantial correlation with the negative side of the axis occupying the first three places and the intermediary position in the ranking of all different consumption categories (entertain1, COR, 0,740 and entertain2, COR, 0,973).

On the opposite side of the horizontal axis in relation with "poor" position, it is not surprising that they spend very little for entertainment and cultural events (entertain3, COR, 0,973) which is even lesser than the education (educ3, COR, 0,488). In a similar vein, expenses for clothing and shoes occupy the ultimate places in their total expenditure. And finally, health expenses is not very indicative, the both "rich" and "poor".

As a final remark, the ''inactive, unemployed'' group is not displayed well in the two dimensional display, so we did not make any comment about their position in the social space (QLT, 0,114).

The vertical axis (11,6% of total inertia) shows the contrast between the middle income region (R3, CTR, 39%) and lowest income region (R1, CTR, 46%). The positive sphere of the vertical axis is determined by the semi-skilled professionals (CTR, 16%). As for the squared correlation, we see that the variables with the strong connotations of "mid-

positions" are of the class fractions of semi-skilled professionals (COR, 0,925), mid-big employer (COR, 0,663) and small employer (COR, 0,389). Although the employer category loads to a lesser extend to the horizontal axis it loads more on the positive side of the vertical axis regarding their respective consumption patterns. This finding indicates the differences between the administrative & managerial workers and professionals in contrast to the employers despite the similarities in terms of their income.

Furniture or house appliances spending shows that the share of the spending falls behind the ultimate places (furni4, COR, 0,948). These fractions have the intermediary health expenses (health2, COR, 0,211). Their educational spending occupies intermediary part in the consumption items ranking. The ''hotel, restaurant and café'' spending occupies the intermediary part in their consumption items ranks (hotel2, COR 0,604). This is also valid for the expenditure on education (educ2, COR, 0,864). Apparel which takes the first three ranks in the total expenditure (apparel1, COR, 0,237) seems to load slightly towards the ''middle class'' fractions. This is very indicative about the consideration of physical appearances in part of employer and semi-professionals.

On the negative side of the vertical axis we see unskilled service workers and manual workers however their relative contribution values are quite low (0,193 and 0,104 respectively). They are depicted slightly more expenditure on residence expenses (furni1, COR, 0,381), and hotel, restaurant and café expenses (hotel3, COR, 0,687) which may due to the provision of the work place. Ownership status is 'other' which provides them not to pay rent. And finally, they spend very little amount on clothing and shoes (apparel2, COR, 0,576).

Other consumption items for the data 2001

Highly correlated with the high income position, managers, professionals, mid-big and small employer as fractions are the groups that have been materially better-off. One of the most important findings of 2001 is the increase in the residence expenses as in the form of furniture, kitchen appliances, services for keeping up the residence, etc., for the high income households. Education expenses in accord with the ''private education'' has a substantial correlation with the high income.

For both high and low income household, the share of communication expenses seems to increase in total household budget because of the widespread booming of the mobile phone

usage. The SIS also indicates the similar finding about the rise of "communication expenses" in the household consumption budget in the last censuses of the consumption expenditure surveys of the nation (2003).

As for the opposite side of the horizontal axis we see again, unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal workers in relation with the low income region. They spent more on food. Their housing and rent expenditure is slightly high although they own the houses they live in. This might be due to the expenses for electricity, water, or gas. Surprisingly enough they spend slightly more on hotel, restaurant and café which occupy the upper ranking of the total spending. SIS indicates that this is the provision of meal services for the employees offered by their work places.

In correlation with the mid-income part of the axis, we see the professionals (although at the same time, highly correlated with the horizontal axis), retired people and to a lesser extend, semi-skilled professionals. Housing expenditure occupies at first place in their total spending although ownership status indicates "tenure". Spending on transportation is rather high whereas car ownership loads more of the first axis. They spend quite more money on communication and education.

On the positive side of the vertical axis, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal are slightly correlated with the ''poor'' income connotation of the second axis. They spend more on food, high on housing and rent. The most striking result in the low income part of the vertical axis is that both unskilled service workers and artisan & informal workers spend substantial amount of money for communication and for education. This can be read as an attempt to improve their children's social position in the society and as an attempt not to be isolated from the communication network as well.

FOOD food1 1 ^s place food2 2 nd place food3 3 rd place food4 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place HOUSING house2 1 st place house3 3 rd place 3 rd place house4 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICES furni1 1 st place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni3 3 rd place furni4 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place COMMUNICATION commun1 1 st , 2 ^{sth} , 3 th , 9 th , 10 th place fooda CLOTHING appare13 1 th , 2 ^{sth} , 3 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place fooda ENTERTAINMENT entertain1 1 th , 2 ^{sth} , 3 th , 9 th , 10 th place fooda ENTERTAINMENT entertain3 1 th , 2 th ,	Table 6.36: Variables used in exploring Consumption Sphere (2001)							
food2 2 nd place food3 3 rd place food4 4 ⁿ , 5 ⁿ , 6 ⁿ , 7 ^h , 8 ^h , 9 ^h , 10 ^h place HOUSING house1 1 st place house2 2 nd place house3 3 rd place house4 4 ^h , 5 ^h , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 ^h , 9 th , 10 ^h place FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICES furni1 1 st place furni2 2 nd place 1 st place furni3 3 rd place 1 st place furni4 4 ^h , 5 ^h , 6 th , 7 th , 8 ^h , 9 th , 10 ^h place TRANSPORTATION ²⁸ trans1 1 st place commun1 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 6 th , 7 th , 8 ^h , 9 th , 10 th place COMMUNICATION commun1 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 7 th , 8 ^h , 9 th , 10 th place COMMUNICATION commun2 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 10 th place CLOTHING appare13 1 th , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 10 th place THEALTH health1 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 10 th place ENTERTAINMENT entertain1 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 10 th place EDUCATION educ1 1 st , 2 nd , 3 ^{dt} , 10 th place EDUCATION educ2 7 ^h , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND CAFÉ hotel1 1 st , 2 ^{sth} , 3 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th place GWNERSHIP STATUS	FOOD	food1	1 st place					
food3 food43 rd place (1* place)HOUSINGhouse1 house2 (1* place)1* place house3 (1* place)HOUSINGhouse2 house3 (1* place)1* place house3 (1* place)FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICESfurni1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICESfurni2 (1* place)2m place (1* place)FURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICESfurni2 (1* place)2m place (1* place)TRANSPORTATION28furni3 (1* place)3 rd place (1* place)TRANSPORTATION28trans1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)COMMUNICATIONcommun1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)COMMUNICATIONcommun2 (1* place)1* place (1* place)CLOTHINGappare11 (1* place)1* place (1* place)CLOTHINGappare12 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth1 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place (1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place)HEALTHhealth2 (1* place)1* place)HEALTHhea		food2	2 nd place					
food44 ^h , 5 th , 6 ^h , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeHOUSINGhouse11 st placehouse22 nd placehouse33 rd placehouse44 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeFURNITURE AND OTHER DOMESTIC SERVICESfurni11 st placefurni3furni33 rd placefurni44 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placefurni33 rd placefurni44 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeTRANSPORTATION ²⁸ trans1trans11 st placetrans33 rd placetrans44 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeCOMMUNICATIONcommun1trans44 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeCOMMUNICATIONcommun1appare111 st , 2 ^{rdi} , 3 rd placeappare124 th , 5 th , 6 th ,appare137 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeCLOTHINGappare14appare137 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeHEALTHhealth1health37 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeENTERTAINMENTentertain1entertain27 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeentertain37 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeEDUCATIONcduc1educ27 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeHOTEL, RESTAURANT AND CAFÉhote11hote137 th , 8 th , 9 th , 10 th placeHOTEL, RESTAURANT AND CAFÉhote11H1 ²⁰ TenantH4 <td< th=""><th></th><th>food3</th><th>3 rd place</th></td<>		food3	3 rd place					
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PRIeduc2 Having private education	HAVING PRIVATE EDUCATION	PRIeduc1	Not having private education					
		PRIeduc2	Having private education					

 ²⁸ We considered "communication" expenses as independent category other than that of "transportation" because the data 2001 allows this separation whereas these two category were conjoint in 1994.
 ²⁹ The ownership status of the house, the "lodgment" did not exist in the data, 2001.
	R1 Unskilled service workers (LOW) Artisan & informal (LOW) Food (first place, LOW) Housing (second and third, very LOW) Residence expenses (second, LOW) Transport (First very LOW) Apparel (intermediary) Health (intermediary) Communication (Top) Education (intermediary) Tenant
R5	R1, R2
Administrative, managerial worker	Unskilled service workers
Professionals	Manual workers
Mid-big employer	Artisan & informal
Food (bottom places)	Food (first place)
Residence expense (third places)	Housing (second third, fourth places)
Transportation (first)	Residence expense (fourth places)
Apparel (third)	Transportation (fourth place)
Communication (third, MODERATE)	Entertainment (third places)
Entertainment (third place, LOW)	Communication (second, LOW)
Education ((first place)	Hotel, restaurant and café (second)
Hotel, restaurant and café (third)	Tenure
Tenant	Have not car
Car owner	R3, R4
More than one car	Professionals
Private education	Retired
	Food (second place, LOW) Housing (first place, LOW) Transportation (bottom, LOW) Apparel (bottom, LOW) Health (bottom) Communication (intermediary, LOW) Education (top and bottom, LOW) Tenure (LOW)

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

Fig. 6.25: The simplified schema of the MCA of consumption items with spatial clusters of the data set 2001

Row and Column Points



Fig. 6.26: The Graphical presentation of the MCA of the consumption items with spatial clusters (2001)

The first axis explains the 56% of the total inertia whereas the second axis explains 20% of the total inertia. The two axis together explains the 76% of the total variances.

Table 6.37: Consumption items (2001): Overview Row Points(a)									
						Co	ntribution		
Variables	Mass	Score in D	Dimension	Inertia	CT	Γ R		COR	
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
adm	,003	-1,925	-,249	,003	,054	,001	,976	,010	,985
pro	,004	-,930	-1,030	,002	,016	,032	,522	,384	,906
semi	,006	-,052	-,231	,000	,000	,002	,012	,144	,157
mbe	,001	-1,743	-,547	,001	,015	,002	,607	,036	,643
unsk	,009	,639	,583	,002	,017	,023	,544	,272	,816
man	,009	,831	,197	,002	,027	,003	,8/1	,029	,901
smae	,004	-1,161	-,684	,002	,025	,014	,/04	,146	,850
art	,016	,496	,464	,002	,017	,025	,563	,297	,860
ret	,014	-,097	-,435	,001	,001	,018	,033	,397	,429
food1	,005	-,031	,279	,001	,008	,003	,346	,041	,387
food2	,018	,/31	,525	,003	,041	,055	,089	,215	,902
food3	,038	,102	-,555	,002	,002	,033	,030	,400	,402
food4	,010	2 940	,014 838	,001	,003	,000	,202	,000	,202
house1	,005	-2,940	,030	,011	,104	,023	193	432	,942 625
house?	,040	168	283	,001	,005	,017	348	, 1 52 595	,023 943
house3	,020	177	,205 894	,000	,002	,012 024	,940	383	408
house4	,001	1 502	1 339	,001	,001	,024	123	059	182
furnil	002	-1 341	- 524	,003	014	004	545	050	595
furni2	001	-1 989	,0 <u>2</u> . 999	002	023	010	767	116	883
furni3	.007	- 530	.217	.001	.008	.002	.744	.075	.819
furni4	.061	.189	040	.001	.009	.001	.964	.026	.990
trans1	.002	-2,514	1,563	.003	.049	.031	.804	.186	.990
trans2	.003	.274	.215	.003	.001	.001	.020	.008	.028
trans3	,018	,078	-,283	,001	,000	,010	,046	,368	,415
trans4	,048	,041	,033	,000	,000	,000,	,425	,169	,594
apparel1	,014	,128	-,037	,000	,001	,000,	,122	,006	,128
apparel2	,029	,202	,291	,001	,005	,017	,353	,438	,791
apparel3	,029	-,270	-,269	,001	,009	,015	,618	,367	,985
health1	,003	-,024	,478	,001	,000	,004	,001	,171	,172
health2	,015	,361	1,515	,005	,008	,240	,084	,886	,970
health3	,054	-,101	-,433	,002	,002	,073	,077	,856	,933
commun1	,009	,010	1,085	,002	,000	,074	,000	,787	,787
commun2	,039	,156	-,249	,001	,004	,017	,288	,444	,732
commun3	,024	-,270	,009	,001	,007	,000	,313	,000	,313
entertainl	,002	,073	-,045	,001	,000	,000	,002	,000	,002
entertain2	,021	,252	-,057	,001	,006	,000	,216	,007	,222
entertain3	,049	-,113	,026	,001	,003	,000	,250	,008	,258
educl	,002	-1,053	-1,147	,001	,012	,023	,450	,321	,771
educ2	,009	,006	1,322	,004	,000	,110	,000	,599	,599
educs	,060	,039	-,145	,001	,000	,009	,041	,346	,387
notell h stal2	,009	,518	-,138	,002	,010	,001	,307	,013	,320
hotel2	,032	,170	-,094	,000	,004	,002	,680	,126	,806
	,031	-,550	,140	,002	,015	,004	,525	,034	,577
H3	,021	,302	-,515	,001	,008	,015	,550	,∠30 501	,300 Q17
H4	,043	-,137	,230 - 172	,001	,003	,010	,551	,591 219	,742 729
117 car1	,007	-,115	-,4/3	,001	,000	,011	,021 074	,∠10 001	,230 975
car?	021	,508 - 441	-,010	,002	,028	,000	,974 887	016	903
car3	,021	-4 160	1 1 9 9	,001	151	021	940	047	,705
PRIeduc1	,002	179	- 025	,009	,101	,021	,982	,047	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
PRIeduc2	004	-3 223	451	,009	171	,006	982	012	,994
Total	1,000	-,	,	,098	1,000	1,000	,. . _	, -	,- <i>·</i> ·

Table 6.38: Consumption items (2001): Overview Column Points(a)									
					Contribution				
Variables	Mass	Score in Dimension		Inertia	CTR		COR		
		k = 1	k = 2		1	2	1	2	QLT
R1	,136	,407	,722	,020	,096	,506	,267	,505	,772
R2	,189	,351	,188	,018	,100	,048	,302	,052	,353
R3	,325	,056	-,277	,008	,004	,177	,031	,448	,479
R4	,199	,132	-,389	,009	,015	,215	,094	,493	,587
R5	,151	-1,102	,223	,044	,785	,054	,973	,024	,997
Total	1,000			,098	1,000	1,000			

The horizontal axis on the left side defined by the highest income region (R5, CTR, 78%) and on the right side by the lowest income region (R1, CTR, 9,6%) and second lowest income region (R2, CTR, 10%). The vertical axis is in negative sphere determined by mid-income (R3, CTR, 18%) and fourth income region (R4, CTR, 21,5%), in contrast to the lowest income region (R1, 51%) on the positive part of the vertical axis.

Considering the first axis, ''administrative, managerial workers'' (COR, 0,976), to a lesser extend ''professionals'' (COR, 0,522), and mid-big employers (COR, 0,607), small employers (COR, 0,704) are correlated with the highest income part (negative) of the horizontal axis. ''Inactive, unemployed group'' is also slightly correlated with the high income part of the axis (COR, 0,346). The food expenditure occupies last places in their total spending (food4, COR, 0898). The residence expenses has substantial place in the household budget (furni1, COR, 0,545). It can taken as evidence that house as a consumption item occupies an important place for demonstrating the well-being of the family and for creating and maintaining the societal bonds and relationship. House is the arena of status competition for the richer fractions.

In parallel with the ''car ownership'' (one or more than one car ownership status) the transportation expenses is also highly correlated with the high income part of the horizontal axis (trans1, COR, 0,804). This might due the increase of the gasoline prices which affect the consumer spending pattern or because of the increase in traveling distance. Education expenses in accord with the ''private education'' (PRIeduc2, COR, 0,982) has substantial correlation with the negative part of the first axis (educ1, COR, 0,450).

The communication expenses which occupy the intermediary place in total expenditure, are slightly correlated with the low income part of the horizontal axis (commun2, COR, 0,288). We can equate this finding with the widespread booming of the mobile phone use. The SIS

also indicates the rise of "communication expenses" in the household consumption budget for the last censuses of the consumption expenditure surveys of the nation³⁰.

We see that the hotel, restaurant and café expenditure show some decrease as compared with the data 1994 in part of "wealthiest". The last three places in the household budget in part of the hotel, restaurant and café spending are fairly correlated with the high income part of the horizontal axis (hotel3, COR, 0, 523).

As for the opposite side of the horizontal axis, unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal (unsk, COR, 0,544; man, COR, 0,871), and finally artisan & informal, (COR, 0,563) are highly correlated with the low income regions (R1, R2). They spent more on food (food1, COR, 0,689). Their housing and rent expenditure is slightly high (house2, COR, 0,348) although they own the houses they live in (H1, COR, 0,358). This might stem from high price of the electricity, water, or gas. Surprisingly enough they spend slightly more on hotel, restaurant and café which occupy the upper ranking of the total (hotel1, COR, 0,307 and hotel2, COR, 0,680). SIS also indicates this finding for the survey designed for the nation as a whole that the provision of meal services for the employees by their work places³¹ has resulted in increase in the ''hotel, restaurant and café'' expenses.

The vertical axis (20% of total inertia) shows the contrast between the fourth and midincome regions (R4, CTR, 21% and R3, CTR, 18%) on the negative side of the vertical axis and in opposition to them the lowest income region (R1, CTR, 51%) on the positive side of the vertical axis. In correlation with the fourth and mid-income part of the axis, we see the professionals although highly correlated with the horizontal axis (COR, 0,384) and retired people (COR, 0,397) and finally, to a lesser extend semi-skilled professionals (COR, 0,144). The food spending at the intermediary place (food2, COR, 0,406) is correlated with the negative side of the axis. Housing expenditure has at the first place in total spending (house1, COR, 0,432) although ownership status indicates ''tenure'' (COR, 0230). Spending on transportation is rather high (trans3, COR, 0,368) whereas car ownership loads more of the first axis. Their communication expenses (commun2, COR, 0,444) and education (educ1, COR, 0,321) expenses are fairly correlated with the negative part of the vertical axis.

On the positive side, unskilled service workers (COR, 0,272) and artisan & informal (COR, 0,297) are slightly correlated with the "poor" income connotation of the second axis. They

³⁰ http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SONIST/HHGELTUK/131003.htm

³¹ Source: http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SONIST/HHGELTUK/131003.htm

spend more on food (food1, COR, 0,231) and they have higher housing and rent spending (house2, COR, 0,595). The most remarkable among all that in the low income part (positive) of the vertical axis where the unskilled service workers and artisan & informal workers take place the communication spending (commun1, COR, 0,787) and education spending (educ2, COR, 0,599) show increases as compared the position of the ''poor'' of the horizontal axis. Increase in communication expenses can be explained with the increase of the mobile phone and internet café usage.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Household income and consumption expenditure survey (1994/2001) was conducted with a sampling method to represent the entire urban area. The number of districts used in the survey was limited and samples scattered municipal boundary. This causes some difficulty for commenting on total urban area. However one should bear in mind that the sampling design of HICE survey is representative of the entire urban households. In order to facilitate the interpretation, we compare the data with the 'status-income' map realized by Güvenc (map 1, 1998) by using the population census of Ankara 1990. The poorest and wealthiest clusters mainly coincide with the poorer and wealthier districts of Güvenç's map. The railway which runs across the city in east-west directions, separating the city into two parts is again verified as a result of our classification of districts regarding income. The wealthier lives in the south whereas poor lives generally in the northern part of the city. *İstanbul*-Samsun highway can also be taken as a main axis of dichotomy which causes the duality in urban area which can be characterized in the form of north-south polarization. We applied the same procedure for the data of 2001. The data of 2001 shows relatively subtler feature as compared with the data of 1994, this is due to the fact that the data is incomplete. However we can conclude that for the data of 2001, the level of income and education are correlated.

In the data of 1994, the income has been fairly overlapped with the education, 24 districts over the 51 total districts have coincided perfectly. Especially for the highest income regions, the majority of districts have been overlapped with the level of education. The districts which show variation however are generally one step further or one step behind the respective income or education levels. As a result we can say that the income and education vary in the same direction, whenever income rises the level of education also rises.

We try to explain the variation of the income composition between the particular class fractions in relation to the spatial clustering. We assume variables selected to measure the economic resources of the household may provide the commonalities of the similar condition of existence and conditioning may indeed result in similarities of attitude and practices.

The results of the CA for the data of 1994 provide sufficient evidence that the spatial segregation based on the income can act as an axis of dichotomy, on one side managers, professionals, retired as categories "wealthy" on the other unskilled service, blue collar workers, and artisan & informal as "poor" in terms of economic capital. We can accept the privileged class fractions in terms of income concerned as administrative, managerial workers and professionals. These two wage earner categories are the richest among all which can be viewed as a specific result for Ankara. Together with the two former class fractions, we see "retired" as a group as materially better-off.

Although the mid-big employer and small employer categories are slightly correlated with the high income side of the first axis, they both reveal similar income composition with the semi-skilled professionals. It is rather striking that employer category appears as ''middle class'' in terms of income, however this can be considered as the intrinsic feature of the city of Ankara. It is difficult to depict the employer category as ''bourgeoisie'' rather they show traditional characteristics of the origin of small artisans. The consumption expenditure survey unfortunately does not contain the information about the social origin of the respondent which can be evaluated as a variable of social mobility (birth place and father's occupation) so we did not have a chance to comment about the social origin of the respondent. However we have some clues that the employers might come from the origin of the former artisan and small tradesmen, investment in gold can be observed as evidence.

For the privileged classes, managers and professionals, market is not the primary source of income. The sources and amount of income show that the wage-earner categories have substantial amount of income from the market transactions in form of interest, stocks and shares, bonds, dividends etc. The amount of additional income reaches even half of the total income. This finding can be considered as an effect of the economic regulation of the 1980s. For all the fractions, there exists some sort of income obtained from urban property.

On the other hand the level of education shows parallelism with the income. The more economic capital rises the more level of education we obtain. Taking into consideration of the income composition of the privileged class fractions, university degree's absolute contribution is substantially high.

The data of 2001 shows relatively similar picture in terms of income. The dominant classes are managers, professionals, employers (mid-big and small) in contrast we have subordinate classes as unskilled service workers, manual workers and artisan & informal. Our study elucidates clearly the precarious economic conditions of the subordinate social blocks (manual workers, artisans). This block is the poorest among all and coincides with the proletariat and artisan & informal workers living in the lowest income clusters. However the existence of stocks and shares as investment can be considered as an attempt to climb up the social ladder.

The middle position shows slight differences as compared with the data of 1994. The professionals together with the retired groups and semi-skilled professionals stand in the middle position. This indicates in part of professionals about their worsening economic condition as time passes. In contrast to the mid-position we see petty-bourgeoisie and unskilled service workers with the existence of some sort of income obtained from urban rent. These two fractions reveals different picture as compared with the manual workers. This may be due to differences of the work place conditions.

As a final remark, our study shows that retired and inactive, unemployed groups did not take place in the "poor" part of the society. Their position can be considered as the highly conflictual in class structure as a whole.

The housing sphere shows strong correlation with the result of the income dimensions of the data of 1994. The income regions and class fractions corresponded with the same places as in the case of the income composition of the households except the lower quadrant of the vertical axis. The advantageous classes regarding their living environment and house comfort indexes are managers, professionals, employers and to a lower extent semi-skilled professionals. In contrast to the assertion of many Marxist thinkers, the housing conditions and living environment of semi-skilled professionals and clerks (white-collar workers) show similarity to the ''wealthy'' group.

In this study, poverty is not a discrete condition, on the contrary poverty arises from standing in particular class position. The poverty is associated with the manual workers, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal. Their housing and objective living conditions represent serious problems. Most households live in crowded and unsanitary conditions (toilet outside, not having bathroom, *gecekondu* houses).

In the middle position, again we see the semi-skilled professionals and mid-big employer. The income component and housing as the two important structural factors of the objective living conditions draw quite the same picture for spatial clusters and fractions. After income, the housing sphere clearly draws line between managers, professionals, employers (big and small) as ''wealthy'' side in an opposition with the manual workers, artisan & informal as the ''poor'' connotation. The middle position distinguishes the white-collar workers and to some extend mid-big employer however only characterizes ownership status of the house as tenure. The explanation power of the second dimension for housing space is fairly weak as compared with the income component of the data for 1994.

The ownership status of the house appears as an important component to draw lines between different clusters, for example, for the ''wealthy'' wage earner group the ''lodgment'' is a dominant factor whereas tenant is a feature of the ''poor'' blocks.

The housing sphere of the data for 2001, also highly coincides with the income distribution. The ''wealthy'' group of the top income region includes managers, professionals, mid-big, small employer categories. The results show that although professionals, to some extend, can be considered as the ''middle-position'' regarding their income, their housing condition carries them to the ''wealthy part''. On the other hand the poor region holds the manual workers, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal as expected. The housing condition elucidates their deprived living condition as *gecekondu*, lack of sanitation and crowded houses. In the middle position we see again white-collar workers with average living environment and ''other'' as ownership status with floor type, linoleum and tiles.

The floor material acts as a division line between the different blocks (fraction or several fractions) that the poor's house floor is of concrete (*sap*) whereas the richer blocks prefer parquet or wall-to-wall carpeting. The linoleum and tiles are the material of the middle blocks for the floor coverage. The housing type is the dominant factor in differentiating the social blocks and spatial units. Apartment versus *gecekondu* represents this distinction.

In the study, we find that the education level of the family accompanied with the household income is the key factor in the household's cultural consumption. The cultural consumption

of the social blocks is slightly similar to the income composition. The highest educational region holds managers, professionals, employers (mid-big and small) and retired, in contrast the lower educational region holds manual workers, unskilled service workers, artisan & informal workers. The income and level of education show perfect correlation between the higher income, higher education on one hand and lower income and level of education on the other.

The middle position takes the lower part of the vertical axis however welcome the same fractions, white collar workers and small employer. The opposite side of the vertical axis does not contain any fractions.

There is enough evidence to verify the cultural fragmentation between three social blocks; managers, professionals and employer as the dominant blocks whereas manual workers together with the artisan & informal forms the subordinate blocks and finally white collar as the intermediary position. Each social block is depicted as a set of cultural practices, the former in parallel with the higher level of education (both the household head and spouse) practice the urban way of life as going to cinema, eating out, drinking alcohol, reading magazine and daily news paper. They also practice the soccer game as a popular activity. The credit card usage is part of their daily life. On the other hand the subordinate block is characterized with low level of education and not practicing any cultural activity. Finally the mid-block's ''eating out' and enjoying a ''soccer match'' are their favorite cultural consumption.

The cultural consumption of the data of 2001 also draws a sharp line between three blocks; the higher educational and higher income in higher education region which resides managers, professionals, employers, and white collar workers, in opposition with the blue-collar workers, unskilled service workers and artisans. The second dimension level of explanation is rather weak for the data 2001 and we did not get plausible results. The mid-position was not very highlighting because the display quality of the white-collar workers was quite low. The manual workers and unskilled service workers appear as mid-position however their correlation value is very low so we cannot considered the result plausible.

As a final remark we can assert that the income and cultural practices show almost perfect correlation. The white-collar workers' position is worth mentioning. They practice the same cultural consumption of the ''wealthy'' groups. Although their income is low they prefer the same pattern of cultural consumption of the richer fractions. This can be considered as their

high status aspiration and imitation of the wealthy people's lifestyles. In contrast, the subordinate blocks are characterized by the lack of the cultural practices and lower educational level. The mid-position of the data does not offer a clear picture so we didn't comment.

The survey of data for 1994 showed the members of the high income region; managers, professionals, employer (although rather weak relation) owning households' durables (refrigerator, washing machine, dishwasher) and entertainment goods as audio system, cable TV, and video. They also own computer as an *information* set of goods (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979). On the opposite side, the lower income region members of blue-collar workers and artisan & informal do not own any of them. The mid-block holding white-collar workers and employer categories, depicted as owning household durables of refrigerator, washing machine and telephone without having any entertainment goods. The picture of the durable commodities reveals the quite similar picture as in the case of income, housing sphere and cultural practices for the main three social blocks and regions.

The ownership pattern of the household durables for the data of 2001 separates the richer fractions; managers, professionals and employers from the lower income group of the unskilled service workers, blue-collar and artisan. The former possesses the household durables of washing machine and dish washer, however more important than this, the communication items of internet connection, having cell phones are the characteristics of this group. The second social block (blue-collar workers, unskilled service workers and artisan) are characterized by not having any of them. On the other hand, the mid-position where the retired and professionals stand, they have more than one cell phone, washing machine and DVD player. The mid-position shows more variation than that of the mid-position of the data of 1994.

Food sphere is very indicative to draw lines between regions and fractions (social blocks). We detected as a general finding that with the increase in income, there exist a tendency to consume more meat products and less bread and cereals. As a preliminary conclusion for the data of 1994, we can say that in accord with the ''high income region'', managers, professionals, retired spend more on ''meat, fish and poultry'', ''milk, cheese and eggs'', and finally ''beverages & alcohol''. These are their main nutrition sources whereas in the opposite, with the strongest connotation of ''low income region'' ''bread and cereals'' are the basic sources for unskilled service, manual and informal workers. The latter are the *meat poor* and to a lesser extend *vegetable & fruit poor* families. As concerned with the

share of food in their total consumption expenditure, the service, manual and artisan are the ''food poor'' families in accord with the Engel's law.

On the other hand, the vertical axis differentiates the middle-income position by grouping semi-skilled professionals and mid-big employer and to a lesser degree small employer on the bottom of the second axis. For these fractions, "vegetables and fruits" are the main source of nutrition whereas "meat and milk" expenditure occupy generally intermediary places in their total food budget. Food sphere clearly differentiates three fractions and their related food pattern. As the income rises consumption of food is for more *meat*, *fish and poultry* and *milk*, *cheese and yogurt*. This tendency is valid for managers, professionals and retired in data of 1994. On the contrary, as income decreases, the food expenditure becomes predominantly bread and cereals, which is true for blue collar and informal workers. In between these two opposite trends we have semi-skilled professionals and employer categories characterized by the dominancy of the "vegetable and fruit" whereas their meat and milk spending also occupy the mid-ranks.

As a brief summary, comparing the results of the data of 1994 with the data of 2001, dichotomy between 'higher income ' and 'lower income' in parallel with meat versus bread is again verified. Meat and bread occupy the opposite side of the first axis differentiating the 'wealthy' and 'poor'. The first axis differentiates managers, professionals, employers and to a lesser extent retired and inactive. Milk category is not as much distinguishable as in 1994. Their spending on vegetables or fruit is low whereas spending on alcohol is not as high as in 1994. In the upper side of the vertical axis with a connotation of the 'mid-position' the similarity in food expenditure pattern which can be characterized by the low expenditure to intermediary expenditure to milk, cheese, eggs and yogurt, low spending on vegetables and beverages has made retired people closer to the inactive.

Consumption pattern according to the income region and class fractions of the data 1994 reveals neat picture to distinguish income region and class fractions. We can say that the households in highest income region is of class fractions for managers, professionals and retired with a kind of food expenditure found in the relatively at the bottom of the total household expenditure. As for the "lowest income" connotation of the horizontal axis, it is not surprising to see the food at the first place in total household expenditure in relation with the class fractions for the service and manual workers, artisan & informal workers. However to a varying extend "housing expenses" is very important for both "rich" and "poor". The

large part of the consumption expenditure goes to the housing expenses. In part of the poor respondent this is mainly stemmed from the paying rent because ownership status of the house is tenant and also high level of spending on electricity, water, or gas. However taking into account of the ownership status of the house ''lodgment'' make the picture rather complicated in favor of the richer fractions. However when we look at the distribution of ownership pattern of housing among different class fractions, the ''tenant'' category is substantial for almost all the fractions so this may cause the high spending in the ''housing'' category of consumption. As a conclusion we can say that for all class fractions housing expenses are either in the form of paying rent or paying money for the electricity, water and gas.

For the poor fraction expenses on transportation is substantial. Taking into account that they don't have an automobile, this indicates a heavy burden in part of poor household on the expense of collective consumption such as inner city transportation services, buses, and train tickets. They consume urban services at a very high ratio which always occupy the first places in their total expenditure.

In the case of the residence expenses spending for furniture, floor coverings, furniture repair, kitchen appliances, the managers and professionals spent proportionally more on this category. This suggests a more intensive social use of the home for social linkages and entertaining. They invite guest to their houses for specific occasions and they have an ability economically to give reciprocity to organize such social events and linkages.

We see that ''entertainment'', ''education'' and ''hotel, restaurant and café'' expenses occupy the upper places in the total household spending as income rises. We see that ''having someone who goes to private school'' is heavily correlated with the ''highest income'' part of the first axis. Education expenses and private schooling are highly correlated with the high income. On the other hand, the increase in expenses for eating out and lodging indicates that Turkish families more and more exercise lifestyle choices like ''having vacation'' or ''eating out''.

The employer (both mid-big and small) and semi-skilled professionals have shown similar consumption pattern. They spend quite amount of money for education but not for the private education. They spend some money for hotel, restaurant and café and the most importantly, among all their spending, clothing and shoes take the first place in their budget. Especially for the semi-skilled professionals this can be taken as the high status aspiration

and also shows their social environment. It is indicative that employer category spends less on education than those of two wage earner category, managers and professionals.

By comparing the results of the data of 2001 to the data of 1994, highly correlated with the high income position we see managers, professionals, mid-big employer and small employer. One of the most remarkable finding of data of 2001 is the increase in the residence expenses as furniture, kitchen appliances, services for keeping up the residence, etc., for the high level of income. Education expenses in accord with the ''private education'' has substantial correlation with the income.

For both high income and low income households, the share of communication expenses seems to increase in household budget because of the widespread booming of the mobile phone use. The SIS also indicates the rise of "communication expenses" in the household consumption budget for the last censuses of the consumption expenditure surveys of the nation. We can equate this finding with the widespread booming of the mobile phone use.

On the opposite side of the horizontal axis, we see, once again, unskilled service workers, manual workers, artisan & informal and highly correlated with the low income regions. They spent more on food. Their housing and rent expenditure is also slightly high although they own the houses they live in. This is highly probable because of the spending for electricity, water, or gas. The cost of urban services is very high for the lower income households. Surprisingly enough they spend slightly more on hotel, restaurant and café which occupy the upper ranking of the total. SIS indicates that this is the provision of meal services for the employees given by their work places.

In correlation with the mid-income part of the axis, we see the professionals (although highly correlated with the horizontal axis) and retired and to a lesser extend semi-skilled professionals. Housing expenditure has the first place in total spending. Their ownership status indicates both 'tenure' and 'other' so we can comment that this is because the rising price of the urban services as electricity, water and gas which occupy substantial place in their budget. Spending on transportation is rather high whereas car ownership loads more of the first axis. They spend quite more money on communication and education.

On the positive side of the vertical axis, unskilled service workers and artisan & informal are slightly correlated with the ''poor'' income connotation of the second axis. They spend more on food, and have higher housing and rent spending. The most striking result that unskilled service workers and artisan & informal spend substantial amount of money for

communication and slightly some money for education. This can be explained as an attempt to improve their children's social status and as an attempt not be isolated from the communication network.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Social stratification reveals the counters of the inequality among different strata in the form of a wide range of *resources, capacities* and *possessions* (Scott, 1996: 191). Studies about the social stratification focus on highlighting the inequalities produced by the market mechanism in general. These structured inequalities shape and orient the people's life chances and life styles as in the form of large scale collectivities that stand in hierarchical relations to one another as a consequence of particular causal mechanism. If class becomes social reality, this must be shown in the formation of common patterns of behaviour and attitude and manifests itself in urban space (Giddens, 1981). The differences that stem from different class positions reveal the observable differences in income, wealth and other material benefits (quoted from Turner, 1988:67: [Wright, 1979; 1985]).

Some scholars assert that social stratification is difficult to study because of the highly dynamic character of the Turkish society (Erder, 1995: 106). Spatial segregation is even more difficult not only because of the difficulty associated with the intrinsic characteristic of the society but also other axis of divisions may ever cause more difficulty when the ethnicity, emigrants, new comers factors are added. In this study, we try to see whether the residential differentiation described in terms of level of income and level of education can coincide with the class fraction and consumption patterning to detect the residential segregation of classes. The basic premise of the study is to figure out the appropriate representation of the contemporary social realities of the city of Ankara. I hope that this study will bring some important insights about the socio-spatial segregation and encourage planners to investigate segregation problems in Turkish cities. I forcefully believe that urban planners cannot avoid the topic, of ''social classes'' because the presence of class like formations will inevitably be felt around the space.

We strongly believe that households and individuals living in Ankara have some socioeconomic, political and cultural similarities and differences which mainly due to the differences between the class positions. Although we accept the view that it is highly difficult to realize any stratification study in such a dynamic society as Turkey we believe that after the 1980s strong economic, social and political transformation, new forms of organizations in urban areas in general and particularly in Ankara have taken place. We expect that stratification is heavily influential in urban pattern and in a similar vein different stratum reveals distinctive groupings in the urban space.

We employ employment status and occupational-aggregate categories without claiming that these categories constitute ''classes''. By doing so, the topology of relationship between the class fractions and their commonalities of the location of similar conditioning of existence and similarities of attitudes and practices were mapped into multidimensional space. Classes were not identified a priory rather they were considered as objectively constituted groups''. This is the most important point what makes Bourdieu so distinctive than all those theoretician of class who defined the class categories beforehand.

Throughout this study we try to develop a holistic framework which compromises the social classes, spatial segregation and consumption to observe where Turkish urban structure stands in the very vast theoretical discussion about the social classes and consumption. We accept that 'consumption' is the *integral* part of the social stratification not the *independent* part (unlike Saunders, 1984, 1986; Pahl, 1989). By doing so we want to see the role that consumption plays in the basis of social stratification in which different social groups are distinguished in respect to their differentially valued life styles. The main question is how the spatial differentiation responds to the stratification and patterning of consumption. We try to test the hypothesis that in Ankara, class fractions (social layers) and their relationships are visible and these relationships can be observed by empirical studies.

The empirical study has provided sufficient evidence about the existence of substantial variations among the spatial regions which refutes the any kind of assertion that class-based segregation is not meaningful for the urban structure of Ankara. Moreover the result clearly verifies the multi-dimensional character of the spatial segregation. Urban social structure of Ankara shows highly complex and sophisticated division of axis by the unequal distribution of the material and symbolic rewards. We consider the main division of axis between the lowest and top income (education) regions also distinguishes the subordinate and dominant class position whereas the vertical dimension represents the middle class¹ position versus and to a lesser extend unskilled service workers and petty-bourgeoisie. Although the level of explanation of the second axis is relatively low as compared with the first axis we claim that it shows clearly the multi-dimensional character of the social segregation. We detected sufficient horizontal and vertical social differentiation in the sample, although we have to admit that we detected a meaningful differentiation among the two extreme (lowest and

¹ Middle class refers to a vast category composed of large collections of people from different occupations or sectors with respect to their standing in the middle position according to the income and social status (education).

highest income and, lowest and highest level of education). One thing that might be becoming clear now is that different social groups appear to live different but consistent worlds of specific combinations of socio-economic and cultural practices- they can all be mapped according to the spatial distribution with both income and education.

Our study shows that there is high correlation between the residential distribution defined by the household income and level of education and the social blocks consisted of the class fractions. The high income groups which take place in the high-income residential areas of the southern part of the city are of the so-called ''service class'' or salariat occupations composed of managers, supervisors and highly qualified professionals (engineers, doctors, professors, etc.). This ''service class'' are characterised by the requirements to exercise delegated authority or specialized knowledge and expertise on behalf of their employing organization, in return for which they enjoy relatively high incomes, security of employment, incremental advancement, pension rights, and a good deal of autonomy at work. These features provide substantial returns to them as compared to the other groups. Higher-level non-manual jobs are associated with the dominant structures of wealth and power in the sample. This is the most privilege block among all. However the data of 2001 shows that the professionals made a split to the mid-position whereas employer category occupied this position in 1994.

In this study, the intermediary quadrants as a consequence of the possible combination of the two main structural variables, income and education; certain social groups were (1) high in both economic and cultural capital; (2) high in economic but low in cultural capital; (3) low in economic capital but high in cultural capital; (4) low in both economic and cultural capital did not occur as Bourdieu found for the French society. On the contrary the level of education shows parallelism with the income. The more economic capital rises the more level of education was obtained.

This study reveals that the important feature of the middle class is its extreme *heterogeneity*. Lower-level non-manual employment; semi-skilled professionals and clerks are the unchanged protagonist of the middle class position. Their income and level of education are relatively low as compared with the managers and professionals however their cultural consumption gives us some clues about their aspiration of the higher strata. They are supposedly aspiring to a middle-class standard and style of life. They were never coincided with the blue collar workers which many Marxists have a tendency to assume their position as the ''proletariat''. To a varying degree we see that employer category oscillates between

dominant position and mid-position class position and regions. The size of employer does not create much differentiation, both mid-big and small employer show high degree of similarity in the socio-economic spheres and practices. The professionals appear as in both dominant class position (1994) and middle class position (2001). It seems that the professionals made a split to the mid-position whereas employer category occupied this position in 1994.

	INCOME (INTERMEDIARY) EDUCATION (INTERMEDARY) MIX TYPE URBAN SPACE INTERMEDIARY CLASS POSION Semi-skilled professionals and clerks Professionals Mid-big employer Small employer Retired AVERAGE QUALITY NEIGHBOURHOOD
INCOME (+) EDUCATION (+)	INCOME (-) EDUCATION (-)
SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY	NORTH- NORTH EASTERN PART OF THE CITY
DOMINANT CLASS POSITION Administrative, managerial worker Professionals Mid-big employer Small employer Retired	SUBORDINATE CLASS POSITION Unskilled service workers Manual workers Artisan & informal
ADVANTAGEOUS	DISADVANTAGEOUS
HIGH QUALITY NEIGHBOURHOOD	LOW QUALITY NEIGHBOURHOOD
	INTERACTION AXIS Unskilled service workers Petty-bourgeoisie UNCERTAIN

Fig. 7.1: Simplified scheme about the findings

We can argue that to be poor is to be distant from the mainstream of society and to be excluded from the resources, opportunities and sources of subjective and objective wellbeing which are readily available to others. In this study we do not consider "poverty" as a discrete condition, on the contrary "poverty" stems from the position in the class structure. In the study "poverty" is accompanied with the low access to education, low level of income and consumption, poorest neighborhoods and housing and finally lack of cultural practices. The social blocks which can be coincided with these attributes are the groups, blue-collar workers, and petty-bourgeoisie, marginals and unskilled service workers. They are faced with the social differentiation, social exclusion and marginalization. However we detected some sort of existence of the urban rent and increasing spending on communication devices which can be considered as attempts not to be isolated from the mainstream of the society. We obtained sufficient evidence that the poor blocks is not homogeneous, on the contrary they show some variation in the different dimensions of the model.

Classes are not homogeneous entities as regards the social relations to which they give rise. Our study verifies the great diversity of class situations that can arise from the structuring of labour power by skill differentials. Market situation, work condition, work context, skill differentials are the important factors in exploring the social stratification and spatial segregation. Turkish urban structure is in the phase of highly fragmented and complicated social processes which reflects differentiated aggregates of economic, social, cultural and spatial strata.

In the case of white-collar employees they appear as a group to follow life-styles much closer to higher middle-class groups than do the manual workers. Clerks live in better neighborhoods than manual workers and it is more probably that they might have higher educational aspirations and expectations for their children.

Our study provides sufficient evidence that different social groups have different consumption patterning. We consider consumption as an impetus to read the societal relation which is in our case to distinguish the class positions in accord with their distinctive patterning of consumption. In our study the sphere of reproduction also reflects the profound inequalities among different fractions. The field of consumption has not attracted so much scholarly attention and the very few studies held on the issue generally approached the consumption as something detrimental and damaging the traditional values of the societies² (Odabaşı, 1999: 135-147; Zorlu³, 2002:1). Exploring the social categories without any ethical and moral judgment, which lies behind the act of consumption, is needed to be

² Odabaşı sees consumption as something against the ''love and care'' and he was named the section ''to be Consumed Whereas Consuming (*Tüketirken Tükenmek*)'' (1999: 135-147).

³ In a similar vein Zorlu asserts that the widespread extension of consumption in Turkish society as an indication of the changing traditional values and becoming dominancy of the materialized norm and values in the society without taking into consideration the reason behind all consumption act (2002).

investigated in more details. There is a need to explore the ways in which different classes use different goods to (pro)claim their places in the social structure.

The popular literature on consumption is surprisingly supercilious about attempts to be equipped at the same level. Terms such as 'conspicuous consumption'', 'band-wagoning'', 'the Veblen effect'', and an aura of disapproval over keeping up with the Joneses puts the writers on the side of the excluders, against those who are trying not be excluded. (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: 91).

All consumption and, more generally, all practice, is ''conspicuous'', visible, whether or not it is performed in order to be seen; it is distinctive, whether or not it springs from the intention of being ''conspicuous'', standing out, of distinguishing oneself or behaving with distinction. As such, it inevitably functions as a distinctive sign and, when the difference is recognized, legitimate and approves, as a *sign of distinction*. However, because social agents are capable of perceiving as significant distinctions the ''spontaneous'' distinctions that their categories of perception lead them to regard as pertinent, it follows that they are also capable of intentionally underscoring these spontaneous differences in life-style by what Weber calls ''the stylization of life'' (*die Stilisierung des Lebens*).

(Bourdieu, 1985: 204)

Our study proves that there is sufficient horizontal and vertical social differentiation in the sample to assert that class in urban structure is multi-dimensional and it cannot be equated with the dichotomous class structure as in the case of property owners versus non-property owners or manual versus non-manual. Our study can be taken as the evidence that, today, the economic power shaped by market mechanism seems to be becoming more and more important. After 1980s, increased participation in a market economy seems to lead way to the outcomes in class structuration.

As a conclusion we studied the spatial dimension of societal relations at the neighbourhood unit and found that the class fractions defined by the employment status and occupation; income, living environment, housing and house comfort; cultural practices and consumption patterns as joint variables explaining the socio-economic polarisation. One thing that may be becoming clear now is that different social groups appear to live different but consistent worlds of specific combinations of socio-economic realities. All these combinations and cultural practices can be mapped together in the urban space.

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APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY

SIS data dictionary (http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SOZLUK/data.html)

I. GENERAL

Household: The household is a group consisting of one or several persons, irrespective of the existence of a family tie among them, who live in the same house or a part thereof, eating from the same kitchen, pooling their incomes and expenditures, and participating in the household services and management.

Household head: Person who is responsible for income and expenditure and who directs the household.

House: Construction having one or two settlement units for residential purposes without considering the number of floors. Shanties are included in this group.

Detached house: Single plush houses built in a garden. Duplex, triplex houses and villas, waterside residences are included in this group.

Apartment: Construction having three or more settlement units for residential purposes without considering the number of floors.

II. LABOUR

Person employed: Comprises all the persons 12 years of age and over and included "persons at work" and "not at work" described below.

Economically active population: Economically active population includes those who worked at least one day during the week prior to the census for the purpose of obtaining an income in kind or in cash, those who were not working but had a job and those who did not have a job but were seeking one.

Employment status: The employment status of a person in his work is determined by the following categories.

Salary or wage earner: A salary or wage earner is a person employed by another for remuneration in cash or in kind.

Employer: An employer is a person who employs at least one person in his field of activity.

Self employed: A self employed person is a person working in his own business such as agriculture or trade, by himself or together with non-paid family workers to obtain an income in cash and/or in kind.

Non-paid family workers: Non-paid family workers are household members employed in the family business without receiving a salary.

Economically inactive population: Includes the population who did not work to obtain and income in kind or in cash during the week prior to the census, who did not have a job, and who were not seeking a job.

These are the persons who are not seeking a job because of being seasonal workers, housewives, students, property income earners, and retired, disabled and for other reasons. This group consists of several sub-groups;

Seasonal worker: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of being seasonal workers.

Housewives: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of household duties.

Student: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of engagement in studies.

Retired person: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of being retired.

Having property income: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of having property income.

Disabled old or ill: Persons not seeking a job who are available for work because of being disabled, ill, or elderly.

Family or personal reasons: Persons not seeking a job who are not available for work because of family or personal reasons.

Other: Persons not seeking a job that is not available for work because of other reasons.

Persons at work: Persons economically active during the reference period for at least one hour as a regular employee, casual employee, employer, self employed, or unpaid family worker.

Persons not at work: Persons with a job who did not work during the reference period for various reasons but have a job attachment.

Occupation: The concept of occupation is used in terms of both the job being held and the profession. Every employed person was counted only once with respect to their job. Multiple job holders were counted in the job which consumed the majority of their time during the reference period.

The members of producer cooperatives and unpaid apprentices in training are considered as employed.

Persons working for charity organizations with no payment are not considered as employed. *Unemployed*: The unemployed comprise all persons 12 years of age and over who were not employed (either worked for profit payment in kind or family gain at any job even for one hour or with any job attachment) during the reference period, who have taken and a specific step (s) to obtain a job during the last six months and were available to start work within 15 days.

Persons who have already found a job or established their own job but were waiting to complete necessary documents to start work and who were available to start work and were available to start a job within 15 days were also and considered as unemployed persons.

Wages: The average daily wages also include premiums, overtime, and severance pay. The gross wages have been calculated from amount subject to insurance deductions.

III. HOUSEHOLD AND CONSUMPTION INCOME

Household consumption: Household consumption is the total amount spent by the household for food, restaurants dining, clothing furniture, house and personal maintenance, health and other items in cash or in kind during the month of the survey. In rural areas, it includes the items set aside from its own production by the household for its own consumption.

Income in cash: Income in cash is the income received in terms of cash by the household members.

Income in kind: This is income received in kind (non-case services or goods) by household members. The sales prices of the item at the nearest market to the household are used for the valuation.

Personal disposable income: The personal disposable income covers the actual payments made for the production factors (salaries, interest, profit, and rent) and the unilateral transfers from public and private enterprises and from abroad. Non-distributed corporate profits are excluded from these payments. The amount remaining after the deduction of direct taxes and unilateral transfers of the household to the State from total personal income is defined as the monthly personal disposable income.

Salaries and wages: This is the income received by any member of household for work as a salary or wage in cash or in kind. This income is the net income of the individual after the deduction of retirement or other social assistance remittances and taxes.

Entrepreneurial income: This is income obtained by entrepreneurs from agriculture, trade and services, or non-agricultural activities.

Urban agricultural income: The monthly amount of the total annual incomes received by the household from agricultural production and products of animal origin is taken as agricultural income.

Rural agricultural income: Since households in the rural areas are taken as agricultural enterprises, the incomes from these enterprises are taken at their gross values and the net agricultural income is obtained by subtracting the inputs for agricultural activity.

Trade income: Trade income is the net income derived through trade activities by any member of the household.

Service income: Service income is the net income derived against services rendered by any member of the household.

Non-agricultural production income: This is the net income received by household members through non-agricultural activities (such as manufacturing, construction, energy, mining, etc.) of the household members.

Real estate income: Real estate income is the net income obtained through leasing of such real estate as buildings, land, and lots.

Movable property income (interest and dividends): This is the net income received through the lease of machinery, equipment vehicles, returns on shares and bonds, dividends, profit-sharing certificates and interest on bank deposits.

Unilateral transfers and donations from the state, private sectors and from abroad: This is the net income received by any household member from the State, private sector enterprises, or from abroad.

Imputed rent: Imputed rent is the amount of rent which would normally be paid by a household regardless of the fact that the household occupies its own residence or is living in a free lodging.

Rent paid: The rent paid covers the net rent payable by tenant households or by households living in lodging (Fuel costs are excluded).

IV. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Pre-school education: covers the education of children under the mandatory schooling age. Pre-school education institutions include independent kindergartens, nursery classes in primary schools, and preparation classes.

Primary education: is the training that provides basic knowledge and ensures physical, mental, and moral development of children in accordance with national objectives. The schooling age at which all children must attend primary schools is between the ages of 6 - 14. Primary education institutions have two different levels, primary schools encompasses the first 5 years and junior high schools, 3 years.

Primary schools: Five - year primary schools are the first level of the eight - year primary education.

Junior high schools build upon primary schooling and with a 3 year program of instruction. At this level junior high schools, in conjunction with high schools, are covered as independent units.

Secondary education: continues from primary school education with at least 3 years of education covering all secondary, vocational, general, and technical educational institutions. General high schools have a 3 year program of instruction following completion of junior high school.

Vocational and technical high schools: These schools provide is specialized instruction with the aim of training qualified personnel. The organizations and periods of instruction of these schools are different. Most of the vocational - technical high schools are administered by the Ministry of National Education, but other ministries and institutions also administer certain schools to train personnel required by their organizations.

Higher education: provides further and specialized education in various fields for students who have completed secondary education. The Law dated, November 4, 1981 No: 2547, of Higher education Institutions, concerns all higher education institutions and related sections of the institutions including all activities and principles involved.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLING AND ESTIMATION METHOD OF THE INCOME AND CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE SURVEY OF SIS

Determination of sample size

There is more than simply one factor which determines sample size on the survey. Sampling size is constituted by taking into consideration some restrictive such as cost, field organization and data quality. Sample Project works of 1994 household income and consumption expenditures survey was started in 1992. The Works of literature search about Household income and consumption Expenditures survey was done at first. In this study it is observed that if there are any changes in sample sizes of countries according to their social, economical, geographical status and population. So sampling methods and sample sizes used in developed and developing countries were examined.

To determine the sample size of 1994 household income and consumption expenditures survey, variances calculated from the results of the 1987 household income and consumption expenditures survey applied by SIS at last were used. On the confidence interval determined by Benforroni approach, sample size was determined according to some household characteristics.

Sampling method

In countries, where registration system is mainly precarious, multi-stage sampling methods are usually used. In our country, the multi-stage sampling methods are preferred because there are no register system, no current addresses of households and consumption expenditures survey; the stratified multi-stage systematic cluster sampling method was used.

Framework

The 1990 Census enumeration sheets constituted the frame for the first stage sample selection in settlements with a population over 2000.

Stratification

Region stratification

Seven geographical regions stratification was used instead of five geographical regions stratification used before.

Rural and urban stratification

Using the latest definition of the State Planning Organization, the settlements with a population of 20 001 and over were taken as ''urban'', 20 000 and less were taken as ''rural'' in every region.

Stratification in rural settlements

The rural settlements were divided into three strata in each region under population criteria. These population group strata are given below.

Population groups	Strata
0-2 000	1
2 001 - 5 000	2
5 001 -20 000	3

Stratification in urban settlements

The urban settlements were divided into three strata in each region under population criteria. These population group strata are given below.

Population groups	Strata
20 001 - 50 000	4
50 001 - 200 000	5
200 001 - +	6

In order to constitute population group strata in rural and urban settlements, some hypothesis tests with multiple variable were done about combination of suitable population groups by the results of the 1987 households income and consumption expenditures survey. And it was observed that there were no difference between 5001- 10000 and 10001-20000 population groups so these groups were combined.

Stratification of quarters

In settlements with a population of 200 001 and over, the quarters were stratified three strata according to their socio-economic status (as some variables like infrastructure population, transportation facilities, rents of houses etc., but without any Standard definition) as developed, developing and undeveloped. The stratum weights were designed using the "quarters" population as determined by the results of 1990 Census.

Sample unit

The ultimate sample unit is the household.

Reference period

Reference period of the expenditures of each household was determined as last four weeks. But that of data on income was determined as survey month and throughout the month and throughout the last year. In the rural and urban areas, arcos fort he first month households were surveyed throughout the month and at the following month other households which can represent them were taken as sample.

Stages of sample selection

Generally samples were selected at three periods; settlements, blocks and households. All settlements were selected as proportional probability to population. At last stage, number of households which were selected from blocks was determined as fixed population. Sample households were changed periodically in each month. The settlements with population less than 2001 were changed once three months, the settlements with a population 2001 and over were fixed during the year.

Selection of the sample households

The selection of households in settlements was done systematically from the lists obtained through the block forms. And households were distributed to three months of the period by taking into account the numbers of order of each household in order to obtain the indicator of each settlement for each particular month.

Term	San	nple se	electio	on no
1 ^{ts} month	1	4	7	10
2 nd month	2	5	8	11
3 rd month	3	6	9	12

Substitution principle

Because of using the block listing method, the substituted households were given by central Office of SIS as checking substituted households were given by order of list obtained from block listing survey.

Formulations about variances of any variable

Stratified random sampling variance formulations have been used by the reason of sampling method.

APPENDIX C:

TYPES OF CONSUMPTION EXPENSES

Expenses for food, alcoholic beverages and tobacco: Contains spending for bread, wheat products, dairy products, animal and vegetable oil, fresh or dry vegetables and fruits, sugar, honey, jam and candies, other types of food not included in this list, beverages, tobacco and cigarettes.

Expenses for clothing and shoes: Contains spending for clothing for men, women, children and babies, accessories, mending and cleaning services, shoes and shoe repair.

Expenses for the residence: This group contains spending for rent, maintenance and repairs, cleaning and plumbing, water, power and gas services.

Expenses for domestic products: Contains spending for furniture, floor coverings, furniture repair, kitchen appliances, garden utensils and landscaping equipment, services for keeping up the residence.

Expenses for health related items: Contains spending for medicine, hospital expenses, and all medical services.

Expenses for transportation: Contains spending for purchase of private vehicles (cars, bikes, motorbikes etc.), inner city transportation services, train, and airplane tickets, moving and storage expenses.

Expenses for communication: postal services telephone and faxes.

Expenses for entertainment: Contains spending for purchasing TVs, radio, stereo equipment, computers, toys, PC games, audio and video recording equipment, tickets for cultural and entertainment events, books, newspapers, and office supplies.

Expenses for education: Contains spending for all educational services, books, school meals, dormitory fees.

Expenses for hotel, restaurant and cafe: Contains spending for eating out and lodging.

Various expenses: Contains spending for personal grooming, personal items, postage fees, social services, financial services, religious services, advertisement fees, paralegal services etc.

APPENDIX D:

INTERNATIONAL STANDARD CLASIFICATION OF OCCUPATION

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION I (used in the data set 1994)

1. Scientific, technical or professional workers

2. Entrepreneurs, executives or managerial worker

3. Clerks

4. Trade or shop and market sales workers

5. Service worker

6. Agricultural and fishery workers

7, 8, 9 Non-agricultural production workers, transportation operators

10 Not-classifiable

ISCO88 (COM) code: MAJOR GROUPS (used in data set 2001)

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

MAJOR GROUP 1: LEGISLATORS, SENIOR OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS

11	Legislators and senior officials			
	111	Legislat	ors and senior government officials	
		1110	Legislators and senior government officials	
	114	Senior of	officials of special-interest organisations ¹	
		1141	Senior officials of political party organisations	
		1142	Senior officials of employers', workers' and other	
			economic-interest organisations	
		1143	Senior officials of humanitarian and other special-interest	
			organisations	
12	Corpora	ate manager	s ¹	
	121	Director	rs and chief executives ²	
		1210	Directors and chief executives	
	122	Product	ion and operations managers ³	
		1221	Production and operations managers in agriculture,	
			hunting, forestry and fishing	
		1222	Production and operations managers in manufacturing	

- 1222 Production and operations managers in manufacturing
- 1223 Production and operations managers in construction
- 1224 Production and operations managers in wholesale and retail trade
- 1225 Production and operations managers in restaurants

		and hotels
	1226	Production and operations managers in transport,
		storage and communications
	1227	Production and operations managers in business services enterprises
	1228	Production and operations managers in personal
		care, cleaning and related services
	1229	Production and operations managers not elsewhere classified
123	Other sp	pecialist managers ⁴
	1231	Finance and administration managers
	1232	Personnel and industrial relations managers
	1233	Sales and marketing managers
	1234	Advertising and public relations managers
	1235	Supply and distribution managers
	1236	Computing services managers
	1237	Research and development managers
	1239	Other specialist managers not elsewhere classified

13 Managers of small enterprises¹

> Managers of small enterprises 131

- 1311 Managers of small enterprises in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing²
- 1312 Managers of small enterprises in manufacturing
- Managers of small enterprises in construction 1313
- 1314 Managers of small enterprises in wholesale and retail trade
- Managers of small enterprises of restaurants and hotels 1315
- Managers of small enterprises in transport, storage 1316 and communications
- Managers of small enterprises in business services enterprises 1317
- 1318 Managers of small enterprises in personal care, cleaning and related services
- 1319 Managers of small enterprises not elsewhere classified

MAJOR GROUP 2: PROFESSIONALS

Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals 21 211

- Physicists, chemists and related professionals
 - 2111 Physicists and astronomers
 - 2112 Meteorologists
 - 2113 Chemists
 - 2114 Geologists and geophysicists
- Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals 212
 - Mathematicians and related professionals 2121
 - Statisticians¹ 2122
- Computing professionals² 213
 - Computer systems designers, analysts and programmers 2131
 - 2139 Computing professionals not elsewhere classified
- Architects, engineers and related professionals 214
 - 2141 Architects, town and traffic planners
 - 2142 Civil engineers
 - 2143 **Electrical engineers**
 - 2144 Electronics and telecommunications engineers
 - 2145 Mechanical engineers
 - 2146 Chemical engineers
 - Mining engineers, metallurgists and related professionals 2147
 - Cartographers and surveyors 2148
 - 2149 Architects, engineers and related professionals not elsewhere classified

22	Life scien	Life science and health professionals			
	221	Life science	ce professionals		
		2211	Biologists, botanists, zoologists and related professionals		
		2212	Pharmacologists, pathologists and related professionals		
		2213	Agronomists and related professionals		
	222	Health pro	fessionals (except nursing)		
		2221	Medical doctors		
		2222	Dentists		
		2223	Veterinarians		
		2224	Pharmacists		
		2229	Health professionals (except nursing) not elsewhere classified		
	223	Nursing ar	nd midwifery professionals		
		2230	Nursing and midwifery professionals		
23	Teaching	professional	S		
	231	College, u	niversity and higher education teaching professionals		
		2310	College, university and higher education teaching professionals		
	232	Secondary	education teaching professionals		
		2320	Secondary education teaching professionals		
	233	Primary ar	nd pre-primary education teaching professionals		
		2331	Primary education teaching professionals		
		2332	Pre-primary education teaching professionals		
	234	Special ed	ucation teaching professionals		
		2340	Special education teaching professionals		
	235	Other teac	hing professionals		
		2351	Education methods specialists		
		2352	School inspectors		
		2359	Other teaching professionals not elsewhere classified		
24	Other pro	fessionals			
24	Other pro 241	fessionals Business p	rofessionals		
24	Other pro 241	fessionals Business p 2411	rofessionals Accountants		
24	Other pro 241	fessionals Business p 2411 2412	rofessionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals		
24	Other pro 241	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419	rofessionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified		
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24	Other pro 241 242	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified essionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified		
24	Other pro 241 242 243	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified essionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals		
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24	Other pro 241 242 243	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified Sessionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals		
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24	Other pro 241 242 243 244	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432 Social scie 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified essionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals ence and related professionals Economists ¹ Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals Philosophers, historians and political scientists Philologists, translators and interpreters Psychologists		
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24	Other pro 241 242 243 244 244	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432 Social scie 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 Writers an	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified essionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals ence and related professionals Economists ¹ Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals Philosophers, historians and political scientists Philologists, translators and interpreters Psychologists Social work professionals d creative or performing artists ²		
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24	Other pro 241 242 243 244 244	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432 Social scie 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 Writers an 2451 2452 2453 2454	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified essionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals ence and related professionals Economists ¹ Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals Philosophers, historians and political scientists Philologists, translators and interpreters Psychologists Social work professionals d creative or performing artists ² Authors, journalists and other writers Sculptors, painters and related artists Composers, musicians and singers Choreographers and dancers		
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24	Other pro 241 242 243 244 244 245 245	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432 Social scie 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 Writers an 2451 2452 2453 2454 2455 Religious	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified ressionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals ence and related professionals Economists ¹ Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals Philosophers, historians and political scientists Philologists, translators and interpreters Psychologists Social work professionals d creative or performing artists ² Authors, journalists and other writers Sculptors, painters and related artists Composers, musicians and singers Choreographers and dancers Film, stage and related actors and directors professionals		
24	Other pro 241 242 243 244 244 245 245	fessionals Business p 2411 2412 2419 Legal prof 2421 2422 2429 Archivists 2431 2432 Social scie 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 Writers an 2451 2452 2453 2454 2455 Religious p 2460	professionals Accountants Personnel and careers professionals Business professionals not elsewhere classified Pessionals Lawyers Judges Legal professionals not elsewhere classified , librarians and related information professionals Archivists and curators Librarians and related information professionals ence and related professionals Economists ¹ Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals Philosophers, historians and political scientists Philologists, translators and interpreters Psychologists Social work professionals d creative or performing artists ² Authors, journalists and other writers Sculptors, painters and related artists Composers, musicians and singers Choreographers and dancers Film, stage and related actors and directors professionals Religious professionals		

Public service administrative professionals³

2470 Public service administrative professionals

MAJOR GROUP 3: TECHNICIANS AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS

31 Physical and engineering science associate professionals

247

- 311 Physical and engineering science technicians
 - 3111 Chemical and physical science technicians
 - 3112 Civil engineering technicians
 - 3113 Electrical engineering technicians
 - 3114 Electronics and telecommunications engineering technicians
 - 3115 Mechanical engineering technicians
 - 3116 Chemical engineering technicians
 - 3117 Mining and metallurgical technicians
 - 3118 Draughtspersons
 - 3119 Physical and engineering science technicians not elsewhere classified
 - 312 Computer associate professionals^{1,2}
 - 3121 Computer assistants
 - 3122 Computer equipment operators
 - 3123 Industrial robot controllers
 - 313 Optical and electronic equipment operators
 - 3131 Photographers and image and sound recording equipment operators
 - 3132 Broadcasting and telecommunications equipment operators
 - 3133 Medical equipment operators
 - 3139 Optical and electronic equipment operators not elsewhere classified
 - 314 Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians
 - 3141 Ships' engineers
 - 3142 Ships' deck officers and pilots
 - 3143 Aircraft pilots and related associate professionals
 - 3144 Air traffic controllers
 - 3145 Air traffic safety technicians
 - 315 Safety and quality inspectors
 - 3151 Building and fire inspectors
 - 3152 Safety, health and quality inspectors

32

classified

322

Life science and health associate professionals

- 321 Life science technicians and related associate professional
 - 3211 Life science technicians
 - 3212 Agronomy and forestry technicians
 - 3213 Farming and forestry advisers
 - Health associate professionals (except nursing)
 - 3221 Medical assistants
 - 3222 Hygienists, health and environmental officers¹
 - 3223 Dieticians and nutritionists
 - 3224 Optometrists and opticians
 - 3225 Dental assistants
 - 3226 Physiotherapists and related associate professionals
 - 3227 Veterinary assistants
 - 3228 Pharmaceutical assistants
- 3229 Health associate professionals (except nursing) not elsewhere

323 Nursing and midwifery associate professionals²

- 3231 Nursing associate professionals
 - 3232 Midwifery associate professionals
- 5252 When when y associate professio

33 Teaching associate professionals

331 Primary education teaching associate professionals

		3310 Primary education teaching associate professionals
	332	Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
		3320 Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
	333	Special education teaching associate professionals
		3330 Special education teaching associate professionals
	334	Other teaching associate professionals
		3340 Other teaching associate professionals
		······································
34		
	344	Customs, tax and related government associate professionals
		3441 Customs and border inspectors
		3442 Government tax and excise officials
		3443 Government social benefits officials
		3444 Government licensing officials
		3449 Customs, tax and related government associate professionals
		not elsewhere classified ¹
	345	Police inspectors and detectives
	515	3450 Police inspectors and detectives
	346	Social work associate professionals
	510	3460 Social work associate professionals
	317	Artistic entertainment and sports associate professionals
	547	2471 Decorators and commercial designers
		2472 Declators and commercial designers
		34/2 Radio, television and other announcers
		34/3 Street, night-club and related musicians, singers and dancers
		34/4 Clowns, magicians, acrobats and related associate professionals
	2.40	34/5 Athletes, sports persons and related associate professionals
	348	Religious associate professionals
		3480 Religious associate professionals
MATOR		A. CLEDKS
MAJOR 41	Office	4: CLERRS
41	411	Secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks
	711	A111 Stanographere and typiste
		4111 Stellographers and related operators
		4112 Wold-plocessol and related operators
		4115 Data entry operators
		4114 Calculating-machine operators
	410	4115 Secretaries
	412	Numerical clerks
		4121 Accounting and book-keeping clerks
	410	4122 Statistical and finance clerks
	413	Material-recording and transport clerks
		4131 Stock clerks
		4132 Production clerks
		4133 Transport clerks
	414	Library, mail and related clerks
		4141 Library and filing clerks
		4142 Mail carriers and sorting clerks
		4143 Coding, proof-reading and related clerks
		4144 Scribes and related workers
	419	Other office clerks ²
		4190 Other office clerks
42	Custom	er services clerks

42 421

Cashiers, tellers and related clerks

- 4211 Cashiers and ticket clerks
- Tellers and other counter clerks Bookmakers and croupiers 4212
- 4213

- 4214 Pawnbrokers and money-lenders
- 4215 Debt-collectors and related workers
- 422 Client information clerks
 - 4221 Travel agency and related clerks
 - 4222 Receptionists and information clerks
 - 4223 Telephone switchboard operators

MAJOR GROUP 5: SERVICE WORKERS AND SHOP AND MARKET SALES WORKERS

- 51 Personal and protective services workers
 - 511 Travel attendants and related workers
 - 5111 Travel attendants and travel stewards
 - 5112 Transport conductors
 - 5113 Travel guides
 - 512 Housekeeping and restaurant services workers
 - 5121 Housekeepers and related workers
 - 5122 Cooks
 - 5123 Waiters, waitresses and bartenders
 - 513 Personal care and related workers¹
 - 5131 Child-care workers
 - 5132 Institution-based personal care workers
 - 5133 Home-based personal care workers
 - 5139 Personal care and related workers not elsewhere classified
 - 514 Other personal services workers
 - 5141 Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers
 - 5142 Companions and valets
 - 5143 Undertakers and embalmers
 - 5149 Other personal services workers not elsewhere classified

516 Protective services workers

- 5161 Fire-fighters
- 5162 Police officers
- 5163 Prison guards
- 5169 Protective services workers not elsewhere classified
- 52 Models, salespersons and demonstrators
 - 521 Fashion and other models
 - 5210 Fashion and other models
 - 522 Shop, stall and market salespersons and demonstrators¹
 - 5220 Shop, stall and market salespersons and demonstrators

MAJOR GROUP 6: SKILLED AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERY WORKERS

- 61 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers¹
 - 611 Market gardeners and crop growers
 - 6111 Field crop and vegetable growers²
 - 6112 Gardeners, horticultural and nursery growers
 - 612 Animal producers and related workers
 - 6121 Dairy and livestock producers
 - 6122 Poultry producers
 - 6129 Animal producers and related workers not elsewhere classified
 - 613 Crop and animal producers
 - 6130 Crop and animal producers
 - 614 Forestry and related workers
 - 6141 Forestry workers and loggers
 - 6142 Charcoal burners and related workers
 - 615 Fishery workers, hunters and trappers
 - 6151 Aquatic life cultivation workers
 - 6152 Inland and coastal waters fishery workers

- 6153 Deep-sea fishery workers
- 6154 Hunters and trappers

MAJOR GROUP 7: CRAFT AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS¹

- 71 Extraction and building trades workers
 - 711 Miners, shotfirers, stone cutters and carvers
 - 7111 Miners and quarry workers
 - 7112 Shotfirers and blasters
 - 7113 Stone splitters, cutters and carvers
 - 712 Building frame and related trades workers
 - 7121 Builders
 - 7122 Bricklayers and stonemasons
 - 7123 Concrete placers, concrete finishers and related workers
 - 7124 Carpenters and joiners
 - 7129 Building frame and related trades workers not elsewhere classified
 - Building finishers and related trades workers
 - 7131 Roofers

713

- Floor layers and tile setters
- 7133 Plasterers
- 7134 Insulation workers
- 7135 Glaziers
- 7136 Plumbers and pipe fitters
- 7137 Building and related electricians
- 7139 Building finishers and related trade workers not elsewhere classified
- 714 Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers
 - 7141 Painters and related workers²
 - 7143 Building structure cleaners

72	Metal, m	achinery and	d related trades workers
	721	Metal mo	ulders, welders, sheet-metal workers, structural-metal preparers, and
		related tra	des workers
		7211	Metal moulders and coremakers
		7212	Welders and flame cutters
		7213	Sheet-metal workers
		7214	Structural-metal preparers and erectors
		7215	Riggers and cable splicers
		7216	Underwater workers
	722	Blacksmit	ths, tool-makers and related trades workers
		7221	Blacksmiths, hammer-smiths and forging-press workers
		7222	Tool-makers and related workers
		7223	Machine-tool setters and setter-operators
		7224	Metal wheel-grinders, polishers and tool sharpeners
	723	Machiner	y mechanics and fitters
		7231	Motor vehicle mechanics and fitters
		7232	Aircraft engine mechanics and fitters
		7233	Agricultural- or industrial-machinery mechanics and fitters
	724	Electrical	and electronic equipment mechanics and fitters
		7241	Electrical mechanics fitters and services
		7242	Electronics mechanics, fitters and servicers ¹
		7244	Telegraph and telephone installers and servicers
		7245	Electrical line installers, repairers and cable jointers

73 Precision, handicraft, craft printing and related trades workers

731 Precision workers in metal and related materials

7311 Precision-instrument makers and repairers

		7312	Musical-instrument makers and tuners
	732	Potters of	ass_makers and related trades workers
	152	7321	Abrasive wheel formers, notters and related workers
		7321	Glass-makers cutters grinders and finishers
		7323	Glass engravers and etchers
		7323	Glass ceramics and related decorative nainters
733	733	Handieraf	t workers in wood, textile, leather and related materials
		7331	Handicraft workers in wood and related materials
		7332	Handicraft workers in textile leather and related materials
	734	Craft print	ting and related trades workers
	731	7341	Compositors typesetters and related workers
		7342	Stereotypers and electrotypers
		7343	Printing engravers and etchers
		7344	Photographic and related workers
		7345	Bookbinders and related workers
		7346	Silk-screen, block and craft textile printers
74	Other craf	t and relate	d trades workers
	741	Food proc	essing and related trades workers
		7411	Butchers, fishmongers and related food preparers1
		7412	Bakers, pastry-cooks and confectionery makers1
		7413	Dairy-products workers
		7414	Fruit, vegetable and related preservers
		7415	Food and beverage tasters and graders
		7416	Tobacco preparers and tobacco products makers
	742	Wood trea	aters, cabinet-makers and related trades workers
		7421	Wood treaters
		7422	Cabinetmakers and related workers
		7423	Woodworking machine setters and setter-operators
		7424	Basketry weavers, brush makers and related workers
	743	Textile, ga	arment and related trades workers
		7431	Fibre preparers
		7432	Weavers, knitters and related workers
		7433	Tailors, dressmakers and hatters
		7434	Furriers and related workers
		7435	Textile, leather and related pattern-makers and cutters
		7436	Sewers, embroiderers and related workers
		7437	Upholsterers and related workers
	744	Pelt, leath	er and shoemaking trades workers
		7441	Pelt dressers, tanners and fellmongers
		/442	Shoe-makers and related workers
MAJOR	GROUP 8:	PLANT A	ND MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS
81	Stationary	Mining on	d minorel mesoscing minore anothers
	011		Mining plots operators
		0111	Mining plant operators
		0112 8112	Wall drillers and horars and related workers
	812	0113 Motel n=2	wen unners and borers and related workers
	012		Ora and motal furnace operators
		8121	Metal melters, casters and rolling-mill operators
		8122	Metal heat_treating_plant operators
		8123	Metal drawers and extruders
	813	Glass cor	amics and related plant operators
	615 Glass, ceranics and related plant operators		

- 8139
- Glass and related plant operators Glass and ceramics kiln and related machine operators Glass, ceramics and related plant operators not elsewhere classified

	814	Wood-processing- and papermaking-plant operators8141Wood-processing-plant operators8142Paper-pulp plant operators8142Paper-pulp plant operators	
	815	 8143 Papermaking-plant operators Chemical-processing-plant operators 8151 Crushing-, grinding- and chemical-mixing-machinery operators 8152 Chemical-heat-treating-plant operators 8153 Chemical-filtering- and separating-equipment operators 8154 Chemical-still and reactor operators (except petroleum and natural gas) 	ıl
		8155 Petroleum- and natural-gas-refining-plant operators	
	816	Power-production and related plant operators 8161 Power-production plant operators 8162 Steam-engine and boiler operators	
	817	 8162 Incinerator, water-treatment and related plant operators 8163 Incinerator, water-treatment and related plant operators 8170 Industrial robot operators 	
			-
82	Machine	operators and assemblers	
	821	Metal- and mineral-products machine operators	
		8211 Machine-tool operators	
	011	8212 Cement and other mineral products machine operators	
	822	2221 Dharmacoutical and tailatry products machine operators	
		8221 Filamaceutical-and tonetry-products machine operators	
		8222 Animumion- and explosive-products machine operators	
		8223 Photographic_products machine operators	
		8229 Chemical-products machine operators not elsewhere classified	
	823	Rubber- and plastic-products machine operators	
	025	8231 Rubber-products machine operators	
		8237 Plastic-products machine operators	
	824	Wood-products machine operators	
	02.	8240 Wood-products machine operators	
	825	Printing-, binding- and paper-products machine operators	
		8251 Printing-machine operators	
		8252 Book-binding-machine operators	
		8253 Paper-products machine operators	
	826	Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators	
		8261 Fibre-preparing-, spinning- and winding-machine operators	
		8262 Weaving- and knitting-machine operators	
		8263 Sewing-machine operators	
		8264 Bleaching-, dyeing- and cleaning-machine operators	
		8265 Fur- and leather-preparing-machine operators	
		8266 Shoemaking- and related machine operators	
		8269 Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators not elsewhere classified	e
	827	Food and related products machine operators	
	027	8271 Meat- and fish-processing-machine operators	
		8272 Dairy-products machine operators	
		8273 Grain- and spice-milling-machine operators	
		8274 Baked-goods, cereal- and chocolate-products machine operators	
		8275 Fruit-, vegetable- and nut-processing-machine operators	
		8276 Sugar production machine operators	
		8277 Tea-, coffee- and cocoa-processing-machine operators	
		8278 Brewers, wine and other beverage machine operators	
		8279 Tobacco production machine operators	

	828	Assemblers ¹			
		8281	Mechanical-machinery assemblers		
		8282	Electrical-equipment assemblers		
		8283	Electronic-equipment assemblers		
		8284	Metal-, rubber- and plastic-products assemblers		
		8285	Wood and related products assemblers		
		8286	Paperboard, textile and related products assemblers		
		8287	Composite products assemblers ²		
	829	Other ma	achine operators not elsewhere classified		
		8290	Other machine operators not elsewhere classified		
83	Drivers	and mobile	plant operators		
	831	Locomo	tive engine drivers and related workers		
		8311	Locomotive engine drivers		
		8312	Railway brakers, signallers and shunters		
	832	Motor ve	ehicle drivers		
		8321	Motorcycle drivers		
		8322	Car, taxi and van drivers		
		8323	Bus and tram drivers		
		8324	Heavy truck and lorry drivers		
	833	Agricult	ural and other mobile plant operators		
		8331	Motorised farm and forestry plant operators		
		8332	Earth-moving and related plant operators		
		8333	Crane, hoist and related plant operators		
		8334	Lifting-truck operators		
	834	Ships' de	eck crews and related workers		
		8340	Ships' deck crews and related workers		
MAJO	R GROUP	9: ELEME	NTARY OCCUPATIONS ¹		
91	Sales an	d services e	lementary occupations		
	911	Street ve	ndors and related workers		
		9111	Street vendors ²		
		9113	Door-to-door and telephone salespersons		
	912	Shoe cle	aning and other street services elementary occupations		
		9120	Shoe cleaning and other street services elementary occupations		
	913	Domesti	c and related helpers, cleaners and launderers		
		9131	Domestic helpers and cleaners		
		9132	Helpers and cleaners in offices, hotels and other establishments		
		9133	Hand-launderers and pressers		
	914	Building	caretakers, window and related cleaners		
		9141	Building caretakers		
		9142	Vehicle, window and related cleaners		
	915	Messeng	ers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers		
		9151	Messengers, package and luggage porters and deliverers		
		9152	Doorkeepers, watchpersons and related workers		
		9153	Vending-machine money collectors, meter readers and related workers		
	916	Garbage	collectors and related labourers		
		9161	Garbage collectors		
		9162	Sweepers and related labourers		
92	Agricul	tural, fishery	and related labourers		
	921	Agricult	ural, fishery and related labourers		
		9211	Farm-hands and labourers		

- 9211 9212 9213 Forestry labourers Fishery, hunting and trapping labourers

- 93 Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport 931
 - Mining and construction labourers
 - 9311 Mining and quarrying labourers
 - 9312 Construction and maintenance labourers: roads, dams and similar constructions
 - 9313 Building construction labourers
 - Manufacturing labourers¹ 932
 - Manufacturing labourers 9320
 - 933 Transport labourers and freight handlers Transport labourers and freight handlers² 9330

MAJOR GROUP 0: ARMED FORCES¹

Armed forces

01

010 Armed forces

0100 Armed forces

APPENDIX E

STATISTICAL DATA

		T	Table 1: Cross-tab. Income x class Fractions (1994)							
				income20%						
		$>7.000^{1}$	7.000-10.000	10.000-14.000	14.000-21.000	21.000+	Total			
Administrative	Count	0	0	1	0	13	14			
	%	,0%	,0%	7,1%	,0%	92,9%	100%			
Professionals	Count	0	1	2	10	23	36			
	%	,0%	2,8%	5,6%	27,8%	63,9%	100%			
Semi professionals	Count	5	24	26	16	16	87			
	%	5,7%	27,6%	29,9%	18,4%	18,4%	100%			
Midbig employer	Count	1	3	6	14	21	45			
	%	2,2%	6,7%	13,3%	31,1%	46,7%	100%			
Unskilled service workers	Count	27	25	17	14	2	85			
	%	31,8%	29,4%	20,0%	16,5%	2,4%	100%			
Manual workers	Count	10	12	10	19	7	58			
	%	17,2%	20,7%	17,2%	32,8%	12,1%	100%			
Small employer	Count	1	1	1	4	3	10			
	%	10,0%	10,0%	10,0%	40,0%	30,0%	100%			
Artisan & informal	Count	43	30	31	20	9	133			
	%	32,3%	22,6%	23,3%	15,0%	6,8%	100%			
Retired	Count	26	20	25	17	22	110			
	%	23,6%	18,2%	22,7%	15,5%	20,0%	100%			
Inactive	Count	11	7	5	5	6	34			
	%	32,4%	20,6%	14,7%	14,7%	17,6%	100%			
Total	Count	124	123	124	119	122	612			
	%	20,3%	20,1%	20,3%	19,4%	19,9%	100%			

I. BASIC STATISTICS FOR THE DATA OF 1994

	Table	2: Cross-tab.	Income 5% band	ls x class frac	tions (1994)
			income5%		
		>4.000	4.000-36.000	36.000+	Total
Administrative	Count	0 64.3%	9 35.7%	5 100.0%	14 0%
Professionals	Count %	0 83,3%	30 16,7%	6 100,0%	36 27,8%
Semi professionals	Count	0	84	3	87
	%	96,6%	3,4%	100,0%	18,4%
Midbig employer	Count	0	40	5	45
	%	88,9%	11,1%	100,0%	31,1%
Unskilled service workers	Count	6	79	0	85
	%	92,9%	,0%	100,0%	16,5%
Manual workers	Count	3	54	1	58
	%	93,1%	1,7%	100,0%	32,8%
Small employer	Count ,0%	0 100,0%	10,0%	0 100,0%	10 40,0%
Artisan & informal	Count	12	118	3	133
	9,0%	88,7%	2,3%	100,0%	15,0%
Retired	Count	6	101	3	110
	5,5%	91,8%	2,7%	100,0%	15,5%
Inactive	Count	5	26	3	34
	14,7%	76,5%	8,8%	100,0%	14,7%
Total	Count	32	551	29	612
	%	5,2%	90,0%	4,7%	100,0%

¹ Income values were divided by 1000 for the ease of presentation. 331

			Table3: Level of education						
			Read&	Grade		High		Post-	
		Illiterate	write	school	Secondary	school	University	graduate	Σ
Administrative	Count	0	0	1	0	3	9	1	14
	%	,0%	,0%	7,1%	,0%	21,4%	64,3%	7,1%	100
Professionals	Count	0	0	0	0	2	32	2	36
	%	,0%	,0%	,0%	,0%	5,6%	88,9%	5,6%	100
Semi professionals	Count	1	2	9	6	45	24	0	87
	%	1,1%	2,3%	10,3%	6,9%	51,7%	27,6%	,0%	100
Midbig employer	Count	0	0	20	5	11	9	0	45
	%	,0%	,0%	44,4%	11,1%	24,4%	20,0%	,0%	100
Unskilled service	Count	4	0	48	23	10	0	0	85
	%	4,7%	,0%	56,5%	27,1%	11,8%	,0%	,0%	100
Manual workers	Count	2	1	34	6	11	4	0	58
	%	3,4%	1,7%	58,6%	10,3%	19,0%	6,9%	,0%	100
Small employer	Count	0	1	4	1	4	0	0	10
	%	,0%	10,0%	40,0%	10,0%	40,0%	,0%	,0%	100
Artisan &	Count	6	5	91	15	10	6	0	133
	%	4,5%	3,8%	68,4%	11,3%	7,5%	4,5%	,0%	100
Retired	Count	8	7	49	13	17	16	0	110
	%	7,3%	6,4%	44,5%	11,8%	15,5%	14,5%	,0%	100
Inactive	Count	6	7	10	3	4	4	0	34
	%	17,6%	20,6%	29,4%	8,8%	11,8%	11,8%	,0%	100
Total	Count	27	23	266	72	117	104	3	612
	%	4,4%	3,8%	43,5%	11,8%	19,1%	17,0%	,5%	100

		Table	e 4: Ownershi	p status of the l	nouse	
		tenure	tenant	lodgment	others	Σ
Administrative	Count	7	5	1	1	14
	%	50,0%	35,7%	7,1%	7,1%	100%
Professionals	Count	20	14	1	1	36
	%	55,6%	38,9%	2,8%	2,8%	100%
Semi professionals	Count	29	43	5	10	87
-	%	33,3%	49,4%	5,7%	11,5%	100%
Midbig employer	Count	31	11	0	3	45
	%	68,9%	24,4%	,0%	6,7%	100%
Unskilled service	Count	40	29	4	12	85
	%	47,1%	34,1%	4,7%	14,1%	100%
Manual workers	Count	25	19	6	8	58
	%	43,1%	32,8%	10,3%	13,8%	100%
Small employer	Count	7	2	0	1	10
	%	70,0%	20,0%	,0%	10,0%	100%
Artisan & informal	Count	63	49	0	21	133
	%	47,4%	36,8%	,0%	15,8%	100%
Retired	Count	95	12	0	3	110
	%	86,4%	10,9%	,0%	2,7%	100%
Inactive	Count	21	8	0	5	34
	%	61,8%	23,5%	,0%	14,7%	100%
Total	Count	338	192	17	65	612
	%	55,2%	31,4%	2,8%	10,6%	100%

		Table 5: Ty	ype of the Ho	use	
		detached	apartment	gecekondu	Σ
Administrative	Count	1	13	0	14
	%	7,1%	92,9%	,0%	100%
Professionals	Count	0	36	0	36
	%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	100%
Semi professionals	Count	8	67	12	87
-	%	9,2%	77,0%	13,8%	100%
Midbig employer	Count	2	36	7	45
	%	4,4%	80,0%	15,6%	100%
Unskilled service	Count	13	27	45	85
	%	15,3%	31,8%	52,9%	100%
Manual workers	Count	9	29	20	58
	%	15,5%	50,0%	34,5%	100%
Small employer	Count	0	8	2	10
	%	,0%	80,0%	20,0%	100%
Artisan & informal	Count	18	75	40	133
	%	13,5%	56,4%	30,1%	100%
Retired	Count	8	72	30	110
	%	7,3%	65,5%	27,3%	100%
Inactive	Count	1	25	8	34
	%	2,9%	73,5%	23,5%	100%
Total	Count	60	388	164	612
	%	9,8%	63,4%	26,8%	100%

II. BASIC STATISTICS FOR THE DATA OF 2001

		Table 6: Cross-tab. Income x class Fractions (2001)					
				income20%			Σ
		$>266.000^2$	266.001-406.000	406.001-537.000	537.001-901.000	901.001+	
Administrative	Count	0	0	2	4	9	15
	%	,0%	13,3%	26,7%	60,0%	100,0%	100%
Professionals	Count	0	3	0	7	9	19
	%	15,8%	,0%	36,8%	47,4%	100,0%	100%
Semi professionals	Count	2	4	9	4	6	25
	%	16,0%	36,0%	16,0%	24,0%	100,0%	100%
Midbig employer	Count	0	0	1	2	2	5
	%	,0%	20,0%	40,0%	40,0%	100,0%	100%
Unskilled service	Count	11	10	8	9	4	42
	%	23,8%	19,0%	21,4%	9,5%	100,0%	100%
Manual workers	Count	10	10	7	10	4	41
	%	24,4%	17,1%	24,4%	9,8%	100,0%	100%
Small employer	Count	3	2	2	5	7	19
	%	10,5%	10,5%	26,3%	36,8%	100,0%	100%
Artisan & informal	Count	21	16	15	14	5	71
	%	22,5%	21,1%	19,7%	7,0%	100,0%	100%
Retired	Count	13	11	14	9	13	60
	%	18,3%	23,3%	15,0%	21,7%	100,0%	100%
Inactive	Count	5	4	5	2	4	20
	%	20,0%	25,0%	10,0%	20,0%	100,0%	100%
Total	Count	65	60	63	66	63	317
	%	20,5%	18,9%	19,9%	20,8%	19,9%	100%

² Income values were divided by 1000 for the ease of presentation. 333

	Table	7:Cross-tab.	Income 5% bands x	class fraction	ns (2001)
			income5%		
		>148.250	148.251-1.992.200	1.992.201	Total
Administrative	Count %	0,0%	8 53,3%	7 46,7%	15 100%
Professionals	Count %	0,0%	15 78,9%	4 21,1%	19 100%
Semi professionals	Count %	0,0%	24 96,0%	1 4,0%	25 100%
Midbig employer	Count %	0,0%	3 60,0%	2 40,0%	5 100%
Unskilled service	Count %	2 4,8%	40 95,2%	0,0%	42 100%
Manual workers	Count %	2 4,9%	38 92,7%	1 2,4%	41 100%
Small employer	Count %	3 15,8%	11 57,9%	5 26,3%	19 100%
Artisan & informal	Count %	17 23,9%	50 70,4%	4 5,6%	71 100%
Retired	Count %	6 10,0%	49 81,7%	5 8,3%	60 100%
Inactive	Count %	3 15,0%	14 70,0%	3 15,0%	20 100%
Total	Count %	33 10,4%	252 79,5%	32 10,1%	317 100%

			Table 8: Level of education (2001)						
		illiterate	read& write	Grade school	secondary	high school	university	Post- graduate	Σ
Administrative	Count	1	0	0	2	2	9	1	15
	%	6,7%	,0%	,0%	13,3%	13,3%	60,0%	6,7%	100%
Professionals	Count	0	0	1	0	8	8	2	19
	%	,0%	,0%	5,3%	,0%	42,1%	42,1%	10,5%	100%
Semi professionals	Count	1	1	3	0	17	3	0	25
	%	4,0%	4,0%	12,0%	,0%	68,0%	12,0%	,0%	100%
Midbig employer	Count	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	5
	%	,0%	,0%	20,0%	20,0%	20,0%	40,0%	,0%	100%
Unskilled service	Count	3	1	21	7	10	0	0	42
	%	7,1%	2,4%	50,0%	16,7%	23,8%	,0%	,0%	100%
Manual workers	Count	2	0	28	3	7	1	0	41
	%	4,9%	,0%	68,3%	7,3%	17,1%	2,4%	,0%	100%
Small employer	Count	0	0	5	7	5	2	0	19
	%	,0%	,0%	26,3%	36,8%	26,3%	10,5%	,0%	100%
Artisan & informal	Count	5	6	37	10	11	1	1	71
	%	7,0%	8,5%	52,1%	14,1%	15,5%	1,4%	1,4%	100%
Retired	Count	8	4	22	11	7	6	2	60
	%	13,3%	6,7%	36,7%	18,3%	11,7%	10,0%	3,3%	100%
Inactive	Count	2	2	8	0	7	1	0	20
	%	10,0%	10,0%	40,0%	,0%	35,0%	5,0%	,0%	100%
Total	Count	22	14	126	41	75	33	6	317
	%	6,9%	4,4%	39,7%	12,9%	23,7%	10,4%	1,9%	100%

	r	Fable 9: Owne	ership status of	f the house (20	01)
		Tenure	Tenant	Others	Σ
Administrative	Count	5	10	0	15
	%	33,3%	66,7%	,0%	100,0%
Professionals	Count	5	12	2	19
	%	26,3%	63,2%	10,5%	100,0%
Semi professionals	Count	9	12	4	25
-	%	36,0%	48,0%	16,0%	100,0%
Midbig employer	Count	1	3	1	5
	%	20,0%	60,0%	20,0%	100,0%
Unskilled service	Count	22	15	5	42
	%	52,4%	35,7%	11,9%	100,0%
Manual workers	Count	18	19	4	41
	%	43,9%	46,3%	9,8%	100,0%
Small employer	Count	5	13	1	19
	%	26,3%	68,4%	5,3%	100,0%
Artisan & informal	Count	21	43	7	71
	%	29,6%	60,6%	9,9%	100,0%
Retired	Count	6	49	5	60
	%	10,0%	81,7%	8,3%	100,0%
Inactive	Count	3	16	1	20
	%	15,0%	80,0%	5,0%	100,0%
Total	Count	95	192	30	317
	%	30,0%	60,6%	9,5%	100.0%

		Table 1	0: Type of the	House (2001)	
		Apartment	Detached	Gecekondu	Σ
Administrative	Count	13	0	2	15
	%	86,67	0,00	13,33	100%
Professionals	Count	16	3	0	19
	%	84,21	15,79	0,00	100%
Semi professionals	Count	17	3	5	25
-	%	68,00	12,00	20,00	100%
Midbig employer	Count	4	0	1	5
	%	80,00	0,00	20,00	100%
Unskilled service	Count	26	5	11	42
	%	61,90	11,90	26,19	100%
Manual workers	Count	21	4	16	41
	%	51,22	9,76	39,02	100%
Small employer	Count	18	0	1	19
	%	94,74	0,00	5,26	100%
Artisan & informal	Count	37	2	32	71
	%	52,11	2,82	45,07	100%
Retired	Count	37	2	21	60
	%	61,67	3,33	35,00	100%
Inactive	Count	14	2	4	20
	%	70,00	10,00	20,00	100%
Total	Count	203	21	93	317
	%	64.04	6.62	29.34	100%

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name:	Akpınar, Figen
Nationality:	Turkish (TC)
Date of Place of Birth:	26 March 1963
Marital Status:	Single
Phone:	+90 312 358 96 95
Fax:	+90 312 311 83 67
Email:	Fakpinar@ilbank.gov.tr
	fig_ak@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree 1	nstitution	Year of Graduation
MS	CIHEAM, IAMZ Rural Planning in relation to the Environme	nt,
	Zaragoza-SPAIN	1995
BS	METU City and Regional Planning	1985
High Sch	ool Bahçelievler Deneme Lisesi, Ankara	1980

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
1986-Present	İller Bankası Gn. Md.lüğü	Urban Planner

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Fluent Spanish

PUBLICATIONS

- 1) A Guideline to be pursued in Conservation Plans. Directed study for Housing and Neighborhood Design Workshop. Report no: 1905, 59th ICHPB Rotterdam-Netherlands.1992.
- 2) ''Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarının Korunmasıyla İlgili Yürürlükteki Mevzuat'' [Existing Legislation in relation with the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Assets] *Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı ile Belediyeler Dergisi*. No: 18, June 1993.
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