SUBURBANIZATION IN TÜRKİYE WITHIN THE PROCESS OF
INTEGRATION TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT
AND
A NEW LIFE-STYLE SETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

SUBURBANIZATION IN TÜRKİYE WITHIN THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND A NEW LIFE-STYLE SETTLEMENT

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This study aims to analyze the emergence and evaluation of a new type of suburbanization in Türkiye, which are concomitant with the rise of new middle class having a high purchasing power. It examines different urbanization and suburbanization processes in various societies and demonstrates that the suburbanization of Türkiye does not exactly fit in these models. Such a suburban expansion is taking place under the prevailing impact of political economy in the world and leads to a social segregation within metropolitan areas, which is argued to become permanent. Upper middle class have developed privatized, enclosed, and monitored exclusive spaces of residence, work, leisure, and consumption.

The main focus of the study, therefore, is the gated communities, which is the last extension of suburbanization. In this thesis, the gated communities are mainly residential in character and offer a new concept of life-style, which is based upon the idea of total security and retreat from the illnesses of the urban core in terms of noise, dust, disorder, crowds and related issues. It is argued that, in the specific case of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, gated communities can be viewed as a further theme of fragmentation of the city of Ankara.

The new urban fragmentation indicates a dual process of increasing social and spatial polarization on the urban land. These dualities have been identified in society. One part of the society has experienced affluence, and success while the other has suffered degradation. The economic growth has been at the expense of sharp increases both at the top and bottom ends of the income distribution. Social inequality, in return, has manifested itself spatially.

ÖZ

KÜRESEL DÜNYA İLE BÜTÜNLEŞME AŞAMASINDAKİ TÜRKİYE'DE
ALT KENTLEŞME (SUBURBANIZATION) ve
BU SÜREÇTE YENİ BİR YAŞAM TARZI

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de yüksek alım gücüne sahip yeni orta sınıfın ortaya çıkmasıyla eş zamanlı gelişen yeni alt kentleşme "suburbanization" biçimini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tezde, farklı toplumların kentleşme ve alt kentleşme süreçleri incelenmekte ve Türkiye'de yaşanan üst orta sınıf alt kentleşme sürecinin bu modellere tam olarak uymadığı vurgulanmaktadır. Dünyada, ekonomi ve politiğin etkisinin yoğun hissedildiği bir dönemde, böyle bir alt kentleşme, metropolitan alanlarda, bir sosyal ayrışmaya doğru gitmekte ve bunun kalıcı olacağı tartışılmaktadır. Toplumdaki orta üst kesim kendi içine dönük, özel, sürekli gözetim-kontrol altında tutulan yaşam, çalışma, tüketim ve boş zamanlarını geçirecekleri seçkin mekanlar üretmektedir.

Bu çalışma, alt kentleşmenin devamı niteliğinde olan korunaklı ve etrafı çevrili site alanları "gated communities" üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. Tezde ele alınan korunaklı ve etrafı çevrili site alanları, esas itibariyle konut alanlarıdır. Tam güvenlik ve kentin gürültüsü, kirliliği, kargaşası, kalabalığı ve benzeri meselelerine karşı kentten kaçış üzerine kurgulu yeni bir yaşam tarzını beraberinde getirmektedir. Çalışmada, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 özelinde, korunaklı ve etrafı çevrili site alanlarının Ankara kentinde parçalı bir yapıya yol açtığı tartışılmaktadır.

Yeni kentsel parçalanma "urban fragmentation", kentsel alanların giderek artan şekilde sosyal ve mekansal ikili kutuplaşma sürecine işaret etmektedir. Bu ikilik, toplumda ifadesini bulmuştur. Toplumun bir bölümü zenginliği, başarıyı yaşarken, diğer kesimi eski sosyal ve ekonomik konumunu kaybetmenin sıkıntısını yaşamaktadır. Economik büyüme, gelir dağılımının her iki ucu arasındaki ani ve keskin artış karşılığında gerçekleşmiştir. Sosyal eşitsizlik, kendisini, mekanda açıkca belli etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ankara, Korunaklı ve Etrafı Çevrili Site Alanları, Güvenlik, Toplumsal Ayrışma, Alt Kentleşme, Eşitsizlik, Yaşam Tarzı, Angora Evleri.

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Last but not least, thanks also go to my brother, Orhan Erişen for reading the text.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Last decades have witnessed an unprecedented transformation that the world as a whole has experienced on the social, cultural, economic and political arena. It might be said, the process was not a bit new but the scale was new, and period of the phase of experience in this era was shorter than that of a human's life span. The changes experienced in this era by the urban settlements, have gone far beyond those of demographics. Almost all major metropolitan areas of the world have been affected by the changes in the world-economic system. The urban growth has been a contested issue. Cities, now, look different. They display decisively different structures, forms and appearances than the so-called modern times. The transformation process from "Fordist" production to "post-Fordist" production has had permanent impacts on the spatial, social, and political relationships of many cities. The qualitative and quantitative growth of activities such as, electronic engineering, high technology, producer services, particularly ones related to financial sector, and consumer services have created their own spaces in the form of shopping/leisure complexes, industrial lots, science/business parks, intelligent buildings in new places. The quality of new urban living, in terms of spatial, social and cultural infrastructure facilities and environmental assets has emerged in this new life-style and demands of upper-middle classes with affluent households are diversified.

This study focuses on the residential part of this process, and deals with specific form of residential community that has emerged in a form, which has generally called in the literature as "gated communities", which are a new housing provision as suburban areas for upper-middle and middle classes. They are purposely-planned security communities and framed with designated and landscaped perimeters, usually walls or fences that are built to restrict penetration by nonresidents. Therefore, they are physically

isolated enclaves through various security buffers. These are the new suburban developments on the fringe of the metropolitan areas.

Indeed, fortified communities have their lineage in the history and to some extent, the fear of violence and terror which created the rationale for walled settlements is back again in a more modern way. In essence, the main interest of the newest form of gated-fortified community places security and protection as its primary feature. However, their main concern is not security, rather it is a choice of life-style adapted by the affluent coterie of the community. Actually, within the circle of the comprehensiveness and complexity of urban life, they comprise a host of contradictions within themselves.

The aim of this study is, then, to discuss the process of suburbanization in Türkiye within the process of integration to global development with special reference to the residential preferences of affluent households, and their spatial deployment patterning. Another aim is to discuss a new life-style that has become evident in this process in the urban arena within a time perspective of Republican period.

To achieve these objectives, a two dimensional study has been carried out. At the theoretical level, the study has been developed around the spatial patterning of residential areas, especially the emergence of suburbs that is the harbinger of gated communities, have been examined focusing on the United States and European cases within the context of Fordism.

The analysis of urbanization, and suburbanization reveals the fact that the emergence of suburbs had close relationships with the rise of industrial city in which social and spatial segregation began to increase. The urban pattern in the British and American industrial cities was in the form where the city center was occupied by factories, and working class residential areas while the outskirts, and areas even beyond the city limits were reserved for high-class residential areas along lines of rapid travel. They were exclusive restricted districts.

However, different residential patterns can be observed in different industrial societies in which upper-middle class residential areas are not the only way of socio-spatial segregation as in the case of France. French bourgeoisie favored to live in high-

rise, luxurious apartment type of houses in the inner city, contrasting the American and British upper-middle class suburban pattern of low-rise detached houses.

Turkish cities are differentiated from Anglo-Saxon or continental European industrial cities. Turkish well-do-to people preferred to live in high-rise apartments of the inner city, yet urban periphery was the place of shantytowns of immigrants. Even so, following the years 1980s, in the bigger cities of Türkiye upper-middle and middle class residential areas have begun to choose their seats on the periphery of the cities. During the last two decades, new middle class, following the path of globalized world's cities, has flourished in Türkiye.

On the micro level of the study field survey analysis has been developed in relation to the case chosen in suburban area. The socio-spatial characteristics of gated communities was examined by analyzing development pattern, physical structure, demographic, economic, social and cultural characteristics, residential mobility patterns, family, neighborly relations, life-style in a new upper-class gated community.

The opening hypothesis will be stated as 'gated communities are the evolutionary and indisputable part of suburbanization, however, their internal structures are to be criticized to be undemocratic; self-government of private settlements strengthens social differences thereby endangering social cohesion'. Several hypotheses have been developed expressing major aspects of the new life-style.

The study has significance with regard to four main factors. Undeniably, cities are the most important feature of all times in the history of mankind. United Nations Centre has already declared that an unprecedented almost half of the world's total population currently live in urban areas, namely in cities, which is for the first time in the long history of mankind. Therefore, the millennial change in the urban world perhaps is the beginning of the first urban century. However, cities go far beyond this demographic significance; they are at the heart of social, political and cultural life of the communities. If cities are to function as the cradle of human development, it is crucial that they be socially just, ecologically sustainable, politically participatory, economically efficient, culturally vibrant, and spatially livable. This is also true for every part and parcel of the cities as well.

Urban spaces being the spatial illusion of human interactions and of communities like its actors are always in a dynamic process of constant internal changes and adaptations. Societies are subject to change due to both internal and external dynamics and hence restructure themselves. Not only the societies but everything related with the societies are also always in the process of change in which the interrelations of its actors play the dominant role over the restructuring of its partners, and in this process; therefore, they become decisive settings for better understanding of social transformation. On the other hand, the quality of urban living is a satisfactory indicator of the life quality for humanity. In this picture urban areas appear to be the significant loci of attention for exploring and understanding the modern society. By the same token, due to this characteristic of urban settlements, urban researches are carried out as multi-disciplinary studies. Studying different aspects of cities provides scholars with an opportunity that can bring together several fields of the social sciences, from anthropology to history, from sociology to social psychology, from geography to sociology.

Housing areas in the urban sphere, consequently, set up an important component of the urban space and society; in other words they are the main backgrounds for understanding the nature of social relations, life-styles, cultural characteristics whereby social transformation can be traced. Therefore, the analyses of residential areas seem to be critical for the evaluation of social and cultural composition of cities. On the other hand, the remarkable aspect of the globalising world is the multi-dimensional fragmentation, differentiation, and dispersal of urban space, which have a persistent effect on residential areas. The increasing functional-spatial differentiation and social-spatial segmentation in the last decades have brought about the enclosed residential communities within the cities.

Upper-middle and middle class suburbs; the so-called "gated communities" through which new life-styles, housing types, architecture, planning, neighbourhood relationships are introduced, has constituted to be one of the most crucial part of this fragmented picture of today. They are voluntary forms of segregation. What attracts the group together, however, is a common interest. In the gated residential suburb it is wealth, the desire for a salubrious environment and the fear of incursions by the poor.

Gated communities are privately owned and privately governed properties. They are the communities of exclusion/segregation, in which insulation, isolation, security and privacy are dominating motives. They are fortified as upper-income residential enclaves where private companies provide almost similar security systems and devices for those who can afford it and from which "unwanted elements" can be barred. Security passes are needed to enter an estate which is protected by armed guards and elaborate electronic surveillance mechanisms. This is at such a level that there is surveillance in order to ensure the entrance of only "right kind of people". To own a house in, even to live beyond these walls is an exclusive prestige and status marker. The gates and walls or fences around the developments provide security for its dwellers. Hence the security becomes the main aspect and focus of all projects in all scales of gated developments. In fact, new developments, large or small, including individual homes install security systems and gates. They add gates to apartment-tower complexes too. In countries such as South Africa, and the United States there is an increasing request for street enclosures even in smaller towns.

Actually, security measures have not been restricted only to residential areas. Retail districts, industrial lots, leisure parks, etcetera have been using gates, private security guards, and video cameras to maintain security for some time now. Shopping malls are usually designed in a panopticon fashion.

The economic transformations and urban developments experienced in Türkiye, and as well in its big cities have been similar in many ways to those of other countries. The major and foreground urban settlements of the country consequently got their share from this transformation. The most striking urban developments have been observed on the intensification of social segmentations, economic inequalities, and spatial fragmentations.

The locational preferences of the affluent households have shifted from inner city quarters in the 1950s towards peripheries, into gated developments in the 1990s. Urban periphery has begun to be filled by well-to-do households, and rivaled the previous gecekondu type of developments. This new form of spatial development, in fact, reflects a new shape of urban expansion both spatially and socially. Consequently, the study of upper-middle and middle class suburban areas seems to be an important

socio-spatial issue for the wider process of exploring major aspects of a new, fragmented urban spatial structure in Türkiye.

Second issue of the significance of the study has been related to the fact that, it has been since the proclamation of the Constitution Law of the latest 1981; this Nation legally outlawed all forms of public discrimination namely in housing, education, public transportation, public accommodations, etc. Yet, today, a new form of discrimination, the gated, walled, fortified, private communities are on the way and increasing in number. Urbanites have chosen to live in walled and fenced communal residential settlements with active security mechanisms to prevent intrusion into their private domains. The new middle class has been forting up itself.

In other point of view, walls do not only represent exclusion but also domination. It is the space where those with power exclude those without. Some groups could enjoy the privilege of economic and social power to have their needs met in the urban system while others do not. Public participation becomes meaningless if only more powerful sections of the community are involved. Walls could carry different meanings. One of the tasks of the planners is the need to be aware of how these different aspects, which are constituted spatially and temporally if urban space is to become more democratic. The notion of democratic public spaces and urban areas implies the notion of planning for diversity and difference. How is it possible without creating areas of exclusion, marginalization, ghettoization, gated residential areas or quarters, or the partitioned urban sphere?

As a third significance, issues concerning walled communities have not been discussed among planners in length thus far. Yet the urban planning issues lying behind this pattern need more in depth analysis. Understanding this spatial process, its cultural context, and why upper-middle and middle class choose to live beyond "barriers" provides an important perspective on the restructuring of city-space. In other words, the investigation of upper-middle and middle class suburban areas seems to be fundamental to the wider process of exploring major aspects of the new, fragmented urban structure in Türkiye.

Until recently, in the academic circles, as it is the case with Türkiye, the poorer segments of cities have been the major concern of urban social analyses, namely the

developmental process of shanty towns or social and the cultural characteristics of lower income groups or communal networks of migrated groups or mutual relations of migrants with the places they migrated from, or the characteristics of the marginalized groups which have been brought about by that social, economic, political changes that articulate macro and micro urban processes. The urban studies are still continuing in the same direction and are mainly concerned with the problem of poverty, especially in the inner cities and on the peripheries of cities partly because they easily allow the intruder in their house to be questioned, and partly because they are of primary concern of scholars.

However, the spatial expression of the cultural cleavage as reflected in the residential segregation of separate groups at urban level has been the focus of numerous scholarly investigations and; therefore, it becomes a new subject of study for sociologists of the globalizing world. It is also a fact that, the international literature makes little mention of Türkiye's experience in housing. Researchers on housing in developing countries have shown very little interest in Türkiye. Their focus was mainly on former colonies.

As for the forth significance, it is generally accepted that modern cities have been shaped by the choices and values of the powerful coterie of the urban areas. Therefore, studying the upper strata of the society could be informative, in view of the fact that new life-style patterns, new residential layouts, and the amenities provided by technology have always been disseminated from upper towards lower classes. This was the pattern followed in urbanized societies where early suburbanization originated in well-to-do groups of the society and broadened towards the middle and lower classes.

Ankara has been selected as the survey area because of its leading features. As to begin with, the city of Ankara is the capital of the Republic of Türkiye. Actually, the history of the city goes back to the Bronze Age Hittite Civilization. As a traditional Turkish city, Ankara was a trading centre on the caravan routes to the East. It had declined in importance by the nineteenth century and again became a very significant centre when Gazi Mustafa Kemâl chose it as the base to direct the War of Independence whereby Ankara became the national center. Ankara made her entry into world history by becoming the center of Turkish Resistance, and of the National Revolution. Ankara

was declared as the capital of the Republic of Türkiye on 13 October 1923, just two weeks before the declaration of the Republic.

Ankara contains a culturally diversified population, due to its deep history, and to the immigrants from all over the country, and is highlighted for its multiculturalism. It is the first urban area where the modernization process started in the Republican period and eventually spread to other cities of the country. In other words, Ankara was the model of modernization created by the Republic. This study, consequently, is also an attempt to trace the spatial traits of the modernization project at the turn of the century.

Ankara with İstanbul has a particular significance in financial economies, and location; therefore, almost all novelty disseminates from them to other cities of the country. Besides, this is the city whose characteristics, development patterns, and movement of middle-class residents to an ever-widening outer ring of suburbs are documented. Thus, data availability and its control seem to be favorable for such a study.

The settlement of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, on the other hand, was chosen as the focus of the study. It is believed that Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 represents a significant example of the recent upper-middle class suburbanization in the form of gated community, which is also supported by the analysis of the field survey. However, the high-density apartments and condominium buildings with guards or doormen, in short with security systems in which gates or guards prevent public access to inner spaces or parking lots are not considered within the scope of this study.

In the study, qualitative methods are appropriated. Apparently scholars have more interested in social-cultural-political-economic issues than in socio-spatial structures of an individual community. As explained in detail in the second chapter most studies of individual urban communities employ either participant-observation methodology since it was introduced firstly by Herbert J. Gans or an interview-based methodology. Therefore, the methodology of this study has been derived from the above stated ones. The study depended not only on observations, perceptions of the project owner, but also on interviews.

Although interviews have played the major role in data collection observations, documents, historical records, videotapes, anything else of potential relevance to the research question were also utilized. Particularly open ended, and in-depth interviews

provided detailed information about the subject of the inquiry. The interviews conducted with inhabitants, informants, employees helped to explore the actual experiences of suburbanites.

This study is focused on phenomena that has occurred in its natural setting, and is involved with its complexity. The issue has contained many dimensions and layers. Here, it was attempted to portray these issues in its multifaceted form. An objective approach to the study, perhaps, would not be even possible. There could be multiple perspectives held by different angles, with each of these perspectives having equal validity or truth. As a general rule, qualitative studies inherent to their nature; do not allow the researcher to identify cause - and - effect relationship, as it is the case in quantitative studies. One goal of this qualitative study, then, was to reveal the nature of these multiple perspectives.

Within these approaches, the treatise has been developed in eight chapters. The Introduction outlines the theoretical framework shortly, states the subject of the thesis and contains the methodology.

In the Second Chapter, the hypotheses of the dissertation are formulated beside the opening hypothesis, which are to be tested in relation to theoretical framework and to sample residents chosen from Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. Hypotheses piece together several theoretical issues that help to explain the development of gated communities. Survey methodology, material, questionnaires, and interviewing are also stated in a detailed form in the following parts of the same chapter.

The Third Chapter includes the theoretical framework and is concerned with the urban socio-spatial profile of the society in terms of its restructuring process. The first section of the chapter views the development of Fordism, and its characteristics in order to cover its crisis. The second section discusses its transitional approaches. Later, it considers post-Fordism and elaborates its economic, social, and political features, and spatial repercussions on the changes experienced after the 1970s in the economic, social, political context. The last section discusses mainly the rise of the new middle class and developmental process of gated communities.

Chapter Four focuses primarily on suburbanization and gated communities. In the first section, it views suburban expansion in Europe and the United States

respectively. The other section delves into the formalized definition and explores gated communities, underlying features, and ways of life in gated communities in terms of life-styles, employment patterns, patterns of consumption, changing practice of everyday life. It outlines urbanization and suburbanization from the point of view of gated communities.

Chapter Five considers the urbanization process of Türkiye, and related economic-social-political changes and their spatial repercussions. The first section reviews the urbanization-suburbanization process, and residential transformation. In the second section of the chapter, the movement of upper-middle and middle classes towards peripheral suburban areas in general, and in the city of Ankara in particular, are traced within the scope of the above analysis. In the third section of this chapter, the developmental history of Çayyolu is designated from the point of view of urbanization and suburbanization within the growth pattern of Ankara.

Chapter Six presents the empirical outcomes on the transformation of location patterns of affluent households with special reference to a gated community, as a case study, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The first section of this chapter narrates the development of the settlement. The second and third sections are about physical and social structure of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

Chapter Seven evaluates the findings. The first section claims the results in connection with the hypotheses related to main theoretical framework of the dissertation, and tests the hypotheses of the study in accordance with the levels of the research task. This section also reflects the kind of internal relations that may characterize the preferences of affluent households in their residential choices. In the second section, the developer advertisements are analyzed in order to capture the underlying motives/desires of the new urban way of life.

The last chapter is devoted to the conclusion and suggestions. Finally, it is suggested that the prohibited modernity, welfare state etcetera within the context of the political economy was much more socially just, ecologically sustainable, politically democratic, economically efficient, spatially livable, and culturally vibrant. How, with what tools, by which actors' -the state or the individuals could end this social as well as

spatial segregation with the liberal approaches of this capitalist system is the subject of further research.

The stance of this study, however, at least at the beginning, was neither strongly protagonist nor antagonist. It has come to make the assumption that post-Fordism, post-modernism, globalization, gated developments are here to stay and that private developers and town planners alike are to design and plan with it as they have traditionally designed and planned with the case of modernism.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH TASK

It is a continuous matter of discussion that there is a systemic connection between urbanization, suburbanization and global economic processes in terms of social, political, and cultural context. The impact of global restructuring on cities has varied across the world. Cities with their regions have been affected by this process through the internalization of capital and the rise of new technology. As it is the concern of articulation to the world-economy, the phenomena are not simply interrelated, but are also complementary. The theoretical structure of this treatise; therefore, deals with the impacts of the capitalist world-economy through the notion of metropolitan region whereby the urbanization process of metropolitan areas, in general, can be linked to economic forces. However, economy is not the only sector that is under this impact.

The framework; therefore, is primarily a method, which examines the links between affluent suburbanization and global economic processes in terms of social, political, cultural, and spatial contexts in critical urban theory. Eventually, the main object of the study and inquiry revolves around aiming to contribute to a better understanding and comprehension of the spatial processes of the unknown dimensions of "a new suburbanization expansion" i.e. gated community developments, for prospective studies.

The key questions, here, are: What is the logic of the development of gated community and its consequences? What are the factors dominating this new suburbanization expansion? Why does the new dimension of suburbanization in the form of gated community have a tendency to expand? What is the meaning of this kind of development for the society? However, the assumption is that the logic is not abstract but constructed, having inductive as well as deductive elements. The ultimate goal of the study, then, is to find out, and reveal the underlying factors lying behind urban spatial segregation at the beginning of the first urban century.

In the first section of this chapter, the hypotheses are built on three levels, which is followed by the explanation of methods and material employed. The third section is about the questionnaire.

II.1 A Hypothetical Work: The Hypotheses of the Research

The arguments necessary for the formation of the hypotheses are to be developed in the following chapter. The assumption behind the methodological framework proposed here is that the converging trends of social conflicts, the deepening gap between poor and rich, global hegemonic cultural influence, the new environmental assessments values, ecological awareness, the emergence of the fiscal crisis and the economic and political crackdown of governments have brought into focus the urban-suburban structure that has emerged as a powerful force in the process of capitalist accumulation and segregated community consumption.

This study is concerned not only with understanding the social production of the built environment, but also how built environments represent and condition societies, and cultures. However, the hypotheses, consisting of eight loosely joint statements, are neither a theory nor a universal generalization about gated communities, but a starting point for further inquires.

II.1.1 The General -Theoretical- Level

The 1980s witnessed the impact of world economic forces on urban areas. Indeed, world economic, political, and cultural forces have been operating as major forces in shaping cities, patterns of urbanization, and the spatial forms of the built environment. Yet, within this picture, a much more complicated social structure has emerged in terms of polarization, duality, and underclasses relative to post-war growth (Albrechts and Denayer 2001: 369-371). The lower income classes ware unable to find work within the prevailing occupational hierarchy. The upper class has been always there (Fainstein and Harloe 1992a; 1992b). In between, the old middle class has been loosing its economic and social weight. Therefore, in today's capitalist world-economy, changes in cities are to be looked upon a larger global context.

Under world-economy concept (Wallerstein 1974; 1984; 1987), this level of analysis concerns cognitive phenomena, and covers, in an academic and professional sphere, knowledge and theory about urban development so that the knowledge may have the possibility of influencing decisions about urban planning. Although the development of gated communities are highly related to globalization in the capitalist world-economy, at the global level there is no comprehensive analysis and theory about gated communities that might influence decisions about urban development and planning in the academic and professional sphere.

Nevertheless, Homer Hoyt's [1] hypothesis now becomes the thesis, which is also true for gated communities, suggesting "social class segregation and the spatial movements of upper class neighborhoods would occur in all capitalist contemporary metropolises". They would only be more visible or stronger as the gap is deeper between social classes. In addition to the above statement, it might be said that there is a new logic of social segregation i.e. to keep oneself from the sights of others to protect property values.

On the basis of theoretical arguments, the main hypothesis of this thesis will be:

Suburban expansion taking place under the impact of forces prevailing in the world-economic, political system, leads to a social segregation within metropolitan areas. This can be interpreted as a qualitative change in suburbanization over the last decades. Gated community residential areas are the evolutionary and indisputable part of this type of suburbanization. Gated communities emanate from processes of social restructuring in which not only employment structures have changed, but also a new middle class has become distinguished by new consumption patterns. This pattern of housing consumption is the focus of these new consumption patterns and have been associated and resulted from the higher incomes and greater spending power of this group of society.

This hypothesis will be tested on urban and unit levels.

II.1.2 The Urban Level

Any understanding of contemporary urbanism calls for an understanding of its past. In other words, it is crucial to view the past from urban political economy

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[1] For a broader discussion see Homer Hoyt (1939/1969: 499-510 and Stuart Chapin (1965: 18-19).

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perspective for a better comprehension of contemporary urbanism. This level of analysis; therefore, relates to organizational and technological phenomena and concentrates on social, environmental, political, economic, physical, and cultural development of the gated communities within the capitalist system.

Cities, at the beginning of a new millennium, have become human settlements in which more than half of the world's population lives (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 3). Hence, if cities are to function as engines of human development, it is crucial that they be socially just, ecologically sustainable, politically participatory, economically efficient, physically livable, and culturally vibrant. Eventually, the hypothesis related to the particular role of gated communities in the urban development process is that as the above stated proposition is true for every part and parcel of the cities, so it is true for the gated communities. Consequently, analysis at this level focuses on a particular part of the urban area.

Due to the difficulties in gathering available data, and comprehensiveness of the subject, analysis of this level is carried out on the basis of the principles of sustainability, and livability as established by Habitat II (National Report 1996; Tekeli 1996a: 68-69; Tekeli 1996b: 137-140).

The first principle is sustainability, defined by the National Report of Türkiye, as "the settlement system must be developed in ways that will not hinder the needs of future generations. So natural resources and ecological balance must be preserved" (National Report 1996: 31). Land is the basic resource that has to be preserved from the point of sustainability of a settlement. The use of productive agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes is not permitted by the latest by-law issued on 26 August 1998. The other natural resource of critical importance, without any doubt, is water. Preservation of surface and ground water resources, and the water catchment areas, has vital importance in the concept of sustainability. Pollution is another important factor among the issues of sustainability.

The other principle of the analysis of urban level is livability, which is defined in terms of performance criteria accepted in each society [1]. It is open to cultural change and

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[1] İlhan Tekeli 2002, CP 602 Space and Time Concepts in the New Age, lecture notes.

development. Livability of settlements consists of factors that affect the quality of urban life. The first dimension may be the examination of necessary conditions for physical well-being. According to the National Report of Türkiye Habitat II (1996: 37) the preservation of natural and historical resources, and its environs is another dimension of livability. Although performance criteria contain more variables, here, for the convenience of the available data, only two of them, namely sustainability and livability are chosen.

The usual growth of Turkish cities is like an oil spot, increasing in size and density, hardly allowing for green areas and public spaces, narrow roads, high-rise buildings in labyrinth form. The inevitable result is the inadequacy of public services in these areas. The protection of life and property from risks is understood to be another dimension of livability.

Accordingly, the hypothesis related to sustainability and livability, hence asserts:

That any settlement should not be located on agricultural land, and on water catchment areas. The livability of gated communities is expected to be at outmost level, and to provide their inhabitants with clean air; sanitation with an adequate supply of water at the required levels of hygiene; freedom from noise pollution; safe pedestrian walks; freedom of mobility; visual pollution; adequate sewerage whereby waste water can be discharged without polluting the environment; the proper collection of solid waste and its disposal.

And,

Since gated communities are expected to be carefully planned developments, physical plans should provide the necessary space per capita of physical and social infrastructure facilities, in particular primary education, health, socio-cultural activities, parking lots. Green areas are expected to be at higher levels than those norms required in the Development Law numbered 3194. The streets and roads are large enough not to cause vehicular traffic congestion, and safe enough to wander around. Hence, gated communities must represent a secure environment with its related preventive measures. Thus, they are worth living in for the security and the quality of life provided by site life.

II.1.3 The Unit Level:

The main interest of this level analysis is directed toward built environment. The study of people and their physical surroundings, and their mutual interaction with people and their built environment has become the main concern of this level. The related hypotheses are categorized under two sub groups: Physical settings and social settings.

The hypotheses of the first sub group, which are primarily gathered around space, dwell on two issues: physical setting (exterior and interior spaces), and belongingness.

The hypothesis related to physical setting will be:

Gated communities are worth living in for their spacious exterior spaces, manicured greens, pre-planned, controllable physical aesthetics, homogeneous, and predictable (eligible) exterior layout; provision of better environment for children; and its serene life without noise and air pollution, crowdedness, and congestion of vehicular traffic as in the inner city. Their architectural, and functional/detailed interior designs, bathroom fixtures, and kitchen equipments are expected to influence settlement preferences of the new middle class.

Settlement of this type also encourages the sense of belonging to a particular place; a sense of sharing with others, and being useful, a sense of integration with the natural environment, thereby creating possibilities for human activity, which are basically subjective conditions.

Thus, the hypothesis related to belongingness states that:

Gated community residential areas are the spatialized image of the upper-middle class. The households of gated communities are proud of their houses, and the inhabitants of Angora Houses-Kooperatif-18 have the tendency to be with people like themselves who are living in such a settlement.

The hypotheses related to social settings are constructed on the three capitals of Pierre Bourdieu: economic, cultural, and social capitals.

The hypothesis related to economic capital claims that:

The households of gated communities will be generally homeowners; the occupation status of inhabitants are expected to be professional, managerial, administrative,

technical, and the status in their employment will be high-level bureaucrats, top-executives or self-employed. Raphael Samuel states that "The new middle class distinguishes itself more by its spending than its saving" (cited by Smith 1996a: 92-94, 109).

The hypothesis related to cultural capital states that:

Educational level of the households of gated communities is expected to be higher than the level of urban country. It is also expected that women's working and earning outside the house will be tolerated. The consumption pattern of households living in gated communities will be symbolic.

"Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital – in whatever form- insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity" (Bourdieu 1983/1986: 255).

The hypothesis associated with social capital declares that:

Gated communities will be worth living in for the prevailing trust, and friendly neighborly relations within the community; their inhabitants are expected to be fond of family life with their elderly parents and will be also devoted to their children. They will be fond of working, and having found their jobs by themselves depending on their achieved careers.

II. 2 Methodology and Material

The survey was conducted to test the hypotheses asserted in the previous section of this chapter. Throughout the study no one single methodology has been employed. Indeed, scholars apply different methods to investigate the community. Researches related to individual studies are dominantly carried out ethnographically, using participant's observations being the central methodology. Herbert J. Gans's (1967/1973a) analysis related to communities is the example of the participant-observer methodology at its best and is principally important in this regard (LeGates 2000: 62).

II.2.1 Methodology

Urban community studies focus mainly on the defined spaces, such as ethnic enclaves, ghettos, gecekondu development areas, neighbourhoods or socially isolated poor communities etc. Researchers have the tendency to foster the studies by participant observations, news reports, statistical data, historical records, caricatures, advertisements or related materials at hand. Individual community investigations, in addition to participant-observation, require and/or employ an interview-based methodology.

The methodology applied in this study then, is derived from several methods, simply because gated communities are a new and emerging phenomenon and limited scholarly research has been done on this issue. Consequently, there is little information available that could assist the study or make comparisons.

The research strategy is focused primarily on observation as a method of inquiry. Nevertheless, in addition, several research methods, and techniques are used: analysis of legal regulations for land use, building and ownership, analysis of economic, social and demographic data, content analysis of suburban expansion and land development files, and finally, interviews with households of a gated community, and several social and administrative actors.

II.2.2 Source of Information

The data, which will be utilized to test the hypotheses previously stated, are based on two distinct sources. The first one is coded information. A host of materials as current sources are derived from news, newspapers, estate specific journals and magazines. Advertisements, articles, publications of community groups are the main search fields. The records of Barmek Construction Inc. and Kooperatif-18 are also used in the analysis. The data obtained from real estates, developers, from public officials as well as citizens' groups are additionally verified to support the study. The data and archive information of the Municipality of Greater Ankara, of the Municipality of Yenimahalle District Council, of the Municipality of Çankaya District Council, and of the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement are constituted as the base for the

development pattern of Çayyolu suburban expansion. The data collected by those of the State Institute of Statistics are evaluated additionally.

The other sources are the ones collected from site visits. As it is true for all the qualitative design, data collection is primarily field-based, flexible, and likely to change over the course of the study. As the study proceeded, the nature of the phenomenon under investigation has been better handled, and within this qualitative approach, procedural decisions were taken so that more specific questions could be asked. As a participant observer, many hours were spent informally within and around the communities, and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, consulting with key local informants as well as employees.

Interviews are the major source of data collection for the case study of analysis of unit level. In-depth interviews with open-ended questions provide the opportunity of gathering unexpected information, and of overcoming the handicap of staying within the limits of pre-prepared questions. The interviews lasted between one-half to two hours depending on whether the interviewer was taken on a tour of the house.

However, in addition to participant-observations and interviews, documents, historical records, videotapes, etc. of potential relevance to the research question are also acquired. In-depth interviews are held with developers, officers, experts, technicians, and chairman of the cooperative who are regarded as having the first-hand information that are of particular interest for the inquiry. The questions are subject-oriented, open ended, and not pre-prepared.

As the study proceeded, the nature of the phenomenon under investigation is better handled and within this qualitative approach, procedural decisions are taken so that more specific questions could be asked. However, generalizations are made when the comments of several independent informants were in agreement.

II.2.3 The Material

As for the source of the sampling and to conceive the survey sphere, the first step is taken on the collection of the whole set up of gated communities from related muhtars, and then this information is checked by the information obtained from municipal bodies,

whereby gated community categorization according to their identification is possible. This has made possible the attempt to map the gated communities of Çayyolu. The materials obtained from the Çayyolu Muhtars yield the necessary background of this phase of the study. They are, Çayyolu Mahallesi, Ümit, Koru, Konutkent, Yaşam Kent (previously Yeni Kent), Ahmet Taner Kışlalı (previously Buket Mahallesi) and Çayyolu Köyü Muhtarlıkları. The relevant physical characteristics and patterns are identified objectively, but the main interest point of the study is shaped around social issues being the central loci of attention on the functioning of gated communities.

The field survey of the case study took place from May 2003 to end of August 2003. Interviews were conducted in the line with questionnaire prepared earlier, always with some fine-tuning with respect to the characteristics of households interviewed. However, some of the interviewees preferred to reply in written form.

Due to the practical reasons, unfortunately, the survey could not be carried out on sampling basis, and samples are chosen on snowball technique. The pre-selected interviewees did not accept the inquiry all the time. Respondents are selected by reputational method, in which the informants supplied the names of others. After completing eleven interviews, to allow better evaluation, in-depth interviews were conducted separately with twenty-four respondents. The in-depth interviewees were chosen among households who were having representative characteristics with respect to subjects to be scrutinized, or were prominent actors in the development arena, or because they were particularly well informed. Although it was aimed to conduct the interviews with the wife and husband together, only five households were available. All in-depth interviews dwelled on the relations that the researcher established with households.

Throughout the survey some thirty-five households were interviewed. Fifteen of these were with households living in villas, five with households living in boulevard apartments, and fifteen with households living in point blocks. Villa and garden-duplex owners were deeply questioned so as to reflect the utilization of garden, nature, and soil. Statistical methods cannot be employed for the analyses of information due to the nature of its methodology.

An example of the interview and the profile of the sample in terms of house types, demographic, and gender distribution of thirty-five households are presented in

Appendix A.1 and Appendix A.2 respectively. Summary tables of the interviews are provided in Appendix A.3.

CHAPTER III

URBAN SOCIO-SPATIAL PROFILE OF THE RESTRUCTURING OF A SOCIETY - AN ONGOING DEBATE: FORDISM AND POST-FORDISM

The explosive growth of urban areas in the century just passed can easily be attributed to three distinct, and yet interrelated revolutionary forces. The first one was the industrialization revolution as characterized by the interaction of industrial plants in and around urban areas. The transportation revolution and telecommunication revolution were the other two forces that have also had direct relationships with the technological developments. The opportunities offered both by the mass transportation system and private automobile on one hand and massive developments in telecommunication systems such as the telephone and internet, on the other, have had a considerable multiplying effect on the growth of urban areas (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 5-7; Saunders 2001: 36).

In the modern era, economic change has become dominant in explaining the growth of cities and spatial patterning of urban development. It seems convenient; therefore, to begin with a brief review of the aspects and nature of Fordism that fostered a new era of capitalist development. The economic, social, and political aspects of Fordism are also helpful in explaining its crisis. In the twentieth century, Fordism evolved into something substantially more than a system of production or production organization. It became the whole of the economic and social system (Storper 1989/1994: 195; Agietta 1979; Jessop 1994: 254; Amin 1994: 10). This brief review will prepare the ground for defining post-Fordism and related urban developments so that it sheds light on the transition now in progress.

In this chapter, an itinerary background survey is carried out in order to maintain the consistency within the scope of the study. It also serves to settle down the framework and the scope of the study. Accordingly, the structure of the theoretical framework formed in this chapter is divided into three sections.

The first two sections set out the development of Fordism and its characteristics briefly, in order to cover its crisis, and subsequently its transitional approaches. Subsequently, in the third section, it considers post-Fordism and its spatial repercussions on the changes experienced after the 1970s in the economic, social, and political context.

III.1 Fordism

Each capitalist development of society is characterized by a specific regime of accumulation and the mode of regulation associated with it. According to Michel Aglietta (1979), the nineteenth century was dominated by the "extensive regime of accumulation". The internal expansion of capital was achieved primarily through the appropriation of "absolute surplus value" (Smith 1996a: 112). During this time, growth was accomplished incrementally by the insertion of the means to enlarge and stabilize industrial markets (Storper 1989/1994: 198). This spurred the standardization and mechanization of products, which in turn led the establishment of markets. Inevitably, the expansion of relations culminated in the accumulation of capital.

At the close of the nineteenth century, however, a severe crisis of overaccumulation emerged, which was accompanied by a working class uprising. The working class demanded improvements in working conditions, such as, higher wage rates, shorter work day, and also affordable housing. In response to these economic and social challenges to capital, coupled with technical improvements in consumer goods industry, the capitalist system went through a transformation in the direction of an "intensive regime of capital accumulation" (Aglietta 1979). Eventually, absolute surplus value was superseded by "relative surplus value", which started Taylorism and scientific management (Smith 1996a: 112).

The Fordist concept of accumulation, which is based on mass production, mass consumption, and a Keynesian system of state regulation, founded a new era of capitalist development stretching from the 1920s to the early 1970s. It picked up in the 1950s and the 1960s (Soja 2000: 170; Sayer and Walker 1992: 191; Amin 1994: 8). Fordism dominated two decades of postwar economic growth. The Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, first used the term "Fordism" (Soja 2000: 170). The term took after Henry Ford who applied mass production methods and rules of management in his car factory in the

United States during the 1920s and the 1930s. Fordism can briefly be viewed in economic, social, and political contexts.

III.1.1 Economic Context of Fordism

Fordism, in principle, is based on monopolistic or oligopolistic capitalism. It embraces the increasing concentration of capital, growth of output and worker productivity especially in consumer products, an expansion of demand for and supply of private and public services. Fordism is a labour process, which involves assembly line mass production of standardized goods (Sayer and Walker 1992: 191, 194). Hence, Fordist assembly lines are the best expression of achieving a continuous production flow in large-scale industry (Tomaney 1994: 179).

The implementations of Fordist regimes are based on the Taylorist ideas of labour specialization, scientific management, and the optimal use of time. These Taylorist principles of industrial organization and control theoretically exclude the direct producers from any kind of involvement in mass production. There exists an extreme and detailed division of task fragmentation (Lipietz 1990/1994: 340-341; Tomaney 1994: 158-159). It involves rigid and alienating rules of work. Fordism, together with Taylorism, formed a work organization, which led to the further integration of production (Tomaney 1994: 177).

The other hallmarks of Fordism include vertical integration (Sayer and Walker 1992: 191), mass production based on moving assembly-line techniques operated with the semi-skilled labour (Jessop 1994: 253), stable oligopolistic market structures, the intensification of work, mechanization to raise productivity, and various forms of monopolistic regulation (Storper 1989/1994: 195; Amin 1994: 9). Actually, mass production is the main source of dynamism of Fordist intensive accumulation (Jessop 1994: 253; Amin 1994: 9) that plays the dominant role in the formation of capital accumulation (Sayer 1989).

III.1.2 Social Context of Fordism

Following the years of the Second World War, the Keynesian welfare state[1] under which the processes of social issues of Fordism rooted its force, prospered. Hence, the role of welfare state and state-stimulated mass consumption was emblematic of the postwar economic system (Soja 2000: 170). The consumption patterns of standardized mass commodities became increasingly predominant and for the nuclear family, televisions and cars were the basis of a new way of life and consumption (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 79). Standardized collective goods and services were provided by the bureaucratic state (Jessop 1994: 254).

This era experienced a rapid expansion of collective consumption in housing, health care, education, transportation, and so on (Smith 1996a: 112-113; Jessop 1994: 255). The working class became a powerful magnet of consumption. Although consumption has been commodified, a partial homogenization of consumption patterns has existed across class boundaries (Smith 1996a: 113).

The adaptation of Keynesian style economic policies and programs through which full employment could be achieved (Jessop 1994: 255) would in turn promote economic growth and general prosperity through aggregating demand. The continuous production increases raised by the level of employment (Sayer and Walker 1992: 194).

The social side of Fordist regime, comprising a socio-institutional structure with a collectivist character, and the unionization of labour, had also considerable positive effect not only on the rise of wage levels, but also on the quality of daily life (Sassen 1994: 99). Collective bargaining and monopoly pricing were institutionalized under the Keynesian-welfare state (Peck and Tickell 1994). Manufacturing had also considerable importance in reducing urban income inequalities in the 1950s and the 1960s. The central factor behind this was the higher level of unionization found in manufacturing.

As manufacturing was the leading sector of the economy, economic growth during the years following the Second World War contributed to the vast expansion of a middle class. The Keynesian model of economic regime, supported by government policies, contributed to the reduction in the number of poor and reduced tendencies towards inequality (Sassen 1994: 99, 101; Smith 1996a: 113). On the other side, the

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[1] The term welfarism refers to the development of welfare state after 1945 (Bailey 2001: 336-337).

cultural forms shaped the structures of everyday life in a way that a large middle class contributed to mass consumption which created an effective demand, and thus to standardization in production.

It might be said that Fordist society is an urban-industrial, middle class, wage-earning society. These features of Fordism can noticeably be linked to the Keynesian economic management and expansion of welfare state. Classes were less distinct than in the past. This reality was the optimistic expectation or at least was the hope of a homogeneous middle class society (Smith 1996a: 113).

III.1.3. Political Context of Fordism

The implications of these processes of social regulations were closely related in and around the notion of nation-state. The Keynesian state, by its very definition is national, centralized, and was therefore, limited to the national territory in the exercise of its regulatory functions (Peck and Tickell 1994: 289). Fordism involved an unprecedented intervention by the state (Smith 1996a: 112).

The years after the Second World War witnessed the centralization of the state in most of countries. Switzerland and the United States of America were exceptions, due to their foundations. The power of local authorities were limited usually to local services whereas major services in man's life such as health care, education, housing, and urban planning were provided by the state under the control of central authorities (Peck and Tickell 1994: 289-290; Bailey 2001: 337). In Peter Hall and Ulrich Pfeiffer's words, "town plans took longer time to prepare and even longer to implement" (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 173). More than this, plans prepared by central authority have produced standardized towns whose land use patterns were differentiated according to functions.

Central authorities, moreover, had the opportunity to control municipal finance through grants. Local tax collection was very limited. Central administrations through their distributional power and taxing determined the investments, so public spending was according to their interpretation of local needs. Welfare state formation was an efficient tool for the mobilization of funds for the compensation of unemployment, health,

environmental damage, etc. (Peck and Tickell 1994: 289). The state enjoyed paternalistic, protective stance by supporting economically deprived groups (Bailey 2001: 337). On the other hand, the economic interventions of the state under the pressure of international competition were effective in the national economics.

The other important issue was the tension of the Fordist regime that could be associated with the uneasy confrontation of national forms of regulations and the dynamics of accumulation regime of the globalizing process (Peck and Tickell 1994: 289). The hegemonic structure of Fordist capitalism was imposed internationally after the Second World War under the leadership of the United States of America (Esser and Hirsh 1994: 75). Global financial hegemony of the United States of America was established through the institutionalization of the Bretton Woods agreement which "provided a means of regulating the international system in a way compatible with the requirements of Keynesian regulation at the level of the nation state" (Peck and Tickell 1994: 290). However, by the early 1970s, the United States of America could no longer exert control over the emerging global credit system as it used to exercise it over monetary circulation through Bretton Woods. The "nature of national economic management and its interaction with international mechanism of integration" changed radically (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 44).

III.2 Crisis of Fordism and Its Transition

Crises are complex processes and are to be understood and connected to each other economically, politically and ideologically (Keyder 1984). They can occur relatively independently from each other and displaced in time. Every crisis in the capital accumulation forces actually to change the existing mechanisms and the regime of accumulation.

In the inner structure of capitalism lies the tendency towards equalization of conditions and levels of development. This tendency emerges from basic necessity for economic expansion in capitalist society. Individual capitalists and enterprises can survive only by making profit and/or by maximizing their profit. Hence, in an economy ruled by competition between enterprises, survival requires expansion, i.e. the accumulation of larger quantities of capital. In other words, the accumulation of larger

and larger quantities of capital supports economic growth at both national and world economic level. When such growth does not take place, the system is in crises (Smith 1996a: 77; Lefebvre 1976).

Fordism as a dominant production structure has been in crisis since the late 1960s (Esser and Hirsh 1994: 75; Soja 2000: 111). The crisis of Fordism, which was the crisis of Fordist regime of accumulation, based on mass production, mass consumption, and Keynesian welfare state and management (Peck and Tickell 1994: 283) led to a new regime of accumulation, a new mode of regulation, and thereby a new dominant structure to be imposed (Esser and Hirsh 1994: 75).

The growing capital intensity of production and the need to ensure continuous production are the problems of capitalism. What Fordism offered, however, was a particular solution to an essential capitalist problem. More specifically, towards the end of that period, the organization and limitations of the Fordist mode of production, combined with the inherent tendencies of fall in the rate of profit and overaccumulation came to threaten the existence of the Fordist mode of production whereby the productivity gains decreased due to the social and technical limits of Fordism productivity. Fordist-Keynesian paradigm of continuous growth and development, within the global economy, has not been sustainable any more. Consequently, the system had begun to exhaust its potential (Sayer and Walker 1992: 191).

Additionally, the crisis of 1970s is also related to the changes in the market. Mass market had begun to break up as consumers became tired of standardized products that were a great threat to mass production. Firms have become more responsive to changing tastes. A greater variety of use-values were demanded which could not be satisfied by conventional means of standardized production (Elam 1994: 64). Simultaneously labour resistance had built up. "The system was too rigid to cope with the uncertainty of the recession" (Sayer and Walker 1992: 191).

Meanwhile, a new model of production, or post-Fordism has been emerging. The rise of non-specialist and highly flexible manufacturing technologies combined with flexible work practices and organizations were the other foremost developments (Eraydın 1992: 25). These all together characterized a new system, which has favored small-size, small-batch units of production (Dear and Flustry 2002: 222) without losing

large-scale economies. Hence, the Fordist emphasis on large plants and corporations has given way to the small and medium-sized enterprise which might not require location in large urban centers. Besides information technology, the role of innovations related specifically to microelectronic technology has primacy in this process (Sayer and Walker 1992; Esser and Hirsch 1994: 80). "Structural crisis", "transition", "transformation", "restructuring" are the terms of Fordist debate and its crisis.

There are several version of explaining this twentieth-century restructuring. Three among them are widely discussed by scholars. This section of the chapter tries to outline the arguments of these three theories of transition: The regulation approach, neo-Schumpeterian approach, and the flexible specialization approach. Each has developed separate explanation of the transition process by which the Fordist mass production is being replaced by new systems. Actually, these three theoretical propositions are placed at the heart of the post-Fordist debate.

III.2.1 The Regulation Approach

The regulation approach was pioneered in France first, in the 1970s, and later, in the 1980s, was refined by political economists in order to explain the dynamics of long-term cycles of economic stability and change (Aglietta 1979). There has been a huge international impact of this approach, which has resulted in considerable internal differentiation (Amin 1994: 7).

The objective of the approach was to develop a theoretical framework that could explain the contradictions between capitalism's inherent tendency towards instability, crisis and change, and capitalism's ability to stabilize around a set of institutions, rules, and norms to secure a relatively long period of economic stability (Amin 1994: 7). This approach claimed that the recession after the mid-1970s was not a pause within a recurrent cycle but a more generalized crisis of the institutional structure that had organized the post-war economy. For the regulationists, identifying the structure, principles and mechanisms that underpinned economic change within the historical process are important. Fordism, in this approach, is a distinctive kind of labour process

occupying mass production, large plants, scale economies, and rising incomes related to productivity and mass consumption (Amin 1994: 9).

Regulation approach underscores two key concepts, which identify the common mechanism at work and explain the systemic coherence of capitalist development: "regime of accumulation" and "mode of regulation". The "regime of accumulation" refers to a form of surplus value production and realization, which enables almost coherent process of capital accumulation. It sets regularities at the level of macro economy, covering norms of production, distribution and exchange (Amin 1994: 8; Lipietz 1990/1994: 339). In other words, it comprises the types of rules/norms concerning the methods of organizing production and labour process thereby the national reproduction of labour power and capital (Esser and Hirsh 1994: 73). The "mode of regulation" refers to the set of norms, which secures capitalist reproduction such as the institutional laws, agreements and the complex of cultural habits and norms. It consists of a set of formal and informal rules that codify the main social relationships maintaining a certain equilibrium and stability to the production system as a whole and continuously adjusting the behaviors to the general logic of the regime of accumulation (Lipietz 1990/1994: 338-340).

Critics of this approach have questioned mainly the relationship between dominant the Fordist mode of production and its applications on the national levels. There are always several national variants of the paradigm; so there cannot be always a single Fordist logic. The other critic was the tendency of the regulation approach towards systemic, functionalist and logical coherence to the history that it rarely possesses (Amin 1994: 11).

III.2.2 The Neo-Schumpeterian Approach

There is a broad agreement between these two approaches. Both suggest the systemic and cyclical nature of capitalist development; periodization and general dynamics of Fordism. In the terminology of neo-Schumpeterian language, the "techno-economic paradigm" and "socio-institutional framework" stand for "regime of accumulation" and "mode of regulation" respectively in the regulation approach. One

major difference, however, is the significance given to technology in the neo-Schumpeterian approach.

The departure point of the neo-Schumpeterian view of Fordism stems from the Russian economist Kondratiev's concept of long-waves, which was further reworked by Schumpeter in the 1930s. He claimed that these long waves of roughly fifty-year cycles of growth reflect a process of "creative destruction" and long-term changes in the technological structure of the economy (Elam 1994: 44). He extended this work by identifying the key role of innovations that guided the new technological paradigms.

Christopher Freeman and Carlota Perez have deployed significant extension and refinement into Schumpeter's original formulation in the 1980s (Amin 1984:12; Elam 1994: 45). For them, the successful transition from one long wave to another is dependent upon "quantum leaps" in industrial productivity achieved by the diffusion of major innovations across the economy. This transition is dependent secondly on the matching innovations within the framework of socio-institutional norms and regulations, thereby facilitating diffusion (Amin 1994: 12). Today, being in the fifth Kondratiev and information technology paradigm, the key factor is believed to be microelectronics (Elam 1994: 45).

The neo-Schumpeterian approach focuses more on state policies for education, health care, housing, Keynesian intervention into the market economy in terms of socio-institutions framework.

This approach has been severely criticized for being technologically deterministic (Elam 1994). The outcomes of innovations induced by technology were quite slow to diffuse due to the reluctance of management and labour, and political disinterest impeded the spread of new ideas.

III.2.3 The Flexible Specialization Approach

This approach to "industrial divide" is mostly related with the work of Michael Piore and Charles Sabel (1984), and more recently Paul Hirst. This approach is less pronounced than the preceding two approaches, because of its rejection of a deterministic account of historical evolution and transition (Amin 1994: 13). In their account, there is a simple conceptual distinction between mass production and flexible

specialization. "Mass production" involves the use of special purpose, product specific machines operated by semi-skilled workers to produce standardized goods. "Flexible specialization" or "craft production" is based on skilled workers who produce a variety of customized goods.

This approach claims that two industrial paradigms have co-existed since the nineteenth century, without displaying technological superiority. However, at different points in history one of the two paradigms may come to predominate over the other. The adoption and diffusion of a paradigm; therefore, is a matter of historical conditions and political choice rather than logical necessity. The decisions made at certain points steer the future this way along, and cut off the others. The critical question is why, at certain points, one specific path is adopted rather than another (Storper 1989/1994: 197; Amin 1994: 14).

Michael Piore and Charles Sabel categorize two industrial "divides". The first was initiated at the turn of the twentieth century when emergence of mass production technology and techniques limited the growth of craft production methods. The period, beginning from the stagnation of the world-economy in the very early 1970s is said to be "second industrial divide" which basically favors "flexible-specialization". They claim that these divides are the major periods in the history of economies and social life within industrial capitalism (Storper 1989/1994: 197).

Criticism of flexible specialization approach has mainly focused on its dualistic logic; mass production versus flexible specialization. Another criticism is the failure to recognize the heterogeneous nature of both systems (Amin 1994: 15; Elam 1994: 53). Following the crisis of the early 1970s, the capitalist world-economy entered a new era, which has been described as "post-Fordist", "post-Keynesian", "post-industrial", "post-modern", etc. by scholars (Soja 2000: 111). Fordism came to be replaced by post-Fordism. Transition was automatic or path-dependent.

III.3 Post-Fordism

The 1970s has witnessed a general process of industrial restructuring throughout the world (Piore and Sabel 1984; Sayer and Walker 1992: 191; Amin 1994; Storper and. Scott 1989/2002). Concomitantly, the world as a whole has undergone radical changes in the social, cultural, economic and political arena. After the crisis of the early 1970s, the

capitalist world-economy[1] entered a new phase of restructuring. The general and dominant interpretation of this restructuring, however, is that the Fordist mode of development based on a tight organization of mass production and mass consumption around large industrial complexes had been superseded by a new, market-based production developed on "flexibility".

These changes have essentially been bewildering and alarming when it is considered that the pace of the change was even more rapid. The changes practiced by urban settlements have gone far beyond demographics. The panoramic view of cities has changed and now they look different. They display decisively different structure, form and appearance than the times of modernity. Within the framework of transformations, all the world's major and minor metropolitan areas have been experiencing dramatic changes since the early 1970s, described as the product of a process of urban restructuring by urban scholars (Smith 1996a: 76-77).

Restructuring is a term that holds promises in making sense of the profound reorganization in economic, political, cultural and social life. Since the key components of the post-Fordist city stem from economic changes, most theoretical works and empirical researches have gathered around economic restructuring, or the way production was organized. However, the fundamental changes in the organization of social and cultural reproduction have the equivalent significance, essentially in the understanding of transformations in spatial urban form and activity patterns (Law and Wolch 1993: 165). The social, economic, and political realities of nation states, regions, and substantially urban areas have been altered by economic globalization, which was accompanied by the global culture in the minimalist sense (Featherstone and Lash 1995: 2). In the following section post-Fordism is discussed on its three contexts.

III.3.1 Economic Context of Post-Fordism

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[1] Immanuel Wallerstein (1984: 13) distinguishes the concept of "world-economy" from that of "world economy". According to him, the latter concept presumes that there are a series of separate economies which are national in scope. Whereas the concept of "world-economy" assumes that there exists an economy, and social division of labour. In this study the term capitalist "world-economy" is suggested as the most appropriated framework for the analysis in the sense as described by Wallerstein.

In the decades after the Second World War, in the world-economy, the international regime was basically shaped by the United States and by the rules for global trade contained in the Bretton Woods agreement (Sassen 1996; Peck and Tickell 1994: 290; Amin 1994: 15). However, the degree of control exercised by Bretton Woods over monetary circulation could not be exerted over newly emerging global credit system. Private capital was free to circulate globally on a deregulated basis. By the early 1970s, it was becoming clear that the role of the United States of America in the global economy was changing (Law and Wolch 1993). Keynesian states lost their control over the setting of interest rates which was the most important macro economic instrument (Peck and Tickell 1994: 291). The conditions supporting that regime disintegrated and culminated in a void into which the large American transnational firms and banks stepped. E. Altvater (cited by Peck and Tickell 1994: 291) notes that "Unregulated global credit was a factor of erosion of the (political institutional) regulation of the whole Fordist system".

The twentieth century's flow of capital, labour, goods, raw materials, tourists which took place within the inter-state system has changed dramatically during this period "as a result of privatization, deregulation, the opening up of national economies to foreign firms, and the growing participation of national economic actors in global markets" (Sassen 2001: 78) and has become international in character. In the finance system, accordingly, combined with the help of information technologies, the mobility and liquidity of capital has made possible the flexible accumulation of capital.

It was roughly since 1972 that the capitalist world has begun to evolve a new and quite different regime of capital accumulation (Harvey 1987/1994). Oil embargo of October 1973 triggered a crisis, as Neil Smith (1996a: 116) carefully notes, whose results were deeper in the social fabric. It was more than a mere energy crisis. In the aftermath of this social-political-economic crisis, much of the advanced capitalist world was forced to change production techniques, consumption habits, and most importantly political-economic practices. Innovations have been focused on speeding up and acceleration of turnover times. Time necessary for decision-making has become now a matter of minutes in the international finance markets. Life-styles and fashions have changed in every phase of life (Harvey 1990). The speed-up and acceleration of capital

turnover time have brought about a more rapid turnover time in consumption habits and life-styles which eventually have turned out to be the focus of capitalist social relations of production and consumption.

Computerized inventory control, with better communication and transportation facilities, have made possible the reduction in the importance of the inventory cycle of mass production in Fordist system. Not incidentally, while turnover time has been accelerated, it was regarded as a solution to the Fordist production and to the crisis of capitalism, which resulted from over accumulation. Beginning after the period of recession of 1973-1975, further strengthened during the years of deflation of 1981-1982, this new regime of capital accumulation was marked by flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumptions (Aglietta 1979; Piore and Sabel 1984). David Harvey (1985a: 190) summarizes this accumulation process in understated terms:

> "An inspection of the different moments and transitions within the circulation of capital indicates a geographical grounding of that process through the patterning of labor and commodity markets, of the spatial division of production and consumption (under sociotechnical conditions that are in part an adaptation to geographical variations), and of hierarchically organized systems of financial coordination. Capital flow presupposes tight temporal and spatial coordination in the midst of increasing separation and fragmentation. It is impossible to imagine such a material process without the production of some kind of urbanization as a "rational landscape" within which the accumulation of capital can proceed. Capital accumulation and the production of urbanization go hand in hand".

Flexible specialization has become the new system of production (Sabel 1989/1994). The very first basic feature of post-Fordism is flexibility which comprises diversity of production and vertical disintegration in the labour process. Flexible form of production, from highly sophisticated to very primitive, can easily be found equally in advanced or in backward industries (Sassen 1994: 106). In post-Fordist or post-modern economies, and societies, a high value has been placed on knowledge or information within the process of wealth creation. The organization of production and labour has

been developed on the basis of new information and communication techniques (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 77-80). New production technologies were supported by the "microelectronic revolution".

The integration of information technology to production has been possible through the mechanization of information. The information technology, on the other hand, has increased the possibility of automating non-mass production: (Tomaney 1994: 179) batch production. The application of microelectronics to production has given the rise to a new form of time management and flow control. The aggregate consequences of these changes have resulted in considerable time saving in production as well as an increase in the utilization of machines and tools. Thus: "The new principle of work organization is that of a totally integrated system in which production operations properly so called, as well as measurement and handling of information, react upon one another as elements in a single process, conceived in advance and organized in its totality, rather than in successive and separate steps of an empirical process of heterogeneous phases" (Aglietta 1979: 124). Companies have responded to technological innovation and to global competitiveness. However, This has been associated with a massive laying-off of the labour force.

A flexible and deregulated labour force has been the basic feature of this period. The decline in the proportion of full time employed people has been significant. On the other hand, the number of part time workers, jobs on short-term contracts and self-employment has grown. Out-sourcing, subcontracting, and every form of employment have become an integral part of the labour markets. The relationship between workers and white-collar workers has changed (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 76).

"The services sector has waxed while manufacturing waned" (Jewson and Macgregor 1997: 2-3). Sector service intensity in the organization of the economy was accompanied by the emergence of a producer services complex. Indeed as Saskia Sassen (1994: 77, 105) carefully demonstrates, finance and specialized services are a matter of expertise rather than of production.

Rapid displacements such as from advanced capitalist countries to the newly industrializing countries; from skilled manufacturing to unskilled service jobs were all against the labour forces and made very little increases in real wages (Ellin 1996). These

structural transformations have had a permanent effect on generating urban income inequality.

This period was also the time of rapid shift in the patterning of uneven development, not only in geographical regions but also in sectors. This process has been supported by the new financial systems and markets in general which is the most foregrounded feature of this new accumulation regime. It is commonly accepted that one of the most important underlying shifts in the contemporary political economy was from a Fordist to a post-Fordist industrial organization.

The growing activities such as electronic engineering, high technology, producer services sector, particularly financial sector, and consumer services have expanded, creating new kinds of building forms for their own purposes. These are shopping/leisure complexes, science/business parks, and intelligent buildings for new relations. The newly emergent service complexes have been primarily located and concentrated in urban centers.

The quality of new urban living, in terms of physical, social and cultural infrastructure and environmental assets has emerged in this new form of life. Thus, the landscape of a Fordist production, and of its spatial relations and layout has become obsolete which has been mirrored in the built environment. Places, which were once lived now have found themselves abandoned, or vacant, "a prey to theft and vandalism" (Healey and et al. 1992: 5). These factors altogether have generated pressure for action to provide opportunities for people and neighbourhood renewal.

The uneven impacts of global and national processes of economic change on urban areas have been regarded as an increasing the economic and social marginalization of particular social groups and the abandonment of the urban landscape due to the replacement of industry. This process has been examined in the framework of "post-industrial transition" (Mooney and Danson 1997: 74). While some groups have benefited from the development of well-paying service sector jobs, others have been urged to be in the poor quality employments within this post-industrial transitional shift. Saskia Sassen (1991/2000: 211) further puts forward that the impact of this process has gone together with the growing segregation whereby the less skilled or others not in the new labour market have concentrated in less desirable areas and poorer housing. Along with these

changes, the growth of metropolitan regions, increase in the suburbanization, freeway construction, and gentrification have been global-spatial features of this picture.

III.3.2 Social Context of Post-Fordism

Social, cultural life has also been radically transformed within the same path corresponding to that of political and economic transformations. Social changes have been as dramatic as the technological and economic process of transformation. This transition to a post-industrial economy has corresponded to many changes, which have generated a series of crises and conflicts in the society. Macro and micro economic changes have been accelerated by technological and economic transformations such as the growth of third sector, especially producer services, introduction of credit and loan systems. Firms have become more responsive to changing tastes, and to the "tendency for consumer products to support the construction of personal identities" (Sayer and Walker 1992: 192). In particular, post-modernist led trends have extended consumerism into all areas of private and social life.

The microelectronic revolution in production technology has led to heterogenization and "flexibilization" of working conditions and spreading of work forms. Furthermore, as a result of increased differentiation in qualification and income, which was strengthened by "the imposition of new communication technologies", "alternative living" and "new poverty" have come up (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 80).

Consequently, the highly flexible and mobile capitalism has become marked by the growth of unemployment, a vast of underclass of low income, or no-income communities and informal sector ranging from odd jobs and domestic work to drug-trafficking and prostitution (Amin 1994: 32). These communities were increasingly abandoned by welfare programs. Simultaneously, the institutional framework i.e. unionization, which shaped the employment relations have also weakened. Unemployment has risen to unprecedented levels in all the advanced capitalist countries (Harvey 1987/1994: 362).

As Saskia Sassen (1994: 107) maintains through several distinguished studies conducted in service industries, services produced a larger share of low-wage jobs than manufacturing did. These service industries in turn, which had significant effect on the

growth of unemployment, used to pay below poverty-wages (Sassen 1994: 108). Long-term unemployment, on the other hand, involves the risk of those who lose their jobs entering a spiral of cumulative exclusion.

The number of labour employed in manufacturing has declined and selective re-industrialization has occurred in high technological sector. In advanced countries, the proportion of manufacturing workers was between 17 and 32 percent in 1990 (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 5-6), whereas, the share of employment in advanced services has shown a substantial increase (Castell 1996: 379; Fainstein and Harloe 1992a: 1; Fainstein 1994). In 1990, its share constituted the majority, between 60 and 75 percent (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 5-6). The result has been the widening gap between rich and the poor (Marcuse 1997a; Healey et al. 1992: 7; Ellin 1996: 243), which has been in fact general to the global political economy.

While each society would consider its own problems according to its own social structure and political process, comparative studies have showed that, though at different levels, similar trends in the growth of poverty, inequality and social exclusion have been surfacing this time not only between developed North; the Western Europe and the North America, and the South, but between the segments and territories of societies everywhere. Sharp inequality between upper and lower levels of society has been a universal trend (Castells 2000: 129). Simultaneously, criminal activities and mafia-like organizations/relations have become global and informational all around the world. The distribution of wealth has been more inequitable since the early 1980s, and the disparity between rich and poor was greater than at any time in the last quarter-century by the 1990s (Smith 1996a: 97).

The "epidemic rise" of poverty associated with post-Fordist deindustrialisation, and emergence of flexibly organized economy marked the post-Fordist city form. Once homeless people who lived under bridges are now common, not only under bridges but also, in parks, in ATM boxes, at every corner of the urban space.

In sum, changes in social organizations within the interrelations to economic restructuring in a complex way, have had major implications for city restructuring activities since the 1980s. Two of the changes were of particular significance. The first was the life-style differentiation of post-modernism. The second significant social

change, which is alarming, was the deepening of "urban income inequalities" (Hamnett 2001: 167) between rich and poor. By the 1990s, the disparity between rich and poor was greater than at any time in the last quarter-century (Smith 1996a: 97). Inequalities, for Saskia Sassen (2001: 285), are increasing and easily recognizable in the metropolitan centers. This is largely due to rising incomes at the top rather than to falling incomes at the bottom. Global city hypothesis argues that these metropolises are especially prone to extremes of inequalities.

III.3.3 Political Context of Post-Fordism

The internationalization of economic activity, and the decreasing possibility of public control over them at national and local levels has brought limitless freedom in the practical activities on the international level.

Post-Fordist regime of accumulation has been closely associated with corresponding regimes of regulation and/or social control. Perhaps the most prominent and dissolving materialization of changes in the regimes of regulation has been the retreat from the welfare state (Dear and Flustry 1999: 72). After the 1970s, dominantly in the 1980s, the nation state seemed less relevant than twenty years before (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000: 173).

The power of the state was also not enough to protect the social wage due to the prevailing political economic circumstances even in the countries whose politics were principally based on social welfare state. Michel Aglietta (1979: 95) has pointed the regular decline of real social wage costs, especially following the period of the Second World War.

Associated with these economic, social, spatial changes, many countries have practiced a shift in urban governance. The postwar welfare state has been replaced by public and private agencies that were sensitive to market conditions of demand and need. Restrictions on the governmental intervention combined with privatization have become the most popular issue (Healey and et al. 1992: 8; Fainstein and Campbell 2002: 3). New forms of provisions and new relations between public and private agencies with respect to a wide range of urban services and activities have been stimulated by privatization initiatives. As David Harvey (1989b) illustrates, the approach to urban governance has

shifted from a managerial to an entrepreneurial form. Concomitantly efforts have been made to reduce the degree of regulation over land and property developments. The end goal of these efforts was to change regulations in favor of market processes (Jessop 1997). All these arrangements have also changed the institutional relations through which governments grants and other supports have been accessible. In political and economic rhetoric, the private sector has been positioned as the key actor in the city development projects.

An overview of this part has revealed the fact that there appeared some dimensions relevant to the differentiations that have resulted. The economic dimension was the creation of market opportunities for the development industry (Healey and et al. 1992: 7). The construction of "healthy" new settlement projects has expressed particular life-style qualities. "Yuppie environment" of the post-Fordism, almost in every field has become wide spread. The social dimension of the differentiation was much more dramatic; differentiation has slipped into segregation. In other words, one of the issues lying behind this new fragmented urban structure is the question of social exclusion, which is also a process not, a condition.

III.4 Fordism and Post-Fordism as Metropolitan Phenomena

The historical developments of capitalism can be traced by a specific restructuring of space in each case. The aggregate result of the historically dominant form of capitalist production-work relationship, the level and pattern of consumption, and types of socialization produce a characteristic spatial structure on an international, national, and local level (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 78).

The cities of Fordist capitalist development was designated by the imposition of "intensive" mode of accumulation on the basis of Taylorist mass production, a standard model of mass consumption, the accelerated break-down of life milieu (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 78), mass suburbanization, widely established "social contract" drawing together big capital symbolized by large establishment of factories (Soja 2000: 111), large national labour unions, and big government intervention in the economy to fuel growth and stimulate the expansion of welfare state.

Fordism could be associated with the success of large cities and its systems. The prevailing mode of production required locations in large cities both for the availability

of industrial workforces and for the provision of advantageous externalities. The rationale for the rapid growth of industrial cities was the comparative advantage of scale economies. The wide scale application of inorganic power made the development of large scale industrial plantation possible which required the assembly of large amount of labour force. Although the production system was mainly capital-intensive, large amount of labour were required much of which was drawn from rural areas. Large cities also meant large local markets, social, and an extensive arrangement of producer services. The large city was the symbol of modernity.

The image of the Fordist city was characterized by powerful agglomeration processes, the standardization, and industrialization of constructions (Esser and Hirsh 1994: 78). On the social side, it was the nuclearization and mobilization of the family, and social disintegration that has gone hand in hand. Fordist city was an industrial, capitalist, state-centered modernity.

At the urban scale, states actively sponsored working class home ownership and consumption pattern whereby decentralization movement has gained acceleration after the years of 1950s. Decentralization, which was supported by the large-scale imposition of the car, has been characterized by suburbanism. Extreme spatial-functional differentiations have been facilitated by the central authorities through comprehensive planning. Planning, in this era, was seen to be an adequate tool of the welfare state to improve and make equalize living conditions. The other reality behind the decentralization encouraged by central authorities was to solve the urban problems through filtering out some of the growth to smaller urban places. In other words, the formation of satellite towns, and the depopulation of inner cities were the underlying facts of this decentralization process, which was also supported by traffic developments. New model of life and consumption patterns maintained this new decentralized urban land use.

Suburbanization; therefore, was seen as the key to solving problems associated to overaccumulation (Harvey 1985a) and disequilibria between production and consumption (Smith 1996a: 112). On the other side, suburbanization was equally the part of the development in the expansion of welfare state. This movement of suburbanization was the harbinger of gated communities, which is the main framework of this study.

Beginning from the early 1970s, spatial changes occurring within cities have been quite visible. The process of globalization, new relationships of production, waning state provision of welfare, new forms of power relationships, developing technologies, all have had their influence on the urban form.

The changes and the forces affecting these changes have been gathered all together and easily traced in the arena of cities. The impacts of transformations on urban form have given rise to the notion of a post-Fordist city (Harvey 1989a; Savage and Warde 1993). The new logic of production, distribution, and employment pattern has brought about changes in land uses and social occupations. The economic restructuring of the last three decades, concomitant with new economic and political links between spaces has transformed the shape of the cities once again. The aggregate results of the pressure of restructuring and adaptation processes have been determined by the market mechanism in the post-Fordist city.

Large cities were the success of Fordism. However, as the world-economy globalized, the importance of large cities have changed their character. They remained in their key locations in corporate structures and informational networks in the world of globalized economy. The process has been in fact associated with the internationalization of production and communication technology. Financial markets, banks, advanced corporate service firms and the headquarters of transnational corporations were the critical places for these transactions, which were located in cities (Sassen 1994: 9). Therefore, urban centers have become "as the nodal points of connection between internationalized production, circulation and finance" (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 80). Cities have appeared "less a site of production and work and more a site of consumption and play" which is the most "vivid symbol of the post-modern condition" (Amin 1994: 32).

As for the physical dimension, when the post-Fordist city has to be perceived in this new picture, as its elements, its projects, its zones, its residential districts; on overall layout, the image of the fragmented city has replaced that of modern, functionally integrated city. Within this overall picture, the development of shopping malls, office parks, upscale downtown galleria, luxury/full service hotels, conference resorts, commercial centers, business campuses, gentrification projects, and privately planned residential communities are all participants of the new urban panorama.

The rise of gated communities has coincided with the epochal change in the world-economy by which new investment, production, and consumption patterns have reshaped the socio-economic sphere, which, in turn, has had intense effects on the built environment. Urban spaces have been enclosed by developments such as shopping malls, industrial/business/leisure parks, commercial centers, gentrified and gated communities creating clear, clean, safe and tame environments with sharp boundaries, segregated from the rest of the "others". Social segregation has taken more complex forms and has been more clearly reflected and traced in the residential parts of the urban space. It should be perceived that the built environment has been simultaneously dependent and conditioning the dynamics of investment, production, and consumption (Knox 1993: 3).

This chapter has paved the way to a discussion of gated communities, which will be surfaced in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SUBURBAN EXPANSION and GATED COMMUNITIES

The important developments over the past decades that have laid the foundation for the analysis of gated communities were discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter draws attention to the process of urban transformation from the standpoint of the capitalist urban development. A macro analysis of the urban expansion patterning and the consequent transformation of residential areas in different geographies would be the main subjects to be reviewed. Although various urbanization models of the world would yield a systematic comparative analysis (Harloe 1981) within the limitations of this work what is presented in this part are mainly the experiences of the early-industrialized countries of Northwest Europe, Great Britain and of North America, the United States.

The reason for this choice has been basically related to two facts. First, Great Britain and the United States have been regarded as the best examples of urbanized countries of the world due to their early industrialization. Therefore, an overview of the residential transformation of these industrialized and modernized societies would come up with interesting results. The second reason for this choice is the first occurrence of the upper and middle-class suburbanization in British cities first, and then in American cities. Hence, a special emphasis has been put on the analysis of British and American suburbanization.

The second section mainly discusses the features of gated communities. It delves into its formalized definition and explores their impact on the society and the planning profession. It also focuses on the phenomenon of urbanization and outlines urbanization and suburbanization from the gated communities' point of view.

IV.1 Development of Suburbanization

Suburbanization is a new phenomenon in the history of urbanization. It became significant during the second half of the nineteenth century. In a hierarchical manner, suburb is defined in the Dictionary of Human Geography (Johnston and Gregory 1994) as "A socially homogenous residential district within an urban area. Suburbs are usually residential dormitory in character, being dependent on the city for occupational, shopping, and recreational facilities. Socially, the suburb is often regarded as presenting a way of life that satisfies many family and leisure requirements".

The notion of suburbanization, therefore, has close relationships with "segregation" which is defined as "The residential separation of subgroups within a wider population" in The Dictionary of Human Geography of 1986 edition. A group is considered as unsegregated when its members are distributed uniformly relative to the rest of the population. The greater the divergence from such uniformity the greater the degree of segregation is. The concept, as evaluated and derived from the ecological suggestions of the Chicago School of urban sociology, mainly of the studies of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, has been redefined in the 1994 edition as "The concept of "segregation" refers both to processes of social differentiation and to the spatial patterns that result from such processes" (Johnston 1994). Robert Fishman (1987/2000: 77) claims the suburbia as being the "utopia of the middle class".

Spatial characteristics of suburbanization are differentiation and decentralization. Spatial differentiation of suburbanization is a universal characteristic of urbanization, and its degree and form is context dependent. "Suburbanization has come to be viewed more in terms of urban (or metropolitan) decentralization" (Champion 2001: 149) since the 1950s. Among the reasons of decentralization the availability of cheap land, hence more space, better transportation facilities, the provision of infrastructure, technological developments, and more extensive use of land are the most stated.

Suburbia formerly was referred to as disreputable outlying districts. Richard LeGates (2000: 37-38) quoting from Henri Pirenne argues that in the eleventh century merchants who were emerging as a separate class, independently from the clergy, from the landed aristocracy, from the vast outclass population of serfs, were living and trading in suburbs below the walls of medieval cities but on hills (Sjoberg 1955/1967: 180). The term "suburb" is; therefore, driven from the Latin "below the town". Consequently, the urban values related to the meaning of core and periphery transformed. Within this

process of transformation, spatial differentiation of work and residence played a significant role.

The earliest development of upper-class residential villages was often on seasonal country homes basis (Smith 1996a: 85; Palen 1997: 200). It represented a spatial division between classes; it separated the upper and upper-middle classes from the urban rabble. Middle and working-class suburbs appeared later. Lewis Mumford (1961: 549) illustrates the early move towards suburban areas through "the impulse to escape from the industrial environment". For him, suburban life-style was a "derivative of the relaxed, playful, and goods-consuming aristocratic life" (Mumford 1961: 551).

In Robert Fishman's accounts (1987/1996: 27-28) suburbanization is an original, collective and cultural creation, a conscious choice based primarily on cultural values of individualistic bourgeoisie élite and economic structure in the late eighteenth century London. Its evolution was parallel with that of industrial revolution. He gives the priority to the social factors rather than the structural changes in explaining the different models of suburbanization development pattern in different geographies.

David Harvey (1985a: 122) claims that suburbanization and new settlement formations (Harvey 1985b: 420) are the creation of the capitalist mode of production in a very specific way. According to him, suburbanization is actively produced because it sustains a demand for products and facilitates the accumulation of capital. In other words, capital flows into the built environment by way of secondary circuit of capital. Therefore, it is regarded as the means of guaranteeing continuously expanding markets for capital circulation [1].

Mike Savage and Alan Warde (1993: 77-78) depict other perspectives on suburbanization. In orthodox accounts, the growth of suburbs represents the meeting of supply and demand for a particular type of housing and residential environment. Since the land is cheaper and more plentiful on the fringes of cities, people prefer to live in reasonably priced, spacious houses with gardens. In Weberian accounts, emphasis is

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[1] He puts forward the idea of the secondary circuit of capital and investing in urban built environment to solve the over accumulation crisis (Harvey, 1985a: 3-12) which explains the development of mass suburbanization immediately after the Second World War.

given to the market for housing, often with a particular life-style. Feminist accounts propose yet another version on the suburbs and relate suburbanization to the intensification of domestic life for women.

Neil Smith (1996b: 345) maintains that, "Suburbanization process represents a simultaneous centralization and decentralization of capital and of human activity in geographical space". For him, suburbanization, on the national scale, is an outward expansion of centralized urban places. This process should be understood as a necessary product of spatial centralization of capital.

Suburbanization should not be attributed simply to technological changes, such as the ones related with the automobile. The massive auto highway transportation system, new spatial patterning of residential areas and activities, in fact, are the expression of a new stage of capitalist accumulation, which could be possible, primarily by the policies of the state designed to serve this purpose (Castells 1977: 385). The development of suburbanization, therefore, cannot be viewed as a decentralization process only, but a continuation of dynamic centralization of capital into urban areas, and suburbanization enhances the internal differentiation of urban space (Smith 1996a: 85; Castells 1977: 384-386).

In sum, suburbanization is a selective decentralization process of spatial sprawl of population, and activities within the metropolitan areas (Castells 1977: 384). It is selective in the sense that the population that migrates to suburbs is from a higher social status. Although suburbanization is mainly created economically on the basis of capital accumulation, this structural political economy view is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon by itself. The cultural values, social preferences, behavioral approaches, urban traditions, and state driven impulses have considerable effect on this development. Thus, the growth pattern of suburbanization is different in different geographies.

"The cities and their suburbs are not similar across the world" is an old classic of various literatures (Mabin 2001: 4). The expected first contrast is the one between "American" and "European" settlements. Urban centers in continental Europe and Latin America remained favorable places to live in, whereas they were depopulated and have become impoverished in the United States (Fainstein and Campell 1996: 189). In the former, upper and middle classes moved to peripheral land and left the working class in

the inner city, around the central business district (Fishman 1987/1996: 29; Castells 1977: 384). In the latter case, suburbs of many European cities have in common that affluent households preferred to be at the core, surrounded by less-well-off residential zones. The poorest segments of the population moved to live on the periphery due to the cheapness of available land there, and to easy transportation conveniences facilitated by technology.

IV.1.1 Suburban Expansion in Europe: Great Britain, France and Sweden

Robert Fishman argues that the first residential suburban development took place in London. Individualistic bourgeoisie élite of Anglo-American industrial cities were differentiated in terms of their residential preferences than those of their Parisian counterparts in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. In France, the bourgeoisie preferred to stay in the inner city, and to live in great apartment houses at large boulevards, unlike Anglo-American society, which favored suburban life. The reason for this difference mainly lies on the difference between French and Anglo-Saxon images of the city and Baron Haussmann's rebuilding of Paris (Fishman 1987/1996: 40-43).

The London bourgeoisie experienced a new form of family and sought the separation possibilities of work and residence spaces in the late eighteenth century. The suburbanization process, Fishman (1987/1996) argues, found its grounds on the emergence of the idea of "social distinctions require physical segregation". With the advent of industrialization, the old personal relationships between business élites and the masses of workers loosened. Mutual trust, daily contact between workers was transformed into a more impersonal relationship based on notions of class conflict. The response of the élite was to segregate their residences in the form of residential suburbanization, which "took on the well-known aesthetic, and ideology of anti-urbanism, domesticity, and privacy" (Espino 2001: 2-3).

The appropriate settlement for this new type of home beyond the city were the picturesque villages within easy commuting distances by private carriages for the new riches of merchants and bankers. They appropriated low-density settlement pattern with the strict separation of work and domestic life. The new urban values related to the

primacy of family, domestic and intense civic life reversed, so the meaning of core and the periphery. This was the total transformation of urban values (Fishman 1987/1996: 27). For him, these urban values continued to be so until slowing down the British Economy. In addition, they soon figured out the economic side of suburbanization. The relatively cheap agricultural land could also be easily transformed into highly profitable building lots. The market mechanism also contributed to the development of suburban expansion. The dominant means of travel was the suburban railway and motorbus services were equally important in terms of the daily journey between work and home in Britain. David Harvey (1985b: 40) defends the idea of the sudden increase in the construction of working class suburbs in the late nineteenth century London with the advent of railways.

Suburbanization in Sweden is worth discussing among other European countries, since it has some significant similarities with the Turkish middle class suburban expansion. The Swedish suburbs are mainly composed of high-density settlements in the form of high-rise apartment blocs, and generally located around a central and high-level shopping center on a peripheral land, unlike the American way of suburbanization. Walking here has become the vital part of the everyday life within the residential layout. The other similarity with Türkiye is that, in the process of planning and implementation phases, there has existed a heavy weight of local and central government in contrast to the American case where private developers have been the primary agents of construction activities (Hall 1990: 308).

IV.1.2 Suburban Expansion in the New World: the United States

American suburban development followed a different path than that of Europe. The course of socio-economic-political developments, technological improvements such as transportation, and communication system combined with the cultural impetus are among the essential factors influencing the evaluation of different urban development patterns in the United States.

The process of suburbanization and the spatial sprawl of population within the metropolitan areas began as early as the 1890s in the United States, renewed in the 1920s

and accelerated after the years following the Second World War (Castells 1977: 384; Walker 1981: 395-396). An early stage of peripheral expansion of suburbanization, at the end of nineteenth century, took the form of street car suburbs which were largely confined to narrow belts near those interurban railways which provided suitable services to commuters (Legates and Stout 2000: 20). "Suburbs were thus strung out along the rail lines like beads on a string" (Palen 1997: 200).

After the First World War, by the 1920s, it was the automobile that dominated the mode of private transport in a pervasive manner. Henry Ford's assembly line achieved more than producing cars. Consequently, the early pattern of suburban expansion now gave way to a new pattern, automobile-based suburban settlement in the form of low-density (Johnson 1969: 127), single story detached type housing (Fishman 1987/2000; Palen 1997: 203). All these developments were associated with the investments on the infrastructure in the country. At the same time, there began the suburbanization of industrial settlements (Roweis and Scott 1981: 124). Suburbs built in this period were sharply differentiated according to income, occupation, religion, and ethnicity (Palen 1997: 202).

By the 1950s, the massive "intraurban" highway construction facilitated further mass suburbanization and further utilization of private automobile. The automobile became generalized (Walker 1981: 396). This process culminated in the rise of traffic and parking problems particularly in the central parts of the city. Following the Second World War, a large number of middle-class, even blue-collar families preferred to live in suburbs. Their desire was to live in homogeneous residential areas, in the form of detached single-family homes (Palen 1997: 203-205). All these developments were accompanied by the land-use zoning whose purpose was to encourage the formation of homogeneous land-use district and also to improve physical conditions (Palen 1995: 58-63). These stages actually depended on the existence of a central city, both as a center for production, as well as for employment and cultural facilities (Legates and Stout 2000: 21).

Americans have given up the inner-city urban living for the large private spaces and small public spaces of the suburbs (Garreau 1991). A majority of people now prefer to live in suburbs. Apparently the cities are losing their position on the expense of the expansion of the suburbs. Suburbanization took place partly because of the cheapness of

the land on the periphery, and partly because of the mass production of housing which has generated a strong multiplier effect on the economy, particularly on the auto industry (Castells 1977). The role of the state was here decisive. In the United States, therefore, the suburbanization process has been much facilitated by major technological changes both in transportation and in the mass production of housing, increasing spatial freedom of industrial plants and services as their locational requirements had additional impetus. The advent of the automobile has provided an opportunity to disperse and to go beyond the limits of one's own walking range or that of a streetcar line.

Residential pattern of single-family houses on large lots in suburbs are highly differentiated from the increasingly obsolete inner city apartment dwellings. These two worlds of residential areas, the suburb and the inner city ignore each other "except in so far as they develop reciprocal fears, myths and prejudices" and "the segregated school system becomes a major instrument and symbol of self-definition and perpetuation of the two separate and hierarchically organized universes" (Castells 1977: 385).

Peter Hall (1990: 307) points out that the strictly and comprehensively planned British urban development and the looser American system had almost similar consequences in both countries. Affluent households moved to the new suburban settlements, even though urban poor stayed in the slums of the inner city. However he points out the differences between British middle class who prefer to live in smaller houses of higher density areas, and their American counterparts who reside in less dense suburban areas.

The other remark made by Peter Hall (1990: 318) is about the effect of car ownership on residential preferences of households. The widespread adoption of car ownership in Western Europe happened almost forty years later than it did in The United States. This change consequently affected the traditional urban structure and life-styles in Europe. By the 1970s, Western European upper and middle classes had begun to leave central city areas for suburbanization like the American suburbanization pattern. Hence, suburban development is regarded as the American dream and suburbia is the post-war model of urban development in the United States (Dear and Flustry 1999: 69; Katz 1994: ix). Actually, the processes of this urban and suburban separation in the United States is based on racial segregation (Smith 1996a: 85; Palen 1997: 223).

Although Mike Davis' work, *City of Quartz,* has put forward the persistent movement of suburban development in the American metropolis of Los Angeles, the suburbanization pattern has changed in the United States. Since the early 1980s, development trends have favored urbanization on the outskirts of cities (Ellin 1996: 86). Indeed, Herbert J. Gans's thesis for the near future has become true when he suggested that the probability of another ring of suburban communities would spring up around big American cities. These are the new communities described by Joel Garreau (1991: 19) in "Edge City" and Robert Fishman's (1987/2000) "Technoburbs" which can no longer be considered suburbia in the traditional sense.

Joel Gerrau (1991: 7, 425) like Mike Davis, discusses the persistent sprawl of suburban development across America in his journalistic account of the rise of "edge city" as the core of the new urbanization process. This new "edge city" suburban ring is distinctively different from the earlier suburban developments in size, complexity, and function. He empirically defines "edge city" by the combination of five criteria: Edge city is any place that: a) has five million square feet or more of leasable office place – the workplace of the Information Age… b) has 600,000 square feet or more leasable retail space… c) has more jobs than bedrooms. A population that increases at 9 A.M. on workdays… d) is perceived by the population as one place… e) was nothing like "city" as recently as thirty years ago. Edge cities, Sophie Body-Gendrot and Robert A.Beauregard (1999: 5) argue, are signaling the shift of functions from the traditional central business district.

These are the new urban realities surrounding older core cities. They are the new form of urban agglomerations outside the suburban ring that embrace business, commercial, campus like office complexes, hospitals, schools, and other uses alongside residential areas in peripheral areas. Their growth mainly depends upon highways as corridors (Gerrau 1991). In this new formation, central cities become increasingly marginal. They, indeed, seem to be middle-sized urban settlements founded not by the order of authorities, but by the order of prevailing world-economic conditions. They do not represent the suburbanization, rather are the creation of a new kind of de-centralized cities that are far beyond the considerations of this study.

All the above discussion presents residential suburbanization. However, there exists suburbanization of other spheres such as industry (Castells 1993/2000: 564), retail activities (malls), business investment districts (offices) (Calthorpe 1989/2000: 352),

various kinds of entertainment, sport, and cultural activities, theme parks, and special urban design districts (Boyer 1999: 63) accompanied by large parking lots. These are also beyond the scope of this study.

Though this new way of living in suburbs has many advantages, it fragments the society and the bounds that kept community solidarity is broken down. Despite the increasing superiority of networks both in physical and electronic means, the society still remains fragmented. In the twentieth century, suburban life became common, perhaps quite new kinds will spread to other parts of the urban world, bringing closed communities and "edge cities" or "technoburbs" to the places in the global south in which the majority of the world's population will soon be living. Brazil, as the work of Teresa Caldeira (1996a; 1996b) shows, is one of the cutting edges of this urban transformation.

IV.1.3 Recent Changes in Suburbanization

The main appeal of suburbs arises from the basic differences between urban and suburban areas. Lewis Mumford (1961: 549-563) argues the social and spatial segregation of suburbs in detail. According to him, this social and spatial segregation has both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, the twentieth century suburbanization was partly a reaction against the dirty, crowded, unhealthy and tiring cities of industrial revolution. Suburbs helped to stay away from these unwanted factors and were favourable places for health, and nurture of children. This segregation, on the other hand, prevented easy access to the cultural and intellectual activities of the city. Monotony, boredom, blindness against social realities, sacrificing realism for the sake of pleasure, and status seeking were among the weakness of the suburban retreat. Lewis Mumford summarizes all the negative features into "playful emptiness" and "civic/political irresponsibility".

On the intellectual grounds, suburbs have been severely criticized for the monotonous similarity, the ugliness of mass produced houses, destruction of the rural areas for the residential development, the common architectural style etc. Suburbs were also considered as the burden on the city because of the flight of taxes out of the central

city administration. The largeness of the development area was also seen as another burden on the municipalities for the infrastructure facilities.

From the standpoint of the developer, suburban expansion itself has begun to appear increasingly inefficient. Low densities of development meant relatively wasteful expenditure on basic infrastructure (Roweis and Scott 1981: 125). As commuting distances increases, the need for faster and safer highway travel has become necessary. Combined with the demands for improved level of services, the highway construction cost mounts. Low-density settlement pattern of suburbs, in consequence, further signified a considerable degree of wasting in the provision of social and community services.

Again, from the standpoint of the suburban dweller, the suburban model of development has appeared eventually unsatisfactory. In relation to the household locations in terms of job relations and service provision, it made two cars almost a necessity for an average suburban family. The oil-crisis of 1973 made it obvious to dwellers how vulnerable their suburban way of life was being built around high quality of life in which the image of "closeness to nature" played the determining role. In fact, the American way of life has been developed around the American mode of transportation. At this point individualized, high-energy consumption automobile system has increasingly been questioned and so the post-war pattern of urban development itself (Castells 1977: 412, 420) was damned as automobile-dependent and socially/racially segregated. The post-Second World War suburbs, borrowing from Lewis Mumford term, were called "sprawl" and "anti-cities".

The 1970s (Harvey 1985a: 122; 1987/1994: 362) was marked as the beginning of the drastic structural changes (Knox 1993: 210; Hall 1990). Consequently, all the social and political changes produced as the consequence of developments resulting from the relocation of capital in the aftermath of 1970s economic restructuring process have been combined with radical reorganization of space relations (Harvey 1989a). In other words, the rise of post-modern[1] culture and society, and the imperatives of post-Fordist

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[1] In literature, as Ash Amin (1994: 30) is careful to note, the term post-Fordism is related to "economic and institutional change", as the term post-modernism is related to "a change in the arena of consumption, aesthetics, culture, and lifestyle". Some has defined postmodernism as an epoch, and others as a socioeconomic condition, which elaborated a postmodern science or way of thinking and knowing (Gibson and Watson 1995: 1). However, within the totality of changes, they are

economy are marked by the restructuring of urban space in the development of capitalism. The link and contradictions of post-Fordism and post-modernism are evidently represented in the city, so in the contemporary urban life.

Suburbanization, gentrification (Beauregard 1996: 370), and gated communities are the socio-spaces to redefine urban growth and development of this era. Gentrification in the inner part of the urban areas and gated developments in the form of suburbanization mostly on the peripheries have emerged as residential spaces of affluent households, which have encouraged by the rise of new middle class. They have been "closely connected with what came in the 1980s to be seen as globalization" (Smith 1996a: 75).

The notion of gentrification is related to the class dimension of the transformation (Smith 1996a: 32). According to Saskia Sassen (1996), gentrification has become a hallmark of "global city" and is treated as the result of a contemporary social restructuring. However, there is a strict differentiation between gentrification and redevelopment, where the former involves rehabilitation of existing stock whereas the latter involves a totally new construction.

Capital flows where the rate of return is highest. Gentrification is a back-to-the-city movement, but this is the movement of capital rather than people. Gentrification is also seen optimistically as a social movement that has the potential to reverse the decline of central and inner city. All big and major cities are used to having a core of wealthy residents. However, those wealthy people of the core could not have created a residential and commercial gentrification in the city. The new middle class is to be distinguished from wealthy people of the core.

Since the pressure on the reorganization of the "interior space of the city …has been considerable under conditions of flexible accumulation" (Harvey 1987/1994: 370), the vitality of city core has been highlighted. Gentrification, consumptions places, sophisticated entertainment facilities have become the other factions related to urban living which have been basically consistent with the regime of flexible accumulation. The total reorganization of spatial structure of the urban hierarchy, processes of

inseparable. The economic and institutional changes inherently capture cultural changes. Aesthetics has already penetrated the production process through design, and styling.

suburbanization, deindustrialisation and restructuring, gentrification and urban renewal i.e. the very unevenness of spatial development patterns, according to David Harvey (1985b: 28), are "part and parcel" of the continual restructuring of spatial relationships "to match the quest to accelerate turnover time".

High-income gentrification is a labour intensive process whereas middle-class suburban expansion is capital-intensive (Sassen 1994: 114). However, these two important developments in urban segregation; the rise of both gentrification and gated communities, do not correspond to the flexible accumulation regime of capital in the globalizing world of post-modern era. They are also "linked to wider forms of social inequalities…especially those based on class, income, gender and ethnicity" (Savage and Warde 1993: 75).

The other aspect of the structural change is the shifting importance of consumption in terms of social restructuring which has also occurred since the late 1970s. In its turn, social restructuring has been related to the economic and eventually spatial restructuring. The first was the development of the differentiated markets through which diverse and wide-ranging goods and services have been available to those who could afford them. Producers have begun to explore the realms of differentiated tastes and aesthetics preferences upon the quest which were not so necessarily available under the Fordist accumulation through mass production (Harvey 1987/1994: 374).

The distinct forms in the consumption structure have had a feedback effect on the production and thereby work organization and the types of jobs being created. The middle and high-income groups have inclined towards the accumulation/consumption of luxury goods in the name of status enhancing. In so doing, they have re-emphasized the production and consumption of, borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's phrase, "symbolic capital" which function as many codes and symbols of social distinction (Bourdieu 1979/1989; 1983/1986; Harvey 1987/1994: 375; Chaney 1996: 56-70). This is not a new phenomenon, it is one of the characteristics of capitalism, and it has become more significant since the 1970s. The symbolic capital can be captured through the production of built environment. The very effect of this process is the spatial and social segregation within cities of the affluent from "others" who are unable to obtain symbolic capital. The other effect is the "acquisition of greater power in urban politics" by the affluent because

of "their privileged position in an urban economy increasingly based on consumption priorities" (Amin 1994: 32).

Still the other aspect of structural change is the sharp increase of professional, managerial, administrative, technical, and service, especially in the producer service sector (King 1990: 26), finance, insurance, real estate has been observed. As a result, the newly grown multinational enterprises and financial institutions are being run by a new class of global executives and professionals. Global homogenization combined with individual and local group claims of difference have had a considerable impact on the social transformation (Healey and et al. 1996: 3-6).

The increase of higher income population has generated a demand for goods and services that are not mass-produced or sold, or common to everybody through mass outlets. The increasing capacity of disposable income have encouraged the new middle class with a large number of people to seek out diversity of leisure activities for the sake of newness. Customized production, specialties, exclusiveness, fine food dishes have been produced by labour intensive methods and sold through small, special, full-service outlets which are different from those characterizing the large department stores and supermarkets (Sassen 1994: 114-115). So, the diversity of affluence has been combined with the diversity of cultural differentiation. The new managerial-administrative-technocratic-political elite have created their own exclusive spaces to live, work, learn, shop, play, pray, and die, isolated and removed themselves from the city at large "as the bourgeoisie quarters of the industrial society" (Castells 1996: 401). They have created their own life-style, which is defined simply by David Chaney (1996: 4) as "…the patterns of action that differentiate people".

At this point, and with regard to above ongoing discussions, "new middle class" of post-modern era, being the dwellers of the new type residential areas, deserves a careful designation. Since it is an empirical generalization rather than theoretical category, there has not been a clear, generally accepted definition, and/or consensus created concept of middle class. Indeed, the notion of class itself is in need of elaborations (Appendix B).

As mentioned before, the new middle class could be accepted to be the product of an altered occupational and income structure. However, the transformation in the

occupational structure should not be taken as the emergence of a new middle class solely. Class divisions could not be associated with the employment (occupational) differences only. This new middle class has also been differentiated by disproportionate wealth on the economic base. The increase in their incomes has amounted additionally to the emergence of a new middle class. This group of urban professionals, managers, administrators, technocrats, and experts has distinguished themselves more by their spending rather than their savings. The new middle class has been upwardly mobile professionals (Smith 1996a: 96).

The new middle class contains large number of individuals who have not generally inherited wealth or own business, most have experienced higher education, holding tendencies focusing on privatization related to socio-political and economic issues. They provide the administrative apparatus for their business or organization. They hold specialized knowledge and management know-how; in return for which they are highly paid, and enjoy the privileges of job security and private pension rights. They are employed by capital for the purposes of managing, controlling or administering the working class. this tends to be different from the old middle class of shopkeepers, independent farmers and self-employed professionals who were independent from the capital-labour relations. The new middle class also includes those engaged in producer services, and who are highly-paid in law, banking, insurance, business services, accounting, engineering, advertising, etc.

These groups, combined with relatively affluent households, have proposed a new concept of residence associated with similar life-style, was based upon the idea of total security and isolation against the disorder, dust, noise, crowds of the city, implicitly upon the discourse of violence and fear of crime (Blakely and Synder 1997). In many cities of the world, they prefer to live in exclusive, fortified, separated settlements where they can be with the people similar to themselves in terms of social status. In Teresa Caldeira's words (1996b: 303) "fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work".

In other words, social distance as well as economic distance between lives of haves and have-nots (Scott et. al. 2001: 20) has tended to increase. Then, underclasses have come to be regarded as a threat by residents of other parts of the urban. Thus, the spatial segregation of poor and rich residential areas has added to social differentiation

of the city in turn. "The dual city" metaphor has become a popular means of describing this urban spatial change and the increasing discrepancy between rich and the poor, or more relevantly between affluent and socially excluded (Castells 1977; 1993/2000: 566). In many American studies, the dual city has been interpreted primarily in terms of impoverished inner city, and the affluent middle class, located, though not exclusively, in suburban areas. Thus, "elite enclaves" have contrasted with residential areas of "marginalized" social groups (Mooney and Danson 1997: 73).

In sum, the suburb, ghetto, the gentrified enclave (Savage and Warde 1993: 63), and now gated communities are all expressions, through segregation, of inequality. Hence, it can be said that, residential segregation is created by prejudice and socioeconomic disparities, but reinforced by planning practices.

IV.2 Gated Communities

Although gated developments are a metropolitan phenomenon, they are also emerging around big cities (Blakely and Synder 2002). The readings have supported that gated communities are mostly found in areas having certain characteristics of metropolitan regions. These are mainly their being with high level of demographic change, especially large amounts of immigration; areas with high median income levels; regions with extreme residential segregation patterns or areas with high crime rates and high levels of fear. The new fortified developments are predominantly suburban in character, however, inner-city counterparts are also being observed with a growing number. They are "the refugees from urban violence and a rapidly changing society" (Berkeley and Synder 1997: 2).

The gated communities are fortified upper-income residential enclaves where private companies provide almost similar security systems and devices for those who can afford it and from which "unwanted elements" can be barred. Security passes are needed to enter an estate that is protected by armed guards and elaborate electronic surveillance mechanisms. This is at such a level that there is surveillance in order to ensure the entrance of only "right kind of people". To own a house even to live beyond these walls is an exclusive prestige and status marker. The gates and walls or fences around the

developments provide security for its dwellers. Hence, the security becomes the main aspect and focus on all projects in all scales of gated developments. In fact, new developments large or small, including individual homes have been installing security systems and gates. They added even gates to apartment-tower complexes. In countries such as South Africa, and the United States there has been increasing requests even in smaller towns for street enclosures even though streets are public spaces.

In the aftermath of the epochal change of 1970s in the fields of demographic, social and economic lives, the fear about the future has aggravated. Many have felt vulnerable, insecure, and unstable of their place in the face of this rapid change. Growing income polarization and economic uncertainty with increasing diversity, mobility, changing family structure, all have led many to feel insecure of their immediate environment. Actually, these rapid changes in life-influencing factors, within a lifetime span, have been conceived as dangers. Uncertainty and instability have reflected themselves in an increasing fear both in terms of crime and violence (Scott et. al. 2001: 25) in the present and as well in the future. The concept of replacing public spaces with private ones (such as shopping malls) has also well represented the search for greater security, and consequently control. These, altogether have had the meaning of the sense of prevention against crime and gated communities have become "part of the trend towards exercising physical and social means of territorial control" (Blakely and Synder 1997: 30).

The home was and still is of central psychological importance. "The home is perhaps more than ever a pivotal element in social life" (Ray and Williams 2001: 89). It is the most and everlasting investment for most families. "Home" is the representation of financial security for the future. However, "home" alone could not be enough to make a person fell safe the physical environment, streets, neighbourhood, city, and gradually nation also needs to be safe. Thus, a host of methods have been employed to control the physical environment for physical and economic security (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 1-40).

Private security means, such as guards, devices, barricades help to control the surroundings, and improve quality of life. Peter Marcuse (1995: 248-249; 1997b: 110-111) argues that these are the different types of walls in cities varying from the physical to the social, symbolic, physiological, and legal. Fences, gates, wires, barricades exist for different purposes. Boundaries signify membership of someone from inside and not of someone from outside. Walls have the meaning of keeping some in, some out. Sometimes walls are the representation of identity. Boundaries also create and define space to facilitate the activities of political, economic and social life.

Gated communities are privately owned and privately governed properties. They are communities of exclusion/segregation, in which isolation, security and privacy are dominating motives. Private security is an issue closely related to gated communities and it is becoming an important phenomenon of wider significance in contemporary society. Gated communities are of three kinds: commercial, industrial and residential. All around the world, private business/industrial parks and shopping malls are established.

Since the term "gated communities" is divided into two words, the gates and community are studied separately in the following section.

IV.2.1 Defining Gates and Community

Defining Gates: An adequate definition of gated communities in the international literature has not been developed yet. The following is an attempt to formalize a definition which acts as a working definition for present and future studies. Gated Communities refer to a physical area that is fenced or walled off from its surroundings. Access or entrance to these areas are either prohibited or controlled by means of gates or booms. In many cases the notion refers to residential areas. It does not, however, include only residential areas with restricted access; but also includes controlled access to spaces of work –office blocks, industrial complexes– and to commercial and/or recreational purposes –some shopping complexes, malls, etc.

These gated-fortified communities put forward a new concept of residence associated with a new life-style, which is based upon the idea of being isolated against the disorder, dust, noise, and crowds of the city. They place total security and protection from discourse of fear and violence as its primary feature. The most important and leading characteristic of gated communities is the exclusion of non-residents to access to streets, parks, playgrounds, sidewalks.

Gated residential communities can include "enclosed neighbourhoods", "security villages", "exurbs", and "retirement villages". According to Evan McKenzie (cited by Boyer 1999: 63), in the United States, common interest developments are also called "gated communities" or "walled-in communities" including apartments and condominiums.

Existing neighbourhoods in the gated residential form control access through a limited number of gates and booms across the existing road. They usually employ security guards at these points. In this case, public spaces –green areas, roads, etc. are still public property and local authority is still responsible for public services within the community.

In the literature there exists "security villages/complexes" which refer to private developments where the entire area is developed by a private developer. These areas are physically walled or fenced off and have a security gate and controlled access point with a security guard. The public spaces in these developments are private, and in most of the cases the management and maintenance are carried out by a private management body.

"Exurbs" refer to the type of upper-middle class settlements that take place on the fringe, beyond urban areas which are in semi-rural suburban character. They are not provided with urban public services of any sort and are settled in widely separated patterns. Houses tend to be expensive and large, and developed by individual attempts both for seasonal and weekend trips. Exurbanites are affluent and well-educated professionals. These individuals work in such fields that allow them to work at home, and avoid daily commuting. Instead, they prefer to use PCs with modems, fax machines (Palen 1997: 217) and telephones.

The other type of gated communities is the age-segregated "retirement villages" which provide a new life-style for those people. In addition to social, cultural and

economic changes, demographic forces have prepared the necessary conditions for elderly population to engage in this type of development in western societies.

These communities, in general, redefine their relations with the urban activities and with the city core as well. The residents of gated communities need no longer daily relation to receive services including health, schooling, shopping, even leisure time activities, because, many of them privatize civic goods, namely police protection and communal facilities. Due to this logic of settlement, they can easily be located anywhere in or around the cities, regardless of the surrounding physical or social environmental conditions but preferably next to major highway axes. Therefore, walls, gates and other physical barriers create a private world, which shares little with its neighbors. They turn their backs to adjacent areas and to the communities around them, focusing interior common places, which may include amenities such as swimming pools and community centers with gymnasiums (Ellin 1996: 72).

Gated developments create new forms of exclusion and segregation. The access to normal public spaces beyond a gate is restricted for a common citizen due to their privatization or the restriction of the use. They are designed in such a way that penetration by nonresidents seems impossible. Physical barriers are created and these places are patrolled by sophisticated systems which largely influence designs of the establishment and regulations about the people who are allowed to enter and the activities that are carried out there. These secured enclosures, enforced by walls, gates, fences, and guards contradict with social values materially and symbolically, and threaten democratic spatial practices such as public access to open space and create more barriers to social interactions. They bring about their quasi-public spaces behind high walls in the settlement; patrol and control operate at a high level there (Garreau 1991: 48).

Residential gated community complexes can have decisively different form. Their architectural components may have features that imply the past or the local vernacular. By and large, they seek to offer their inhabitants a sense that their own dwelling are somehow unique from the others. Their landscape comprises elements such as fountains, walking terraces or clock towers. Architecture of an office/retail unit in the complex often includes an atrium building.

Gated residential areas are often assisted by the state through building highways and communication systems. State, additionally directly or indirectly, guarantees the financial operations. The leading characteristics of such places in which one lives have a great impact on individual behavior, social interaction, and eventually experiences. In the following paragraphs; therefore, the issue of community has been explored.

Defining Community: There is no agreement as to what a community actually is. The term community has a shifting connotation and needs delineation for each level of spatial issue (Kongar 1972b: 114-115). Additionally, it is difficult to define because everyday language places onto it so many uses. One of the oldest debates in urban sociology has developed, argues Manuel Castells (1997: 60), around the issue of "loss of community as a result of urbanization first and suburbanization later".

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Ferdinand Töennies presented the dichotomy of gemeinshaft and gesellshaft. Gemeinshaft is a smaller community, and mainly based on ties of kinship. Interdependent associations among people constitute the main behavioral pattern (Paddison 2001b: 195-196). However, they are modern, rational, relatively impersonal social relations, and instrumental associations in gesellshaft, that is society (Kongar 1972a, Simpson and Simpson 1964, Weber 1958; Saunders 2001: 43). Tönnies was unhappy with the increasing loss of community which was related to the importance of the market. According to Emile Durkeim, it is the humanly relations which delineate the difference between society and community (Kongar 1972a; Palen 1997: 16-17; Katznelson 1992: 16-18).

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Chicago School of Urban Sociology developed a study of community for the better understanding of the society. Ernest Burgess, Robert Park and Roderick McKenzie (1925/1968: 144-147), by using the city of Chicago as a living laboratory, viewed neighborhoods of city as communities. In their account, residential proximity and neighborly relations foster the local sentiment and solidarity. The decline of the community is due to the effects of arising suburbanization movement and modernization in general. Industrialization, separation of workspaces from home, increasing opportunity for social mobility, pervasive mass culture are among the many factors undermining the social solidarity (Burgess

1925/1968). Louis Wirth (1938/1967) who is the follower of the same school, suggests that secondary social relations, those based on economic and contractual affairs, are more important than face-to-face relations based on primarily on culture, community and kinship relations.

Later sociologists have begun to question whether this analysis of community has been lost in modern times. In the context of weakening of the state, the turn to community in postmodernity, has gained its significance back. Zygmunt Bauman (1995) maintains that communities are primarily "bestowers of identity" through the invention of tradition. David Harvey points to the very relationships between process and community. According to him, a lot of community construction projects are, in the end, a recipe for isolation. He proposes a dialectical view of relationships between process and community. "The construction of community is not an end in itself but as a moment in a process" (Harvey 1997a: 24-25).

Despite the fact that there does not exist a clear-cut and commonly agreed definition of community, there are commonalities around the term. Community is traditional and the structure of community life changes when society becomes more differentiated. "Community is socially meaningful and relatively integrated entity" (Simpson and Simpson 1964: 378). It implies sharing, usually "a shared territory", "shared experiences-social interactions", "shared values", "shared destiny" (Blakely 1997: 32-33). It implies participation in the social, economic and political life of a place.

Community does not exist in an a priori way; it is to be created slowly over time; it may increase, decrease or diminish altogether (Mollenkopf 1981:320-321). The sense of community becomes stronger as it is initiated on the notions of kinship, residence in the same residential district, shared occupations, common interests, etc. Although in shaping community interactions non-market values such as mutual support, informal helping patterns, friendship, sociability, predictability which are to be created for each other, are central; it is the market values that play relatively distinct role in addition to above features for the case of gated communities. In gated communities people are valued for their own sake not for the contribution to the community.

IV.2.2 Walls and Gates in the History of Urbanization

It seems that gated communities are the last evolutionary phase of a process of urban growth. Perhaps, they are the "new homes for old traditions" (Berger 1973: 110). Therefore, it is a necessity to restate the urban transformation from the point of urbanization, and suburbanization.

Pre-Industrial City: The spatial concentration of population groups, in today's terms walled communities, is not a new phenomenon. Societies have segregated their inhabitants for thousands of years, most commonly along socio-economic lines. They go back at least to 2000 BC or thereabouts when the city of Babylon was described as being composed of distinct quarters (Kempen and Özüekren 1998; Mumford 1961). Henri Pirenne (1925/2000: 39) in his well-known study, *Medieval City,* states that walls are the first built material by man and argues that the words town in modern English and gorod in modern Russian designate a city, originally designated an enclosure. In the deep history, the heroic hunter of Gılgamesh was the archetypal of building walls around the city of Uruk (Garreau 1991: 48).

The earliest gated communities, in history, could be found in England around 300 B.C. (Blakely and Synder 1997: 3-4). Roman soldiers were given land and estates in tribal areas after their term of service in the army to stabilize Roman order. Roman families clustered around a dominant place and built up walls as a way of means to protect themselves from the local population. Hence, it may be said that systems of walls and class divisions have had roots in the deep history of England.

In their lineage as far back as the Middle Ages, walls, being the famous, popular and oldest clear separation component around enclaves may have been on religious purpose. However, once war became an established institution, walls around settlements were the means of protection for its inhabitants (Mumford 1961: 48-49; Pirenne 1925/2000: 39-41). Medieval walls of Vienna, as a well-known case, had risen against Turks. When it was the matter of safety, canals as well as walls were the physical barriers to make the attacker's task more difficult. Walls, as urban safe guards, drew sharp divisions between urban space and countryside where it socially underlined the difference between the insider and outsider; and physically they were secure places from

the terror of the outside. To some extent, the violence and terror created the rationale for these settlements.

The rigid social hierarchy in medieval times had mirrored in space, which could be easily traced on the relationships of elements such as the church, the lord and the city. However, this was a social division, not segregation. Production and trade were the dominating factors on the growth of cities in this era. Alongside with primarily economic reasons, urban centers were developed for political, administrative, or symbolic reasons (Paddison 2001a: 241). The spatial differentiation between work and residence did not exist in cities of Medieval Europe, which was the main spatial characteristic of the urban settlements. Dwellings often served as workshops (Sjoberg 1955/1967: 181). The logic of business location dictated to be at the core. Trade, commercial, and local manufacturing activities tended to concentrate in the center, in association with the homes of the most prosperous and powerful population.

The inner crowded parts were mainly reserved for the ones who could afford to own a house in the medieval city locational pattern. However, these areas were never to be regarded as the districts for upper class neighborhoods in modern sense (Fishman 1987/1996: 26). The closeness to the core was also the indicator of social and economic status. The periphery was left to the disreputable groups. "To be outside of walls was to be outside of civil society" in this era (Palen 1995: 22).

In many cities of Medieval Ages when industry and commerce had become the primary functions other than those of trade and transportation, it led to the rise of the medieval bourgeoisie and the guilt system for artisans (Hatt and Reiss, Jr. 1967: 176). Researchers believe that the spatial difference of guilt system is one of the early precedents of the gated communities, which had a very sharp, strict social segregation as well. Gideon Sjoberg (1955/1967: 180) mentions the existence of "quarters" or "wards" which were sealed off from each other by walls, and whose gates were closed at nights in Fez, Morocco, and Aleppo, Syria.

The pre-industrial city had a compact form in which the center was occupied by the wealthy part of the society. The periphery was unattractive due to its cheapness and limited transportation facilities (Sjoberg 1955/1967: 180). The advent of industrialization

and modernity were the two major factors shifting pre-industrial urban pattern to the industrial city.

Industrial City: Walls continued to be one of the most prominent features of the city right down to the eighteenth century (Mumford 1961: 79). When the bourgeois became dominant in shaping the socio-spatial order of urban areas, the history of city walls came to an end. Indeed, strongholds could not stand against the efficient use of the artillery, which was produced in large amounts due to the possibilities offered by industrial revolution. However, as Peter Marcuse (1997b) points out, the upper hand of capitalism and the advent of liberal economy were perhaps the real reasons behind the fall of importance of city-walls.

Urbanization process, being the most striking feature of modernization, was indisputably progressed hand in hand with the process of industrialization in the industrialized countries. Industrial revolution was the promoting engine of this process and had profound influence on the social-economic-political and spatial structure of the world as a whole. The most impulsive cause was the massive movement of population from rural to urban areas, which led, in turn, to the transformation of cities both in terms of demographic and social structure. As a result, the new urban pattern began to emerge by the beginning of industrialization. Industrial revolution formed the foundation of urban industrial capitalism and exploded with the development of the industrial capitalist city, exemplified in the literature as Manchester and Chicago. In other words, while economic, political, administrative functions attributed to cities remained important, industrial capitalism became significant for the development of cities. The industrial city emerged as a dynamic force, and was able to increase its size without depending upon agricultural surplus, and the industrial city was seen as the location of the new industrial society.

With the rise of industrial capitalism in the eighteenth century, social segregation began to develop on the relationships of class, race and gender basis. The division between the city and the country came to an end, but the division of others has taken place within cities. Since the middle class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries required the services of people, socially mixed neighborhoods prevailed. However,

industrial capitalism shifted the balance between urban and rural. Both the scale of production and international trade reached much higher levels than those of pre-industrial cities.

The key feature of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century industrialization was the "spatial separation of work and residence" (Katznelson: 1992: 129). Industrialization transformed the medieval city structure by locating manufacturing in central areas of the urban areas. In this industrial city of the nineteenth century, larger and more stratified population was inhabited. The spatial relations in the industrial city changed. The inner city areas around central business district and factories were the places –slums of immigrants. Louis Wirth (1938/1967: 52-58) in his well-known work, *Urbanization as a Way of Life* defines the industrial city in terms of number of population, density of settlement, and heterogeneity of its inhabitants. He argued that it was the size and density, which stimulated the social segregation in the form of residential areas for different groups, and functional segregation in the form of separation of residence and work place in the city. Shortly stated, a segregation of the uses in the inner districts was paralleled, in residential areas, with the segregation of socio-economic groups.

In the new world, America, the earliest examples of gated communities also began to emerge in this era. They were actually the ancient fortified cities, located as Spanish fort towns in the Caribbean. With the elimination of the native population the need for defensive walls came to an end. Later, during the nineteenth century, some residential areas were built with gates and privatized streets, to protect family estates and wealthy citizens as in St. Louis. In the early decades of the twentieth century, the gated-fortified type of residential areas was developed for the East Coast and Hollywood aristocracy (Blakely and Synder 1997).

Beginning from the nineteenth century onwards the British, American, French cities expanded both physically and demographically as the centers of industrial capitalism and modern life. Urban spaces were differentiated according to their function which were supported purposely by the state and local administrative bodies with their traffic development and subsidy policies (Esser and Hirsch 1994: 79). Cities began to grow towards the peripheries, which was accomplished largely by the development of

transportation system. Consequently, low-density rural lands around cities evolved into higher density suburban developments which are the harbingers of gated communities.

Post-Industrial City or Non-Place City: There is a growing consensus among scholars that significant spatial changes within cities have occurred very visibly since the early 1970s (Law and Wolch 1993; Blakely and Synder 1997; Sassen 1996; Fainstein and Campell 2002). The explanation of these changes has been multiplied in the national and international context, which might be paralleled and perhaps encouraged, and/or was encouraged by them. The process of globalization, new logic of production, employment and distribution, declining state provision of welfare, changes in the differentiation of power relationships, developing technologies all have had their influence on the land-use and social occupation within cities as well as among them in the national and in the international level (Fainstein and Harloe 1992a; 1992b; Sennett 1999: 278).

There has appeared the problem about the generalizing the urban trends in this new era (Hall 1990; Savage and Warde 1993). Although industrial cities were classified in cultural, functional, and status categories, the pattern has turned out to be a new combination of these categories in many respects. However, it has varied significantly from city to city due to its historical development of the built environment, its national socio-economic structures, its roles of the forces involved in development, and its position in the international economy. They have had at least one basic feature in common. They have contained a spatial concentration of new urban poverty on the one hand, and on the other a concentration of specialized, internationally connected "high-level" business activities, and consequently, a new way of residential enclosures within the cities (Marcuse and Kempen 2000: 3).

In the United States, gated communities have become more popular with the advent of the retirement developments in the 1960s and the 1970s. In the 1980s, gated community developments were accelerated around golf courses designed for exclusivity, prestige and leisure as a trend to conspicuous consumption. Around the same years, gated communities built primarily out of fear has begun to emerge, as the violent crime was frequent in public. Since the late 1980s, gates have become popular, very common in many areas of the United States as well as all around the globe. Now, new towns are

being routinely built with gated villages and their guarded entrances feature them (Blakely and Snyder 1997).

In the short history of modern city, great boulevards, highways, green belts, zoning regulations are the physical end products of socio-spatial segregation. Indeed, societies have segregated their inhabitants for thousands of years, and cities; therefore, may be divided along a number of lines forming a variety of patterns of clustering. Many, but not all, of them are socio-economic.

Suburbanization constitutes one part of the urbanization process (Walker 1981: 383). It involves a complex process, which has three major defining characteristics: spatial differentiation, decentralization, and social segregation. This section of the chapter views suburbanization process mainly in the European countries and in the United States.

IV.2.3 Gated Communities in Literature

Gated communities are the evolutionary part of the trend of suburbanization, and their roots can be positioned in the same urban design tradition. The history of the design of new towns and suburbs, from Ebenezer Howard's "Garden Cities" to the planned communities, is revolved around the idea of landscape and street design as an integral element of the total development. Howard, the father of the British Garden City Movement, proposed the idea of a proprietary community, funded by private investment capital and managed by a nineteenth century version of a community association.

Ebenezer Howard in the nineteenth century, Lewis Mumford in the twentieth century are the designers of the attempt of "bring nature back into city", which basically was the bourgeois thought and practice. As cited by Richard T.Legates and Frederic Stout (2000: 296) the other twentieth century utopians are Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. Wright designed thoroughly planned environments around curvilinear or cul-de-sac streets, creating self-contained, separate communities with carefully constructed identities in his "Broadacre City". Le Corbusier's "Contemporary City" plan has often been contrasted to Wright's Broadacre. The comparison of a thoroughly centralized in the former versus thoroughly decentralized in the latter is quite remarkable.

Despite their very significant differences, gated communities in the capitalist world-economy have structural features in common that are identified by the gated communities literature. The extent to which they differ is explained not only by economic, social, and cultural factors but also by state policies. In the world, it seems that this type of living style is spreading although there is a little systematic empirical documentation. Two recent books, and two scholars' work are significant to be brought up here. Edward J. Blakely and Mary G. Snyder's (1997) *Fortress America*, is a major empirical study of gated communities in the United States. Mike Davis's *City of Quartz* (1990) describes the contemporary processes of spatial segregation in Los Angeles.

Blakely and Snyder (1997: 38-45) identify three different types of gated communities. They call them as "life-style" communities, "prestige" communities, and "security zone" communities. They base their types on differing physical and social characteristics, and motivations of the residents.

Life-style communities provide security and separation for the activities and amenities offered within. They are basically differentiated from the rest of the other communities by their emphasis on amenities (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 46). They usually consist of the upwardly mobile middle class. These developments feed on exclusionary aspirations and the desire to differentiate. There are three distinct type life-style communities: the retirement community, the golf and leisure community, and the suburban new town.

Prestige communities lack the recreational amenities and services of the life-style communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 46-97). The emphasis is on image rather than on leisure time facilities. Their gates denote distinction and prestige, and further provides a barrier of status.

Security zone communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 99-124) are the fastest growing type of gated community, characterized by the closed streets and gated complexes of the low income, working class, and middle class residents. Poor inner city neighborhoods and public housing projects are using security guards, gates and fences to keep out drug dealing, prostitution, and drive-by shootings. They are three types: the city perch, the suburban perch, and the barricade perch. Edward J. Blakely and Mary G. Snyder (1997: 42) call them perches "because it is not developers who build the gates

but the residents, who are often desperately trying to maintain and stay in their neighbors".

The other foremost and popular work is Mike Davis' *City of Quartz*. He, (1990: 223-224) in his study, notes how Southern Californians' obsession with security has transformed the region into a fortress. This shift is precisely visible in the physical form of the city, which is divided into fortified cells of affluence and places of terror where police battle the criminalized poor. This creation of gated communities and the addition of guardhouses, walls, fences, and entrance gates to established neighborhoods, argues Davis, is an integral part of the building of the "fortress city", a social control technique based on the so-called "militarization" of the city.

These urban phenomena, according to Mike Davis (1990) have placed Los Angeles "on the bad edge of postmodernity". The dynamics of fortification entail the omnipresent request of high-tech policing methods to the "high-rent security of gated residential developments" and "panoptican malls". It extends to "space policing", including a proposed satellite observations capacity that would create an invisible Hausmannization of Los Angeles (Davis 1990: 253-254). In the consequent "carceral city", the working poor and destitute is spatially seized the "main streets", and excluded from the affluent "forbidden cities" through "security by design".

The seminal essays of Peter Marcuse (1995; 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000) constitute a large vision on walls, divisions, segregation, and related topics. He argues that cities today are increasingly fragmented and chaotic, yet behind the chaos there are patterns. He perceives the phenomenon of gated communities as one dimension of the flexible capital accumulation. He defends the idea that the shift from a Fordist to post-Fordist society, from a manufacturing to service economy, from a national to a global organization in terms of production, distribution, and consumption, from a welfare state to post-welfare state, in short, transformation from modern to postmodern structure has culminated in the quartering of the cities. Therefore, he suggests it is useful to think in terms of quartered cities, or five-parted ones, where the quarters are intricately interlinked, walled in and walled out, hierarchical in power, each dwelt by different social groups and dependent on outside social forces. Diversity and polarization are intricately linked with polarization and divisions.

Peter Marcuse lists five reasons to expect a new spatial order within cities in post-Fordist era. The first reason is the changing nature and relationships of economic activities. The second one is related to the polarization in the distribution of wealth; the deepening gap of between poor and the rich. The third concerns with the spatial change within cities in the form of despatialization of markets. The fourth reason is the decreasing domestic need for unskilled labour in urban centers. The last one is the changing role of the public sector in shaping the built environment as it gives primary importance to private interest.

He strongly suggests that the outcome of these above reasons has shaped five distinct classes: a globally oriented upper class as the owners and decision makers; a growing professional-managerial-administrative-technical class; an educated, stably employed middle class; a traditional working class which is a part of the formal labour market and an excluded class which includes the victims of the post-Fordist restructuring.

In his above outlined view, the major cities of the advanced industrialized private market economies show a tendency towards dividing into five quarters respectively.

a) The luxury city is occupied by the upper segments of the economic, social, and political hierarchy. It is not part of the city, privately managed and isolated from the rest of the city. The luxury city is located either in prestigious districts or on the outskirts of the urban area.

b) The gentrified city is occupied by professional-managerial-administrative-technical class. It is located either in rehabilitated historical districts or in upgraded exclusive exurban areas.

c) The suburban city is occupied by the skilled workers, mid-range professionals, and upper civil servants. It is placed either in the outer city as single-housing or near the center as apartments.

d) The tenement city is occupied by lower-paid workers, blue, and white collar. It consists of deteriorated older housing stock and social housing projects.

e) The abandoned city, the end result of trickle-down, is left for the members of the informal labour market and homeless population.

Last but never the least, the studies of Teresa Caldeira (1996a; 1996b) are very important in this field of inquiry. She incorporates condominium type of gated communities into her work. She employs the concept of fortified enclave and argues that this new form of spatial segregation has transformed the quality of life in cities, and led to the corrosion of modern public space in the last decades. Caldeira's analysis covers the city of Sao Paulo, which is the largest metropolitan region in Brazil.

CHAPTER V

URBAN SOCIO-SPATIAL PROFILE OF ANKARA

The expansion of cities in Western Europe and in the United States with special reference to residential patterns as urbanization and suburbanization was explored in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the evolution of urban spaces, and concomitantly residential areas within the framework of socio-economic-political transformations under critical urban theory Türkiye experienced, are presented aiming at a better background for the emergence of upper and middle-class residential suburbs in Ankara.

European and North American societies lived through an urbanization process of an age, which lasted more than 150 years with relatively smooth evolution from rural to urban community. Unlike this, Türkiye underwent the same process in a very rapid way. In fact, Turkish cities have begun to practice the transition from traditional to modern urban settlements through the middle of nineteenth century (Tekeli 2000: 29). However, the real boom in terms of urban growth took place in the aftermath of the Second World War.

In this chapter, therefore, the spatial transformation of urban space and residential areas in Türkiye will be investigated in order to have a better understanding for the appearance of middle and upper class residential suburbs and residential preferences of its populace in Ankara.

The two main and influential processes that determine the urban transformation in settlements are the spatial redistribution of population and the accumulation of capital, which are also the means of power. The spatial redistribution of population is the result of combined effects of both population natural increase in each settlement, and of population movements, migration. The process of the spatial redistribution of capital is affected by the capital accumulation mainly. Capital referred here is investments both in built environment, real estate and infrastructure, and in means of production.

To evaluate the developments in the settlement pattern in general, the deployment pattern of affluent households in particular, and bring relevant problems to light, and elaborate the results on the basis of emerging priorities, it seems necessary to view the transformations experienced in Türkiye in accordance with the economic growth strategies, political regimes, and administration. Furthermore, it is preferable to look into such changes in lengthier period. One way of handling the periods is to view the residential deployment patterns in economic terms of periods. However, in Türkiye the related periods of almost all of each socio-economic subject have had close traditional relations with the political life of the country. Every political divergence on the route of country's life had lasting effects on socio-economic features of development.

The first period to be explored in terms of urban and residential transformation unavoidably would be the era from the declaration of the Republic to the end of the Second World War. However, the transformation processes had started much earlier. It is a necessity to view the effects of the opening up efforts to world capitalism and modernizing attempts of the governing elites of the Empire beginning from the middle of the nineteenth century to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire i.e. Balkanization movement as well (Tekeli 1998; Bilgin 1998; Sey 1998b).

The Independence War of Türkiye influenced the socio-economic policies of coming periods on a large extent. The Republican era, representing different type of economic equilibrium can be viewed in three periods: The era beginning from the year 1923 to 1946 are the years of radical reforms in every field of the young Republic and in İlhan Tekeli words (1998) it is the period of radical modernity. In fact, it covers the two sub-periods in economic terms: First Liberal Period and the Etatist period.

The emergence of Ankara as the new capital city of the new Republic, the effects of modernization project and its implication on the transition of urban space are discussed in the First Liberal Period which covers the years from 1923 to 1931. These are the pre and post years of world great crises and the incubation years of the Second World War. The Etatist period, beginning from the year of 1932 through 1946 which was mainly under the impact of war years, and highly stimulated the state formation of the Republic.

Subsequently, the following decades of the period between 1947 and 1980 can be named as the period of populist and planned modernity period, and the populist policies of the multi-party regime which has everlasting urban consequences are investigated. The years between 1947 and 1960 is the second liberal period, and the years following the 1960 revolution characterized as the planned period witnessing high rate of urbanization mainly caused by migration from rural towards urban areas.

Finally, the post era of 1980 in which the efforts of opening up to foreign markets has been influential on the national economy, is presented with a special focus on the further fragmentation of the urban and residential areas under the impact of globalization dynamics during which the urbanization rate has been slowing down.

In the first section of this chapter urbanization experience of the city of Ankara in accordance with Türkiye, in which processes have shown differences in relation to strategy for economic growth and to the characteristics of its political regimes and administration according to periods are viewed. The second section is about the transformation of urban sphere in Ankara by focusing on the planning activities and housing production processes from individual housing supply model to the mass housing projects. Later, in the same section the spatial deployment pattern of affluent households are traced according to periods. The third section concerns with the specificities that Ankara has experienced in its suburbanization history. The development of Çayyolu as a suburban expansion is the other main subject of the last section of this chapter.

V.1 Urbanization Process of Ankara

Legibility of an urban settlement depends on the survival of the means of that settlement's history. Thus, it becomes a necessity to overview the urban transformation pattern before the Republican period. The modernity project of Europe following the years of realization of industrialization naturally had effects on the Ottoman economic, political and social life since 1838 [1] by two main channels: Ottoman economics began to open up to the world capitalism (Keyder 1989/1999: 44-45; Wallerstein 2000: 70) within the market economies and reforms attempted by the governing elites.

The emergence of new international commercial relations, developments notably in transportation and communication, services, many other developments, and novelty resulted in the improvement of daily life. Among these transformations the most important and effective one occurred in the administration field and bureaucracy was reorganized with the replacement of military governing élites who were highly paid civil servants. At the same time, a new native middle class came up into being which were comprised mainly of non-Muslim (Lewis 1961: 447-448) employees of business organizations working in association with the foreign counterparts and merchants engaged in small-scale commercial activities (Keyder 1989/1999: 50; Kıray 1979/1982: 386). They adapted western life-style and were followed by high-level governing elites, who all together brought about new urban pattern. The impact of these transformations on the urban space can more easily be traced in İstanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Later, almost the same pattern was followed by the major urban centres of the Empire including Ankara.

V.1.1 Radical Modernity: Early Republican Period Until 1946

Türkiye achieved glorious and radical changes in its societal structure after the external interferences, wars, political migrations, political and economic clutters of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. During the years of dissolution of Ottoman Empire, Türkiye had to deal with major social, cultural, and economic problems. By the declaration of the Republic, a number of reforms were implemented in order to remove the barriers to modernization. Among these, the most important ones were the passage of the Constitution in 1924 and a Civic Code stating that men and women had equal rights, in 1926. In this context, the Georgian calendar and the metric system were introduced in 1925 and the Latin alphabet in 1928. In 1937, with the introduction of a new article in the Constitution Türkiye has become a secular state.

As a result of the above mentioned modernization attempts, a new life-style emerged which formed a strong and many-sided social infrastructure. These preparations acted as springboard to enable the Turkish society to become differentiated, specialized, and organized community which would lead to an industrialized and urbanized society.

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[1] 1838 is the date in which a commercial agreement was signed with the United Kingdom.

By the establishment of new secular codes, secular administration system also created a demand for new secular professionals such as civil servants, officials, lawyers, etc. Within this context, bureaucracy was no new profession in Türkiye, nevertheless this time there were tremendous transformations on which the modern state could be founded. To achieve national, economic sovereignty, and to develop country's social and economic life radical changes would be needed. During this change, the nation as a whole had to achieve it by cooperating and working together. At this point it might be stated that "Turkish people were not divided into classes with conflicting interests" (Lewis 1961: 460). At the first phase of the Republic, Türkiye had no accumulated capital and therefore had no class struggle.

Turkish Independence War was conducted out by Turkish intellectuals who were nationalists and somewhat progressive; therefore the resulting policy in economy was nationalist. In the first part of this period a liberal policy was carried out. Although the government had available means the financial resources were quite limited. Through nationalization of foreign companies, entrepreneurs of the Ottoman Empire who were mainly foreign subjects left the country. Therefore, the government faced the problem of creating a new Turkish entrepreneurial class with whom the economic development would be attained (Cem 1970). On the other hand, the state encouraged the private enterprise and made the investments on such fields that could not be performed by private enterprise which was explicitly stated in the İzmir Economic Congress held on 17 February 1923; and was the basic idea of the liberal economic policy (Avcıoğlu 1971: 226-233; Cem 1970: 211-212).

The world crisis of 1929 led to a new phase in the economic and social development of Türkiye. In the following years of depression, emergence of dissatisfaction against this policy guided the government to undertake the industrial ventures, which was characterized as the First Etatist Period (Lewis 1961: 463). The basic aim of this period was to achieve capital accumulation through state intervention by using public funds, and allocating them directly to investment fields without going into market economy. It can also be viewed as the creation of a real national bourgeoisie class by providing state funds. Thanks to the Etatist Period the Second World War years were relatively easier for Türkiye. The country practiced an autarkic economy during its

developmental period, state investments played the most important role in production. Moreover, in those years the expansion of the railways was a priority.

However, the most important radical spatial revolution on the country scale was the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic after which Ankara has entered a stage of planned growth and development. This choice was not coincidental, and received both economic and politically symbolic meanings. The new capital was representing the new regime (Tekeli 1984a: 324) but at the same time it also gained the burden of capital city functions. "The construction of Ankara in a manner that would compete with İstanbul and to be able to create the life-style envisioned for the Republic had become one with the success of the regime" (ACC 1998: 43). According to İlhan Tekeli (1978: 37) the success of the development of Ankara was identical with the success of the regime.

At the same time, cities were the places for modernity and modern life for the military and bureaucratic elite of the new Republic. As a result Ankara turned into once more a very important center to be built in order to achieve the national, revolutionary, and modern ideals of the nation-state. When Ankara became headquarter of the Independence War during the national resistance, there began first immigration flow to the city. Turkish Grand National Assembly opened in Ankara on 23 April 1920. After victory, Ankara became the capital city on 13 October 1923 of the Republic of Türkiye that was founded two weeks later. The transfer of the capital from İstanbul to Ankara consequently attracted military officials and bureaucrats of all levels to the city, gradually immigration gained acceleration.

Indeed Ankara was a small city with a population around 28,000-32,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987: 9), and 30,000-35,000 in 1920 (ACC 1998: 91). The city, after becoming the capital, displayed a continuous population growth at the rate of 6.18 percent per annum until 1945 with immigration from all over the country, which was unlike other big cities of the country. Nevertheless, the city received population especially from the Central Anatolian provinces (ACC 1988: 57).

Turkish urbanization history, Gönül Tankut (1984: 301) initially notes, begins with the development of Ankara. Even so, the problems of Ankara were of different

type. Being the capital of a new Republic, Ankara attained more attention than any other urban center of the country, which lasted until the 1950s.

V.1.2 Populist and Planned Period: Post-War Rapid Urbanization Between 1946-1980

Developments subsequent to 1946 led to significant political, economic, and social transformations. In the international context, the alliances of Türkiye have changed, which was concomitant to the international trend of political liberalism. The transition to a multiparty system, the emergence of liberal economic tendency, a shifting pattern of integration into world markets combined with the populist policies resulted in an era that Türkiye entered a completely different order from the previous one.

On the political domain, the transition from a single-party to a multi-party system is the most important political change that is highly responsible for the urbanization on its own account in the country. On the economic side, policies also changed completely after the Second World War. Türkiye implemented a mixed economy like many other developing countries. In that period the population increased to more than 44 million (Table V.1). The mixed economy was characterized by continuous growth of the private sector especially in industry and a declining public sector at least in terms of employment. The private sector generally preferred to invest in the western parts of the country due to the infrastructure facilities provided by the state.

The state now gave priority to road transportation and to investments especially on highway construction through the encouragements of western countries in order to develop a highway system for their own interest. Investments on the transportation and communication systems in return removed the barriers from intermigration. As a result of concentration of social and economic activities in few nodes, big city developments got underway and rural population continued to flow into these settlements without taking into consideration whether they were capable of absorbing the new incoming power or not.

Table V.1 Demographic Characteristics of Türkiye and Ankara

Years	Türkiye National Total Population	Türkiye Total Urban Population	Ankara Urban Population	% share of Ank. in National Total	% share of Ank. in Urban Pop.
1927	13,648,270	3,305,879	74,553	0.55	2.26
1935	16,158,018	3,802,642	122,720	0.76	3.23
1940	17,820,950	4,346,249	157,242	0.88	3.62
1945	18,790,655	4,687,102	226,712	1.21	4.84
1950	20,947,188	5,244,337	288,536	1.38	5.50
1955	24,064,763	6,927,343	451,241	1.88	6.51
1960	27,754,820	8,859,731	650,067	2.34	7.34
1965	31,391,421	9,382,621	905,660	2.89	9.65
1970	35,605,176	12,753,367	1,236,152	3.47	9.69
1975	40,347,719	16,706,528	1,701,004	4.22	10.18
1980	44,736,826	20,330,065	1,877,755	4.20	9.24
1985	50,664,458	25,889,750	2,235,035	4.41	8.63
1990	56,473,035	31,804,551	2,584,594	4.58	8.13
1997	62,865,574	40,882,357	2,984,099	4.75	7.30
2000	67,803,927	44,006,274	3,203,362	4.72	7.28

Source: SIS Publications.

On the rural part of the picture, when mechanization of agriculture was introduced by the Marshall Plan, [1] structural changes took place both in rural and urban areas in the 1950s. In the history of urbanization of Türkiye, the first impulse was given to agriculture through the technological changes. The mass introduction of machinery between 1950-1955 encouraged migration from rural to urban areas.

By the formulation of the Marshall Aid, all the foreign funds were directed to developing agricultural sector. The mechanization of agriculture put many agricultural labourers out of work due to the labour saving process of the mechanization. Polarization of agricultural land, decrease in the income level was the other additional pushing factors

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[1] The main objective of the Plan was to "protect" the southeastern Balkan countries from the danger of communism through a strategy of development, which would be achieved by the Marshall aid in the aftermath of the Second World War. Türkiye obtained this aid from the United States of America on the condition to supply agricultural demands of these countries (İlhan Tekeli 2002, CP 602 Space and Time Concepts in the New Age, lecture notes).

of intermigration in rural areas. In this process, young males in particular were forced to leave villages where they were born and look for jobs in urban areas (Kartal 1978).

Ultimately a large number of people were to move from rural to big cities in search of employment opportunities and a better standard of living. On the urban side, cities turned out to be the attraction points for migrants due to the increasing economic and social utilities, most importantly the presence of a wider range of goods and services including health and education. İstanbul among other big cities was the most attractive destination for migrants in this period.

Both populist economic policies and development programs of this period created income disparities. This way of growth pattern paved the way for political crises in the country. The democratic process was interrupted almost in every ten year-period between 1960 and 1980 period. After the military intervention of 27 May 1960, which was the first coup d'etat Türkiye experienced, the new Constitution introduced the concept of social and welfare state by which second planned period entered into picture in the history of Turkish development. The principles of planned economy whose aim was to achieve structural modifications were adopted. The development of Türkiye was principally based upon a model of economic development implemented through a state policy of protecting import-substituting industrialization. The success of this model was possible under the conditions of continuous expansion of the internal consumer market. However, the oil crises in 1973 had a negative impact on the economy, increasing the foreign debt and unemployment.

In the aftermath of the 1960s, the structural changes in the socio-economic and political spheres initiated a large-scale migration from rural to urbanized part of the country and emigration particularly to Western Germany. Insufficient employment has led to a migration facilitated through official channels in response to the demand from Western Europe, and continued from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s.

During this period, the proportion living in urban areas increased from 24.94 % to 45.44 %. In 1945 population living in urban areas was about 4,687,102. It was 5,244,337 in 1950 and 20,330,065 in 1980 (Table V.1). The growth rate of urban

population [1] was averaging 4.19 per annum, which was largely due to the high rates of migration from rural to urban areas.

Unavoidably, this rapid and massive urbanization brought forth serious problems of infrastructure facilities, public equipments, urban services, housing shortages, and problems related to the social integration of new migrants, and so on. Since people who migrate from rural to urban areas are subject to the influence of urbanites and the way of life in an urban environment, theoretically, the newcomers are expected to be integrated with the native urbanites. In this process, they may form a transitional culture, and life-style, which is naturally different from both urban and rural cultures. Accordingly, the patterns of life in general, living and housing conditions in particular may vary between old and new urbanites.

However, after the 1950s, the volume of the immigrants, especially from rural regions of the country was so high and repetitive that it turned out to be the integration of native urbanites with newcomers instead. As a consequence of this type of urbanization process and transformation, the so-called modern urban life-style was replaced by the life-style of newcomers. Gecekondu areas transferred "their rural ambiance to the cities by building structures resembling their previous dwellings in the villages" (Özüekren 1997: 34). They experienced alienation and developed a hybrid, subcultural phenomenon called "arabesque" (Öncü 2000: 128-129) which has been wide spread since the 1970s. The outcome of these transformations was the deepening dualistic structure of urban appearance; a rich center and a poor periphery.

The populist approaches of the 1950s and the planned modernity approaches of the 1960s saw these physical, social, economic, and cultural problems as temporary deficiencies of rapid industrialization and urbanization process and believed that they would die away as the country progress along the linear path of modernization (Işık 1996: 782-784). By the early years of the 1970s, this vision and stance with the solutions

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[1] Annual growth rate of population is calculated by natural growth correlation.

$$P_{n+1} = P_n \, e^{rt}$$

Where;

P_n	:	population at n date (at the initial period)
P_{n+1}	:	population at n+t date (t years later)
e	:	logarithm
r	:	annual growth rate of population
t	:	time period between two dates (in years)

began to dissolve and it was realized that the problems brought forth by urbanization and industrialization were not temporary rather permanent.

To summarize, in the aftermath of the 1950s, the big cities of Türkiye in general, Ankara in particular had to cope with an unprecedented rate of urbanization under a new political regime. However, urbanization stimulated new patterns in occupation and profession, in employment, in family structure, and in every aspect of societal life. The cities were not prepared to receive this amount of migrants. In addition, industrial jobs were in short supply, and the major consequence of this migration was observed as a severe housing shortage in the big urban centers. "The country's limited resources had to be invested in areas rather than housing in order to catch up with the development level of the First World War" (Özüekren 1997: 33).

Apparently, immigration has had a considerable effect on the growth of urban population of Ankara. After the Second World War, Ankara's share of migrants exceeded all expectations, and had to set up new ways to deal with the urbanization problems.

V.1.3 The Effects of Globalization After the 1980s

The globalization process concomitant to socio-economic polarization has given the rise to a fragmented picture of the cities. Beginning from the 1980s, and during the 1990s, functional and social differentiation in urban areas has deepened. The global restructuring and transformations in the social, economic, and political spheres affected the urban functional differentiation as well. The shift from industrial production to service sector has had a considerable effect on it. Accordingly, all these transformations have specified the evolution of an urban form from a dual structure in the direction of a new complex pattern. Alongside with this process, growing interdependence between different regions and countries, and global restructuring of capitalism has had great impact on many aspects of national policies and nation state power too.

The Turkish experiment with economic liberalization together with structural adjustments in the period following the 1980s was a radical shift in its economic course. The regime utilized greater involvement in the industrialization effort and "applied the

orthodox policies counseled by the International Monetary Fund in the hope of restructuring the economy toward greater openness and liberation" (Keyder and Öncü 1993: 19). This new strategy was a fundamental break from the national developmentalist strategy of the former periods.

Türkiye, in the 1980s, experienced an economic crisis (Boratav 1996: 678) and directed its economy towards foreign markets as a development strategy (Tekeli 1998: 20-21). The 24th January Re-Adjustment Decisions played the major role at this turning point behind which the IMF insistence lay. In the last quarter of the same year, the armed forces intervened once more. The coup government supported the economic liberation (Tekeli 1984b: 232), which was a transition to free-market economy. This was to be achieved through a set of processes in terms of stabilization, adjustment, and restructuring policies (Boratav 1993: 121-125).

Subsequent to the 24th January Re-Adjustment Decisions, a rise in the flow of foreign capital into the domestic market gained acceleration (Özgen-Ertubey 1996: 742), which was accompanied by the capital accumulation of private sector. Among others, the three sectors, service, finance, and tourism were popular sectors for foreign capital. The other strategic decision in order to articulate to the globalizing world was the direction towards export activities rather than import substitution (Tekeli 1998: 20). Under the internationally directed economic policy, and in relation to above decisions, development programs were targeted to infrastructure. First priority was given to investments in telecommunications. Türkiye increased her capacity adopting digital communication system and the means of communications via satellites (Habitat II 1996: 36). Secondly, projects were developed to link the growth poles of the country by means of international motorway network. Thirdly, airlines and airports were increased in number. Contrastingly, in the previous periods the infrastructure network was aimed at integrating the home market.

Still the other important strategic decision, İlhan Tekeli (1998: 21) argues, was the restructuring of economic activities in accordance with world-economies such as the improvement of financial sector and banking sector, the establishment of free trade and production zones, and the establishment of stock market. The private sector was forced to modify its structure by opening up the Turkish economy to foreign market, and increased its partnership with foreign capital. The number of Turkish firms operating

abroad as well as the scale of foreign investments in Türkiye increased (Özüekren 1997: 33). All the attempts were to find a way of integrating to world-economy and of gaining a place within the international division of labour (Oyan 1996: 665).

State control and/or intervention in the economy gradually weakened. In the rich sense of the term, the opening up of the Turkish economy to western world was realized in the post-1980s. In time, the economy took on a neo-liberal, foreign oriented character whereby it would be possible to compete with other countries. Meanwhile, the state budget deficit climbed up at a stage by the early 1990s that the outcome was an enormous devaluation that Turks had never experienced before.

Beginning from the 1980s, income inequality has deepened, economic and social problems have aggravated for lower income groups. They turned inward and get together around religious and ethnic identities. They have developed certain survival strategies. Actually, the social segmentation is not special to this era only; it also existed in urban areas in the former periods. What is peculiar to this era is that, its scope, Oğuz Işık (1996: 801) states, was less than today's.

The intermigration pattern has also changed, and rural-to-urban migration was mainly replaced by intercity migration in the country. It must be noted that the migration pattern of the period beginning from the 1950s to the 1980s can be identified as from rural-to-urban migration. Migration from villages to the cities had a decreasing tendency, which was paralleled to the falling share of rural population in total population. The other factor affecting the gradual decrease of rural-to-urban migration, İlhan Tekeli (1998: 15) argues, might be the result of the populist policies employed to improve the income levels in agricultural sector through subvension of small producers. After the 1980s, a considerable rise in intercity migration has been observed specifically in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

Consequent to the political and social tensions in the southeastern, partly in the eastern Anatolia, a rapid migration was observed from rural parts of these regions to cities such as Diyarbakır, Van, Ş.Urfa, Batman, Tunceli among others, which happened to be the new centers of attraction for migrants. In actual fact, this large-scale exodus from villages brought along severe socio, economic, cultural, and political problems. Antalya, Mersin, KahramanMaraş, Çorum, Denizli, GaziAntep have been the other

economically potential centers for migrants. The accustomed big cities of İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir have lost their previous position as the destination for internal migration. It must be noted that the direction of the migration has begun to be motivated by the lack of employment and job opportunities in the developed regions and cities of the country.

Urban and regional discrepancy, as Oğuz Işık (1996: 785-789) carefully notes, has increased as a result of the new period of global re-structuring. Concurrently, there has occurred functional and social differentiation in urban areas in the post 1980 period. Naturally, the nodes that are much more connected to world-economy in global terms and conditions, such as İstanbul, lived the spatial fragmentation, and social segmentation more severely. The global restructuring, the shift from industrial production to service sector, new international division of labour, transformations in the social, economic, and political spheres were the other factors affecting the urban functional differentiation.

Although rate of urbanization has slowed down after the 1980s, cities now have grown to be the focus of various dynamics of globalization process promoted by the free market reforms of the 1980s, and have been conceptualized as fragmented and differentiated areas. Residential areas being the most important segments of urban areas have transformed into new forms throughout these periods of time.

The 1980s, unavoidably, is crucial to the turning point in the urbanization practices of the country. Urbanization process of the periods before and after the 1980s has been based on different priorities regarding investments and daily life. Essentially, the major difference between pre and post 1980s can easily be observed in the urban form. Most of the Turkish cities underwent a transformation of urban form from a relatively homogeneous structure to a relatively heterogeneous structure (Bilgin 1998; Tekeli 1987/1991: 170-172). During this transformation process, social segregation has taken more complex form and has been reflected in the urban space more clearly. On the other hand, land development processes have been directed through new legal arrangements.

In İlhan Tekeli words (1987/1991), the urbanization practices during the periods before and after the 1980s can be called as "the speculative of small capital" and "the speculative of large capital". He argues that before the 1980s, the priority was given to industrial investments in the urbanization practices, and sources were directed to the industrial lands. In so doing, urban land was neglected as an area of investment. As

discussed previously in this chapter, cities could not expand due to the lack of infrastructure services and facilities outside the defined area; vertical growth was inevitable that resulted in compact urban form in which public spaces and housing gained homogeneous character.

During this period, public spaces, İhsan Bilgin (1998: 267) notes, was composed of state offices, and social service units. Not surprisingly, private sector was unwilling to invest in public complexes. There was no specialized office stock except for those of state offices. Private organizations, even some state offices occupied in apartment blocks that were converted from residential uses. The public sector preferred to invest their capital in industrial fields, rather than urban land. Housing sector was considered to be unprofitable area of investment for them. As a result, housing sector was left to small-scale contractors, as called in Turkish yapsatçı [1].

In the following years of the 1980s, a series of new processes in the urbanization practices emerged which threatened the homogeneous and densely settled structure of cities, and paved the way for a decentralized city form (Tekeli 1987/1991). Until the 1980s the urban developmental pattern was through gradual accumulation of houses due to the supply modes of buildings. After the 1980s, the growth pattern of cities changed, and large-scale developments, such as mass housing, campus like settlements of public offices and institutions, health uses, university campuses, headquartes of major companies emerged outside the city but were attached to it. Building cooperatives were also formed for the collective construction of organized industrial parks, small industrial estates, and business places. Public and private institutions set up shuttle services for their staff to and from work (Habitat II 1996: 25).

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[1] Build-and-sell (yapsatçılık) mode of housing production pattern is a spatial operation of capital, and carried out by small-scale contractors (müteahhit) who are mostly from the Black Sea Region (Keyder 2000: 182). They build apartment houses with their own account and utilize their own financial resources, and then sell these units to generally middle and upper-middle class income groups. The land is either bought or supplied by mutual agreements with the landowner on the basis of certain number of flats. The pattern is applied to building lots with old buildings as well and therefore also called as demolish-and-rebuild mode. "Yapsatçılık" was one of the solution to the housing problem which began to appear in the following years of the Second World War in the absence of a deliberately acting central authority whose aim was supposed to be creating housing provision (Tekeli, Gülöksüz, Okyay 1974; Tekeli 1987/1991, and 1988/1991; Türel 1996). The other solution as an alternative type of housing supply pattern was the formation of housing cooperatives.

The share of small-contractors in the housing sector continuously decreased (Sey 1998a: 298). In the same period, the field of real estate, this time became profitable investment for large capital holders. In other words, the stance of large capital holders to urban land has undergone a structural change. The economic liberation policies of the time portrayed industry as the least desirable sector to invest (Özgen-Ertubey 1996: 742). Government of the period created preferable conditions for large capital holders to invest in urban land, which was formerly regarded as fixed cost investment (Bilgin 1998: 267). Essentially, new legal arrangements and initiations made possible large capital to invest in urban land, such as Turizm Teşvik Yasası [1] (Law of Initiation of Tourism) enacted on 12 March 1982, number 2634 by which entrepreneurs would not deal with the restrictions associated with planning process (Işık 1996: 799). Together with housing, they were also interested in large-scale projects, such as international luxury hotels, recreation centers, entertainment parks, plazas, resort complexes, etc. Consequently, the growth of urban areas have been achieved by the addition of large urban uses into the existing urban macro-form so that the physical form of cities has become which have been shaped through the incentives, and operational scale of capital holders.

The 24th January Decisions had not only been influential on economic agenda, but also on cultural climate of the 1980s. Several distinct, yet interrelated processes as Nurdan Gürbilek (1993) observes, have become incorporated in the market, and defined a new "public agenda" that was different from the previous period of state driven policies.

Culture has become a commodity that could be bought and sold. As Ayşe Öncü (1997a: 9) catches the word, "individuals were consumers in the shopping mall of culture". Advertisements have offered innumerable diversity of images, and put them into circulation (Gürbilek 1993: 16; Öncü 1997a: 11). The number and the diversity of magazines increased. Consequently, a new public opinion has come into being. This new agenda, Nurdan Gürbilek discusses, was built up more around private issues rather than around public issues; so that interests of masses have shifted from public to more private

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[1] Law of Initiation of Tourism cannot be modified due to the imperative articles of 1982 Constitution Law.

fields. "Private lives" have become "important" issues that have been widely discussed in front of public through magazines, newspapers, televisions in the name of "freedom and individualization" (Gürbilek 1993: 18), which has led to the rise of a "private life industry" (Gürbilek 1993: 55).

Life-style models have been classified and proposed as childless couples, working single women, marginals, etc. Concomitantly, without any delay, new magazines that specify certain reader segments – women, men, children, teenagers, housewives, businessmen, etc. have begun to be published. However, individuals discovered uniqueness of their life and their individuality. Murat Belge (1996: 827) delineates it as "a state of mind" in which individual puts oneself at the center of life, and feels essential and indispensable; and act accordingly. He calls the corresponding period as "me-age".

Self-awareness became immediately commodified and was promoted through a global advertising language. Advertising, perhaps was the first sector that rapidly articulated the global world, and most of the local advertising firms established partnership with the global advertising agencies such as Saatchi & Saatchi, Young and Rubicam (Öncü 1997b: 71). Not surprisingly, the Turkish advertisement format and buzzwords have grown to be similar to those in the global sphere.

Advertisements have offered uniqueness through consumption of commodities by which distinctness, uniqueness, specialty, being out of ordinary and uncommon have been promoted. Ultimately, the style of consumption changed. The 1980s saw the rise of consumer culture in Türkiye. "To consume, to consume as much as possible" (Can Kozanoğlu 1996: 596) was the primary concern of the people. In so doing, they tried to gain identity and social status on the basis of consumption level and pattern. As Can Kozanoğlu carefully notes, the supermarkets of the 1970s were superseded by gigantic hypermarkets in the 1980s and the 1990s.

Since the consumption is considered as the symbol of social status, the style of consumption and the combination of products consumed have functioned as the reference system of one's status. The consumption of housing as a commodity, hence, has arised as a reference point in differentiating oneself from others.

On the other hand, in the aftermath of the internationalization of Turkish economy, some sectors gained importance such as advertising, real estate, foreign trade, media, marketing, finance, banking, and a new generation of young professionals were employed in these sectors. They were ready to participate in a booming economy and its endless possibilities in the new world order. Unlike the nationally oriented middle class of the former periods, they were rich; highly paid professionals, and had the opportunity to travel and to stay in close contact with other cities of the global world, and developed an international taste (Keyder 2000b: 185; Hayri Kozanoğlu 1996: 740). With the help of free circulation of globalized images and commodities, they have explored new consumption habits in the new globalized circumstances.

This new, rich, affluent middle-class has become the magnet of consumption like the one of the working class of Fordist regime, which have had a direct influence on the quality of daily life. This rapidly enriched group, which emerged following legal or illegal paths, has demanded different standards in residential environment regarding new consumption patterns, especially in the 1990s, which have all together consisted of significant factors for the urban transformation that was not witnessed before in Türkiye.

In this section of the chapter, macro-level transformations of the urban space in Türkiye and Ankara are presented. The next section will focus specifically on Ankara and discuss the consequent urban differentiations and transformations under the impact of macro-level social, cultural, economic, and political changes. The increasing urban fragmentation, and its residential repercussions will be examined. Then deployment pattern of affluent households will be presented, which in turn middle and upper-middle class suburban development will come out so that a broader analysis of the culture and community will be examined.

V.2 Housing Production Process and Deployment Pattern of Affluent Households in Ankara

Housing problem that has been solved in formal and informal ways has been one of the major issues in Ankara since the Independence War. The residential pattern of Ankara was changed radically in the Republican period. Immediately after the declaration of the Republic, the housing shortage appeared in the true sense that was unavoidably accompanied by the crisis of infrastructure, which was aggravated by

massive immigration throughout periods. Unlike other big cities of the country, Ankara has attracted immigration from all over the country since the beginning of the 1920s.

Modern Ankara owes its rapid socio-economic growth to the fact that it is the capital of Türkiye. A great progress was attained in cultural and social activities, whereby the city became a cultural-educational center besides being the capital.

V.2.1 Early Republican Period Until 1946

Unlike the European and North American residential pattern, the classical Ottoman residential pattern was characterized by a differentiation mainly based on ethnic and religious criteria rather than class stratification. In the following years of opening up to world economy, beginning from the middle of the nineteenth century, the construction of wooden mansions (konak) and luxurious apartment dwellings, and row houses within a short distance to the core were the residential representation of affluent households, which was also the indicator of emerging social segmentation in the society. In other words, the residential fragmentation of the new social segmentation was represented spatially in the construction of houses either in two-to three storey wooden mansions or in apartment buildings. Mübeccel Kıray relates (1979/1982: 386) the construction of new apartment dwellings to the emergence of a new middle class involving non-Muslim professionals and merchants.

Eventually, the new European style of living along large boulevards in high-rise buildings was adopted by the Muslim population as they became rich (Kıray 1979/1982: 386). On the other hand, Ankara, like other Anatolian towns, did not experience this type of spatial transformation at the same time with İstanbul (Denel 1984: 135). During this period, it can be asserted that the area located on the slopes of the outer citadel of Ankara, namely Hisarönü, was the most popular and affluent-household residential district and contained fine examples of mansions at the turn of the century (Bağlum 1992: 33, 39). The residents lived in two to three storey mansions made of stone. In 1917, during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara experienced a great fire disaster, which was much greater than previous ones and destroyed the quarters within the Citadel. The whole Hisarönü burned down and was never rebuilt and until today

remained as open-area called Kale Park (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987: 65). Due to this fire, the rich Armenian Quarter, Valteriye-i Greek Quarters as well as Muslim Quarters were all burned down (Altındağ Belediyesi 1987: 9).

Once separated into Jewish, Armenian, Christian, and Muslim quarters, Ankara has become a highly diversified city. After being the capital, immigrants from almost all parts of the country contributed to this diversified human mosaic. The first housing shortage began in Ankara with the incoming of military and high level bureaucrats to the city and aggravated with continuous immigrations. Actually, during this period there was not urban center in the country other than Ankara that displaced an urban growth at this scale and volume therefore a shortage of housing and related urban land (Tekeli 1978: 31).

Wealthy non-native parliamentarians, who could afford it, chose to settle at the far end of the southern part of the city, along the Atatürk Boulevard, which was away from Ulus, the center of the time. They preferred Atatürk Boulevard to Ulus because they wanted to be next to Gazi Mustafa Kemâl Paşa (M. Kemal Atatürk) as İsmet İnönü, Refik Saydam, and Celâl Bayar did (Aktüre 1998/2001: 60). The Presidential residence at Çankaya created a tendency for a development towards the south. In the mean time, the national bourgeoisie began to emerge at the beginning of this era, and gradually became a dominant factor in the city life. Among them Koçs, Toygars, Kınacıs, Attars, Hanifis preferred to live permanently in Keçiören, at the northern part of the city in wine yards (Bağlum 1992: 146).

The transfer of the capital from İstanbul to Ankara consequently attracted military officials and bureaucrats of all levels to the city. Most of them were İstanbul in origin or at least educated in İstanbul. Ankara was a city, which had nothing in the years before the declaration of the Republic. There were neither infrastructure facilities, nor proper built up areas. The lack of proper housing was another handicap of this era Ankara faced (Yıldırım Yavuz 1984: 235). The newcomers especially bureaucrats, who saw themselves as the followers and representatives of the new republic, were to live under unsanitary and difficult conditions (Şenyapılı 1983: 13), and behaved and organized their way of living accordingly (Aktüre 1998/2001: 61). They did not want to integrate with natives and thus, preferred gathering around new settlements rather than living in the old part of the city. Apart from agrarian population in 1927, almost half of

the population of Ankara consisted of military and civil bureaucrats (DIE 1931-1932: 84-85).

The first apartment buildings of this era were erected mainly in Ulus vicinity. They were privately constructed and owned dwellings. Living in an apartment was the symbol of prestige (Nalbantoğlu 1984: 258-259) and modernization. Tansı Şenyapılı (1983: 29) relates this process to the accumulation of commercial capital. However, later serene villas of Yenişehir became popular among members of upper class and affluent households preferred to live in those.

On the other hand, the high price of land in the newly developing areas at the southern part of the railroad led middle and low-income groups to seek shelters either in the old city or in Cebeci (Şenyapılı 1983: 55).

Since the image of Ankara was conceived as the image of the new regime and cities were conceived as the places of modernity, and modern life, construction activities had to start. In 1935, in a speech delivered in Eskişehir, Mustafa Kemâl claimed that he wanted all cities to be the exempla places of health, sanitation, beauty, and modern culture (cited by Tekeli 1998: 49). It is proper to state here that the reconstruction of Ankara and its attaining appearance as a city were realized in the Republican period. In fact, Ankara was the only city of the country, which had a planning development until the Second World War (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı 1973: 47; Bademli 1990: 36).

Development of urban administration and legislative authorities and planning activities went hand in hand. In other words, concomitant to the growth and development, special care was also given to planning of Ankara. Kemâlist regime started planning activities by rearranging the administrative, and municipal structure. Following the declaration of Ankara as the capital city on 13 October 1923, the Law number 417 on the establishment of Ankara Şehremanati (municipality) was enacted on 16 February 1924. In the same year, Carl Ch. Lörcher, one for the old, one for the new city, prepared the two partial plans (Tankut 1990: 37-38). The latter one which covered 150 hectares was realized with 198 detached houses, through the mediation of the Municipality and distributed to those in need (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı 1973: 45).

The Lörcher Plan of Sıhhiye was assumed to manage the unity materially with the old city. However, it came up not as a continuation of the old city, rather as a new,

and completely different new urban area and called Yenişehir (New Town). Hence Yenişehir was the nucleus of the new development located between Ulus, the central business district and Çankaya, the Presidential residence. Building of civil servant houses, which were behind the Ministry of Health of today, was the first building activities that started in 1925 (ACC 1998: 43-45). These newly built two-storey houses were constructed according to the styles developed in İstanbul.

Later, on 24 March 1925, the Law numbered 583 as an additional law was enacted through which the most important steps were taken in terms of urban development activities of Ankara. On 28 March 1928, the Law numbered 1351 was issued for the establishment of Ankara Urban Planning Directorate (Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü) and was endowed with considerable power under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Tankut 1990: 47-48; Tekeli 1978: 42). The Council of Urban Planning (İmar İdare Heyeti) which was composed of the members of Urban Planning Directorate and the Council of Ministers was the basic decision body on the issues related to development problems (Şenyapılı 1983: 40). The Municipality Law numbered 1580 was enacted on 3 April 1930, which has taken into account all the municipalities in the country.

Physical urban development of Ankara has been directed by means of three plans over 70 years. The first official plan of Ankara was obtained through a restricted international competition held on May 1929 (Tankut 1990: 53). The proposal of Hermann Jansen, a German architect, was selected (Tankut 1984: 313). The Master Plan approved by the Council of the Ministers on 27 July 1932, the decree number 13209 (Tekeli 1978: 43). The Jansen Plan was considered as the first comprehensive plan of Ankara by which high-income residential districts was proposed around Kavaklıdere, which was realized as proposed. This plan had a pronounced impact on the growth pattern of the city and directed it to a great extent until the 1950s.

In the aftermath of the approval of the plan, as a consequence of rampant land speculation within the boundaries of development plan, increasing land prices made it difficult for the upper-middle class to own a house in the city (Şenyapılı 1983: 23). The tendency arose to go to the cheaper areas, which would only be available outside the planned area. Consequently, Türkiye's first mass housing movement, which was also the first cooperative movement, as a large-scale housing project, Bahçeli Evler came into

being (Houses with Gardens). This was the first developed area outside the official plan, which was realized by a Construction Cooperative in 1934. The cooperative was founded and formed by high-level bureaucrats (Şenyapılı 1983: 61-64; Tekeli and İlkin 1984).

Hermann Jansen was not able to comprehend the possible dimensions of Ankara's growth and development. Therefore, the Jansen Plan did not have much chance to respond to the extraordinary growth of Ankara. As a consequence of the increase in this type of developments and quests, the Jansen Plan was revised in 1937 and besides the development in a south-north axis, an east-west axis was added into the plan. In fact the Jansen Plan fell behind to supply the residential demand of immigrants. In addition, a system that would produce inexpensive houses in a sufficient number to shelter the rapidly increasing population of the city could not be achieved.

In the last days of the Second World War, Saraçoğlu Evleri was developed by the state intervention as a residential quarter, which was composed of employee housing that would be rented to high-level bureaucrats.

All these efforts contributed to the establishment of an administration for the development of a capital of Türkiye. In fact, the urban development pattern of Ankara is quite distinct and unique due to the conditions pertaining in that era. Another pertaining characteristic of the period is that all attempts for the urban development and planning were initiated under the leadership of the Council of Urban Planning.

At the end of early Republican period, the picture of the urban form was dual in character in both central business and residential districts. Ulus was the traditional center and Kızılay appeared as the second business center due to the ease of relationships which was generally utilized by high-income coterie of the society that grouped in the south of the city. In time the coexistence of new residential areas of high-income groups in and around Yenişehir on one side, the traditional houses of old residential areas on the other resulted in a highly fragmented and socially segregated urban form of the new capital of Türkiye. In fact the dual social life was surfaced and became apparent at the end of the 1920s. During this time, urban segregation was based on socio-cultural values unlike the ethnic and religious segregation form of the Ottoman period. The above mentioned dual

urban and residential transformations brought fort significant effects on the overall urban structure in the following decades.

V.2.2 Post-War Years Between 1946-1980

In 1955 due to the inefficiency of the Jansen Plan, an international competition was held for a new city plan for Ankara. The proposal of Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybaydın won the competition. This plan was approved in 1957. The Yücel-Uybaydın Plan in contrast to the Jansen Plan designed a city of homogeneous texture and proposed a high-density development in order to solve the urban problems created by rapid population growth. The solution was to increase city in vertical dimension, which was achieved by replacing low storey buildings with apartment buildings. The building densities within the same layout of the plan was increased to two to three fold by the Ministry of Resettlement and Reconstruction by means of Law titled "Sectorial Building Height Regulation" in 1968 (Şenyapılı 1983). The Yücel-Uybaydın plan offered large advantages for builders-and-sellers. This action can easily be observed specially at Kızılay Boulevard surroundings, which is ten-storey building channel. It is right to note that this plan paved the way for speculative gains.

Ultimately, urban growth pattern of Ankara was dwelled on "demolish-and-rebuild" mode of supply in the city centre at the expense of the destruction of historical, cultural values; elimination of green/open spaces; augmentation of inadequate condition in both social and physical infrastructure. The result was the continuous decline of the quality of life in the city centres. Specifically air pollution was ranked first among the other dissatisfactions.

During this period, apartment life strengthened its place in Ankara, replacing the traditional fabric, which consisted of one-to three-storey houses. Apartment living praised as a prestigious type of accommodation, was preferred by well-do-to coterie of the population and aspired by the lower strata of that time. The introduction of apartment buildings where a dozen or so families had joint ownership of the property, presented city dwellers new challenges. On the other hand, the legislation of individual flat ownership in the apartment dwellings was enacted on 23 June 1965, Flat Ownership

Law [1], made it possible to construct multi-storey buildings profitable for small-scale contractors. These construction activities could be carried out without using a significant amount of capital.

According to Güven Dinçer (1997: 36), demolishing date of the "small houses" in Bahçelievler and rebuilding apartment dwellings form coincided with the date of 1960, first military intervention in the history of the Republic. Once high-level bureaucrats residential district turned into middle class residential area.

The development and construction growth of the city was directed in accordance with the Yücel-Uybaydın plan until the middle of the 1970s and the city growth was aimed at southern direction. Physically vertical growth took place thereby high density. The growth throughout the north-south axis was realized until the 1970s (Altaban 1998: 55). As an outcome of this plan, Ankara had a compact form physically and integrated city until the 1970s with a high-density apartment houses in the planned quarters of the inner city surrounded by medium density gecekondu areas on the periphery.

This compact form of the city was favorable for the Municipality both in terms of efficiency of the public work to be performed and for the reallocation of the resources to be reserved in fewer amounts for the investments in infrastructure. The most important advantage was a drop in the average of commuting distance. The compact form was achieved at the expense of destroying the urban social and spatial quality.

The Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement was established on 5 September 1958 due to the rapid urban growth that Türkiye witnessed. Later the Council of Ministers established the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office (Ankara Metropoliten Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu) by the decree dated 29 January 1969 (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı 1973: 49) in order to overcome the urban problems of newly developing districts of a rapidly growing capital. Ankara was under way of turning into metropolitan center after the mid-1960s. By this time, almost 60 % of the city had developed out of the boundaries of the planned area.

As a consequence of restructuring process of administration in the beginning of the 1970s, the threesome headquarters became officially acting bodies for Ankara's

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[1] This law enables the possibility of division of property, rights of land and ownership on the flat basis rather than on building lot basis.

urban development: Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office, Ankara Urban Planning Directorate, and the Municipality of Ankara. By the establishment of the Office, the city reached metropolitan legacy. The Office prepared a plan that envisaged a population of 3,6 million which would be reached in 1990. The most significant feature of this plan, approved on 28 April 1982, was the assignment of major urban development projects to western channel that has continued in a north-south direction up to that time. Macro form of the city assumed a channel like-shape with extensions along major highways and roads leading into the city. This 1/50.000 scaled master plan revised partly, and approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement on 18 July 2001.

Indeed the years of 1970s was the turning point in the spatial deployment pattern of Ankara. Buildings supply mode of demolish-and-rebuild or build-and-sell allowed capital to accumulate in the city by which large developments such as mass housing could be supported. The number of organized industrial parks, small industrial estates, and institutional developments increased. However, the most significant development was observed in the residential area. This was the growth of a city from accumulation of houses to large-scale developments attached to the city (Tekeli 1987/1991: 170-172).

With the development of car industry after the 1970s, the production of automobiles brought about a rapid increase in private car ownership thereby the appearance of the tendency for urbanization. The Or-An (Orta Anadolu İnşaat A.Ş. – Middle Anatolian Construction Co., Inc.) District, the earliest example of affluent suburban expansion, which was developed by the large-scale housing construction corporation between 1971-1978, happened to be attached to the city after the 1990s.

Until that time, private car ownership was not so widespread which might be the main reason why residential areas of the high and medium income groups would be located between the city center and the squatter belts. In fact, the imperatives of theYücel-Uybaydın Plan were legally another barrier to go outside the planned area for those who could afford them. Furthermore, the urban mass transportation facilities did not allow the detachment of settlements from the built up area.

While certain steps were taken to promote the development towards west, the center of the city continued its development to the south, and Tunalı Hilmi integrated

with Kızılay. High-income residential areas have clustered in the south of the city particularly at Çankaya and Gazi Osman Paşa districts, which are located on highlands. The direction and the pattern of the growth is consistent with the second and forth considerations put forward by Homer Hoyt (1939/1969: 504) that states, "The zone of high land areas tend to progress towards high ground which is free from the risk of floats" and "The higher-priced residential neighborhood tends to grow toward the homes of the leaders of the community" respectively. Likewise, Cinnah Caddesi, the extension of Atatürk Boulevard toward southern part of the city was constructed after the 1950s (Bağlum 1992: 159). In other words, at the end of this period prevailing modes of housing supply combined with the delimitations within the planned area stimulated affluent households to locate close to the central business districts. They were still in and around the core.

The immigrants and low-income groups adopted a strategy of direct appropriation of state land, not yet opened to urban development. The large quantity of state land on the periphery, combined with the relative absence of private property was the attraction factors for these groups to the outskirts where they could easily find land for constructing their own houses. Yet, the other approach was the development on shared deeds on the periphery "while physical distribution, planning procedures and construction were fully illegal" (Habitat II 1996: 64).

During this period, the dualistic socio-spatial structure of Ankara is clearly observable not only on socially segmented ground but also on land ownership pattern that surfaced as the division of city on illegal and legal base: Legal development on the planned and title deed areas in the inner city and illegal development on state land, or on shared title deeds on the periphery. Indeed, this duality of the social reality was also reflected in legislation by accepting separate development legislation outside the jurisdiction area of the development laws (Tekeli 1978: 212-213).

All these facts have led urban settlements to have a new form that has also been under the great impact of globalization. Urban settlements in Türkiye, as a consequence, have begun to experience an urban land transformation, which have been spatially fragmented, socially segmented in character.

V.2.3 After the 1980s

The new land use pattern was shaped under the impact of globalization and related changes accompanied by the transformations in the organization of business and industrial activities, and by transportation facilities. All these factors have led to an increase in urban scale, and to important transformation in residential areas in Türkiye and simultaneously in Ankara. As it is easily be noticed, the repercussions of globalization on socio-economic, cultural, and political processes can be traced on spatial structuring.

A new form of administration for the terms and conditions of a city at metropolitan scale were accepted in 1983 by the decree number 195 which was enacted as a law later on 27 July 1984. According to the Administration of Greater Municipalities Law, number 3030, the Municipality of Greater Ankara was established comprising Çankaya, Altındağ, Mamak, Yenimahalle, and Keçiören. Etimesgut, Sincan, and Gölbaşı joined greater municipality later.

Subsequent to the establishment of the Municipality of Greater Ankara, Ankara Urban Planning Directorate and Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office were incorporated into one organization under the municipal administration, Department of Development Planning.

The Yücel-Uybaydın Development Plan was in effect until the beginning of the 1980s and even though modified several times, it was still the key source for applications of planned area within the boundaries of the municipality. However, the plans were fallen behind to compensate the rising demands due to the unprecedented population growth, which was mainly based on immigration. Plans had to be revised again. A comprehensive study was carried out by a group of scholars from Middle East Technical University, the Department of City and Regional Planning in 1986 for the urban transportation planning in Ankara. Following deep analysis of social and spatial processes that shaped the macro form of Metropolitan Ankara, a metropolitan plan for the year 2015 was proposed (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi 1987). Although it was a structural schema for the growth pattern of the city, and was not approved officially, it

became the main document for the activities regarding development pattern of Ankara in later years (Ankara Bülteni 1990/7: 2).

The project and the implementation of Çayyolu/Beytepe developments with Gölbaşı as residential districts, and Macun/İvedik organized industrial park developments which were realized in contrast to the imperatives of this schema eventually disturbed the home-work relationships of the 2015 Master Plan Schema.

Moreover, between 1980 and 1990 some instant decisions could be emerged from accomplished facts encountered in practice that do not fit the institutionalized pattern of professional practice. The most striking one related to Ankara is the changing route of Kınalı-Sakarya highway project. Urban Planning Department of the Municipality thought that it was a must to shape the macro form of the city through a series of projects. They proposed that the Kınalı-Sakarya highway go all the way around Ankara as to perform the role of mediator in shaping the macro form instead of simply passing by the city, which would thereby solve the transportation problem. This oral project was put forward to the Prime Minister of the time. He found the idea quite promising and similar to American examples. Immediately, he ordered the General Directorate of State Highways to change the route accordingly (Ağaçlı 1999: 15).

On the other hand the impact of the dynamics of globalization, can also be traced in Ankara by a specific restructuring of space. The rise of post-modern culture and society, and the imperatives of world-economy are marked by the construction of office towers both for private and public purposes, of shopping malls, of five-star hotels, luxurious restaurants, of show rooms in the urban space. All these attempts were to set the possibilities for Ankara to articulate with the world-economy through being capital of a nation. However, the government should abandon its populist policies towards Ankara in order to find a place in the global arena.

As for the inner part of the city, in the following years of the 1980s, Gazi Osman Paşa and Çankaya, along with Tunalı Hilmi, Kızılay, and Ulus performed significant steps towards becoming a new central business district, and has served primarily for luxury consumption, commercial and leisure functions. In fact, within this polycentric structure, each center has tended to specialize in certain functions, and begun to serve different segments of the society residing in different quarters of the city away from each

other. People from different income groups are using different parts/layers of the city. However, despite the expansion and fragmentation of business districts, Ankara had to wait to see suburban shopping malls, such as Bilkent, Galeria on the Eskişehir Highway, Carfour, Migros on the İstanbul Highway until the mid-1990s.

The post-1980 period experienced an increasing segmentation of urban sphere of Ankara, which has eventually resulted in the spatial fragmentation with some districts becoming specialized as the locus of following: organized industrial district Osmaniye Industrial District, near Sincan, organized small industry district Ostim and İvedik on İstanbul Highway, financial institutions and high-rise private and official offices in Söğütözü, along the Eskişehir, and İstanbul-Samsun Highway axis, in the inner city along the Atatürk Boulevard, shopping activities shopping malls like Galeria, Real, Carfour, Metro and shopping centers like Migros, Armada on the Eskişehir, and İstanbul-Samsun Highway axis, and leisure places with luxurious restaurants, cafes and bars like on Arjantin Street.

The social cost of this process of globalization in Ankara has been the segmentation of social groups, and needs detailed studies. Along other issues, the reality of poverty, and of immigrants and their problems are to be the main concern of social developmentalists.

Social relationships, the level and pattern of consumption, and the type of socialization have produced a characteristic spatial structure on urban level. Advertisements for the middle and upper class residential developments give priority to the promotion of new way of life, new life-style, and a sense of being urbanite. On the residential side, beginning from the 1980s, there also appeared a movement towards mass housing on the periphery of the cities, which was encouraged by the Mass Housing Law enacted on 2 March 1984 number 2985. Subsequently, the Mass Housing Fund was put into operation to subsidize mass housing, and the Mass Housing Administration was institutionalized [1].

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[1] Housing sector was unable to cope with the new economic conditions brought up by the 24th January Decisions without any support. In the early years of the 1980s, housing provision had decreased almost by half (Bilgin 1998: 266). The government, clearly, could not afford to a crisis in the housing sector firstly because (Türel 1989), any crisis in the housing sector would have negative effect on the economy, and on other sectors as well; secondly, such a crisis would alter the long-standing demand balance with regard to housing stock, and would consequently lead to a housing shortage.

In the pre-1980 period, the construction activities used to be undertaken primarily by the small-scale contractors (müteahhit), while one of the most important feature of the post-1980 was the rise of the large-scale housing construction companies (Ankara 2015 1985: 11), joint ventures and cooperatives, which have grown to be the key actor in the housing supplying pattern of affluent suburbanization. As a consequence, a variety of housing alternatives were present for middle and upper-middle class preferences. Alongside with this, private sector revealed an interest for residential development along Eskişehir Highway.

On the periphery of the city, the Çayyolu Mass Housing Development Project has, in a short time, became a convenient alternative "for the globalizing aspiration" (Keyder 2000b: 185) of Ankara's middle and upper-middle class , in other words, top executives, highly paid professionals who want to distinguish themselves from others. Indeed, the Çayyolu Mass Housing Project was considered as a solution for the housing problem of middle and upper-middle income classes by the Municipality of Greater Ankara and the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office.

Within this context, the construction of large-scale housing projects, particularly Koru Sitesi undertaken by Me-Sa can be considered as the sign of Çayyolu suburban development, which has gained a great acceleration after the 1990s.

On the urban landscape of Ankara, the "sites are novel phenomenon both architecturally and as a way of life" (Öncü 1997b: 63). They are high-rise suburban developments called "site" in Turkish and they target the middle and upper-middle classes. Ayşe Öncü (Öncü 1997b) refers to "site life" as a clean social environment provided by the homogeneity of its residents on the basis of social and occupational backgrounds. According to her, a move to a "site" means an upward mobility for their resident that is similar to the case of middle class American suburbs of the post-war eras. However, to move to a site in Ankara is also highly related to status, and life-style whereas it is class mobility in the United States.

The other important phenomenon was the state initiated mass housing construction in the years following 1980s. Government revised its public employees housing policy and under took construction of housing units at large scale that can easily be regarded as gated communities. Among the most important of this type are the

Military Housing Estates, Residence for Parliamentarians on the Çankaya-Or-An road, and the Lodgments of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works on the Eskişehir Highway (Ankara 2015 1985:11-12).

One of the other most noticeable developments of this period was the legalization of shantytowns through amnesties for squatter areas. The first amnesty law of post-1980, which also embraced all unlicensed buildings, was enacted on 16 March 1983 as Law Number 2805. Later, scope of the amnesty was broadened by a new law titled "Procedures to be Applied to Buildings not Conforming to Development and Gecekondu Legislation" number 2981, which was enacted on 24 February 1984.

The wider implementation of amnesty laws resulted in the transformation of once gecekondu areas on the peripheries of Ankara into legal residential districts of the city where the low-rise, low quality houses were replaced by low quality, high-rise apartment type of houses. Eventually, this also as Çağlar Keyder (2000b) notes leads to a new line of division in the urban space. In addition to the division between legal and illegal status of land ownership, the current line of division is now between those who remain in gecekondu and those who are able to move to high-rise apartments.

Affluent households on the other hand, wishing to be in the city have preferred to live in the high prestige areas developed after the 1980s and have clustered on and around the road between Çankaya and Or-An, and Gazi Osman Paşa, usually in the form of individual apartment buildings and condominiums. This was the other channel initiated by the municipality.

In other words, among apartment residents, however, symbolic, cultural, and social hierarchy (Öncü1997b: 65) are defined with respect to proximity to Çankaya where the President resides. Hence, the residence in the prestigious, luxury apartments at the top of Çankaya Hill, was the main aspiration, and symbol of upward social mobility for the managerial-technical-professional-administrative elite of the city.

Construction activities through housing cooperatives and mass housing projects that offered housing alternatives for middle and upper-middle classes in the last two decades has taken place largely at the outskirts of Ankara. Eventually, the peripheral areas of the city have also become fragmented; moreover the heterogeneity of the

periphery has increased. All these transformations have led the previous dual structure of the urban space into multifaceted form.

The fragmentation of urban space has similarities with Latin American cities. Theresa Caldeira (1996a: 55-66) draws attention to the "walled cities" which are protected by private security systems and walls are being built up higher and higher as the gap between poor and rich increases. Nevertheless, despite the similarities in terms of guarded residential enclaves of the upper-middle classes, the crime rates, which are pointed out as the main reason for the walls, are much lower in Türkiye, and in Ankara compared to the level of Sao Paolo. Certainly, the emphasis on security, which implicitly points out control environment, in the discourse of development of such settlements in Ankara is a significant issue, which is involved.

As discussed above, the Turkish suburban expansion pattern is different from the experiences of North American and the Western European way of suburbanization pattern. The growth of Turkish cities has mainly been based on immigration that have settled in the outskirts of the city, and developed shantytowns there. In the following years of the 1980s, despite the existence and prevalence of squatter settlements on the periphery, there have appeared the construction activities for upper-middle and middle classes this time.

Suburban settlements in Ankara consist mostly of high-rise, high-density apartments blocks with duplex, and two-storey garden houses within the same layout, unlike the North American low-rise, low-density pattern of suburbanization. Although, there is not scarcity of open land, the reason for the high-rise block type of development is an important point to be investigated. This contradiction; moving from apartment life in the inner city to apartment life again in the suburban way of life will also be examined in the next chapter. However, the new suburban apartment type of dwellings enjoy the advantages of large recreational areas around, adequate parking lots, spacious layout, green areas, fresh air, and are distinguished from their inner city counterparts, which are used to have been designed side by side along roads, streets in the same order, and monotony.

In this section of the chapter, the urban transformation that Ankara experienced was examined. The next section will focus on the development of middle and upper-middle class suburban expansion on and around Eskişehir Highway.

V.3 Suburban Expansion and Çayyolu Development

Suburbanization is relatively recent phenomenon for the urban life of Türkiye and has displayed different tendencies than that of Northwest Europe and North American suburban development pattern. Suburbanization, by definition, is context as well as path dependent and has close relationships with the growth of cities. The rise of suburb brings about significant changes both in social context and the spatial order of the city (Mumford 1961: 549).

As discussed before in this chapter, Turkish urbanization history begins with the urbanization history of Ankara, hence, suburban expansion of Ankara has significance in the history of Turkish urbanization history.

V.3.1 Suburban Expansion in Ankara

In the early Republican period, there was not suburban settlement in Ankara. The individual and scattered wine yard houses on the outskirts of the city of the time cannot be considered as suburban settlement pattern. Like all Anatolian towns, it was accustomed for all classes, including ethnic groups whether rich or not to move to wine yards for certain periods of the year for yearly provision (Bağlum 1992). The seasonal movements between inner city and wine yards were not class based. Therefore, this seasonal movement of Ankara populace cannot be viewed as a suburban movement which is by definition must be selective in the sense that the population migrated to suburbs was not only from higher status of Ankara but from all segments of the society.

The Bahçeli Evler Housing Cooperative in 1934 was the first suburban expansion in its full sense. It was located in 5 km. distance from Ulus and composed of low density, detached, semi-detached houses and once called "small houses". Its layout

which was designed by Herman Jansen was spacious and emphasizing on public and open spaces (Tekeli and İlkin 1984). Bahçeli Evler project was carried out through a housing cooperative of high-level bureaucrats. By time, it was detached to the city and became one of the districts of Ankara (Figure V.1).

Bahçeli Evler must be referred as the archetype of suburban expansion not only in Ankara but also in Türkiye with respect to its planning criteria as well as to the high status of its dwellers. However, one had to wait until 1970 to see the second suburban development in Ankara, which was primarily supported by the new car industry that led to increasing use of private cars.

Although car ownership came fifty years later than the United States, it activated the expansion of the city, but also has cause the rise of new problems such as traffic
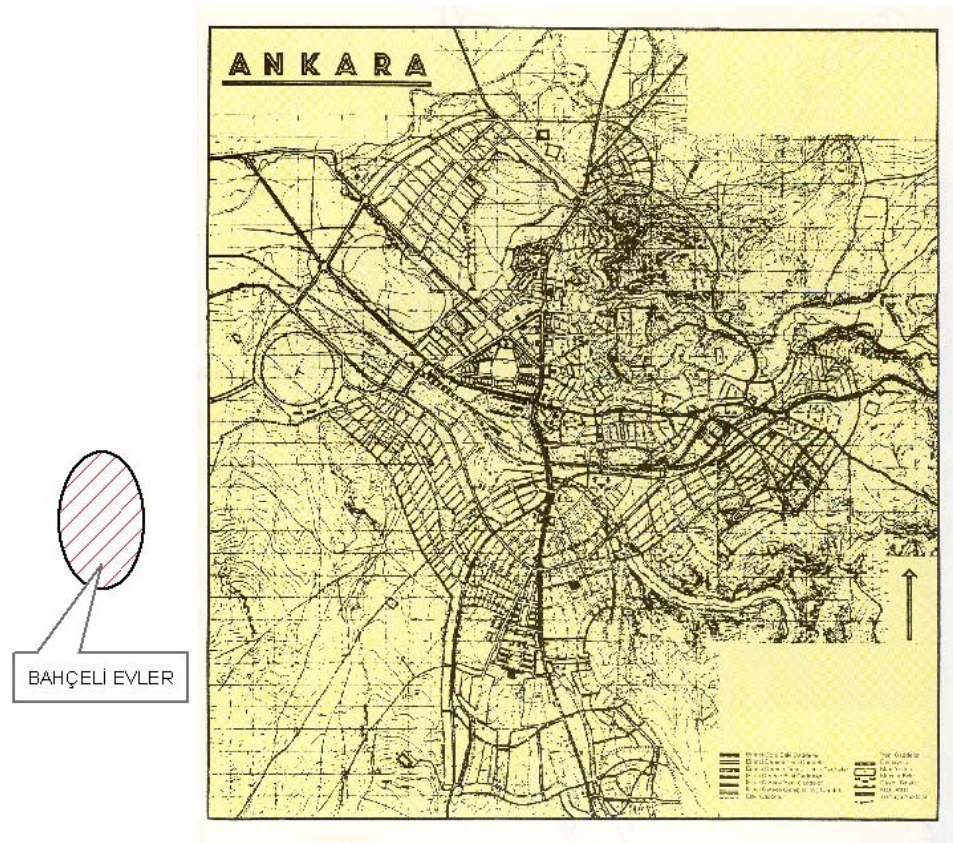
Figure V.1 Location of Bahçeli Evler in the Jansen Plan
(Source: Ankara 1 (1): 45)

congestion, inadequacy of parking areas, pollution, etc. (Osmay 1998: 149). The rise in private car ownership, combined with the availability of cheap and waste land on the edges of cities made it possible for high and average income groups to move away from the center and even beyond gecekondu belts and started building suburbs.

Or-An settlement project was realized fully in 1978 as a large-scale housing venture through a housing construction company that form another important housing supply mode in the 1975-1985 period (Ankara 2015 1985: 11). The selected site was in 10 km. distance at southern extension of Ankara, which was the prestige quarter of the city, and planned intentionally as a suburb. The design criteria were under the deep influence of garden city approach of Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the century (Anonymous Or-An). As it is with the case of Bahçeli Evler, Or-An was also absorbed by the growth of the city (Figure V.2).
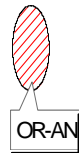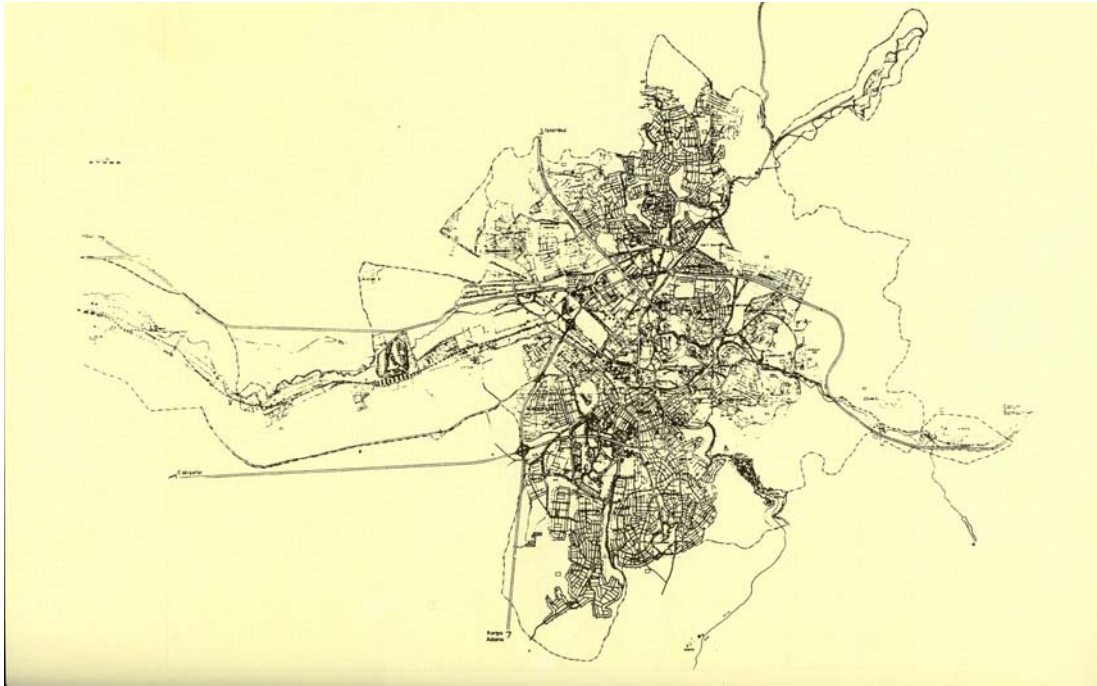
Figure V.2 Location of Or-An in the Yücel-Uybaydın Plan
(Source: Ankara 1 (1): 46)

Weakening of urban standards and high land prices in the early 1980s paved the way for a development outside the planned area. Housing cooperatives, and organizations unable to find building lots large enough at adequate prices within the planned areas created a demand for available land outside the city, along and around the Eskişehir highway, specifically between 10th and 20th kilometers.

Simultaneously, the movement of large educational and public institutions towards the outskirts of the city have been realized which in return have had considerable influence on the decentralization of housing activities (Tekeli 1987/1991). Eventually, development of site–like residential clusters has become a mass trend in Ankara suburban development[1].

However, efforts initiated by the municipality were not successful enough in realizing the expansion towards "south-western channel" that was assigned for residential developments by the 1/50.000 scaled 1990 Master Plan. In order to encourage urban development in this direction, the Municipality took the pioneer role (Figure V.3).
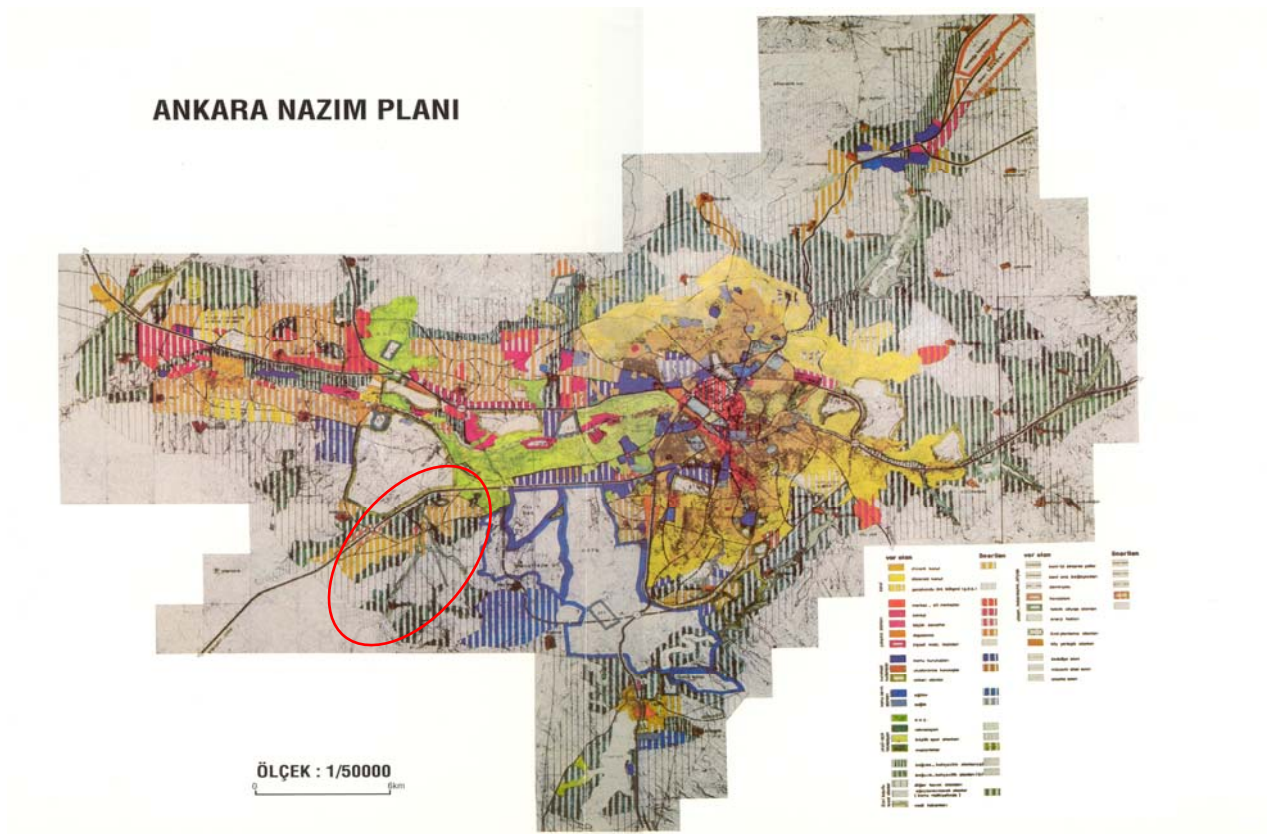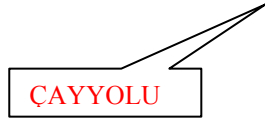
ÇAYYOLU

Figure V.3 Location of Çayyolu Suburban Area in the 1990 Master Plan
(Source: Ankara 1 (1): 47-48)

In the development of Çayyolu, the public sector played the role of opening and encouraging the development with the private sector following up the opportunities created. In the development process of Çayyolu suburbia, apart from the incentives of the law, private companies have benefited to a great degree from policies provided by the Municipality of Greater Ankara.

In addition, cooperation and cooperative type of development has become widespread. The Çayyolu Mass Housing Development contributed to the further expansion of Çayyolu suburbia. Indeed, this movement combined with the private car ownership triggered the development of Çayyolu in return. The other factor in the faster development of housing activities was the better road condition and better communal possibilities of Eskişehir Highway. Additionally, to own a house has always been viewed as a good possibility of investment, which has provided the expansion of suburb forward. Many households have been seized with a desire to own a house in Çayyolu.

In the upper class suburbanization process of Ankara, the development of İncek has a significant place. In fact, İncek development is an exurban movement, which should be read as the benefits of living in rural environment within easily commuting distance of the city. This very low-density mode of urban life in rural areas has been initiated as the consequences of improvements in the transportation and communication revolution. It offers its inhabitants cleaner, safer environment in a luxurious individual lots, ranging from 0.2 to 1.0 hectares of land, and in a widely settled pattern. These prevailing characteristics of İncek put the settlement outside the concerns of the study.

V.3.2 Historicity of Çayyolu Urban Growth as Suburbia

Çayyolu suburbia, for the time being, is under the supervision, and control of local governments; the Municipality of Greater Ankara, the Municipality of Çankaya District Council, and the Municipality of Yenimahalle District Council. In the period preceding 1998, central government, the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement was the forth control authority over the district.

Although the celebrated "1/50.000 scaled 1990 Master Plan of Ankara" that was approved on 28 April 1982 is also the first plan of Çayyolu settlement, the main vehicle for determining the uses of spaces was on a project-to-project basis rather than a comprehensive planning. Master and development plans of Çayyolu, thereby its physical development have been realized through fragmented, partial, and local plans, thus, in this connection building activities has been mostly organized by small groups who wanted to own a house of his own by making use of the advantages of housing cooperative and organizations.

The main master and development plans that have been crucial in the expansion of Çayyolu are discussed below. The data related to the rest of the local development plans insofar as gathered are listed with respect to the date of approval in Appendix C.

In Çayyolu, the first housing settlement was Ümit Housing Cooperative (Ümit Yapı Kooperatifi) that was initiated and developed by Ümit Bey who was one of the directors of General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works. Ümit Köy took after his name. Later, Beysukent was developed by a housing cooperative consisted of members of General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works and the Ministry of Energy employers. The development Plan of DSİ and TPAO Mass Housing Project (General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works and the Turkish Petroleum Corporation) was approved by the Ministry of Resettlement and Reconstruction on 13 February 1973 covering 81 hectares. In addition to Beysukent, this plan comprises the well-known upper-class residential districts of Binses, Mutluköy, Hekimköy.

In the following years, Beysukent has undergone a total change both in spatial and socio-economic terms, and gradually has become the residential district of high-income groups. In this process, most of the original houses were demolished, and

replaced by the new, spacious, luxurious, individual villas representing the taste of its owner. As a result of this change, the development plan was to be modified several times, having been the last one approved on 4 February 2000 by which total ground floor ratio was increased from 0.75 to 1.00, thereby the density.

Although Me-Sa Koru Sitesi was not the first "site" like development along and around Eskişehir Highway, it acted as a nucleus for the development of Çayyolu suburban expansion. It is now surrounded by cooperative houses in the form of pure residential areas. Me-Sa[1], at the end of 1970s, projected Koru Sitesi as a new upper-middle class residential district and designed attached row houses, and high-rise apartment type of residential units in the same layout by utilizing its previous experience. Its plan was approved on 3 October 1978, decision number 795 which was followed by Me-Sa Koru II whose plan approved on 3 October 1980, decision number 584 by the Council of Urban Planning. Its success gained reputation so that the construction locations of Me-Sa immediately became a prestigious area and was inhabited by middle and upper-middle class people. In this regard, Me-Sa Koru Sitesi turned out to be the focus and attraction center of Çayyolu suburban expansion (Figure V.4).

Construction of high-rise apartment blocks within the same spacious layout combined with the low-rise garden houses has also become a common trend in Çayyolu residential neighborhoods, which has followed the practice of Me-Sa Koru Site. This high-rise apartment construction in suburbs is actually an important point that differentiates Turkish experience from the Anglo-Saxon practice.

The mass housing movement has the major role in the expansion of Çayyolu suburbia in the western direction. In fact, when the Çayyolu mass housing activities started, besides Koru Sitesi, there were already a few housing cooperative sites such as Danıştay, Yenikent, and Me-Sa II koru Sitesi. Their local development plans was approved by the Ministry of Settlement and Reconstruction on 12 February 1980, decision number 060133948-1676. The Danıştay Housing Cooperative site was planned on the residential insulai basis rather than building lots so that it forces

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[1] Me-Sa A.Ş. Mesken Sanayii (Me-Sa Housing Industries Incorporated) was founded by a group of professionals under the leadership of Aykut Mutlu in 1969. Incorporation has specialized in planning and construction of mass housing as turn-key project.

comprehensive building work. Emlak ve Kredi Bankası (Real Estate and Credit Bank) [1] undertook the construction of high-rise blocks in exchange for land and constructing dwelling units for the members of Danıştay Cooperative, known as Konut Kent I. Me-Sa Koru II, later, like the Danıştay Housing Cooperative was constructed by Emlak ve Kredi Bankası as a joint venture, and named Konut Kent II. The construction location of Konut Kent I and the Danıştay Cooperative, and Konut Kent II, like the Me-Sa Koru Sitesi became prestigious locations, and were preferred by upper-middle class and middle classes.

On the other side, the planning of Yenikent Bahçeli Evler Housing Cooperative site was based on 5006 building lots. Since the construction of houses have not been obliged, and has been left to the initiation of the owner of building lots construction has not been completed after distribution of the title deeds.

In order to encourage urban development towards southwestern channel, and to provide cheap land for middle and high-income public employee cooperatives, approximately 1399 hectares of land within the boundaries of 1/50.000 scaled 1990 Master Plan was announced as "The Thirteenth Mass Housing Area" (Eskişehir Yolu Üzeri Çayyolu Köyü Civarı Toplu Konut Alanı) or as it is known by and large, "the Çayyolu Mass Housing Area" by the Province of Ankara on 12 February 1985, decision number A-0602/684 (Figure V.5).

The boundaries of the Greater Municipality Mass Housing Area was determined on the 1/5000 scaled existing base maps, and announced by the Council of Urban Planning on 30 April 1985, decision number 278/85. It covers 451.98 hectares of land of which 140 hectares was state land. One week later of its announcement, the master plan was approved by the Council of Urban Planning on 8 May 1985, decision number 383. Municipality of Greater Ankara initiated an action for the expropriation activities of

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[1] Emlak ve Kredi Bankası was founded in 1946, and was one the major institution in financial support of individual houses and housing projects as well as in the residential development of urban Türkiye. In time, Emlak Bank found a significant place for itself in the housing sector as a financial institution for construction activities. It contributed to the financing housing projects in Ankara (e.g. Bahçeli Evler, Emek, Telsizler) since the 1950s (Güvenç 1999) until its abolition in 2000. Housing projects that were subsidized by the Bank after the 1970s were suburban character (Bilkent, Ümitkent Houses).

341.5422 hectares of land in the south-eastern of Eskişehir Highway immediately after the approval of the plan, which was mostly completed between 1988 and 1989.

The goal stated in the master plan development report was to create an adequate living environment planned in accordance with today's concept of urbanism, to provide a healthy urban form, and to meet the needs of the term and conditions of dignified life for human beings of all ages, and to decrease the pressure on the city center.

1/1000 scaled development plans of the Çayyolu Mass Housing Area was approved by the Municipality Commission of Greater Ankara (Belediye Encümeni) on 14 August 1986, commission decision number 2094, and first revision was made on 2 March 1988, decision number 78. The second modification dates back to 10 July 1989, decision number 163 by which the density was increased. The site was planned for 9946 dwellings approximately with a population of 47500. Table V.2 presents the total Çayyolu Mass Housing Area, its land use allocation, and percentage distribution.

Table V.2 The Çayyolu Mass Housing Area Land Use and
Its Percentage Distribution

land uses	hectares	percentage
residential	139.5479	30.87
commercial	9.6017	2.12
social area	9.3229	2.06
education and sport	16.8527	3.73
health	1.5626	0.35
administrative	1.2722	0.28
green park	51.8376	11.47
green area	123.8376	27.40
technical infrastructure	1.1448	0.25
roads and parking	97.0000	21.46

total	451.9800	100.00

Source: The Çayyolu Mass Housing Development Plan Report.

The Municipality of Greater Ankara exerted the control of the Çayyolu Mass Housing Area to Mesken Sanayii,[1] which was established in 1987. Mesken Sanayi undertook the appropriation of land to 101 cooperatives that were formed mostly by corporate professional groups such as doctors, judges, military officials, teachers etc. The sites developed through cooperation were predominately middle and upper-middle neighborhoods. The number of residential lots, number of dwelling units, and area are as follows (Table V.3).

Table V.3 The Çayyolu Mass Housing Area Residential Land Use and
Its Percentage Distribution

type of dwellings	number of units	number of residential lots	total area (m^2.)
duplexes	2534	31	667,518
3 storey buildings	378	5	61,183
5 storey buildings	4970	41	533,013
12 storey buildings	1680	9	113,962
16 storey buildings	384	2	19,803
	9946	88	1,395,479

Source: The Çayyolu Mass Housing Development Plan Report.

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[1] Mesken Sanayi A.Ş. (Housing Industry Inc.) was established by the Municipality of Greater Ankara, the Municipality of Çankaya Council and the Municipality of Yenimahalle Council.

The Greater Municipality of Ankara completed the main infrastructure constructions outside of each cooperative site including roads, water supply, and sewer system whereas the inner infrastructure was under the responsibility of each cooperative. Forty five percent of the construction of infrastructure [1]activities was supplied by European Settlement Fond. These mass residential development areas developed by cooperative organizations were "packaged" type in general.

The first plan of Kutugün Köyü (Çayyolu) dates back to 6 August 1976, which was approved by the Ministry of Resettlement and Reconstruction, scaled 1/25000 master plan. The boundaries of the village settlement of Kutugün was determined and approved by the Municipality of Greater Ankara on 2 April 1991, decision number 188, and its master plan was approved on 30 December 1993, decision number 497, and was modified on 13 May 1997, decision number 221.

The other so-called comprehensive plan, 1/5000 scaled the Yenimahalle-Beytepe-Çayyolu Master Plan was approved on 17 December 1987, decision number 272, and was modified on the same day with a decision number 273. The first master plan of the southwestern part of Çayyolu, Alacaatlı, was approved on 22 May 1989, decision number 8, which was followed by partial master plans. The other comprehensive development is the Çayyolu-Beytepe Mass Housing Project, which includes Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 will be evaluated in detail in the next chapter.

Since the development of Çayyolu has not been directed under a comprehensive plan, the expansion process of the district has become fragmented. Figure V.4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 demonstrate the picture of the partial development processes. In order to perform the totality within the development of the suburb, a master plan under the title of Güneybatı Ankara Kentsel Gelişme Bölgesi, Otoyol İçi was prepared by the Municipality of Greater Ankara. The third stage of this plan was approved on 23 August 2001, decision number 477. Later in the same year, the first two stages of this master plan also approved on 15 November 2001, decision numbers 624 and 625 respectively (Figure V.9).

However, Çayyolu has become an upper-middle, middle class suburbia as envisaged by the 1990 master plan. Çayyolu, a Turkish experience of suburbs, diverges

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[1] Interview with a civil servant.

from the Anglo-Saxon and American line regarding the type of housing. Unlike low-density pattern of detached, one-storey garden houses of the North American suburbs, a mixed use of blocks and garden houses in the same layout is common in Çayyolu. Suburban life in Çayyolu provides a clean social environment by the homogeneity of its residents on the ground of social and occupational structure.

Figure V.4. Development Stages of
Çayyolu Suburban Expansion
between 1973 - 1984

years
1973
1978
1980
1984

Figure V.5. Development Stages of Cayyolu Suburban Expansion between 1985 - 1987

before 1985
years 1985
1986
1987

Figure V.6. Development Stages of Çayyolu Suburban Expansion between 1988 - 1989

before 1988

years 1988

1989

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Figure V.8. Development Stages of Çayyolu Suburban Expansion after 1993

GÜNEYBATI ANKARA KENTSEL GELİŞME BÖLGESİ
OTOYOL İÇİ NAZIM İMAR PLANI
ÖLÇEK : 1/5000

PLAN 1

PLAN 2

PLAN 3

Figure V.9   Güneybatı Ankara Kentsel Gelişme Bölgesi:

Otoyol içi Master Plan

V.3.3 Taxonomy of Gated Communities in Çayyolu

Gated communities put the factor of security as shared and primary cause in the development of this type of residential districts; therefore, they employ more or less similar means and security systems. Despite the fact that the notion "security" is common, shared, and central to all projects, the scholars classify gated communities according to other aspects discussed in Chapter IV.2.3.

Although the category developed by Edward J. Blakely and Mary G. Snyder relating to gated communities in the United States of America does not correspond with Çayyolu case in every aspect, it fits to describe the gated communities in Çayyolu. They classify gated communities in three main categories depending on the primary motivation of their residents: life-style communities, prestige communities, and security zone communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 38-45).

In most of the cases, gated communities display the characteristics of more than one category. In this regard, the taxonomy presented here is neither rigid that is unchangeable in the course of time, nor representing the feature of the category assigned in full terms. Hence, the classification of Çayyolu gated communities should be taken as descriptive. Furthermore, the main source of information was the experts and real estates rather than interviews or written documents. Thus, they were classified according to the informants' objective values, in so far as informants were able to. However, during the long talks, common agreement has been reached on the classification of gated communities according to their characteristics of both physical layout and of their inhabitants.

The reference points, in the determination process, were revolved around income levels, occupation, security measures employed, prevailing services within clusters, amenities provided, protection, homogeneity of inhabitants, aesthetics of environment, walls/fences, gates, and physical layout (Figure V.10).

Life-style Gated Communities: The life-style is, actually, a concept that is essential to all gated communities, and highly utilized in the marketing strategies of every type of gated community. They provide security and separation for the activities and amenities offered within (Blakely and Synder 1997:39). The main distinction of

life-style from the rest of the other communities is the amenities provided. They usually consist of upwardly mobile middle class and include retired population. Carefree living and gardening are the foremost activities of life-style communities. The security measures are established more to control than to protect against criminals, etc.

Çayyolu gated communities are mainly composed of life-style communities. They are more or less homogeneous on the ground of income, occupation, family structure, and demographic characteristics. All of them are either fenced or walled, and arranged either in villa or block types of buildings.

The residences of Alacaköy Sitesi and Gözde Evler are mostly retirees whereas the occupational status of inhabitants is largely intensified on small-scale entrepreneurs in Gama and Çakırbey Sitesi. Irmak Kent and Villa-Doktorlar mostly consist of high-level bureaucrats and professionals. All these sites are duplex or triplex-villa developments.

The occupational differentiation is clearer in the high-rise life-style gated communities of Çayyolu. While Bank employees, and high-level bureaucrats concentrate in Eston Houses, civil servants in Block-Doktorlar, military officials in Oyak-10, high-level bureaucrats in Ceylanım are in the majority. Ceylanım and Ümitkent are the only life-style gated communities that are built and marketed by contractor and Emlak ve Kredi Bankası respectively, and both have remote control at the entrance. Moreover, Ceylanım is the only gated community formed by one block, yet does not have the characteristics of condominium type.

In the far end, in Alacaatlı, İşköy, Girişimciler, Camcılar, İş Bankalılar, Özgün, Onur, Mehtap Sahil, Petkan, Yeni Anadolu, Yonca, Gazililer, and Özdoğa are walled, and supposedly guarded gated communities. They are villa developments and have the life-style gated community characteristics in the composition of its inhabitants.

Prestige communities: The underlying difference between prestige and life-style communities is the lack of extensive recreational amenities and services in the prestige communities (Blakely and Snyder 1997: 46, 75). The emphasis is on image rather than leisure time facilities unlike life-style communities. Their gates denote distinction and prestige, and furthermore provide "a barrier of status".

There are only two communities in Çayyolu that fit the above mentioned features: Erdem Sitesi and Metiş Country Villaları. Erdem Sitesi is composed of 222 villas and located in the southern part of Çayyolu. It comprises of mostly doctors and high-level bureaucrats. It is a villa development, and access to the community seems quite difficult for non-residents. After the foundation and election of new muhtar, they, even, have not accepted to change their muhtars, and had prefered to stay in contact with the old and familiar muhtar. To own a dwelling in Erdem Sitesi is a marker of the status.

The other is Metiş Country Villaları, which offers fitness center, swimming and sauna facilities, and a shopping center to inhabitants who are mainly composed of small-scale entrepreneurs. It is said that Ema Havuzlu Konakları in Çayyolu will be the best representative of this community type when it is completed.

Security zone communities: These communities, Blakely and Snyder (1997: 42, 99) argue, are the fastest growing type of gated communities in the United State of America. The fear of crime and outsiders is the foremost motivation that lies behind security community zones. They place total security and protection as their primary feature. Closed, and cul-de-sac streets characterize them, and are basically self-contained, separate communities with carefully constructed identities.

In the Çayyolu composition of gated communities, there are three security quarters. Hukukçu Dostlar and Siyasal Çayyolu Sitesi are villa developments, and highly secured residential zones compared to rest of the gated communities. Hukukçu Dostlar Sitesi is composed of high-level bureaucrats and judges, and its management committee is inspecting the new owner or tenant before his move to the site. Furthermore, it is provided by remote control at the entrance.

HUKUKÇU DOSTLAR SİTESİ

VILLA DOKTORLAR SİTESİ

SİYASAL ÇAYYOLU SİTESİ

ERDEMKENT VİLLALARI

GOZDEEVLER SİTESİ

METİŞ COUNTRY VİLLALARI

AN EXAMPLE OF GATE: GAMA SİTESİ

GAMA SİTESİ

Life Style-Gated Communities

Prestigious Gated Communities

Security Gated Communities

Figure V.10. Taxonomy of Gated Communities in Çayyolu

Siyasal Çayyolu Sitesi, on the other hand, was constructed by Batı Birlik, and is composed of "so-called" leftists. This site is also tightly controlled. Non-resident entrance to this area is prohibited and controlled by means of gates and guards at the entrance.

The third, and controlled at its highest level, is the Atabilge Sitesi. It is the only community with monitoring cameras in addition to guards, gates, and walls. Settlement is composed of ten-storey high-rise blocks, and provided by swimming pool and sauna facilities. Atabilge was constructed for high-level military officials.

They place total security and protection from discourse of fear and violence implicitly as its primary feature. The most important and leading characteristics of gated communities, which defines the settlement, are the exclusion of non-residents from access to streets, parks, playgrounds, sidewalks, in short public spaces which without gates and fences would be open and shared by citizens.

The other gated communities of Çayyolu are either walled but are not guarded yet such as Beyazgül, Ağaç Sevenler Sitesi, Mutluköy (villa developments), Bahar Sitesi, Malis Sitesi (block developments) or guarded but not walled such as Kafkas sitesi (villa development), Çınar Sitesi, Konut I, and Konut II (block developments).

In this chapter, the transformation experience of Türkiye and Ankara was viewed through socio-economic-political history of the country under critical urban theory. The panorama of urban life, beginning from the 1990s demonstrates the socially segregated, physically fragmented picture, which is the result of certain global and local dynamics. Upper-middle class residential areas are one part of this fragmented picture that developed in the big cities.

In order to complete the picture of residential transformation of Ankara, in the next chapter, a micro-level analysis achieved through in-depth investigation of an upper-middle class suburbia, namely Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 will be the main concern.

CHAPTER VI

THE CASE of ANGORA EVLERİ as an EXAMPLE of
GATED COMMUNITIES

As discussed in the previous chapter, Ankara has experienced a fragmentation of urban space, specifically in the following years of the 1980s. The foremost feature of the functional-spatial fragmentation has been the gradual distancing of workplaces and residential areas from each other. The differentiation of residential areas has become more apparent in terms of socio-economic status. Shantytown residential areas with apartments, which gained legal status, shantytown residential areas of newcomers in illegal status, legal residential districts in the inner city, and on the peripheries are all fragmented pieces of spaces of the city of Ankara.

Within the context of social segmentation of urban space, a new way of settlement began to emerge. In the last fifteen years, the rise of site-like upper-middle and middle class residential areas along and around Eskişehir Highway has become a mass trend in the Ankara suburban development. Unlike urban expansion pattern in previous periods, which appeared as the concentration of upper-middle class in the city and the mushrooming of lower class squatter districts on the periphery, the latest trend can easily be differentiated by its expansion of upper-middle and middle class residential districts towards the far edges of the city.

As stated in the introduction, to study upper-middle and middle class suburbs methodically would yield issues for a better understanding of urban and residential transformation in metropolitan areas of Türkiye. They have changed the urban silhouette as well as its life-style. Therefore upper-middle and middle class residential suburban areas seem to represent a significant spatial and social element of the new urban image in metropolitan areas.

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 in Ankara, Bahçeşehir in İstanbul are the significant examples of its kind. They are the new suburban type of residential

developments which have begun to rise at the beginning of 1990s, and are quite large settlements. Bahçeşehir inhabits around 20,000 people, in more than 5000 dwelling units; whereas in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 was planned to have 1977 dwelling units and projected to house approximately 8900 people on the assumption 4.5 persons per family as it is accepted by the development plans, which is the largest gated community project carried out in Ankara at present.

However, 4.5 persons per family is an average figure for all over the country. In a settlement like Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, located in the capital of the country, which is also one of the metropolitan centers of the country, the average family size can be accepted much lower than 4.5. Furthermore, 90 % of approximately 1 million households in Ankara are living in urban areas according to the results of 2000 Census of Population (SIS 2001: 227). The average household size is 3.82 in the Ankara Province, 3.69 in the Municipality of Greater Ankara, and 3.25 in the Çankaya District Council (SIS 2001: 230). As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the outcomes of the interviews also support this assumption. Thus, the average family size 3.25 is appropriated, which amounts to a population of 6425, approximately 6400 in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

In fact, the Beytepe Mass Housing Area, which also involves Angora Evleri and Kooperatif-18, is assumed to house 2271 households with 7380 population, approximately 7400 population. This chapter presents a unit level analysis of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, which is an upper-middle class suburban settlement in Ankara. Although income level is not questioned directly during the interviews, it is delineated as upper-middle class residential area through the analysis of occupational and educational level, employment status, prevailing life-style, and consumption pattern of the community as will be examined in this chapter comprehensively. However, a few dwellers are said to be part of the upper strata of Ankara by informants.

VI.1. Development of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 having Hacettepe University forest area at its east is situated adjacent to Hacettepe University forest at Beytepe district. The site can be reached by Eskişehir Highway and through the road at the junction to Hacettepe University Campus over the bridge and passing the intersections of Beysukent villa settlements. Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is 15 km. from Kızılay, and Ulus, and located within the boundaries of the Municipality of Çankaya District Council and planned purely for residential purposes. Location of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is close to the three university campuses; Hacettepe, Bilkent, and Middle East Technical Universities (Figure VI.1).

Figure VI.1 Location of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18
(Source: Karayolları Haritası, 2003)

The project initially originated from a housing cooperative, Sınırlı.Sorumlu Kooperatif-18 Konut Yapı Kooperatifi, which was founded on 2 December 1988 by the parliamentarians of the 18th term consisting of 450 members which reached to 790 in later years.

Barmek Construction Inc. (Barmek İnşaat Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş.), a part of Barmek Holding, has undertaken the construction work as contractor according to the mutual agreement with Kooperatif-18 on the basis of construction of 790 villas for cooperative members in exchange for land and constructing and marketing-selling the rest 1187 dwelling units for its own profit. In other words, Coopertaive-18 would provide the land; Barmek would construct the promised villas for the landowner and sell the remaining for its own account that is the same way with build-and-sell mode of trading.

Building activities started in April 1996 on these terms and conditions and have not been completed yet. Therefore, the Beytepe Mass Housing Project has turned out to be a project developed to be marketed by the contractor under the name of Angora Evleri; yet, Kooperatif-18 has continued its existence.

VI.1.1 Provision of the Land

The settlement area of Housing Kooperatif-18, thereby Angora Evleri is located within the Beytepe Mass Housing Area. The main actors of the provision of settlement land were the State through the Land Office, and local government through the Municipality of Greater Ankara.

At Beytepe district some 200 hectares was announced as "the Forty-Eighth Mass Housing Area" or in short "the Beytepe Mass Housing Area" by the Province of Ankara, (İl Genel Meclisi) on 26 May 1988, by decision number 8542. Later, the area was increased to 600 hectares, which was under the supervision and control of both provincial administration (İl İmar Müdürlüğü) and of local government (municipality) depending on the administrative boundaries of the land in question (Development Directorate of Ankara Province, and the Municipality of Greater Ankara). In fact, this area was reserved for "other agricultural land use" in the 1990 Plan, and changed into

residential area for this purpose and approved by the Municipality of Greater Ankara on 8 January 1990, decision number 28.

Municipality expropriated the land depending upon the Municipality Law, numbered 1580, which was realized after the approval of expropriation by the Municipality Commission of Greater Ankara (Belediye Encümeni) on 17 January 1989, commission decision number 107/1-130. According to the agreement signed between the Municipality of Greater Ankara and Kooperatif-18 on 4 July 1989, the Municipality set aside a land of 91.00 hectares for Cooperative, which was later increased to 122.00 hectares on the demand of Kooperatif-18.

In the same year, a land of 21.60 hectares was obtained by the Kooperatif-18 from Land Office through the bid; 122.00 hectares was provided by the Municipality of Greater Ankara and some 1.70 hectares of land was purchased from small owners which happened to be within the boundaries of area which altogether amounts to 145.30 hectares of land. The planning site covered also approximately 5.40 hectares of state land. The whole amount spend on land by Kooperatif-18 was 94.582.303.000 TL. at the 1989 prices[1].

The settlement location, without delay, became prestigious area after the appropriation of the land to Kooperatif-18, and the vicinity of the site has started to be inhabited by the middle and upper-middle classes.

After the expropriation, the former twelve landowners went to the court claiming higher expropriation value for their lands, which was increased by the court decision in favor of land owners. According to the agreement signed with the Municipality, Kooperatif-18 had to pay this extra amount to the former landowners.

The other objection was from the Land Office reclaiming the land that was sold by the Office itself. The Office appealed to the court stating that the appropriation process should be cancelled due to two facts. First, at the time of the process of appropriation, the directorate of the Land Office, Özal Baysal, was also among the members of the Kooperatif-18. Second, according to Item 11 of the Land Office Law, the constructions are to be completed in two years time, which was not accomplished by the

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[1] Executive Committee Annual Report, 1999.

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cooperative. For this reason, Kooperatif-18 has to turn over the land back. However, this appeal was rejected [1].

The other important issue for the court to decide was related to the taxes. According to the law of cooperatives, housing cooperatives are principally non-profit corporations, and they are exempt from all kind of taxes such as institutional, stoppage at source, income taxes, and others for some years. Hence, cooperatives cannot provide commercial advantage or profit for themselves through the activities of cooperatives. During the inspection, the Ministry of Finance has figured out that Kooperatif-18 provided the land for Barmek Construction Inc. on the mutual agreement of construction of 790 villas for the members of the cooperative. The Ministry took the issue to the court accusing Kooperatif-18 of providing commercial profits on its behalf. According to the Ministry, by this action Kooperatif-18 has become a "corporation" (Anonim Şirket); therefore has to pay the taxes which amounts to 15 trillion TL, plus related taxes. The court has not decided on the issue yet [2].

VI.1.2 Planning Activities

The first step in the development studies is the provision of existing base maps on which all the planning activities is to be dwelled. Accordingly, existing base maps of the land scaled 1/5000, and 1/1000 covering approximately 200 hectares, which includes the land appropriated to Kooperatif-18 was prepared and approved immediately by the Municipality of Greater Ankara (Figure VI.2).

"The Beytepe Mass Housing Area" thereby the site of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, was initially planned by Kentkur A.Ş. depending upon the agreement signed with Kooperatif-18 on 15 September 1989 under the supervision of the Department of Development Planning of the Municipality of Greater Ankara. The Beytepe Mass Housing Area covers not only Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 but also Altınbel Housing Cooperative and five other private landowners.

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[1] Executive Committee Annual Report, 2000.
[2] Executive Committee Annual Report, 2001.
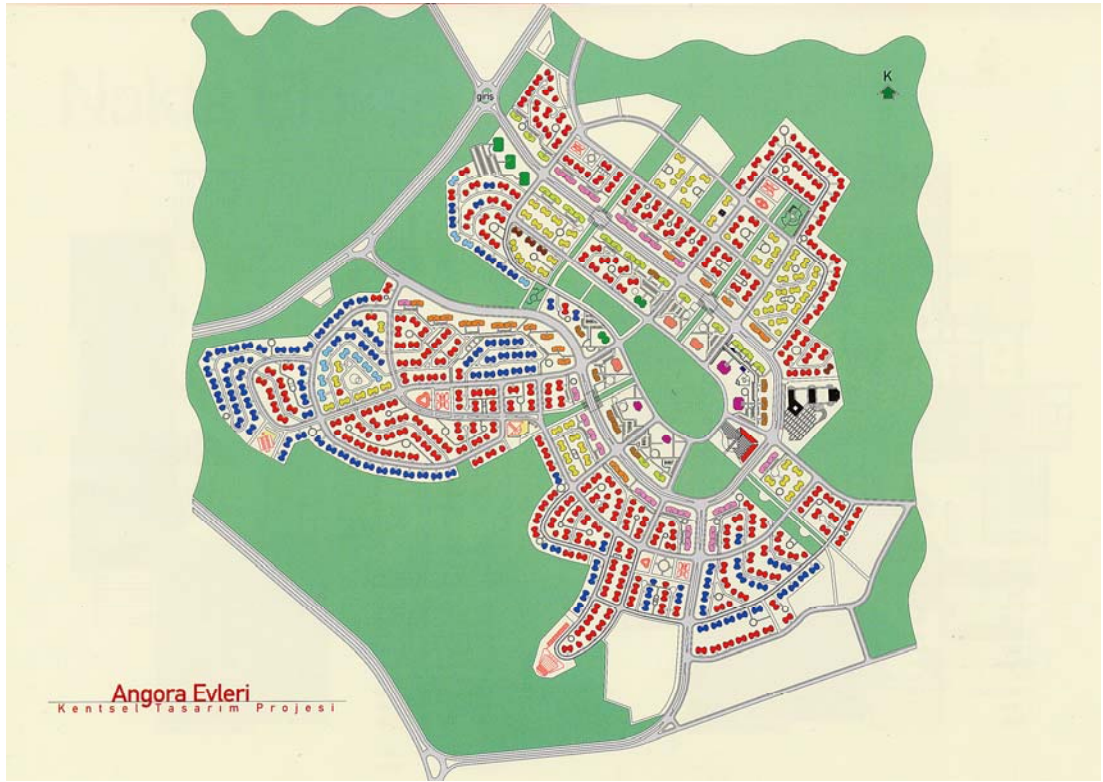
Figure VI.2 Development Plan of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif 18
(Source: Angora Evleri Advertisement Booklet)

The plans were prepared and approved almost in one month. The plan of the district is new unlike Çayyolu. The 1/25.000 and 1/5000 scaled master plans were approved in the same month by the Municipality of Greater Ankara, on 8 January 1990, decision number 28, and on 29 January 1990, decision number 53 respectively. After two weeks, 1/1000 scaled development plan was approved on 12 February 1990, decision number 72. Subsequent to the approval, implementation plan was prepared by a private company, Say Mühendislik Ltd. Inc., and approved again in a very short time by the Municipality Commission of Greater Ankara on 28 June 1990, commission decision number 2126 under the title of Plan of 76260 and announced in Official Gazette, on 25 July 1990, number 20585. The planning notes and imperatives of master and development plans are provided in Appendix D.

During the above mentioned processes, a series of actions were developed in order to provide the integrity of planning activities of all sort under one authority, the Municipality of Greater Ankara. First, the part of the planning area, which was under the supervision and control of the Ankara Provincial Administration in terms of all kinds of development activities, was decided to be handled, thereby projecting as a whole, by the Council of Ankara Province (Ankara İli İdare Kurulu) on 15 May 1990, decision number 986-3390-4/K-67. Consequently, the control of development activities over adjacent area was decided to be under the authority of Municipality of Greater Ankara by the Council of Ankara Province on 19 June 1990, decision number 1114-4/K-93. Subsequently, the border of adjacent area was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement on 26 June 1990.

Master and development plans of "the Beytepe Mass Housing Area" have been modified several times by the Municipality of Greater Ankara; on 1 June 1992, decision number 173; on 1 July 1994, decision number 241; on 5 July 1997, decision number 271; and on 25 December 1997, decision number 766. The last modification was accepted as the urban design planning also by which, a new regional commercial center was proposed and the building area of villas were increased, so the density. The Municipality of Greater Ankara approved the construction of top floors for all villa type of houses, and of basements only for 222 villas [1].

On the jurisdiction side, according to the Administration of Greater Municipalities Law, number 3030, article 6-A/b, the greater municipal bodies are responsible for master plans scaled 1/5000, whereas district municipalities are authorized for development plans scaled 1/1000 in relation with master plans in question. Additionally, the boundary of greater municipality confines the boundaries of the district municipalities and consequently of their adjacent area, which means the greater municipality cannot own adjacent area of its own.

In the meantime, the Municipality of Greater Ankara modified its Development By-Law of Ankara and changed the context of 18th Article 14th Item on 18 March 1997, decision number 113 which was about the definition of adjacent area. However, the Development Law 3194, Article 5 delineates the adjacent area clearly. Moreover, the

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[1] Executive Committee Annual Report, 1999.

Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement according to the Development Law is the only authority on regulations, making by-laws related to plans, development activities, adjacent areas, in short on all jurisdiction issues.

Upon the objection of the Municipality of Çankaya District Council, the Council of State (Danıştay) Sixth Department decided on 18 November 1998, decision number E:1998/3096, K:1998/5593 that the Municipality of Greater Ankara does not hold the right of making by-laws and cannot own adjacent area of its own.

In the aftermath of these processes, the Ninth Court of Administration (İdare Mahkemesi) annulled the Beytepe Mass Housing Development Plan on 21 June 1999, number E:1998/719, K:1999/670 which was approved by the Council of State (Danıştay) Sixth Department on 6 December 2000, number E:1999/5156, K:2000/6131 upon the objection of the Municipality of Çankaya District Council. By this decision, not only the 1/5000 scaled master, and 1/1000 scaled development plan became invalid but also construction licenses.

Due to the legislative and administrative turmoil in terms of authority over adjacent area between the Municipality of Greater Ankara and the Municipality of Çankaya Council, it became a legal obligation to repeat the approval processes of plans to be compatible with the requirements of the laws as well as with the decisions taken by the Council of State. Hence, by August 2003, the latest modification of "the Beytepe Mass Housing Area" as 1/5000 scaled Revision Master Plan was approved by the Municipality of Greater Ankara on 1 Augustus 2000, decision number 447. Later, the development site of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 was taken out of the planning boundaries of the master plan of Çayyolu on 15 July 2002, decision number 366 by the Municipality of Greater Ankara. The latest 1/5000 Scaled Master Plan has been modified on 30 October 2002, decision number 529. The 1/1000 scaled development plan has not been approved yet by the Municipality of Çankaya District Council.

The implication plan, numbered 76260 was also modified twice and approved by the Municipality Commission of Greater Ankara on 11 May 1993, decision number 1506 as plan number 76260/1 and on 26 March 1998, decision number 1351 as plan number 76260/2. Since development plans were cancelled, the implication plan is also subject to be approved and announced by the Municipality of Çankaya District Council also.

In the land use plan, 53.35 hectares of the land is reserved for technical, physical, and social infrastructure service uses; 51.11 hectares for green areas, which mean 98.39 hectares are set aside for housing of which 85.39 hectares belong to Angora Evleri.

The Beytepe Mass Housing Area, in present, is low-density residential district. It is 75 persons per hectare in net, 36 persons per hectares in gross density terms. The housing density is high specifically in villa districts; 14-15 houses per hectare. The total area of the Beytepe Mass Housing Area, its land use allocation, its percentage distribution, and square meter per capita figures appeared in the Beytepe Mass Housing Development Plan Report (the latest) are as follows for a population of 7400 of which 6400 persons are from Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 (Table VI.1).

Villa type of houses have the highest percentage share in total figure, which is followed by green areas where roads' share comes third. The settlement has comparatively higher standards than the requirements of the Development Law. The most outstanding feature of the site, is square meter green areas per capita; 69.07 m^2., which is required only 10 m^2. by the law. The allocation of state lands for green areas, educational sites, etc. are free of charge, and therefore, it has an important role in these higher standards of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

The residential area, unlike the accustomed way of development, was planned not on building lot basis but on insular, which is a common practice in the newly developing parts of Ankara. The site was designed for 1977 dwelling units in 51 insulae for residential, 13 insulae for other uses in the Beytepe Mass Housing District, where 6 residential insulae belong to landowners. The whole area was planned consisting of 945 either double or triple storey detached villas of which 790 belong to Kooperatif-18, and 1032 units in high-rise apartment dwellings, being 536 units in four and five-storey boulevard apartments, 496 units in ten to fourteen-storey point blocks.

Table VI.1 The Beytepe Mass Housing Area Land Use,
Its Percentage Distribution and Square Meter per Capita

land uses	hectares	percentage (%)	square meter per capita
residential	98.82	48.61	133.50

villa	54.32	26.72	134.89
boulevard apartments	28.67	14.10	177.85
point blocks	15.83	7.79	90.87
commercial	2.16	1.06	2.92
social	4.03	1.98	5.45
education	3.79	1.86	5.12
kindergarten	0.63	0.31	0.85
primary and secondary education	3.16	1.55	4.27
cultural	0.84	0.41	1.14
administrative	0.38	0.19	0.51
green areas/parks	51.11	25.14	69.07
mosque	0.40	0.20	0.54
roads	41.75	20.54	56.42
total	203.28	100.00	225.87

Source: The Beytepe Mass Housing Development Plan Report.

VI.1.3 Building Activities

Following the provision of land, and approval of the master plan of the area, building and development activities started immediately. Although it was among the duties of the Municipality of Greater Ankara, infrastructure was realized privately by the Kooperatif-18. The most important parts of infrastructure construction work like roads, sewerage and storm water drainage was undertaken by Aydıner A.Ş. as subcontracter at the end of 1991 and completed in two years time in 1993 [1]. Technical infrastructure was planned as traditional type of construction method in which each system was laid separately.

On the other hand, the construction of buildings was undertaken by a Norwegian Firm, Boje Pedersen Inc., a foreign company, at the end of 1993. Boje Pedersen Inc. could not fulfill their duties regarding Kooperatif-18 due to the 1994 economic crisis and the unstable fluctuation of parity in Turkish economy, so their contract was terminated by Kooperatif-18 on 26 September 1995. After terminating the contract, Barmek

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[1] Executive Committee Annual Report, 1999.

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Construction Inc. became the new subcontractor depending on the agreement signed on 18 October 1995 with Kooperatif-18 [1].

Since then the whole construction activities both building and the lacking parts of infrastructure services including running water, sewerage, telephone and television cables, natural gas, electricity have been carried out by Barmek Inc. depending upon the mutual agreement with Kooperatif-18 on the basis of construction of 790 villas.

The construction of the buildings has been planned and performed in stages in terms of determined time periods and building types except for the last stage. The promised villas were also constructed in the same stages (Figure VI.3). The first stage, which consisted of 302 dwelling units, was completed and inhabited. The second stage has involved 617 dwelling units of which one point-block apartment is under construction already, and construction of fourteen prestige villas has not started yet. In the third stage, there are 599 dwelling units, fourteen boulevard apartments are under construction, and the construction of three point blocks has not started yet. There appear 475 dwelling units in the last stage, half of which has not started yet which amounts to fifteen boulevard apartments. In sum, by July 2003, one point-block, fourteen boulevard apartments are under construction and the construction of fourteen luxurious "prestige villas", fifteen boulevard apartments, and three point-blocks have not started which are not due until next year.
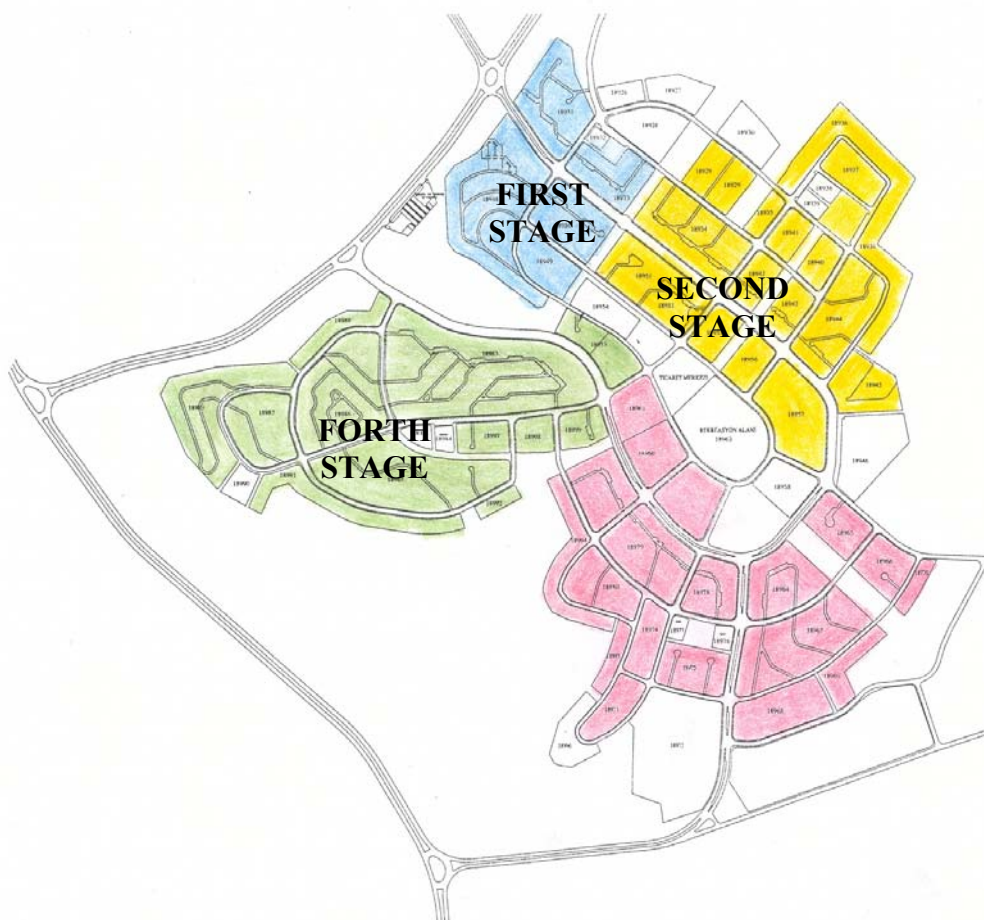
THIRD
STAGE

Figure VI.3 Construction Stages of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18

525 dwelling units got their title deeds, and 665 households of Angora Evleri and 262 households of Kooperatif-18 were settled in the site by July 2003, which means only 39.81 % of houses are inhabited.

First stage of Angora Evleri was officially opened to potential purchasers on May 1996 and were marketed until 1998. The second stage was on market between the years of 1997 and 1999. The houses of the third and forth stages have been sold together and Barmek Construction Inc. has also carried out the task of marketing the dwelling units.

The development and architectural plans, and their scale-models have been exhibited for marketing purposes. The first sold units among these dwelling types three villas.

The financial difficulties and lack of support from other companies of Barmek Holding has caused a financial crisis in the construction activities and timing of delivery in May 2003, which was overcome by Barmek in August 2003.

VI.2 Physical Setup

In Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 a serene living place and life has been tried to be captured not only by the quality of construction and interior design, but also by its landscape. A peaceful and relaxing life is aimed through the creation of adequate living environment with infrastructure and amenities, high quality of exterior and interior design. Landscape design is the basic aspect of the development.

In the physical structure, contrary to the densely settled and populated inner city districts, a low-density settlement pattern was considered. The aim here, was to achieve a pattern that is sensitive to human scale. Buildings are integral parts of designing such a layout. Villas and low-rise boulevard apartment blocks are the hallmark of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The project was based on the idea of integration of all parts of the area with the socio-cultural units in the site (Figure VI.4).

VI.2.1 General Layout of the Site

At first sight, at the entrance, boulevard apartment blocks established along two sides of the main road, determine the layout just at the gate. Furthermore, the three imposing point blocks at the beginning of the road is the nodal point of the site. The villas are scattered all around the site.

Streets are defined by buildings, which are located along streets on large residential insulae or by building lots of villas. It is a built environment whose population density is low contrary to the populated city center, but building density is high. Natural lighting, sunshine, utilization of nature and soil are concerned in the layout. A pleasant landscape is attained through the appearance of newness, expensiveness, provided with a uniform treatment and a high level of maintenance with no deterioration, harmony with nature, manicured lawns, planted villa gardens.

Figure VI.4 General Layout of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif 18
(Source: Advertisement Brochure)

There are three basic house types: Apartment blocks, boulevard apartments, and villas. The housing units include multi-storey apartment blocks ranging from four-storeys building to fourteen-stories and villa type of houses. There exist 5 blocks with 34 dwelling units at 10 storeys, 3 blocks with 42 dwelling units at 12 storeys, and 4 blocks with 50 dwelling units at 14 storey point blocks. Two types of boulevard apartments are available in the site. There are 20 blocks with 3 storey having 6 dwelling units each, and 52 blocks with 4 storeys having 8 dwelling units each. In the settlement area there are 945 either double or triple storey detached villas.

As it is the case with all development plans in Türkiye, the ordering element in the Beytepe Mass Housing layout is vehicular streets flowing all around the villas, high and low-rise apartment blocks within a hierarchy so that easy reach of cars to houses and other uses is provided. In the road hierarchy, there appears a functional entity in collecting and distributing the traffic within layout (Figure VI.5).

Streets are designed in a way that follows the natural setting. Straight streets against contours, or cul-de-sacs are not available over the layout; streets are softened by

slight curves. Streets are employed here as transitory spaces like corridors rather than walking, living spaces. In other words, streets function as paths for vehicular traffic flows. Roads are designed to be traffic ways, following the natural setting. The separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic is not provided. There do not exist pathways for pedestrian circulation, nor jogging. This is a typical street structure that underlies private life and private car ownership, which seems typical for the upper-middle class suburbs.

All the villas, and 236 units in 31 boulevard apartment blocks have their own private and indoor garages. Car parks are provided within residential lots for the rest of dwellings, and projected at least two cars by each housing unit (Appendix D).

The urban design of the Beytepe Mass Housing Project includes 25 meters wide boulevards almost 4.5 km. along with walking sides and green belts. The secondary roads are in 15 meters width. There are three gates into the walled development. Two main entrances with guardhouses are staffed and a private security firm patrols twenty-four hours a day. The third entrance is from the south of the site, which is not in effect due to the incomplete construction of the road.

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is planned to include other amenities such as green areas, sporting, recreational centers, one primary school, one fine arts high school, 4 small shopping centers, 1 mosque, 1 official building of PTT, open and closed swimming pools, playgrounds, sports fields with basketball and tennis courts which are to be completed when the project is finished. Moreover, an artificial lake, botany-garden within the recreational complex that includes an amphitheatre, a teahouse, and bars are projected. These amenities are planned to be located on the site with equal reach so that a kind of equality will be ensured. Children playgrounds are also located within residential insulae.
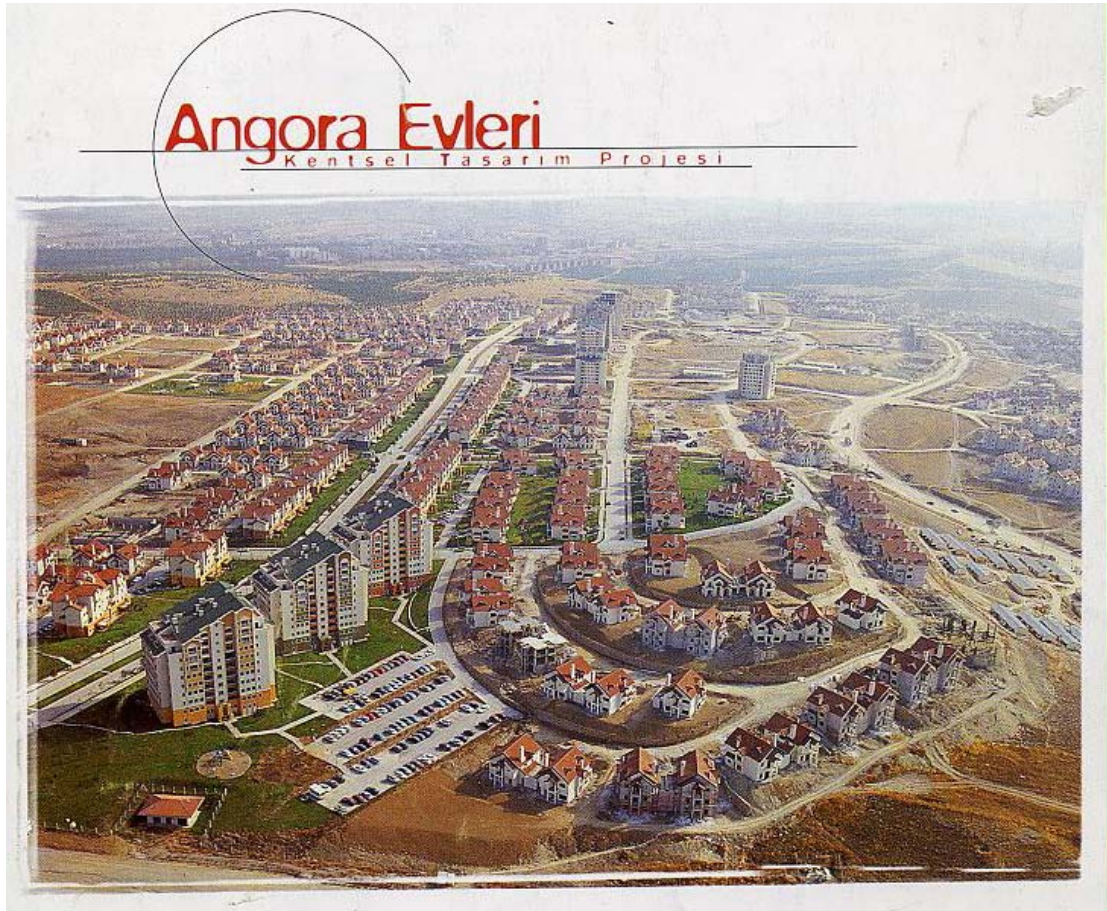
Figure VI.5 General View of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif 18
(Source: Advertisement Brochure)

Although much emphasis is given on open spaces, there is no organization of open spaces for public use. Landscape is utilized as an element to unify private open spaces. In the plan, there does not exist a land use reserved for health services, even an infirmary. Fuel station is planned to be located outside the boundaries of the settlement.

The plan has succeeded in providing an isolated setting having created its own order, an inner atmosphere, and homogeneity in physical and aesthetic terms. The spatial layout, in general, is based on the easy flow of traffic, and mainly of private cars within the area.

VI.2.2 Pattern of Dwelling Units

Barmek formed a team of technicians that was also responsible for modifying the architectural plans of the dwelling units, and for the architectural design of the projects of recreation centers, and for the landscape assignments. The projects of villa type of houses as well as both of short and tall apartments were modified aiming to provide a variety of choices of dwellings in different sizes. The designs of the houses are the synthesis of American style, and traditional Ankara houses after which the site took its name.

The plan of the villas is almost the same whereas they display differences in apartment blocks. The two to three storey single-family houses/villas with small gardens in front, and back are of the same in plan and in appearance. All villas have top floors and are 389 m^2. The 222 villa type of housing units have 79 m^2. additional basement floors depending upon the topographical status of the land. Fourteen of 945 villas have been designed specially for a 210 m^2. floor area with a total built up area of 695 m^2. which are named "prestige villas". The interior construction of all villas is to be completed by households (Figure VI.6 and 7).

Figure VI.6 Prestigious Villas
(Source: Advertisement Booklet)

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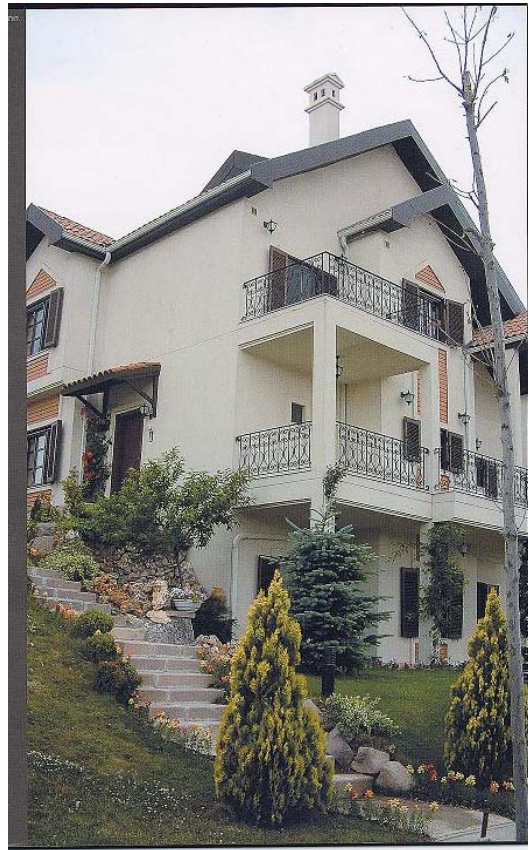
Figure VI.7 Entrance of A Villa
(Source: Angora, September, 2002)

They offered 3 alternatives for boulevard apartment blocks; garden-duplex, roof-duplex, and in between, mid-floor. Garden-duplex types are the second type of dwellings preferred by the inhabitants who enjoy living with a garden but cannot afford a villa, which is 192 m^2. Roof-duplexes, which are also called "sky-villas" are said to have a completely different design style with 288 m^2. and large terraces. The mid-floors are 195 m^2. and situated between two types of duplexes (Figure VI.8).

There are slight differences in the plans of the apartment flats. They differ from each other according to the number of bedrooms, and bathrooms they have. They are with one, two, three bedrooms, and roof-duplexes, of 85 m^2., 100 m^2., 173 m^2., and 315 m^2. respectively. The top floor of every high-rise block is employed by two duplex flats (Figure VI.9).

Figure VI.8 Boulevard Apartments
(Source: Advertisement Booklet)

Figure VI.9 Point Blocks
(Source: Advertisement Booklet)

Villa type of houses is the most popular dwelling type; followed by garden-duplexes so that households have to wait for them. One of the employees states that people who would like to reside in such a locality but experience some financial difficulties, or people who are living in Angora Evleri already and would like to have their children and grand children close prefer to own a second dwelling unit, preferably flats at boulevard or point blocks.

All the point blocks, 308 units in 40 boulevard apartment blocks, and six villas have elevators (Figure IV.10). The villas and garden duplexes of boulevard apartment blocks enjoy lawns and gardens as a part of living environment. Indeed garden, for these dwellers not only means an open space, some plants, and land but also a private space of their own. Lawns are employed to increase privacy and beauty around houses. The design pattern of villa gardens is reflecting the individuality of its owner, and their maintenance is generally accomplished by professional gardeners (Figure IV.11).

Figure VI.10 An Elevator in a Villa
(Source: Angora, September, 2002)

The houses are dwelled in all year around. All type of houses have front lawns, which serve as a transition area between roads and buildings. A consciousness in the garden design is apparent as an aspect of high quality of the settlement. Gardens facing streets are fully planted to increase privacy for villa type of houses. In general, all green

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areas have been planted, and unified that are visual elements providing spaciousness, nature, and privacy for households. Trees, and the lawns are unchanging elements of streetscape.

Figure VI.11 A Villa with Back Garden, (Source: Advertisement Brochure)

Except for the villas, the homogeneous order of back and front gardens without fences, or any separating objects display a homogenous, common, controlled, and united atmosphere and increases the appeal of the environment (exterior space) (Figure VI.12).

Although Angora Evleri is a newly developed residential settlement, its dwelling units command top prices. In May 2003, the prices of villas ranged between 180.000 US dollars and 300.000 US dollars without interior work. The price of prestige villas used to run as high as 400.000 US dollars. Boulevard apartment units cost around 210 billion

TL. to 240 billion TL. whereas it was 130 billion TL. to 150 billion TL. for high-rise apartment flats. The high price of houses is another factor that specify Angora Evleri as an upper-middle class residential district.

Figure VI.12 Homogeneous Order of Back Gardens
(Source: Advertisement Brochure)

Price of rents also differs according to dwelling types. It is said to be around 1500 US dollars for villas, 1000 US dollars for garden-duplexes, and 750 million TL. to 1 billion TL. for the rest. Almost 10 percent of homeowners own the second, even third dwelling units in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. In fact, almost 80 % of the Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 dwellings are owner occupied [1].

VI.2.3 Services and Facilities

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[1] Interview with a employee.

There are two service management units in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. During the process of municipal permission allowing inhabitants to live in the new buildings, Kooperatif-18 submitted a "site management program" to the register of title deeds of dwelling units, under the management of Kooperatif-18. However, the Committee of Collective Management of Angora Evleri was formed only by the inhabitants who purchased their houses from Barmek Construction. Therefore, each group of housing, Angora Evleri and Kooperatif-18, is run by its own board for the time being, which is to be solved in the future.

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is planned and settled purely as residential district. Due to the incompleteness of amenities, inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 have to stay in contact with other districts of the city for their daily, monthly commercial, social, recreational, educational, leisure, and cultural activities for the time being. By July 2003, one kiosk, one small-scale market served the whole site. However, large or middle-scaled commercial and/or other activities other than housing will not be permitted to take place within the boundaries of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

The only public transport connection with the city center is through municipal busses, which are not allowed to enter the site. Inner bus service is arranged according to bus hours by the Committee of Collective Management of Angora Evleri. Dependence on private car is the most significant feature of the daily life of the settlement. Each household owns at least one private car. The number of cars is changing due to the presence of working spouse or member of the family, and of students of higher education.

The journey to work takes 20 to 30 minutes in average by private cars, which is another advantage of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. Living so close to the city of Ankara, yet away from its noise, pollution, in short, from its clutters is a gain.

Roads are used for parking cars. Car parking along sidewalks is a common way of parking in the site, partly due to the difficulties of car parking in garages, but mostly to the acquired habit of parking just in front of eyes even in a gated and secured settlement.

Supply and distribution of natural gas, running water, and sewer systems are being accomplished by the Municipality of Greater Ankara. Collection of garbage,

security, maintenance of the green areas, open spaces, repair service, and similar common services are run by the Committee of Collective Management of Angora Evleri, and Kooperatif-18 separately. On the other hand, the Committee assigned a private firm under its control for the repair work happening in the individual dwelling units for Angora Evleri. A private company, Karlık undertakes the cleaning services of apartment blocks. The Committee employed a team consisting eleven guards from a security company; Kooperatif-18 employed twelve persons for security purposes for the time being.

Inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 pay monthly dues for the provision of services. The provision of some of the public work and services by dwellers, in return increase the quality of urban life and living in gated communities.

There are strict community rules that are accepted by all inhabitants, and controlled by the Committee of Collective Management. For example, changes on the appearance or façades of houses are not allowed, or it is forbidden to have the clothes hanged on balconies for drying.

Fresh trees have been planted; aged trees have been transplanted aiming to create several small-forested areas. By July 2003, one basketball field, one football field, and two tennis courts were provided. One privately owned kindergarten is active in a villa next to main boulevard.

VI.3 Socio-Economic Setup

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Angora Evleri initially originated from Kooperatif-18, which was founded in 1988 by the parliamentarians of the 18th term whose number of members was 450, later increased to 790. In time, the social structure of Cooperative has changed because of the exchanges.

The site is situated close to Beysu Kent that is an upper-middle class residential area. The settlement immediately became prestigious area due to its location, and to its members.

On the other hand, 1187 housing units of the settlement have been marketed by the contractor, Barmek Construction, and the target households have been limited to a

group of upper-middle class so that the settlement has expected to be homogeneous in social character. The life-style offered by Barmek appeared at advertisements as "a new life is starting in Ankara" (Angora News, 1997, number 3).

Barmek Construction have recorded the houseowners with respect to housing type, age-interval, their current place of residence, occupation, and occupational status of all 878 houseowners who obtained their homes from Barmek Construction. The data, unfortunately, does not differentiate between the houseowners who settled or who did not.

This kind of information is not available for the members of the Kooperatif-18. However, according to the chairman of cooperative, there are approximately 140 old and new parliamentarians, 140 doctors, 50 industrialists-businessmen, 170 small-scale entrepreneurs (siteler esnafı), 15 journalists, 50 jurists, 75 self-employed, and 150 retired houseowners.

It is known a fact that, although community structure develops long after the physical setup, the accessible data can provide plausible analysis about socio-economic structure of the community. Thus, in this section of the chapter, demographic, and socio-economic features of households in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is analyzed through the data obtained from Barmek Construction and interviews.

VI.3.1 Demographic Features

The age structure of population is an important factor that affects socio-economic structure of the community. The community of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 tends to have middle-aged population structure according to the Barmek Construction data, and is in agreement with the results of interviews. Although the Barmek classification is based on only house owners, and on age grouping with 10 years of interval, it gives relevant outcomes. 69.70 % of the houseowners are between 30-49 age group, which amounts to 87.01 % with 50-59 age group. Only 5.47 % is older than 60 years of age; 4.33 % in 60-69, 1.03 % in 70-79, and 0.11 % above 80 years.

In fact, more than 40.09 % of the house owners are younger than the age of 40 in the Barmek data, of which 7.52 % belongs to 20-29 age group, and seems to be

noteworthy with respect to family formation process. The 19.70 % of the youngest age interval (20-29) consisted of students. Since housing is one of the investment tools in Türkiye, the parents buy a flat for sons and daughters to house them during their educational life where they attend to university, and sell it after their graduation. This is a common behavioral model especially among Anatolian capital holders.

Interviews and statistical results are, more or less, consistent with the information of the Barmek data. When Angora Evleri and Kooperatif-18 is analyzed together, the age-sex structure shows small divergences. The interviewees from Kooperatif-18 increase the average age upward. Notwithstanding, the majority of people interviewed are less than 50 years old. Most of the households interviewed are between 35 and 49 years of age. There are only three households interviewed that are younger than 35 years old; two residing in apartment flats, one in villa; two owners, and the other tenant.

The age of 35 [1] appears as significant threshold in the accumulation of certain amount of wealth to afford a living in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 by themselves. They seem to experience financial difficulties, as can be traced from the fact that they prefer to reside in the smallest housing type as one interviewee states:

> *"We moved from one apartment flat to another apartment flat, because, we could only afford this. I wish, I were be living in a villa or in a garden-duplex".*
>
> (Age 31, flat owner, civil servant, married to a professional, with one child, 3+1 apartment dweller)

The median age is approximately 30 for both sexes in Çankaya District Council in 2000 (SIS 2001: 75), which is higher than that of all districts of the Ankara Province. The median age 30 means that Çankaya District has older population than the others, which support the interview results of age structure of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

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[1] In Cahit Külebi's account, a Turkish poet, age of 35 is also a significant threshold in the life span of people.

Consequently, it appears that Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is homogenous on the basis of age structure; it is middle-aged community in the age composition.

The fertility level can be examined according to child-women ratio. All the households interviewed have either one or two children, which is the clear indication of low level of fertility. In fact, half of the interviewees have only one child. The households that do not have a child are also of significance in this respect. There is only one interviewee who has three children. Additionally, the average household size is 3.25 in Çankaya District Council (SIS 2001: 230).

Married community dwellers are expected to be in majority. According to the interviews, newly married childless couple is an exception. There is one interviewee who has never married, one who is newly married, and one whose wife is dead. Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, hence, is also homogeneous in terms of family structure. They are mostly married, and nucleus families, and having mostly one child.

The other demographic central issue is the movement of population. Place of birth is employed as a good indicator to the analysis of migration. Most of the interviewees were not born in Ankara. The difference between sexes is not significant. Among the persons who were born outside Ankara, the ones born in Eastern and Southeastern cities have an important share. Nevertheless, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, like Ankara, attracts people from all over the country.

In the Barmek data, houseowners are also recorded with respect to their current place of residence. In this data, 8.09 % of the community of Angora Evleri is not from Ankara; 2.62 % from abroad among which Germany ranks first and 5.47 % from 23 provinces of Türkiye. The share of houseowners from İstanbul has a important ratio. 91.00 % of houseowners are from other quarters of the city of Ankara; 66.06 % from inner city, 21.41 % from other suburban settlements such as Çayyolu, Bilkent, Beysukent, Konutkent, MeSa-Koru, Ümitköy, Mutluköy, and 3.53 % within Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 itself. 17.43 % of houseowners are from Çankaya, and Gazi Osman Paşa. The share of Esat, and Kavaklıdere is of the same: 3.99%. The rest of 2.62 % of houseowners are from abroad; 5.47 % from other cities of the country, and 0.91 % are unknown.

The diversity of birth places, and origin of migration is positively welcomed by the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, since they feel more comfortable among people who are not native like themselves, just like the case when newcomers did not want to integrate with the rest of the people of Ankara in the years following the declaration of the Republic.

VI.3.2 Economic Features

Economic characteristics of a community are crucial in the analysis of that settlement. In this context, employment pattern by occupation is also a good indicator of the social structure. There is likely to be some degree of occupational differentiation among houseowners of Angora Evleri. According to the Barmek data, the share of scientific, technical, professional, and related workers consist of more than half of the employed population with a ratio of 68.27 % which is followed by 17.30 % of a group of administrative and managerial workers. The third rank involves those who are commercial and sales workers with 11.18 %. The lowest share belongs to those who are employed by clerical and related workers. The non-existence of service, agricultural, and non-agricultural production and related workers in the Barmek data shows the dominance of highly educated professional-managerial-administrative-technical group in the settlement. However, there is a group of commercial and industrial entrepreneur as well.

The interviews are parallel with the above outcomes. The professional-managerial-technical and high-level administrative group consisted of university graduate household heads. This highly educated, highly-paid workers are employed both by private, and public sectors. Among the inhabitants, there are academics (including head of departments, dean, and presidents of universities), architects, pilots, engineers, doctors, pharmacists, journalists, and military officials with status. There are also various bureaucrats, member of parliaments, diplomats, embassy officials, high-level administrators, and jurists. Furthermore, this group involves well-educated people who were previously employed in other corporations, but now manage their own businesses.

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On the other side, in the entrepreneurial group there are merchants, and small-scale industrialists who are wealthier than the former one, but have comparatively lower level of education. Among the interviewees, there are small-scale contractors, merchants of electrical products. These two groups are different in terms of educational level, wealth, housing types, and life-styles.

The occupational status of inhabitants are also mainly concentrated around highly paid professional-managerial-technical or high level administrative jobs whose status are either self-employed, high-level bureaucrat or top-executive.

The results of the census data of 2000 conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) confirm the above outcomes. According to the SIS 2000 data, the share of scientific, technical, professional, and related workers is 29.15 %, and of administrative and managerial workers is 7.49 % in Çankaya District Council (SIS 2001: 186). The location quotient [1] of this group of workers is 2.34 %, and 2.31 % respectively for Angora Evleri, which is the clear indication of the dominant occupational character of professional-managerial-administrative-technical group in the settlement that is the new middle class described in the previous chapter IV.1.3.

The other factor in the analysis of economic structure is labour participation rate in which the impact of age and sex structure of population is not negligible. 25-44 age group participates in labour force at the maximum level, and then they gradually leave the labour force at ages after 45.

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[1] The location quotient compares the concentration of any activity in a settlement to another settlement.

$$LQ = ((a /p) * 100) / ((A /P) * 100)$$

Where;

a : employment in sector in Angora Evleri
A : employment in sector in the District of Çankaya
p : labour force of Angora Evleri
P : labour force of the District of Çankaya

According to the Barmek data, the retired houseowners are first observed in the 40-49 age group. In other words, there is not any retired houseowner younger than age of 40. The youngest retired woman among the households interviewed is 42, and 48 for male interviewees. The proportion of retired women is higher than retired men which is a common trend observed in Turkish society. Although it shows a significant difference by sex, the labour force participation rate from 12 years and above in Çankaya is the lowest among district centers with the rate of 65 % in 2000 (SIS 2001: 141) that confirms the above discussion.

Still the other significant character of economic structure of the settlement is the employment status. In the Barmek data, 62.32 % of houseowners of Angora Evleri are waged, 33.38 % in private, 28.94 % in public sector. The percentage share of employer, and self-employed houseowners is 37.16; the rest 0.52 % is unknown. Whereas in the Ankara Province 72.06 % of the employed population is waged, this proportion is 15.57 % for employer and self-employed group (SIS 2001: 210-211). The lower ratio of waged, and higher ratio of employer and self-employed houseowners compared to the Ankara Province figures, indicates the higher status of living.

All these outcomes in relation to occupation of working people, and their employment status is consistent with the unit level, social setting, one part of economic capital hypothesis that asserts "the occupation status of inhabitants are expected to be professional, managerial, administrative, technical, and the status in their employment will be high-level bureaucrats, top-executive or self-employed".

VI.3.3 Social Features

The social setup of inhabitants is examined through analyses of educational level, and of social background of their parents by education, occupation, and birthplaces.

Educational level, perhaps the most important indicator of socio-economic status, is also an important variable that differentiates households in terms of life-style.

The level of education is higher in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 than that of the Ankara Province as it is the case with upper-middle class residential areas. In fact, Çankaya District Council holds the highest level of education among other districts of the Ankara province in the year 2000 (SIS 2001: 77).

According to 2000 census figures, the number of university graduates aged 25 and above is 24.46 % in Çankaya District Council, whereas it is 12.94 % in the Municipality of Greater Ankara, and 11.14 % in the Ankara Province (SIS 2001: 99; 100, 103). Female university graduates make up 11.02 % in Çankaya District Council, 7.40 in the Municipality of Greater Ankara, and 4.68 % in the province of Ankara (SIS 2001: 99, 100, 103).

The outcomes of the field survey are consistent with the above argument. Almost all of the interviewees are higher education graduates; only three interviewees are high school graduates of whom one is the male interviewee. Moreover, significant portions of female spouses are also university graduates with the exception of four households. Three of them have high, one has intermediary school diplomas.

Furthermore, there is also a smaller group who completed their higher education abroad. Indeed, this last group of the community in question is distinguished from others with respect to the consumption patterns, life-styles, residential content, etc. A significant number of the interviewees speak English besides Turkish; Spanish ranks the second among foreign languages.

Still the other issue, social mobility of inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, can be traced by an analysis of education, occupation, and birthplace of their parents. More than half of the interviewees' fathers are university graduates while the proportion of those whose fathers completed primary, secondary, and high school education are almost equivalent to each other. There is one interviewee whose father did not completed his primary education but knows how to read. In the same way, the majority of fathers were employed in professional, executive, or small and high level administrative jobs. A small number of them were employed in jobs that do not require formal education such as farming, commerce, manufacture, and repair.

The interviewees whose fathers have high status jobs and high level of education are also university graduates, and employed in high-status jobs in both public and private sectors as one affirms:

"My husband was born in Moscow, and graduated from Science Politics in Switzerland. He speaks French, Spanish, and Italian besides English. Diplomacy is a family job; the father of my husband was also a diplomat".

(Age 52, university graduate housewife, married to high-level bureaucrat (diplomat), with three children, villa dweller)

Alongside this, there is also a group of informants whose fathers have relatively lower level of education, but who themselves are university graduates and employed in high-status jobs. Almost the same picture is observed in the analysis of educational level and occupation of spouses' parents. Half of spouses' parents are university graduates. A significant part of them were low-level bureaucrats and some employed in professional or executive jobs. This is the clear signification of the existence of the intergenerational upward social mobility among the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 in terms of educational, thereby social status.

Another aspect of social background analysis is the birthplace of the parents. Only one interviewee's parents were originally from Ankara, the rest are from all over the country. A significant pattern of birthplaces cannot be found, which is the obvious indication that Ankara's population growth depends mainly upon immigration.

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 can be summarized basically in three points. First, they use two physical means of separation. On the one hand, gates and barbed wires; on the other, large spaces -forest- create distance, thereby discouraging pedestrian circulation.

Second, surveillance through gates and control is the necessary condition for internal homogeneity, and isolation. In other words, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 employ gates not for security purposes; rather for establishing and guaranteeing the separation. Gates, here, are the symbol of explicit separation and distinction.

Third, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is a private universe with its design and layout. One of their wishes is to turn their backs not only on adjacent areas, but also on the city. As a consequence, the aim of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is to be an independent world, and avoid establishing relationships with the rest of the city. Indeed, public streets are becoming spaces for elite's circulation by car, for poor people's circulation by foot or public transportation (Caldeira 1996b: 314). The elite is abandoning the activity of walking on public streets, which are used as spaces of sociability. Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 likes to keep their streets for themselves, and prevent a street life. In so doing, they also prevent free circulation of people and vehicles within the boundaries of their settlement.

Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 can be said to be homogeneous groups with respect to educational attainment.

CHAPTER VII

THE SETTING OF AFFLUENCE

The mass production system, which is by itself, the central driving force of Fordism, can be equated with mass consumption. Fordist techniques made available goods, and services in large quantities at lower prices, while it offered higher wages to households whose consumption patterns were shaped by the desire to own a house, cars, furniture, electrical goods, etc. Even services were subject to the same pattern, for example in the form of package holidays. Fordism, certainly in its later stages, was associated with suburbanization and decentralization, whereas post-Fordism has been invoked as a reurbanization. The combination of economic, political, and technological forces have contributed to the decline of mass production and consumption.

Socio-culturally, post-Fordism is discussed to represent a rejection of mass consumption. Improved level of education, the boredom of mass products, the possibility of awareness through televisions, internet, and related telecommunication facilities combined with more sophisticated advertising has led to a more selective patterns of consumption that involve goods and services, which were supposed to be distinctive. In case of goods, they have had high levels of design, and craft was embedded in them. Emphasis was laid on clothing, footwear, furniture, and jewelry, which were produced individually or in small batches. In case of services, they were much more customized, for example, offering in the form of esoteric restaurants, small group holidays, or more individualistic leisure activities.

At the urban scale, while mass production of suburban housing continues in North America, and in Europe, new economic order, concomitant with a new middle class containing new type of households generate a variety of residential community, thereby a new spatial structure in the metropolitan areas. High-income households have been able to displace inner-city low-income households through gentrification. Some other high-income communities are now becoming gated-communities on the peripheries

of metropolitan areas, with surveillance and security devices. It is of no doubt that, this spatial fragmentation of gentrification and gated communities are the reflection of the growing polarization that implicitly connotes conflict (Wallerstein 2000: 174).

In this chapter the outcomes of the field survey are tested in accordance with the hypotheses formulated in the Second Chapter. The first section analyzes the findings and asses the results at theoretical, urban and unit levels. The second section argues the role of advertisements and image making in the marketing of a new life.

VII.1 Findings and Outcome of Research

In Ankara spatial representation of social segregation has had three different forms in the Republican Period. The first lasted until the end of the Second World War, and produced dual settlement structures. In the second period, urban space was in the form of center and periphery in which urban population and residential quarters were separated mainly on the basis of legal built-up area, and illegal shantytown of peripheral development.

Heterogeneity, in the first period, was the main characteristics in the organization of urban space and social life in Ankara whereas in the second period, it was concentration together with heterogeneity. In the first period, the majority of immigrants were military officials and high-level bureaucrats. They were urbanite in origin, well educated, and mostly from İstanbul (Keyder 2000a: 19). These İstanbulin did not want to integrate with the native Ankara populace, and preferred to stay by themselves. In fact, this was supported implicitly by the housing shortage of the time. Ultimately, historical districts were mainly inhabited by native citizens of Ankara whereas new urban areas were developed officially for the newcomers.

After 1945 the profile of the immigrants changed. They were mainly from rural parts of the country. An illegal development in the form of shantytowns, mostly on state lands, became a common, and indispensable part on the peripheries of major cities. In sum, the upper-middle and middle classes lived in the central built-up areas with better and legal infrastructure facilities, and immigrants mostly lived on the peripheries with inadequate infrastructure facilities and on someone else's land.

During this period, the inner city apartment dwelling was the sign and the symbol of modernity and westernization for middle and upper-middle income households (Öncü1997b: 65). In Ankara, the distinction between legal residential districts of multi-storey apartment dwellings in the inner parts, and illegal squatter residential neighborhoods of single-storey houses on the peripheries had been emblematic of the cultural, social, and economic break up between urban and peasant way of life; between middle and upper-middle class and poor and immigrants; between haves and have-nots.

This urban form prevailed from 1945 to the 1980s. Within this period, the population increase of Ankara was beyond all expectations with an annual growth rate of 6.04 %. Ankara's population grew two times faster than the national urban population. In spite of the demographic growth, the urban land could not expand proportionally. The inner city reached its spatial limits both vertically and horizontally in terms of land use. The result was a condensed city in a compact form. Consequently, by the late 1970s, Ankara was a segregated city, both in terms of spatial distribution of population and housing arrangements. This dualist structure of the urban space dominated the city's future development pattern.

Beginning from the 1980s, a third form has taken shape in which the city has changed considerably; social segregation, this time, has clearly been expressed through housing arrangements. Actually, superimposed on the dualistic socio-spatial structure, the recent transformations have reproduced an urban area in which, as Teresa Caldeira carefully observes, "different social groups are again closer in the city space, but they are separated by walls and technologies of security, and tend not to circulate or interact in common areas" (1996a: 55).

Borrowing Manuel Castells' term, (2000: 147) spatial structure interacts decisively with economic, social and cultural processes. Hence, urban changes occurring since the 1980s cannot be separated from economy-politics of the country. The early 1980s were the years in which Turkish economic activities started to be restructured. The Turkish economy was opened up to the world economy by the 24th January Decisions. On the political side, at the beginning of the 1980s, the democratic regime in Türkiye, once again, was intervened once upon. However, the coup d'etat government supported

the decisions for liberalization of the economy, and the free market reforms of the 1980s have culminated in an unrestrained transformation of the urban space.

İstanbul, following almost the same line with many other metropolises around the world, lost its position as the largest industrial center of the country, and benefited from the increasing importance of financial and coordinating functions (Sassen 1991/2000; 1996; Fainstein and Harloe 1992a; 1992b). The metropolitan Ankara, in this restructuring process, has articulated to world economy through its capital status and city-region.

All the above briefly discussed processes have affected the urban landscape of Ankara. In some cases, the effects have not been direct, but they constitute the relevant background for the frame of the new pattern of segregation. Ankara in the 1990s has become a more socially segmented, spatially fragmented city than it was in the previous periods; and continues to become more and more heterogeneous in terms of urban space as illustrated in Chapter V.2.3 thoroughly.

In other words, the globalization dynamics of the 1980s and the 1990s have had profound impacts on all segments of the city, which can easily be traced in Ankara by a specific restructuring of space. The construction of office towers both for private and public purposes, shopping malls, financial institutions and high-rise private and official offices, five-star hotels, luxurious restaurants, show rooms are tangible examples of this spatial fragmentation of urban space. Gazi Osman Paşa, Çankaya, Tunalı Hilmi, Kızılay, and Ulus are the centers that are specialized in certain functions, and serve different segments of the society who reside in different quarters of the city, away from each other.

The dual/fragmented character of the city had repercussions on the planning criteria. In the residential quarters of inner Ankara, the most visible developments took place in shantytown areas is the transformation of gecekondu type of dwellings into apartment buildings. The 1984 Amnesty Law transformed the small units of lands into apartment blocks where low quality, high-rise apartments replace the low-rise, low-quality houses for the low income group whereas for the upper-middle and middle classes, it is the "site" like residential quarters in the form of suburban expansion.

Actually, the 1980s was the turning point of a real and growing demand for low-density housing increasingly among the richer people of Ankara.

It is a fact that, as Saskia Sassen (1994: 116) notes, in a networked society, changes in the major cities cannot be captured in isolation from changes in the organization of advanced societies. The spatial fragmentation of urban land, accordingly, which is under the high level of global pressure, leads to a segmentation of community, which eventually, becomes social a segregation experienced in Ankara that is the social cost of the globalization process. It is now generally assumed that location in physical space is also an indicator of location in social space (Rapoport 1990:71). In this connection, space becomes more critical than before as an indicator of social standing. Therefore, poor neighborhoods are the most visible signs of social polarization, and social exclusion in contemporary urban societies.

The more people come into contact with those with whom they share common levels of income, education, and culture i.e., social power, the less they stay in contact with people of other income, education, and cultural levels. Moreover, people belonging to different groups adhere to different values. This means especially that, metropolitan areas have a tendency to be both residentially and socially segregated. This also implies that contacts between classes in public spaces are problematic. One needs, now, to live in the right places, but also shop, learn, play, pray, recreate, and even die in the right places too (Garreau 1991). Public settings, as Amos Rapoport (1990: 185) notes, become group-specific. In some cases, the workplace is the only setting left where people from different classes can remain in the same place.

Following the 1990s, the emergence of new social forms, which directly or indirectly was the outcome of economic restructuring (Fainstein and Harloe 1992b: 253), the growth of service economy [1]; high-income commercial and residential segregation, and the sharp rise of homelessness have become the salient features of Ankara, having similarities with the result of restructuring processes as indicated by Saskia Sassen in her

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[1] According to the data of employed population by economic activity between 1980 and 2000 for the province of Ankara, it is evident that there is an increase in the employment ratio in the services sector. It is an increase from 56.80 % in 1980 to 65.60 % in 2000 for male, from 35.70 % to 58.60 % for female population respectively. Increase rate of employment in service sector is four times higher for females than that of males (SIS, 2001: 51).

Cities in World Economy (1994: 99). In Ankara, however, gentrification has not been observed on the district scale unlike of Cihangir in İstanbul.

Under the working forces of global economic order, the income polarization has climbed up resulting in social inequality. One part of the population has experienced affluence while the other suffered degradation. Likewise, while income share of the first top 20 percent of households was 57.22 percent, it was 4.83 percent for the last 20 percent group in Türkiye in 1994 (SIS 1997: 6). Reading differently, the income share of top 20 percent of households was much more than the rest 80 percent of households.

Susan Fainstein and Michael Harloe (1992a: 9-10) mention two different and conflicting accounts of this polarization. For some, it is due to "the loss of middle-income groups from the social structure". For others, it is related to "the growth of an affluent middle class alongside an impoverished" people "whose changes of upward social and economic mobility are minimal". Both parties share the idea that, as Teresa Caldeira (1996a: 60) points out, "the belief in progress and social mobility of the previous years was replaced by disillusion, skepticism, and high level of uncertainty about the future".

Although it is context dependent, the above discussion of scholars fit in well with the issues confronted in Türkiye. Furthermore, the outcome of this study is parallel with Manuel Castells' (2000: 129) assumptions of the universal trend of inequality, and social exclusion that have been on the way of evolution between upper and lower levels of society in Türkiye and Ankara also.

During this restructuring process, between low and astonishingly affluent upper classes that are occupied mainly in financial, communication, media and real estate sectors, a technically well-trained, new professional-managerial-administrative-technical elite emerged. Their emergence is associated with the restructuring processes taking place under the impact of forces prevailing in the world economic, political system. They are highly paid employees, and have high employment status. They make use of their high level income, education, and culture i.e. social power to discriminate themselves in terms of every possible way including spatial segregation.

Increasing land values, presence of all kind of physical and social urban illness in the urban core encouraged the new middle class to search for a new neighborhood and new life-style. In addition, on the supply side, since transformations in the already

existing urban structure were not sufficient for a growing population, the development of new residential areas has become a necessity. Nevertheless, the search of urbanites for a new neighborhood is not a new trend. As it has always been, within the life span of cities, the centers may decline, new business districts may spring up; the functions or the forms of centers may change; immigrants may come together and segregate themselves in clusters, or mix with others; new enclaves, ghettos might be formed while older ones might disappear. During this urbanization process the urbanites usually escape to more livable neighborhoods. Inevitably, all types of new residential developments represent the exploration for a better way of life, and naturally, it is also an attempt to search for a new community. It is security for some, privacy and status for others, novelty and new ways of life for still others.

Following more or less the same line, the new middle class that is composed of professional-managerial-administrative-technical elite, has created their own exclusive spaces, and their own life-styles in Ankara. Shopping malls like Galeria, Real, Carfour, Migros, Armada, and leisure places with luxurious restaurants, cafes and bars like those on Arjantin Street, accompanied by esoteric restaurants, bars, cafes in the affluent districts of the city; distinct activities like auctions are the foremost examples of this picture. Following the trend, the residential aspirations of the city's affluent households have also changed, and shifted towards the outskirts of Ankara, and preferred to live in the newly developing suburban areas. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the growing separation of the rich and the poor in Ankara than this picture.

Indeed, the archetypes of residential gated communities in Türkiye as a new phenomenon began to emerge in İstanbul in the 1990s, unlike the previous pattern of urban expansion. The trend of the development was also towards the outskirts of the city. The most celebrated and well known examples in Istanbul are Kemer Country, Beykoz Konakları, Acarkent, Alkent including Bahçeşehir which is an upper-middle class residential gated community. Similar examples in Ankara are Erdem Kent, Metiş Country Villas, Gama Sites, Alacaköy, Irmak Kent, Hukukçu Dostlar, and Angora Evleri.

A large proportion of affluent households are now living in gated enclaves in Ankara, and mostly in the form of gated residential communities on the peripheries or in condominiums in the inner city. Living in spacious, luxurious, and cleaner natural

environment of rural land, as well as enjoying the advantages of urban life within commuting distance of the city has attracted the very rich part of the society. Consequently new residential settlements have developed at the edges of the metropolitan Ankara.

In fact, gated community residential developments are not a new phenomenon, simply because, they are basically suburban developments. Suburbanization, on the other hand, as Bennett Berger (1973: 109) demonstrates, is the continuation of urbanization. In the first place, without even statistical or scientific confirmation, it is obvious that cities grow in population in most parts of the country. Parallel with it, increasing housing stock becomes a necessity as well as vacant land which seems to be the best and suitable spaces for the growth of urban areas at the edge of the settled area. Hence, some new communities are founded at some distance from the main body of the city. As Richard Ratcliff (1955/1969: 305) carefully notes "This is a configuration as old as civilization; there is no place for a built up city to expand but on the periphery". Thus, as long as cities grow, the suburbanization process continues and never seems to end. Gated communities, being the extensional part of this dynamic urbanization process, have already stepped mainly into the life of metropolitan regions and can easily be viewed as the evolutionary part of suburbanization expansion, as it is exemplified by the cases of Erdem Kent, Metiş Country Villas, Gama Sites, Alacaköy, Irmak Kent, Hukukçu Dostlar in Çayyolu, and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

Indeed, by definition in the Dictionary of Human Geography, suburbanization is a "socially homogenous residential district within an urban area" (Johnston and Gregory 1994), and has three major defining characteristics: spatial differentiation, decentralization, and social segregation (Walker 1981: 383) like discussed in Chapter IV.1 in detail. As Manuel Castells (1977: 384) indicates, suburbanization is a selective decentralization process of spatial sprawl of population, and activities within the metropolitan areas. It is selective in the sense that the population migrated to suburbs is from higher social status. Consequently, all the claims for suburban settlements are valid for residential gated communities, which are also dependent on the city for occupational, shopping, and recreational facilities like suburban developments as discussed in Chapter IV.2 thoroughly. What makes it different from suburbanization is that gated communities

are planned, "organized and marketed as a solution to contemporary problems rather than as a search for a better communal system" (Blakely and Synder 1997: 15).

The above arguments, and the field survey results, eventually come to the point that, the urban spatial restructuring of Ankara supports the very first hypothesis of this dissertation which asserts suburban expansion taking place under the impact of forces prevailing in the world-economic, political system leading to a social segregation within metropolitan areas. This can be interpreted as qualitative change in suburbanization during the last decades. Gated community residential areas are the evolutionary and indisputable part of this type of suburbanization. Gated communities emanate from the processes of social restructuring in which not only employment structures have changed, but also a new middle class has become distinguished by new consumption patterns. This pattern of housing consumption is the focus of these new consumption patterns and have been associated and resulted from the higher incomes and greater spending power of this group of the society.

The urban level variables are analyzed on the data collected from relevant public institutions, site visits, interviews held with chairman of the Kooperatif-18, the Committee of Collective Management of Angora Evleri, employees, and inhabitants of the settlement.

The first subgroup of variables is related to sustainability. The efficient use of agricultural land, preservation of water as natural resources, and pollution of the natural resources are the main concern. The use of productive agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes is common and widespread in Türkiye, partly due to the growing of settlements, and the lack of control mechanisms, but mostly due to the lack of concern and self-interest. Although the use of productive agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes is not permitted by the by-laws, there are some critical examples involving housing developments that are settled on productive agricultural lands, as in the cases of Adana and Bursa.

The analysis completed by the General Directorate of Village Affairs concerning the quality of agricultural land reveals the fact that Çayyolu suburbia and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are located partly on productive agricultural land. The setting of Kutugün Village is mostly consisted of pasturage type of land whereas land of Çayyolu suburbia

is mostly first and second-class productive agricultural land, which are supposed to be reserved exclusively for agricultural purposes. However, there exist some non-productive agricultural land in between.

On the other hand, a considerable part of land on which Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is located is third-class agricultural land that is also supposed to be reserved for agricultural cultivation, but not as strictly as it should be for the first two classes of lands. The informants declare that at the very beginning of the development it was vacant, and not cultivated agriculturally.

The other resource of critical importance is water. The General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, greater city municipalities, Ministries of Health and Environment are the responsible authorities for the administration and preservation of surface and ground water resources, and water catchment areas whose preservation is one of the basic physical thresholds for physical planning activities. According to the by-law of the Development Law, numbered 3194, water catchment areas are not allowed for any type of development. However, the responsible authorities do not fulfill their functions. The fact that water, like land is a scarce natural resource, unlawful building is observable in the preservation belts as seen around the Elmalı and Ömerli dams.

According to the projection of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, there are no agricultural irrigation or drinking water projects for the land occupied by Çayyolu suburbia and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The nearest irrigation project, the Project of Ankara Çayı, covers the land in the western part of Çayyolu Suburbia (DSİ 1988: 92).

Another condition for a healthy urban life and ecological balance is sewer system so that wastewater can be discharged without polluting the environment. It is a known fact that, the main cause of water and land pollution is untreated discharge. Thus, it is of critical importance to treat urban wastewater through a treatment system. At the same time, sewer system is expected to be widespread on the built-up area serving each piece of land. From this point of view, as revealed in Chapter VI.1.3, the sewer and storm water drainage systems of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 serve the whole

settlement area [1], which are superior compared to other urban settlements of the country of which only 50 percent have proper sewerage (Habitat II 1996: 33).

On the other hand, although it is among the promises, which is clearly stated by Kooperatif-18 [2], the construction of treatment system has not been realized by August 2003. The Chairman of the Kooperatif-18 and the employees relate it to the decisions made in the general meetings of the Kooperatif-18. It seems members of the cooperative do not want to invest in it.

The variables to be analyzed in relation to livability are defined in terms of performance criteria. They are objective conditions that provide the inhabitants of a settlement with necessary conditions for a physical well-being; better living conditions, and protection of life and property from risks compared to its counterparts in the inner city. On the other hand, the mobility patterns of the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, their reasons for moving to a new suburban settlement, and reasons for their preferences of this settlement are among the variables of livability that needs investigation.

An adequate water supply at the required levels of hygiene is the first important objective condition for a livable settlement. It is the State Hydraulic Works (DSİ) that provides water for settlements with a population over 100,000. In this context, water is provided for Çayyolu suburbia and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 by the State Hydraulic Works from İvedik treatment establishment, which is supplied by the dams of Çubuk II, Kurtboğazı, and Çamlıdere. The treatment and distribution of water is under the responsibility of the Municipality of Greater Ankara. Hence, it is stated that the adequate running water is at the required standards of hygiene level.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the sewer and running water systems of the settlement were the first infrastructure construction work realized by Kooperatif-18, which was under the control of both municipal authorities and the infrastructure control group of the Kooperatif-18. It is said that systems are constructed according to engineering regulations so that higher standard could be achieved [3].

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[1] Interview with the infrastructure control group.
[2] Executive Committee Annual Reports of 1998, and 1999.

[3] Interview with the Chairman of Kooperatif-18 and the infrastructure control group.

Almost all the interviewees and informants are in agreement that the gated communities in Çayyolu and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 have better infrastructure facilities and external space arrangements than their counterparts in the inner city. Air pollution, traffic congestion, excessive noise, inadequacy of green space, parking lots and infrastructure, anxiety and stress of urban life are among the commonly stated attributes of the city of Ankara by the interviewees. Essentially, the elements; roads, water, electricity, gas, sewerage, garbage collection, telephone, etc. are important facilities, which are necessary in order to attain contemporary living standards.

Therefore, residential gated communities are livable places, which are freed from noise, crowds, and congestion of vehicular traffic, air pollution so that inhabitants tolerate a long distance. Similarly, a considerable number of interviewees explain their reason for their move here as a desire for escape from pollution, traffic congestion, urban clutter, and social heterogeneity of the inner city [1]. As the two interviewees express:

> *"We came here because we expected to find a settlement surrounded by nature, a high quality of physical infrastructure facilities, and a pleasing architecture. My husband doesn't like driving/walking on poor road surfaces. One day they pave the streets with asphalt, the next day they dig it! After those years lived in Ankara, I'm very happy here".*

(Age 42, professional woman, married, with two children, 3+1 apartment dweller)

And,

> *"Here, garbage is collected properly unlike the way municipality used to do in the inner city. I cannot put up with the dirty water of garbage collecting trucks on the streets, roads. They smell awful".*

(Age 38, university graduate housewife, married, with one child, garden duplex)

Under the light of above discussion, the first unit level hypothesis is partly supported by the findings and outcome of the survey. It appears that the facts related to the efficient use of land on which suburban expansion along and around the Eskişehir Highway takes place, fails to support the first part of the unit level of hypothesis i.e.

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[1] Indeed, as Paul Knox (1987) argues, city centers are dying, simple because they are too densely built up areas both for the movement of cars as well as pedestrians.

sustainability of agricultural land, whereas it is supported by the cases of Çayyolu suburbia and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 for water catchment area. While the livability creteria of the hypothesis is mostly supported by the results, it fails for the treatment system. Consequently, the settlement pattern of Çayyolu suburbia and Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, as an urban built up area, cannot be said to be entirely sustainable and livable urban development.

The fact of inadequacy of public services in Turkish cities is mainly due to the high-density settlement patterns, which usually do not allow any space for public uses. Green areas, parks, playgrounds, education, health service areas, in short all public service areas are the most vulnerable spaces, and even their preservation becomes quite difficult under the pressure of increasing density. According to the Urban Development Law, numbered 3194, urban settlements with population over 100,000 are expected to have at least 10.00 m^2. of active green, 8.50 m^2. of primary and secondary level education, 4.00 m^2. of health services, 4.40 m^2. of socio-cultural space per capita.

Although Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is carefully planned as a low-density residential neighborhood for upper-middle class by the Municipality of Greater Ankara by itself, and has state lands within the boundary of mass housing area, some public service areas are below the standards (Table VI.1). The land reserved for educational purpose is much lower than expected. It is 5.12 m^2. instead of 8.50 m^2. per capita.

As Amos Rapoport indicates, "high-income areas can be identified through privacy", which is "the ability to control unwanted interaction" (Rapoport 1982: 159, 166). Thus, one way of maintaining privacy is to keep away non-residential uses from easy reach of everybody. Activities, which are subject to interaction of users especially those from outside community, should not be allowed to take place within the boundaries of the settlement. Therefore, space becomes the best tool of achieving this goal: the smaller the public service areas, the smaller are the activities. In accordance with it, public service areas, which are subject to be shared by those who do not belong to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, are purposely designed as small as they are allowed to be. There does not exist any reserved space even for some critical public uses, such as health services. Furthermore, some activities like shopping, which attract crowds is not allowed to be located, as one of the employees of Kooperatif-18 states:

"In the first plan prepared by the Municipality, a large area in the middle of the site was reserved for commercial purposes. It was a very large state land. Later, when habitation started in the settlement, they thought, state could sell this large commercial area to big-scale firms like Real, Migros. This kind of use, of course, would also let free circulation of people from outside. The inhabitants wanted to be away from crowds and did not want public circulation. Consequently, this large commercial area was moved out of the site".

As the meaning of public spaces weakens, the home representing the privacy becomes important in the lives of individuals. In David Harvey's view (1989a: 292) "the home becomes a private museum to guard against the ravages of time-space compression". The expectations of people living in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 point at the search for more privacy, contact with nature, and the feeling of openness as one interviewee clearly points to it:

"I have approved this villa for its openness. I bought and sold a few before deciding on the right one. The setting of this villa does not let us live vis-à-vis. I attach importance highly to domestic privacy. I, personally, have had the expectation of more privacy, contact with nature, the feeling of openness that all together has come true here. To deal with garden usually occupies my daily time".

(Age 52, university graduate housewife, married to high-level bureaucrat (diplomat), with three children, villa dweller)

The other element employed to increase the privacy, combined with lawns around houses in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, is its street design. The width of the main artery (25 meters) is competing with the major arteries of Ankara. As discussed in Chapter VI.2.1 streets are designed to function as paths for vehicular traffic flows rather than walking and living spaces. They are transitory spaces like corridors. In other words, they are "pass-through" streets. Pathways for pedestrian circulation, or jogging paths are

not planned. This is a typical street structure underlying the strong emphasis on private life and private car ownership that seems typical for the upper-middle class suburbs.

Green areas and nature which are the foremost claim of gated communities, has to be bigger, it is almost a must in this type of settlements. The access to the green areas can be under control, but not for commercial or other uses. In this context, it is not surprising that the active square meter green areas per capita is almost 6 times bigger than the required norm. Thus, green areas, adequate standards in infrastructure and parking compared to inner city, community control over exterior spaces, environment and aesthetics are the frequently mentioned variables that have motivated interviewees to move Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

Among the performance criteria for livable new settlements, protection of life and property from risks is one of the basic conditions, and has significance. Türkiye is a country with high risk of natural disasters. Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is not under the risk of flood, landslides, falling rocks, avalanches, and earthquakes. However, in order not to be confronted with the risk of earthquakes, the required precautions stated in the planning notes of master and development plans (Appendix D) have been taken. In the construction processes of all buildings, the necessary standards and engineering regulations have been followed.

After the earthquake of 17th August 1999, since Ankara is known not to be a seismic zone, it is said that the city has become an alternative settlement for people who like to be away from the risk of earthquakes. There is one interviewee who moved to Ankara and Angora Evleri after the earthquake of İstanbul, since houses have been constructed to be earthquake-resistant.

> *"We moved here from İstanbul last year because of the high risk of earthquakes. When we decided to own a house in Ankara we looked for a nice place especially for our children. I like houses set in large gardens. Though the garden of this house is not as big as I expected, anyhow, it pleases the aspiration of my children".*
>
> (Age 41, professional woman, married, with two children, villa dweller)

Security of life and property is lacking in the inner city, according to most of the interviewees. Actually, security of life and property is to be provided by the state. However, following the privatization movement, it has also become privatized. There are "security providing companies"; one of which has been employed by the Committee of Collective Management of Angora Evleri to provide security for its inhabitants. Kooperatif-18, on the other hand, has employed its own staff for the same purpose for its members. Nevertheless, all the villas interviewed have their own security systems additionally.

According to the outcomes of field survey, documents of physical plans, and interviews, gated communities fail to supply the necessary conditions for physical and mental well-being in terms of physical and social infrastructure facilities, namely primary education, health, and commercial activities. However, the outcomes of the survey analysis are parallel to the part of the hypothesis related to protection of life and property from risks. Therefore, it might be said that the second hypothesis of urban level is partly supported by the findings.

The unit level analysis is mainly focused on the built environment. Therefore, this section is about Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 and its inhabitants: Why they choose gates and a life behind walls; what their lives are like. In this connection, the residential mobility pattern of affluent households is investigated by time, and reasons for their move to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18.

This level of analysis explores also the community in terms of Pierre Bourdieu's economic, cultural, and social capitals. The questions formed are, then, related to the practices of residents of gated development; especially the cultural and social connections that people perform both inside the gates and beyond them. The investigation is mainly based on the data collected through interviews, publications of the community and site visits. In-depth interviews with open-ended questions provide the opportunity of gathering necessary information. Of course, the observations of the participant guide this level of analysis.

One way of viewing suburbs is to see it as a solution to the housing shortage for increasing population as well as for the demands of upwardly mobile individuals and

households. As discussed in Chapter V.3, the Çayyolu Mass Housing Project was considered as a solution for housing problem of middle and upper-middle income classes by the authorities, which later turned out to be a suburban expansion.

To classify the motivations leaving inner city residential quarters, and moving to suburbs is a complicated issue, because of the variety of reasons, and desires of households, and individuals' preferences. Suburban surveys conducted in Anglo-Saxon urban world emphasis the factors and motivations behind moving to a new residential area in terms of the quality of housing, residential environment, aspirations of the family, household preferences. The characteristics of the previous neighborhood, the inefficient qualities of previous dwellings are the other important factors, which affect neighborhood changes. Tony Champion argues that, the suburban expansion is "dominated by the housing needs and aspirations of the family, with the emphasis … on healthy space in which mother can devote her time to bringing up her children, and providing for her husband" (2001: 148).

The actual move to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is equated, as Ayşe Öncü (1997b: 68) notes, with good living standards, and prosperity that signifies upward social mobility. For this group, the very uniformity and orderliness of layout articulates, and symbolizes the cultural distinctiveness of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 inhabitants from the heterogeneous populace of Ankara. Moreover, as Roberto Camagni (2001: 136) carefully notes, "environmental quality is, in fact, a luxury good, increasingly appreciated at high income levels".

Indeed, what makes Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 differ from Çayyolu or from other similar settlements is the common agreement on the meaning of, and use of open space that has great input on the quality of environment. According to Amos Rapoport (1982: 130) account, maintenance plays the most important role in the environmental quality of residential areas. One of the most important aspects of maintenance is the quality of the front lawn, which is normally to be found in Anglo-American culture (Rapoport 1982: 129).

The other common agreement that makes the settlement attractive is the unified and homogeneous façades along streets, continuous landscape, and open space treatment. No garden walls or fences, even bushes are permitted that adds to visual

quality. As a consequence, the existence of luxurious and comfortable houses set in greenery and environmental quality attract the affluent households of Ankara.

Almost all the interviewees indicate the high quality and neat environmental setup, care given to the external and internal architectural design of dwellings. Nature is a mean for beauty and quality of environment for the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. One of the interviewees expresses her satisfaction as:

> *"This is our lifetime saving, and could afford only this (apartment flat). I wish we could afford a villa. Later, I enjoyed living here. The outstanding scenery, especially on the upper floor of the point block gives me a feeling of freedom. I'm looking outside as if I'm watching a pastoral painting. Due to this low-rise apartments, and houses, this view will never be blocked, and I don't draw curtains. Every thing is unlike our previous apartment flat in the city. When it comes to curtains, here in Angora Evleri, I'm not washing them so frequently, as I was used to while we were in the city".*
>
> (Age 58, retired professional woman, her husband also retired, married, with one child, 3+1 apartment dweller)

However, the explanation of those old members of Kooperatif-18, and those of who posses the dwellings through purchasing or exchanging the shares of the cooperative differ. For the oldest members of Kooperatif-18, economic reasons seem the most important motivation than the socio-cultural factors. They had to move to a place where Kooperatif-18 owns the land, and where their houses are built. Following the same line, the dwellers who bought their houses at the earlier stages of the construction of houses, also, explain their preferences of Angora Evleri in terms of relatively cheaper prices of dwellings.

> *"In 1988, we came together, irrespective of the political party we belonged, and founded a housing cooperative. In Türkiye, the best and the cheapest way of owing a house can only be realized in this way. Otherwise, how can I afford such a house like this? Although we have to wait for its realization for a long time, it was a real occasion".*

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The interviewees who have possessed dwelling units through exchange of shares
or purchasing claim that they are pleased with the high quality in terms of functional
architectural inner design, and better environmental quality of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-
18, provided that Barmek Construction Inc. completes unfinished parts of the settlement.
Actually, they refer to "better environmental quality" in both physical and social terms
and conditions. In fact, as Amos Rapoport (1982: 157) puts, environmental quality like
meaning and design is culture specific.

A general criticism is developed against fragmented gardens for their bad visual
appearance. If gardens are to be divided by separating objects, then, it defines a
fragmented, heterogeneous green background, which disturbs the uniqueness, thereby
the homogeneity of the Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The controllable and homogenous
exterior spaces are achieved, especially, in the front gardens of boulevard apartments
through continuous strip of planted land and lawns. The meaning of the form of planting
differs from one group to the other. Middle classes attribute positive meaning to highly
manicured planting (Rapoport 1982: 157) as one interviewee carefully underlines:

*"The repeated pattern of 'villa' apartments (that is what he calls boulevard
apartments) with continuous landscape, which is not separated by fences, walls,
or any other means of division, implies participation. Social segmentation does
not exist in this community. Besides, such scenery experienced from balcony or
windows pleases my eyes. And, I bought this flat knowing that its view would
never be blocked".*

(Age 43, head of a clinic in public sector, married, with two children, 4+1
apartment dweller)

Appearance is important and exterior maintenance influences judgments greatly (Rapoport 1982: 157). They also talk about the good appearance of the settlement observed at the first sight as one interviewee points out:

"At the moment you enter the site, point blocks welcome you. The orderly layout, uniform façades give you the hints of a high quality social and physical environment".

(Age 61, retired professional woman, bachelor living with her sisters, garden-duplex dweller)

The other physical quality of the settlement is the absence of disorder, and a secure environment that attracts young families with children. In fact, "the secure environment" seems to be the most important and commonly stated reason for parents with young children. They mention one of the reasons of their moving to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 as the anxiety of providing a better "social and physical environmental quality" for their children. Essentially, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is projected and developed purely as a residential area and fulfills the needs of family in this respect. This family life character additionally makes it attractive for families with children so that they can enjoy their childhood freely. In this context, it's layout, opportunities of the outdoor activities and street life, the abundance of playgrounds are positively stated and desired conditions for their children. That is why, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is said to be the good place to raise children as two interviewees state:

"The exterior conditions were not favorable for our child in the place from where we moved. When I'm at work, I know he is (four years old boy) much safer and playing in safer places comparatively. The only playground was the street in the inner city. So, I feel better. I see now, this is a good place to raise children; it was right decision to move here. "

And,

Sencer Ayata and Ayşe-Güneş Ayata (1996: 58-63) argue that middle class mothers are more concerned with their children compared to lower income group mothers. According to them, well-educated new middle class mothers have a tendency to control their children's outdoor activities. The study they conducted in Ankara including Çayyolu, (1996: 59) concludes that the higher the educational level of mother, the less her children spend time (play) in garden.

Contrary to this claim of Ayata and Ayata, mother interviewees in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 emphasize that one of the advantages of this settlement is the opportunities created for their children. They want their children to play in garden and street; and declare it among the reasons for their move. Certainly they are careful about the environment in which their children play. They want their children to be free away from potential dangers unlike inner city. They are pleased with the controlled environment and outdoor facilities for their children in general as one of the university graduate professional mother puts it clearly:

"We like to be here, because our children have the opportunity of being with nature, playing with their friends, etc. Not only my children (13 years old daughter, 6 years old son), but also all children here have the same opportunity. They can go out and play whenever they like. I don't worry about when they are playing in the garden. Furthermore, I'm not so anxious about them when they are out unlike the inner city. I don't need to control them all the time here".

(Age 42, wife of a high-level administrator interviewee, professional

woman, married, with two children, 4+1 apartment dweller)

Despite the fact that all the interviewees complain about the uncompleted state of external construction, almost all of them agree on the peace and tranquility of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. Peace and tranquility have both physical and social connotations. Greenery, low-density settlement, being away from the urban clutters such as traffic congestion, excessive noise, is associated with physical conditions. As one interviewee claims this is a quite, clean place and away from the daily stress of urban life and workplace of the inner city:

> *"Living here is like living in a resort all year around, continuous state of relaxing. We moved here from another villa in Ümitköy. That house was also nice, comfortable; but there was a small mosque close to our house. My husband couldn't put up with the way imam called the prayer. Indeed, he was not giving the call to prayer, but just like singing a song (uzun hava). Intervals were so long that, in the mornings we usually fell in asleep between, and than we were awaken again and again; it was unbearable. My husband recorded his way of calling, and even went to Diyanet. We could not be more patient, and didn't wait for the construction work to finish and moved here as quickly as possible".*

> (Age 39, part time working professional woman, married to high status manager, with one child, lodgment villa dweller)

Also circumstances of being away from noise, crowds, congestion of vehicular traffic, air pollution are the most and commonly cited advantages of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 by the interviewees. In fact, their conceptualization is based on the physical conditions attributed to Ankara, as one of the interviewee stresses:

> *"Ankara has become unlivable, chocked in smoke, dust, noise, what else, all urban illness. The entrances of apartments in the city, became clogged with heaps of refuse. For example, the façades of expensive and outstanding buildings such as former general directorate building of İş Bankası are eaten away. Even though the construction was brute concrete, acid rain caused serious damage on the façades so that whole building had been dyed in white".*

> (Age 62, retired journalist, currently working, married, with one child, 3+1 apartment dweller)

Furthermore, architectural designs of the dwelling units are viewed as an integral factor for the desired life-style. Therefore, special emphasis is given both on building and landscape architecture. Most of the female interviewees point out the better functional organization, and architectural design of inner spaces as compared to their previous dwellings. They argue that although their dwellings have almost the same largeness with the previous homes, due to the careful designs, the spaces are utilized in the way that makes life easier for its residents. This issue is clearly cited here by one of the interviewee:

> *"Apartment flats appeared to be the most economically suitable type for us. My wife is working outside, and is a very busy lady. She has really very limited time for housework; she is an academician. The first class functional, and spacious interior designs in every detail, like wardrobes, special spaces for laundry and ironing, bathroom fixtures of the dwelling attracted my wife, which makes daily life easier. According to my wife, special care is given the every single detail to the architectural design so that it will be perfect. New inventions in architecture are also employed to raise the standard of the houses, which in turn please the inhabitants"*
>
> (Age 43, head of a clinic in public sector, married, with two children, 4+1 apartment dweller)

The other interviewee brings up almost the same issues as one of the reasons for their moving:

> *"Since I'm working outside, I've limited time for housework. The interior design is very satisfactory, which makes my daily life easier".*
>
> (Age 30, professional woman, married, with one child, 3+1 apartment dweller)

These two interviewees are almost identical each other. Mothers are working professionals and like to have an orderly and comfortable life for their families. Angora

Evleri supply their needs in terms of both conveniences and labour saving devices for housework offered by internal design as well as opportunities for their children by exterior amenities.

Almost all the interviewees express that they are content with the physical conditions of buildings, and the outdoor spaces. In stressing this fact, one interviewee states:

"We are one of the oldest members of Kooperatif-18. We bought the share of the cooperative in 1990 on the assumption that this settlement was going to be an exclusive residential area of Ankara due to its members (parliamentarians). We like to live here; we should have moved here earlier. My husband is delighted with the indoor garage. My children are very happy with the garden because they have a small husky (eskimo dog) here. Thanks to the modifications made in the architectural design, living rooms of the ground floors were added into kitchens so that kitchens have become very spacious. The kitchen is very important for me, as well as garden, which is accessible both from the kitchen and the hall. You see, all the members of the family are pleased to be living here. My garden, by the way, is one of largest among villas. It is our luck!

(Age 40, housewife, married to small-scale entrepreneur, with three children, villa dweller)

The crucial distinction is the emphasis given on architectural inner design of the houses, as one of the interviewees reveals:

"After the retirement of my husband from the United Nations, we planned to settle down in Ankara where we used to live. We looked for a high standard, spacious, large garden house within the vicinity of Ankara. İncek, Beysukent were among the exclusive places where we would like to reside. But, here,the inner arrangement of the house was the main factor on in decision of choosing Kooperatif-18. Useful solutions in architecture add a lot to the quality of the house, and to the place we live in".

(Age 55, university graduate housewife, married, with three children, villa dweller)

The interview results are mostly in agreement with the hypotheses of physical setting sub-set of unit level.

The symbolism of space, Ayşe Öncü (1997a: 15) claims, "is a significant component of collective identities". In this line of approach, as Öncü notes it for İstanbul, the newly constructed residential districts are composed of uniform high-rise apartment blocks, such as Me-Sa Koru Sitesi, Zirve Kent, Emlak Bankası Evleri in Ankara. Indeed, as Amos Rapoport (1982: 157) carefully points out, uniform façades increase the attractiveness of development for the upper and middle classes. According to him, lower density is significant to the upper class, but not to the lower. Moreover, front yards, lawn and layout are the other indicators of taste, status, and life-style of its inhabitants.

In fact, "the ideal" home is associated with comfort, well-being, and status for a middle-class identity and culture (Öncü 1997b: 60). When asked about their "ideal home", similarly, the common ultimate goal appears to be a detached house set in a garden, which is away from the actual situation of apartment flats. Half of the interviewees state that the houses, they are currently living in, are the "ideal homes" of their dreams irrespective of housing types too. Yet, they point out different negative factors as one says:

> *"The house, we are now living in, is not my ideal home, simply because the aspirations of man are limitless".*
>
> (Age 37, small-scale entrepreneur, married, they are currently in the United States of America for the birth of their baby, villa dweller)

"Living in a secure neighborhood", Teresa Caldeira argues (1996a), becomes a status maker, or a way of displaying status among upper classes, which is confirmed by the answers of the interviewees. Most of them are proud of living in a safe residential area, as one of the interviewees expresses:

> *"People want to secure themselves, especially after paying such an amount!"*

(Age 38, professional man, husband of housewife interviewee, married,
with one child, garden-duplex dweller)

Responses to survey questions which probe where interviewees would wish to go as place of residence in case of any movement, demonstrate that most inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 express that they are very satisfied with the life and the environment in here. They generally talk about the places outside Ankara. Interviewees argue that it is a selected "prestigious" environment that provides an ideal home one can expect.

Half of them claim that Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is also a representative of an ideal environment. For the rest, the amenities are lacking for the time being, but definitely will be fulfilled when all the construction work are fully completed, still with some exceptions:

"It is not an ideal living environment. These point blocks should have never been constructed. I became the member of the cooperative in 1990 expecting a villa settlement".

(Age 48, retired professional, married, two children, villa dweller)

Consequently, as revealed by the above discussion, settlements of this type become "the spatialized image" of the upper-middle class residential areas.

On the other hand, for those who come here from other distinctive neighborhoods such as Mesa Koru Sitesi, Or-An, Bilkent, it is a novelty, a new trip with old friends who move here all together. However, the consumption and the formation of a well-ordered house is among the important variables of status for the new middle classes.

The appeal of moving into brand-new, spacious flat with well-equipped kitchens and up-to-date bathroom fixtures, decorated with assorted colors and designs is highly considerable for the new middle class households. Since all the villa dwellers are to complete the inner construction of their houses themselves, most of the informants have engaged decorators, and have affirmed that they choose their furniture one by one. Not

only villas, but also other dwelling units are decorated from top to bottom newly with matching furniture, new curtains, new towels, bed sheets which is a "part of the ritual of moving" (Öncü 1997b: 68).

It seems suburban dwellers like to express their difference through decorating their homes, gardens, and landscaping. They are happy with their houses being new, having exclusive features of the settlement, being among distinctive people, and having absence of disorder, which they have experienced in their previous neighborhood in the inner city:

> *"We bought a house here, because it is located in one of the most prestigious places of Ankara. If the quality of the house was more important, we could have one at Balgat, not one, perhaps two. Certainly, social environment is the dominant factor in choosing and living here".*
>
> (Age 61, retired professional woman, bachelor, living with her sisters, garden-duplex dweller)

The other interviewee enjoys the privileges of a private house after living in "a communal residential district" in residence for parliamentarians:

> *"We were not happy to be guarded by the police in the place where we used to live. There was no neighborliness among males unlike women. In fact, neighbors were conservative there. This place is away from noise, crowds of the city (Ankara), and is full of peace and tranquility. One wishes to be back home after work. Besides, this is our first house; it is a great pleasure to have it. Soon, I'll also begin garden-work".*
>
> (Age 59, old member of parliament, retired, part-time academician, married, villa dweller)

On the other hand, all the villa and garden-duplex dwellers are fond of their gardens. They verbalize their fondness below:

"Garden means to me an open and airy space with lawn, trees, and vegetables, that was lacking in the previous settlement where we used to live (residence for parliamentarians). Garden is like a member of the family. It is a special pleasure to eat the fruit of the trees here".

(Age 53, old member of parliament, small-scale contractor, married, southeastern origin, with two children, villa dweller)

A common assumption about suburbs is that suburban populace is homogeneous in cultural and social terms (Johnston and Gregory 1994). Studies conducted on suburbanization generally assume that the suburban community is a homogeneous community, which does not have deep inner variations. Ayşe Öncü (1997b: 65) also illustrates the motives of the new middle classes for moving to suburbs as the desire to live in a homogeneous environment cleansed of cultural clutter.

A clean environment, as Ayşe Öncü (1997b: 67) points out, is referred mostly to emphasize the "similarities in the social and occupational backgrounds of residents", that seems to be the most frequently used phrase to describe the life in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. Most of the interviewees chose the adjectives such as airy, light, refreshing, clean, orderly to describe the life in the settlement. In other words, together with all the negative physical advantages of the inner city, the interviewees are critical of the social-cultural pollution, which directly points out the cosmopolitan character of Ankara.

In fact, the residents of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 define themselves with reference to others who are bond to live in corrupted metropolis. Eventually, search for a "better physical" and "social environment" becomes the most important, and the strongest intensive behind the movement towards suburbs for urban people. Hence, the

quality of social environment is described in terms of social homogeneity of the suburbanites.

As Paul Knox (1987: 57) and Herbert J. Gans (1967/1973a: 87) demonstrate, fairly homogeneous community contain people who perform the same kind of work and have the same kind of interests; thus they tend to look, think, and behave alike. By doing so, they reflect a consensus of values and behavior. Therefore, this place is expected to be inhabited by people whose age, family structure, income level, habits, conversation, dress are like themselves. One interviewee puts it this way:

> *"We, all members of my family, years ago, began to question the city conditions, and decided to search for new ways of livings, outside the city, but close by. Indeed we knew the cooperative and its place. Our close friends were also members of it. We bought the share of Kooperatif-18 in 1993, and moved in 1998. We are among the first comers".*
>
> (Age 57, head of a department of a university, married, with one child, villa dweller)

The other respondent clearly states it as:

> *"I wanted to dwell in a place where I can share with people like myself in terms of educational and cultural background. For example, here, I can walk freely in shorts".*
>
> (Age 40, professional woman, married, with one child, middle-floor boulevard apartment dweller)

A safe and sterile environment for children, a serene life-style far away from the urban chaos for elderly population, a homogenous, safe and secure social life for parents are among the desires of interviewees, through which they can distinguish themselves from the lower strata. A sales manager observes carefully the aspirations of new middle class in words stated below:

"Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 offers inhabitants the prospect of a country life within a commuting distance to the city. After returning from work, seeking daily relief from the stress of business, and outside world, to sit in a garden, and have drinks is a pleasure. This place is also suitable for retired population. It is endowed with clean, fresh air. It is livable, even solely for the tranquility it offers. For middle-aged people, it is an escape from the clutters of the city; it is a new kind of living, and a new community".

As Amos Rapoport maintains (1982) the fact that, the windows, houses all have the same size and form seems to have the importance, which secures the physical homogeneousness. Therefore, architectural standardization supports other signs and symbols of cultural homogeneity, and social uniformity. Lack of crowd is the most attributed variable for social homogeneity. It comes to the point that what attracts people to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is not only the search for a better physical environment, but also the desire of better social environment.

The flight to suburbs involves a separation from the rest of the society. To separate themselves from others is usually justified on security grounds through excluding undesirable individuals and activities. Likewise, the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are in agreement on the importance of a secure neighbourhood so as to be satisfied with the residential area. Although, most of the interviewees complain about the insufficiency of the security system, they relate it partly to the poor management of services which have not been fixed yet.

On the other hand, gates have latent meaning quite independent of their role of security as clearly illustrated by Teresa Caldeira. They seem to be the elements of discrimination. "Security and control are the conditions for keeping the others out, for assuming not only isolation but also happiness, harmony, and even freedom" (Caldeira 1996b: 311). Transportation difficulty seems an advantage for this discrimination so that the settlement does not become a place where everybody can pass by as one of the interviewee states:

"I don't like crowds. People can't come here easily thanks to its remoteness. Gates are necessary elements for keeping people away from the site. I don't like people rambling around".

(Age 50, retired man, currently employed as consultant in private sector, married, mid-floor dweller)

The micro level analysis conducted in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are in agreement with the assumption that although there are some small-scale inner variations among inhabitants, the new upper-middle suburbs, which are spatial representation of social segregation, are homogeneous within the fragmented urban space in terms of cultural and social characteristics (see also VI.3.1 and VI.3.3). The hypothesis related to belongingness, which states "Gated community residential areas are the spatialized image of the upper-middle class; the households of gated communities are proud of their houses; and the inhabitants of Angora Houses-Kooperatif-18 have tendency to be with people like themselves who are living in such a settlement", is supported.

The status of individuals was formerly secured by family, title, rank, manner, clothing, etc. In contemporary societies these no longer determine status. Only financial status remains and can be analyzed by conspicuous consumption patterns. The decisive status symbol is the residence in a "good neighborhood", which is "legally protected by zoning and fiercely defended against any intrusion of non-conforming elements, structural or human" (Blumenfeld 1967: 53-54). Likewise, Turkish society considers importance on residential area as a demonstration of status. However, the degree or manner is not within the scope of this study.

The analysis of life-style in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, then, becomes another topic that needs elaboration. The interviews conducted with dwellers of the settlement indicate the distinction of inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 in terms of life-style. For this reason, the analysis of life-style of inhabitants is necessary for a better understanding of the community in return. The scope of this part of the study is dwells on the explanatory variables of life-style developed by Pierre Bourdieu. According to the

Bourdieu's theory of social stratification, households can deploy different forms of "capital" available to them in a particular society for defining social standing. In other words, he defines the individual's position in a society according to his/her "distinction habitus". In his account,

> "the dominant class constitutes a relatively autonomous space whose structure is defined by the distribution of economic and cultural capital among its members, each class fraction being characterized by a certain configuration of this distribution to which there corresponds a certain life-style, through the mediation of the habitus; that, second, the distribution of these two types of capital among the fractions is symmetrically and inversely structured, and that, third the different inherited asset structures, together with social trajectory, command the habitus and the systematic choices it produces in all areas of practice, of which the choices commonly regarded as aestetic are one dimension -then these structures should be found in the space of life-styles, i.e. in the different systems of properties express themselves" (Bourdieu 1979/1989: 260). He further states that, each individual's position in the space is defined by the relative weights of the economic capital and cultural capital he possesses, and his social trajectory governs his relationship to those economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1979/1989: 264).

"Economic capital" is defined as material resources, usually expressed through conspicuous consumption, where "cultural capital" is related to education or taste. "Social capital" is the social prestige, as indicated, for example, by well-known family names. Although the capitals can be categorized on theoretical grounds, in practice they are all interwoven with each other.

Regarding economic capital, among the economic variables home ownership; the occupation of inhabitants and their employment status; and their way of spending habits/patterns are studied in this study. The variables of cultural capital are educational

level of households; the way of attitude toward workingwomen; and conception patterns of inhabitants. The variables associated with social capital are friendly, neighborly relations within the community; relations with their elderly parents, and with their children; and the jobs of inhabitants and their achieved careers. Within the scope of this study, the approaches, feelings and thoughts of inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 towards their children and their work are among the concerns in terms of symbolic capital.

In Correspondence with the Barmek data presented in Chapter VI.2.2, the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are generally homeowners. Middle and upper-middle class invest their savings in housing developments on the periphery of Ankara, in order to distinguish themselves symbolically, and spatially, from what they define as urban clutter, and pollution, both physically and socially of urban Ankara.

Most of the housing units have been dwelled by owners, while there are a few tenants. Likewise, the majority of households interviewed are homeowners; only two apartment dwellers are tenants, one is which is villa lodgment. According to the employee, the presence of some tenants in the settlement is either due to a group of people who own a house for profit or to those who are currently out of Ankara for the time being. Almost 10 percent of homeowners own the second, even third dwelling units in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 as indicated by one of the interviewees:

> *"We were fed up with living in the apartment and wanted to live with in nature. In fact, the search for the essential joys of life made us to realize the magic of garden, and nature. Then, we bought this garden-duplex in 1997 and moved here in 1999. We are also member of Kooperatif-18. Our villa has not been completed yet; we can control the construction work here very easily. When it is finished, perhaps we will move there".*

> (Age 61, retired professional woman, bachelor, living with her sisters, garden-duplex dweller)

The upkeep and maintenance of houses and environment is at a considerable level. The inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 spend on the maintenance and upkeep of their habitats more than their counterparts do in the inner city. In the year 2003, their monthly dues was 210.000.000,- TL. of which 100.000.000 TL. for heating, the rest for the provision of services, including maintenance of the environment, and for wages of the staff employed for Angora Evleri. This amount runs up to 300.000.000,- TL. for some months for the members of the Kooperatif-18 excluding heating expenses.

The assumption that the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 distinguish themselves from others by their spending rather than their savings that is revealed by the results of interviews. As assumed in this study the new middle class spend mostly on food and schooling expenses of their children; expenses for entertainment, recreation, trips are of secondary importance.

Majority of the interviewees, including the entrepreneurial group do not have the habit of saving. Those that have tendency of saving are young families with children, and all of them prefer bonds, accounts, gold, and foreign currency as means of investment, most probably for the current and future expenses of their children. This means that they like to set aside some of their earnings not for the purpose of investment rather, for spending again in the very near future. On the other hand, there are only two interviewees who are saving in real sense, and investing on land. One of them has two university students, whereas the other respondent is childless. Consequently, since they are highly paid, it can be asserted that the more they earn, the more they spend.

On the other hand, the outcomes of the interviews conducted with the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 clearly illustrate the fact that those currently working or retired interviewees belong to professional-managerial-administrative-technical group as depicted in the previous chapter (VI.3.2). In terms of their status at work they are high-level bureaucrats, top-executives or entrepreneurs.

They are highly educated, highly paid urban professionals; naturally educational level of the interviewed households is significantly higher than those of the level in urban area (see also VI.3.2). Apart from school age children, there are only twelve persons whose education is below university level among the all members of households interviewed including one deaf lady (56) who got her education in İzmir that was the

only city of the country that has had a school for disabled persons at that time. Two males, seven females have high school diplomas; one male, two females have intermediary school diplomas. It comes to the point that in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 a gender difference is not observed between sexes from educational level from the point of view of educational level (see also VI.3.3) (Appendix A.3).

Women working and earning outside home are tolerated at a high level in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The ratio of workingwomen is significant among households interviewed. As a result of the high educational level of inhabitants, all interviewees are in agreement on the matter that women can work and earn outside. All of them approve, and give their support for women on this issue. They express their support in the following statements: "women should also produce" or "everyone should work, so do women" or "there is not any gender difference when it comes to working" or "every human being should work". However, there are some inner variations within this view, as some quoted below:

"Women are not to be forced to work".

(Age 27, professional man, university graduate, married, tenant, 3+1 apartment dweller)

"Women's first duty is to raise her children. That is why I'm not working for the time being".

(Age 38, university graduate housewife, married to a businessman, with two children, villa dweller)

"Since I have to work, I've never thought about it. Anyway, women certainly must work".

(Age 40, professional woman, married, childless, 3+1 apartment dweller)

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As David Chaney (1996: 112) argues "whereas traditionally occupation and profession determined social class and thus an individual's way of life", in the second half of the century "leisure activities and/or consumer habits are being increasingly experienced by individuals as the basis of their social identity". Amos Rapoport (1982: 72) also carefully notes, "All goods and consumer items have meanings that organize social relations. This is, in fact, their latent, and major function".

The way of analyzing consumer culture and its globalization appropriated in this study is Pierre Bourdieu's (1979/1989) line of thinking. According to him, consumption practices have the symbolic significance, and they are associated with class-specific codes through symbolic hierarchies of taste and style as touched on in Chapter IV.1.3. According to him, "cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education" (1979/1989: 1). Hence, all cultural practices and preferences are closely linked to educational level, and secondarily to origin.

One the other hand, the management of family consumption is an important domain of responsibility for women. Therefore, most of the explanatory answers are gathered from female interviewees. Since the settlement has not been fully completed, the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are highly dependent on the other districts of Ankara, and Çayyolu in terms of every activity including daily shopping, leisure and entertainment.

Almost all the interviewees declare that they eat out and most of them prefer Uludağ and İskender-like restaurants. There are few households that bring up the names of others besides these "mutton" restaurants. The Arjantin Street and Bilkent Plaza restaurants have the second rank. Nevertheless, any kind of relation between households and their class cannot be captured on the basis of eating out.

However, most of the interviewees, irrespective of age, pursue brand names for clothes and fineries. They visit mostly Armada, Migros and Bilkent Centers, Mark and Spencer shops, Adidas, Beymen, Yargıcı, Vakko not for this purpose only, but also for leisure activities. There is one interviewee who states the United States of America is a good cheap shopping place. On the other hand, two households declare that they like to make their own cloths.

Majority of the interviewees go to the movies, still some prefer DVD at home. Part of the interviewees who like to stay at home during their leisure times, and deal with their gardens or prefer reading are mostly elderly. The younger ones like to be engaged with sport. Entertainment has different connotations for different households interviewed:

"It is a self-therapy".

(Age 27, professional man, university graduate, married, tenant, 3+1 apartment dweller)

"It is one day freed from boredom, stress, anxiety".

(Age 77, retired parliamentarian, American university graduate, widow, living with his brother and his wife, villa dweller)

"It is music, dancing, being with friends".

(Age 39, part time working professional woman, married to high status manager, with one child, lodgment villa dweller)

Overall, new middle class can be equated with the phrase of "first class consumers" or "A-type consumers" that are also called "white-Turks" in colloquial language, which evokes primarily not dark skinned, like spending more than saving, well educated and trained people who are in search for the joys of life.

Since, the relationships they establish with the other districts of the city, and its public life are unavoidable, due to the inefficiency of the facilities for the time being, social life in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 seems to be built up around family life, and neighborly relations, which is one of the desired aspect of suburban areas. The existing inner diversification of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 community is reflected on the neighborly relations. In accordance with the findings gathered, while some of the interviewees praise neighborliness in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, some express their

dissatisfaction with the weak relations prevailing, and still others mention that there is not much difference in terms of neighborliness compared to their previous neighborhoods. Two of the interviewees representing two different age groups express their contentment as:

"Neighborliness is better here compared to place where we used to live. I was working there, and had limited time for visits. Now I'm retired, and have more spare time for myself here. I visit my neighbors four or five times a week. Of course, they visit me too".

(Age 57, retired professional woman, wife of a high status academician interviewee, married, with one child, villa dweller)

And,

"In our previous neighborhood, we didn't meet with people living in the same apartment, except apartment manager and kapıcı. There was a kind of isolation. We used to exchange hellos when we met with the next-door neighbor only. But here we have coffee together and visit each other regularly. When the site is inhabited, I think, neighborly relations will be established more intensely".

(Age 25, university graduate professional, married, with one child, villa dweller)

Herbert J. Gans (1991/1995: 177-185) uses the term "quasi-primary", which characterizes relationships between neighbors. He argues that "whatever the intensity or frequency of these relationships, the interaction is more intimate than a secondary contact, but more guarded than a primary one". Unlike Gans the social relationships of the Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 community are not intimate, and frequent in general. It seems that satisfaction in the neighborly relations depends on the group they belong to. To find such a group of similar social and cultural traits is an important factor for

establishing social relations. However, there are some close relations within the confined social groups that are formed by either friends, parents of their children, or relatives. Interviewees generally specify that they like to be within the vicinity of each other.

Some of the interviewees claim that they preferred to maintain the familiar social environment and moved altogether in order to alleviate the troubles of getting used to a new residential district as one of the interviewee expresses:

> "Neighborliness was better there where we used to live. However, we, as a group of friend, moved here, all together. That is why I must say, I'm satisfied with the neighborliness going on".
>
> (Age 58, retired woman, wife of a retired male interviewee, with child, villa dweller)

The same is not observed for those who are from other residential neighborhoods of Ankara, including some lower status residential areas, such as Akıncı, Yüzüncü Yıl.

For the establishment of intimate and intense social relationships, it seems important to meet each other. Accordingly, in order to achieve the active participation of inhabitants into the social life of Angora Evleri and consciousness of the environment to become acquainted with each other, tree-planting festivals have been celebrated three times by Barmek. Additionally, Barmek publishes its own magazine with the intention of creating a sense of community among its inhabitants; the other purpose is to provide a ground for inhabitants to get acquainted with each other.

As C.S. Fisher (cited by Paul Knox 1987: 72) observes, "there is a pioneer eagerness to make friends in new suburban developments". Likewise, two interviewees are very pleased of "first-day-offer" by their neighbors at the first instance while they were moving. None of the informants mentions the cultural or economic differences among neighbors; yet still, speak of privacy. The expectation of some people living in villas points to the search for more privacy, contact with nature, and a feeling of

openness. In line with privacy, some of the informants evaluate neighborliness in a negative way as said by:

"Here, in this place, I have the possibility to practice high level of privacy. I don't like much neighborly relations. I don't have problem with them personally. I don't visit neighbor women, so I don't see them much. I'm not pleased living with the people around. Neighbor visiting is losing time. Everybody should know their limits".

(Age 52, university graduate housewife, married to high-level bureaucrat (diplomat), with three children, villa dweller)

On the other hand, one interviewee expresses her disillusion in understated words:

"When we first moved in, there was a family or I don't know perhaps he was alone, living at the lower floor. He was so arrogant that you can't see how he afforded to buy such a flat. On a Bayram day he came to our door, with a revolver in his hand, shouting that my children were making noise, and he couldn't sleep. It was not so early, about ten o'clock in the morning. Then, he realized, he was wrong, and went away. Can you imagine a man with revolver, at your door! It was terrifying. My husband and I had decided to move out. Soon after, he moved somewhere else. If he didn't, we would have moved definitely. How can such people live here? How can they make money? What is their cultural and educational background? Which school did they go?"

(Age 36, professional woman, married, with two children, 3+1 apartment dweller)

Specifically villa and garden-duplex type of housing are encouraging familial activities. Floor plans additionally strengthen family togetherness. The claims of the most of the interviewees are consistent with it.

In Ankara, Sencer Ayata and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (1996: 69-74) argue that the most frequently visited group is relatives in all districts, regardless of gender, socio-economic status, or life-style. The intensity of relations, specifically in the new middle class, increased with their parents (Ayata and Ayata 1996: 74). Likewise, in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18, relationships with relatives seem to be stronger than those with their neighbors. All the interviewees give emphasis to family relations much more than neighborly dealings. Below is one example of an interviewee who gives "relative relations" as the reason for their move here:

> *"The degree of neighborliness is same compared to our previous apartment. The major reason for our move to this place is the wish to be with my sisters who reside here. We are very pleased living all together".*

> (Age 58, retired professional woman, her husband also retired, with one child, 3+1 apartment dweller)

Although inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are fond of family life with their children, there is no incidence of the extended family or families living with their elderly parents, or relatives among the people interviewed, with one exception. A retired member of parliament whose wife is dead and is 77 years old is living with his brother and his wife. Furthermore, more than half of the respondents prefer to go to the holiday outside Ankara during religious Bayrams instead of visiting neighbors, friends or elderly relatives. They are mostly composed of working couples.

Working families constitute the general structure of households interviewed among which both husband and wife; and most of the adults of the family also work. A good number of the working population state that they have found their jobs by themselves, through application or advertisements. Generally older people achieve their status by themselves whereas it is ascribed status for younger working people. That means that they have the ability, education, knowledge, and skill to have the ascribed status, which is one of the important features of the new middle class.

A further factor in suburban way of life is the growing wish of people to live at lower densities because of its advantages for family living, particularly when a family contains young children. Likewise, the interviews conducted with young families with

children indicate the home-centered and family-centered life-style where children are in the center of all activities of parents. Therefore, the analysis of family becomes critical in the analysis of the Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 community.

Interviewed mothers are highly concerned with their children. A more striking quotation, which confirms the child-centered life-style among the inhabitants of the settlement, comes from two households of Angora Evleri. They almost devote themselves totally to the upbringing of their children. Both household heads are small-scale contractors, both families have two children; both mothers are homemakers; one of them is a university graduate (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi), the other is a vocational school graduate. They identify their children as reason for their move to Angora Evleri:

"We moved here with the belief that the city has become a dangerous and precarious environment for our children. We sold our flat in the city, and first rented a garden-duplex. Now, my children are happy with the outdoor facilities, we are also happy knowing that they are in a secure environment. My children are emancipated. They can ride bicycle, they can play as long as they want to, have more friends. Playing at the streets is a must for the socialization of children. Angora Evleri is also the best place for this purpose. When our children grow, and prefer staying in the city to avoid everyday journey to home, and like to contact with social and cultural life of the city-center, then, perhaps, we will move back".

(Age 39, university graduate housewife, wife of small-scale entrepreneur interviewee, with two children, tenant, ground floor 3+1 apartment dweller)

And,

"The conditions (physical and social) of the city were deteriorating from day to day. When we decided to change our neighborhood, we looked for a suitable place for our children. After a small investigation, we found Angora Evleri as

the best place for them. Besides, my boy's school was at Beysukent. It was right to move to a place, close to his school. He is now attending an inner city school, anyway. Angora Evleri was the correct decision. Immediately after our moving, even the accent of my children changed. We bought garden-duplex type of dwelling recently to provide a life closer to nature for them. I'm coming from a feudal family; I know what it is to be close to soil. We want to create a chance for our children to spend their spare times in the garden with nature, just as I did in my childhood".

(Age 52, small-scale contractor, married, with two children, apartment roof-duplex dweller)

The families with young children provide summer school, private courses, and kindergarten for their children. A serious anxiety about their children's education is obvious among the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 irrespective of parent's educational level, or their employment status. However, this concern is higher among well-educated professional-managerial-administrative-technical group. The consciousness of parents about the importance of education in upward social mobility makes them more careful about the future of their children compared to entrepreneurial group. This high level of concern is exemplified by the words of one interviewee:

"Our biggest expense is our daughter's education. Being intellectuals, what can we offer beside education to our daughter! We don't even own a house for ourselves. She is only a high school student and her monthly expenditure exceeded one billion Lira last year".

(Age 56, husband of an interviewee, high status manager, with one child, villa dweller)

As a result of transferring housework to domestic servants, women are emancipated and homemakers begin to spend much of their time on the organization of housework, children, and husband care. On the other hand, well-educated women begin to work and earn outside. Female workers for cleansing the houses, is a common trend in

the settlement. There are interviewees who could afford to employ full-time maidservants who are mostly Moldavian.

Indeed, the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are fond of working. This can be observed through the analysis of working women: there is no gender difference between male and female working status. Within the range of economically active population, the women labor participation rate seems quite high. There are only seven housewives who are not currently working and are between ages of 25 and 45. One of them is expecting a baby; the other two are retired; and the rest are housewives, and are not working outside (see also VI.3.2). There is only one male interviewee who is retired in the age group of 25-49. The higher rate of female retired population is due to the better retirement conditions for females as one interviewee clearly demonstrates:

> *"My wife, I guess, was one of the youngest retired person in the country; she was 38 years old when she was retired. We moved here in 1999, immediately after moving in, we had our second baby. My son is luckier than his elder sister. He is being raised in touch with soil, and under the full control of his own mother".*

> (Age 46, top-executive high-level bureaucrat, university graduate, villa dweller)

In urban areas, male population does not keep its high level position in labour force that is clearly supported by the interviews conducted. Likewise, there is no interviewee working after the age of 60 among the households interviewed, with two exceptions. Although both of them are retired officially, they seem to enjoy working, as one of them says:

> *"I don't need to work economically, but what else can I do? It is (working) a pleasure for me. Contemporary man and woman, regardless of sex, and as long as he or she wants, should work. Indeed, women can do whatever men can. So, woman may work and earn outside, on condition that she pleases with the work she gets pleasure from the work she engages in".*

The connotation of "work" is different for members of ascribed status. Surprisingly enough, the descriptive answers are gathered only from female respondents. It is "economic freedom and leisure" for one currently non-working woman; it is "economic power" for professional women; it is "career and accomplishment" for the youngest working lady.

It has completely different meaning for those who are employed in the public sector: It is "responsibility and labor" for a middle-aged working woman; it is a bit of "being social and stress"; in the line of being social it is "dynamism" for another middle-aged public employee. Both male and female workers share the opinion that to work and produce is necessary an activity to survive. However, one lady expresses her nationalist views that were indoctrinated in her school days:

"To work is to pay what was given to you by the state. It is like a military service for men. It was our duty to work for this land".

A non-working housewife defines it as "*dependency, being far away from freedom*". According to her, people work because "*they have to be busy with something*".

The answers to the question "Why people work" is highly diversified. Respondents regardless of gender emphasized the importance of economic freedom and earning. When asked, some of them argue that people work because "*they need self-esteem*", "*they are human beings*", "*they want to be successful*" or "*because of self-satisfaction*".

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On the other hand, they state their reason for working as: "to live within a social life"; "not to be dependent upon parents or someone else after certain age"; "as pleasure" and "to practice her training; and to be worthwhile". All these answers lead to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 community are fond of working which is one the foremost characteristics of the new middle class and their way of life.

The above discussion on the findings reveal the fact that social setting hypotheses of unit level, which are grouped around the notion of Pierre Bourdieu's variables of life-style, are confirmed mostly by the data gathered in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. The residential clustering of new middle class seems to be the desire of its members to preserve their own life-style, as emphasized by a muhtar:

> *"The life-styles of people who own a house or a dwelling unit in a gated community is quite different. They want to be with themselves. They are parvenus; don't have social backgrounds; and try to be distinct through the house they own. They don't have communal life. Who buys a house there? How can they afford such a house? Why do people want to live behind gates? What are they hiding?"*

VII.2 The Role of Image-Making and Advertisements in the Marketing of A New Life

The real estate and developer advertisements are good sources for the investigation about the life-styles of middle and upper-middle classes. The analysis of advertisements tells us the underlying motives/desires of the new urban way of life for the affluent coterie of the society as well as the proposed code of social distinction. They "explicitly treat separation, isolation, and protection as a matter of status" (Caldeira 1996b: 309). On the other hand, the advertisements are also indispensable sources to discover the ways how gated communities and the place of their images in the society are discursively constructed.

In reality, the foremost claim of gated communities is to provide an alternative for urban way of life offered by the city. In Teresa Caldeira's (1996b: 308) words, "As such, they are codified as something conferring high status". She maintains that the advertisements suggest the myth of "a new concept of residence" on the basis of the articulation of images of security, isolation, homogeneity, facilities, and services. Consequently, what they put forward is the possibility of making a world "distinguished" from the city; in other words, a new life of peace and security. The following analysis, thus, is an attempt to discover what is capturing the imagination of Ankara's upper-middle and middle classes through advertisements of Angora Evleri.

In the housing market of Türkiye, more or less similar symbols and images related to global concepts are used. The myth of a "new concept of residence" is replaced by a myth of "ideal home" with which its "imaginary associations of comfort, well-being and status" become the "locus of a middle-class identity and culture" (Öncü 1997b: 60). Ayşe Öncü (1997b) for example, in her analysis of İstanbul's residential market, clearly delineates that this myth is a global construct, and generally adopted by this society according to the local conditions of its members. However, advertisements make a remarkable use of the contemporary and global consumer signs and symbols. According to her, "Ideal home", in this picture, "claims for itself the moral superiority and legitimacy of timeless and placeless truth" (Öncü 1997b: 60). She further claims that the introduction of the concept of ideal home falls into a period when Turkish economy was opening up to global flows of capital and finance whereby Turkish advertising industry became internationalized (Öncü 1997b: 61).

The "ideal home" proposed by Angora Evleri revolves around clean air, healthy lives; cleansed of urban clutter, polluted environment, and culture; happiness and tranquility; homogeneity, living among equals; easy use and reach of facilities and services; a cultural milieu; the opportunity of doing sports, which are to be achieved on the basis of security, isolation, homogeneity, facilities, and services (Angora News 1998/12: 6). In the advertisements, the image of Angora Evleri is promoted contrary to the image of the city, Ankara is settled densely, chaotic, and polluted. However, Angora Evleri is spacious, orderly settled, and clean environment (Figure VII.1).

Since Ankara is said to be lacking greenery, it is emphasized that Angora Evleri is situated in the center of a forest area of "green belt" and "Hacettepe University

Forest", by which this settlement is endowed with natural beauties (Figure VII.2). Furthermore, it provides an image of distinction to its dwellers.

Figure VII.1 The Best part of Life Ornated with Happiness and Tranquility: Angora Houses. (Source: Advertisement Brochure)

What is more, it is stated that they do not sell a house, but a whole new life-style. The photography in the brochure connotes globalized images, a westernized way of life, and a living in sociable environment: children have the freedom of playing on greens and to be with their pets; teenagers enjoy playing tennis; housewives are happy to be with nature and neighbors; and beautiful houses with green areas around. The other advertisement says, for example, "Everyday you don't go home, but to a vacation".

Figure VII.2 Angora Houses in Greenery (Source: Advertisement Brochure)

Angora Evleri is advertised as possessing facilities comprised of shopping, and health centers, recreational complex with open and closed swimming pools, an artificial lake, botany-garden, amphitheatre, teahouse, bars; playgrounds, sport fields with basketball and tennis courts which are described in Ayşe Öncü's words, as "the necessary accoutrements of modern way of life" (1997: 62). The advertisements provide that this life-style endowed with various physical facilities can only be lived in Angora Evleri and offers a living environment, which is described as "a dream that came true". Barmek Construction, the contractor, is proud of itself:

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"...The foundation of a new life, in our capital Ankara, is being realized by Barmek. In the real sense, Angora Evleri development is the archetype of its kind which offers a life outside the city. It is the best housing development in Ankara with spacious and versatile interior, and functional and attractive external designs combined with livable and vast outdoor spaces. Our motto is 'there begins a new life in Angora Houses'".

(Angora News, 1995 Number 2 and 1996 Number 4.)

Segregation and isolation from the city, on the other hand, is declared in the texts of advertisement brochure as "Angora Evleri is a settlement, only fifteen minutes to the city, with neighbors, forests, and a nature enthusiast". It is the connotation of being so far away from the urban illness, but so close to it, which is the utterly stated contradictory promises.

Regardless of size, type, and cost of dwelling, argues Ayşe Öncü, two common features of these settlements are highlighted in the text of advertisements, in almost identical phrases. "They are all outside [city] but very close, and can be reached within minutes by car on the expressway" (Öncü 1997b: 62). Similar statements have been made about Angora Evleri. Some examples are: "A small town is going to be built providing its inhabitants with an environment full of security and peace".

In the advertisements of Angora Evleri, security measures do not take place. The assistant sales manager explains this as:

"The primary objective of Barmek Construction was to realize a residential development through the notions of a new life-style, tranquility, and comfort. Security was not among the concerns. Later, it has been introduced to potential purchasers as an important subject".

(Assistant Sales Manager, interview held on January 10, 2003.)

The salient image used in the promotion brochures of Angora Evleri is that of the young nuclear family, father, mother, and two children, one boy, one girl, which has strong connotations with the modern way of life and westernization. (Average household size is 3.25 for Çankaya District Council; the average family size, naturally, is expected to be lower than this figure.) In the picture, all the members of the family embrace each other and smile, and feature in front of the main boulevard describing Angora Evleri development as a place of happiness, and this advertisement invites people "to take part in this picture of happiness" (Figure VII.3).
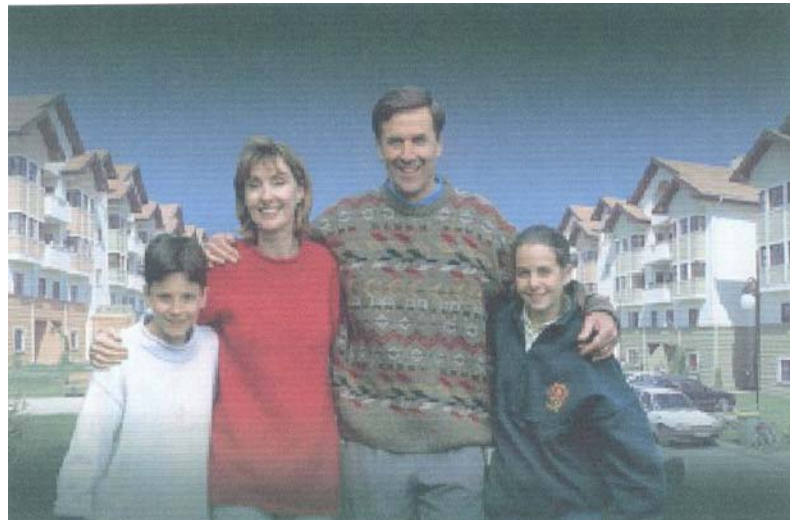
Figure VII.3 Take your part in this picture of happiness.
(Source: Advertisement Brochure)

The other element of advertising, explains sales manager, was the arranging special days programmed by Barmek. The site has had the picture of a bedroom community. In organizing such activities, people have had the opportunity to experience Angora Evleri as a place of recreation on weekends. These programs have also been good instruments to achieve participation and neighborliness among inhabitants.

Although the concepts employed differ from each other, each gated development defines its image and identity with respect to the city nearby. The image-makers,

following the same line of concept, defined Angora Evleri with reference to the images of Ankara. The first and foremost image of Ankara is its being the Capital of the country. The projected image of Angora Evleri, therefore, has its connection with "leadership" and becomes the "Capital of Life", somewhere else "Capital of Ankara" [1] so that it catches the highest social status in the city (Figure VII.4). This image appears in the advertisements as "… for whom who knows how to live".

Figure VII.4 Capital of Ankara: Angora Evleri
(Source: Advertisement Brochure)

Lacking greenery, Ankara is known as a highly polluted city with traffic congestion, crowds, dust and noise. Pollution is a word that implies every type of corruption; physically, socially, and culturally. The image created for Angora Evleri is totally different from this picture. It is, in Angora Evleri, healthy lives, away from the clutters of Ankara, green all around the settlement, clean air, beautiful and orderly developed environment. This image provides inhabitants of Angora Evleri with the opportunity of both staying out of this polluted environment, and at the same time, remaining in the city.

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[1] In the English text, it is written as "Capitol of Life". Capitol is the temple of Jupiter in Rome, and also United States Congress Hall.

Perhaps the most important image created is the idealization of a mythical past, which is the case with almost all the gated communities. Angora Evleri takes its name after the antique name of Ankara: Angora. Moreover, the name of the development connotes "a kind of return to old golden days". The images of houses is also created with reference to ancient wooden maisons of Ankara and designed, as they say, according to American standards. Furthermore, the extension of Angora Boulevard is named "Hittites Boulevard" in order to refer to the same antique era.

Here, the past is viewed as a state of happiness, which is lacking today, but revived in Angora Evleri. In fact, the settlement, with its mass-produced houses, its architectural design, and its land use has nothing in common with the historical mansions of Ankara. This is a mythical symbol that provides the foundation upon which image of the development could be dwelled.

Accordingly, Angora Evleri the marketing and sales department, in order to sell houses, prepared several glossy brochures, catalogues, advertisements both in Turkish and English, illustrating architectural plans of the housing types and information about facilities, together with pleasing visual sketches, photographs, usually accompanied by short texts, and always with houses set in greenery.

The language used in these texts and advertisements are appealing in flavor and display the images with which the aspirations of middle and upper-middle classes may fit into each other. Actually, what is meant through advertisements has been justified in a way:

> *"This is a settlement (not for the time being, but will be realized soon) endowed with natural beauties; flower smell, birds sing...Intimate social relations add much to the ambiance of this settlement. I mean, neighborhood is not only greeting each other in the mornings but it is participation, sharing. I'm familiar with the faces living here".*
>
> (Age 52, retired, married, 4+1 apartment dweller)

To sum up, Angora Evleri claims to provide an "ideal home" "in an ideal environment" supported by the motives around the notion of isolation, life-style, amenities, comfort, safe environment and recommends it for those who are in search for

"a new life from a new point", and continues "Ankara is beautiful, when you live in Angora". The texts accompanying advertisements discursively construct the image of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 through the metaphor of "nature", "new way of life", and "pollution". This is almost the same picture for closed condominiums in Sao Paulo illustrated by Teresa Caldeira (1996b: 309).

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The existence of concentrations of the rich and the poor in the urban centers is not a new phenomenon. Plato remarks on it in his *Republic* (Devlet). Social divisions in the growing industrial cities have been discussed since the nineteenth century onwards, beginning with the work of Friedrich Engels (1845/2000) about the condition of the English working class. In 1925, the works of Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, associated with the Chicago School, were concerned with the structural analysis of neighborhood change and residential differentiation in terms of spatial segregation and concentration. Following the line of Chicago School, Louise Wirth relates segregation of different socio-economic groups to the increasing size, density, and heterogeneity of urban areas. In the following years of the Second World War, spatial and sociological interest shifted to the suburbs and the urban segregation.

This process of spatial fragmentation of urban space has had a considerable effect on residential areas as well and could be revealed through the emergence of upper-class suburbs, gentrified neighbourhoods in the inner part of the city, or shantytown areas on the periphery. Urban peripheries have begun to be filled by a host of new projects in increasing numbers by business parks, by retail/leisure complexes, and by new residential settlements in the form of gated communities, which is the main concern of this study. They have become the salient issue of the urban agenda. At this point Peter Marcuse (1997a: 357) declares that "What is new for cities under the new economy is not inequality, but inequality within the city".

Spatially defined urban residential communities have been affected by two ongoing trends: first, a more self-conscious, clearly defined segmenting of spatial communities in the form of gentrified and gated communities; and second, a greater use of life-style and what might be called consumer identity as the basis for the formation of a community. In both cases, capital played the major role.

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Households have been defined by what they bought; specialized spaces have then been constructed to serve these new consumer groupings. Households have been gathered into spaces either by "attraction (through marketing) or by exclusion (through, for example, redlining and the withdrawal of retail outlets from communities without the appropriate buying power)" (Law and Wolch 1993: 178). One of the underlying aspects of urbanization, therefore, at the close of the twentieth century could be said to be the rapid spread of proprietary urban communities, which seem to be dominating in the future as well.

This study attempts to investigate the newly emerging middle class residential suburbanization process in Türkiye, as a spatial representation of social segregation, which is one of the significant aspects of urban spatial transformation. Therefore, it tries to analyze the impact of this phenomenon on urban life and its macro form.

It is also discussed that the suburbanization process has been an outcome of the global economy. On the other hand, this new way of suburbanization movement seems to be the last dimension of social segmentation and spatial fragmentation of urban residential sphere. In this respect Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 in Ankara is chosen as an example for this attempt, which best displays the relation between the urban development and the global economy. The settlement also represents the decentralization of the affluent with their new life-style reflected in space.

Although it is often assumed that urbanization is a product of industrialization, there is a lack of correlation between these two processes in less developed countries. Urbanism, as Anthony Giddens (1997) carefully notes, is not an autonomous process, and has to be viewed under the light of political and economic change. In Türkiye, migration from rural to urban areas has been the main driving force behind the rapid urban population growth, especially in major metropolitan cities. However, both societies display similar social and spatial results. Suburbanization, ultimately an extension of urbanism, is one of the aspects of the built environment.

There are different models of suburbanization which show that there is not a single pattern, or process of suburban settlement and expansion. The process is both context and path dependent. One major conclusion of this thesis is that the post-1980s

middle class suburbanization in Türkiye does not fit in any of the models in terms of pattern and process.

The earliest example of the residential suburban expansion model is the British and the American affluent suburbs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were low-density settlements located on the peripheries of the cities and composed of detached, single-storey houses in gardens. The first suburbanization expansion in Türkiye, and thereby in Ankara, is Bahçeli Evler that resembles this idealized model of a suburb.

On the other hand, the Turkish affluent households preferred to be in the cities, and enjoyed living in apartments as a status symbol like their French counterparts until the mid-1980s after which a different pattern of residential settlement on the peripheries of metropolitan cities has become a common trend in Türkiye. They are mainly upper-middle and middle class suburban settlements, and represented by the new middle classes. These new type of suburban settlements are situated in a distance from the city, and have higher population densities than the British and the American suburban complexes. Their higher density is due to the high-rise apartment type of buildings, however, is much lower than the inner city residential districts. They owe it to large green, open, and public spaces, wide streets so that they are implemented as they are planned.

The latest trend in American cities is the transformation of bedroom community character of the suburban communities into employing suburbs. This is what is suggested by Herbert J. Gans who maintains that the probability of another ring of suburban communities would spring up around big American cities. These are the new communities described by Joel Garreau as "edge city" and by Robert Fishman as "technoburbs". In Turkish suburban expansion patterns there is not yet such a development. In other words, Turkish suburbs are bedroom or dormitory settlements whose residents are in need of daily commuting with the city where they are employed.

In the 1990s, the locational preferences of the affluent households have shifted from inner city residential districts towards peripheries, into gated residential developments in Türkiye. This is a new form of urban expansion both spatially and socially and has become an important socio-spatial issue. Gated communities are not a

form of urban residential settlement only; they are the physical elements of social transformation that has been experienced since the 1980s in the world, and since the 1990s in Türkiye.

This is a parallel development to the tendencies in the globalising world with multi-dimensional fragmentation, differentiation, and dispersal of urban space, which have become the key elements of the new era. Economies, social life, political relationships, spatial organizations of the cities have been fragmented, broken up by the various dimensions of restructuring. Environmental pollution, traffic congestion, financial crisis were the terrifying other elements of the urban sphere of the country. Therefore, gated communities presented an escape route for the affluent from all these unwanted elements of the urban sphere but at the same time leading to further urban fragmentation through their existence.

Ankara has two socio-economically different suburban axes. This study has concentrated on one of them, which represents the decentralization of the affluent with their new life-style reflected in space. The development of this axis was shaped by two important and effective influences. First one is the 1990 Master Plan, which is approved in 1982, paved the channel suitable for the expansion of the affluent to outside city limits. The other is the impact of globalization on the city, which is mainly shaped through the preferences of the new middle class towards distinct life-styles.

Distinct life-style can be maintained mainly through new consumption patterns in space and in housing. Global economy and neo-liberal policies affect the demand of the affluent to live in prestigious neighborhoods. Icons of suburbanization are detached houses in gardens, private cars, and home ownership. Home ownership is the corner stone of suburbs. Hence, a spatial reflection of this desire can be traced by a specific restructuring of space within the development of capitalism. In fact, the life-style has become more and more the concern for new middle class in settlements of all sizes. People's desire for security is increasing and perceives safety of walls, or fences and gates as the signs of distinction. Hence, in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 a similar trend can be seen.

As prestigious neighborhoods, they are constructed with all the facilities of the city center in terms of recreational and leisure facilities, sport centers, new shopping

centers and the like. Also within such neighborhoods new and good quality schools have been built. In fact, this meant that they had some privileges in education and in administration. Since most households have more than one car, the building of better roads and underground indicated that in the allocation of resources for many infrastructure investments those neighbourhoods are given priority. As it has been found in the literature about the gated communities, the households display their upper middle class characteristics by their saving patterns, professionalism, and wealth. Hence, a new life-style community has developed and its different dimensions are reflected in space.

This kind of life-style has repercussions for space especially with their control of the environment. The most frequently cited among them is the security factor. Carjacking, beg jacking occur even in the most peaceful residential districts. The drug trade is everywhere, and mafia-like relations are flourishing enormously in all urban areas. Therefore, escaping to gated communities separate them from such risks. They are also able to prevent any unwanted spatial development around their houses. A puritanist living style can be maintained on the perfectly looked after lawns, a safe and green outer space for the children and no risks from traffic. Also socio-economic homogeneity of gated communities and the low-density residential development are other indicators of the security and controlled environment. Such an environment is the new understanding of comfort and sustainable livability.

In terms of their consumption patterns, as David Chaney declares, Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 are the perfect physical form for the citizens of mass consumerism. Living in villas, investing into house decoration and luxury cars, high level of spending in recreational and leisure activities are accepted to be major behaviors of upper middle class preferences for a distinct life-style which also display their economic, cultural and social capital in accordance with the theory of Pierre Bourdieu. However, this is also an indicator of uneven distribution of socio-economic advantage, especially within various districts of the city, which leads to marginalization and alienation of urbanites (town people), which in turn furthers the deepening of tensions between groups. The result is the formation of communities belonging to different groups that adhere to different values within the same urban sphere.

On the other hand, in Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 the existence of different housing structures and multistorey apartment houses besides the villas portrays a

heterogeneity. Although it may be interpreted from one aspect as a possible loss of control due to the impact of a globalizing economy, in another aspect it helps to strengthen the distinction of upper middle class households who live in villas from the others. In fact, the households in the villas are carefully distancing themselves from those who live in apartment flats.

The other conclusion which came out from this study is that the interviews conducted with the inhabitants of Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 demonstrate that a variety of motivations exist for their movement to Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18. Yet, all these motivations can be gathered under the notion of life-style. It seems gated communities is the latest spatial form in a long line of movements as people try to separate their living spaces off from others. At the same time they stand as the best displays of urban segregation.

The outcomes of field survey, which dwelled on three capitals of Pierre Bourdieu, clearly illustrate the fact that social and cultural factors seem to have been influential in the suburbanization process of upper-middle and middle classes. The appeal of both a more socially and economically homogeneous community and of a sterile, secure and ordered environment in suburbs as compared to the chaotic structure of inner city conditions look like as if the main social and cultural factors behind this movement.

For residents of gated communities at large, the current state of life in suburban areas justifies their selecting a residential area for the life-style it provides. Gates and walls seem to be the symbol of this way of life. They have latent meanings quite independent of their role of security. They are the elements to discriminate themselves from others. One of the founding promises of gates and walls around the category of safety, in fact, as Joel Garreau (1991: 48) points out, is being inside than outside. In other words, people want to separate their living spaces off from the sight of "others" and try to realize it through gated communities.

Researchers, such as Ayşe Öncü and Çağlar Keyder who have studied the transformation of urban land, claim that there is an increasing fragmentation of urban space into homogeneous enclaves. This suggestion is supported by the results of field survey conducted in Çayyolu gated communities and the case of Angora Evleri-

Kooperatif-18. They, closing up neighbourhoods and creating walled settlements, participate in the further fragmentation of our fragile social and economic fabric. This is the new urban segregation, which indicates a dual process of growing social and spatial polarization in the urban space.

This new form of social segregation, where the justaposition of shantytowns and upper-middle class suburban settlements on the urban peripheral areas are maintained by fences, walls, and monitoring technologies, leads to the loss of any kind of public interaction between the new suburbanites and the rest of the urban society. Borrowing Richard Sennett's terms, it is the withdrawal of the suburbanites from the city life. The layout and architectural features of gated communities express conflicts between different groups in society. Beneath this, new architectural styles and cityscape bring about some important new cultural, social and political dynamics. In other words, urban built up environment represents spatial manifestations of social forces. Within this context of argument, gated communities are "the dominated spaces" which is associated with Henri Lefebvre (1991).

Gated community development is not a "mass housing" movement, which has its roots in industrial revolution. However, in Türkiye the development of gated communities have been supported by the state through the mass housing fund. A question that remains about Angora Evleri-Kooperatif-18 is whether there will be an invasion and succession in the future. It is probable that some downgrading of the settlement will occur similar to what happened in Emlak Bank supported housing projects.

Another issue discussed as a conclusion is the difference between access control and access denial which must be viewed in the light of the constitutional right to free access to public spaces. It is a known fact that throughout the history, in many cases the urban future is shaped by specific and powerful ideas. It was the authority –both state and/or local- which had the major role in projecting, planning, and implementing the comprehensively refined designs. The actor was mainly the state intervening and directing the investments in the name of the public interest. The actor has changed and private interests have gained a new role in control by atomistic individuals whose interests are confined to themselves only. It can be said that gated communities secured themselves within the liberal democratic discourse of property rights.

"Gated communities" is one such an idea. It is a strong and influential urban type, which has the potential to transform the urban environment radically in the first urban century. It has the potential to manipulate the juxtapositioning of the urban rich and poor, socio-economic prospects, spatial development and the decision-making process of local governments. From the point of future of cities, they could have a dramatic impact on the long-term sustainability of cities. It is not likely that gated communities will decrease quantitatively or qualitatively or disappear overnight. Their trend of increase is indisputable. Therefore, it can be said that while suburbanization is deviant form of urbanization of Fordism, gated communities are the evolutionary part of suburbanization; they are the suburbanization of post-Fordism. Gated communities are "the fastest growing mode of community living" (Christopherson 1994: 409-410).

All over the world, it is a common view that global forces have been transforming the economic bases of metropolitan areas. The new logic of production, employment, distribution and consumption have stimulated changes both spatially in land use and socially in segmentation. Ankara, within the process of articulation to world's economic life, has got its share. However, while in this study the short-term implications of this type of development were considered, the long-term implications of gated communities should also be kept in mind. Hence, it is expected that especially in the long term that they could have their greater impact on the urban space. The social inequality will manifest itself more openly in the space and as in the form of urban segregation. One other significant impact to be considered is that while such affluent urban areas are given priority for major public infrastructure investments the social consumption of the inner city areas will be neglected in order to provide benefits to keep the new middle class, which are the powerful coterie of the society. The boundary between public and private sphere has been one of the main concern of the great social debates arose at the beginning of a new millennium and gated communities of the affluent may have a potential to destroy this balance.

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APPENDIX A

DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER II

A.1. HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW

1. Ev tipi: villa   bahçe-dublex   çatı-dublex   sıra evler-ara kat
             2+1 apartman   3+1 apartman   4+1 apartman

2. Hanede kaç kişi yaşıyor?

3. Hane Halkı Tablosu

Fertler	cinsi yet	yaş	doğum yeri- (il-ilçe-köy)	mezun olduğu okul	yabancı dil

4. Ankara'ya   ne zaman geldiniz?   Neden? Nereden geldiniz?

5.

Çalışanlar	Meslekleri	çalışma yeri	tuttuğu iş	çalıştığı yerdeki statüsü	kendi işi özel sektör kamu sektörü

6. İşinizi nasıl buldunuz?

   Gazete ilanıyla,   Aile vasıtasıyla   Tanıdık vasıtasıyla Arkadaş vasıtasıyla
   Başka (lütfen belirtiniz)

7. Babanızın mesleği ne?   Babanızın mezun olduğu okul?

   Eşinizin babasının mesleği ne?   Babasının mezun olduğu okul?

8. Burayı ne zaman aldınız?

   Ne zaman taşındınız?

   Nereden (hangi semtten – hangi ilden-ilçeden) taşındınız?

   Neden taşındınız?

   (Halen Apartmanda oturana) Niye, yine apartmana taşındınız?

9. Geldiğiniz yerdeki (semtteki- ildeki-ilçedeki) konut sizinmi idi?

Apartman dairesi   müstakil konut   lojman   diğer (lûtfen belirtiniz)

10. O konuttan neden çıktınız?

- Kiracıydık, burada konut aldık.

- Konut bize küçük geliyordu.

- Fiziksel koşullardan memnun değildik.   . Kalabalık Gürültü   . Pis çevre

. Hava kirli

- Sosyal çevreden memnun değildik

- Çocukların okuluna uzaktı.

- İşe gitmek zordu.

- Başka (lûtfen belirtiniz)

11. Burasını önceki eviniz ve çevresi ile karşılaştırınız!

Eski çevrenizde neyi beğenir, neyi beğenmezdiniz

Burada özellikle beğendiğiniz veya beğenmediğiniz ne var?

12. Buradan ev alırken nelere dikkat ettiniz?

Almadan önce benzer yerlere baktınız mı? Nerede? Neden burayı seçtiniz?

Sosyal çevreyi mi?   Evimi seçtiniz?

13. Sizce evin kalitesi mi önemli, çevrenin kalitesi mi?

14. Girişteki kapı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Kapının görevi ne olmalı?

15. Daha önce böyle korunaklı bir yerde yaşadınız mı?

Özellikle korunaklı bir siteyimi tercih ettiniz?

16. Çayyolu yerleşmeleri ile karşılaştırdığında neden burayı tercih ettiniz?

17. Angora Evlerini kentin diğer yerlerine göre nasıl tarif edersiniz?

18. Çevre düzeni, mimari tasarım hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

Mimarı kim biliyor musunuz?

19. Villa ve
   bahçe dublex sahiplerine

Doğayla ilgili ne yapıyorlar?

Bahçeyi nasıl kullanıyorlar?

20. Evinizin iç dekorasyonu kim yaptı? Kendim   ailecek   iç mimar (istekleri
dikkate aldı mı?)

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Eve taşınırken ayrıca siz tadilat yaptınız mı?

Eşya alırken nelere dikkat edersiniz?

Eşyaları dolaşarak, arayarak, seçerek tek tek aldım. Nerelerden?

Eğer topluca aldım   Nereden?   Sitelerden

Ev-banyo-mutfak aksesuarları nereden aldınız?

(Ev-banyo-mutfak aksesuarları için Yıldız, Turan Güneş Blv. gidermisiniz?)

21. Eviniz hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? (belonging)
    Evinizde olmaktan, burada yaşamaktan

      "Çok mutlu oluyorum" diyormusunuz?

      "Çok huzur duyuyorum" diyormusunuz?

22. Oturduğunuz ev, idealinizdeki ev mi? Neden?

23. Angora Houses ideal bir yaşam alanını temsil ediyor mu?

24. Angora Evlerinde oturana daha fazla güvenir misiniz?

    Evet ise, Bu güveniniz şehrin farklı yörelerinde oturanlarla aynı mı?

    Değilse neden?

    Daha fazla ise Bu ayrıcalıklı davranmanıza neden olurmu?

25. Evinizde en büyük 3 harcamayı hangi kaleme yaparsınız? Örneğin: kira, yiyecek, eğitim, ulaşım, sağlık, eğlence, mobilya v.s.

26. Tasarruf ediyormusunuz? Yatırımlarınızı neye yaparsınız?

27. Laptop var mı? Internet'e bağlımısınız?

28. Taşınmadan evvel buradaki hayat hakkında neler düşünüyordunuz? Ne buldunuz?

    Aradığınızı, umduğunuzu buldunuz mu?

    Komşuluk bulmayı bekliyormuydunuz?

29. Komşuluk hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

    Komşularınızı tanıyormusunuz?

    Komşu ziyareti yaparmısınız?

    Ne kadar sıklıkla?

    İlişkileriniz?   (Tuzunuz bitince komşunuza baş vururmusunuz?)

  Buradaki komşularınızı ve komşuluk ilişkilerinizi geldiğiniz yerle kıyaslayın.
    Burada kimler yaşıyor, biliyormusunuz?

30. Alış-verişe kimle çıkarsınız?
    - ailecek
    - arkadaşlarla

- kendi
- diğer (lütfen belirtiniz)

31. Bu evi nasıl satın aldınız veya buldunuz?

32. Burada yaşıyan tanıdık/akraba/arkadaş kaç hane var?

33. Akrabalarızla sık sık görüşürmüsünüz?

34. Çocuklarızı kim büyüttü?

    - Çocuklarınızın eğitimi için ayda ne kadar para harcarsınız?

    - Yaz okullarına, kurslara göderiyormusunuz?

    - Çocuklarızla yaşam alanını paylaşırmısınız?

    - Çocuklarınızla eş zamanınız olurmu?

35. Dinî bayramlarda ne yaparsınız?

36. Sinemaya gidermisiniz? Hangi sıklıkla? Kiminle?

37. Giyim kuşamı en çok nereden satın alıyorsunuz?

38. Dışarıda yemeğe nereye gidersiniz?

39. Sizce eğlence ne demek?

40. Boş zamanlarınız nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

      - kentin neresini kullanırsınız? Akköprü, Armada

      - ne amaçla?

41. Boş zamanlarınızı evinizde geçirmeyi tercih eder misiniz?

42. Bridge grubunuz var mı?

43. Golf oynarmısınız? Nerede?

44. Angora Evleri çevreye prestij getiriyor mu?

45. Buradan taşınmanız gerekirse, nereye taşınırsınız?

46. İş deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?

47. İnsanlar neden çalışır?

48. Siz neden çalışıyorsunuz?

49. Kadının çalışmasına nasıl bakarsınız?

50. Özelleştirme hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

51. Buraya belediye hizmetlerinin girmesi sizin yaşantınızı etkiler mi?

A.2. TABLES ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES

NUMBER of INTERVIEWEES by HOUSE TYPES

house types		number of interviewees	
villa houses		15	15
boulevard apartment	garden duplex	3	5
	mid-floor	1	
	roof-duplex	1	
point blocks	3 + 1 flats	10	15
	4 + 1 flats	4	
	roof-duplex	1	

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWEES by
AGE GROUPS and GENDER

age groups	male	female	total
25 - 29	1	1	2
30 - 34		1	1
35 - 39	1	6	7
40 – 44	1	7	8
45 - 49	4	1	5
50 - 54	2	1	3
55 – 59	2	2	4
60-64	2	1	3
65 - 69	1		1
70 - 79	1		1
total	15	20	35

A.3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

	hhs* size	house type	age	gender	birth place	education	Occupation
1	3	villa	68	male	Diyarbakır	university	Retired currently working
			58	female	Diyarbakır	university	Retired
			33	female	Ankara	university	dentist
2	3	villa	56	male	İstanbul	university	top level managerial
			39	female	Bursa	university	pedagogist
			16	female	İstanbul	student	
3	4	villa	52	female	Ankara	university	housewife
			56	male	Moscow	university	diplomat
			23	female	Ankara	university	
			19	female	Ankara	student	
4	5	villa	40	female	Eskişehir	high school	housewife
			47	male	Urfa-Siverek	university	small scale entrepreneur
			17	female	Ankara	student	
			12	female	Ankara	student	
			7	female	Ankara	student	
5	3	villa	77	male	Trbazon-Sürmene	university	retired, old member of parliament
			75	male	Trbazon-Sürmene	intermediary school	
			63	female	Trbazon-Sürmene	intermediary school	
6	3	villa	57	female	Ankara	university	academician-head of a department
			57	male	Ankara	university	retired
			24	female	Ankara	student	
7	4	villa	36	female	Scotland	university	civil servant-doctor
			36	male	Isparta	university	civil servant-doctor
			9	female	İstanbul	student	
			3	female	İstanbul		

	hhs* size	house type	age	gender	birth place	education	Occupation
8	4	villa	38	female	Ankara	university	housewife
			42	male	Ankara	high school	small-scale entrepreneur
			12	male	Ankara	student	
			9	female	Ankara	student	
9	4	villa	53	male	Diyarbakır	university	privately working, old member of parliament
			52	female	Diyarbakır	intermediary school	housewife
			24	male	Diyarbakır	university	private
			21	female	Diyarbakır	student	
10	4	villa	48	male	Adana	university	retired
			45	female	Ankara	university	retired
			16	male	Ankara	student	
			12	female	Ankara	student	
11	3	villa	25	female	Ankara	university	small scale contractor
			37	male	Ankara	university	private
			2	female	Ankara		
12	4	villa	46	male	İstanbul	university	top-level bureaucrat
			42	female	K.Maraş	university	retired
			13	female	Ankara	student	
			3	male	Ankara		
13	2	villa	63	male	Bursa	university	retired
			55	female	Niğde	university	housewife
14	2	villa	59	male	Doğubeyazıt	university	old member of parliament, currently working, academician
			56	female	Giresun	university	academician
15	2	villa	37	male	Ankara	university	small-scale entrepreneur
			32	female	İzmit-Karamürsel	university	housewife
16	3	gar-dup	61	female	Ankara	university	retired
			59	female	Ankara	university	retired
			56	female	Elazığ	high school	
17	3	gar-dup	39	female	Ankara	university	civil servant

			39	male	Manisa	university	high level administrator
			6	male	Ankara		

	hhs* size	house type	age	gender	birth place	education	Occupation
18	3	gar-dup	38	female	Ankara	university	civil servant
			38	male	Ankara	university	Housewife
			8	female	Ankara	student	
19	3	mid-floor	40	female	Samsun-Ladik	university	academician - head of a department
			40	male	Manisa	university	private
			12	male	Ankara	student	
20	3	roof-dup	40	female	Ankara	university	academician
			43	male	K.Maraş	university	civil servant
			10	male	Ankara	student	
21	3	3+1	58	female	Muş	university	retired
			59	male	Kars	university	retired
			27	male	Ankara	university	private
22	2	3+1	27	male	Isparta-Yalvaç	university	small scale contractor
			25	female	Konya	university	private
23	4	3+1	40	female	England	university	housewife
			40	male	Ankara	university	high-level managerial
			16	male	Ankara	student	
			9	female	Ankara	student	
24	3	3+1	45	male	Ankara	university	civil servant-doctor
			41	female	Ankara	university	private
			14	male	Ankara	student	
25	2	3+1	40	female	Çankırı	university	private
			40	male	Çankırı	university	civil servant-dentist
26	3	3+1	30	female	Erzurum	university	private
			31	male	Ankara	university	civil servant
			4	male	Ankara		
27	4	3+1	47	male	Samsun	university	small-scale contractor
			39	female	Bursa-İnegöl	university	housewife
			12	male	Ankara	student	
			10	female	Ankara	student	
28	3	3+1	62	male	Çorum	university	retired, currently working

	hhs* size	house type	age	gender	birth place	education	occupation
			59	female	Kayseri-Talas	high school	housewife
			24	male	Ankara	student	
	hhs* size	house type	age	gender	birth place	education	occupation
29	4	3+1	42	female	Yozgat-Ak dağmadeni	high school	private
			44	male	K.Maraş-Afşin	university	small-scale contractor
			14	female	Ankara	student	
			9	male	Ankara	student	
30	4	3+1	36	female	Çorum	university	academician
			42	male	Malatya	university	civil servant
			13	female	Ankara	student	
			8	male	Ankara	student	
31	3	4+1	45	female	İçel-Mut	university	civil servant
			77	male	İçel-Erdemli	university	private
			77	female	İçel-Silifke	high school	housewife
32	4	4+1	43	male	Van	university	head of a clinic-doctor
			42	female	Ankara	university	academician
			13	female	Ankara	student	
			6	male	Ankara		
33	2	4+1	52	male	Ankara	high school	retired
			46	female	Ordu-Perşembe	high school	retired
34	2	4+1	43	female	K.Maraş	university	private sector
			47	male	Ankara	university	civil servant
35	4	Point-bl. roof-dup	52	male	Yozgat	university	small scale contractor
			32	female	İstanbul	vocational school	private
			9	male	İstanbul	student	
			5	female	İstanbul		

APPENDIX B

DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER IV

CLASS

Class is one of the basic systems and the most distinctive form of social stratification. In order to describe inequalities, sociologists prefer to speak of social stratification (Giddens 1997). The control power is at the core of the dynamics of social stratification system. However, here, stratification, as Mübeccel Kıray (1969/1982) notes, is looked at more as a matter of status rather than a power relation.

"Stratification can be defined as the structural inequalities between different groupings of people" (Giddens 1997: 240). According to Anthony Giddens (1997: 581) class is "the term to refer to socioeconomic differences between groups of individuals which create differences in their material prosperity and power". Ownership of wealth together with occupation is the main bases of class difference.

In the Western society there are three major classes. An upper class consists of those who own or directly control resources of production such as wealthy employers and industrialists. Middle class includes mostly white-collar workers and professionals. The third are composed of working class who are mostly in blue-collar.

In modern societies, the most influential and widely discussed theoretical approaches to class stratification are those developed by Karl Marx and Max Weber. In the Marxist account, modern industrial society has two main classes: those who own the means of production -industrialist or capitalist- and those who earn their living by selling their labour to them (Shaw 1978). Whereas in the Weberian account, class divisions derive not only from the control of means of production, but also from the resources which include especially the skills or qualifications which directly has an affect on the type of job people obtain. In addition, Weber distinguishes status as a more basic aspect of the stratification.

Anthony Giddens maintains that (1997: 586), status is "The social honor or prestige which a particular group is accorded by other members of a society". Status depends on the subjective evaluations of social differences so that it is said to be governed by varying life-styles groups. Erik Olin Wright (1989: 4-5, 24-28.) has developed a theoretical position similar to Marx. He integrates the ideas of Marx and Weber. According to Wright, capitalist class has the control over capital, physical means of production, and labour power. Whereas working class have control over none of them. In between, what Wright calls "contradictory class" is able to influence some of the aspects of production; they are not capitalists or manual workers, yet share certain common features with both of them. They are the new middle class which is between the working class and capitalist class. They neither own the means of production nor perform productive labour; but they are political and participate in the domination of working class (Poulantzas 1974/1978: 194-196).

APPENDIX C

DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER V

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS
WITH RESPECT TO THE DATE OF APPROVAL

year	#	date of approval	
1973		13.02.1973	DSİ, TPAO Toplu Konut Projesi

year	#	date of approval	
1978		03.10.1978	Me-Sa I

year	#	date of approval	
1980	1	12.02.1980	Danıştay Yapı Kooperatifi
	2	12.02.1980	Yenikent Yapı Kooperatifi
	3	03.10.1980	Me-Sa II

year	#	date of approval	
1984			

year	#	date of approval	
1985	1	08.05.1985	Çayyolu Toplu Konut Alanı
	2	27.05.1985	Parsel No: 11,22,35,44,190-205 (Ruto)
	3	11.11.1985	

year	#	date of approval	
1986	1	08.12.1986	Parsel No: 337,340,346,347,350,354 (İLKO)
	2	10.12.1986	Parsel No: 349

year	#	date of approval	
1987	1	06.10.1987	Parsel No: 190,205,206,208
	2	19.10.1987	Parsel No: 720-222
	3	17.12.1987	Yenimahalle-Beytepe-Çayyolu NİP
	4	31.12.1987	Parsel No: 343

year	#	date of approval	
1988	1	15.02.1988	Plancılar Sitesi
	2	21.03.1988	Parsel No: 197
	3	06.04.1988	Parsel No: 78,83,712,711
	4	01.06.1988	Parsel No: 187,188
	5	01.06.1988	Parsel No: 204
	6	02.09.1988	Parsel No: 164
	7	02.09.1988	Parsel No: 223
	8	07.09.1988	Parsel No: 181
	9	13.09.1988	Tp. 124
	10	21.09.1988	Parsel No: 660,662,5464,5466,5476,5480,658,5499
	11	31.10.1988	Parsel No: 5457
	12	01.11.1988	Orta Set Mevkiî

1989	1	24.03.1989	Parsel No: 179,18
	2	24.03.1989	Parsel No: 721
	3	24.03.1989	Parsel No: 182-669
	4	29.03.1989	Parsel No: 449,450,468
	5	28.04.1989	Parsel No: 485
	6	16.05.1989	Parsel No: 194,195
	7	22.05.1989	Alacaatlı Nazım İmar Planı
	8	25.05.1989	Orta Set Nazım İmar Planı
	9	25.05.1989	Parsel No: 348
	10	09.06.1989	Parsel No: 5493,5494,5495
	11	09.06.1989	Parsel No: 200-202
	12	23.06.1989	
	13	03.07.1989	Parsel No: 183
	14	20.07.1989	Parsel No: 185
	15	31.08.1989	Parsel No: 334,335,832
	16	20.09.1989	Parsel No: 213,659
	17	01.11.1989	Parsel No: 467-476,468
	18	01.11.1989	Parsel No: 103

1990	1	08.01.1990	Beytepe Toplu Konut Alanı
	2	19.03.1990	Parsel No: 708
	3	27.03.1990	Parsel No: 341
	4	04.06.1990	Parsel No: 69
	5	11.06.1990	Parsel No: 1116,128,152
	6	27.06.1990	Parsel No: 215
	7	24.07.1990	Parsel No: 2,593,594
	8	27.09.1990	Parsel No: 184
	9	17.12.1990	Parsel No: 574 (Beytepe TKA)
	10	20.12.1990	Parsel No: 191-193

| 1991 | 1 | 06.03.1991 | Parsel No: 652,5520,5521 |
| | 2 | 11.04.1991 | Parsel No: 723,724,719 |

1992	1	30.01.1992	Parsel No: 725
	2	29.05.1992	Parsel No: 214,71
	3	16.07.1992	Parsel No: 625
	4	14.11.1992	Parsel No: 595
	5	23.12.1992	Parsel No: 122,351,352
	6	1992	

1993	1	13.01.1993	Parsel No: 627,631,633
	2	10.05.1993	Parsel No: 867
	3	03.11.1993	
	4	30.12.1993	Köy Planı

APPENDIX D

DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER VI

PLANNİNG NOTES OF ANGORA EVLERİ-KOOPERATİF-18

1. PLANLAMA ALANINDA BRÜT YOĞUNLUK 50 KİŞİ/HA'DIR.

2. AİLE BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ 4.5 KİŞİ OLARAK ALINACAKTIR.

3. KONUT ALANLARINDA GENEL EMSAL E=0.50 OLACAKTIR.

4. KONUT ADALARI ÜZERİNDEKİ YAPILAŞMA KOŞULLARI PLAN BÜTÜNÜNDEKİ TOPLAM İNŞAAT ALANINI AŞMAMAK KOŞULU İLE 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELİRLENECEKTİR.

5. DEPREM YÖNETMELİĞİNE UYULACAKTIR.

6. SIĞINAK YÖNETMELİĞİNE UYULACAKTIR.

7. ÖZEL OTOPARK İHTİYACI YAPI ADALARI İÇİNDE KARŞILANACAKTIR KONUT ADALARINDA OTOPARK-GARAJ DÜZENLEMESİ DUBLEKS KONUTLARDA HER KONUT İÇİN ENAZ İKİ, ÇOK KATLI KONUTLARDA HER İKİ KONUT İÇİN ENAZ ÜÇ OTOPARK OLARAK YAPILACAKTIR.

8. 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİ İLGİLİ İDARECE UYGUN GÖRÜLMEDEN YAPI RUHSATI VERİLEMEZ.

9. BEŞ KATIN ÜSTÜNDEKİ KONUT BİRİMLERİNİN YER ALDIĞI KONUT ADALARI DIŞINDA KAPICI VE KALORİFERCİ DAİRESİ ARANMAYACAKTIR. ANCAK ALTI KAT VE ÜZERİ YAPILARIN BULUNDUĞU KONUT ADALARINDA BEŞ KATIN ÜZERİNDEKİ KONUTLARDA BULUNAN HER ALTMIŞ DAİRE İÇİN BİR KAPICI KONUTU YERİ AYRILACAKTIR.

10. KONUT ADALARINDA, KOŞULLARI 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELİRLENECEK ŞEKİLDE BAĞIMSIZ BÖLÜM YAPILMAMAK KAYDI İLE ÇATIARASI KULLANIMLARI VE BODRUM GETİRİLEBİLİR. ÇATIARALARI VE BODRUMLAR EMSALE DAHİL EDİLMEYECEKTİR.

11. ASANSÖR YAPILMA ZORUNLULUĞU OLMAYAN YAPILARDA İHTİYAÇ DUYULMASI HALİNDE ASANSÖR SİSTEMLERİ PROJELENDİRİLEBİLİR.

12. PLANDA (TR) İŞARETLİ TİCARİ-REKREASYON ALANLARINDA TİCARİ FONKSİYONLARIN YANI SIRA AÇIK-KAPALI YÜZME HAVUZU, TENİS KORTU, MİNİ GOLF, RESTAURANT, CAFE, KLÜP BİNASI VB. KULLANIMLAR YER ALABİLİR.

13. PLANLI YEŞİL ALANLARDA HİÇBİR SURETLE PLAN DEĞİŞİKLİĞİ YAPILAMAZ, TEKLİF EDİLEMEZ.

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                         Instructor

        1974 -   : OFFICE OF CITY PLANNING

Member of
--------------------------------   : Chamber of Architecs, 3533
                               : Chamber of City Planners, 302