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Turkish Cities in the Bigger Picture: The Distribution of "Socio-Economic Status" through the Cities

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ABSTRACT

The article is an attempt to analyse 15 Turkish cities with national standards in a comparable way. In order to analyse the cases in the *bigger picture* socio-economic residential segregation is defined as a key issue to understand how those cities are differentiated in terms of urban divisions, group structures, and national inequalities. The article shows that concentration of the "national socio-economic wealth" is on Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir which points to a greater gap between the major cities of the country and "the others" in terms of socio-economic characteristics and this is defined both the cause and the reason of different urbanisation processes at work in the country.

Key words: *Turkish cities, Anatolian cities, socio-economic segregation, national inequalities, urbanisation*

1. INTRODUCTION: THE STORY OF URBANISATION IN TURKISH URBAN STUDIES AND THE NEED OF ANALYSING THE CITIES WITHIN A "BIGGER PICTURE"

Urbanisation may not be everywhere woven of the same cloth. Louis Wacquant (2008) once used this sentence for urban marginality, and this article indicates that it may hold true for Turkish urbanisation as well. When the literature on Turkish urban studies is reviewed with reference to the question of "what we know about Turkish urbanisation?" it is seen at first hand that the well-known urbanisation history dedicated so far to the Turkish cities is written through the urbanisation experiences of a few Turkish metropolises; Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. To be more precise, the history of urbanisation till the 2000s is, for the most part, the

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history of *gecekondu* (unauthorised squatter settlements) of the major cities of Turkey. As widely emphasised in the early urban studies of the 1960s and 1970s it was mainly the inconsistency between the pace of industrialisation, and high rates of urbanisation that led to the emergence of what is referred to as informal mechanisms in many fields of urban life in the major cities (Tekeli, 1982; Şenyapılı, 1978; Karpat, 1976). In this early term, the modern side of urban areas (apartment blocks and rapidly growing capitalist sector) and the seemingly non-modern faces of cities (gecekondus literally built overnight and the informal job market) were in sharp contrast with each other and this dichotomy manifests itself in many other aspects of daily life in the oppositions of urban versus rural, urbanite versus peasant or even arabesque music versus modern music. The students of Turkish urban studies have thus been pondered by the *dualities* observed in daily life. Besides, the early studies assumed, usually implicitly, that the modern had the capacity to absorb the non-modern side of urbanisation and that the pre-capitalist relations were eventually destined to give way to modern, capitalist relations. In this earlier term, as Tekeli (2001) claims, gecekondu dwellers were imposed by the "rural other" and, in a modernist view, it was believed that these people would, sooner or later, be integrated (in a sense, assimilated) to the host society. But as a matter of fact, two different cultures became interwoven in the course of time. The informality, for instance, spread out even the "modern" part of the city; irregular housing had been observed for the well-to-do areas of the metropolises in this earlier term or the so-called arabesque music became widespread throughout the cities as well. Experiences in the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s, thereby, show that the non-modern face of urbanisation is not a temporal but a persistent feature of Turkish cities (Şenyapılı, 1994) and besides, the actual form of urbanisation in Turkey seems to considerably diverge from Western experiences in terms not only of self-made mechanisms the gecekondu dwellers had developed for adaptation to urban life (such as kinship, social solidarity networks or townsmanship connections) but also of the relations they had established with the government.[1]

By the changing economic and politic conditions in the 1980s, the squatter areas were no longer considered as the *survival places* for the urban poor. Instead, they became a source of upward mobility thanks to the interest of the wealthier sections to produce enclaves or trade centres for the upper classes (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2008). In the 1990s it was, therefore, realised by the researchers that Turkey demonstrated indigenous experiences that did not fit the patterns offered by the early-phase practices, and, in a way, Turkey's peculiar history of urbanisation was written.[2] Yet, the 1980s and 1990s have also been a period in which social and residential distance between the low and high income groups has been further expanded in the metropolises and the debates about globalisation and its effects on class formations and urban patterns have been discussed especially in relation to the changing position of Istanbul.[3] In the late 1990s, housing options of upper and middle income groups were also diversified. Decentralisation process had been already started in the larger metropolises both by the urban poor located in the peripheries and by the coalition of middle and upper income groups, developers and state actors as well (Geniş, 2007). As Kurtuluş (2011) claims, the speed of the construction of the gated communities can compete with that of the first generation gecekondus in this term. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that Turkish urban studies of the late 1990s and earlier 2000s were formulated around the issues associated with neoliberalism such as gated communities, gentrification, luxury residents, urban regeneration, or urban transformation practices especially in Ankara and Istanbul.[4]

The most striking result that can be derived from this review of Turkish urbanisation history is that urbanisation experiences told so far belong, as a matter of fact, to a few large cities of the country. In this well-known story, one can see the dominance of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir in defining urbanisation experiences of Turkey. However even a few studies done for Anatolian cities leads one to think about the indigenous experiences of Anatolian cities which may not fit the patterns offered for the major cities industrialisation practices. A review of Anatolian literature shows that the peculiarities of Anatolian cities have first come to foreground with the emergence of an unexpected and unfamiliar industrialisation model of *Anatolian Tigers*.[5] Initial academic attempts on understanding and explaining this process show that as far as industrialisation experiences of Anatolian cities are concerned, there are not the generalities, but the specificities about the cities that need to be explained at local level analyses.[6] These researchers show that in the

[1] Within the political-clientelist climate, the first amnesty laws and urban rehabilitation plans were enforced rapidly to regularise the status of gecekondu in the late 1970s. Some of them were legalised and some were transformed into apartment blocks and the urban infrastructure with urban services was provided as well.

[2] The well-known examples of such an approach belongs to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001), Erder (1996), Erman (1996), Gökçe (1993), Ayata, (1989).

[3] Göle (1993), Keyder (2005), Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009) are the researchers who try to find out to what extent globalisation is effective in producing different class formations as well as spatial formations in Istanbul.

[4] For the pioneering studies on gated communities of Istanbul see; Kurtuluş (2011), Geniş (2007). For those on Ankara see; Şenyapılı (2003), Dündar and Özcan (2003).

[5] Anatolian Tigers is a term barrowed from the *Asian Tigers* used for some East Asian countries which reveal a rapid economic performance and high growth rates between the early 1960s and 1980s.

[6] Keyman and Koyuncu (2005), Bayırbağ (2010), Beyhan and Köroğlu (2003), Eraydın (2002),

early 1980s there were two groups that benefitted from the export-oriented accumulation strategies; first and as expected, it is the large inward-oriented industrialists which have also their export arms and second, as unexpectedly, a group of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) which have strong transnational connections (Hoşgör, 2011).[7] It was, thereby, possible for a greater number of people in Anatolia to set up their own businesses, be included in the market economy and access to network relations due to the ease of entry to the market as well as the flexibility of the smaller firms (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 1996). It is, thereby, mainly those SMEs which became the export centres of Anatolian cities and constituted the larger industrial zones in a short time in a system where a peculiar business ethic that aims to reach competitiveness, innovation or maximum productivity in traditional, or in a sense, pre-capitalist ways (such as mutual trust or social responsibility to ensure harmony between the capital and the labour) are at work. The term of Anatolian Tigers, therefore, both refers to an economic model defined for some as the *Islamic capital* or the *green capital* [8] and to the *cities* where this local economic model has been initially experienced and succeeded as well.

Yet, despite the greater contribution of the existing Anatolian literature, there are some important shortcomings of this literature in some respects. First and foremost, this literature can be criticised on grounds of being "too local" in some respects. Looking at the related literature on Anatolian cities in detail it is seen that there is what one can call an *ethnographic* research tradition which also produces its own way of analysis. This way of analysing is examining a single case with its local dynamics only, without considering how this case would be situated within the larger picture. Second, existing literature can also be criticised for its exclusive focus on "success" stories only. It is mainly a group of cities comprising Gaziantep, Denizli, Kayseri and Konya known as the successful Anatolian Tigers, whose local firms have managed to enter to the lists of the nation-wide largest companies and they are explicitly and implicitly defined as "the winners" of Anatolian-style industrialisation period. Yet, on the other hand, there is still a larger Anatolian geography about which our knowledge is still insufficient such as Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Samsun, and Adıyaman which cannot reach the same level of development in industrial facilities.

On these grounds, this article is an attempt to analyse multiple Turkish cases with "national" standards in a comparable way. On this basis 15 case cities of Turkey (Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri, Konya, Mersin, and Samsun) are selected which have different urban dynamics (see Section 2) and which are also geographically dispersed throughout the country (see Figure 1). But, in order to analyse the cases with different urban dynamics in the "bigger picture" *socio-economic residential segregation* is defined as a key issue to understand how those cities are differentiated in terms of urban divisions, class structures, urbanisation trends and national inequalities. In explicit terms, this article attempts to trace different urbanisation processes at work in the country through socio-economic segregation practices of Turkish cities.

In the related literature there are strong evidences how socio-economic residential segregation gives important clues about different urban processes at work in the cities. It is seen, for instance, from this literature that segregation pattern of Chicago, an early industrial city of the United States (US), is characterised by the classical division of an American city in the form of black and white segregation whereas Los Angeles, a global and post-modern city of the US, this pattern consists of a more diverse but more divided migrant clusters (Fosset, 2001). In European cities, on the other hand, where the post-Fordist processes and the deep recession of the 1970s are the most effective processes shaping urban patterns, it is the poorer migrant groups which were once the guest workers that are highly segregated from the rest of the city (Burgers and Van Kempen, 1998). Furthermore, in those Western cases, ethnic and/or racial minorities tend to be more segregated in less desirable central areas of cities while the upper and middle class majorities disperse into socially homogenous suburbs. But, for the non-Western cases the inverse is true. In an early industrial Soviet city, Ust-Kamenogorsk, the central area is characterised by high-income groups and the peripheries are covered by the low-income groups in a gradual distribution (Marcinczak, 2012). In a similar fashion, with the effect of the "Asian rules of economy" and the strong role of the state in every field of urban life, there are almost no segregated poorer neighbourhoods within the Asian cities and even a few wealthier neighbourhoods are residentially mixed with the middle status groups which constitute the majority (Baum, 1999; Lee, Wong and

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Pınarcıoğlu (1998) are those whose emphases are mainly on the peculiarities of the industrialisation processes in Anatolian cities.

[7] To see how the local colloborations of SMEs are effective in industrial development on Denizli case, see Beyhan and Köroğlu (2003), and for the local grounded entrepreneurs effective in Konya's carpet industry see Işık (2010).

[8] Altough the terms of *green captial* or the *Islamic capital* are widely used to define Anatolian style industrilisation, there is a growing literature which emphasises how the characteristics and the dynamics of Anatolian capital are differentiated. For instance Can (1999) defines three sub capital groups as; conservative businessmen, companies owned by tariqats or any religious communities and the companies with multiple shareholders.

Law, 2013). In Latin American cities, on the other hand, higher inequality expresses itself in a highly divided urban pattern on the part of the wealthier classes only (Sabatini, et al. 2001; Torres, 2006). All these results, therefore, indicate that segregation patterns provide useful insights into the urban processes specific to cities or countries.

Nonetheless, segregation has always been a hot topic in Turkish public, though not as an academic branch of study but as a political and cultural issue with reference to which divisions characterising Turkish society and there is surely an urban component of this segregation/polarisation debate in Turkish public.[9] However, although much has been said about social and spatial segregation through the issues of gated communities, slum areas and urban regeneration, only few studies have been carried out dealing directly with the question of segregation. Those exceptions are made by Güvenç (1998 and 2000), Güvenç and Işık (1996) and Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009). But, it is important to note that despite the great contribution of those studies to our understanding of residential segregation in Turkish metropolises, they say very little about the ways in which these divisions have been articulated with the wider social, political and cultural divisions that seem to occupy public agenda. There is also nowhere an understanding of segregation experiences of any city other than major cities and no one has gone any further than defining segregation in a given city with its own dynamics, neglecting the bigger picture such as regional inequalities, different migration or industrialisation processes at work in the country.

On this basis, residential segregation (by neighbourhood-level analysis) is examined in the article in an *inter-urban* context for comparing and contrasting the patterns and group profiles of segregation in 15 Turkish cities. This examination allows one to see how each city takes place within the "bigger picture" and with which effective socio-economic dynamics they are differentiated from each other. In an attempt to get a deeper understanding of the bigger picture, *comparative maps* (given in Section 4) where only the nationally-defined highest and the lowest socio-economic status groups are presented are produced. The methodological process used to produce comparative maps in this (overall) analysis is explained in detail in Section 3. But it is important to note here that these schemes illustrate the distributions of the (in a sense) national-level highest and the lowest status groups throughout the cities. This practice not only permits to define the top and bottom ends of each city within the bigger picture, but also to figure out how the highest and the lowest status groups defined with "national" standards are dispersed throughout the whole geography of 15 cities.

The article is structured in five sections. The following section is devoted to the chosen case cities where a brief discussion of the cities and the selection criteria are given. Section 3 provides methodological insights required to analyse the cities in socio-economic line. This section lays down the methodological premises of the article and provides the details of key decisions made for defining an appropriate research strategy and convenient methods of analysing segregation in the case cities. Section 4 presents the results of the analyses defined in methodology section in detail providing a statistical representation of segregation along socio-economic lines and its changing characteristics in the cities. The overall results and the reflections on the findings are given in the concluding section.

2. CITIES OF TURKEY: THE RATIONALE OF SELECTING THE CASES

For the purpose of providing insights into the different urbanisation trends through socio-economic stratification in Turkey 15 cities are chosen in the article: Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri, Konya, Mersin, and Samsun. As can be seen from Figure 1 the chosen cities are also geographically dispersed throughout the country in a pattern that allows all cases to represent the geographical regions that they are located in. I also want to assert here that the total metropolitan population of the cities studied make up 74 per cent of total metropolitan population of the whole country indicating a significant representation. Therefore, throughout the article it would not be wrong to call "national" averages for the average values of those 15 cities.

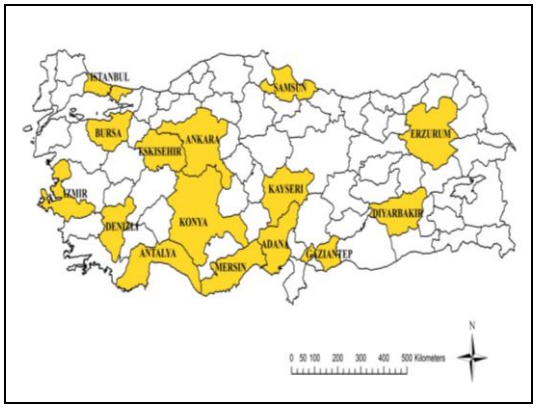

Figure 1. Geographical distribution of 15 cities examined

Among the cases Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are, without question, the must cases for Turkish urban studies. One can safely assume that the recent dynamics observed in urban processes and in every field of social

[9] For some examples about these public debates on residential segregation in Turkish cities see the articles published in daily newspapers; *Gönüllü gönülsüz gettolar* (Voluntary and involuntary ghettos) http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/gonullu_gonulsuz_gettolar-1032395, *Evleri ayırdık!* (Separated homes) http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/evleri_ayirdik-1030526, *Kente hangi köşeden bakıyoruz?* (In which edge of a city do we live in?) http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/kente_hangi_koseden_bakiyoruz-1030704

life in Turkey initially grow those major cities and then disperse throughout the rest of the country. As the fourth largest city of Turkey, Bursa is one of the most developed industrial cities of the country. Yet, the rest of the cities studied are located in a larger Anatolian geography constitutes the less frequently discussed, or, in a way, the "dark" side of the urban studies as it is argued in the introduction part. Kayseri, Konya and Denizli from central Anatolia and Gaziantep from south-eastern Anatolia are usually referred to Anatolian Tigers in the related literature. They are evidently the cases where the "success" stories of Anatolian style industrialisation are written as well. Eskişehir, Erzurum, Samsun and Diyarbakır are, on the other hand, the cases with relatively lower level of industrial development compared with the pioneering Anatolian cities. Mersin, Adana, Antalya are those located in Mediterranean Region and they are all known as the cases where migration moves from south-eastern Anatolia are heavily felt.

To depict concretely how cities differ from each other and what they numerically represent in the article, metropolitan populations (for 2000 census), net migration rates (from 1995 to 2000 according to the province populations), GDP values (per capita and for the year of 2000), and the sectoral distributions (considering the share of employed people in main sectors in metropolitan areas and for the year of 2000) of the cities are illustrated in Figure 2. Accordingly, the highest population size is, no doubt, belongs to Istanbul with a total metropolitan population of 9 million in 2000. Istanbul is followed in order by Ankara, Izmir, Bursa and Adana with the metropolitan populations varying between 1 and 3 million. The metropolitan populations of Gaziantep, Konya and Antalya are around 600 thousand whereas that of Diyarbakır, Mersin, Kayseri and Eskişehir account for around 500 thousand. As the last group of cities, Samsun, Erzurum, and Denizli, have the lowest populations with an average count of 300 thousand. A closer look at the annual GDP values of the cities reveals that the ranking of the cities by metropolitan populations does not change for the major cities of Turkey, but the others. As can be seen from Figure 2 it is again the major cities, Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, which hold the top places in the city ranking by the annual GDP per capita values and, thereby, can be defined as the high-income cities of the country. According to the figure, Bursa, Eskişehir, Mersin, Adana, Antalya, and Denizli are the middle-income cities whereas Samsun, Kayseri, Konya, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, and Erzurum are the low-income cities with the lowest GPD values. Those low-income cities are not surprisingly the cases where out-migration rates are high as well. The rest of the cases, on the other hand, are defined with in-migration trends in different levels. For instance, it is again the major cities of Turkey such as Antalya, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa and Ankara where the migration rates holds the highest values among all the cases.

The distribution of economic sectors within the cities are illustrated in the sectoral charts located in the top and bottom lines of Figure 2 to have a better understanding about the economical structuring in each city examined. Accordingly, the cities which have higher proportions in industrial sector (manufacturing and mining) are Bursa (42.2 per cent), Denizli (41.6 per cent), Gaziantep (37.2 per cent) and Istanbul (34.1 per cent). Cities which comes foreground with their higher proportions in service sector (including trade, transport services, social services and construction) are Erzurum (85.6 per cent), Diyarbakır (84 per cent), Samsun (77.4 per cent), Antalya (77.2 per cent), Mersin (74.6 per cent) and Ankara (74.1 per cent). Among all cities, Istanbul and Ankara hold the highest shares of the employees in finance insurance and real estate sector (9.3 per cent and 11.3 per cent respectively) as well. As far as the metropolitan areas are considered, the share of working people in agriculture sector is, not surprisingly, low for every city but, nevertheless, it is only Mersin, Antalya and Konya which have relatively higher shares (3.6 per cent, 3 per cent and 2.6 per cent respectively) compared to other cities. Adana and Eskişehir are not involved in any of those groups mentioned here because of the fact that in these cities industrial sector and service sector are both strongly effective in urban economy.

On the basis of these statistics one can safely assert that 15 cities defined for the study not only enable one to explain and understand the segregation trends of the cities with different population sizes, economic structures, and socio-economic dynamics but also reveal a remarkable representation of Turkey as they are making up the *majority* of the metropolitan population of the country.

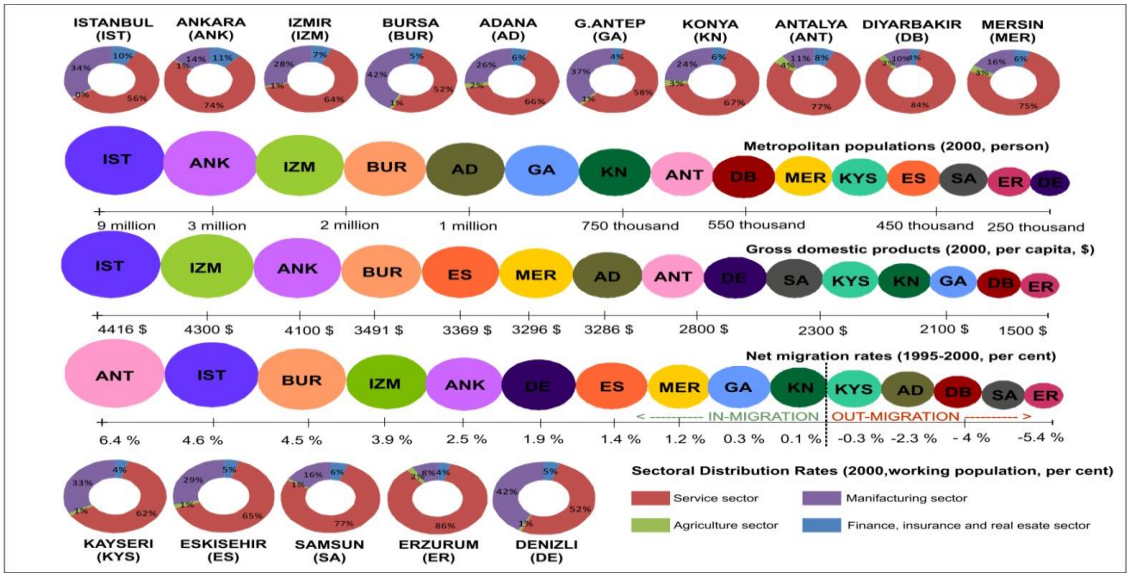

Figure 2: Basic indicators of 15 cities analysed

3. METHODOLOGY, THE DATA AND VARIABLES

As a widely-used method in the literature, segregation is computed using micro-level census data which include the characteristics of people, households or neighbourhoods such as literacy, home ownership, employment, professions and the like on the basis of specific geographical units.[10] The data used in this study is the 2000 census (at neighbourhood level) provided by Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat). 2000 Census is conducted in traditional method which makes it the last extensive micro-level data set in Turkey in which the demographic, social and economic characteristics of population are available at neighbourhood level.[11]

One can argue quite sensibly that an effort to read and understand Turkish cities via a study on segregation for the year 2000 may have very little to say for the recent years as Turkish cities have undergone a sea change since then. This is true to a certain extent especially when one considers the enormity of the changes and transformations that Turkish cities have been subject to since then. It must, however, be emphasised here that the spatial divisions of the kind I deal with in this article are "durable structures" resistant to short-term changes. New social or economic processes are built onto the existing geographical, historical and even cultural textures or the long-established relations/networks and, thereby, the pattern emerges in a long course of time. This is also exactly the case for segregation patterns. When the residential cleavages along socio-economic and even political or cultural lines are considered from this point of view, it can safely be claimed that most of what can be said for the year of 2000 would not easily change overnight and that group structures or residential divisions defined for this year in the article may largely be applicable even today.

In an attempt to generate socio-economic status in Turkey the neighbourhoods of 15 cities are classified on the basis of *three sets of variables* namely **education, demography** and **employment** which have strong capacity to reveal socio-economic segregation in Turkey.[12] For education**,** "adult female literacy" and "university graduates", as for employment, "working population", "finance, insurance, real estate and business service employees" and "top level white collar workers" are used. As for demography, it is referred to the "birth place" and "household size". For generating the patterns and the groups of the cities, **decision tree method with chi-square values** which can be defined as one of the well-used method in segregation studies in designating the different status groups by multiple variables is used.[13]

[10] For the major studies on measuring segregation with census data see; Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Massey and Denton, 1988; US Census Bureau; 2002.

[11] After 2000, TurkStat changed the method of census from traditional to register-based system and population statistics of Turkey have been started to be collected with an on-line application called as Address Based Population Registration System. Although on-line system has the advantage of reducing the costs of producing statistics and enabling annual updates, only three sets of data are available in the new data set, namely education level, marital status and age groups which makes harder to understand and explain the basic characteristics of local population, and causes crucial constraints in employing a bulk of measuring techniques in social sciences.

[12] See here the previous works of Ataç (2013) and Işık and Ataç (2011) where the rationale of defining socio-economic status with those proxies are presented based on the poverty and income statistics of Turkey. Accordingly, it is not wrong to call "the wealthier groups" to those who have better education, demography and employment attributions, and vice versa.

[13] For the use of this method in segregation studies see the works of Ataç (2013), Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2009), Poulsen et.al (2001) and Brimicombe (2007).

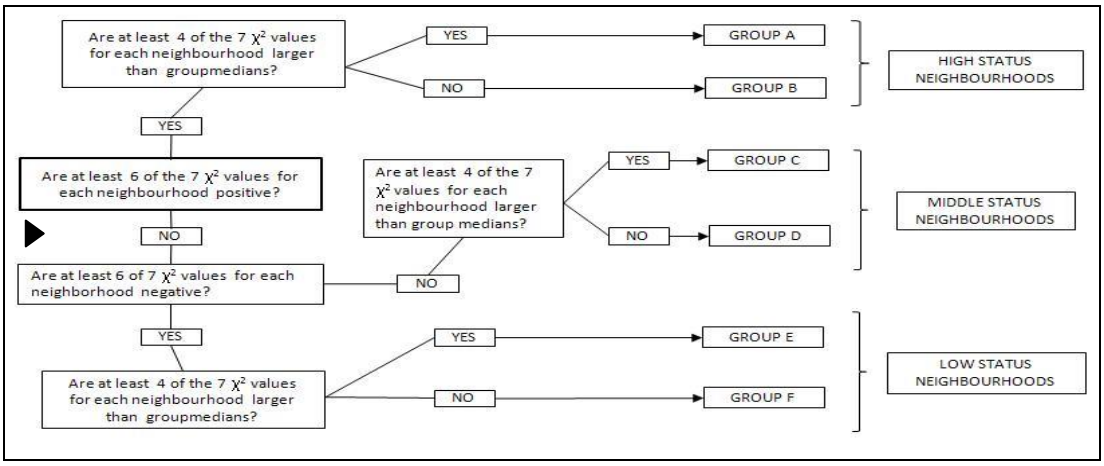

Figure 3: Decision tree typology for identifying socio-economic status groups

Figure 3 reveals the decision tree developed in the study. Accordingly, six types of status groups are identified: two high, two middle and two low-status neighbourhoods and the neighbourhoods found in 15 cities are put into this decision tree analysis for the variables defined before. The main question which underlies this analysis is that if all the neighbourhoods (2700 neighbourhoods in total) of 15 cities studied herein were parts of a single geographical entity (without borders and without any divisions) how would the highest and the lowest status neighbourhoods are distributed through the whole geography of 15 cities. In the light of this question, the data for all cities are compiled in a single dataset where they are treated as units of a single geographical entity. After this overall analysis, 15 patterns which I call **comparative maps** and which individually comprise a part of the "bigger picture" are produced. But within the concept of the study (in order to the see the two-ends of the society) only the nationally-defined highest (Group A) and the lowest (Group F) groups are selected and designated in the maps. On this basis when all individual maps are adjoined, it is possible to see the distribution of the nationally-defined highest and the lowest status neighbourhoods at a greater scale (see Figures 4 and 5). This is the one way of employing decision tree method where cities are evaluated in a comparative perspective on the basis of global chi-square values[14] which not only permits to define the top and bottom ends of each city within the bigger picture, but also to figure out how, in a sense, "the wealthy" and "the poor" defined with national standards are dispersed throughout the whole geography of 15 cities. The group profile values of the overall-level highest and lowest status groups are also presented in the group profile tables of the cities provided in the next section of the article (see Table 2). This practice helps one to see how the group characteristics (the highest/lowest status groups) change in the cities in terms of socio-economic and demographic attributions.

[14] For its another application with local chi-square values and to see the individual segregation maps of 15 cities produced by this way see Ataç (2013).

4. CITIES IN THE "BIGGER PICTURE": HOW NATIONALLY DEFINED THE HIGHEST AND THE LOWEST STATUS GROUPS ARE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE CITIES

The scheme presented in Figure 4 shows the residential distribution of the overall/national highest status groups throughout the whole geography of 15 cities, and the other scheme given in Figure 5 illustrates the same pattern for the overall/national lowest status groups. As mentioned before, these schemes are meant to see the distributions of the highest and the lowest status neighbourhoods found in 15 cities. The percentage distribution of the nation-wide highest and the nation-wide lowest neighbourhoods into the cities are also listed in Table 1. To help with the reading of the table, note that the first column of the table represents the percentage distribution of the nation-wide wealthiest neighbourhoods through the cities. To illustrate, the first cell of this column (Istanbul) indicates that 40.8 per cent of total neighbourhoods found in entire region of 15 cities are found in Istanbul. Note that cities are sorted in the table by their percentage values presented in this column as well. The second column of the table represents the percentage distribution of nation-wide highest status group across the relevant city. For instance, the first cell of this column (Istanbul) indicates that 23.5 per cent of total neighbourhoods of Istanbul are designated as nation-wide/overall-level highest status groups. The third and the fourth columns represent the same with the first and second columns but for the nation-wide lowest status groups.

Table 1: The percentage distribution of the overall-level highest and lowest status groups

CITIES	Distribution of nation-wide highest status neighbourhoods through the entire region	Distribution of nation-wide highest status neighbourhoods through the city	Distribution of nation-wide lowest status neighbourhoods through the entire region	Distribution of nation-wide lowest status neighbourhoods through the city
ISTANBUL	40.8	13.5	34.6	23.7
ANKARA	36.2	19.7	4.4	4.9
IZMIR	10.5	6.8	12.6	17.01
BURSA	4.1	5.1	7.3	18.7
ANTALYA	2.7	4.5	2.6	9.09
ESKISEHIR	2.2	7.5	0.2	1.5
ADANA	1.3	2.7	11.3	46.7
MERSIN	1.3	2.9	3.5	23.8
SAMSUN	0.4	1.6	1.5	11.8
DENIZLI	0	0	0	0
DIYARBKIR	0	0	5.7	61.9
ERZURUM	0	0	4.2	22.6
GAZIANTEP	0	0	1.3	4
KAYSERI	0	0	5.1	22.7
KONYA	0	0	5.1	8.6
TOTAL	100	8.07	100	16.6

As can be seen from Table 1 the overall highest status neighbourhoods make up the 8 per cent of total neighbourhoods (2700) found in 15 cities. It is clear from Figure 4 where residential distribution of these neighbourhoods are illustrated that these overall-level highest status groups are predominantly concentrated in the major cities of Turkey indicating a highly uneven distribution across the country. This simply means that the concentration of the “national socio-economic wealth” is almost without exception on Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa. In terms of percentages, of the highest status neighbourhoods defined at overall-standards, 40.8 per cent is found only in Istanbul. This figure accounts for 36.2 per cent for Ankara, 10.5 per cent for Izmir and 4.1 per cent for Bursa as well. In simple terms, more than 90 per cent of the number of neighbourhoods defined as the overall-level highest status is found in the four most-developed city of Turkey, and more than 70 per cent of those are found only in Istanbul and Ankara.

When city-wide distributions of these neighbourhoods provided in the second column of Table 1 are considered, it is also seen that the share of the nation-wide highest status neighbourhoods make up 19.7 per cent of total neighbourhoods of Ankara and 13.5 per cent that of Istanbul. The higher concentration of the highest status groups in developed cities in the western part of Turkey, therefore, points to a greater gap between the major cities of the country and "the others" in terms of socio-economic characteristics. Besides, when spatial distribution pattern of those wealthier neighbourhoods revealed in these cities are analysed in detail, one can say that these high-status neighbourhoods are mostly concentrated on the coastal areas of Istanbul and Izmir, the southern and western parts of Ankara and the central area of Bursa. This indicates that the highest status neighbourhoods of major cities are also the highest of those found in 15 cities and it seems the wealthy segments found mainly in these four major cities have thus chosen to isolate themselves not only from the rest of the city that they are located in, but also the rest of the country in a broader perspective with highly concentration and clustering tendencies in urban place. Whilst 90 per cent of those people are found in the major cities, the rest is dispersed through Eskişehir, Adana, Antalya, Mersin and Samsun. Among those, Eskişehir is the only central Anatolian city which has the highest status neighbourhoods at national standards (there are two neighbourhoods in Eskişehir). As can be seen both from

Figures 4 and 5 more clearly, there are also very few numbers of high status neighbourhoods in Mediterranean cities like Adana, Antalya and Mersin. Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Kayseri, Konya and Gaziantep are, on the other hand, the cases where no neighbourhood is defined as the overall-level highest status group indicating that the local rich of those cities are, as a matter of fact, not the rich at an overall-level evaluation.

It is also important to draw out more detail about who those overall-level highest status groups seen in Figure 4 are in terms of their socio-economic contexts. The group profile of the overall-level highest status groups listed in Table 2. To help with the reading of the table, the first (Overall A) and second (Overall F) rows represent the percentages of relevant variable within the given overall status group of 15 cities; namely, looking at the first variable (UNI) in the table, the percentage of university graduates in the nation-wide highest status group. "Total" row represents the percentage of relevant variable within the total population of 15 cities. "TR urban" row represents the percentage of relevant variable within the total population of urban areas in Turkey.

Table 2: Group profiles of the overall-level highest and the lowest status groups

GROUPS	UNI	CWR	NATIVE	HH	WORK_F	WORK_P	PROF	DIRECT	MANUF	FIRE	EMP
Overall A	23,38	161,40	45,08	59,36	25,14	41,39	28,97	6,55	16,20	16,55	10,65
Overall F	2,38	411,29	44,09	30,66	11,83	35,35	6,11	1,48	39,07	4,02	3,24
TOTAL	8,37	307,97	49,15	42,80	15,73	36,94	14,35	3,11	28,43	8,12	5,70
TR(urban)	9.00	327.9	55.4	41.01	12.01	32.03	9.09	5.50	20.07	4.73	4.22

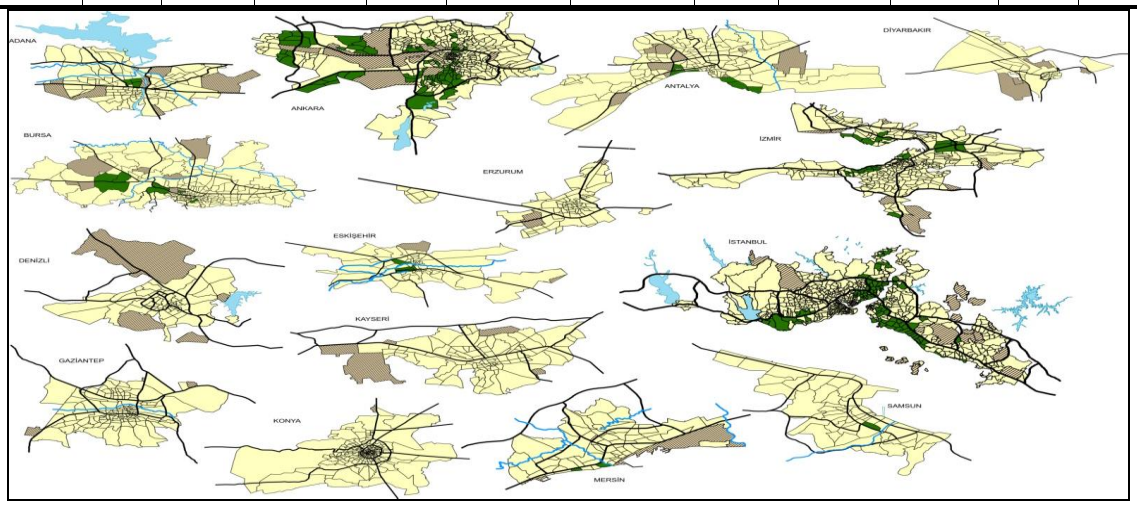

Figure 4: The distribution of the overall-level highest status group (Overall A) through 15 cities

As indicated in the table, university graduation rate among the overall highest status group is 23.3 per cent indicating that almost one out of every four people found in this group holds a university diploma. As a benchmark, university graduation rate of people living in 15 cities is 8.3 per cent, and this figure is reported as 9 per cent in the urban areas of Turkey in the year 2000. Highly correlated with high education, the variables about female population reveal a positive picture for this group as well. In concrete terms, child-woman ratio measured for this group is 161.4 whereas it is 307.9 for that of 15 cities and 327.9 for the urban areas of Turkey. In a similar fashion with low fertility rates, the share of nuclear families is also relatively higher in this group. Put more concretely, the proportion of people who live in the households of three and less people is around 60 per cent for this group whereas it is measured as 42.8 per cent for total population of 15 cities and 41 per cent for total population living in urban areas of Turkey. Furthermore, women of this group have also strong tendencies to participate in labour force. As it is denoted in Table 2, 25.1 per cent of total female population involved in this group is actively participating in labour force. It also means that one in four women living in the overall-level highest status neighbourhoods are working whereas this proportion is one in six for total population of 15 cities, and one in ten for total (urban) population of Turkey. In a picture where working females make up 25.1 per cent of group population whereas this figure accounts for only 15.7 per cent for 15 cities, and the share of total working population is 41.3 per cent whilst it corresponds to 36.9

per cent for total population of 15 cities, one can evidently state that it is not participation in labour force but female participation in labour force which matters to be involved in the top segment of society. It can, therefore, safely be claimed that female participation rate in labour force is one of the highly effective indicators to be involved in the highest status group of 15 cities. But nevertheless, one should not be oblivious to the fact that there would be some cases where higher female participation rates in labour force can be deemed both as cause and the result of being in high status groups.

The overall-level highest status group has a stronger *white-collar* distribution as well. The proportion of finance sector employees and white collars in working population is significantly higher in this group. The share of finance sector employees within the group accounts for 16.5 per cent whereas this figure is 8.1 per cent for the total population of 15 cities, and it is just 4.7 per cent for total (urban) population of Turkey. White collars also make up 6.5 per cent of the group whereas they have the share of 3.1 per cent in 15 cities and 5.5 per cent in urban areas of Turkey. Professionals found in the highest status group, on the other hand, make the twice that of national averages in terms of the group shares. The share of this occupation group is 28.9 per cent for the highest status group, 14.3 per cent for 15 cities and 9 per cent for urban areas of Turkey. In a similar fashion, the share of employers involved in this group is also twice that of 15 cities and urban areas in Turkey: As it is presented in the last column of Table 2, the share of employers in the highest status group is 10.6 per cent, whereas it is 5.7 per cent for 15 cities, and 4.2 per cent for total urban areas. It is not surprising to see the low shares of manufacturing sector employees in this group. People in manufacturing sector make up only 16.2 per cent in the highest status group whereas its average rate in Turkish urban areas accounts for 20 per cent, and it is 28.4 per cent for 15 cities as well. On the basis of these finding about the occupation groups found in the highest status groups, it can be claimed that it is a group of people who have country-wide high-prestigious occupations.

It is emphasised so far that the overall-level highest status group can be broadly described as educated to a high level, living in nuclear families with one or two children at most and with greater proportion of working women as well. As indicated in Table 2, the ineffectiveness of being native is also another notable feature to define this highest status group. The share of native people found in this group accounts for 45 per cent which is the same for that of 15 cities and the urban areas in Turkey indicating that being native is not an effective factor to be involved in the socio-economically "wealthiest" segment of the country.

When the whole geography of Turkey is considered one can safely claim that the ability of the groups to meet the socio-economic requirements defined for the highest status group of the country gradually and significantly changes from western to the eastern parts of Turkey. Needless to say, this overall-level highest status group defined here constitute the top-segment of Turkey in terms of the socio-economic profiles. But, one can make the same claim the other way around; the highest status groups of central and eastern Anatolian cities becomes invisible in a national view which simply means that in cities other than Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Bursa, the rich are not the rich whereas the poor are literally the poor. Figure 4, to this end, reveals a pattern in which being located in Western or coastal cities of Turkey are the basic determinant for being involved in the top-segments of the country. But when Figure 5 is also considered, one can see that the existing condition of the concentration of the wealth on western side of the country is not valid for the distribution of the overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods. To this end, Figure 5 can be deemed as the *flipside* of Figure 4, where the dispersed distribution pattern of the low status populations is also in stark contrast to the distribution of high status population whose spatial pattern is highly concentrated in western cities.

First and foremost, the overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods make up 16.6 per cent of total neighbourhoods (2700) found in 15 cities (see Table 1). As can be seen from Figure 5 the distribution of those neighbourhoods across the cities reveals a more dispersed pattern than that of the overall-level highest status groups. Even a quick glance at this pattern helps to see that every city examined (except Denizli) has at least one neighbourhood defined as the poorest of those found in 15 cities. But when the concentration areas of those neighbourhoods are considered, it is seen that there are some cases which comes foreground with massive concentration of the overall-level lowest status group. Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Adana, Diyarbakır, Kayseri and Konya are the most notable examples. When expressed in terms of percentages, 34.6 per cent of total overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods are found in Istanbul. This figure is 12.6 per cent for Izmir, 11.3 per cent for Adana, 5.7 per cent for Diyarbakır and 5.1 per cent both for Konya and Kayseri as well (Table 1 and Figure 4).

But more striking results are obtained when these rates are evaluated within the cities. To illustrate, in Istanbul the overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods constitute 23.7 per cent of total neighbourhoods found in the city indicating that almost the quarter of all neighbourhoods found in the city are the lowest socio-economic status at overall level. In other words, one out of every four neighbourhoods in Istanbul is designated as the lowest status neighbourhoods of those found in 15 cities. This rate is one to five for Izmir and Bursa as well. As can be seen from Table 1, overall-level lowest status groups make up 17.1 per cent of total neighbourhoods found in Izmir, 18.7 per cent for that of Bursa. But the picture is even grimmer for Adana and Diyarbakır. Although the poorest neighbourhoods defined at overall-level are clustered in so many cities, they are mainly concentrated in these two cities. As listed in Table 1, and illustrated by Figure 5, almost half of the number of neighbourhoods (46.7 per cent) found in Adana, and 61.9 per cent of neighbourhoods found in Diyarbakır are defined with the lowest status

neighbourhoods at national standards. This means that six out of ten neighbourhoods found in Diyarbakır, and almost one in two neighbourhoods of Adana are defined as the lowest status neighbourhoods of those found in 15 cities. This holds true for Kayseri, but to a lesser extent. 5.1 per cent of total overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods are found in Kayseri, but they constitute 22.7 per cent of total neighbourhoods of the city as well. Ankara (4.4 per cent), Erzurum (4.2 per cent), Mersin (3.5 per cent), Antalya (2.6 per cent), Samsun (1.5 per cent), Gaziantep (1.2 per cent) and Eskişehir (0.2 per cent) are, on the other hand, the cities where overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods represent lower concentrations. It is only Denizli where both the overall-level highest and the lowest status neighbourhoods are not found. Note that among those cities, it is interesting to see that although Ankara has a considerable concentration of overall-level wealthiest classes, it is only 4.4 per cent of total numbers of neighbourhoods defined as the lowest status group of 15 cities indicating that the high status neighbourhoods of Ankara is also the highest of those found in 15 cities, but the low status neighbourhoods of the city are in a better condition in terms of socio-economic status when they are evaluated within 15 cities.

After analysing the cities with the spatial distribution of the overall-level lowest status neighbourhoods, it is important to unveil who those lowest status groups defined at overall level analysis are. Table 2 reveals the group profile values of this lowest status group of 15 cities with more clarity. Accordingly in this lowest group, university graduation rate is only 2.3 per cent. When it is compared to national average (for urban areas of Turkey it is 327.9), child-woman ratio of the group is relative high with a rate of 411.2. As known, this is strongly related with household size reported here as 30.6 per cent as the share of the people who live in households of three or less people. Note that this figure is 41 per cent in urban areas of Turkey and 42.8 per cent in the entire population of 15 cities. As indicated, women of this group has higher fertility rates at national standards, and in accordance with Table 2, they are also less likely to participate in labour force. The share of working women in this group is 11.8 per cent whereas it is 15.7 per cent in 15 cities, and 12 per cent in the urban areas of Turkey.

But, although female population has relatively low contribution to labour force, total participation rate in labour force measured for this group is higher than the national average and it is almost at the same level with the average rate of 15 cities. In concrete terms, the share of working population in this group is 35.3 per cent, whereas it is 36.9 per cent in 15 cities, and 32 per cent in urban areas of Turkey. This simply means that although labour force participation is considerably high in this lowest status group of 15 cities, the majority of this working group is made up of the male population. In addition, when occupational distribution of this group is considered it is seen that working group is involved mainly in the manufacturing sector. The share of manufacturing sector employees within the group is 39 per cent as revealed in Table 2.

As the last remark about the group profile, one can say the concentration of the natives within this group is relatively lower which means that the share of the "migrants" within the group is considerably lower. As can be seen from profile table more clearly, the share of the natives is 44 per cent in the overall-level lowest status group whereas it is 49.1 per cent in 15 cities, and 55.4 per cent in urban areas. This means that it is mainly the migrants which constitute the majority of the lowest segment of the society. On the basis of these findings, therefore, one can sum up the overall-level lowest status group with significantly negative values about female population, considerably lower education levels and higher concentration of the migrant population.

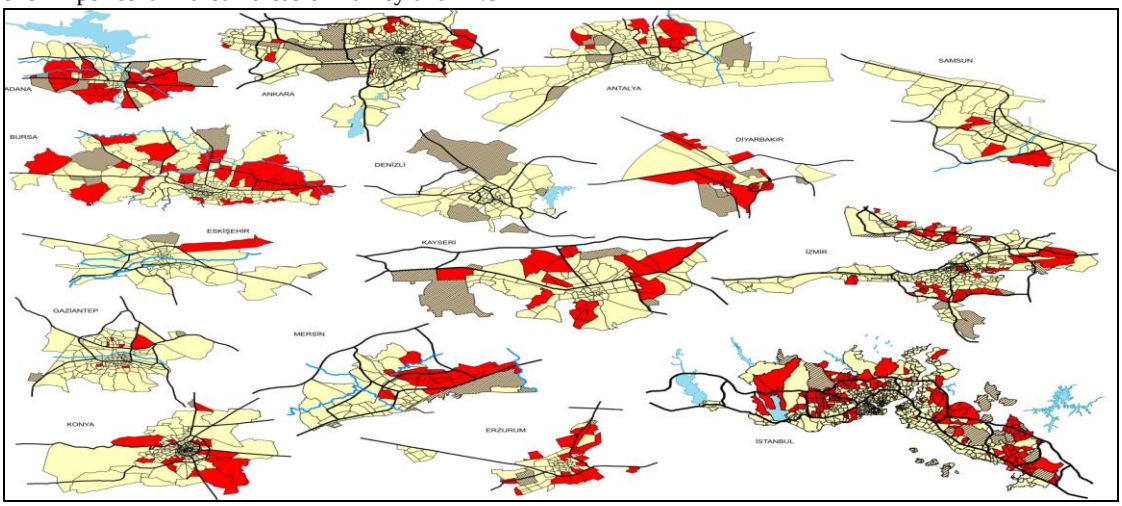

Figure 5: The distribution of the overall-level lowest status group (Overall F) through 15 cities

5. CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS ON THE KEY FINDINGS

The article on inter-urban context helps to examine each city with national standards and evaluate them within the bigger picture as well. It is seen when the cities are evaluated within entire geography of 15 cities, in a sense, by national standards that the most affluent areas of Turkey are found in the western metropolises whereas the national-level deprivation reveals a more dispersed pattern throughout the country. Besides, although there are nation-wide poorest people in almost every city examined, it is also seen that cities do not experience the same levels of deprivation or poverty as well.

The article shows that the major cities of Turkey are the clear concentration areas of both the highest and the lowest neighbourhoods of those found in 15 cities. Two schemes provided in Figures 4 and 5 reveal an almost flawless picture with the highest status neighbourhoods in the most-developed western metropolises of Turkey, and the lowest ones located in those metropolises and the middle-scale and in economically less developed cities of the country. The patterns of the concentration of the highest and the lowest status groups is significant and extreme yielding further evidence of inequality defined in so many respects for Turkey as a whole. On the basis of the findings about the residential distribution of two-ends of society, one can safely assert that Turkey is characterised by not only a highly unequal distribution of the socio-economic "wealth" and the "deprivation" throughout the country, but a higher split which appears in the form of the cities which hosts national-level better off groups and the others which do not. To be more precise, there are the major cities where the wealth is concentrated the most in Turkey at one hand, and on the other hand, there is the urban poor dispersed throughout the country including both the ones who migrate to major cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa) and also constitute the poorest class, and the ones which stuck in their own cities (such as Diyarbakır and Erzurum) and somehow strive to survive. There are also some cases where lowest status groups heavily take place. Adana, Konya, Kayseri, Diyarbakır, Mersin, and Samsun are those which have mainly the poorest class of 15 cities whereas there are only a few neighbourhoods defined with overall-level highest status. Moreover, there are some “neutral” cities which can be defined as the middle class cities of Turkey where both the wealth and deprivation at national standards are hardly likely seen. Denizli, Eskişehir, Samsun, and to a lesser extent Gaziantep are the notable examples where the overall-level high and low status neighbourhoods are both not found.

The article, therefore, makes it clear that different city formations as well as the different ways of being involved in the nationally defined highest status group seem closely related with, for instance, the peculiar industrialisation, migration processes and even the demographic dynamics of the cities. Moreover, the most frequently discussed form of this difference in Turkey is not solely the well-known divide between Istanbul and the rest of the country. This division is, first and foremost, not enough to explain the various types of social structures observed within Turkey. Through the article it becomes evident that the country’s urban and social structure creates a *multiple* view depending on the geography which may be defined, in general terms, on the axis of western cities – coastal cities – central Anatolian cities and eastern cities. In other words, the urban processes experienced in the *Turkish triangle*[15] do not seem to be same as those experienced in the central, western and the eastern parts of the country. While in the west and by the coastline there exist cities which have experienced the urban processes (i.e. industrialisation, massive migration or suburbanisation) earlier and with different dynamics (e.g. the birth of gecekondu settlements or the industrialisation developed by favour of the state are some of those) and have been for some time looking for ways of coping with the problems arising from these, in central Anatolia, where localities retain significance, all these urban processes need to be re-defined according to the peculiar Anatolian dynamics. The east, on the other hand, fends for itself, and has a more conservative and introverted attitude towards urban initiatives. This broadly defined dynamic structure of Turkish cities, therefore, verifies the necessity to look into Anatolian geography which has been overlooked so far in the Turkish academic literature, along with the major cities of the country in order to decipher the socio-economic dynamics of the Turkish cities, and to analyse class structures and segregation dynamics in order to evaluate various types of developments in Anatolia as well. But more importantly, all these key findings reveal that urbanisation and the interrelated urban processes in Turkey may differ in each city in related with the national socio-economic inequalities.

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