



# Spatial analysis of social exclusion from a transportation perspective: A case study of Ankara metropolitan area<sup>☆</sup>



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## ABSTRACT

Having been used extensively since the 1980s, the concept of social exclusion has given a new impetus to the discussions of poverty and disadvantageousness. Widely known as being quite difficult, complex, and controversial to define in essence, the concept of social exclusion can be defined as the condition in which certain individuals or social groups cannot integrate into the society either socially or economically or politically. The inability of the individuals to build meaningful social relationships in the community or lack of access to social activities in the city lead to social cohesion problems. This triggers segregation of the society, particularly in large cities, in both social and spatial terms. In the context of accessibility, “urban transport” appears as one of the most important factors determining level of social inclusion/exclusion of the individuals or groups. In this study relations between social exclusion and transport has been evaluated as an attempt to identify socio-spatial segregation pattern of Ankara. By doing so, it has been intended to illustrate the spatial segregation of the city formed by the social exclusion due to the transportation constraints.

## 1. Introduction

With the economic development activities accelerated in the 1950s in Turkey, particularly larger cities have become centers of attraction for the rural population. Many reasons such as rapid population growth, limited employment opportunities, and inadequacy of education and health services in rural areas have led to a large migration towards the cities. This emerging situation caused rapid development of some cities and led to the extreme growth of certain others. The rapid urbanization encountered in Turkey has undoubtedly affected Ankara, the capital city, even more. In addition to being the administrative center of Turkey, Ankara has also considerably developed industrial and trade sectors. All these features have led to the city receiving continuous migration and in due course led to an unplanned urbanization in Ankara.

As well-known and widely experienced, in cities growing through incoming migration many urban problems occur related to insufficient provision of urban services. In addition to lack of housing and infrastructural facilities, cramped and complicated building plots, deficiency of recreational areas, and transportation problems can be listed (Church, Frost, & Sullivan, 2000). Availability and quality of

transportation facilities is at the focal point of these problems especially suffered by urban poor living in large cities and metropolitan areas. Indeed, people are deprived of employment, education, health, and social and cultural activities due to transportation difficulties and as a result, socially excluded from the community.

Ankara is no exception in this regard. The difficulties encountered in the transport system in Ankara generally occur in the city center. Intensification of business and shopping activities in the center increases the demand for transport to these areas. The city's public transport system mainly based on buses and minibuses exacerbated with the absence of a well-established rail transport system cause traffic problems particularly in these areas and make it much more difficult to access to the center. In addition, especially after the 1980s city became to spread to its peripheries provoking private car ownership among the middle and high income groups. Low income groups, on the other hand, left alone to tackle with the problem of transportation which in turn contributed to their social and spatial segregation. Within this general framework, spatial distributions of groups who are at risk of social exclusion resulting from transportation problems within the metropolitan area of Ankara will be analyzed.

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## 2. Two key concepts: social exclusion and exclusion from transport

The concept of social exclusion was first brought into literature by [Rene Lenoir \(1974\)](#) in their book titled “Les exclus: un Français sur dix”, in which the author argues that the French government have excluded one tenth of the people living in the country from the society in various ways. According to Lenoir, the concept of “socially excluded people” embraces the ones with mental and physical disabilities, offenders, the sick and the elderly in need of care, abused children, drug addicts, people with suicidal tendencies, single parents, troubled families, marginal/asocial persons, and the other socially incompatible people. In short, the excluded ones represented the socially disadvantaged groups that could not be protected and the French government had to reintegrate them to the society ([Silver, 1994](#)). With the introduction of the concept in the late 1970s, the discussions around the topic intensified. Indeed, evocative, ambiguous, and multi-dimensional nature of the concept of social exclusion made it difficult to reach a consensus and provoked further discussions ([Silver, 1994](#)).

In the 1980s, neoliberal policies implemented in the social and economic spheres intensified discussions on the concept of social exclusion ([Giddens, 2009](#); [Brenner & Theodore, 2002](#)). Following the processes of globalization of capital, new economic policies, restructuring of labor markets, and transition from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production, changing ideology in the functioning of the free market economy were also observed ([Jessop, 1989, 1992](#); [Dominador Bombongan, 2008](#); [Munck, 2005](#)). Social exclusion has begun to take its place in the political discourse as well. As such, exclusion is portrayed as a broad concept encompassing class conflicts of the marginal groups and immigrants along with different ethnic groups ([Silver, 1994](#)).

In the era of globalization, the importance of communication and transportation has increased and while the world economy was being restructured rapid transformations occurred in urban areas ([Castells, 1978, 1989, 1997](#)). However, this process of rapid change has brought about contraction in the labor markets which has repercussions on spatial and social segregation as well ([Massey, 1985](#)). The inclusion of the concept of transport as a measure in social exclusion studies coincides with the same period. Social exclusion is now evolving to the disadvantageousness of the space rather than the disadvantageousness of the individuals and thereby, inadequacy of transport/access has been cited more frequently. During this period, it was suggested that the location of the services and facilities provided by the public and private sectors and the distribution of such services and facilities over urban spaces were either advantages or disadvantages regardless of the income of the individual or other personal variables ([Kirby, 1982](#); [Knox & Pinch, 1982](#)).

The 1990s witnessed the policies aimed at prevention, or at least reduction, of exclusion and in addition to income inequality, social and cultural exclusions were further took part in the theoretical and political discussions ([Lister, 1990](#); [Wolfe, 1995](#); [UN, 1995](#); [Madanipour, 1998](#); [Young, 1999](#)). In this period, social exclusion started to be addressed with a different perspective with the discourses of globalization and global capitalism ([Hilary, 1994](#)). Thanks to these new generations of policies, views suggesting that spatial poverty in fact makes reference to social exclusion have increased. Indeed, spatial poverty leads to isolation from society and thus, to social exclusion.

During the 2000s, the importance of transportation issues in the debates around social exclusion has increased. Although the concepts of social and spatial distances may seem to have changed, the advancements in information and transportation technologies deepened social exclusion. Hence, [Preston and Raje \(2007\)](#) assume that social exclusion does not occur due to lack of social opportunities, but that the problem in fact arises from lack of access to opportunities. Therefore, an individual requires accessible facilities and social connection to the clusters in order to avoid social exclusion ([Preston & Raje, 2007](#)).

[Shergold and Parkhurst \(2012\)](#) discuss transportation and exclusion relationships in terms of lack of resources. Exclusion from transportation and lack of related resources restrict access to goods and services, usual relationships, and acquired rights, and therefore, affect the overall position of the individual in the economic, social, cultural or political domains and their quality of life as well as right to social equity and harmony with the society as a whole. In this respect, unequal transportation opportunities bring social inclusion and social integration to a standstill to a great extent.

In this context, [Miller \(2003\)](#) attributes the state of exclusion from transportation to two main reasons. The first is that inadequate transportation limits the access of a part of the community to a variety of utilized services and opportunities and hence, causes exclusion of the others within the society. The second is the intensification of the negative effects of transport such as traffic congestion, accidents, air pollution, unsanitary conditions, and noise levels in areas with high levels of social exclusion. These areas are usually poor neighborhoods characterized by a low rate of car ownership, inadequate road connections, and insufficient public transport ([Chakwizira, Bikam, Dayomi, & Adebeyejo, 2011](#)).

[Kenyon, Lyons, and Rafferty \(2002\)](#) assert that individual participation in community is closely and complexly associated with availability of transport. Factors for exclusion from transport in the community include income level, and the person's age. For instance, being aged would make using motor vehicles impossible, whereas financial constraints and high transportation costs would make it difficult to participate in certain activities. In this context, location becomes significantly important when the relation between transport and exclusion is considered. Either owning a private car or living in a central area where the public transport network is reliable, both are crucial in order not to be socially excluded ([Kenyon et al., 2002](#)). [Cass, Shove, and Urry \(2003\)](#) classify the reasons for exclusion from transportation as unemployment, deprivation and poverty, lack of education, disability or difficulty in moving, lack of social participation, geographical isolation, groups that are difficult to reach and those who exclude themselves as well as lack of access to services and lack of information.

[Litman \(2003\)](#) asserts that each individual in society is seriously confronted with social exclusion in all circumstances, however, exclusionary factors create a greater hazard for certain individuals and groups. These groups are *persons that do not own a vehicle* (where the household does not own a vehicle, either), *those without a driver's license, physically or mentally disabled people, low-income households, the unemployed and those at risk of losing job, the young or the elderly and immigrants that have newly arrived in the country/city* (due to reasons such as language barriers, social isolation, poverty, unemployment, etc.). Addressing the issue of transport in the context of a combination of constraints in personal mobility, reach, and urban accessibility and attempting to determine what possible factors constitute these constraints, [Dodson, Gleeson, and Sipe \(2004\)](#) have listed the *low-income people, unemployed, children and young, women, elderly, disabled, those living in the outskirts of cities, and ethnic minorities* as those at the risk of social exclusion. On the other hand, in their alternative study on groups excluded from transport, [Currie \(2004\)](#) defines six groups. These are *adults without a car, people over the age of 60, people who receive disability pension, low-income adults, adults who cannot participate in the labor force, and students*.

[Lucas \(2012\)](#) specifies in their study that transport poverty, and thereby, exclusion occur due to a combination of transportation and social disadvantageousness. Transportation disadvantages include not owning a personal vehicle, high transportation fares, lack of information, and deficiencies in service quality and safety. On the other hand, poor housing conditions, diseases or physical barriers, unemployment, and inability to obtain sufficient income are specified among the social disadvantages. One or a combination of these conditions makes access difficult and the individual is exposed to social exclusion.

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