

USE AND PERCEPTION OF URBAN SPACE
BY THE UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS
IN THE “REZIDANS” IN ANKARA
AS AN OUTCOME OF CREATED DEMAND

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ABSTRACT

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Today, urban space is produced by capitalist policies driven by exchange value, as suggested by urban theories. Ankara is no exception; its urban setting has changed considerably through several decades. This practice creates and consolidates urban inequality and hampers the right to the city. In this line, theories on urbanity suggest a new perception of urbanity within the urban space thus produced. Within the course of urban developments, the urban space in Ankara has been altered with the construction of luxury residential areas called “rezidans” in Turkish. Having regard to the definite influence of capitalist policies, the bottom-up side of the problem with regard to the theory that space is a social product, the consent and demand from the users of space have been explored in order to comprehend the production of space led by perception and use of space as well as perception of urbanity of the residents. With this approach, a total of 35 interviews were held with residents of these areas and professionals. Findings of the interviews revealed perception of urbanity which is identified via patterns of use of space and demonstrated through consumption-based leisure with security and homogeneity concerns. The findings indicate overall consent for the new urban developments with a number of conflictual positions. Suggestions to overcome the established consent to urban understanding have been provided.

Keywords: Use of Urban Space, Perception of Urbanity, Exchange and Use Value, Rezidans in Ankara, Upper-middle Class

ÖZ

ANKARA'DA “REZİDANS”LARDA YAŞAYAN ORTA-ÜST SINIFIN YARATILMIŞ TALEP OLARAK KENT MEKANI KULLANIMI VE ALGISI

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Kentsel teorilerin de vurguladığı üzere, günümüzde kent mekânı, değişim değerinin etkisiyle kapitalizm tarafından üretilmektedir. Bu durum Ankara için de geçerlidir; son yirmi-otuz yıldır Ankara'nın kentsel dokusunda hissedilir değişiklikler olmuştur. Bu uygulama kentsel eşitsizliği yaratmakta ve derinleştirmekte, aynı zamanda kent hakkını zedelemektedir. Bu doğrultuda kentlilik teorileri, bu biçimde üretilen kentsel mekanlarda yeni bir kentlilik algısının oluştuğundan söz eder. Yeni kentsel oluşumlar arasında, Türkçe'de “rezidans” olarak adlandırılmaya başlayan lüks konutların inşası göze çarpmaktadır. Kent mekânının kapitalist politikalar tarafından üretildiğinin yanı sıra, problemin aşağıdan yukarıya doğru olan kısmı, başka bir deyişle, mekanın toplumsal olarak üretildiği göz önüne alınarak, mekânın kullanıcılarının bu yöndeki rıza ve taleplerinin belirlenmesi için, bu tür konutların tercih nedeni olabilecek mekân kullanımı, algısı ile kentlilik algısı araştırılmıştır. Bu alanlarda yaşayanlarla ve politika üreten konumundaki kesimle yapılan toplam 35 görüşme, mekân kullanımı üzerinden tanımlanan kentlilik algısının tüketime dayalı boş zaman faaliyeti olarak üretildiğini ve güvenlik ve homojenlik endişeleriyle şekillendiğini göstermektedir. Bulgular, bazı çelişkili konumlarla da olsa kentsel değişimlerin genel olarak kabul gördüğüne işaret etmektedir. Yerleşik hale gelmiş kentsel anlayışın yıkılması için öneriler geliştirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent Mekânı Kullanımı, Kentlilik Algısı, Değişim ve Kullanım Değeri, Ankara'da Rezidans, Orta-üst Sınıf

To Mediha

To Bora

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

So, are our cities designed for people or for profits?

David Harvey, The Enigma of Capital

The urban setting of Ankara has changed considerably and rapidly through several decades. There are many factors that influence this change and the new understanding of urbanism, among which the concern to gain rent out of urban lots comes first. Planning practices and especially amendments in development plans cause enormous rise in land prices and consequently increase the building density within the urban area.

New forms of capitalism, by prioritizing the exchange value of the urban space, determine global policies and therefore produce the new forms of space. Since 1980s, urban space has been altered as a consequence of global capitalist policies. Business centres, corporation buildings and shopping malls have become the new public space as a result of transformation in global capitalism. City centres, streets, public squares and green areas are losing their significance which they possessed as the major and functional urban spaces. This conversion not only transfers the silhouette and land use patterns of the city but also creates considerable rent by highly speculative decisions of hegemonic powers and influential actors, causing inequality and injustice in urban space.

Urban space has become a stronger reflection ground for all-scale policies. If these policies are analysed in the urban context, a wider range of reflections of policies are observed, mainly of capitalist policies. The implication of these policies in Turkish urban settings has been getting rid of public squares, fast transformation of the city centre, demolition of old buildings and construction of high-rise ones both for

residential and for business uses and losing inner-city green areas. In Ankara there are fewer public squares than there used to be before 1980s as an outcome of urban policies and of even general national and global policies.

In glancing at the changes in urban pattern in terms of production and use of space in Ankara, it can be noted that this pattern was initiated even in the early years of the first development plans. In the residential areas, low-rise buildings in low-density areas had already started to be rebuilt as higher and denser as early as in 1930s and this practice intensified in the 1970s. This implementation provided land-owners an interest through ownership of more than one apartment house with a highly speculative approach. In addition, middle class landowners seemed very content with this pattern. Starting from the 1980s in terms of apartment building constructions, a move from one single contractor to big construction companies and joint ventures who were granted denser construction “rights” is observed and later this gave way to the construction of gated communities.

Along with the rebuilding of the city centre, suburbs were discovered as new “development areas” where settlements were initiated by the middle income groups organized in the form of housing cooperatives. Later on, this practice also converted its realm from use value to exchange value with the increase in land prices, to which the original owners had no objection. In other words, the concern for use value, manifested with the wish for “having one house to live in” was transformed to own the property as an investment for prospective increase in value, which is its exchange value.

The use value concept is not as popular as the exchange value which attracts unquestionably more supporters within all classes. According to Lefebvre, the struggle between use and exchange value, in the end takes up a dialectical characteristic, although it starts as a simple contrast or “non-dialectical antithesis.”

“The fact is that use re-emerges sharply at odds with exchange in space, for it implies not 'property' but 'appropriation” (Lefebvre 1991 p. 356).

Different needs must be defined within the use value and defenders of use value somewhat consent to, defend or profit from the other as well. On the other hand, how consciousness is built historically has great influence on the formation of urban consciousness, where separations weakening solidarity and class consciousness may appear (Şengül, 2009). It is not a class consciousness and how it is built that is the concern of this thesis. The concern is more of urban consciousness. A collective identity as Melucci describes may be useful as an identity of belonging to a city or “right to the city” in Lefebvreian terms which can be interpreted for Ankara as the right to the use-value of the city.

The 1980s not only marked the beginning of the period associated with liberalization, deregulation, privatization and decentralization in all fields but also introduced serious transformations in urban spatial practices in Turkey. Ankara is considered to be one of the most affected cities from this urban political transformation, as the capital city and a “symbol of planned urban development.” At the end of two decades Ankara turned from a “proto-metropolis” into an “uncontrolled focus of sprawl” (Şahin 2007).

In addition to the unforeseen urban population increase after 1980 in Turkey and in Ankara, and though not limited to this cause, an interest in investing in the second circuit, which is the built environment, both by the public sector and by private sector grew. This was a state-driven orientation having its foundation at the new economic order to be adopted. Thus, investments in the urban space intensified and various capital groups were attracted in investing in cities. This resulted in shaping of urban environment by the capitalist interests. Big capital groups grew an interest in local investments due to the newly increased size of municipal tenders (Şengül, 2009). Extensive growth of shopping malls, hotels and business centres since the

beginning of 1990s, increased urban rent as a means of speculation by bringing forward the exchange value and thus turned cities into commodities.

Although there exist upper-scale planning decisions and land-use plans in accordance with these decisions, the revisions made in the implementation development plans were often contradictory to those upper-scale plans in terms of land use. With new planning decisions, no new pedestrian areas, inner-city green zones and efficient public transportation were constructed; instead, Ankara has been rebuilt with a notion of promoting automobile industry contradictory to main urban principles and mostly excluding pedestrian movement. This pattern is extensively being repeated in Ankara.

The transformations in Ankara include but are not limited to urban transformation projects which are mainly rebuilding of squatter settlements, revisions of development plans in order to enable construction in green areas, re-building the city centre with an understanding to facilitate vehicle traffic and disregarding pedestrian flows and universal design principles. The recent phase of these transformations has been granting construction permits for any kind of “empty” space which used to be green areas, including the areas at the main road junctions and for the AOÇ¹ area, the biggest green recreational and urban agricultural production land in central Ankara. In addition to these plan revisions, for the first time, construction density increase is being granted at the scale of one plot only, following such a demand, and not at the scale of the development plan as a whole.

The implementations based on the urban transformations in Turkey are not determined only by the global capital but more by local administrations and local capital. This practice of handling the issue in accordance with the policy-making forms of less developed countries, causes the already troubled process to be even

¹ Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, previously the biggest urban agricultural and leisure area in Ankara, now being transformed with constructions including the presidential palace.

more distorted. They define this process as a transformation characterised by real estate realm, rather than service sector which is mostly defined through banking, insurance due to its dependency on capital, oriented towards consumption and not industrial capital. In this regard, the implementation and reflection of global policies peculiar to Turkey cause urban policy practices to become more problematic than in more developed countries (Erbaş and Soydemir 2011).

The argument of Erbaş and Soydemir about İstanbul holds true for Ankara too. They point out to the fact that the gains from this process work in favour of certain groups while creating new inequalities and consolidating existing ones. The “privileged” living in luxury houses on one side and the “under-class” becoming poorer each day. They underline that this is creating the existence of two totally distinct lives, characterizing it as “living together separately” and denoting that this alienates the citizens (Erbaş and Soydemir 2011). Indeed, the life style presented in the newly created residential areas which will be elaborated in this thesis, is totally negligent of the existing urban reality.

Up to recently, despite the transformations in Ankara, resistance was observed only in few areas.² All this resistance is not negligible. Some media which are not part of

² There was considerable resistance for the urban renewal projects for the squatter areas in Mamak and Dikmen Vadisi with the participation of diverse groups united under various housing-right groups with supports from lawyers, chambers and other professional organizations. Resistance against the transformation of Saracoğlu Mahallesi, a neighbourhood at the very centre of Ankara with low-density housing units for public servants and with a considerable amount of green area is also being conducted by various organizations. Occasionally, public demonstrations were performed by the citizens living in squatter settlements against urban transformation projects. It is worth noting that in the past three years, demonstrations and resistance to the transformations that are taking place in the AOÇ area have intensified. It has to be noted that after May 2013, urban awareness started to raise by the events following the Gezi Park demonstrations in İstanbul which started as opposition to transformation of an inner-city park area and intensified in the months to follow, which also contributed to awareness-raising in Ankara, not only for the Gezi Park per se but also for the urban space in Ankara. Street protests, meetings and forums were organized by the Chamber of Architects in Ankara as well as by other initiatives. The discussions in Ankara were channelled for the transformation of AOÇ and the constructions that have been going on, such as the roads, the presidential palace, and there were serious protests and on-going discussions and debates both at public and at legal level. Although this proposed a positive picture for a shift by the greater public in perception and use of urban space,

the mainstream are also quite active in awareness-raising through some activities such as organizing workshops, conducting site surveys, publishing flyers.³

Having noted the resistance for some of the urban transformations, it would still be fair to claim that very little resistance is observed for other urban transformations in Ankara, despite considerable urban transformation schemes. Although there are larger urban movements in many neighbourhoods in İstanbul against urban renewal or transformation projects which can be interpreted from the point of “right to the city” in terms of not only for housing but for a vast realm of demands from environment to health, from the right to make decision about their own neighbourhoods to common urban spaces (Ergin and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2014), the urban movements against the transformations in Ankara remain limited. The widest area of movements is taking place at the legal grounds by the law cases of chambers against the municipality decisions. Very often lawsuits are filed by the Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners but they usually lack awareness from and the support of the greater public as well as the media. It is observed that even though majority of the lawsuits are concluded in favour of the plaintiff and against municipal decisions on the grounds that the revisions recently made in the development plans are contradictory to original land use plans and main urban planning principles, the constructions related to urban transformations go on without a stop and in the end, the verdict means nothing. This is mainly because the municipality does not implement the court decisions and goes on with the supposed- to-stop constructions to which there are no legal consequences.

public awareness on urban use of space did not prove to be sustainable as it was expected during the heat of the events.

³ For example *İvme Dergisi*, See issues dated 3.3.2011, <http://www.ivmedergisi.com/halk%C4%B1n-m%C3%BChendisleri-mamakda-anket-%C3%A7al%C4%B1%C5%9Fmas%C4%B1na-ve-bildiri-da%C4%9F%C4%B1t%C4%B1m%C4%B1na-devam-etti.html> and 27.10.2008, <http://www.ivmedergisi.com/27102008/mamak%E2%80%99ta-kentsel-donusum-iskencesi.ivme>

Although urban resistance is not the subject of this research, it is essential to establish the general public view for urban transformations and insufficiency of resistance, which lead to the acceptance of all plan modifications in favour of denser constructions. Furthermore, as will be elaborated a few paragraphs below, one of the objectives of this research is to contribute to further research and to create urban awareness with a view to identify the potentials for resistance by means of analysing the created consent and demand to such policies.

This limited public awareness and interest in urban developments reveal another problem. Apart from the top-down, from the political perspective of the problem related to urban transformations disregarding greater public interest, the right to the city and urban justice, there is another side of it, which is in fact one of the significant sources of the first: The created consent of and the demand from the people. The citizens, as the actors at the use side of space, provide consent to plan modifications, increases in building density and changes in land use in favour of denser constructions which are considered as “natural” in the course of the “development” of the cities. The newly emerging face of the city is conveniently accepted by citizens. Almost no protest is manifested against changing the use of a green area into a construction site. This is not only a passive consent but it goes even far beyond and there is a demand from all classes in line with such schemes. The use of urban space, especially the housing preferences of the residents of Ankara trigger planning, re-planning, amending the development plans continuously and political decisions at municipal level are manifested partly as a response to these demands. These demands come not only from the rentiers, but from all classes and particularly from the middle and upper-middle class. Not only the “growth coalition” of the city, but almost all citizens seem to be integrated in this mechanism which brings forward the exchange value of the city.

Within all these transformations, the role of residents from upper-middle, middle or lower income groups is significant. Not only the wealthy and powerful speculators

but also residents of those classes consider the urban space as a commodity which is supposed to provide profit. The exchange value of the urban land is underlined as a consequence of which citizens are turned into entrepreneurs and are integrated into capitalist urbanisation process. There is an apparent consent for the ongoing capitalist policies and this consent is often crossed beyond and there is demand in that respect. It should be noted that such a demand is being created by urban policies.

Urban land rent is a social relation in a concrete context and this can encompass some universal elements as well, which are related to broader changes in society (Jauhiainen, 2006). The urban space in Ankara witnessed intensely all these transformations, out of which housing patterns received a considerable share. Implementation development plans were revised as a consequence of which residential areas were transformed into commercial areas, green areas into residential and commercial areas. Within this understanding, the approach to housing has also been altered drastically. Since the first city plan of Ankara in the 1920s, from replacing houses with gardens with apartment blocks, to replacing the apartment blocks with higher buildings, to the emergence of suburbs and later conversion of these suburbs into denser neighbourhoods, the urban transformations have finally led to the gated communities which nowadays are being converted into what is popularly called “rezidans” in Turkish. These areas are gated communities as well, with a claim to include all the facilities which are expected to be traditionally contained in an urban context such as shopping areas, green areas, sports facilities, recreation areas and offices. Some go beyond these basic spatial and social requirements and exaggerate their design concept so as to include ski tracks and artificial lakes; some even claim to imitate historically established cities, civilizations or neighbourhoods like Haliç, Hitit or Venice.

Provided with a non-resisting but consenting residents, the construction of the “rezidans” areas has intensified in Ankara. *It is imperative to understand the production of demand in the newly shaped urban structure, specifically in the*

newly established residential areas and how their residents use and perceive the urban space which eventually leads to their choosing to live in these areas.

The peculiarity of Ankara is that as a planned city whose spaces were produced in line with the hegemonic discourse in the 1920s, as the new face of the republic, it continues to be a city of manifestation of the contemporary reigning policies. The population movements have altered the city's perceived homogeneous profile and the city has been the scene for capitalist policies starting from the 1980s, with an astonishing increase in the 1990s and 2000s. In the face of these developments, so far research for Ankara has been conducted mainly for middle-class residential areas and for gated communities. Up to now no research was run for the upper-middle class residential areas from the point of the users of space.

This created demand for a new form of urban residential space is assumed to have a significant role in the new approach to use of space and to perception of urbanity with regard to residential capital. There is not much research on this demand and use side of capitalist urban policies. *This thesis aims at contributing to urban research not from the policy level but from the use, consent, demand and perception side by the citizens and at exploring the possibilities of resistance to hegemonic capitalist urban policies by analysing the created consent and demand to such policies.* It is intended by this research to find an answer to the question whether the production of space by creation of "rezidans" areas demonstrates, produces and consolidates inequality in the urban context. The facilities which should typically be included in the urban public space, to which all the groups should have right to access, are designed and produced only for a small segment of the society. Whether this practice influences the use of urban space and perception of urbanity in accordance with perception of space shall be explored. In other words, the use and perception of space together with perception of urbanity of the residents of such housing groups are intended to be comprehended in order to establish the motives of preferring to live in such areas and whether this practice creates segregation, prevents right to the city

and at the same time, whether there is room for resistance to prevailing urban policies. Therefore it is intended to understand the user side of space, the created acceptance and the perception of space by its users, and how these actors are consolidating the established urban policy, in order to explore the possibilities of resistance which could lead the way to a change in urban policies.

Considering the recent and rapid changes in Ankara's urban structure, the use of space characterized by housing preferences and urbanity perceptions of the upper-middle class, who are the users of "rezidans" areas in Ankara shall be focused upon within the scope of this thesis. Additionally, the upper-middle class shall be taken as a sample in order to rule out necessities of affordability in terms of housing and leave it to preferences within the range of affordability. Hence the focus shall be on the use of space in residential areas of the upper-middle classes, which are perceived, created, produced; with particular focus on the perceived urbanity based on the daily experiences. It is not the purpose of this thesis to elaborate the characteristics, the dynamics and building of the upper-middle class to its full extent. For its limited purposes, upper-middle class in this context shall be searched, based on their use of space in residential urban space, and perceived urbanity, as the social class consisting of educated individuals with a high income, with diverse consumption patterns and as a powerful social group in the demand side of urban policies. Their characteristics based on consumption, preferences and perceptions, in accordance with their cultural capital shall also be searched. It is intended to demonstrate as well, that the new urban developments are given consent and are even greeted with a demand for such new urban space.

Therefore it will be the objective of this thesis to demonstrate how the use of space characterized by residential capital of the upper-middle class is being produced in the course of Ankara's changing economic pattern, with a focus on exploring the perception of urbanity of the upper-middle class, who are the users of the newly created residential areas, through their use and perception of space patterns. The

research question of this thesis is: *How do the upper-middle class residents of the “rezidans” areas in Ankara comprehend urbanity through use and perception of space?*

In quest for finding an answer to the research question, promotion materials of the “rezidans” areas have been examined. Additionally, interviews with the professionals and the residents of these housing groups in Ankara were held.

In order to be able to elaborate the research question, theoretical and the conceptual frame of this thesis shall be provided in the next chapter, where major urban theories and the concepts of this research shall be discussed.

The structure of this research intends to reveal a historical perspective regarding the planning practices in Ankara and how they have been adopted to policy orientations. Therefore a brief history of planning in Ankara, indicating how the breaches and revisions of the master plans and development plans have been a usual practice since the first plans of the city shall be provided in the first part of Chapter III.

The new urban development scheme is being manifested all over the world, at varying scales and intensity, as a one-to-one reflection of global capitalist policies. What is reflected in the urban space, originally has its roots from these policies. Therefore it is worth going through other developments of economic nature, which are supposed to underlie the spatial urban transformations in Ankara. With this intention, the second part of Chapter III will be elaborating the recent economic developments in Ankara, changing the image of the city from a city of the public officials and students, to the city of big capital movement.

Methodology of the research shall be explained in Chapter IV and Chapter V will include the analysis of the research conducted. This chapter is constituted of two sub-chapters, namely analysis of the promotion materials and analysis of the interviews.

In the first part, how these “rezidans” areas are promoted by means of publicities shall be elaborated. The second part is analysed in two sections, based on the interviews with the professionals and with the residents of the “rezidans” areas. Conclusions shall be provided in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAME

*Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched?
Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations,
the milieu in which their combination takes on body,
or the aggregate of the procedures employed in their removal?
Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space*

The theoretical and conceptual frame of this research shall be explained in this chapter. Under the first sub-chapter, theoretical frame which forms the basis of this study shall be elaborated and under the second sub-chapter, the concepts used for this research shall be detailed.

2.1 Theoretical Frame

2.1.1 Urban theories and capitalism

According to urban theories, today's urban context is largely defined by capitalism. Harvey, Lefebvre and Castells have put forward the characteristics of urban space being produced by hegemonic capitalist policies. They have elaborated this characteristic of space, particularly of urban space and its production under capitalism. Basing their studies on Marxist thoughts, each of them contributed to the theory of space, bringing forward the related practices and analysis from the practical use of space. They have reflected on how capitalist mode of production and the entailing class structures influence spatial patterns in the cities. They each picked up a different aspect of the whole analysis where sometimes they appeared to be in contradiction and sometimes in agreement. As a whole, the contributions of all three theorists have proved to be complementary rather than a contradicting analysis of space and capitalism.

Today's urban context is defined by capitalism to a large extent. According to Lefebvre, capital's interest in the cities during the 20th Century is what ensured its survival (Lefebvre, 1976) and this particularly holds after 1980s. This pattern is valid also in the 21st Century, with increasing and intensified production of space in line with capitalist policies. In order to be able to comprehend its influence on urban space, circuits of capitalism as analysed by Harvey is of utmost importance.

Harvey, explains the growing interest of capitalism in the cities in forms of circuits of capitalism. He states that, "urbanisation is one way to absorb capital surplus" (Harvey, 2010 p. 85) however this is only possible by means of gathering considerable amount of financial power. According to his well-known analysis (Harvey, 1989), when there occurred over-accumulation in the first circuit and the profit rates dropped in production, capital shifted its interest to the second circuit, namely to the built environment. Investing in cities through municipal tenders and big infrastructure projects proved to be more profitable. Eventually, speculative character of urban land was intensified and urban space started to be regarded as commodity. Exchange value of land started to dominate its use value. This process has altered the phase of the cities since 1980s with the adoption and consolidation of neoliberal policies.

Harvey has put forward a systematic analysis of capitalist society. According to his system layout, production activities go from labour to capital and wages in return, go from capital to labour for consumption. Financial markets receive the savings from production and consumption and the state functions receive them as taxes in order to invest both in technological innovation which provides input for the production side and in social expenditure which creates the resources for collective consumption (Harvey 1978, pp. 110-115). This collective consumption part is also what constitutes the basis for Castell's main arguments. Although this cycle has altered in

terms of modality and intensification, the basis laid out by Harvey still constitute the framework of the capitalist society and the city.

In addition to his earlier analysis concerning the circuits of capital and the capitalist society, Harvey has also developed a systematic analysis of the economic crises in general and of the one that burst in 2007 in particular. He asserts that this crisis, like the previous ones, is a crisis of capitalism and an urban crisis, as a consequence of which the states do not change the existing capitalist system but instead, take measures which will consolidate it (Harvey, 2010). Aiding financial institutions rather than looking after the well-being of people, is a conscious choice manifesting the will for continuation of the capitalist system. At each crisis, capitalism does not solve its problems but shifts the location of the problems elsewhere, both spatially by moving the production activities to the periphery and systematically by introducing new mechanisms, in this case debt, for increasing consumption.

Harvey, considering this as an urban crisis, believes in a radical approach, by starting to talk about socializing housing, hospitals, education but does not believe that a Keynesian welfare state would be possible for countries under huge amounts of debt.⁴ Harvey asserts that debt is a strategy adopted by capitalism to sustain after the previous economic crisis; consumption is guaranteed under considerable amounts of debt. This debt goes to both ends of urban production and consumption: The debt of construction and development corporations and the debt of the citizens who are expected to consume their products, mainly real estate property. Harvey considers the most recent crisis as an urban crisis and foresees that the next crisis will be based on credit-card debts.

⁴ Harvey, David, Radical Urbanism, The Right to the City, Speech delivered at concluding panel of Radical Urbanism conference held on 12 December 2008 at the City University of New York, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DkKXt6lTTD4>, access on 2.6.2014.

Today, the crisis of capitalism manifests itself to a large and visible extent, in the built environment. As Jauhiainen asserts, capital and the built environment are interlinked. According to him, many items in the built environment work at the same time for both production and consumption, such as transport networks (Jauhiainen, 2006). In a similar manner, Harvey mentions two kinds of fixed capital (Harvey 1989); the first being embodied within production processes as (new) machinery to enhance productivity, and the second being the land use as the built environment for production (industrial and related buildings) and consumption (housing, sidewalks, shopping malls, etc.). Therefore housing actually being at the consumption and production side equally, composes the area of manifestation of capitalism and of course its crisis. This analysis is valid for the Turkish cities and for Ankara as well.

Another theorist, Lefebvre studied the relationship between capitalism and space, while also identifying space in a holistic approach.

Capitalism does not consolidate itself solely by consolidating its hold on the land, or solely by incorporating history's precapitalist formations. It also makes use of all the available abstractions, all available forms, and even the juridical and legal fiction of ownership of things apparently inaccessible to privative appropriation (private property): nature, the earth, life energies, desires and needs. Spatial planning, which uses space as a multipurpose tool, has shown itself to be extremely effective. Such an instrumental use of space is surely implicit in the 'conservative modernization' that has been introduced with varying degrees of success in many countries. (Lefebvre 1991, p.350)

Lefebvre, having noted that capitalism owes its survival to its discovery of the cities, has introduced a new and comprehensive understanding of space. He suggests a holistic approach to space rather than studying it in fragmented disciplines such as geography, sociology, and economics and emphasizes their connection to space. He is in favour of re-unification of over-specialized domains of knowledge by emphasizing their relationship to space (Lefebvre, 1991). His main assertion is that space is a social product. He rejects an absolute idea of space where it is considered

merely a container. He asserts that space is not a container where production takes place but is socially produced by social and production relations. According to his approach, places are related with each other through a series of historical modes of production of space. Political and economic activities associated with space determine its identity and sometimes exclude other related activities. His approach reveals the relational characteristics of space where it is constantly changing and being produced by social relations based on modes of production. In accordance with his understanding of space and the underlying relations, Lefebvre asserts that every society and every mode of production produces its own space. Therefore the analysis should shift from “things in space” to actual production of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre suggests a triad related to space analysis, to elaborate the perceived, conceived and the lived space, encompassing social relations. Space is not a mere container where the social takes place but it is rather a relationally produced social entity where all social relations occur and which itself enables *sociation* in Simmel’s terms. In other words, social practices produce space and also space enables sociation. According to Shields, Lefebvre has established a phenomenological basis for the lived space, with a critique of denial of individuals’ and communities’ right to space (Shields, 1999). The characteristic of space as a social product is in accordance with production of residential areas as they are arising and being preferred as a consequence of use and perception of space.

Lefebvre’s triad regarding space enables the grasp of space in various approaches. These approaches are not distinct from each other; they may overlap with one another and often complement each other. This analysis classifies space in three realms as *spatial practices*, *representation of space* and *representational space* whose degree of domination varies in accordance with historic spatialisation (Lefebvre, 1991).

Spatial practices define daily practices, utilization of space and practices related to space. It embraces production and reproduction of the society's space. It poses close association with the daily reality and urban reality. Everyday experiences help produce and reproduce space in accordance with those daily practices. This is the *perceived space* where qualitative meanings are integrated. It entails production of specific places and ensembles, which are appropriate for social formation such as parks, memorials, museums.

Representation of space is more at expert level and is tied to order. This includes logic and forms of knowledge such as maps, cartography, plans, GIS systems where space is represented and classified for expert use; for the scientists and urban planners. Lefebvre also calls this the *conceived space*.

As for the *representational space*, it includes complex symbolism such as emotional, historical, traditional affiliations to space. This is also the *lived space*, with a reflexive aspect and which is essential for self-realization as a total person. Space is directly lived through images and symbols.

This trilateral analysis of space has enabled a different understanding of space for spatial and urban studies. Since Lefebvre asserts that space is a social product, he sees the revolutionary potential of transforming the space through lived experience. The fact that space is not an absolute given but is produced via social relations and the underlying modes of production, has brought about a broader approach to spatial studies. Lefebvre denotes that the relations of production are manifested in relations of space and that the capitalist mode of production is the main determinant for the production of space. In other words, contradictions in capitalism are reflected in contradictions in space. In addition to production, consumption and surplus,

spatialisation has been put forward by Lefebvre as a fourth consequence of the capitalist society which holds significant power for the determination of urban space.

Indeed, the lived space and the perceived space are imperative to understand in order to grasp the relations in space and the potential to alter it based on daily experiences on the basis of daily use of space. This point holds particular importance in the urban space and in its being a reflection of capitalist policies; mainly from the side of the users of space.

Similar to Harvey and Lefebvre's theories, Castells too asserts that urban space is produced in accordance with the capitalist system. In order to understand the city, one must glance at the social classes and the relation between capital and labour. He has studied the city from the collective consumption side (Castells, 1977, 1983). Cities are places where not only production but also consumption, especially collective consumption takes place. In order to enable reproduction of labour, state intervention is essential for collective consumption. Collective housing, transportation and the entire relevant infrastructure are parts of this collective consumption. His analysis compasses a part of Harvey's more general layout of the capitalist society.

Castells, having studied urban problems, criticizes the approach of the Chicago School to urbanism (Castells, 1968). Their consideration of the urban space as a laboratory where findings are obtained and their regard to urbanism as a mere question of integration, are highly criticized by him. Similarly, he finds Wirth's definitions of the city based on size, density and heterogeneity inadequate as Castells expects to reveal what those physical categories mean for urban social relations and what sort of urban social forms they produce. In this respect, his points of criticism for the Chicago School, and his expectations to reveal the meaning of such

categories, may be considered to have been replied to, by what is explained by Lefebvre in his tripartite spatial analysis as perceived, conceived and lived space.

Castells has defined an alternative city where he enlists three factors: Collective consumption and trade unionism; community; citizen movement. In the context of collective consumption and trade unionism, he identifies decent housing and services, preservation, as the underlining elements beneath the “city as use value.” Within the realm of community, he brings forward the cultural identity (Castells 1983). “City as use value” means also regarding at urban space not as an investment but rather from the side of use of space. Urban qualities, equality and justice must be considered instead of gaining rent out of urban lots as investment.

Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey have contributed to theories of urban space at a significant level. Lefebvre’s approach to space has been a foundation for other theorists who work on space, spatial relations and urban issues. Castells and Harvey hold complementary views with Lefebvre rather than contradictory. They have presented the problems arising from the capitalist city, and they have also come up with some proposals to overcome these problems at the urban scale. Lefebvre’s general layout and categorization of space, production of space and spatial relations as well as his revolutionary proposals at the urban scale are complemented by Castell’s analysis deriving from case studies, grass roots movements and cultural elements, and by Harvey’s profound economic and social analysis of capitalism which manifests itself at the urban context; all proposing a renewed understanding towards urbanisation and the urban space in order to ensure “right-to-the-city” and urban justice.

Having put forward the problems of the capitalist city, urban theorists each come up with proposals to overcome the injustice in urban space and restriction of right-to-

the-city. Harvey insisted at the early stages of his works that the struggle against capitalist policies and consequent urban transformations should be class-based. He criticized Lefebvre for diverting the attention from class struggle, replacing class conflict with urban conflict and replacing class-based revolution with urban revolution. However in his later works, he considers urban struggles as beyond-class struggles, names them as “displaced class struggle” where the deprived people can belong to groups cross-cutting all classes (Harvey, 1989). Particularly he asserted that Lefebvre was right to propose an urban revolution with the ensemble of all related parties. He denotes in agreement with Peter Marcuse that today’s economic crisis is in fact an urban crisis which affects the economically exploited and the culturally oppressed equally. Therefore the two groups which form the majority should act together, also with the participation of other groups who are neither materially deprived nor culturally oppressed.⁵ He states that we need,

greater democratic control over the production and utilization of the surplus. Since the urban process is a major channel of surplus use, establishing democratic management over its urban deployment constitutes the right to the city. (Harvey 2008, p. 37)

These policies at the urban scale hamper social justice, particularly urban justice and the- right-to-the-city. Harvey’s notion of social justice at the urban scale calls for an improved understanding of justice (Harvey, 1993). The definition of justice may have altered through history but still there exists a notion of justice and it should be searched in the urban realm. Harvey also adopted Lefebvre’s concept “right to the city” and has been proposing it as a response to the current economic crisis worldwide. He emphasizes that this is not an individual but a communal right. He proposes that this statement be interpreted as the right to proper housing or the right to keep their housing, based on the fact that the current economic crisis mobilized

⁵ Harvey, David, Radical Urbanism, The Right to the City...

many people out of their housing worldwide. He considers this as a slogan to initiate action.⁶

Any of the urban revolts could become contagious... If they somehow did come together, what should they demand? The answer to the last question is simple enough in principle: greater democratic control over the production and utilization of the surplus... Increasingly, we see the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests. One step towards unifying these struggles is to adopt the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanisation and surplus production and use. The democratization of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanisation. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all. (Harvey 2008)

Harvey proposes change, total abolition of the current capitalist system for restoring social justice and right to the city and consideration of the well-being of the people rather than that of financial institutions'. He suggests handling the crisis and the urban problems globally, putting out the fact that this is the scale at which all the problems are produced.

All this contradiction of capitalism reflected in contradiction of space has led Lefebvre to propose the statement "right to the city" where a demand for a transformed and better urban space is manifested. He emphasizes the role of the agency and space for the transformation of society. In fact "right to the city" statement has become a slogan for certain deprived groups who claim their rights in the urban context. These may be as a right to proper housing or the right to keep their housing as Harvey notes or right to better public space and services.⁷

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

The capitalist city as such is excluding, oppressing and depriving for majority of the social classes. Lefebvre asserts that the working class has not said its last word yet in terms of production and use of urban space. He proposes an urban revolution with an ensemble of all parties for a renewed understanding of urban space. By transforming the understanding towards urban space, he holds the hope for a better life (Lefebvre, 2003).

The approach by Castells can be considered as complimentary to these proposals. Castells has analysed grassroots as a potential for altering the existing urban spatial relations (Castells, 1983). He proposes an alternative city with community emphasis, collective consumption and city as use value. He underlines the significance of class conflicts and class relations as a potential area of struggle. He identifies class struggle as an urban struggle. However, he also denotes the importance of culture in urban struggles. He believes today's urban social movements have gone beyond class to include cultural aspects and that culturally oppressed groups also hold the potential for urban social movements as the grassroots. He believes that class struggle, struggle for collective consumption and cultural struggles constitute the main motives for urban social movements (Castells, 1977). In this regard, he seems in line with Lefebvre's proposal for an urban revolution with the ensemble of all sides. Also in line with Lefebvre's lived and perceived space categories; he denotes that everydayness produces space. He emphasizes that the use value of the city should come forward in order to change the existing spatial relations.

2.1.2 Exchange value of urban space, its social recognition and its reflection on residential areas

At the present day, a more intensified and diversified reflection of capitalist policies is observed at the urban space. Changing of land use patterns not in favour of the general public but for the benefit of the capital holders is manifested at an increasing

pace and this is confronted with very little resistance. As Jauhiainen states, urban land cannot be produced in the conventional sense of the word, therefore the capitalist production of the urban space is ensured through land-use changes in cities (Jauhiainen, 2006). He emphasizes the role of rent in the changes of land-use in cities through three forms: land rent as a regular periodical payment for the use of a particular place; land rent as prospective rental payments regarding the same place; and land rent as virtual capital. He also sees it as a social institution governing the relationship between a landowner and a producer, who are sometimes different people. According to him, land rent created by concrete land use is also subject to speculation concerning future economic development.

Given the fact that urban space has become a commodity in capitalist society, there are also slightly variant theories. According to Gottdiener, production of space is the material demonstration of complex social processes related with the stages of capitalist development. Socio-spatial patterns are the consequences of the various contradictions in capitalist policies and not only a direct outcome of capitalist motives (Gottdiener 1985, p. 23). He criticises the political economy approach on the grounds that it is limited for it asserts a positivist stress denying the role of other factors, and that it concentrates on economic development in the society instead of on the “revolutionary project to transform it” (Gottdiener 1985, p. 108). After establishing that space of everyday life cannot be reduced to the field of political economy, Gottdiener asserts that since culture dominates the concept of social space, the analysis of local neighbourhoods must concentrate on the contest between the use value and exchange value (Gottdiener 1985, p. 155).

The point stressed by Gottdiener is in fact right to underline the dichotomy between use and exchange value of space. The research to be carried out in the neighbourhoods targeting upper-middle classes reflects this contradiction from the use and exchange value of the residential areas.

In terms of this objectification of land, it is worth noting the role of governance modes in practice. Sargin underlines that urban land is being objectified by the local administrators with the help of local governance models established. Following the completion of the cycle, money is re-gained. It is on the other hand a huge delusion that the created value is distributed equally among the whole population of the citizens (Sargin 2010). Notions of “right to the city,” “justice and the city,” “use value,” “collective housing” are not in the agenda of the local and central governments by any means. Turkish cities, especially Ankara is witnessing such a vast urban transformation at the expense of losing the notion of equality in terms of urban space.

It is doubtlessly true that the capitalist policies are shaping the urban context in this manner. The city’s exchange value surpasses its use value and in fact the majority of the citizens are deprived because of these policies. These urban deprivations often have a classless character as the total physical structure of the urban setting influences all classes. But what is interesting is that until recently, no or little resistance was manifested against such urban policies in Turkey. In this sense, all classes seemed to be consenting to these capitalist urban policies and this consent seems to have a classless character.

Occasionally, there arise movements against such policies by the middle and low-income groups as well as certain civil society organizations however, broad *consent to* and small-scale *expectations from* the established speculative system are observed in an unnegligible manner. This situation limits the intensity of social movements against capitalist urban policies. According to Ergin, due to peculiar conditions of Turkey, the theories on social movements are not totally applicable. She argues that it is imperative to note the thin line between the mega ideas, utopias for social ends justified with the urban renaissance and “cultural regeneration” (Ergin 2006). In Turkey, although increasing in the recent years, urban social movements are limited

to some projects and are mainly against global capitalist policies in general and not particularly against their reflections in the urban space. Global capitalist policies have direct implications on urban space manifesting themselves with rent-seeking activities of hegemonic groups of speculators. The permanency of this established routine is ensured by inclusion of all classes in this mechanism and thus creating consent and expectation (Şengül, 2009).

Global policies shape spatial patterns in the sense of establishing, transforming, organizing interactions, supporting or limiting, conserving or making revolution (Jameson, 1992). However, putting the whole city and the citizens within that mechanism ensures the “success” of capitalist policies. Therefore the possibility of resistance from middle and lower classes are limited or totally eliminated by integrating all classes in this “entrepreneur” mechanism. In order to accomplish this, financial mechanisms must be put in place as well. As pointed out by Jauhiainen, laws and urban planning and a well-functioning finance market are needed to enable the changes in land use (Jauhiainen, 2006). This also secures inclusion of all actors and a prospect of gaining from the mechanism put in place. Furthermore, there is almost no resistance to be expected from any of the classes, let alone from the upper-middle classes. This is ensured both at policy level, by constantly emphasizing the exchange value of the land creating speculators at all levels and at spatial level by destroying places of resistance.

Exchange value of the urban land exceeding its use value and the broad recognition of this phenomenon by the society, manifests itself particularly on housing areas and eventually leads to a specific type of housing. As was briefly introduced in the previous chapter and as will be elaborated in the next one, capitalist cities have been going through a process of increase in building density, suburbanisation, gated communities, gentrification. Ankara is no exception to this cycle through which the cities are going. The most recent reflection of the capitalist policies is the intensification of luxury gated communities claiming to encompass all urban

services. Such housing areas are a production of capitalist urban policies. As presented in the Introduction chapter, the user side of these areas shall be explored within the framework of this thesis and therefore the theories and research peculiar to these areas shall also be elaborated here.

In this regard, how the city is perceived matters considerably. Exchange value of urban space is widely accepted and regarded as legitimate. Many cases indicate a profit expectation from urban lots and this is not limited to large scale profit seekers. This kind of expectation is present cross-cutting the classes, although the lower classes rarely benefit from this. Policies on the other hand, make every citizen an entrepreneur and a speculator (Şengül, 2009). One of the implications of capitalist policies is for the disadvantage of the lower classes who eventually become a part of this rent-seeking cycle. As Erman notes, cities and the poor have been attracted to rent-oriented schemes which led to bargaining of the squatter residents with the authorities (Erman 2016, p. 71).

Atkinson and Flint's research on gated communities indicates the importance of "value for money" of the housing group was for the preference of such groups, where they were regarded as longer-term investments considering the expected increase in prices. They have concluded in their research, as other motivations for living in a gated community as expected increase in exchange value, therefore a means for investment. The concepts related to use value also come forward as quality of leisure and shopping facilities and the fact that they are accessed within the premises. According to their research, the location preference of such housing groups proved to be based on proximity to business centres and preferred schools as well as additional security measures offered by these housing groups (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880).

There is an acceptance for possible value-increase in land and in the Turkish cases, there is also an expectation with the prospects of profiting from urban land. This has manifested itself recently in the urban renewal projects which are originally supposed

for renewal towards enabling earthquake resistant structures. The research by Duman reveals the positive attitude towards urban renewal projects in terms of gaining from the increase in urban rent. In her research conducted in İstanbul, 41.3 % of the respondents think that the value of their house will increase after the transformation and 28.3 % of them partially agree with this statement. Overall, 62.2 % of the respondents believe urban renewal projects are necessary. The percentage of the respondents who believe urban renewal project will create urban rent and everyone will benefit from this equally is 51.3 (Duman 2015, pp. 414, 415, 417).

Although strongly led by policies and planning decisions, having consent on all of these new developments and even demanding a share of the urban rent, paves the way to an almost non-resistant policy environment. Castells accentuates actor's role in changing the urban context through social forces and not just through economic ones (Castells, 1978). However according to Christiaens et al., when the hegemonic forces are overwhelming, the resistance movements hardly produce a considerable effect as political majorities and public opinion easily adapt the hegemonic discourses. They find that the middle-class is often delayed to discover the underlying implications and without that class, any resistance would not achieve its goals (Christiaens et. al., 2007). Şengül also asserts that the position of middle-class in terms of use value and exchange value is in a conflictual position. They are inclined to be on the side supported by macro policies. They are involved in hegemonic project stages, are project intellectuals and a considerable portion of the societal base at the same time (Şengül, 2009). Therefore it is imperative to get support from the middle class, in fact from all classes in contesting hegemonic procedures. According to Tilly, what distinguishes social movement politics from prescribed politics is the continuous struggle against the power-holders in the name of a wronged population (Tilly, 1997). It is therefore essential that the citizens be aware that they are "wronged," they should claim their right to the city and they are in fact not gaining from capitalist-oriented urban policies.

It is evident that capitalist policies are in progress globally, for the reproduction of urban space. Producing and reproducing the urban space and the land use attached to it has become a cycle in urban policies. Turkish cities have been caught up in this cycle too. Ankara has been witnessing similar cycle in previous squatter settlements which are being transferred into high-rise buildings where high urban rent is created. What is peculiar to Ankara is that as a planned city whose spaces were produced in line with the prevailing policies in the 1920s, as the new face of the republic, it has continued to be a city of manifestation of the contemporary reigning policies. The population movements have altered the city's perceived homogeneous profile and the city has been the scene for capitalist policies starting from the 1980s, with a sharp increase in the 1990s and 2000s.

The practice in Ankara has been to recreate densely built, transformed neighbourhoods with little or no public space with incredibly high prices for apartments. These neighbourhoods which used to be squatter settlements, now contain apartment blocks which are almost adjacent to each other, with no public space, no landmark and with no justification of their high prices and in return, the original residents can no longer afford to live in their neighbourhoods. As Erman notes, although rent-oriented neo-liberal policies manifest similar characteristics in the "third world" as in the "West," urban transformations are observed in harsher manner in the "third world" because in these countries the concern for legitimacy is not at the same level with that in the "West" (Erman 2016, p. 43). In this statement, the term "third world" can be replaced by "Turkey" as it would be accurate for the Turkish cities, particularly for Ankara as well. This practice for production of urban space has intensified in favour of denser and higher and more luxurious housing constructions, which leads to analyse the class dimension of the problem.

2.1.3 Class dimension

In Ankara, apart from the transformed and re-built previous squatter settlements, even main road junctions which should be kept as green areas, are being built with

new residential areas such as the one called “Next Level” at the junction of Konya and Eskişehir roads, two main intercity roads with heavy traffic. Obviously, without the demand from the middle or upper-middle classes, the prices in these neighbourhoods could not have been so high and the real estate in such areas would not have been a tool for speculation. Therefore a research about the housing preferences and how these preferences are created via a perceived identity and belonging, manifested as perceived “urbanity” of the upper-middle classes in such neighbourhoods with no open public space, no green areas and no urban landmark of any kind seems essential, in order to determine the role of the demand side in speculative activities. Daily use of urban space and urban experience to indicate perceived urbanity of the upper-middle class, who are the actors on the use side of the newly created urban spaces need to be explored in order to uncover the urban patterns -existing or created- by the newly produced urban spaces. Hence, before going through the debates on the tastes and cultural characteristics of the classes put forward by Bourdieu, which will be elaborated within the context of urbanity of the upper-middle class and on the grounds that this thesis intends to focus on the users of the newly created residential areas designed and built for the upper-middle class, it is worthwhile to turn the discussion to the concept of class.

The new forms of urban residential areas target a certain class, with upper-middle class characteristics, to which the officials at the sales offices refer as “A+ income group people.” The definition of this upper-middle class will be elaborated based on the class analysis by both Marx and Bourdieu.

Marx has made the most comprehensive historical analysis of the classes based on modes of production and ownership of means of production. This is not a naturally existing distinction but an artificially produced one. Eventually, there remain two classes based primarily on capital and labour, suggesting that all other existing classes have melted into these two. The well-known and broad definition of his theory will not be elaborated here in detail. It will be sufficient to state however that

Marx's analysis suggests that accumulated capital is invested in production for the formation of the capitalist class, and its emergence, existence and persistence largely depends on the existence of the working class (Marx, 1986).

Weber on the other hand, does not agree with the class definition of Marx. Instead, he states that social status is defined not only by the possession of means of production but by life style and living standards which are directly proportional with the occupational status; family reputation; and the ability of the social group that they belong, to utilize the political authority. Therefore the concept of social status put forward by Weber is not as sharp as that of Marx (Kalaycıoğlu, Kardam, Rittersberger- Tılıç, Çelik and Türkyılmaz, 2008).

Bourdieu's approach to the definition of class is different. He does not take the relations of production as the sole determinant of class. He suggests there are other factors than relations in production. He defines capital in groups of social capital, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. Thus according to him, not only production but also consumption patterns are needed to be explored in order to conduct class analysis. His analysis encompasses taste, status, cultural aspects, and also housing patterns. He states that a social class can separate and distinguish between the tastes of various segments of population. This may lead the way for this thesis that housing preference of a group in society can form a certain class. In this respect, the theoretical frame of class will be demonstrated in line with Bourdieu's assertions. In defining a social class, Bourdieu questions how the structure is produced, how a class exists and how is it represented as opposed to accepting it as "out there." (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 15). According to him, "a class exists when there are agents capable of imposing themselves as authorized to speak and act officially in its place and its name... by recognizing them endowed with full power to speak and act in their name, recognize themselves as members of the class...., confer upon it the only form of existence a group can possess." He defines them as agents who occupy similar positions in social space who adjust to this position, having "sense of

one's place." He is questioning how different forms of capital are produced. If capital is produced from practice, it is the objectified form of different practices which are constantly in transformation. He demonstrates how the practices and criteria other than economic criteria can form a class and that class analysis can be made with factors other than economic ones. He does not draw strict lines between fields and denotes that entry in one field is not always for economic interest.

Therefore class dimension shall be dealt, within the scope of this thesis, with possession of high income, though not necessarily related to means of production, as well as residential and cultural capital. This concept shall be elaborated in the next sub-chapter.

2.1.4 Urban life style

Another point of discussion within all the urban transformations and the new forms of use of urban space, should be exploring the urban life styles of the upper-middle class residents of these new forms of residential areas. In spite of his underlining cultural aspects, Castells criticizes the "myth" of urban culture. His assertion is that there does not exist a globally valid urban culture and he strongly rejects this proposition. He believes that this myth should be crashed in order to reveal the true characteristics of today's urban conflicts. Despite this assertion by Castells, there is a broad range of theories and research to indicate a way of urban life referred to as "urbanity." The concept shall be elaborated in the sub-chapter related to conceptual frame; it is however essential here to mention the related theories and research.

In this regard, Bourdieu's theory for distinction shall be referred to, for relating it to the concept of urbanity. According to Bourdieu, the possession of different forms of capital defines class membership; their distribution determines the positions in the field of power (Bourdieu, 1984). Dominant class is made up of a relatively autonomous space whose structure is defined by the distribution of economic and

cultural capital among its members. To each such distribution in the fractions of the dominant class, corresponds a life style. Occupants of temporarily dominant position within the dominant class are placed in a contradictory situation which makes them keep a vague relationship with cultural goods and their producers. According to Bourdieu's research, these two types of capital are inversely and symmetrically distributed among the fractions. The disparity between economic capital and cultural capital (whose certified form is the educational capital), recognises not its full merits but other principles of classification, which blocks the way for full membership for the working class or petit bourgeoisie. And that creates inequality.

Starting with the definition that "different things differentiate themselves through what they have in common," Bourdieu asserts that the different fractions of the dominant class distinguish themselves via what makes them members of that class as a whole: via the type of capital they possess and the privileges attached to it. Homogeneous sets of individuals do not exist in either side of the line drawn between fractions of a class.

Further to his theory, consumption and particularly that of works of art may create a distinction. As a result of his research, Bourdieu has created a chart, indicating the fractions of the middle class and spreading their preferences in art (paintings, music, museums etc.). He identified some indicators which measure the aesthetic disposition on their choices in music, furniture, decoration, cooking. In general terms, the indicators measuring cultural capital are in inverse ratio to indicators of economic capital. Most evident opposition is between commercial and industrial employers – higher education teachers and artistic producers. Considering culture, life style and language, speech and tastes, working class seems much closer to self-employed sector and small employers than to clerical workers.

These indicators of different life styles correspond to the structure of positions. Each individual's position in the space is defined by the relative weights of the economic

capital and cultural capital he owns: maximum cultural profit for minimum costs; inward-value- emotional value of a work of art; informed tasting vs passive consumption which is worthy of symbolic appropriation of rarities and material means of acquiring it measured by time devoted to consumption, to cultural acquisition; symbolic value of time, to be able to afford sparing time for leisure.

To appropriate a work of art is to assert oneself as the exclusive possessor of the object and of the authentic taste for the object which is thereby converted into the reified negation of all those who are unworthy of possessing it... (Bourdieu, 1984).

This statement indicates that consumption of work of art is one of the distinctive practices. Bourdieu denotes that purchase of works of art is an objectified evidence of “personal taste” and internalization of distinctive signs and symbols of power. Still, dominance of finance over production is witnessed and different responses arise due to different economic conditions that create various social and educational origins. According to him, possessors of economic capital need to ensure concentration and utilization of cultural capital as well (Bourdieu, 1984). Further to Bourdieu’s assertions on the distinctive characteristics of ownership of works of art, it can also be interpreted that this could be accepted as a criterion for (perceived) urbanity.

The relationship of a certain class with works of art, or their engagement in artistic activities both as performers and as audience can also be linked to the concept of perceived urbanity. Cultural capital as such, can be defined as one of the distinctive characteristics of the citizens which can also be related to their use and perception of space.

As mentioned before, different types of capital indicate distinction in various manners and residential capital can be considered as such. Housing areas constitute a major portion of the urban structure and possess a significant place in urban life. Furthermore, they are the urban spaces where urban preferences and the taste of the

actors matter more directly than in other urban settings. Additionally, identity and belonging are significant elements in the formation of a certain class. Beşpınar considers neighbourhood identity, which possesses differentiated characteristics but appears homogeneous to the other classes living in other parts of the city, bringing forward the similarities rather than differences. She mentions the identity developed through similar economic positions (Beşpınar 2001).

Referring to Bourdieu and reminding that habitus is made up of a set of dispositions attained in the course of socialisation which leads the individuals to behave in “socially specific ways,” Dirksmeier states that the metropolitan habitus is “the condition of its own emergence” as it creates its own habitat as in gentrified neighbourhoods (Dirksmeier 2012, p.79). According to him, “habitual urbanity and residential capital are instrumental in helping people to deal with the broad range of possibilities that urban life offers” (Dirksmeier 2012, p. 76). He asserts that the concept of residential capital can act as the “conceptual link between habitus and space.” Therefore, he concludes that residential capital can be considered as a feature of cultural capital acquired in line with a person’s place of birth and dwelling thus as an embodied disposition of that person. He continues to state that residential capital can also be taken as a part of social capital acquired via residence. Having in mind that social capital is a network of relationships developed in the context of place of birth and habitation, Dirksmeier notes that the value of the social capital increases with the symbolic capital attributed to a certain place. He argues that the symbolic capital of a place is relational to the social class and status of the residents, and adds that spatially based social and cultural reproduction is a significant element of the growing metropolitan habitus (Dirksmeier 2012, pp. 78, 80). As shall be seen in the next section, this point shall support the concept of urbanity, in direct connection with use of space, within the scope of this thesis.

Another theory which shall be linked to the concept of urbanity is related to behaviours peculiar to urban life. Given the characteristics of the urban space with its

exchange value coming forward and space being produced in accordance with capitalist policies, new lifestyles and new uses of space are produced in line with this. The prevailing market economy ensures the coordination between the mind and money in terms of objectivity, anonymity, rationality, exchange and interchangeability of parts (Quigley 2002). According to Quigley,

Specialization in contemporary trans-urban societies leads to many forms of fragmentation. Cultural forms embodied in texts, images, sounds, etc. are so large in number and so diverse that one is easily overwhelmed and forced to confront a kind of informational sublime. The production and range of existing information exceeds our capacity to even imagine it. Thus, we find ways of filtering the information to suit our needs and individual forms of life. We seek information on subjects that appeal to us, with which we identify, and that link us to other groups whose "objective culture" (in Simmel's terms) we then assimilate and make our own.

What effect all these spatial developments have on the individual is also another point for interest. According to Simmel, city is a sociological entity that is spatially formed (Frisby and Featherstone 1997, p.11). In "The Metropolis and Mental Life," Simmel describes the ways in which an individual is trying to preserve his/her identity and autonomy, against the challenging conditions that the metropolitan life creates. Simmel describes a "metropolitan type" who develops a self-protection mechanism which is a way to act intellectually rather than emotionally. According to him in metropolitan life, circles of interaction are created. However this physical nearness indicates bigger mental distance which results as lonely individuals in metropolitan crowd (Wolff 1965, pp. 410, 418). In fact, this type is the outcome of the capitalist city.

In city life where heterogeneity is the outstanding element, the individuals protect themselves by distancing against typical dangers in the city. What seems in the beginning as disintegrating according to Simmel, is in fact what shapes metropolitan life with its integrity (Simmel 1999, p. 37). The stranger is one of the most important types defined by Simmel. The type denotes a positive interaction. They hold both close and distant positions which give them the objective characteristics (Wolff

1965, pp. 402, 405) to enable them to view the society at all scales. This implies objectivity as they are not completely attached to the society they live in. The stranger is "an element of the group itself" while not being fully part of it. He is entrusted a specific role which cannot be played by any other member of the group (Coser 1977). Therefore the stranger holds the advantage of observing the society both from outside and from inside.

This distant role of the individuals creates a specific attitude in the urban life. Simmel, in his analysis of money economy to social life, brings about its characteristics to materialize all relations; it implies the modern spirit of rationality, of calculability, of impersonality (Coser 1977). According to Simmel, concentration of population in cities directed the individuals to create social distance from others by adopting a "blasé attitude."

Thus the metropolitan type of man... develops an organ protecting him against the threatening currents and discrepancies of his external environment which would uproot him. He reacts with his head instead of his heart.... Intellectuality is thus seen to preserve the subjective life against the overwhelming power of metropolitan life... (Simmel 2004, p. 13)

This new objective culture finds its reflections in urban space with certain urban behaviours. Furthermore, the blasé attitude now has its spatial equivalent as the gated communities, where not only behavioural but also spatial segregation is practiced. The concept of urbanity and the issue of segregation due to security concerns shall be discussed in the paragraphs below and in the section on conceptual framework; however it is worth mentioning some theorists who have worked on urbanity.

In addition to the descriptions based on feeling of belonging, ownership of residential capital and urban behaviour, urbanity can also be seen as linked to consumption patterns in the urban space. This consumption is not necessarily related to works of art but are also leisure-oriented. Zukin, in analysing the urban changes in New York, states that new consumption spaces patronized are cafés, bars, vintage boutiques etc.

and they reinvent the urban community (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 20). According to her, this city's growth has made and been dependent on consumption spaces in line with the changing life styles. Contemporary urban experience is formed by economic power, state power and consumer culture through media rhetorics. She underlines that the media images about the city try to demonstrate who has the right to the use of certain urban spaces (Zukin, 2010 a, p.27). This aspect she has noted is also directly linked to the perception of urbanity which will be elaborated in the next section.

Though it is clear to anyone who has spent even a day in a big city that the urban spaces have been reshaped in recent years by consumer culture, those who write about cities have not focused on how these changes occur, how they are experienced on the ground, and what their consequences are for both specific areas and the city as a whole. (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 28)

Gottdiener also touches upon the new use of space as produced by capitalism and that all events take place in the new consumption spaces.

...the social space of the city's public life has been broken up and re-inserted within the framework of commercial expropriation... public activities no longer take place in a ludic village centre ... they occur increasingly in the large malls or shopping centres under the auspices of property owners. Recently, malls have added cultural events in a thinly disguised simulation of everyday city life meant to attract customers. (Gottdiener 1985, pp. 248-249).

According to Zukin, privatized public space reinforces social inequality. Although her statement is concerning the privately controlled public open spaces, this holds true for all of the claiming-to-be public spaces that are produced. She notes that excluding certain social groups from certain spaces, erodes the variety in spatial experience and turns the city centres to “suburban shopping malls: clean, safe and predictable” (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 128). Zukin denotes that the power embodied in cities has combined consumption and repression since the 1980s and that consumer culture enabled the people to make peace with the city (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 230).

Zukin argues that we are witnessing “a paradigm shift from a city of production to a city of consumption and from a resigned acceptance of decline to a surprising

disillusionment with growth” (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 221). She underlines the connection with the consumption of brands and the discourse of the officials on growth and considers cappuccino culture as the status symbol of the new urban middle class, of the good life and eventually paving the way for investments (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 231).

It is harder to look at your own tastes as a contributing factor to these changes. But along with the power of the capital and the state, our own tastes have shaped a habitus of lattes, whole foods and designer jeans... Our tastes for consuming the city unconsciously confirm the official rhetoric of upscale growth (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 243).

As Zukin in *Naked City* quotes from Bourdieu, tastes for various types of food are tools for the consolidation of power as much as they are tools for taking power (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 29).

With another approach to the encouragement of consumption as a manifestation of urbanity, Latham argues that the version of the city as perceived by the middle class is comparable to an entertainment area, as a place to visit, shop, very much alike a theme park (Latham 2003, p. 1699). According to Latham, consumption has a central place in the discourses of political economy about the city. He notes that consumption styles are perceived as the main drivers in the city and a marker of the same classness and that in fact little attention is paid to “what people do with consumption.” Quoting from Bourdieu and Harvey, he underlines that new consumption patterns are no more than an inter-class conflict for social distinction. He argues that consumption holds the potential as a productive means in construction of social relationships and that public culture is organized via consumption of certain items such as coffee, beer, wine, food and the like. He draws attention to the point that these are the central facilitators of sociality via which the new public culture is created. “Consumption has quite literally helped to build a new world” (Latham 2003, p. 1713).

Everyday experiences and daily use of space are directly linked to the urban life style. These practices not only reproduce space, but also produce perceived space and habitus as well as sentimental attachments. According to Zukin, a steady construction of everyday experience and perpetual living and working practices ensure the maintenance of the soul of a city. This soul is lost with the discontinuity of these practices and the disappearing of the places of habit (Zukin, 2010 a, p.6).

In addition to the “soul of the city” being lost, traditional public spaces are also losing their significance. According to Sennett, the new organisation of urban public space has left the public domain as “empty” and “meaningless” “isolating the activities within the building from the life of the street” (Sennett 1977, p. 12). Indeed, public space has shifted from the streets, squares, to sanitized and controlled places like malls. What habitually used to take place in the street or at the public squares, is now transferred to malls. Even spectacles, art exhibitions and similar special events now take place in shopping malls which suggests the consumption-oriented regard to all urban practices. This practice, in addition to making the soul of the city lost, is producing inequalities in space via restricted access and isolation.

Sennett talks about the paradox of visibility and isolation in modern public life as a logical consequence of one’s right to be silent and yet public (Sennett 1977, p. 27). Segregation is sometimes manifested in the attitude. Additionally and in the most obvious manner, urban space is produced with segregating characteristics; particularly the housing areas for the upper classes present such an intended segregation through space.

So far it has been analysed that urban behaviour can be manifested through cultural capital via acquisition of works of art or in participation in artistic and cultural events; through feeling of belonging; through residential capital; and through consumption. All these factors are manifested through use of urban space. In that sense, gated communities act as the spatial equivalent of the blasé attitude, which is

peculiar to the urban residents, where not only behavioural but also spatial segregation is practiced; and this reflects itself in the form of residential capital. Gated communities are one of the fundamental urban spaces where segregation is outspoken. In their research on the gated communities in England, Atkinson and Flint intended to challenge the idea that the gated communities “represent a communitarian ideal or private choice which lacks wider social repercussions” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p.875). They suggested that this type of housing creates segregation beyond the residential place and therefore the issue of segregation should be elaborated with;

much greater consideration of the dynamic flows of everyday life both within and outside the field of residential interaction and lived experience. In short, segregation needs to be considered both in its daily dynamism as well as its static residential manifestations (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 876).

Considering the fact that security is often pronounced as a justification for segregation, it is significant to notice that security is targeted not only for the protection of the residents against serious crimes but also for meeting an obvious desire to avoid day-to-day impoliteness and random social contact. The urban experience of the wealthy upper class is now new to the extent that social fragments are controlled as to with “whom, how and when social encounters are made” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 877, 880).

Segregation appears as “a product of income inequalities and discriminatory filters” causing people in uneven distributions in the city. The need for segregation is not only confined to residential areas; it manifests itself with the need for safety and security and the imperative of “like-with-like” social contact in the area of residence are driving motives for spatial segregation but also the patterns of daily movement to which people commit themselves manifest such a search (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 876, 890).

Davis, with reference to LA, refers to segregation in the city and how this was ensured spatially:

To reduce contact with untouchables, urban redevelopment has converted once vital pedestrian streets into traffic sewers... The valorised spaces of the new megastructures and super-malls are concentrated in the centre, street frontage is denuded, public activity is sorted into strictly functional compartments, and circulation is internalized in corridors under the gaze of private police (Davis, 1990, p. 198).

Like Davis, a similar point emphasized by Atkinson and Flint is the analogy of “corridors” and “bubbles” for the use of space of the rich. “Corridors” imply modes of travel which attempt to protect the resident-travellers against unwanted or even dangerous encounters. This may include the use of cars over small distances where cars generally act as barriers to social interaction and they also enhance feelings of safety (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 887-888).

Gated communities segregate residents both in their residential places and in their daily lives in other spaces of the city. Case studies reveal that the residents keep their privacy both inside and outside their residential areas, which they identify as “a barrier to social interaction.” In this manner, they provided a conceptual mapping of the tendencies in social relationships produced by gated communities which comprises of “territories,” “objectives” and “corridors.” First two are defined as spaces of segregated social action and the third as a domain which refers to the mode of movement between these nodes. “Territories” are the residential areas protected via design or other technologies (CCTV, security), and are territorial because they are shielded, and also related to a sense of home or domesticity which creates feelings of “ontological security.” “Objectives” are non-residential locations where “the people travel on a daily basis or through repeated patterns of movement which suggest a targeted movement through space rather than a casual, or chance, visit.” These include workplace, leisure spaces and the social network destinations of friends and relatives. The researchers argue that arriving at the objective space may lead to feelings of relief or satisfaction depending on the nature of the journey to

them and the related feelings of threat faced on the way. Objective spaces may also be with security or hidden like underground car parks.

These various nodes are linked by patterns of movement which are detached from their social contexts, promoting a cognitive map of the city inhabited by like-minded individuals that generate socially homogeneous contact absent of potential threats and encounters. The dependence on, and use of, cars can be seen as an extension of gating and what we term 'bubbling'—the orchestrated management of perceived risk spaces and social contact while moving around the public realm in shielded corridors (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 889).

Segregation is practiced for the reasons of providing security, which has significantly shifted from “a social good to commodity” (Low, 2003, Hope, 1995, cited in Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 878). Indeed, the right for security for all citizens is now purchased by the wealthy. Davis also takes note of this aspect of security and states, “the market provision of ‘security’ generates its own paranoid demand. ‘Security’ becomes a positional good” (Davis 1990, p. 198). Therefore residents of gated communities can equally be considered as prisoners as they are liberated from urban violence and privatisation of spaces via consumption and strict control has led to the practice of “policing without the police” through neighbourhood watch (Atkinson 2003, pp. 1834, 1840).

In a manner, gated communities “provide a refuge that is attached to social networks, leisure, schooling and the workplace via paths which are used to avoid unwanted social contact” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 877). In another paper of his, Atkinson supports this idea noting that “socio-spatial segregation has been reinforced by what can be seen as a process of enclavism which stems from the needs of high-income-groups looking for safety while residing or moving within the city (Atkinson 2006, p. 830). He also states that “these time–space mobilities of the super-rich indicate their perception of the city as a kind of security foam (Atkinson 2015, p. 10). In a supporting argument, Sennett denotes that silence and observation are the only ways to experience public life without being overwhelmed by the threats of it (Sennett 1977, p. 49), and so the residents prefer to keep anonymity.

Therefore the issue of security has two connotations: One is protection from crime and the other is keeping a certain distance as anonymity. Both result in intentionally restricted use of urban space and restricted social encounter in the public space. Atkinson also adds that “differential access to resources contributes to security differentials which manifest themselves spatially as elite groups seek to inhabit 'security enclaves'.” Such “enclaves” provide security by means of “bubbles of governance,” where the technologies concerning security are acquired and set up for a “defensive exclusivity” with the sole aim of self-segregation from threatening outsiders (Reiner, 1992; Shearing, 1995; Crawford, 1997; Girling et al, 2000 cited in Atkinson 2006, p. 878). In that manner, gated communities are the “crystallisation of such processes” (Atkinson 2006, p. 878).

All these perceptions in security resulting in segregation are closely related with perception of space. Therefore, considering the production of space in the urban context with segregating housing areas, the perception of space comes forward as a significant item to explore. It is firstly manifested in the perception of the neighbourhood via neighbourhood satisfaction. In their article regarding neighbourhood dissatisfaction, Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson question whether neighbourhood satisfaction can be directly linked to what the respondents really feel about their neighbourhoods. They argue that various levels of residential satisfaction can overlap; home, neighbourhood and community.

Atkinson has explored place and impact of the “super rich” on London and explored how they go across urban spaces and their feelings about the value and perceived dangers of the city.

The impression derived from this investigation is of a group able to use residential locational choices and choreographed mobilities as strategies to avoid negative aspects of daily life in the city (visible poverty, potential danger, spaces of social and ethnic difference) (Atkinson 2015, p.1).

Comparatively little is known about the very rich or the way they are related to the cities;

...that the wealthy desire a kind of oysterization of the world around them that offers security, free-flowing access and closure, whenever these qualities are required. A closed circuit of personal drivers, private taxis, the use of powerful and discrete cars and occasional use of personal guards are the mainstays of these arrangements but are supplemented by secure nodal points in these networks – shops with manned doorways, fortress homes, gated communities and well-staffed private leisure and consumption spaces that symbolically or physically block access to those who do not belong (Atkinson 2015, pp. 2-3).

Mobilities may contribute to the retreat of wealthier groups to spatial and social isolation which reflect spaces like “institutional settings, work and leisure sites” (Atkinson 2015, p.4).

The character of the enclaves and homes produced by and for capital in London are sites of connected withdrawal and selective social engagement, made possible by the built residential fabrics, telecommunication and travel systems that enable separation and concealment, a complex network of leisure zones, consumption and commerce. Like the lifestyles of the elite Medici of Florence’s 16th century, London has been extensively adapted to facilitate the withdrawal and protection of wealth and the wealthy... Commentators on gated communities, for example, have argued that residents of these places are both metaphorically and in reality incarcerated by their fears... a sanitised and domesticated impression of the social life of the city in which any form of prospective social danger and spaces of poverty are concealed or skirted (Atkinson 2015, pp.5-6).

Perception of space is often produced via perceived security. According to Atkinson, the inclinations of the super-rich are represented around two major points: safety/security and engagement/public presence. Within the framework of safety and security, he found that the very rich seemed comfortable with using public spaces but they maintain their perceived safe zones, notwithstanding their appraisal of “open engagement with the city more broadly” (Atkinson, 2015, p. 8).

This complexity reveals itself in differing habits around the use of public space and relative propensities to seek out more or less protected zones of residence. Yet, even in the most expensive and fortified bunker-style developments, it seems that a major draw is the capacity to have control over

social contact and choice over the modes of encountering public spaces and the public (Atkinson 2015, p. 11).

Their research reveals the desire for privacy to be as important as the desire for security in preference for residential areas. It may be concluded therefore that security systems are used to preserve anonymity as much as they are used as a means of protection from crime (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880).

To sum up the portion of the urban life-style literature taken on-board for this research, urban behaviour can be manifested by means of cultural capital via acquisition of works of art or in participation in artistic and cultural events, feeling of belonging, residential capital and consumption. Citizens develop a specific attitude for self-preservation specific to urban life. Security concerns related to privacy are also linked to the perception of space. All these factors are revealed in use of urban space and in that sense, gated communities act as the spatial equivalent of the blasé attitude, where not only behavioural but also spatial segregation with security concerns, is practiced. This finds its manifestation via residential capital.

This sub-chapter laid down the theoretical background of the research of this present thesis. While urban theories provide the basis of this study for recognition of upper-scale policies on urban space, they also provide the grounds for comprehension of use and perception of space from the user side. Additionally, theories on urbanity shall be utilised for revealing the perception of urbanity. In the next sub-chapter, the conceptual framework will be explained with a view to the utilization of the concepts deriving from the theoretical background in the research conducted.

2.2 Conceptual Frame

Following the discussions about the theoretical frame of this study, the conceptual frame of it shall be provided in this sub-chapter. The main concepts used in this study are *upper-middle class*, *perception of urban space*, *use of space* and *perception of urbanity*.

2.2.1 Upper-middle Class

The *upper-middle class* referred to in this thesis is not necessarily the capitalist class involved in production, who invest their accumulated capital in production activities. This class is assumed to be not homogeneous within itself either. The fact that possession of urban land has become a speculative capitalist activity and that today's considerable amount of wealth constitutes the urban rent, gives way to the definition of the *upper-middle class* partially in the classical terms, taking into account the economic factors. Considering the sales and rent prices of the newly formed residential areas which constitute the core of this thesis, affordability for these housing groups is what determines the *upper-middle class* primarily. Given the fact that being able to afford these high-priced residential areas requires accumulated capital and high income, the *upper-middle class* will be firstly taken on board in the sense of possessing the capital required to afford such high-priced residential areas.

Another social theory in definition of the *upper-middle class* for the purposes of this thesis has been adopted from Bourdieu whose approach to the definition of class is distinct. This may lead the way for this thesis that housing preference of a group in society can form a certain class, in the form of residential capital as stated by Dirksmeier.

Similarly Ayata, in referring to the new middle class, denotes that "the middle class can be distinguished not only in terms of wealth and property but also through its distinctive consumption patterns and lifestyles. In the Turkish context, a wide section of the middle class tends to distinguish themselves from other classes through

culturalised lifestyle choices” (Ayata 2003). This statement holds valid for the upper-middle class as well.

Therefore for the purpose of this thesis, the *upper-middle class* will be defined as a certain group of the society with high income and with possession of flats as their residential capital in the “rezidans” groups. As will be explained in the chapter related to methodology, during the field research conducted through interviews, their relation to works of art, to artistic activities and their related habits have been explored not with the purpose of defining this group of people based on taste and culture but with the purpose of laying out their such characteristics similar with the approach of Bourdieu. It should be noted that although Bourdieu’s theory will be made use of in conceptual definition of the *upper-middle class*, no study will be carried out in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis regarding consumption patterns and the taste of this class. This issue will be elaborated in more detail in the chapter concerning methodology.

2.2.2 Perception of Space

Another concept within this thesis that needs to be elaborated is *perception of space*. It will be fundamentally based on Lefebvre’s definition of the perceived space. According to Lefebvre’s triad on space, *spatial practices* define daily practices, utilization of space and practices related to it. It encompasses production and reproduction of space, manifesting close association with the daily reality and urban reality. Everyday experiences contribute to the production and reproduction of space in accordance with those daily practices. This is the perceived space where qualitative meanings are integrated into it. Perceived space entails production of specific places and ensembles, which are appropriate for social formation.

Furthermore, as suggested by theories related to urban life style, the issues of segregation and security are also points linked to perception of space, particularly perception of a city in general and of the neighbourhoods in particular.

Therefore the *perception of space* will be based on perception of urban space through the perceptions of Ankara and other cities, of the interviewees in a comparative manner and perception of residential space via their perception regarding their neighbourhood, taking into account the daily practices and everyday experiences of the interviewees.

2.2.3 Use of Space

The concept of *use of space* shall be elaborated in Lefebvrian terms, based mainly on his theories put forward in *The Critique of Everyday Life*. In this work, Lefebvre emphasizes the role of the dynamics of modernity and the role of leisure and cultural consumption. According to him, everyday should not be taken for granted or underestimated. He asserts that people confront the concrete other through everyday practices and thus acquire their own identity. In pre-modern societies, productive labour was directly linked with the everyday life and there was no separation of work place; all everyday rituals were connected and conducted in an atmosphere of rituals and celebrations. With the solidification of capitalism, Lefebvre attests that social activities became diversified and thus everyday life became an unconscious part of human life. He proposes a radical “dis-alienation” of social life for a total self-realization and daily life is the element to fulfil this. Lefebvre admits that everyday life has survived in neo-capitalism, though in a reconstructed form (Lefebvre, 2002). Accordingly, within the purposes of this thesis, use of urban space and use of residential space shall be the main determinants for the use of space. Daily use of urban space shall be correlated with everyday life practices and therefore daily practices and the relations in the city. Use of residential space shall be based on daily use of space in the neighbourhood.

2.2.4 Perception of Urbanity

The term “*urbanity*” can encompass various meanings in scientific articles, depending on the subject of the work and intent of the author. During the research, a vast usage of it has been come across, some of which being the opposite of the rural,

urban space, urbanisation or the set of behaviours and manners expected from citizens. Additionally, it can either be used to define the citizens living in one city or it can refer to the city itself (Wim Van Dijk et.al, 2007).

Among other things, cities are defined by heterogeneity. Therefore the term urbanity is also defined in relation to social space and urban life, in terms of social contacts in the city, implying openness to strangers and to urban space within the scope of right to the city (Şen, 2008, p. 46). *Urbanity* is also affiliated with central urban space where urban values like solidarity, tolerance and jubilation of differences exist through daily practices. In reference to Bourdieu's terminology, it is underlined that in addition to urban experience and urban symbolism, functionality of the cities also connects people to urban territory (Van Diepen and Musterd 2009, pp. 333, 335). Therefore behavioural practices and social relations constitute a part of urbanity. How these patterns are produced and related to urban space is imperative in the understanding of urbanity. What stands out in this definition is that heterogeneity of the urban is pronounced however the urban literature after the 1980s stresses the desire for segregation and request for homogeneity for public confrontation in the urban space.

Another definition for urbanity is the "identity derived from a historical perspective in cities" (Schneider et. al., 2014). This definition may be linked to the feeling of belonging and in addition to its connotation with historical urban perspectives, this feeling can be correlated with spatial identity and therefore the feeling of belonging to a certain city and neighbourhood. Wirth on the other hand, gives an account of urban life in various manners, stressing the life styles and the institutions, which may contribute to the discussions in urbanity (Wirth, 1938, p. 6):

Urbanisation no longer denotes merely the process by which the persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life. It refers also to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban which are

apparent among people, wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influences which the city exerts by the virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation.

Mumford, quoting from John Stow, cites that “good behaviour is yet called urbanitas because it is rather found in cities than elsewhere” (Mumford 2004). Van Diepen and Musterd note that the urban life style understanding draws attention to the concept of *urbanity* but that what *urbanity* actually is and how it is related to urban residents remain unexplored. In their assumption that underlying social and economic properties structure urban everyday life, they conclude that urban social structures characterized by residential patterns are manifested as products principally influenced by social and economic urban constraints, rather than as products of preference. Therefore, they interpret life style as a practice in relation to household types, use of urban facilities and orientation based on taste and preference. Linking urbanity to life styles, they explain two approaches: The first, life style as an outcome of urban environment; and the second, regional placement of urban household forms as a result of housing patterns and “behavioural practices.” The main departure point is everyday life and the effect of physical-spatial environment. They adopt the latter approach linking housing patterns to urbanity. They assume while urbanity can be characterized with benefiting from a variety of economic activities and access to public spaces it also means contributing to the fulfilment of these activities (Van Diepen and Musterd 2009, p. 332).

In a similar approach, in their research, Van Diepen and Musterd define *urbanity* as use of urban facilities at three levels: First by the extent of participation in cultural events and in urban cultural life, second by the level of outsourcing the housekeeping activities which would also mean participation in events outside and third, by the level of social contacts (Van Diepen and Musterd 2009, p. 336). They also take as variables of urbanity, the distance to city centre, housing stock mix, employment mix and participation of employees in public spaces. In line with this approach,

involvement in cultural events can also be regarded as a part of urbanity, in connection with everyday life practices.

With another approach, Dirksmeier defines *urbanity* as “the contingency of a city which manifests itself in the greater scope of action of its inhabitants compared to other forms of settlement, “contingency being the direct outcome of the high degree of individualisation and strangeness in cities.” He notes that urban habitus is composed of the competence to handle individualisation, strangeness and contingency. Habitual urbanity on the other hand means the ability to live under such social conditions. Additionally he underlines that “habitual urbanity” is not confined to the supposition to afford houses in gentrified areas, which is rather in line with “metropolitan habitus.” Residential capital implies the existence of previous such experience. He gives another version of habitual urbanity as “the ability to negotiate or oscillate between two possibilities of the urban- risk and safety, contingency and alignment, public and private” and as “the ability to integrate the(se) new social conditions into daily routines” (Dirksmeier 2012, pp. 79, 80, 83, 85) and he continues to state that this integration is for the preservation of the residential capital.

Dirksmeier introduces the term “residential capital” as the capital generating within the metropolitan habitus as embodied in urban living conditions. He notes that the accumulation of residential capital would lead the way to “habitual urbanity” which can be defined as “the cognitive ability of a subject to cope with the contingency of the city which derives from anonymity and individualisation.” This coping mechanism and the residential capital as its spatial reflection are also manifestations of urbanity. On the other hand, it also requires attention to be paid to the physical environment both as a consequence of ownership of residential capital and of the feeling of belonging.

Provided this broad area of definitions and derived from the urban life-style literature presented in the previous sub-chapter, it has been decided to use the concept of

urbanity within the scope of this thesis as how the interviewees perform their daily activities within the opportunities provided by the urban life, what activities they embark in their daily life through public encounters. It will be defined on the basis of artistic and cultural activities and taking notice of the artistic and cultural events and physical alterations in the urban space. Additionally, feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood shall also be explored. As a consequence within the purposes of this thesis, *perception of urbanity* shall be taken on board, in the sense that making use of the facilities of a city in a way to define one's urban characteristics. It will be explored within the limits of feelings of belonging to the neighbourhood, involvement in artistic and cultural activities, both as audience and as performer, participation in civil society activities, as well as taking note of the urban developments that are taking place in the meaning of attention to revisions in development plans along with alterations in the physical urban environment.

Given the theoretical and conceptual frame of this research, the next chapter will take a glance at the urban and economic developments in Ankara.

CHAPTER III

URBAN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN ANKARA

*If space is produced, if there is a productive process,
then we are dealing with history.*

Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space

Although revisions in development plans were a preference of the policies implemented, the consent and demand of the citizens mostly were aligned with those urban policies. This chapter aims at displaying a brief history of city planning of Ankara, with a view to indicate how planning principles were altered depending on the policy choices of each period with the intention of gaining urban rent, and how the citizens were actually consenting to these plan revisions. Following this sub-chapter, the recent economic developments in Ankara will be touched upon with the purpose of demonstrating the economic movements in Ankara that lead to the production of urban space with the actors at the use side of space.

3.1 A Brief History of Planning in Ankara

The planning of Ankara was first introduced as a project within the scope of construction of the capital city of the republic. Since then, Ankara has been experiencing the transformations in the urban context vastly. This is not recent. Besides being more than obvious to any citizen born and/or raised and/or lived in Ankara for several decades, many research include comprehensive analysis regarding the structuring of Ankara as the face of the new republic within nation building process and the following transformations. This section will try to provide a brief narrative of Ankara's planning history by giving reference to certain research.

Since the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the new republic, and given the fact that all government offices started to be located there, the main problem occurred as

the housing needs of the public officials. Beşpınar notes that due to high prices in the city centre, the preference was to build the new housing areas around the centre but also within proximity. Therefore the area Yenişehir was constructed, followed by Bahçelievler and Yenimahalle. Beşpınar considers Yenişehir as the “first suburban project swallowed by the city” (Beşpınar 2009).

In the early years of the republic, especially in Ankara, the enforcements of the hegemonic elites who engaged themselves for the re-establishment of the “public” can be regarded as a “project” with a view to production of the spaces of the bourgeoisie who have become stronger in order to share the political power. This practice has created its own contradiction as to the “revolutionist-progressive” programme which is laid on the foundations of a “conservative-conformist” economic reality. Nevertheless, given this contradictory characteristics of the “revolutionist-conservative” and “civilian-official” public as historically re-produced categories, Ankara has brought to today the spaces simultaneously containing these categories. Ankara is defined as the consequence of these contradictions manifesting itself in space (Sargın, 2003-b).

Ankara has always been a ground for manifestation of policies at urban scale. Urban space has always reflected national, even global policies. Şengül analyses the urbanisation of Ankara in three periods: *urbanisation of the nation state*, *urbanisation of the labour force* and *urbanisation of the capital*. In his study, he makes use of the geology metaphor by Massey, so as to adopt it from the impact of industrialization on space to the general establishment, reproduction and transformation of spatial/territorial order. In this analogy, while one layer is formed by accepting the previous ones as a given, it also constitutes the context for the next one ahead (Şengül 2009).

In this chapter, the work of several researchers is referred to and this will lead to overlapping of some of the planning and urbanisation periods as each researcher

composed their own classification. Nevertheless, the main frame and discourse seem complimentary to and in line with each other.

The spatial development of Ankara, following its declaration as the new capital city of the republic, has experienced the “revolutionist-progressive” dichotomy through the hands of the state (Sargın, 2003-b). It would not be unrealistic to assume that this dichotomy was reflected in constant, rapid and widely accepted revisions and/or distortions of the development plans of the city throughout its history.

Şahin asserts that a thorough analysis of urban planning history of Ankara presents an indication that there has been an interaction between forms of political strategies and their manifestation on certain sectors and particularly on spatial practice (Şahin 2007). He provides a vast analysis of how political strategies have interacted with urban space in Ankara, through planning process, starting from 1920s. In fact, these transformations and changes in planning decisions started almost immediately after the approval of the first Lörcher plan in 1927.

The Lörcher plan is founded on the advantages of an intended planned city. This plan is also a privileged element of design of the public which is tried to be produced in “Western” norms (Sargın, 2003-b). Sargın goes on to underline that it was designed with an understanding of re-establishing the urban totality and the layers of the city taking into account the passage from the old and new parts as well as harmony with nature. The newly designed parts and the public spaces attached to them clearly demonstrate the ideological mapping and its spatial manifestation.

In line with this spatial manifestation, Burat depicts how urban greenways were altered since they were originally proposed by Lörcher (Burat, 2008). The speculative influence of the local elites of the first years of the republic also created a tendency towards distortion of the city plans and planning decisions at implementation phase which were mostly evident in the Jansen Plan of 1928

(approval in 1932). According to Cengizkan, Jansen made use of most of the Lörcher plan decisions however there were serious and deliberate distortions, especially of the squares, districts, roads (Cengizkan 2004) and the greenways (Burat 2008) proposed by Lörcher. This was also an issue of a court case between the two planners for infringement of copyrights.

Şahin demonstrates that the court case was concluded on behalf of Jansen, with the support of the “Şehremaneti”⁸ by legitimizing the plan revisions. This legitimization of the distortions also paved the way to further plan distortions in the coming years in terms of urban space which later became a consolidated pattern in all Turkish cities, particularly in Ankara. In fact, this pattern of revising and distorting plans already carried the intention of gaining from urban rent. Sargin takes note of a development in 1925 where a 4 million m² land was expropriated with the purpose of urban development with double intentions: to have a big-scale spatial re-arrangement in order to produce a modern city compatible with contemporary cities and the second one being to gain value through real estate (Sargin, 2003-b).

Sargin states that implementing and sustaining the Jansen plan was not easy (Sargin, 2003-b). Şahin points out to the fact that later on Jansen plan was also distorted, like Lörcher plan. He denotes that the plan of Ankara became far more than a principal tool for development but also distortions applied in planning decisions became a part of spatial strategies of various actors consistent with their political tendencies and interests (Şahin 2007). In his analysis with the geological metaphor, Şengül finds that the practice of distorting the plans was in fact related to the previous planning periods (Şengül 2009) and that it found its practical legitimization in the earlier periods than the republic.

⁸ Municipality.

Trying to go around planning decisions and principles, specific demands on lot basis and request for privileges in terms of construction rights were not uncommon in the early years of republic in Ankara. As Şahin narrates:

Building under constraints of a plan was a new phenomenon for peoples of Ankara, who were the users of Jansen's plan. In order to overcome these constraints, to get their share from speculation ..., people of Ankara tried to conflict pressure on planning administration... Pressures were mostly about particularistic demands on parcel scale and seeking for changes in parcel size, location, barter, subdivision etc..... In the face of increasing pressures, planning administration took a controversial stance. While ... plan discipline was tried to be protected, ... interests of individuals were tried to be protected on building and parcel scale. Emergence of apartment buildings in the old city and pressures towards increasing densities in the Yenışehir region become affiliated with bribery and corruption and reflected in the press of the period (Şahin 2007).

Burat depicts the main principles of the first city plans of Ankara starting from 1920s, as the new capital city of the new republic. He particularly focuses on the greenways, which were planned in the development plans by Lörcher (1924), Jansen (1932) and Yücel-Uybadin (1957) plans and how construction was allowed on these areas throughout the following years, destroying the inner city green corridors (Burat, 2008). He notes that some of the proposals of these plans could not be implemented since the very beginning and some of the parts later changed functions, but still a green city with water flowing in several existing streams was depicted. Indeed some of the streams existed until as late as 1980s. Nowadays, it is ironic that the new "rezidans" areas come out with the claim of green areas, parks, woods and water element with astonishing scale. As also noted by Atkinson and Flint, not only are gated communities viewed as a built form that threatens community sustainability but they are further perceived as an architectural anomaly (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 882). How they cause to change the urban context in terms of destroying natural areas, will be elaborated during the analysis of publicities.

Şahin takes note of illegal building in planned or unplanned areas of Ankara in the 1930s, to which İmar İdare Heyeti, the authority for planning, and the municipality

overlooked which in turn led to serious breach of the plan decisions and principles. The authorities, despite the decisions taken for demolition of the illegally constructed buildings, mostly ignored these illegal constructions and looked the other way. According to Şahin, the reason was the clientelist relationships among the actors related to construction. With the weakening of the understanding of planned urban development, the main basis for the planning process was converted to the coalitions and clientelistic relationships among various groups of people living in Ankara who applied certain pressure on the municipality and planning authorities. The plan of Ankara was no longer regarded as binding but as a document which could be twisted or even neglected thanks to the relationships established (Şahin 2007).

This pressure by certain groups to the planning authorities resulted in granting higher and denser construction permits on parcel basis by the end of 1930s, even for the lots on which no construction was supposed to be permitted given the planning decisions and/or property status. Consequently, Jansen's plan lost its validity and applicability as the low-density settlements proposed in his plan demonstrated to be filled by illegally constructed buildings, with a constant increase in density and the number of storeys at the expense of green and open spaces (Şahin 2007.) This pattern continued until the end of Second World War, due to high amount of migration Ankara received. Şahin briefly describes this period as weakening or even disappearing role of state in order to ensure proper application of the plan. He refers to the period between 1929 and 1946 as the period when planned urban development was corroded in line with the political situation and understanding of the era (Şahin 2007).

Similarly, Şengül describes the period between 1923-1950 as the period when the limited success of the nation state in its efforts for regulating the urban development, led the way to the shaping of the urban space by rent-seeking and small profits and by making this a structural pattern (Şengül 2009). Therefore the foundations of today's capitalist rent-based urbanisation were in fact laid in the early periods of the

republic. Via the geology metaphor, Şengül denotes that the practices of the period were based on the Ottoman ones preceding this one. In fact, the contradictions in the economic and social structure of the city became more visible in the 1930s and the 1940s. Sargın argues that:

The territorial division between the inhabitants of the Old and the New Towns Ulus and Yenışehir, respectively was made slightly clearer in the 1930s and 1940s. However, in the succeeding decades, such spatial and social divisions became significantly sharper and discrete: even today... (Sargın 2004)

The period between the end of the WWII and 1960 is characterized by increased migration to Ankara, which in fact is a part of general demographic movements in Turkey that consequently would lead to squatter areas and to unqualified labour force (Sargın, 2003-b).

A fragmented urban space and self-produced cultural and spatial sanctuaries further fragmented the city to the possible extent and pushed the public spaces to sub-spaces... Eventually, this led to the spatial differentiation of the old and the new city going back to 1940s, to its sharpening in the 1950s (Sargın, 2003-b).

The squatter areas were produced as a consequence of mass migration from rural areas to urban areas in Turkey after the World War II, which led to the establishment of social networks based on the place of origin of the residents rather than construction of the “individual” in line with the modernizing state which took the “Western” model as an example.

Kalaycıoğlu, Kardam, Rittersberger-Tılıç, Çelik and Türkyılmaz (2008) in their research on social stratification in Ankara, state that the mobility and diversity in the population of Ankara can be accepted to have started in the 1940s. Due to inexistence of an organized industry to employ the newcomers, and obviously of adequate housing areas, the new population started to form and inhabit the squatter areas, firstly in the northern part of the city.

As a result of the new political and economic developments, the population density in the city increased. Şahin, in his analysis of Ankara through plan modifications, describes the changes as:

Such like one or two storey housing unit with a garden became the symbol of Republican ideal, high rise apartments, flat ownership and increasing densities in urban areas became the face and symbol of changing spatial organization (Şahin 2007).

Following this period, a new group of contractors emerged, with the demand of demolishing and rebuilding as higher buildings. In this period, these contractors had a strong coalition with the middle classes who were eager to own flats and with landowners who were encouraged and fascinated by the idea of owning several flats in exchange to their land. According to Tekeli, these contractors were able to exert pressure on planning authorities for the increase of building density (Tekeli 1982).

With the uncontrolled construction development of the city, a new city plan of Ankara came to scene by Yücel-Uybadin in 1957. According to Şahin, although it pursued certain principles of the Jansen plan, Yücel-Uybadin plan's main focus was no longer establishing a modern capital city of the republic, but trying to handle the problems of the city arising from increasing housing demand and urban development. Although the plan opened up new urban development areas, brought about proposals for industrial areas, it failed to provide solutions for certain realms, particularly for squatter areas (Şahin 2007).

Nevertheless, distortions concerning the new plan of Ankara started just after its approval, via a regulation approved by the planning authority, İmar İdare Heyeti. Main point was of course increasing the density of construction and height of the buildings. Following this approval, building density and population in and around the city centre manifested a dramatic increase. Green areas started to diminish, roads widened. Rent-seeking interest groups became even more powerful influencing

urban development plans which would lead to various urban problems in the following years in Ankara (Şahin 2007).

When it comes to the period 1950-1980, Şengül names the period as the *urbanisation of the labour force*. He notes various left-wing developments and attempts to equality in and a more just use of urban space (Şengül 2009). Erman and Eken note that with economic growth experienced during the 1950s and 1960s in Turkey, the disadvantaged urban periphery benefitted from this growth in an inverse manner. They note that with economic decline, the periphery is to be affected most negatively among all urban population. They observe that this is the reason of augmenting violence in the squatter areas when the residents see all prospective opportunities are closing for them and for their children (Erman and Eken 2004).

Şahin on the other hand refers to the period between 1960 and 1980 on the basis of city plan modifications. Metropolitan planning office for planning was established and metropolitan development plans were designed in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir for the year 1990. Until early 70s the population of Ankara reached more than one million and although the urban macro form stretched an area of 14,000 hectares, only one third of the population lived in the planned neighbourhoods designed by Yücel-Uybadin Plan. The remaining citizens lived in apartment buildings or in the squatter areas around the planned urban space. Rapid urbanisation of Ankara witnessed between the years 1950-1980, destruction of low-rise buildings and re-building them as higher and denser. Urban problems such as air pollution, environmental degradation, heavy traffic and inadequate housing became even worse (Şahin 2007).

This period witnessed spatial fragmentation of different classes in Ankara; middle and upper income groups lived in planned neighbourhoods and new suburban areas in the south of the railroad passing through the city from east to west, and lower income groups lived in the north of the railway or in squatter areas (Şahin 2007). Beşpınar notes that an increased accent on the cultural distinction also leads the way

to suburbanisation, with the upper and middle classes' tendency to leave the city centre is driven by the will to leave behind the "undesirable" conditions of the centre (Beşpınar 2001). According to Ayata, the spatial segregation which originated from the disgusted image of the city centre is often mentioned along with referring to the new middle class identity. His field study indicates the motive of defining spatial boundaries related with the secular characteristics of the new middle class in the suburbs. (Ayata 2003). Şengül notes a conflict and tension between the middle and lower income groups in this period (Şengül 2009).

Erman explored this conflict between the residents of squatter areas and apartment buildings, and their perception on each of the life styles in both urban residential spaces (Erman 1997). In her research conducted in one squatter area inhabited since 1960s, one area in transition from squatter to apartment and in one middle class city centre neighbourhood, all three in close vicinity to each other, she disclosed many conflicting aspects of the two life styles. The outstanding areas of dichotomy are the type of relationship among the residents and contradictions in rural life style characterised by greener areas and urban life style characterised by privacy.

This period is characterised by the consent of all income groups, and their inclusion in the urban rent-seeking process by means of demanding an increase in building height or density. Political climate was designed with an understanding of popular discourse however in the end, "patronage, clientelist mechanisms proved unsatisfactory for all classes to a certain extent. Middle class radicals could not establish organic and durable relationships with the rising radical left movements backed up by second and third generation squatter youth which led to marginalization of social movements." (Şahin 2007).

According to Şengül, 1980 coup not only suppressed social opposition by the urbanized labour force, but also re-defined the relationship between the first and the second circuits of capital in a more radical manner, in line with export-based

development strategy (Şengül 2009). After 1980's through both a wide spread decentralization movement and lack of an upper scale development urban plan, all realms became much more market-oriented and the urban development plans became a means for legitimizing certain investments in the urban space and production of urban land rent by means of increases in construction density (Şahin 2007). Erman and Eken argue that the government following the military rule;

... attempted to integrate gecekondu neighbourhoods into the formal urban market by passing successive laws. And by doing so, it sought to integrate their residents, who were once active in radical opposition to the status quo, into the established urban society, by offering them enormous profits on the gecekondu land (Erman and Eken 2004).

Between 1980-1985, the investments in the cities turned to be even more capital oriented. This new trend directed investments to the areas ignored in import-substitution period such as sewage systems, public transport and housing while giving an end to the dominance of small scale profits and capital investments in the urban space. (Şengül 2009). Şengül calls the period after 1980 as *urbanisation of the capital*. He notes:

In transition from labour-based urbanisation period to capital-based urbanisation period, the military administration played a fundamental role. Its implementations for the urban space were not only directed towards ensuring urban order and security. The priors of urban entrepreneurship which would prevail in the coming period, were started to be implemented in this period (Şengül 2009).

With the elections of 1983, and the local elections in 1984, a faster movement towards capitalist economy was observed, both at national and at urban level. In 1983, all authority of urban planning was brought to the municipalities and the surplus produced by construction activities helped other sectors to reach a certain level of growth. Simultaneously, a construction boom was seen with increasing urban rents where housing construction increased drastically by nearly %50 (Şahin 2007).

As for the period 1984-1989, the planning department of the greater municipality of Ankara tried to implement the existing development plan of Ankara, “1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan.” During that period, the pattern of construction of apartment buildings started to shift from one contractor to big construction companies. Some large construction companies started to build luxury housing around middle or upper-middle class neighbourhoods. Simultaneously, suburbanisation started to be observed in certain development axis. According to “1990 Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan,” suburban areas were directed towards the western corridor of the city. On this axis, on north-west Batıkent and Eryaman and on the south-west Çayyolu residential areas were planned and a considerable number of residential neighbourhoods were built in these areas mostly in the form of cooperatives.

Beauregard has studied the suburbanisation process in the USA (Beauregard 2006) and how a new national identity was tried to be produced on the new understanding of space through consumerism and a new life style. In Ankara, this movement did not start as a manifestation of new identity, but out of necessity to own a house with long term payments which eventually led the way to speculative activities. Housing cooperatives founded by civil servants and workers started to spread towards western development axis together with speculative interests contrary to the decisions of the plan prepared by metropolitan planning office (Şahin 2007). Cooperatives were assigned land outside the planned area, by developing individual plans for them. This led to destruction of the green belt existing in all previous plans. In this period, finance mechanisms were enacted to support the cooperatives which was included in the Five-year Development Plan for 1968-1973. In 1980s, the cooperatives for the bureaucrats were replaced by workers’ cooperatives. Later on some construction companies were granted privileges as a result of their close cooperation with the municipalities (Topal 2015).

In the USA, the suburbs were still in the form of neighbourhoods, not as gated communities. Now a return to the city centre is observed through gentrification and other urban renewal projects. Fishman argues that suburbanisation was confined to “a conscious Anglo-American class creation” (Fishman 1987, pp. 4-12). “Suburbia is more than a collection of residential buildings; it expresses values so deeply embedded in bourgeois culture that it may also be called the bourgeois utopia.”

In Ankara, after a brief suburbanisation period, gated communities and later on “rezidans” areas became popular. This is also the period when the “gated communities” started to be constructed with an increasing pace, especially on the south-west axis which in fact laid the foundations for the so called “rezidans” areas which is the main focus of this present thesis. Their middle-class owners were content with these new housing areas, “gated communities” mostly with their luxury interior and the security facilities. Simultaneously, middle class cooperatives constructed private houses with a garden in the form of concentrated neighbourhoods but with relatively larger green areas. The residents were mostly middle class citizens who had moved from prestigious neighbourhoods (south of the railroad) of the city centre where the apartment buildings had started to deteriorate.

Plan revision proposals by private planning offices on a certain area were then introduced as a new practice. According to Şahin, for the first time in the urban planning history of Ankara, private planners and urban actors with a motive of personal interest in urban space constituted a significant channel for political mobilization strategies (Şahin 2007). This new practice later on became one of the most important channels through which actors from all classes and interest groups pursued to benefit from urban land rent.

According to Şengül, as explained in the previous paragraphs of this section, this practice was already constructed and made structured in the previous periods, in the early years of the republic. As will be outlined in the coming chapters, this pattern

led to plan revision and building density increase requests on plot basis today. This will be elaborated in Chapter V, along with the analysis of the interviews with municipal officials. Here it suffices to note that the pattern of violating plan decisions is an established practice in Turkish urban history, particularly of Ankara, with an ever increasing dose.

The period between 1989-1994 witnessed a pace in the development of middle-class residential areas described above with the introduction of shopping malls in the urban space. Additionally, as Şengül characterizes it as contradicting with this middle-class urban spaces, transformation of squatter settlements to neighbourhoods consisting of densely populated apartment buildings with low environmental quality became a usual practice (Şengül 2009). Harvey notes the similar contradiction in the urban space and states:

In the developing world in particular, the city is splitting into different separated parts, with the apparent formation of many ‘microstates’. Wealthy neighbourhoods provided with all kinds of services, such as exclusive schools, golf courses, tennis courts and private police patrolling the area around the clock intertwine with illegal settlements where water is available only at public fountains, no sanitation system exists, electricity is pirated by a privileged few, the roads become mud streams whenever it rains, and where house-sharing is the norm. Each fragment appears to live and function autonomously, sticking firmly to what it has been able to grab in the daily fight for survival (Harvey 2008).

The situation in Ankara manifested similar urban conflicts in terms of space and its quality. In the 1990s, the financial resource for the transformation of squatters was public debt as a consequence of the partnership between public undertaking and private sector (Topal 2015).

The period 1994-2002 was characterized with the mayors of big cities coming forward as public figures (Şahin 2007). In spatial terms, this period manifested spatial and cultural alienation of the middle-class citizens with the city centre and the remaining classes, helped with the increasing car ownership and construction of

motorway-like boulevards in the city, supported and encouraged and even enforced by these mayor figures. The city centre was re-built with an understanding of promoting the automobile industry, clearing the pedestrians from the roads as much as possible, forcing them to use the overpasses even in the city centre where pedestrian flow is at its highest.

From 2002 on Ankara witnessed even more aggressive neo-liberal manifestation on the urban space with transformation of any public space into forms in line with the exchange value. The claim was to be increasing the green areas outside the city centre while diminishing the inner-city parks at the expense of commercial and other urban rent-oriented functions. Another claim has been that the squatter areas would be “rehabilitated” via “urban transformation” which meant in practical terms, demolishing of the squatter houses and constructing high and luxury buildings in their place. As Erman notes, neo-liberal urban policies took effect in Turkey after 2002, partly as a response to the economic crisis of 2001 (Erman 2016, p. 70). In that period, TOKİ (to be elaborated later in the next sub-chapter) was restructured and became neo-liberal. TOKİ’s field of task was enhanced and its accountability restricted through a series of laws enacted. Erman continues to stress that all these legal developments were simultaneous with the statements of the government condemning the squatter areas by calling them “cancer cells which should be cleared out via an operation.” With the new laws enacted, the demolition of squatter areas and rebuilding of apartment blocks intensified, in order to provide the residents with “modern” housing with the required infrastructural and social facilities (Erman 2016, p. 71).

The “urban transformation” was also brought into the scene for demolishing some of the buildings in Turkish cities and re-building them as earthquake-resistant. This practice however was performed to gain urban rent. As Rittersberger-Tılıç and Ergin point out, “urban transformation projects” (or “urban regeneration projects”) were presented as a means for rehabilitation and as a solution to all urban problems, and

urban space was physically handled. Although transformation claimed to remove social inequalities and improve the physical urban quality, remained only at the urban physical level and the actual residents of the neighbourhoods did not benefit from its economic and social returns (Rittersberger-Tılıç and Ergin 2009).

In another study, Ergin and Rittersberger-Tılıç point out that these urban regeneration areas included not only residential neighbourhoods and squatter areas but also historically significant areas as well (Ergin and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2014). This policy created its own resistance among various neighbourhoods, especially in İstanbul, giving a meaning to the “right to the city” concept as the right to the property of their own houses and neighbourhoods. This is in the same line with Harvey’s assertion of the right to keep their own housing which he stressed after the economic crises in the second half of the 2000s.⁹

On the other hand, the Municipality of Ankara seems proud of these transformations and regards them as an achievement. “We do not wish to be modest about urban transformations,” states the Deputy Secretary General of the Municipality.¹⁰ “The prizes we have won are obvious... People are happy and comfortable (in the areas where urban transformation is completed).”

The same official from the Municipality continues to state the merits of the rent produced.

If you plan urban transformations, the area has to produce rent. We call this “value increase” because some are uncomfortable with the term “rent”... The new plan has to be more valuable than the previous one. The area has to be attractive to contractors.

⁹ Harvey, David, Radical Urbanism, The Right to the City...

¹⁰ Statement of Yunus Aluç, Deputy Secretary General of Ankara Municipality, in the documentary prepared by the TRT called *Dönüşüm*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHIY6v3hq0w>, access on 8.6.2016.

In this statement, it is openly confessed that the target of these transformations is to produce rent, rather than improving the living conditions of the residents.

Following urban development schemes targeted not only the squatter areas but also the inner city decay neighbourhoods. Global neo-liberal tendency thus started to be manifested in Turkish cities, and also in Ankara, through much more pressing and excluding manner in Turkey than the similar “Western” examples. Cities and the poor have been attracted to rent-oriented schemes which led to bargaining of the squatter residents with the authorities (Erman 2016, p. 71).

In the absence of a metropolitan master plan of the urban space, Ankara was shaped in the last two decades by partial planning practice, with the municipal council decisions, disregarding all criticism and recommendations, even by the planning office of the municipality itself. This issue will be elaborated in the interviews part of this thesis where the municipal officials stressed that planning is now being made on parcel basis, totally disregarding the total macro form of the city. To exemplify this situation however, it may be worthwhile to regard a research on this particular issue. In his PhD thesis exploring the relationship between politics and plan revisions in Ankara between 1985-2005, Şahin depicts a case indicating, based on the plan modifications, one lot in Çayyolu, in its transformation from green belt to a housing area, an intricate network of relationship between various actors (bureaucrats, lawyers, judges, businessmen, politicians, mafia, planners working in the municipality, real estate agent, private planner, academician and landowners), among whom one bureaucrat from the municipality and the mayor come forward as the most influential one. However this is a very complicated network that seems a much more complicated network of relationships than the “growth coalition.

In the last decade, Ankara manifests even faster and more enormous transformations in urban space in all areas; in public spaces, governmental offices, hospitals, historical areas, green areas, housing areas, shopping areas and in areas where no

construction should be performed. With this understanding, even the junctions of main roads are permitted for construction. With the so-called “amelioration” of the banking system after the financial crisis of the 2000s, capital was directed to housing seen as the leading engine of economy which led to the attachment of TOKİ to Prime Ministry and to centralization of planning (Topal 2015). According to Topal, natural limits have been reached in construction boom and now the time came for the “crazy projects.” The outstanding developments of this period are manifested with the boom of construction of shopping malls and the upper-middle class residential areas called “rezidans” the latter being the focus of this thesis.

It is remarkable to note the statements of the official from Ankara Municipality, about the possible future of the city, indicating the normalisation of demolishing and re-constructing practice. “Maybe the next generations will not like what we have built and demolish them and rebuild nicer ones.”¹¹

Following this brief planning history of Ankara, it is worth taking a regard at the economic transformations that have been shaping the city in the recent years.

3.2 Recent Economic Developments in Ankara

Harvey talks about construction of infra-structure and changing the phase of the city for capital absorption. He also stresses that “radical transformation on lifestyles” is also under-going along with the physical alterations of the urban space. “Quality of urban life has become a commodity as has the urban space itself...” (Harvey, 2008). He quotes Engels, stating artificially increasing value of the land in the city centre, being pulled down and replaced, because “they no longer belong to the changed circumstances.” Harvey continues to state:

¹¹ Statement of Yunus Aluç, Deputy Secretary General of Ankara Municipality, in the documentary prepared by the TRT called *Dönüşüm*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHIY6v3hq0w>, access on 8.6.2016.

Though this description by Engels was written in 1872, it applies directly to contemporary urban development in much of Asia—Delhi, Seoul, Mumbai—as well as gentrification in New York. A process of displacement and what I call ‘accumulation by dispossession’ lie at the core of urbanisation under capitalism. It is the mirror-image of capital absorption through urban redevelopment, and is giving rise to numerous conflicts over the capture of valuable land from low-income populations that may have lived there for many years (Harvey 2008).

In order to make sense of the “capital absorption through urban redevelopment,” it is worth taking a glance at some alterations with economic base that has been taking place in Ankara. There have been significant developments in Ankara in the recent years. Economic parameters have changed and this has influenced the class formation of the city. This new class formation towards the movement of upper-middle classes to Ankara has triggered new demands from the urban space, which has also defined the class structure that inhabits this city. What constitutes the urban structure thus defined, is the perceived class formation within the perception of the urban structure. Economic capital accumulation in Ankara has been observed as a result of which the urban space, particularly the use of residential urban space is being transformed.

It is imperative to note how the capital movement accumulates within the urban land and how it makes the second circuit operational. There also exists money-money circuit which enables a new class formation and which creates or is made to create new urban demands within the scope of new taste especially for housing areas. Jauhiainen asserts that a shift in the third circuit shall also mean a coercive process to be used on the labour force by local and national public authorities as a consequence of which, spatial changes in the land-use of cities will be visible (Jauhiainen, 2006). Ankara has been changing its phase from a city where the public administration is located with citizens consisting of mainly civil servants and students, to a more prosperous profile. A research conducted by the McKinsey Global Institute, and published in the Foreign Policy, reveals 75 most dynamic cities based on predicted

absolute GDP Growth between 2012-2025, where Ankara, the only city from Turkey is listed as the 69th.¹² The study investigates the most dynamic cities in terms of six themes: Productivity and growth, financial markets, technology and innovation, urbanisation, labour markets and natural resources. The study, which is an update report for another report of 2011, notes a significant shift in economic balance from “west” to “east” globally. This shift brings about new consumers along with which new building and infra-structure needs arise. It puts forward a scenario for 2025, where with the increase in consumption, 85% more of today’s floor space will be needed worldwide, along with additional 80 billion m³ of municipal water demand. The new consumer class has been defined as those with annual income of more than 3600 USD or more than 10 USD per day. By 2025, an additional spending of 20 trillion USD is expected. This will require additional infra-structure. It is underlined in the study that the difference about today’s mass urbanisation is unprecedented in scale and velocity. The study also identifies some challenges of this development which are strong demand from world’s natural and capital resources and a huge jump in prices.

Another study by the UN exhibits the new perceived profile of Ankara. UN Habitat report titled “State of the World’s Cities”¹³ analyses cities as centres of prosperity. It is stated in the Foreword by the Under-Secretary General of UN Habitat that UN Habitat advocates “people-cantered” city as the city of the 21st century. The report focuses on concept of prosperity and its realization in urban areas. Prosperity has been considered beyond economic growth and it was measured via “city prosperity index” which is brought about as a new statistical instrument and is made up of five sub-indices, namely productivity index, quality of life index, infra-structure

¹² [The Most Dynamic Cities of 2025](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/08/13/the_most_dynamic_cities_of_2025_last_reached_8.4.2013), Foreign Policy, The Cities issue, September-October 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/08/13/the_most_dynamic_cities_of_2025_last_reached_8.4.2013.

¹³ [State of the World’s Cities](http://mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/getElectronicVersion.aspx?nr=3387&alt=1) 2012-2013, UN Habitat, Routledge, New York, 2013. Accessed from mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/getElectronicVersion.aspx?nr=3387&alt=1, access on 8.4.2013.

development index, environmental sustainability index and equity index. Ankara is listed as the 31st city in the list of prosperous cities, with an accentuate on high infrastructure development.

As demonstrated by the figures of Turkish Exporters Assembly, Ankara ranks as the fifth city in Turkey in exports in 2012. The list goes as İstanbul, Kocaeli, Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, Gaziantep, Manisa, Hatay, Denizli, Adana, Kayseri, Mersin, Sakarya... The annual figures related to 2014 also indicate the fifth rank for Ankara.¹⁴ Similarly, CNBC-e Business magazine selected Ankara as the most habitable city in Turkey in 2010.¹⁵ Eskişehir, Isparta, Trabzon and İstanbul follow. The criteria are education, health, economy, urban life, security and culture-arts. Although the seven sub-criteria listed under “urban life” seems insufficient, this study gives an indication of where Ankara is headed. Will this mean there will arise new housing needs? Or will there be a need for a different type of housing?

As for the Turkish cities where the highest tax was paid in 2011 the list of first 100 firms include 23 firms from Ankara.¹⁶ It should, however be noted that in general the list includes banks some of whose headquarters are situated in Ankara. Among 23 firms in Ankara, only seven of them are private firms. The rest are privatized public undertakings.

Given these economic developments in Ankara, it is worth taking a glance at the new financial model developed in order to finance the housing areas. This new financial model has been created in the recent years for the construction of new urban space to include housing in high-rise luxury buildings, malls, recreational facilities, green

¹⁴ <http://www.tim.org.tr/ihracat-ihracat-rakamlari-tablolar.html>, Access on 8.4.2013

¹⁵ Since the magazine was shut down, only news regarding the study and its attached table were reached on <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25128140/#storyContinued>, Access on 10.4.2013

¹⁶ http://www.gib.gov.tr/fileadmin/user_upload/VI/ECVOMLK/2011/2011_kurumlar_ilk100.htm, Access on 8.4.2013

areas and the like. This new financial model is closely related with the core analysis of this present thesis, the “rezidans” areas. In this regard, mentioning a major housing institution in Turkey is essential. Although TOKİ (Housing Development Administration-Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı) was founded with the purpose of providing houses for middle and low-income groups, its field of activity later was diverted to luxury houses.

As provided on the website of TOKİ, they now build luxury houses by means of the newly created financial model, in order to finance the construction of houses for middle and low-income groups.

TOKİ also creates innovative models to implement government decisions regarding existing housing and settlement policies. The most important model is a financial model which is named as the “income (revenue) sharing model” which provides housings to high income groups, in order to establish a fund for housing projects of low and middle income groups. This model is based on housing production on TOKİ owned lands in provinces like İstanbul and Ankara, in collaboration with the private sector and on sharing the sales income with the private partner. (This is a build-sell model and this concept is based on income - not housing.) TOKİ developed this model to close the gap between its short-term investment expenses and its long-term receivables.¹⁷

In line with this revenue sharing model, a certain land is expropriated and assigned to TOKİ. TOKİ then launches a tender procedure to give this land on the basis of revenue-sharing through Real Estate Investment Partnership (Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı-GYO). The percentage of this revenue varies from one construction company to another. A construction company which is successful in the tendering procedure, then builds a luxury complex on this expropriated piece of land and sells the property and shares its revenue with TOKİ in the percentages specified in the terms of reference. As also stated by Erman, by this model, TOKİ is entitled to receive 49 % of the revenue from the GYO and that this practice led to assigning the expropriated urban land to private sector via TOKİ (Erman 2016, p. 70). Some of the

¹⁷ <https://www.toki.gov.tr/en/housing-programs.html>, access on 17.12.2015. English original text from the website.

“rezidans” areas studied within the context of this research are constructed in accordance with this model.

In another statement, the president of TOKİ states:¹⁸

Our target is clear... We are not interested in high-income groups, not interested in housing for high segment groups. Private sector can handle that better than us. We would like to produce quality and liveable housing and social environment for the middle and lower-middle income groups and for poor citizens. Therefore 85 % of the houses we produce are for this group. Only 15 % of the housing is produced for financing them.

In this economic model, housing is regarded as an investment rather than a right. A report by the Chamber of Civil Engineers argues that TOKİ transfers the public resources to the rich, rather than “taking from the rich and giving to the poor” (İMO TOKİ Raporu 2009, p. 45). The same report lays out the fact that the houses built by TOKİ for low and middle income groups are of low quality and that some of the residents cannot afford to pay the shares over the years and there is a return around 4 %. Erman’s field work about such a case of a previous squatter area rebuilt by TOKİ in Ankara, provides a deeper understanding of the newly built housing groups which are remote from equipping the area with the actual physical and social needs of the residents and she presents a picture of the extreme difficulties and impossibilities the residents are facing in order to be able to pay for their created debt to eventually own the deeds of their houses (Erman 2016).

These squatter transformations both enabled the production of rent-oriented urban space and pulled the residents into the credit-debt mechanism. This is in line with the World Bank and UN proposals for the solution of housing problem worldwide. She

¹⁸ Statement of Mehmet Ergün Turan, president of TOKİ, in the documentary prepared by the TRT called *Dönüşüm*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHIY6v3hq0w>, access on 8.6.2016, translated to English by the aauthor of this thesis.

also notes that very little resistance was observed and the existing resistance, with few exceptions, was in fact with the aim of bargaining for material gains (Erman 2016, pp. 72-73).

With this pattern, additionally, the cities are losing their identity. Çamur (2015) has noted that the discourse of housing shortage and social housing is kept in order to justify to construct the houses for the rich. He also narrated a case where the construction firm submitted a request to the municipality for the increase in building density, with the justification of “creating resources for TOKİ.”

As stated by Çelik, this practice produced three types of relationships: labour-capital, big construction companies-contractors and a new urban lifestyle-housing. Another consequence is unsafe working conditions, unregistered employment for construction workers where an ethnic division of labour can be observed (Çelik 2015). The report by the Chamber of Civil Engineers claims that TOKİ has functioned to institutionalize the practice of capital accumulation by means of housing production (İMO TOKİ Raporu 2009, p. 41).

To exemplify how this model works, a recent newspaper article discloses all the mechanism and the favours of the system for privileged construction companies. This news article,¹⁹ informs the readers that the construction company that built Next Level, a complex comprising of a mall, an office tower and a “rezidans,” is planning to construct a new project worth 4.2 billion TL on a 124 decares of land. The complex is to include housing units, offices, a mall, a hotel, school and a hospital. They bought the land by tender procedure, by the Real Estate Investment Partnership (Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı-GYO), the new financial revenue-sharing model, to pay them 1.2 billion TL. The land previously belonged to the municipality and was

¹⁹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankaranin-sehir-merkezindeki-en-buyuk-arazisine-yeni-proje-geliyor-40025890>, access on 12.12.2015.

used as a garage for the public busses. The owner and the CEO of the company (also related to the President of Turkey), stated that they would build “a city within a city.” And the construction is to start in early 2016. He also stated that they have been waiting for three years to purchase this land.

We did not buy it when the Municipality of Ankara launched a call for the sales of this land for 500 million TL. Because the revenue-sharing model was more suitable for us. The land was then transferred to TOKİ who then sold the land to Emlak Konut (GYO). We guaranteed them 1.2 billion TL.²⁰

Although the “guaranteed” amount is more than twice of the initial selling amount, this model was seen more convenient for the construction company because this model foresees payment as a percentage of sales.

Karaçimen and Çelik (2005) argue that the share of construction sector in economy is also notable for understanding the urban developments. According to Karaçimen, construction sector holds 6 % of the GDP and 8% in employment which means two million people. A demand for housing was created and the only way to own a house has been through debt, with private sector inclusion in the housing sector. A vast increase in house credits is seen after 2004 and companies from a diverse field of capital were directed to construction. This has led to enormous debts in construction sector which is risky since the foreign debts are in foreign currency but the revenue the construction brings is not. The real estate investment partnerships on the other hand are not actually constructing but are selling the projects, which according to Çelik is highly risky for this model (Karaçimen and Çelik 2015).

It is obvious that “rezidans” areas were produced as the new spatial projection of financial movements. To conclude the chapter related to recent urban and economic developments in Ankara, it is imperative to peek at two stunning statements: the remarks of the owner of the above-mentioned construction company,²¹ and of the

²⁰ Translated from Turkish by the author of this thesis.

²¹ Kırıcı, Derya, *Bu Rezidansların Sırrı Ne?*, <http://odatv.com/bu-rezidanslarin-sirri-ne-0312131200.html> last access on 11.11.2015.

board member of another,²² in order to be able to summarize the financial and spatial planning situation Ankara has arrived. There is the representation of an ideal urban space with high-price, with an ideal financial model for a company which has very little experience in the sector and favoured by policies.

AN ALTERNATIVE FOR EVERY NEED

We are planning 1200 family houses. There will not be small houses in this area. We shall construct houses with provision of hotel services while making a brand “rezidans”²³ on a 30 thousand square meter land. We shall construct individual offices for big firms and at the same time make home-offices.

The news article reveals that the CEO of the construction company also noted a city park is planned in the Atatürk Kültür Merkezi just across, which is a public cultural and recreational area approximately with an area of 750 decars, will provide value to the “rezidans” project. Even this statement alone is sufficient to demonstrate the relations of various actors in the urban space and the favours provided tailor-made for them through the exchange value of urban space. The CEO also voiced his intentions to build the Second Next Level in Çayyolu, which is planned as Çayyolu Recreation Valley.

In our first Next Level Project, there are “rezidans” type of houses. But we have received a high demand from the people of Ankara. They are demanding houses in accordance with family life. Therefore we took the land from the Municipality. In exchange, we shall invest 110 million TL for the 1116 houses and 200 million TL for the 450 housing projects in Next Level. We expect a revenue of 500 million TL. The houses will be sold for 4000 TL per square meter.²⁴

Another eye-catching statement is by another construction company. Osman Cem Çankaya, a member of the board of YP Construction, reminded that:

the buyers of houses especially in big cities pay particular attention to the additional services provided in the projects. Almost all of the new generation projects are constructed with a now standardized layout. The luxury and

²² <http://www.yasamprojeleri.com/koordinat-cayyolu-standartlari-yukari-tasiyacak.html>, last access on 1.4.2016.

²³ Quotations by the author of this thesis.

²⁴ Translated from Turkish by the author of this thesis.

comfortable projects constructed with good-quality materials, which have elevated the living standards, and where social facilities are included, contributed to the production of a new perception in housing. However, it is possible to say that even that has now become ordinary. Unfortunately this may lead to a situation where the construction sector will keep the same position and the companies not making profit. Producing projects with similar concepts one after another, means that the sector cannot develop itself... We shall lift up the standards with our new Project Koordinat Çayyolu whose sales we are to begin shortly. We plan to double our turnover by the end of this year, with all these projects we are constructing.

All these developments cause a considerable change in all urban aspects of Ankara. However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to elaborate all the urban transformations and the economic developments that are taking place; rather it aims at focusing on the production of space in terms of changing housing patterns in line with economic and social differentiations. It is the residential areas where the transformations, physical and perceived, are observed most rapidly and vastly.

It is evident that capitalist policies are in progress globally, for the reproduction of urban space. Turkish cities have been in this cycle too; and Ankara is no exception. What is peculiar to Ankara is that, as a planned city whose spaces were produced in line with the hegemonic discourse in the 1920s, as the new phase of the republic, it has continued to be a city of manifestation of the contemporary reigning policies. The population movements have altered the city's perceived homogeneous profile and the city has been the scene for capitalist policies starting from the 1980s, with a ground-breaking increase in the 1990s and 2000s.

Having elaborated the urban and economic developments in Ankara, the methodology of the research shall be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The Research Question of this thesis is:

How do the upper-middle class residents of the “rezidans” areas in Ankara comprehend urbanity through use and perception of space?

This research question aims at elaborating the urban transformations not from the point of view of analysing the capitalist policies that are emphasizing the exchange value as indicated in mainstream Marxist urban theory, but though not disregarding them, from the point of view of the perception and use of space in terms of the users of urban space, particularly in terms of use of space in residential areas, as an outcome of consent which provides support to production of that particular type of urban space. It is aimed to question how the daily use of space, characterized by the preference in use and perception of space and daily activities is performed by the upper-middle class. The perception of urbanity, linked to the use and perception of urban space by the upper-middle class is also a part of this research. Additionally, the use of space and performed activities are intended to be analysed in order to determine their perceived urbanity.

This research intends to provide data for an action-oriented research. The methodology of actually doing the research is interpretative and explanatory, while its intended use is expected to initiate action-oriented research. In this research, qualitative methodology has been adopted in order to be able to grasp the perception and meaning via interviews.

In terms of time, this research is a cross-sectional one for it is intended for a PhD thesis. However, it is open to repetition in time, and is strongly suggested to be repeated, in order to observe the changes in space use patterns in a rapidly transforming city.

This research was carried out in two fundamental stages. The first part of the research was conducted through an examination of the advertisements concerning the residential areas investigated. The aim in doing such an investigation was to explore the ways the new residential areas have been promoted and the new life-styles being presented to the society.

The second part of the research was carried out by conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with two groups of respondents: The first group interviewed consists of the professionals, who are the actors at the plan-policy making side of the urbanisation, as well as the actors on the side of marketing and management of the researched residential areas. 18 interviews were held with this group of respondents. The second group consists of the residents of the residential areas explored in this thesis and this sample includes 17 interviewees.

Within the scope of this research, it was not intended to focus on conservative use of space, which means neighbourhoods that are perceived and identified as religious and conservative were not taken within the scope of this thesis. There are studies mainly dealing with use of space by religious or conservative middle and upper-middle classes. However this study area has covered mostly the “secular” upper-middle class urban residents firstly for reasons of accessibility via the network of the researcher and secondly, the research question and the scope of the research do not necessitate the concept of conservatism to be included in order to reach the researched conclusions. Despite this fact, the sample could have included religious or conservative actors which has not been specifically elaborated due to the limits of this thesis.

The main parts of the research and their components shall be elaborated below. Before going into the description of the methodology of the research conducted, information on the residential areas will be provided in the next section.

4.1 Information on the Residential Areas

There is a new trend in Turkey in terms of housing constructions targeting upper-middle class users, which constitutes the research area of this thesis. They are mostly built as luxury high-rise buildings some of which entail their own landscape areas such as parks, children's playgrounds, artificial lakes, artificial rivers or simply green areas. This new type of housing complexes also includes office areas, shopping malls, or other facilities. In one sense, they are also gated communities. However, if they include malls as well, these malls are also open to public. The segregation of the residential areas is ensured via separate entrances for the mall and the "rezidans" and via additional security facilities if these two are adjacent. In any case, their main claim is to include all the facilities which a city traditionally encompasses, but within the boundaries of their own area and with access for only the residents.

Such areas have started to be called "rezidans" in accordance with the pronunciation of the French word "résidence." In fact, the word "rezidans" has been used in Turkish with the French pronunciation, with the meaning of "living place" or simply "home" for the residential places of certain public administrators, in order to distinguish their offices from their houses. According to the official dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution (Türk Dil Kurumu-TDK) the word is defined as: "rezidans (noun, French), 1) house reserved for the inhabiting of high-level governmental officials, ambassadors etc. 2) Palace house."²⁵ To exemplify the utilization of the word, it would be appropriate to refer to ambassadors. In Turkish, in order to distinguish the actual work place of ambassador which is the embassy, from their living quarters, their living place is called as the "rezidans" (originating from French word, "résidence") of the embassy.

In the recent years, the word "rezidans" started to be used for the luxury housing complexes built in the cities, with all the urban functions contained within them.

²⁵ rezidans, isim, Fransızca residence, 1.Yüksek devlet görevlileri, elçiler vb.nin oturmalarına ayrılan konut 2. Saray konut, www.tdk.gov.tr access on 12.2.2016, translated by the author.

Since the meaning of the word is in fact the place lived, the author of this thesis finds it bizarre and inappropriate to call such housing groups as “rezidans.” However, for the reason this is the term started to be used vastly in order to define a particular type of housing which is the subject of this thesis, the word will be provided in quotations throughout the thesis. Apart from that, the English word “residence” will be used in its usual meaning, the living area or house, without any quotation marks.

Within the scope of this research, the studied “rezidans” areas in Ankara are Park Oran, Sinpaş Altın Oran and Park Avenue. These areas are selected firstly for the reason that they were the most widely known luxury housing areas in Ankara when this thesis was started to be designed. Later on other housing groups followed and the trend of constructing such housing areas in Ankara intensified. However, the selected areas remain as the most popular ones. Secondly, the studied residential areas have been selected for the practical reason of researcher’s accessibility via acquaintance.

It has to be noted here that what is typically started to be called “rezidans” actually refers to luxury housing groups, where all services are provided including the concierge services. What fits to this definition is mostly present in İstanbul. In Ankara, during the present research, such characteristics is observed in Next Level, and actually pronounced by the staff of its sales office, as will be elaborated in the sections below, as “being the only real ‘rezidans’ in Ankara.” It is distinguished by its targeted residents and incomparable high price and was left out of the scope of this thesis, for the reasons explained below. The other groups studied in this present research are still referred to as “rezidans” by the public. Nevertheless, the facilities they offer and their prices are totally distinct from the ones referred to as the real “rezidans” as will be seen at Table 1. Similarly, their residents can therefore be defined as the “upper-middle class” and not the “upper-class.” In this sense, it can be assumed that the residents of the housing groups which are self-identified as the “real ‘rezidans’” constitute the upper class which is not the universe of this present research and hence not this thesis does not represent them.

At the initial phases of the research, two other “rezidans” areas were included within the scope of this thesis. These are Next Level, at the junction of Konya and Eskişehir roads and Kalender Evleri, a densely built housing area in a low-density residential neighbourhood in Ümitköy. However they were excluded from the study at the later stages due to their different characteristics from the ones described below. Between the two excluded ones, Next Level is of particular interest due to its inconvenient location and its extremely high price. Additionally, the residents in Next Level could not be reached at all even through some acquaintance in the sales and management offices. Kalender Evleri was a matter of curiosity because of its location in a low-density housing area with its price more than double of an individual house with a garden in the same area. One interview was conducted with a respondent who lives there which is excluded at the later stages.

The findings related to these areas will still be included in the study where relevant, with the purpose of contributing to the elaboration of the areas studied as well as to the findings related to the general perception and use of space and to the perception of urbanity. All the findings and the interview related to these excluded ones shall be provided in Appendix C without elaboration.

The descriptions of the “rezidans” groups below are provided through the observation of the researcher, information provided from the sales and management offices, information provided on the web pages and the catalogues of these “rezidans” groups to a large extent. The residents of these areas have also been asked questions about the characteristics of these neighbourhoods. Their answers and the related analysis are also included in this section, in order to support the facts and to complement the elaboration with different perception of each resident obtained during interviews.

The locations of the residential areas studied, including the ones excluded at a later stage are provided in Figure 1. Table 1 summarizes the main facilities of these areas.

Residential Areas Studied

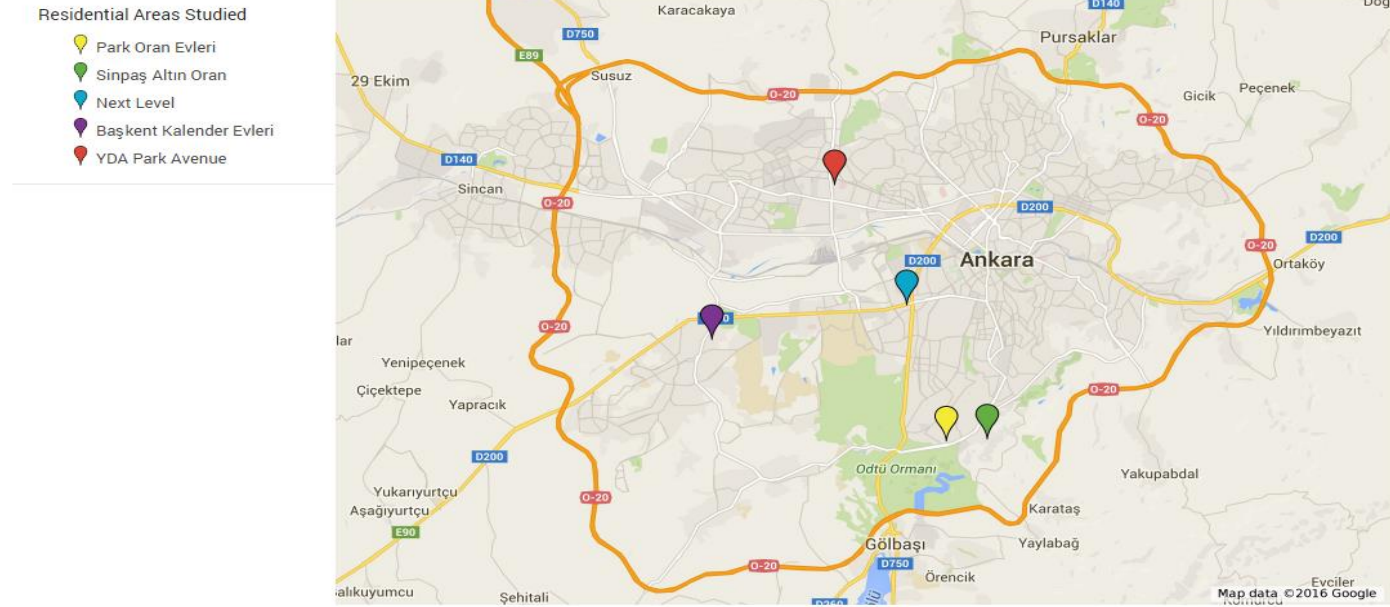


Figure 1: Location of the residential areas²⁶

²⁶ The maps used in this research have been personalized from Google Maps, in accordance with Google's policy, <https://www.google.com/permissions/geoguidelines.html> last Access on 20.05.2016.

Table 1: Characteristics of the residential areas

No	Name	Location	Type of flats	Additional Facilities	Price of flats (TL)	Inhabited or under construction
1	Park Oran	Oran	12 buildings with 31 floors and 5 buildings with 7 floors; with a total of 1832 apartments. From 1+1 to 6+1	Green areas, gym, swimming pool, café, mall (all in monthly payment)	1+1 → 655,000 2+1 → 850,000 (3500 for rent) 3+1 → 1,150,000 4+1 → 900,000-1,400,000 5+1 → 1,700,000-3,250,000	Inhabited
2	Park Avenue	Anadolu Blvd.	8 bldgs with 40 storeys and 10 bldgs with 11-13 storeys. 3+1 with areas 133 m ² , 134 m ² , 137 m ² , and 147 m ² ; 4+1 with area 151.90 m ² . Each flat will be provided with a storage unit at the basement floor.	Sports and SPA centre commercial areas, parking garage, pet habitat, woods, walking and biking paths along the stream and pools, cinema (additional payment required for some facilities)	3+1 → 420.000-550.000 4+1 → 480.000-680.000	Under construction. 2/3 sold.

Table 1(continued)

3	Sinpaş Altın Oran	Oran	To be constructed in five steps with buildings of 6 to 17 storeys. Flats between 1+1 and 1+ 6.5, with an area from 70 m ² to 291 m ² .	Mall, artificial lakes, ski area, cable car, travel by boat, sports facilities, swimming pool, green areas, promenades, skywalk, piazzas, bridges, terraces, islands, courtyards, children's play areas, thematic gardens, climbing wall, ice skating area, yoga hill, woods, tea gardens and picnic areas (additional payment required for some facilities)	1+1 → 500,000 2+1 → 550,000 3+1 → 700,000 3.5+1 → 1,000,000 4.5+1 → 1,175,000 4+2 → 1,250,000 5.5+1 → 1,700,000 6.5+1 → 2,500,000 Duplex → 3,000,000	Partially inhabited
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Table 1(continued)

4	Next Level	At the junction of Konya and Eskişehir Roads	20-storey high and contains 40 suits and 65 flats. 7 king suits with an area of 426 m ²	Reception, security, fitness area, spa and technical services. House-keeping, transfer to airport, dry-cleaning, shopping, purchase and delivery of concert tickets, pilates sessions, massage at the spa for extra charge (additional payment required for some facilities)	1+1 → 800,000 (rent 4000) 3+1 → 3,000,000, King suits → 3,300,000	Inhabited (80% sold, 70 % occupation level)
5	Kalender Evleri	Ümitköy	2 7-storey bldgs.	Parking garage	3+1 → 550,000, (rent 2000) 4+1 → 1,050,000 5+1 → 2,700 (rent)	Inhabited

4.1.1 Park Oran

Park Oran is a residential complex built in a southern neighbourhood of Ankara called Oran. This neighbourhood is inhabited by middle and high income groups to a large extent. The particular place where Park Oran is located, used to be the plot where the residential area for the members of the parliament was built in the 1980s.

The construction of the parliament houses started in 1984 and was completed in 1987. It used to be a low-density residential area which consisted of individual three-storey houses designed with the concept of traditional Turkish architecture.²⁷ The houses were exclusive for the members of the parliament during the time which they would be in office. In 2003, the government decided to change the function of the land with the claim of not granting any privileges to the members of the parliament and the land was transferred to Treasury. The original plan revision foresaw the preservation of the existing houses and assigning them commercial functions. Treasury officials later on changed their mind about the revised plan and started selling out the land in plots. On the first plot, construction of a mall started in 2007. The remaining part of the land was sold to a private company in line with revenue-sharing model of TOKİ, with the purpose of constructing “rezidans” and hotel, combined with the mall. The building density was increased by more than quadruple (Kale 2010). The houses were demolished in the second half of 2000s and following a sales procedure of the land, Park Oran was built by MESA, a construction company in the late 2000s and early 2010s. Çinici, the architect of the TBMM houses informed in an interview in 2008²⁸:

TOKİ simply sat on it. There were 400 houses. Firstly, the court ruled that the destruction should be stopped. It turns out that the construction can go on until the justification of the verdict is announced. These people destroyed 397 of the houses in two days. They will say “the remaining 3 should be

²⁷ “TBMM Milletvekili Lojmanları’ndan Ayakta Kalan Konutların Korunması Yönünde Bir Karar,” in *Mimarlık*, November-December 2008.

²⁸ *Türkiye’de Konut Açığı Yok, Konut Açığı Var*, Interview published on mimdaporg, <http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=5042>, last access on 15.11.2015.

demolished as well,” and I will respond, “no, three houses are not enough, I want one street,” and the case will be moved to the Supreme Court.

Still today, the official address is provided on their website as the “former residential area of the TBMM,” which is the acronym for Turkish Grand National Assembly, i.e., the parliament.

According to the information provided on the website of the group, (www.parkoran.net) Park Oran constitutes of 12 buildings (types A and B) with 31 floors and 5 buildings (types C and D) with 7 floors; with a total of 1832 apartments. Type A goes with a variety in terms of number of rooms: 1 room and 1 living room; 3 rooms and 1 living room; 4 rooms and 1 living room; 5 rooms and 1 living room. Type B goes with 3 rooms and 1 living room; 4 rooms and 1 living room; 6 rooms and 1 living room as duplex. Type C includes apartments with 1 room and 1 living room, while Type D consists of apartments with 5 rooms and 1 living room; 5 rooms and 1 living room as duplex.

There is also an office building under construction with 22 floors including 60 offices varying between 147- 185 m². There are also 12 shops with an area of 76-544 m². The facilities include green areas, gym (free of charge), swimming pool and a café (20 % off than market price). There is a mall within the complex, open to general public.

In order to preserve a homogeneous profile and a certain cultural capital by residents, these flats are not sold to just anyone. During the time when the flats were being sold by the construction company itself, the sales office asked for at least two people as a reference, who already lived there and they conducted a research themselves and applied discounts depending on these conditions. One of the interviewees personally knows a case, where their friend was rejected to buy a flat from this group. When all the flats were sold out by the company and sales from the owners began, this person

bought a flat from another owner and is now living there, the flat remains empty. The resident interviewed thinks this became a matter of prestige for that person. This event was however not confirmed by the management office of Park Oran. One of the interviewees bought the flat with 4 rooms and 1 living room for 750,000 TL in May 2011. This figure includes a discount of 30 % due to references given and 17 % discount for additional research conducted for the family. At the time of the interview, similar flats were sold for 900,000 TL for 4 rooms and 1 living room and for above 1,700,000 TL for 5 rooms and 1 living room. 1 room and 1 living room types had a price of 450,000 TL in 7-storey buildings.

According to the statements of the interviewees from Park Oran, the group of residences was managed by the construction company until very recently. Apart from this general management, the group is also managed in accordance with the apartment management procedures in Turkey. There are 10 apartment blocks and 120 apartments in each block. One manager is selected per building; 10 managers in total are selected by other residents. Out of these 10, three of them have more executive powers. All managers deliver the problems to these three. They decide on issues based on questionnaires by residents. Whenever there is complaint, they evaluate it and solve it. The managers get a fee of 5000 TL monthly, three top executive managers receive 10.000 TL.

According to the interview with the management office staff of Park Oran, there is a management office dealing with every administrative issue. Only the security is outsourced to a company. There are one manager and two assistant managers per building. General meetings are held with the manager of each building and they implement the decisions with the help of their assistants. These managers bring forward the complaints and suggestions by the residents in their buildings.

The researcher observed that there is a complaint box in each building in which the residents can put their complaints and recommendations. The management has also

developed a procedure in which the residents can send their complaints and suggestions via WhatsApp to a cell phone number announced in the entrance of each building. The announcement is made both in English and in Turkish. The announcement includes the social media pages of the management in Facebook, twitter and YouTube.

Contrary to other findings, according to the staff of the management office in Park Oran, all facilities of the group are utilized. People go to gym, to the pool and these areas are well-taken care of. All of the expenses are included in the monthly payment. Big apartments pay around 1000 TL monthly. The use of heating facility is arranged so that each apartment will be 24 degrees centigrade. If there is additional use of natural gas, the related apartment pays the exceeding amount.

During the first interview, the monthly payment was declared as 350 TL. excluding heating expenses. Heating is paid depending on how much natural gas they consume. The monthly payments by each apartment is sufficient to maintain the facility because there are enough number of apartments. In the later interviews, it was found that the monthly payment increased to 770 TL plus heating. The residents were complaining about this increase and that there were unnecessary expenses of the administration such as the excess number of staff at the office and the monthly periodical which they find useless. The periodical includes articles on fashion, life style and gastronomy and is distributed free of charge to the residents.

The first resident interviewed laid out general profile of the residents, based on her observations and personal relations with neighbours. She specified that there are many 'Russian wives' living here and carrying out their activities as an isolated group.

She has informed that embassies have also bought several flats here for their employees, also Halkbank for their athletes. Additionally, some companies and

embassies have bought several flats. Halkbank makes their athletes who have been transferred, live here. She has met an American family, with five kids, two of which are adopted.

Repair and maintenance works are contracted annually by the residence management through a tender procedure. So far MESA has been granted the tenders each year. They have been involved in maintenance since the construction was also made by them. MESA was contracted annually for all maintenance and repair works and is paid from the pool of monthly payments. According to the interviewees, there is sufficient number of residents to turn over the business and MESA preferred to take the job too. According to the respondents, MESA worked very well. If there was a problem in electricity, plumbing, even for the kitchen cupboards, they fixed it free of charge. In bigger problems (such as removal of floor finish as a result of flooding, mal-functioning of electricity board etc.) they charged only the material. MESA could keep maintenance charges low for employing as few staff as possible thanks to the automated garbage collection system of the housing group. At the later stages of this research, the management was tendered to another professional company.

In Park Oran, the complaint is reported to the Manager. They give an appointment and the relevant person comes, checks and repairs. In Park Oran, similarly collective complaints are forwarded to the managers. They meet weekly and discuss the issues and reach a joint solution.

Some of the respondents are very well informed about the management and decision making and problem handling mechanisms in the rezidans area. Some of the respondents are totally ignorant about this matter; they are not interested in these details.

4.1.2 Sinpaş Altın Oran

This housing group is also located in Oran, a prestigious neighbourhood in the south of Ankara. The name Altın Oran is actually a play with words in Turkish. Firstly it refers to the neighbourhood and praises it, as the words mean “golden Oran.” The second meaning of the phrase is independent of the name of the neighbourhood and means “golden section” implying an articulated and perfect design. Part of the construction has been completed and inhabited while part of it was still being built at the time of the research. The apartments are being constructed and submitted to the buyers in stages. The first stage has been completed and submitted.

According to the brochure of Sinpaş Altın Oran, it is located on an area of 1,850,000 m² with a landscape area of 620,000 m². There will be housing units to be constructed in five steps with buildings of 6 to 17 storeys. The size of the flats vary between 1 room and 1 living room to 4.5 rooms and 1 living room, (half room meaning sometimes the dressing closet in parents’ bedroom, in other cases being the small hall in between rooms), with an area from 70 m² to 291 m².

According to the information provided in the catalogue of the complex, there is a construction of a shopping mall. The facilities also include artificial lakes, ski area and a cable car. The flats have a view with artificial lake where the residents will be able to travel by boat. Sports facilities, swimming pool, green areas, promenades, a skywalk, piazzas, bridges, terraces, islands, courtyards, children’s play areas, thematic gardens, a climbing wall, ice skating area also constructed. The facilities shall include a yoga hill, woods, tea gardens and picnic areas as well.

The prices as announced by the sales office are, 755.000 TL for 3 rooms and one living-room type of apartment, if all amount is paid at the purchase, and 880.000 TL when paid half of it in advance and the rest in 18 months. If it is a garden flat, the price goes up to 755.00 TL. According to the sales official, it is more advantageous to buy with bank credit. Many people prefer to rent the flats out as did one of the

respondents. The rent of one room and one living-room apartment is 1500 TL, and 3 rooms and one living-room type of apartment is 2800 TL.

One of the respondents bought the flat of 70 m² with 1 bed-room and 1 living room for 220,000 TL in 2013 during the first launching of the complex. After completion of the construction, they have been offered to sell it for 350,000 TL. They have rented the flat for 1250 TL. They are still paying for the house (in shares directly to the construction company, 1750 TL each month). They paid some amount in advance and the rest with equal shares. They bought it as an investment at the planning stage could not trust to buy a bigger flat because of that. The construction was completed and the flat was submitted 3-4 months later than initially anticipated. Monthly payment for the maintenance and management of the “rezidans” area is 105 TL. This amount varies according to the size of the flat.

Another interviewee bought the apartment two years ago before the construction started as well. They bought it for 500,000 TL. Their apartment is on the 10th floor and a 2.5 room plus one living room type. They pay 275 TL as monthly payment, excluding heating. In Sinpaş Altın Oran, most of the facilities of the group require additional payment.

According to the sales office, Sinpaş will carry out the management for some time. Afterwards, the residents will decide about the management mode. Sinpaş can carry on if the residents prefer to. The final construction was planned to be completed by April 2016, however by the time this thesis was finalized, some constructions were still on-going. Sinpaş will handle the complaints for the first two years; complaints regarding construction faults (in bathroom, doors etc.). Then the professional company will take over. All of the residents interviewed have different information about the management. One resident noted that she does not find the management effective and states that they do not solve the problems. One of the respondents is not content with the Sinpaş administration. She complains that the administration is

allowing constructions for six months, for the flats submitted, upon preference, without finishing works completed. She on the other hand had her flat completed before moving and now she is disturbed by on-going constructions by her neighbours. When she complained about this, the administration offered no solutions and she has to put up with noise and all other construction-related disturbances for three more months. “Imagine you wake up with the sound of a sledge hammer at 8 in the morning.” She is considering to move back to Çayyolu. The flat was delivered to them five months later than anticipated. Another respondent, who bought the flat unfinished but completed themselves, also complain that the construction works never finished after they moved in. She does not find the management professional. All facilities are with extra payment.

According to the official working at the planning department in Çankaya Municipality, the quality of construction is considerably low in Sinpaş Altın Oran. Two of the respondents also made the same point about finishing materials and stated that that they chose their own finishing materials. The same observation was made by the researcher and it has been noticed that the construction and material quality is much higher in the other residential areas studied.

4.1.3 YDA Park Avenue

This is a housing complex being built on Anadolu Boulevard, in an area mostly with industrial functions. The Boulevard was built in the sense to ease the burden of traffic, with an understanding of a motorway rather than an inner city boulevard. So far, there are no functions attached to it except for connecting certain centres of the city to the main intercity roads, namely to İstanbul road and to the ring motorway. In addition to this connecting function, the neighbourhood through which the road passes is an area with mainly industrial use. These industrial areas were planned specifically in this region and such functions were transferred here from other parts of the city centre. This area started to rapidly change in terms of land use in the

recent years and many constructions, mainly of residential use, are on-going, changing the phase of the region.

The area where the housing group is located used to be a squatter area. The official from the Yenimahalle Municipality noted that the urban transformation decision for the place was taken by their municipality. The municipality signed contracts with the residents of the squatters and assigned the land to the construction company with a contract. The company constructed housing apartment blocks of 15 storeys for the original settlers across the street, handed the apartments to the municipality and the residents moved there. 40-storey high buildings are being constructed at the evacuated place. According to the Chamber of City Planners, after the transformation of the area was initiated, there was reaction by the original settlers, especially who were not defined as having rights to new constructions, due to some contractual matters and later on as to the size of the apartments. This created reactions among the residents. When the mayor changed, the contracts were renewed and the remaining squatter houses were demolished.

The following information on Park Avenue was provided from the website of the housing group²⁹ as well as from its brochure. Total area of the residential and other facilities is 133,000 m² and the total landscape area is 108,000 m². There will be a sports and SPA Centre with 7,500 m² and other social facilities which will be spread on an area of 4,500 m². The facilities shall include commercial areas with 20,000 m² area and a parking garage with an area of 80,000 m². The flats with 4 rooms and 1 living room shall have two places in the parking garage and the flats with 3 rooms and 1 living room shall be reserved one space of parking. Apart from the parking garage, there will be space for open air car park as well. As for the flats, the ones with 3 rooms and 1 living room come with options of 133 m², 134 m², 137 m², and

²⁹ <http://www.ydaparkavenue.com.tr/proje-hakkinda.html>, access on 2 July 2015.

147 m² for 4 rooms and 1 living room types, the area 151.90 m². Each flat will be provided with a storage unit at the basement floor.

A telephone interview and a face-to-face interview were also conducted with the sales office in order to obtain additional information.³⁰ According to the information received, there will be a total of 1855 housing units. The prices of 3 rooms and 1 living room apartments range between 410.000-550.000 TL; that of 4 rooms and 1 living room apartments range between 480.000-630.000 TL. The payment scheme and the advance payment amount are flexible and calculated according to the demands of the customer. This in fact is the procedure for other “rezidans” areas which are out of the scope of this thesis. The first group will be submitted to the owners in July 2016, and the second group will be submitted in May 2017.

It has been noted that one of the future residents interviewed had superficial knowledge about the “rezidans” to which she would soon move. The second interviewee on the other hand had made more research about it and possessed more information about the facilities. The first respondent stated that the housing group is in Urankent district and is still under construction. They bought an apartment with 3 rooms and 1 living room. It was bought in September 2014 for 420.000 TL. Apart from the residence planned for 12,000 people, the facility includes a mall, sports areas, childcare centre. It will be inhabited in July 2016.

The building from which the second respondent bought his flat is 40 floors. The apartment was bought in October 2015 and is on the 32nd floor. There are 4 apartments on one floor. The one they bought has three rooms and one living room and is 133 m² in size. There are also different apartment types with gardens in the apartment. They bought this one for 510.000 TL. They paid 150,000 TL in advance for which they both sold their cars and his parents gave them 60,000 TL. The

³⁰ Phone conversation conducted with the sales office on 19 June 2015, tel no: 3863838.

monthly payment will be 5,400 TL for 10 years for which his parents will be contributing with 2,500 TL each month.

According to the website of the group, the complex will entail its own woods, walking and biking paths along the stream and pools for landscape elements. It entails 80,000 m² of green area, an open-air cinema, two artificial rivers, an “animal habitat” where the residents will be able to leave their pets, a swimming pool, gym but these two with a separate membership fee. The respondents prefer it that way because otherwise monthly maintenance payments would be higher. Now it is said that the monthly payment will be around 170 TL but the respondents heard that the pre-announced amounts often increase after being inhabited. Still one of them believes it will not be more than 250 TL. per month. This will include general maintenance, cleaning of windows, lighting, watering. Heating costs will be separately paid.

In Park Avenue, all complaints will be handled by the company for the first five years. The interviewees do not know about the future decision making process. The response of the sales office indicates that it will be managed by YDA for first five years after completion. Afterwards, it will depend on the decision of the residents taken on the basis of apartment management rules. The sports facilities will be managed by the Sports International in Bilkent. It will be by membership. 50 % off for YDA residents and it will be open to public. Monthly payment for facilities will be 200 TL. This is because the high number of apartments enable the required costs to be collected. Sports facilities and pool will be based on membership. This is because if people will not use them, they should not be able to pay for these facilities. It is an industrial area but she thinks the industrial facilities will have to move. Street shops they are providing shall change the phase of the neighbourhood.

Interviews have been conducted with the residents of the three of the “rezidans” areas described above. The promotion materials and the publicities of these areas are

examined within the scope of the second part of the research. Additionally, other “rezidans” areas being constructed are also examined in terms of their publicity within the second part of the research to enable a more comprehensive analysis of how this type of residential areas are promoted.

4.2 Analysis of Promotion Materials

Capitalist policies are producing urban space in accordance with its own interests with a view to consolidation of such policies. Exchange value of urban space is brought forward, predominating the use value. This exchange value of urban space is widely accepted and regarded as legitimate. Many cases indicate a profit expectation from urban lots and this is not limited to large-scale profit seekers. Newly produced residential areas are no exception to this practice. In fact, they constitute the major portion of the urban space subject to these transformations.

In order to analyse the perception of urban space, it would not be sufficient to inquire about the perception of the users of the space; it is imperative to elaborate on how this perception and use of space is produced. Therefore, in order to evaluate the manner in which demand for the “rezidans” areas is produced and the perception intended to be created, it was essential to review the promotion means and materials of the selected “rezidans” groups. Accordingly, the first part of the research was conducted through an examination of the advertisements of the residential areas. In that regard, publication materials such as advertisement texts, brochures, internet publications, public advertisement boards as well as media advertisements have been focused on. Furthermore, this analysis has not been limited to the residential areas where the respondents were interviewed. The “rezidans” groups which were not studied within the scope of this thesis were also taken into consideration during this part of the work, in order to grasp a wider understanding of the creation of a certain perception regarding the studied urban space. In this scope, 6 websites, 12 brochures, 2 radio announcements, 15 TV ads, 20 public boards, 8 online newspapers and 1 online magazine were analysed.

Whether the points emphasized in promotion of these areas have found basis in the residents or future residents of these locations have also been elaborated.

4.3 Interviews

This part of the research is intended for two distinct sample types. The first sample group under the first part of the research are professionals at the marketing, administration and political planning decision-making mechanism of urbanisation. The residents of the newly produced high-rise, densely built and high-priced residential areas, referred to as “rezidans” in Turkish, constitutes the second sample group. A total of **35 interviews** were conducted between the dates 20.4.2014 and 6.6.2016.

4.3.1 Interviews with professionals

The first sample consists of actors at the marketing and administration side of the “rezidans” areas as well as political and planning officials including decision making mechanism. This group includes officials working in planning departments of the municipalities, officials from the chamber of architects and chamber of city planners, architects involved in the design of the new type of housing areas called “rezidans,” staff of the sales offices and the management departments. This sample was interviewed in order to contribute to the findings regarding the use of space and the perception of “urbanity” of the residents of such housing groups. The main goal of this part of the interviews is to determine the characteristics and perception and use of urban space and perception of “urbanity” of the residents according to the officials, as well as their perception and knowledge about the production of such housing groups including the decision-making process at policy level.

Within this framework, a total of **18 people** were interviewed in this section. The staff of sales and management offices, including the concept consultant and general managers, were interviewed. Within the scope of the second sample of the interviewees, the decision-making institutions, an architect, city planners and heads

of department employed by municipalities were also interviewed. In addition to those, interviews were held with the staff working at the Ankara branches of Chambers, within the scope of the second part of the sample to be interviewed as one of the main actors in production and use of urban space. In this regard, the interviews in this group were conducted with one official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara, one official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara, an architect who has been designing many buildings in Ankara and who recently designed a “rezidans” group in Oran, a group of housing with café gym etc. facilities not yet started to be constructed, three city planners working at the Greater Municipality of Ankara, one official from the Planning Department in Çankaya Municipality, one official from the Planning and Urbanisation Department in Yenimahalle Municipality, four staff of Next Level (one from sales office, two from management office and one tower and office coordinator), the concept consultant of Next Level, two sales representatives from Park Avenue, the security representative in the management office of Park Oran, one sales representative from Marina Ankara and after sales services representative from Sinpaş Altın Oran. All were interviewed in person and at their work place, with the exception of the sales representative of Marina Ankara, concept consultant of Next Level, the coordinator at Next level and one of the sales representatives in Park Avenue, who were interviewed on the phone. Follow-up telephone conversations were also made later on with some of the respondents.

The municipality and the chamber side of the sample is intended to indicate the use of space and perceived urbanity of the upper-middle class from the planners’ point of view, as well as to discover how the need and use for a particular urban space are created at the planning level, which could influence the use and perception of urban space and perception of urbanity by the upper-middle classes.

The professionals interviewed in the municipalities and in the chambers were mostly accessed via acquaintance, with the exception of the official from the City Planners

of Ankara, the official from the Planning and Urbanisation Department in Yenimahalle Municipality and sales and management offices of the “rezidans” areas, who were contacted directly by the researcher. Table 2 provides the list of interviewees in the first part of the interviews.

The question groups asked to the interviewees of this sample are given below. It should be noted that they were open-ended questions, however the interviews could not always be conducted in the manner of conversations due to discreet approach of the officials especially in the municipality and in the management offices of some “rezidans.”

The following question groups were posed in order to determine the perception of the officials on:³¹

- a) how need and use of space for a particular type of housing are created,
- b) description of the profile of people who prefer to buy these flats,
- c) the degree of influence of use of urban space in making plan revisions,
- c) from whom the demands to increase the building density come and the procedure followed,
- e) how reactions, if any, are handled at the planning level,
- f) the level of occupation of upper-middle class residential areas,
- g) general characteristics of the housing group (asked to the staff and/or to the management of the “rezidans” group).

4.3.2 Interviews with residents

Still within the second part of the research as the second group, this sample constitutes of the residents of the “rezidans” areas studied. In this part of the research, focus has been on the use of space, perception of space, the use of urban space in general and residential area utilization in particular and perception of

³¹ The questions asked are provided in Appendix A.

urbanity. The unit of the research was the households and their upper-middle class owners as the primary resources. The neighbourhoods studied within the scope of this survey are new high-density residential areas already inhabited or under construction, namely Park Oran, Sinpaş Altın Oran and Park Avenue. Detailed information about these residential areas was provided in the previous section.

In order to achieve the intended outcome of this thesis, the area of the research was defined as the newly created urban space within the context of the high-rise, high-priced residential areas called “rezidans” and the sample of the research as their upper-middle class residents. As it was elaborated in the section regarding the conceptual framework, the *upper-middle class*, for the purpose of this thesis, has been defined as a certain group of the society with high income and with possession of flats in the “rezidans” groups, i.e., residential capital, with their urban, artistic and cultural involvements to be studied.

Accordingly, within the purposes of this thesis, daily use of urban space by the upper-middle class residents of the “rezidans” areas was also studied. Their *use of space* patterns have been correlated with everyday life practices. Therefore daily practices and their relations to the city and to the neighbourhood were the main determinants for the use of space. In relation to daily use of space, *perception of space* of the sample was studied. This part of the study was based on the perceptions of the residents interviewed, about Ankara and about other cities in a comparative manner and their perception regarding their neighbourhood, taking into account the daily practices and everyday experiences of the interviewees. The main aim of exploring the perception of space by the respondents is to explore how their perception of space leads to use of space and eventually to their preference in use of newly produced residential places. In other words, the objective is to find out how they perceive urban space, and understand how this perception leads to their use of space and perception of urbanity so that they prefer to live in “rezidans” type of houses.

During the field research conducted through the interviews, their relation to works of art, to artistic activities and their related habits have been explored not with the purpose of defining this group of people as a class, based on taste and culture but with the purpose of laying out their characteristics in relation to their artistic and cultural activities. It should be noted here that although Bourdieu's theory has been partly made use of in conceptual definition of the upper-middle class along with that of Marx', no specific study was carried out in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis regarding consumption patterns and the taste of this class, as this is out of the scope of this present thesis. Instead, these characteristics have been explored in order to identify the *perception of urbanity* of the group interviewed, which will be explained below.

The *perception of urbanity*, has been adopted in the sense of feeling of belonging, the degree to which transformations regarding urban space have been noticed and reacted to, as well as utilizing the cultural and artistic facilities of a city, involvement in artistic and cultural activities, both as audience and as performer. Additionally, involvement in civil society activities were regarded as a part of the characteristics defining urbanity.

In thorough study of the attention and possible reaction of the interviewees to the revisions in development plans and their embodiment in the city and in their neighbourhood, firstly it was intended to comprehend their views on this matter. Apart from disclosing this aspect in order to treat this item as one of the variables to identify *urbanity*, another intention was to discover the existence and the degree of consent for such urban transformations and identify the potential for action.

The sample has been selected firstly based on acquaintance as questions on use of space and perception of "urbanity" characterized by housing and neighbourhood preferences might not be possible to be replied to a random researcher. For the second part of the research, interviews are found to be more efficient for such an

inquiry intended to understand and discover the meanings, reasons and perceptions of the target group. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the respondents and snowball technique was applied to reach more interviewees. This has not been easy but this issue shall be elaborated in the section regarding the difficulties of the research. Questions were revised after the first two interviews which also served as a pilot study. Later on, additional questions were introduced during the interview, to clarify some of the subjects, depending on the course of the interview. Most interviews were conducted in cafés, one at home of the respondent, two at the home of a third respondent, one at a hotel lobby. One interview was conducted on the phone. Follow-up telephone calls were made later to some of the interviewees, for the clarification of certain issues.

The interviews were held with a total of **seventeen** people from **twelve households** on the first group of questions on perception and use of urban space and on perception of urbanity: **Park Oran (ten people from seven households), Park Avenue (two people from two households), Sinpaş Altın Oran (five people from three households)**. The question groups asked to the interviewees are given below. It should be noted that they were open-ended questions and the interviews were often conducted in the manner of conversations and much more than the simple answers to the questions have been provided by the interviewees.

Question Groups³²

1. Characteristics of the interviewees and the neighbourhood

- a) demographic information on the sample (age, sex, marital status, number of children, education, occupation, number of people living in the same household, monthly income, if they travel often, reasons for living in Ankara),
- b) basic information about the residential area (general information about the flat, general information about the surrounding).

³² The questions asked are provided in Appendix A.

2. Perception of space

- a) perception of urban space through Ankara,
- b) perception of urban space through a city in general,
- c) perception of urban space through reasons for living in Ankara,
- d) perception of residential space through where they lived before, a comparison of the two neighbourhoods,
- e) perception of residential space via current neighbourhood.

3. Use of space

- a) use of urban space, in general,
- b) daily use of space in the neighbourhoods in particular,
- c) daily practices and the reasons of preferring houses in the selected neighbourhoods/areas (explore perception of security, created perception of prestige etc.),
- d) which parts of Ankara are liked/ visited the most.

4. Perception of urbanity

- a) if they feel they belong to this neighbourhood, description of identity based on this neighbourhood,
- b) what they think about revision of development plans and/or changes in urban land use patterns (whether there is a reaction or consent or whether such revisions go unnoticed),
- c) if they are a member of an NGO, of any organization related to arts and culture,
- d) if they go to artistic/cultural events, if there are any events particularly followed, if venue/neighbourhood where the event takes place matters, if they follow any cultural events abroad,
- e) if they practice art, play an instrument.

The analysis of the interviews shall be presented in the coming chapter. But before going into the analysis, it is worth mentioning the difficulties faced during the research.

4.4 Difficulties Faced during the Research

The most challenging bottleneck faced during the research was actually finding the interviewees. The researcher tried to access the residents of “rezidans” areas via acquaintance. However this was not easy as the researcher knew almost nobody living in those areas. Trying to access the sample randomly did not work. The interviewees always had to be reached via acquaintance. The sample was constructed mostly in snowball method. This also had its difficulties because the interviewees most of the time could not recommend any other residents living in the same place. The staff of the sales and management offices did not come up with suggestions either, on the grounds of protecting the privacy of the residents. Even after finding a potential respondent, setting an appointment with that person sometimes took weeks or even months.

Another difficulty was that the respondents felt reluctant to answer some of the questions. The most disturbing question for the interviewees was observed to be the one about their monthly income. It felt to the researcher that they often responded not accurately to this question. Some on the other hand, preferred not to respond at all. Furthermore, some of the respondents hesitated to provide certain details of where they lived. One respondent felt uncomfortable after starting the interview and stated that she would not go on. She was disturbed about telling where she lived, on which floor and for how much they bought the flat.

Another difficulty faced, has been with the officials working at the Municipality of Ankara. They were uncomfortable with the interview, did not agree to voice-recording, but were still sincere in answering the questions.

Having provided information on the methodology of this thesis, the analysis of the research is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH

The analysis of the research shall be made in two subchapters. Firstly, the analysis of the promotion materials shall be presented. In the second subchapter, the interviews shall be evaluated in two parts. In the first part the interviews with the professionals and in the second part the interviews held with the residents shall be analysed.

5.1 Analysis of Promotion Materials

The first part of the research was conducted through an examination of the advertisements of the residential areas. This analysis goes beyond the examination of the promotion materials of the housing groups studied. In order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how such groups are promoted, this part of the research was carried out not only for the housing groups studied but also for those which are not within the scope of this present thesis. The objective of such an investigation is to explore the ways the new residential areas have been promoted and the new life-styles being presented to the society. For this purpose, advertisements in the mass media (television, radio, newspapers, magazines), the brochures of the residential areas, their websites and the street public boards were examined. Whether the points emphasized in promotion of these areas have found basis in the preference of the residents or future residents of these locations shall be elaborated at the end of this section.

The quotations have been translated by the author of this thesis from Turkish to English as provided on the promotion materials, websites or in the brochures of the residential complex or from media. The Turkish versions were not always accurate, grammatically correct or consistent. All inconsistencies, sentence fragments and all misuse of punctuations have been preserved as they have been provided in the original materials. The full translated promotional texts of the residential groups

studied are given in Appendix B. On the other hand, if the text is from a billboard and is fully quoted in the analysis below, its translation is not provided again in the Appendix.

A collection of promotion materials display, the points of emphasis on six major themes; a *new, luxury and prestigious life* where all the dreams come true, the fact that these “rezidans” areas *contain all the facilities* required for an urban life, that these areas are *natural with their green areas and water element, family life, locational advantage* and *exchange value*.

5.1.1 New, prestigious and luxurious life

According to Zukin, the discourse of the elected officials and the words and images in the media representations of urban space and culture, include a wording for the persuasion for the desire to live in good places (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 227). Indeed, in review of promotion materials of the “rezidans” areas, the first aspect identified is that a *new, prestigious and luxury life* is presented for the future residents of such housing groups. People are tried to be convinced that they have long deserved such a luxury life. Such type of housing is presented in a way to propose, promise and encourage a change in lifestyle with slogans such as “looking at the city from above,” “you will be able to ski in front of your house” or “your dreams coming true.”

“If you are hard to please, you will be very pleased”³³

“It is time to indulge your expectations in YDA Park Avenue.”³⁴

“Live the life you deserve.”³⁵

“Right now, you are looking at your comfort (şu an rahatınıza bakıyorsunuz)”³⁶ A play with words which also means “you are comfortably enjoying your life.”

³³ <http://www.ydaparkavenue.com.tr/proje-hakkinda.html>, last access on 2 July 2015.

³⁴ From the booklet of YDA Park Avenue.

³⁵ Orion Park Evleri, radio commercial.

“Climb up, feel the change, live your life!”³⁷

“To impress or to be impressive. It is your choice”³⁸

“Now it is your time.”³⁹

The representation is with an emphasis of dreams come true. The flats are spacious, even the ones with one living room and one bedroom are usually 100 m² big. They are mostly located in high-rise buildings and the view from a high rise building is flattered and presented as a privilege. This perception has proven to be valid with one of the interviewees, who stated that he felt satisfaction from living in a high-rise building, “to have the city under his feet” and also the house being brand new makes him feel rich and well.

In promoting a new luxury life, its affordability is also emphasized in some of the promotion materials. “Pay as you please, live as you please.”⁴⁰ Very often, payment choices are advertised on public boards.

In terms of making dreams come true, an exclusive life is represented: Your days will pass more joyously in Altın Oran with the concerts, special events and social activities that will take place in the square all year long.⁴¹

In representation of a new life, historical ties are also accentuated in some cases. Some of the housing groups claim to represent Ankara and its entire history.

³⁶ From the billboard for ONS İncek group.

³⁷ From the billboard of Uptown İncek.

³⁸ From the billboard of Kuzu Group.

³⁹ From a TV commercial of Folkart Time.

⁴⁰ Billboard of One Tower.

⁴¹ www.sinpasaltinoran.com.tr last access on 25.12.2014

I was born where Midas, the Phrygian king found an anchor. I hosted the Hittites who founded the first strong state in Anatolia. Then I hosted the Frisians, Lydians, and Romans. I have been with you since the Anatolian Seljuks. Because I am the star rising in the steppes.⁴²

While promoting a new and prestigious life, only one of the “rezidans” groups, Next Level, promoted cultural activities in its shopping mall. The mall had opened before the construction of the “rezidans” was completed and the cultural and artistic attractions organized in the mall were seen as an opportunity to attract clients for the residential part of the complex. Interviews and public declarations were held during the opening of a sculpture exhibition at Next Level mall that this project as a whole will constitute a centre for art as well.⁴³

New and prestigious life claims can also be accompanied with the changing understanding in housing and profit-oriented approach of the construction companies which are openly pronounced. There is also a warning for the risk of all new constructions having the same conceptual design. According to Boyer, we observe a serial mass production of identical urban space. All “festival marketplaces” which imply the redevelopment of collapsed urban sites for revitalization of the city centre through commercial and leisure activities, for example, have the same architectural and spatial connotations. (Stevenson 2003, pp. 101-102) In this present research, it was observed that no or little use of space was manifested in the city centre and such point by Boyer was actually not a concern. This however, can be interpreted to be true for residential areas that are being produced in Ankara. They are presenting the same type of facilities and concepts.

⁴² www.sinpasaltinoran.com.tr last access on 25.12.2014

⁴³ Habertürk, 12 April 2013, <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/serpil-yilmaz/835371-ankarada-kral-dairelerini-kim-aliyor>, access on 22.9.2015.

An example is from the board member of YP Construction:⁴⁴

While the perception of housing is being renewed by means of the trademark housing projects being constructed one after another, the sector is facing the threat of ‘becoming ordinary.’ Almost all of the new generation projects are constructed with a now standardized layout. The luxury and comfortable projects constructed with good-quality materials, which have elevated the living standards, and where social facilities are included, contributed to the production of a new perception in housing. However, it is possible to say that even that has now become ordinary. Unfortunately this may lead to a situation where the construction sector will keep the same position and the companies not making profit. Producing projects with similar concepts one after another, means that the sector cannot develop itself.

The article goes on with the recommendations for the construction companies to increase their profit:

The perception of luxury housing has raised to a certain point and reached a saturation point. This situation of course, increases the expectations of the consumer. In the period ahead, the firms which surpass this saturation point and go beyond the standardized housing line will win. We are constructing our Nefis Çankaya Evleri Project which will face İmrahor Valley that will be the biggest recreation area in Ankara in case it will be built, with this understanding. We shall lift up the standards with our new Project Koordinat Çayyolu whose sales we are to begin shortly. We plan to double our turnover by the end of this year, with all these projects we are constructing.

It is already clear today that housing is now perceived beyond need and that capitalist gains are almost the main goal in the production of housing areas. Still, it is interesting to hear this from the sincere confessions of a construction company, which indicates the widely accepted direction the basic need of housing is headed. In doing this, the potential residents are convinced that they deserve a luxurious life.

5.1.2 Containing all facilities

The second main slogan in promotion of “rezidans” areas is that they *contain all the facilities* which are traditionally encompassed in a city. The housing groups mostly include their own cafés, parks, children’s playgrounds, gym, swimming pool. Some

⁴⁴ <http://www.yasamprojeleri.com/koordinat-cayyolu-standartlari-yukari-tasiyacak.html>, access on 1.4.2016.

even contain ski area, ice skating area, “animal habitat” and the like. This aspect is accentuated almost in all the publicities.

The first aspect brought forward is the efficient use of time: “In order to make more time for you and for your loved ones, we have moved together your work, your home, your school, your social life and more.”⁴⁵

The convenience of the housing groups for leisure activities are also brought forward. In this manner, having coffee at the café of the facilities and spending time with your friends are accentuated. Another discourse to promote such places is the sports facilities the complex has.

Houses from inside of which sports centre comes out: Park Oran, which designs life without missing anything, enables the house owners to own a sports centre as well. Residents of Park Oran become a natural member of the Park Club without any payment. In Park Club, where everything necessary for the vitality of your soul and body are thought of, there are many energy-providing alternatives such as a swimming pool, fitness centre, sauna, squash, basketball area and tennis courts, children’s play area, reading rooms, bar and restaurant. Enough to spoil yourself...⁴⁶

Despite this emphasis on the sports facilities in the “rezidans” areas, it was brought forward by most of the interviewees that they do not, or will not make use of them. One reason they pronounce is that the equipment in the gym facilities are not of good quality. Another reason is that simply they do not practice any sports at all. The same point was underlined by the architect that the existence of gym and swimming pool is mostly fulfilment in a checklist and these facilities are not actually being made use of. In addition to the reasons already pronounced by the interviewees, she added that the residents who actually practice sports are already members to other gym facilities in the city. Therefore this aspect remains as a part of perceived prestige through the place of residence and without actual practice.

⁴⁵ From a TV commercial of Folkart Time.

⁴⁶ www.parkoran.net last access 11.11.2015

5.1.3 Natural environment

The third item which draws the attention in promotion of the “rezidans” areas is *nature* mostly in terms of *green areas* and *water element*. Although ironically, most of these areas were constructed at the expense of inner city green areas, an emphasis on big green areas and natural environment is noticed.

Park Oran presents you health, pleasure and entertainment in the social areas around it, while it enables you to live the quality inside the houses with high standards. Pine forests and fresh air; qualified location of Oran, an exclusive living area; the landscape from your apartment re-starts life with a view you cannot get enough.⁴⁷

In this example, the housing complex makes use of the prestige Oran district already has and the pine trees around the district, which exist independent of Park Oran itself. Many of the mass media advertisements of most of the residential areas, display happy people jogging in the forest. One of the publicities in the public boards claims to possess green areas seven times as big as that of Kuğulupark. Another catchy slogan regarding greenery of the facilities is from the brochure of Park Avenue: “We have introduced greenery, you will introduce harmony.”

Vast use of water element is also ironic for Ankara which is a water scarce city. Still, most of the “rezidans” complexes claim they will have artificial lakes, artificial rivers, water displays and the like. Mass media publicities and the public board displays often represent father and son fishing on a pond. In some cases the use of water element is made to its extremes:

Don't you think it is a privilege to watch the most spectacular water display in Ankara? On the water channel constructed on a 1200 m² area, you will be enjoying the calming effect of water during the day while you will be witnessing an unprecedented spectacle during the night. Do not forget to bring your raincoat with you while you watch 2-D light shows and water display accompanied by music fascinate you.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ www.parkoran.net last access 11.11.2015

⁴⁸ www.sinpasaltinoran.com.tr last access on 25.12.2014

Some groups manifest their pride with the size of their green areas and the water facilities. “We have combined 7000 m² of a pond and a garden.”⁴⁹

Another claim is to have a marina in Ankara. The “rezidans” group Marina Ankara claims to include an artificial lake to be constructed within itself, a water front, a “lover’s bridge.” The group’s website includes the picture of a lighthouse and the representation pictures and videos include an artificial lake, a sandy beach, a tropical island, sailing boats, a street by the marina which is open to vehicle traffic, greenhouses for citrus fruit, waterfalls, with the slogan “the one and only Marina of Ankara.” The sales officers interviewed stated that to provide and keep such amount of water would not be a problem for the company. The high rise buildings on the other hand, are promoted to have a view of Eymir Lake.

In terms of nature, longing for different geographies is also observed in the promotion materials. “For those who have left their hearts at the Aegean, we have brought the Aegean to Ankara.”⁵⁰ While this refers to a distant geography in Turkey, another catchy promotion of one residential area is the one by Ağaoğlu Construction Company in Bakırköy İstanbul, refers to a distant geography across the Atlantic. The name of the housing group advertised is “Central Park.” In the TV advertisement, the owner of the company is pictured sitting in a park and holding a squirrel in his hand and riding a bicycle in another footage. The outer voice explains: “We went there, we saw it and we like it. The comfort and the greenery of New York’s Central Park is now in İstanbul.” It is worth noting the bizarre nature of imitating a park in another country with a completely different historicity. It is also ironic to claim to build green areas and a natural environment peculiar to one residential group at the expense of destruction of public green areas.

⁴⁹ Online newspaper commercial of Suryapı Gölbağçe Evleri.

⁵⁰ From a billboard sign for Ege Vadisi, Sinpaş.

Bringing nature to the city centre is another point of emphasis. “The project which elevates nature to the sky, in the new centre of İzmir,” states an online newspaper advertisement.⁵¹

5.1.4 Family life

In review of the advertisement materials especially the ones on mass media, it has been observed that the fourth main topic emphasized is the *family life*. All the green areas and most of the facilities are represented in a way to be used with the whole family. This is mostly provided via photographs or images of families with young parents, looking happy, enjoying on the grass or by some water front. Here the emphasis is usually on nuclear family consisting of mother, father and children. Single parents or grandparents are not represented in the visual promotion materials. However, during the interviews with sales and management offices, the officials stated the convenience of their group for single women with children. Despite this assertion, emphasis on family life has been evident during these interviews too.

5.1.5 Location

Another point emphasized as the fifth item during promotion of “rezidans” areas is *locational advantage*. Because such residential areas are mostly constructed in the city or slightly in the periphery, they are mostly close to subway stations and motorways. Considering the expected user profile of such residential areas, who are working people, this aspect of proximity is emphasized to a large extent.

As an example, the emphasis on the advertisement of Park Avenue on its website is primarily on accessibility. Even the distances to certain subway stations and some of the major centres nearby have been given in terms of minutes required to reach there. In parallel to this approach, two of the respondents who are the future residents of Park Avenue also emphasized its proximity to the city centre as the most important reason for their choice of this group of housing.

⁵¹ www.cumhuriyet.com.tr access on 7.6.2016

In some cases, even the disadvantage of the location of a “rezidans” can be represented as an advantage, as in the case of Next Level. This residential group is located at the junction of two main inter-city roads and although easy to access, it is not convenient to enter and exit the “rezidans” due to heavy traffic and chaos of that particular area. The location does not seem convenient particularly for a home. Despite this disadvantage, its promotion has been made as if this was an advantage:

The project is located in a place where various living functions have come together, in the most important and most valuable place in Ankara, at the crossing of the main transportation axes of north and south, east and west... The corner of the city, the new centre.⁵²

Another example of “rezidans” which uses the location as a promotional aspect is Nata İncek. The group has prepared a specific brochure, which is distributed as supplementary to the “kid” magazine.⁵³ As TED Ankara Koleji, a private elementary and high school is located in İncek, the neighbourhood is promoted as being close to that specific school and certain privileges and facilities are provided to those who buy flats from Nata İncek. The offered promotions are 3% additional discount in the price of the flat, one-year tuition fee to be paid by the group, free membership for one year to Kolej-IN, the club for the graduates and for the parents of the current students of TED Ankara Koleji.

Come to Nata İncek houses, see for yourself how close it is to the TED campus. Invest both in your budget and in your child’s future. Do not miss the “A+” opportunity by selecting one of the attractive payment conditions, while your child is being educated in the TED Campus which is 100 m. away.

The proximity of Park Oran to TED Ankara Koleji was also mentioned by some of the respondents from Park Oran.

⁵² www.nextlevel.com.tr last access on 25.12.2014.

⁵³ kid (Kolejli İş Dünyası), a monthly magazine published to promote cooperation between the business people who are graduates of TED Ankara Koleji.

5.1.6 Exchange value⁵⁴

The sixth item advertised by the promotion materials is the *exchange value* of the premises advertised. Especially the groups where offices are included claim for investment return in a short time. This investment return is emphasized mostly by the sales offices and in some of the brochures and billboard signs. A billboard advertising İncek Loft goes, “earn from where you live.” As will be seen from the analysis of the interviews, the residents rarely underlined this aspect.

All these statements for the promotion of “rezidans” groups and the representation of a new life style in fact target a certain class, namely the upper-middle class. A newspaper interview conducted with the sales and marketing director of Next Level, before the construction of the “rezidans” was completed, displays the clear understanding of their prospective clients and users of these newly produced urban space. She indicates in the interview that their target group consists of “A and A+ income groups,” who are high level officials or owners of business in Ankara, namely of lawyers, doctors, accountants, officials of IT companies, energy companies, construction companies, import and export companies, mining companies. She also enlists the industrialists in Anatolia, businessmen who work in İstanbul but travel often to Ankara, politicians, bureaucrats.⁵⁵ Unlike Next Level, the targeted groups for other residential areas studied are upper-middle class and therefore the payment conditions are stressed in the promotion of these areas.

A review of the promotion materials through the examination of the web pages of the residential areas, their brochures, public display boards in the city and the publications on mass media, which constitute the advertisements on television, on radio in the newspapers and in the magazines, has revealed certain points of emphasis. Despite this vast promotion of the “rezidans” groups, the increasing trend

⁵⁴ What is meant here exactly is in fact the investment value. However, the term “exchange value” shall be used throughout this thesis, in order to provide consistency with urban literature.

⁵⁵ MAG, Interview with Özlem Kısakürek, sales and marketing director of Next Level, 1 September 2012, <http://magdergi.com/ankaranin-yeni-yuzu-next-level/> access on 31.10.2015.

for their preference and use cannot be attributed solely to their promotion, although an accuracy of their promotion should be handled. This is strongly related to use and perception of urban space and therefore the information to be provided from the user side is imperative in comprehension of their use. The points of promotion shall be compared with the responses of the residents, following the analysis of the interviews in the next sections. However, it will not be too soon to state here that all the points of emphasis actually find grounds in preference of the “rezidans” groups, particularly in the analysis of perception of space. The items identified by the residents such as a new prestigious life, containing all facilities, green areas, central location correspond to the advertised elements. Exchange value however turned out to be rather implicit, not openly pronounced by the residents except for one case. Additionally, although containing all the required facilities is both emphasized in the commercials and comes up as a justification for the preference of these areas by the residents, rare utilisation of these facilities is found to be conflictual. All these shall be elaborated in the coming section.

5.2 Analysis of Interviews

*The lived experience of space is not divorced from theory.
Clearly it would be trite indeed to stress everyday lived experience
only to elevate it immediately to the level of theory.
Describing the ill effects wreaked by the advent of lifts,
which allowed the well-to-do to monopolize
the upper storeys of buildings while at the same time
avoiding the encounters to which the use
of stairways and landings had formerly obliged them, does not get us very far.
Theory does not have to place lived experience
in brackets in order to promote its concepts, however.
On the contrary, lived experience partakes of the theoretical sphere,
and this means that the division between conceptualization
and life (though not the need to draw distinctions and exercise discernment)
is artificial.
Lefebvre, *The Production of Space**

The second part of the research has been conducted with two samples. The first sample includes the professionals who are decision-making institutions, city planners employed by municipalities, architects, staff of the sales and management offices of

the newly constructed housing groups, in order to contribute to the findings regarding the use of space and perception of “urbanity” of the residents of such housing groups, as well as provide an insight concerning the planning process. The residents of the newly produced high-rise, dense and high-priced residential areas, referred to as “rezidans” in Turkish, constitute the second sample group.

A total of **35 interviews** were held with both groups. The next section elaborates the interviews with the professionals.

5.2.1 Professionals

The first sample group of this research is constituted of the professionals. The main goal of this part of the interviews is to determine the characteristics and perception and use of urban space and perception of urbanity of the residents according to the officials, as well as their perception and knowledge about the production of such housing groups including the decision-making process.

The interviews in this group were conducted with one official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara, one official working at the of Chamber of City Planners of Ankara, an architect, three city planners working at the Greater Municipality of Ankara, four staff of Next Level (one from sales office, two from management office and one tower and office coordinator), the concept consultant of Next Level, two sales representatives from Park Avenue, the security representative in the management office of Park Oran, one sales representative from the sales office of Sinpaş Altın Oran, one official from the planning department from Çankaya Municipality, one official from the planning and urbanisation department from Yenimahalle Municipality and one sales representative of Marina Ankara. The list of interviewees from this group is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Professionals interviewed

No.	Position
1	Official from Chamber of Architects, Ankara
2	Official from Chamber of City Planners, Ankara
3	Architect, private office
4	City Planner at the “İmar ve Çevre Düzeni Dairesi” Municipality of Ankara
5	City Planner at the “İmar Planlama Şubesi” Municipality of Ankara
6	City Planner at the “İmar Planlama Şubesi” Municipality of Ankara
7	Official from the sales Office of Next Level
8	“Rezidans” Operation Manager of Next Level
9	Concept consultant of Next Level (telephone interview)
10	Staff in Next Level management office (telephone interview)
11	Tower and Office coordinator in Next Level (telephone interview)
12	Sales representative in Park Avenue
13	Sales representative in Park Avenue (telephone interview)
14	Security representative in the management office of Park Oran
15	Sinpaş Altın Oran after sales services customer representative
16	Staff at the Planning department in Çankaya municipality
17	Staff at Planning and Urbanisation department in Yenimahalle Municipality
18	Sales representative from Marina Ankara (telephone interview)

The interviews by the plan-policy makers and the management-sales officials indicate complimentary findings with the interviews with the residents, which will be elaborated in the coming section. The main points regarding the reasons of creation of the use of space patterns and preference for the “rezidans” housing groups revolve around *perceived security* and *having all facilities in close proximity/all services delivered*. A new profile of residents in Ankara, request for comfort, prestige, investment, a new life style are evident along with a created need by the political economy. All these indicate a new use of urban space.

Considering the point of view of the officials as to how the use of space for a particular type of housing is created and what makes people prefer the housing type called “rezidans,” the responses are similar with and complimentary to each other.

New use of space

“I have observed through the years that Ankara client has changed.”

The plan-policy and sales-management officials all indicate a new use of space in Ankara. There is a common observation by the respondents concerning the use of public space and the resulting production of new space; they all observe that use of public space is not wide-spread in Ankara. This is concretised mostly via shopping malls. The architect assumes that young people may still be meeting in central districts like Kızılay but use of public space has diminished in recent years. She compares the use of public spaces in Turkey and in Italy and concludes that there is a poor utilization of public outdoor space in Turkey.

Shopping malls have replaced public space and now people find all facilities there (eating, cinema, concerts) and these malls are like a simulation of the city. Upper, middle and even low income groups are making use of the malls as a replacement for public space. This practice may be triggering the creation of new urban spaces or the policies may be defining these new transformations; each is causing the other, like a facet circuit, like chicken and egg.

The official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara also notes that public encounter of all classes diminished because of the replacement of city centres with shopping malls.

Ulus and Kızılay used to be the city centres. Although they were differentiated in terms of social stratification, still all classes could see each other. Today, in theory, the malls are open to everyone but for example people from Sincan⁵⁶ do not go to Next Level, they go to A City.⁵⁷ This will create hostility between different classes. Ankara is becoming a fragmented city rather than a whole.

The new use of space creates segregation at the urban realm. The change in use of space is reflected in the changes in housing preferences. According to the architect, the tendency in Ankara since 1990's has been firstly to own a private house with a garden.

This will has now been consumed. It became clear to us during the designing process of Neva Konakları in Çayyolu that people started to find it tiring and consuming to keep a private house. They started to ask for services delivered to them and seek that their needs are provided and the housing groups are taken care of. Although private housing groups also provided some services, the residents at one point realized that they were taking care of the house instead of the house taking care of them. People considered that services are much better provided in "rezidans" type of housing.

She underlines that the upper classes in Ankara started to look for bigger houses with 'comfort' not necessarily high rise ones. She observes that they also see some "rezidans" type of houses in other countries which create a certain type of perception with a more comfortable life including many facilities and want to own them with a security in the gate etc.

In previous years, in Ankara 4+1 apartments were smaller than 150 m² but now it is not the number of rooms that matter but people belonging to high income groups require bigger rooms with different functions (cinema room, etc.). I have observed that through the years Ankara client has changed. There was a perception that they were conservative requiring apartments with a traditional apartment plan; 3+1 or 4+1, with an entrance hall, no open

⁵⁶ A district in the North-west of the city inhabited mostly by lower-income groups.

⁵⁷ A shopping mall in Yenimahalle, a lower-middle class neighbourhood.

kitchen, with a corridor, no 1+1 or no 1+2. Now this has changed and that mostly those types are sold still but in the last 10 years, maybe the new rich require new “rezidans” type, do not want to mix with the city and want to live with all facilities in their gated community.

This demand towards the new type of housing has been stressed by all of the respondents. One official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara notes that people’s preference of “rezidans” type of houses have no rationale behind. In comparison of private houses with a garden, he narrates his dialogs with certain people who live in İncek, a neighbourhood in the south of Ankara, where mostly individual houses are constructed.

We can see a serious pressure on İncek. It has been a district for villas since the mid 80s. Now “rezidans” buildings are being constructed on villa parcels. These parcels are being transformed by plan modifications. I talked to a man who gave away his villa to the construction company in exchange for a flat. He says he has a garden in his flat, 50 m² big. 50 m², trees in a pot! His previous house had a garden 500 m² big. He gives it away, and settles with an apartment on the 20th floor. This is not logical.

A desire for luxury housing has been pronounced as a reason for the preference of this type of residential areas. The official from Yenimahalle Municipality believes this type of housing is the new trend, as once the duplex individual houses used to be. He believes, in general that people prefer a new type of housing and the planning level officials respond to it. “In 5-10 years’ time, a new housing pattern may come out which will make these redundant.”

New use of space which came forward during the interviews with the professionals is presented in the promotion materials and also confirmed by the findings of the interviews with the residents.

Accessibility to facilities, all services delivered

“They ask whether there is a swimming pool but they rarely use the pool. They ask for gym or sauna but do not use them.”

The interviews with the professionals confirm the statements by the residents and the promotion materials, in terms of the appeal of having all facilities within the housing group. These are in fact facilities which would normally be available at the urban space for the use of all groups. However their existence within the housing groups and thus their availability for a privileged group seems appealing for the residents.

As also concluded by one research on gated communities, “the quality of leisure and shopping facilities available in some gated communities, and the fact that these could be accessed 'on-site' was given as a further motivation to residents” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880).

According to the official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara, the reason why people prefer this type of housing is firstly due to time constraints in life in general and the resulting need to reach all facilities in one place.

Space itself may be a means to use time more efficiently if you can reach everything within the same space. This is like “all inclusive” holiday. If urban space is considered to be a relationship between work and home, then the facilities like sports, children’s playing areas are provided in the same place. And people see this as an advantage.

Having all facilities needed in one place is not always due to efficient use of time but sometimes may be a part of the perceived prestige. The architect, confirming this statement argues that the residents ask for the facilities but rarely use them. “They ask whether there is a swimming pool for example but they rarely use the pool. They ask for gym or sauna but do not use them. These are just items to click on a checklist.” Her statements proved to be valid following the findings of the interviews with the residents where they mostly confessed not to utilize the facilities of the group, but that their existence mattered.

Whether it is a legitimate request to have all the urban facilities within each housing group, especially if they will not be utilized at all, is a right question to ask. The official working at the Chamber of City Planners in Ankara notes the irrationality of this approach for requiring all services within the same place.

The issue is far from being rational, I do not believe the residents can provide a logical answer. A resident in İncek bought his apartment for 700,000 TL. It is 40 km. away from the city centre and he goes there and comes back everyday. He says, “but I have a car park, I have a gym.” If you travel this far and live in a villa, it has a logic of its own. But he lives on the 30th floor. If he lived in the centre and paid for a carpark and gym all his life, it would cost the same.

With reference to the advertisement of Sinpaş Altın Oran, on being able to ski in the garden of the complex, he adds, “As if we are skiing first thing in the morning and once more before going to bed. It has gone out of control, this is insane.”

Given the irrationality and impracticality of having all the facilities within, it is narrowed to the prestige of living in a housing group encompassing all these. Indeed, the interviews with the residents reveals concerns of prestige, as will be explained in the coming section. Nevertheless, providing such facilities within the premises seems to have created competition between the housing groups. At one point, each group tries to overpass the other groups with additional services like the ski track. Some on the other hand, try to stand out with the quality of services. According to the staff of the sales office and of the management office of Next Level, this particular housing group is the “real” “rezidans.” The other housing groups are just luxury housing. In Next Level, all services are provided in concierge manner. They note that the residents of this place are “A+ income group” people and they require all services delivered to them. However, no additional social facilities are provided in this group. The mall is advertised to be its public space.

The staff of the management and sales offices of other residential areas state that the reason people prefer this housing group is that it presents every opportunity for

leisure, there are green areas and it is secure. However, as will be displayed in the section evaluating the interviews with the residents, and confirmed by the statements of the architect, the contradictory position here is that the residents rarely make use of all the facilities; nor they spend much time in the facilities. This point is partially related to the discussions for security concerns as well.

Security

“They chose this place primarily because it is a safe place.”

“People do not feel secure in other parts of the city.”

The concerns for security and fear of crime in the housing areas are often perceived and not necessarily factual. As one research indicates, the perceptions of local authority officers, national housing organisations and developers described security and exclusivity as the two most important points in preference for the gated communities. Some planning officers out spoke a growing demand for “total and absolute security” and the gated communities therefore were regarded as “safe and predictable islands of safety”. In their research, one police officer stated that the residents of the gated communities in his area of responsibility considered the adjacent neighbourhoods as “crime-prone localities.” Contrastingly, the actual crime rate was extremely low in that specific locality (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 879).

Security was pronounced during the interviews with both the residents and with the officials, while none of the respondents reported an actual incident in their current or previous neighbourhood. The officials in the municipalities underline the matter of security as one of the primary concerns. “People want security, they do not feel secure in other parts of the city and would like to live in a secure place.” They even pronounce this issue for their choice of location as well. Similarly, all of the sales and management officials of the residential areas stated security as one of the distinguishing characteristics of their housing group. They all replied to the question as to why the residents prefer this place, that “they chose this place primarily for it is a secure place.” This security concept remains abstract as it is not translated to

concrete terms. On the other hand, the officials at the chambers consider this as a matter of perception. They have noted that people prefer this type of housing due to a problem in perception of security. Upper income groups tend to protect themselves from unsafe spaces in the city which creates urban segregation: this is in fact creating a ghetto for themselves by controlling who comes in the residence place. This ghetto serves both as a barrier to security and also, as a means to avoid unwanted social contact (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 887-888).

The official working at the Chamber of City Planners in Ankara notes that this security concern is artificial. “I grew up in a squatter neighbourhood and it was safe. We used to know everyone in the neighbourhood and our doors were unlocked. Now urban security is being marketed.”

Although security stands out as one of the justifications for the preference of “rezidans” housing groups, as will be observed during the evaluation of the interviews with the residents, the use of space is not limited to that in the facilities. Despite the fact that there is a limited use of urban space all over Ankara, security concerns do not cause the residents to have a total segregation. This issue shall be discussed in detail in the related section.

Prestige

“Housing has gone beyond need and sheltering; this is a dimension brought about by capitalism.”

“To look rich in order to become rich or feel rich”

Another aspect which comes forward in preference of the “rezidans” type of housing is prestige. Almost all the professionals interviewed note that housing has gone beyond the scope of a need and sheltering, it has rather become a means of status.

Like in Panora, İncek Life, Sinpaş etc. it indicates the status of residents. This may be why this type of housing is preferred. This perception of status can be compared to changing a car or a cell phone. Housing is seen like a trademark, and no longer as a need. The cost of the house also defines the status.

Housing has gone beyond need and sheltering this is a dimension brought about by capitalism. (Official from the Chamber of Architects)

Similarly, the architect interviewed strongly believes that this type of housing creates a label for the residents. “Indeed like a label, to say ‘I am living in this rezidans.’” The city planners note that the neighbourhood and who else lives there also matter. “To look rich in order to become rich” or “feel rich.”

Living in a homogeneous environment comes out as part of the perceived prestige. The official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara believes people choose to live close to the ones with the similar income level.

Why would anyone want to live in Çukurambar?⁵⁸ There is no view, no parks, the lamp-posts are in the street. They have two concerns: They want to live with the same income group of people and they want value increase in their property.

All of the sales and management officials interviewed also indicate “prestige” as one of the main reasons of preference of this group, and they exclude their group from other residential areas: “This is the real ‘rezidans.’” The sales officer of Park Avenue has stated that people particularly seek a design concept in a housing group rather than the house itself; and of course prestige. They sell the concept and the facilities rather than the apartments. The survey they make with (potential) customers concludes that people are looking for security, children’s playground, parking space. Prestige is not only measured by price, facilities and homogeneity. It is sometimes linked to location; this is different from locational advantage for accessibility concerns. Some of the groups present their location, in addition to accessibility, as a means for prestige. Park Avenue for example is said to be preferred particularly because it is close to the new presidential palace, it is on the new protocol road, “Anadolu Boulevard is the new protocol road;” for its central location.

⁵⁸ A relatively centrally located and densely built neighbourhood, transformed from a squatter area now with apartments with high prices.

The official from the planning department of Çankaya Municipality underlined the significance of perceived prestige, the feeling of living in a place which has become a trademark, which even extended beyond actual security concerns.

The area where Sinpaş Altın Oran is located should in fact be closed to construction because of the geological conditions. There is a geological study and a report indicating the inconvenience of construction there. However, when I told this to somebody who wanted to buy a flat there, he simply said, “it does not matter.”

In the course of this research, the only actual threat pronounced was the risk of landslide and despite all concerns of abstract security, the actual one seems to be neglected for the sake of perceived prestige. The sales office of Sinpaş Altın Oran was contacted again in order to inquire about the mentioned geological report. The official stated that they would call back but they never did and did not answer the e-mails about this.

As stated above, perceived prestige and the desire to “feel rich” were pronounced by the residents during their interviews. Although this point shall be elaborated in the related section, it is essential here to state that the new understanding of urban space, how it is promoted and perceived cause a substantial part for the preference of the “rezidans” areas. This may also indicate a will for upward mobility for the upper-middle class.

Location

“The centre of Ankara has shifted because of the location of the presidential palace. Anadolu Boulevard is now the new protocol road.”

Location of the housing facilities is one of the points which have been raised during the interviews. The officials’ statements about the location of the housing groups confirm those of the residents. The location is always presented as an advantage whether the housing group is away from the centre, or it is close to the centre, or it is in a prestigious location or it is in a high-priced neighbourhood.

All these various statements came out during the interviews with the professionals. According to one city planner working in Ankara Greater Municipality, moving away from the city centre is the reason of a “need” coming out. There has been an increase in demands for Söğütözü, Çukurambar, Eskişehir Road, in terms of business centre, office and apartments in various sizes. The sales representative of Sinpaş Altın Oran has stated that this is the most beautiful and most valuable location in the city. The sales representative of Park Avenue told, “the centre of Ankara has shifted because of the location of the presidential palace. Anadolu Boulevard is now the new protocol road.” She also noted that some members of the parliament prefer to buy flats here solely for that reason. In a complimentary manner, the official from Yenimahalle municipality stated that all the industrial areas in the vicinity shall move outside the city, “not soon, but in time. We have not managed to move out the industries in Ulus yet.”

As it was seen in the promotion materials, location of a housing group is always presented as a positive aspect also by the professionals. Shifting of locations and changes in the perceived centre of the city are reflected in the preference of the housing groups. It has been noticed that this practice which tended to take place since the early years of planned Ankara has intensified and occurs much more rapidly during the course of the new use of urban space.

Exchange value

“This is the most valuable land in Ankara.”

One research on gated communities reveals that “value for money” of the housing group was an important factor for the preference of such groups. They were regarded as longer-term investments considering the expected increase in prices (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880). The expected value increase is also pronounced by the professionals during this present research.

One city planner at the municipality of Ankara noted that they do not know whether such residential areas are actually preferred or not. The dynamics of planning have changed and the municipality is no longer responsible from residential planning since 2007. “The buyers often buy as an investment. In previous years, lots were bought as an investment but now there are no empty lots left to buy.” She goes on to state that there is a high speculative market of residential areas. Similarly, the sales officials of “rezidans” groups have underlined the investment characteristics of the flats there, stating that they can be rented out immediately with a high price. This is in fact some of the owners are actually doing. The officials also stressed, “this is the most valuable land in Ankara.”

In fact, it is not only the value increase of a certain plot of land but also the value increase of the central districts which is one of the main motives for density increase. The official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara underlines that the building of “rezidans” type of housing has to be evaluated together with all other urban transformations. She notes with reference to exchange value, that urban land has become too valuable especially in the city centres. They observe that housing transformation has taken this direction within urban transformation. “This “rezidans” etc. used to be out of city centres, since city centre has increased its land value, such housing type has started to be constructed in the city centre, in İstanbul but not yet so much in Ankara.”

As a matter of fact the exchange value, the prospective increase in value was not stated by the residents except for two of them. It may be argued that this is an implicit factor for the residents but more obvious for the officials.

Created need

“A new environment is being presented; who else lives there matters and what is being presented is being accepted by the public.”

All the factors described above actually indicate that a new need has been created in terms of housing. According to the city planners and the officials of both chambers, the commercials regarding such housing groups have high influence on people's perception. It is the new trend and if everyone else is buying them, they must be good. “Just like once the individual houses with gardens used to be.”

According to the official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara, a new life style, a new perception of life are being presented with this group of housing and this is closely related to advertising. “A new environment is being presented; who else lives there matters and what is being presented is being accepted by the public.” Bigger, more beautiful, more chic houses are being advertised and it goes beyond just being a house. Secure, homogeneous cultural environment, a sterile environment is being created and not mixing with heterogeneous cultural environment is emphasized. This is also considered by some, as a jump of class according to her. Housing thus having gone beyond shelter is because of the stage capitalism has reached. As this is presented as a need, the housing companies are providing this need and people are accepting and demanding it too. Since this is presented as a need, this is created mutually.

The city planners noted that security, social facilities, comfort and easy access to them are important in the creation of this need. The municipality however does not have any statistics regarding these reasons.

Changing planning procedures

Considering how the revisions in development plans are made with a view to density increase, and what procedures are followed, it has been noted that the usual planning practice has been lost. According to Şahin, urban planning practice is not only a

technical procedure without any political influences, but essentially a political course of action by its nature. This political process is closely linked to the prevailing political status and its spatial manifestation. According to his hypothesis, urban planning process takes place through a series of formal and informal social and political networks and actors and that these networks comprise “patron-client relations, incubating growth machines, coalitions, and partnerships and may be engaged in corruption, bribery, nepotism, clientelism, favouritism, populism etc.” (Şahin, 2007)

The city planners in Ankara Greater Municipality note that the request for revision of plans are not justified by any kind of analysis. The Municipality’s planning department often rejects the proposals but they are forwarded to the municipal council anyhow, where they are mostly approved. “The revisions in these plans are neither foreseen nor approved by us. More influential are the demands from the investors and profit-makers. Who proposes matters and it influences the decision of the municipal council.”

It has been brought forward by the city planners at the municipality that modification requests are not justified. There is no preliminary study preceding the plan modification request which is submitted to the municipality. This point however is partially true since the construction companies do not present a preliminary study to accompany their request for plan modification, however they conduct a study of their own (with a totally different orientation though) in order to determine the needs (actual or created) and construct a concept of a housing group accordingly. The interview with the concept consultant of Next Level clearly explains such a study. This is on the other hand not intended to justify a plan modification but to create a new profile of residents and the city in line with their directions for the creation of a different need and for production of a new type of space. Confirming this approach, the official at the Yenimahalle Municipality stressed the role of the demand from a certain stratum of the society for such a need for new space.

The official working at the Chamber of City Planers of Ankara noted that a coalition is in place concerning the plan modifications.

Some official in the municipality, a member of the parliament and the landowner often work together. They ensure plan modifications. This has become like a stock exchange. Ankara is now having fragmented urban spaces instead of being an integrated city.

Similarly, the architect interviewed sees that central policies have direct impact on making plan revisions. She thinks the landowner may be content from an increase of building density but believes that it is rather centrally decided to make partial development plan (mevzi imar planı) for an urban transformation, which she finds as a wrong practice since it is made without considering the rest of the city with contradicting building density. She emphasizes that urban rent is created with this density increase. “If the density is one, it is increased to 2 or even 3 for the landowner, municipality and for the construction company and therefore everyone benefits from it.”

There has been no preliminary study for the planning of the “rezidans” areas or plan revisions in recent years by the planning department of the Municipality. Plan revisions have been made partially, not “mevzi imar planı” though which includes an area of planning, rather, changes on the basis of lots. Building density has increased at top level, including the social facilities and offices. It is rather a political demand.

According to the official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara, at the stage the capitalism has reached, planning is a part of these policies. It is a mutual interaction. Increase in building density to very high values and vertical growth is the new pattern now. This vertical growth creates considerable urban rent. High income groups spend a lot of money to buy houses here. “34 apartments instead of 4 apartments, just imagine.” She notes that serious plan revisions bring about direct involvement of politics to planning in its rent and economical dimension.

All respondents agree on political influence and this is the reason why the planning departments are no longer involved in the process. Emphasis is made also on the economic criteria.

Without construction, the economy will collapse. So they will have to build more and bigger in order to keep the markets running and keep providing employment. They will have to construct even though they cannot sell all the apartments.” (The architect)

As an example, the official from Çankaya Municipality indicated that Park Oran was planned by the Ministry Public Works and Housing of the time, without the involvement of the municipalities and the land was directly assigned to TOKİ. As for Sinpaş Altın Oran, she reminded that the location of Sinpaş Altın Oran used to be a squatter area. The Municipality of Ankara declared it urban transformation zone and developed plans with high-density construction. It is in fact an area where construction should be prohibited for geologically unfavourable conditions. She has also been informed that even the construction Company, Sinpaş did not want to construct there but was pushed by the Municipality of Ankara.

Çankaya municipality filed more than 20 lawsuits and Chamber of City Planners filed 12 lawsuits against this planning decision between 2006-2015 on the grounds that it is an area where no construction should be allowed due to its geological structure and that this kind of high-density construction is not convenient for such an area. But as is the case with most of the similar lawsuits, the constructions went on despite granting a motion for stay of execution, (yürütmeyi durdurma kararı) and in the end it is almost completed. The official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara noted that each time the planning decision was cancelled by the court, the municipality of Ankara came up with a new plan proposal with slight changes. “They moved the place of the power transformer for example, to make it look like a new plan. The aim was to stall justice. Unfortunately in the end they constructed it.”

The official from the Yenimahalle Municipality noted that the urban transformation decision for the place where now Park Avenue is located, came from their municipality, considering the high demand from high-income groups. He believes, in general that people prefer a new type of housing and the planning level officials respond to it. They have signed contracts with the residents of the squatters and assigned the land to the construction company with a contract. In exchange, housing apartment blocks of 15 storeys for the original settlers were constructed across the street, handed the apartments to the municipality and the residents moved there. 40-storey high buildings were constructed at the evacuated place. “2000 people used to live there; only 2 or 3 of them rejected this arrangement. The disputes were settled by legal procedures.”

Conflictual to what he denoted, the sales representative of Park Avenue stated that in this case, YDA, the construction firm initiated the planning procedure. They took the land from squatter owners and provided them apartments across the street. They completed that construction first, and started this one after the original residents moved. Some took the apartments for free, some paid an extra amount. The potential tension this practice may create is yet to be the subject of another research.

These statements by both officials are actually contested with another remark. In the case of Park Avenue, the official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara described a slightly different picture about this procedure.

It used to be a squatter area. The municipality initiated the transformation in the previous period with the previous mayor. They had an agreement with the residents to give them one apartment each. However, it was not specified in their contract when the apartments would be submitted to them. This created reactions among the residents and there was considerable resistance. When the mayor changed, the contracts were renewed and the time of submission of the apartments was specified.

He does not agree that there was very little resistance, at least at first.

The apartments to be submitted to the residents were 70 m² big. Their squatter houses were also the same but there, they had gardens and thus a bigger space for use. Therefore the residents reacted at first. Later on when they learned the future value of their apartments from real estate offices, they agreed. So maybe some of them are not currently living there.

From this statement, it can be detected that within the given economic and urban relations, urban policies remain almost the same even if the local governments change. The above example is particularly remarkable from the point of view of integration of all the citizens within the rent-seeking mechanism in favour of exchange value.

The official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara states that over 8000 revisions have been made in 2023 Master Development Plan (Nazım İmar Planı); many in Çayyolu Alacaatlı. 2-3 storey planning has now density for 25 storeys. According to her, the demand mostly comes from landowners, the municipality, real estate offices, real estate investment trust (Gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı). Also construction companies have influence in this process. It is a joint work of many actors, she notes and the people on the other side. “One proposes, one accepts, one sells, the other buys...” She assumes that the chain of relations works like that, but she cannot be sure exactly how this system is operated.

Planning is in direct relation with policies. As narrated in Chapter III, Ankara has always been subject to political plan revisions however this has intensified in the recent decade. In this new planning practice where the officials are excluded, the city planners in the municipality define the procedures as follows:

A proposal for a plan is being prepared. It is prepared at the scale of 1/5000 Master Development Plan (Nazım İmar Planı) with the supporting documents (geological survey, justification for the revision, deeds, opinions of some public institutions etc.). The justification is often presented as “the arising need” and “this many people live

in the neighbourhood.” Sometimes there is no justification presented at all. The main opinion of the investor who proposes the plan revision is that they will be able to sell all the flats. A proposal to revise the upper scale plan is also being proposed, if needed. However, there is no such obligation as the upper scale plans do not define density. Therefore no harmony with the upper scale plans is searched for. The city planners working at the planning department of the Municipality of Ankara usually provide negative opinion for such proposals, on the grounds that infrastructure and social facilities shall not be adequate in case of an increase in density. This argument however is mostly discredited as the planned residential areas are to include their own social facilities. However this does not mean that there will still be infrastructure problems. According to the official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Municipality of Ankara,

the sewage system has not been renovated in Ankara since the current mayor took office in 1994 and there will be serious problems with such density increase. Adequacy of traffic and other infrastructure facilities is not being considered.

As a result of agreement of the planning revision, some proportion of the land in question is being left to the Municipality for common planning, in accordance with the laws and regulations. The proposal then is presented to the Municipal Council, along with the report of the planners. It is presented even if that report has positive or negative opinion. It is being discussed at the planning committee (imar komisyonu) and is mostly accepted, depending on who makes the proposal. The increase in density is being detailed in the planning notes, which are an integral part of the plan. Then the approved plan is being announced to public.

The official working at the Chamber of Architects of Ankara notes that objections may be raised during the public consultation or a lawsuit may be filed after final approval. The Chamber prefers to go to court within 60 days after approval because they find it more convenient. The architect on the other hand is aware of one case where there was a reaction by the neighbouring residents for a construction near TED

Ankara College, a private elementary and high school in İncek, but she did not follow the outcome. She does not think the objections or law cases can influence the results.

The city planners note that the reaction often comes from the chambers, sometimes from the surrounding neighbourhoods, maybe from county municipalities. “Certainly not from the citizens” another city planner says. These objections are also being discussed in the Municipal Council but are often rejected. They add when there is a demand to increase density, and when the planners advocate that the social facilities and the infrastructure shall not be sufficient, the citizens do not often attach importance to this. But when the same person sells their apartment and moves somewhere else, they demand to have the very same facilities and the infrastructure.

Occupancy level

As to the occupation level of the housing groups, there are various estimations at the official level. One eye catching fact here is that the municipality does not conduct a study to determine occupancy level, as it does not for the need analysis for plan revisions.

The perception of the municipality officials and the chambers is usually that the flats in the “rezidans” areas cannot be sold. However, the interviews with the sales and management offices of these housing groups reflect a different picture; the sales and occupancy levels are actually quite high. Exceptionally, the official from Yenimahalle Municipality thinks that luxury houses are more easily sold than other “ordinary” apartments. Similarly, according to the observations of the architect interviewed, the ones constructed by well-known companies are sold more easily. For example Sinpaş Altın Oran has been sold out, Mesa houses are sold even before construction starts, she has noted. Some buy it for investment. However, the one near TED campus in İncek seems mostly vacant still. She notes that since monthly payments are high, the facilities will be difficult to maintain. Since some of the

buyers are already members of other gyms, which is also a label, some facilities of these “rezidans” type of housing groups are likely to be left unused.

Despite the current occupation and sales levels, many more such housing groups are being constructed in Ankara. The official working at the Chamber of City Planners of Ankara notes that within 20 years’ time, they will be left unused. He compares the practice of constructing such housing groups to that of office plazas in Ankara.

There were serious plan modifications in Söğütözü⁵⁹ area, office plazas constructed. They were mostly left unsold and later on they were rented out to public organisations. We made a research last year and found that 12 public institutions rented buildings in that area. The monthly rent is as high as 1 million TL. If the institutions simply bought land and constructed their own building, they would make up for the cost of rent in 3-4 years.

He believes this practice did not take place simply with the dynamics of the market but that there was interference.

We believe there are secret agreements in place. The government allows the construction company to build and assures them that if they cannot sell them, some government institution will rent the buildings. An example is the new building of palace of justice which was constructed with some other purpose, could not be sold and now has been rented to the palace of justice. The building is not fit to serve as such. There is no demand of work place but there is supply and the state is subsidizing it.

He goes on to state that luxury housing constructions will follow a similar path. The same goes for housing.

After some time, when people will understand that living in “rezidans” type of houses is not rational, the value of such houses will decrease and they will remain empty. In 20 years’ time, lower income groups will settle in these houses. This is the only scenario I can think of.

Profile of residents

Concerning the profile of the residents from the point of view of the officials, it has been noticed that homogeneity in the “rezidans” areas are stressed both by the

⁵⁹ A comparatively central district, which used to be out of the city about 30 years ago and was a green recreation area, now filled with high-rise office blocks.

residents and by the managers. On the other hand, an illusion of heterogeneity is presented by the administrators and sales officials. “People from all segments of society buy flats here/ live here.”

Gated communities can be considered as social island spaces, and that this fact may create the possibility that such “socially delimited spaces help provide the illusion of diversity and contact, while in reality deliver a synthetic, sanitised version of the experiences and social groups of the larger city” (Atkinson 2015, p. 12).

This is certainly understandable, but it also helps us to comprehend the mythology of the city as a space of potentially limitless and open encounters, when in reality, it is far more circumscribed and less cosmopolitan than might at first appear (Atkinson 2015, p. 13).

The staff of the sales office and of the management office of Next Level manifest an illusion of heterogeneity in terms of who lives in this housing group. According to them, all groups of people can be found here, including doctors, lawyers, architects, owners of construction companies; the owner of Pasifik İnşaat also lives here. “It is like for example you cannot ask what kind of people live in İstanbul? The answer is all kinds of people.” But they also note that these are “A+ income group” people they travel often, and mostly by plane. There are families as well as single people living here. There are people with or without children. Some of the residents use their flats as home offices. According to the staff, the residents working outside, work in all the neighbourhoods; there is not a particular concentration of neighbourhoods in terms of work place.

One respondent has made a comment on the manners of the residents. According to the staff of the management office of Park Oran, the main characteristics of people living here is that they have high income. This does not necessarily mean that they are all with manners. The way they treat the officials at the management office can sometimes be impolite. “People may insult us saying that they pay our salaries. Even a member of the parliament can say this.” Also he does not accept the fact that

people were refused to buy apartments from here if they could not bring reference from the residents (as stated by one of the residents). Still, he notes that he would love to buy an apartment here if he could afford it.

According to the management official responsible from security in Park Oran is secure for families, for female single parents. However he finds the teenagers living here disturbing. He calls them such and stresses that they are always walking around together.

The young people between the ages 13-21 always wander around together, as a big group. This is disturbing. They sometimes break things and we report them to their families and the families pay for the broken things. This is the only disturbance in our facilities.

The sales offices promote the housing group also based on other residents. According to the sales official in Park Avenue, high level bureaucrats (general directors, heads of departments in municipalities), doctors, lawyers, 7 members of the parliament, 5 active governors, bank managers have bought flats here.

Generally young couples and people with small children prefer this place. People who live in Çayyolu and Alacaatlı also buy apartments here due to its central location. This is the new city centre now. There are no offices, just residential areas. Home office is not encouraged here. We direct such demands to our other construction which is in Söğütözü.

The sales office of Sinpaş Altın Oran stated that high income groups prefer this place due to its high price, “a certain segment”⁶⁰ referring to a distinguished segment of population. The official from Yenimahalle Municipality on the other hand, believes that people who earn money without much effort buy these apartments. “They do not care about the price because they do not earn with elbow grease.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ “belli kesim” in Turkish.

⁶¹ “aln teri” in Turkish which literally means “forehead sweat”

The professionals agree on the profile of the residents in terms of income but not necessarily on their behaviours. Some try to define the negative behaviour while others have an effort to praise the housing group with the profession of the residents.

Conclusion

The interviews with the professionals disclose several aspects which are complementary to the outcome of the interviews with the residents, which will be elaborated in the coming section. The reasons of preference of “rezidans” areas were pronounced as *perceived security* and *having all facilities in close proximity/ all services delivered*. There is an emphasis on the new profile of clients in Ankara. Other points that come forward within the use of the residential areas are location, comfort, prestige, investment, a new life style; a created need by the political economy. However, exchange value of the flats bought are brought about, not often by the residents but mostly by the sales officials who underline that it is a good investment to buy flats in their groups. All these findings are related to the use and perception of space and are in line with the outcomes of the interviews with the residents.

The professionals all point out to a new use of space in Ankara. There is an agreement concerning the use of public space and the resulting production of new space. The segregating characteristics of this new use of space has been emphasized in multiple cases. This change in use of space eventually is reproduced in changing patterns of the residential capital.

Shifting of locations and changes in the perceived centre of the city are reflected in the preference of the housing groups, from the point of view of professionals. It has been noticed that this practice which tended to take place since the early years of planned Ankara has intensified and occurs much more rapidly during the course of the new use of urban space.

Concerning the planning procedures, it was revealed by the municipality officials that the planning practice has been changed through the years and that the municipality's planning office is not directly involved in the planning process anymore. It was stated by the Chamber of Architects that more than 8000 revisions in Ankara 20123 Nazım İmar Planı were made and almost all the reaction came from the chambers.

Some misconception of the city planners in the municipality about the “rezidans” areas was noticed: They do not think all the “rezidans” houses are sold, but the interviews with the sales offices of the housing groups presented just the opposite. Additionally, imitating urban life and urbanity, an illusion of heterogeneity within the residential areas was presented by the sales offices, like the residents, although homogeneity within the group was often pronounced.

One conflictual finding in general was the one concerning security. The residents often stressed security without pronouncement of an actual threat in other urban spaces. In the course of this research, the actual threat pronounced by the professionals was the risk of landslide and despite all concerns of abstract security, the actual one seems to be neglected for the sake of perceived prestige. As will be elaborated during the analysis of the interviews by the residents, although security is pronounced as one of the justifications for the preference of “rezidans” housing groups, the use of space by the residents is not limited to the facilities of the housing areas. Despite the fact that there is a limited use of urban space all over Ankara, security concerns do not cause the residents to have a total segregation. This issue shall be discussed in detail in the related section.

After this analysis of the interviews with professionals, the next section elaborates the interviews held with residents of the housing groups studied. Whether the findings of the interviews with the professionals correspond to the findings of those

with the residents shall be elaborated following the analysis of the interviews with the residents.

5.2.2 Residents of the “rezidans” areas

In this part of the research, focus has been on the residential area utilization, use and perception of urban space and perception of “urbanity” and the unit of the research was the households and their owners as the primary resources. The interviews were held with a total of **seventeen** persons from **twelve households** on perception and use of urban space and on perception of urbanity: **Park Oran (10), Park Avenue (still under construction) (2), Sinpaş Altın Oran (5)**.

The analysis of the replies received to the interview questions and open-ended discussions with the participants reveal below-mentioned issues regarding the use and perception of urban space as well as perception of urbanity.

Two of the interviewees have not moved to their place of residence, namely Park Avenue, as it is still under construction. To these interviewees, questions regarding their use and perception of space in their current neighbourhood have been asked. These respondents were also asked to reply thinking of their prospective daily use of space and current perception of space about their future neighbourhood.

One of the respondents was interviewed because she owns a flat in Sinpaş Altın Oran although she does not live there. She has rented out the apartment and therefore she was interviewed about both her current neighbourhood and her prospects about Sinpaş Altın Oran.

The interviews have been analysed under the headings of *general characteristics of the interviewees, perception of space, use of space* and *perception of urbanity*. *General characteristics of the “rezidans”* were also inquired during the interviews; these however have been analysed and combined with the data received both from

the interviews with management and sales staff of these housing groups and from the information gathered from the websites and the brochures of these groups. In this regard, the information on the residential areas provided in Chapter IV also includes the responses and therefore the knowledge and perception of the residents.

General characteristics of interviewees

The residents interviewed range between the ages 27-59. Ten people from seven households from Park Oran, two people from two households from Park Avenue and five people from three households from Sinpaş Altın Oran have been interviewed. In the four cases, both husband and wife were present in the interview. In other cases, only the wives or the husbands were interviewed. However, questions regarding their spouses were also asked. Among the interviewed, 15 are married (8 of them to each other). The number of children in families varies between 0 and 2 and it is usually the nuclear family living in the same household. In two cases the children have already left the house and in one case the wife's mother is also living with the family. The level of education of the respondents is university except for one respondent who is a high school graduate and one respondent who is currently doing her masters degree. The occupation of the residents is also diverse. Four of the female respondents have retired and one of the husbands is also retired. The husbands of three of them own their business. Four of the female respondents are currently not working. One of the husbands is a pilot, four work in a private company. Three of the respondents have their own business, two of the interviewees are doctors, one of them is a judge, one is a gym teacher in a private school and one is a civil servant.

The respondents often reported their monthly income as around 10,000 TL. This figure is in fact a vague declaration of the actual income; almost all of the respondents especially those who are working in the private sector declared this amount as the monthly family income. Some of them did not want to state it or simply said they really do not know. In this manner, a "true" evaluation of the family

income of the residents could not be made. It can be stated that the interviewees position themselves accordingly and keep their blasé attitude in terms of income as well.

In one case, the interviewee was observed to force his financial situation despite his limited income, for the sake of buying a flat in the residential group. The interview with one of the interviewees from Park Avenue was conducted one day before he got married. He was still living with his parents in Ankara in a private house in Barış Sitesi. After they get married and move to Park Avenue, it will be two people living in the household. In the meantime, all four will live in the same house in Barış Sitesi until the construction in Park Avenue will be completed in July 2016. The total income of the couple is 7500 TL and they hope it will remain so after the wife changes her job. The husband's parents will contribute 2500 TL each month for the monthly payments of the apartment.

As for travel, the working respondents travel around 3-4 times a year and business owners travel up to 10 times a year. Apart from that, all respondents travel 2-3 times in a year for holidays. One of the respondents from Sinpaş Altın Oran cannot travel in a means of transport other than her own car because of her allergies and thus she does not travel abroad as she cannot take the plane. All other respondents travel abroad.

All interviewees except two are of Turkish nationality. One of the respondents is from Yemen and she moved to Ankara one week before the interview and the other one is from Azerbaijan, living in Turkey for ten years. They both moved to Turkey because of marriage. Table 3 indicates the general information about the residents interviewed. The names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.⁶²

⁶² Political orientation of the residents was not inquired. However the responses indicated that almost all the respondents are secular-minded, not conservative (conservative in Turkish context), but with nationalistic/republican orientation. One respondent on the other hand declared himself to be conservative but with a secular life style.

Table 3: Residents interviewed

RESIDENTS									
No	Name ⁶³	Location	Age	Occupation	Education	Marital status	# of children & household members	Monthly income of household (TL)	Price and type of flat bought
1	Yeşim	Park Oran	46	Retired from own business	University	Married	2 (4 in the household)	10,000	750.000 TL in 2011 (with 30%+17% discount on reference and research) 3+1
2	Serdar	Park Oran	48	Owens his business	University				
3	Aynur	Park Oran	47	Retired civil servant (husband owns business)	University	Married	2 (4 in the household)	10,000	620.000 TL in 2007 (settled in 2010) 4+1
4	Fatima (from Yemen)	Park Oran	30	Does not work (husband pilot)	University	Married	0 (2 in the household)	Did not say	600.000, 1 month before the interview, 2+1
5	Pelin (from Azerbaijan)	Park Oran	44	Electrical engineer, currently not working (husband distributor in Baku)	University	Married	2 (5 in the household incl. her mom)	Did not say	760.000 in 2011, 3+1
6	Necla	Park Oran	59	Retired teacher (husband owns construction company)	University	Married	2 (2 in the household)	Did not say	750.000 in 2011, 3+1


⁶³ All names used in this research are pseudonyms.

Table 3 (continued)

7	Ayşe	Park Oran	39	Doctor	University	Married	2 (4 in the household)	Did not say	750.000 in 2011, 4+1
8	Veli	Park Oran	40	Doctor	University				
9	Muhammet	Park Oran	36	Engineer, Works in family company	University	Married	1 (3 in the household)	Did not say	800.000 in 2013, 3+1
10	Öznur	Park Oran	30	Currently not working	University				
11	Cemile	Park Avenue	27	Judge (Husband also judge)	Having masters studies	Married	0 (2 in the household)	10,000-15,000	410.000 in 2013 3+1
12	Mehmet	Park Avenue	33	Civil servant (wife English teacher in private school)	University	To be married the day after the interview	0 (2 in the household)	7,500	550.000 in 2014 3+1
13	Neşe	Sinpaş Altın Oran (rented out)	50	Retired from bank (husband the same)	University	Married	1 (3 in the household)	10,000	220.000 in 2013 before construction completed, 1+1
14	Şule	Sinpaş Altın Oran (telephone interview)	51	Not working, husband mechanical engineer in a private company	High school	Married	2 (moves btw Ank-İst-İzmir)	Did not say	500.000 in 2015, 2.5+1
15	Ali	Sinpaş Altın Oran	29	Owns his café	University	Single	0	Did not say	

Table 3 (continued)

16	Esra	Sinpaş Altın Oran	58	Gym teacher at TED Ankara College	University	Married	2 (2 in the household)	Did not say	409.000 in 2012 (but had the finishing works completed for 70.000), moved in 2015, 3+1
17	Ahmet	Sinpaş Altın Oran	59	Manager in private gym	University				
18	Belkıs ⁶⁴	Kalender Evleri	47	Housewife	High school	Married	2	Did not want to say	
19	Öykü	FELT UNEASY AND QUIT THE INTERVIEW							

 Not included in the research.

⁶⁴ This interview is provided in Appendix C without elaboration.

Perception of space

*Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects
and many contributing currents,
signifying and non-signifying, perceived and directly experienced,
practical and theoretical.
Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space*

The main aim of exploring the perception of space by the respondents is to explore how perception of space leads to use of space and to their preference in use of newly produced residential areas. In other words, the objective is to find out how they perceive urban space, and to comprehend how this perception leads to their use of space and perception of urbanity so that they prefer to live in “rezidans” type of houses.

“What is spatial practice under neocapitalism?” Lefebvre asks. “It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life and leisure)” (Lefebvre 1991, p. 38). Therefore there is close association between daily use of space and its perception, and the replies of the interviewees reflected this. The perception of space of the interviewees were inquired firstly by *perception of urban space through perception of a city in general and Ankara in particular*. The other item is perception of residential space in a *comparative manner with their previous neighbourhood, perception of neighbourhood and reasons for living in Ankara*.

Perception of urban space: “Ankara is a city with an order”

The first item to inquire about the perception of urban space is how the respondents perceive and describe Ankara and a city in general in a comparative manner with other cities to which they have been, in Turkey or abroad. Although while exploring about this aspect the respondents were not directed to any specific concept, their replies revolved around similar views.

For the most part, comparison of Ankara is made with İstanbul. One respondent compared Ankara with Konya, one with İzmir and one with Kayseri and Amasya. No comparison was made with cities abroad except by two respondents, although all respondents but one have been abroad. Cities are mostly described in terms of social facilities they offer, longing for variety of daily activities, feeling of being stuck to the same circle of people and activities. In comparison to İstanbul, Ankara is found to be simpler, with fewer things to do but advantageous in terms of accessibility.

The perceptions of the interviewees about Ankara can be grouped as quiet, calm, orderly, neat (mazbut), clean, with cultural environment (conflictual because little mention of cultural activities during their daily rhythm), with its respectful people, systematic, structural, comfortable, with no sufficient green areas, good quality education, no transportation problems, easy to live and with dry climate.

Compactness and being orderly seem to combat with the need of variety. Accessibility and being around the same circle of people are presented both as an advantage and as a feeling of constraint. “Ankara is for living, İstanbul is for travelling as a tourist,” states Pelin.

This perception of the city is in complete conflict with the preference of “rezidans” areas where seclusion, desire for homogeneity, locational advantage are stressed. This issue shall be handled at the coming sections. Still, it is imperative to note here that this has been one of the conflictual findings of this research.

Being an orderly city is the primary statement in the perception of Ankara, almost by all of the respondents. According to Ekici (2004, p. 65) the meanings the citizens attach to the city are supported by the “order of the city.” This idea of order, definitely influences “the subjective worlds of the inhabitants and their image of the city.”

Accessibility tied to order is emphasized by all of the respondents both from the point of light traffic and of proximity to the facilities. Accessibility and “not so heavy traffic” are mentioned by all of the respondents. According to many of the respondents, Ankara is a city with a certain order, with light traffic, with no transportation problems since everything is in close proximity.

Concerning perception of urban space, the respondents were asked to compare Ankara with other cities. Most of the respondents point out to the facility of traffic however note that it has intensified in the recent years. Still, almost all of the respondents compared the traffic of Ankara with that of İstanbul. “İstanbul exhausts me (Çok yoruluyorum ben orada). It is not the case in Ankara, I do not get tired here,” (Aynur).

One respondent while comparing Ankara to İstanbul and İzmir, he finds the latter two very disordered, though he finds İzmir to be better in this sense. He points out to better living environment and much better panorama in İstanbul but still finds Ankara more desirable than these two. His points of emphasis are also related to leisure activities. In the end, the perception of being orderly prevails.

I lived in İstanbul for a while after graduation from university. I worked and lived in Büyükçekmece and found the opportunity for leisure activities such as fishing. I also found time to go around places. I believe there is good panorama and places to visit in İzmir as well. Still, considering all Turkish cities, there are less number of cafés, parks and places to visit, compared to European cities. And these are the most important criteria in a city for me. Although Ankara is not sufficient in this sense, I like it because it has a certain order.

Among all interviewees, he is one of the two, comparing cities in other countries and Ankara, although all of the interviewees except one, travelled abroad. This indicates lack of perception of urban space while travelling and lack of attention.

The other respondent to compare Ankara with a city abroad is Esra. She refers to the parks in Frankfurt and complains that Ankara lacks such public green areas. They go to Eymir in the weekends but complain that it is too crowded and that there are no separate lanes for bicycles. “We go there to have some peace and quiet in the weekend but even going there and coming back becomes annoying (sinir harbi) due to heavy traffic.” She and Ahmet admit on the other hand, that they cannot live in Kayseri and Amasya, their hometowns, they like Ankara. Their statements are contradictory to the perceived order of the city.

Some statements include sentiments on the city and the services it offers, as well as emphasis on order and convenience for their daily use of space. One respondent, Şule, compares it to İstanbul, where she spends a few months of the year, in terms of traffic and availability of parking space in the city.

I am originally from İstanbul. I have lived in Ankara for 16 years. I cried as I had to move back to İstanbul, I hate this city (Dönerken ağlayarak geldim, ben bu kentten nefret ediyorum). The other day I had to have my photo taken. I went to the photographer but could not have my photo taken because I could not find a parking space and had to go back home. İstanbul is not a liveable city. Ankara is peaceful, I feel safe here. In addition to this, I trust better the doctors in Ankara.

Comparison of Ankara with other cities encompass sentiments. All of the respondents stated that they love Ankara. “Ankara candır,” (Ankara is my precious/sweet pea) notes Şule. “I love Ankara (ben Ankara’yı seviyorum derim),” notes Esra.

Among physical qualities, cleanliness of Ankara is noted by the respondents. Some respondents find Ankara as a clean city, especially in shopping malls. Another emphasis is on the perceived quiet and calm qualities of Ankara, although this perception is limited to the places within their cognitive map; i.e., based on their daily use of space. Yeşim thinks this neighbourhood is closer to her in terms of life style, parks, built environment, cultural environment etc. It is different for her from

other neighbourhoods. She has lived in Ankara for 25 years and her calm and quiet perception of the city is founded on her perception of Çankaya neighbourhood. “I cannot drive in neighbourhoods with intense traffic. For such occasions I take dolmuş instead. I find transportation generally to be easy in Ankara unlike İstanbul.”

Another aspect related to order brought forward by the respondents within the framework of comparison of Ankara with other cities, is the structural and systematic qualities of Ankara. This is exemplified mostly by the quality of services provided.

Yeşim has stated:

Receiving response for any problem you raise is much easier in Ankara. Ankara is more “systematic”, more “structural”, compared to other small cities, Konya for example. Things do not depend on personal attitude but are structurally established in terms of services. For example returning a product with which you are not satisfied is much easier in Ankara. Also in hospitals, you do not need to know somebody, which is the case in Konya, in order to have even a simple registration process. Services are more developed and more institutional in Ankara.

Qualities of people of Ankara are mentioned by some of the respondents. Apart from defining cities with respect to their climate, traffic intensity, the quality of services in general, particular emphasis is on the attitude of people towards each other. “People are respectful to each other in Ankara, unlike in other cities, for example in Antalya,” (Yeşim), “Ankara is ‘mazbut’” (Pelin).

Career opportunities related to bureaucracy is brought forward by some of the respondents. Neşe states that in Ankara, one is closer to bureaucratic environment. There is better quality education for the kids. According to her it is convenient to live in Ankara with an average income. The city was also good for career opportunities for her as she used to work for a bank with lots of branches; it was convenient for promotions.

Despite the positive emphasis on the qualities of Ankara, there are contrasting perceptions about its “liveable” qualities among the respondents. Some have underlined that Ankara is a liveable city while some have stressed just the opposite. These considerations are centered around environmental qualities, the lack of green areas, insufficient variety of activities and mostly the feeling of being limited to the same environment. Mehmet stated:

There is no liveable environment, not sufficient green areas. It is not a spacious (ferah) city, there are no spaces of leisure or wondering around with security. There are alternative living spaces like Çayyolu and Bağlıca but they are far away from the city centre.

Another common point of understanding is on the insufficiency of places to visit in Ankara. “There is no zoo for example. We take the kids to malls and to movies. They meet their friends and that is all” (Pelin).

There are no sufficient park areas in Ankara. We have our own green area but think of Çankaya, for the regular apartment buildings. There is only Lozan park. Apart from that, the retired people have no opportunity to spend time in parks (Yeşim).

Having noted all the positive qualities about Ankara, Aynur declares that she would prefer to live in a city by the sea. “This is a disadvantage for Ankara but in the end, the sea is not inaccessible to me. We can always go to another city for a few days and enjoy the sea.”

Although Ankara is defined on the basis of being able to find everything needed, some respondents find the city centre as chaotic; “you cannot find a space to breathe,” (Neşe). It is a subject of complaint that the cafés are limited to those inside the shopping malls and that Ankara is not a 24-hour living city, unlike İstanbul.

All of the respondents underline accessibility, security. “Feeling safe in a city is important for me,” (Şule). Ankara is usually attributed positive qualities. Conflictually, being ordered and compact and accessible may turn out to be a

negative aspect in terms of lack of variety of activities. Compared to İstanbul, the respondents find Ankara simpler, with fewer things to do here. Some of them have the impression that they live in a restricted environment; for example Aynur has not been to Ulus for a long time. Her friends live around the same vicinity and she feels to be restricted to a small area with the same circle of people who carry out almost the same activities. “We can go to Paris for the weekend for example together, if we suddenly come up with the idea.” Their circle of friends all live in the same neighbourhood; they have even bought summer houses in the same place. “We compose our own environment with the same people. Things would be different if we all lived in İstanbul and we would have our own separate activities.”

A restricted space perceived linked to use of space is often described by the interviewees. A world of their own, with a limited sense of activities which allow them to meet only a limited number of people present the feeling of constraint as well as preference for seclusion. “In our neighbourhood, friends and their family members live in Park Oran. We all meet in Panora. This is because we do not have much choice. We prefer such an environment and we choose to do the same things” (Aynur).

It has been observed that they prefer such a life style but at the same time feel stuck to it although they have created it themselves. A longing for a variety, but still within their limitations can be revealed from their statements. “It would be different in İstanbul. In İstanbul there are many places like this. In Ankara, what we seek is security, facilities with the same type of people.”

Perception of urban space-reasons for living in Ankara: “Good quality education, dry climate, because I was born and raised here”

The reasons for living in Ankara were also tried to be elaborated in order to grasp the perception of urban space by the respondents. Urban qualities such as quality of education for their kids, dry climate, respectful people, easy transport, and other

affiliations such as just because they were born here, family members, work, marriage, are the pronounced reasons for living in Ankara.

As one respondent indicates, “I was born and raised here. I studied, worked, got married, had my kids in Ankara. No special reason. It is just that I was here. Ankara is the city where I grew up and where all my loved ones are.” (Aynur)

Perception of residential space: “Here, after all it is just an apartment.”

“In Park Avenue, I will be imprisoned in an apartment but I will still have a view from my balcony and window.”

Following the inquiries about perception of urban space, perception of residential space was searched firstly via comparison of previous and current neighbourhoods. The comparisons of previous and current neighbourhoods are made by the interviewees on the basis of accessibility to daily activities, the quality of the houses, availability of facilities, neighbourhood’s environmental qualities, proximity to city centre and to shopping malls as well as their sentiments about the neighbourhoods.

Some of the interviewees used to live in houses with garden. Their comparisons revolve around how free and preferable life is in the garden. Still, they have various reasons not to prefer a house with a garden but a “rezidans.”

One main reason to move from a private house is accessibility to the places of daily activities. Two of the residents of Park Oran, Yeşim and Serdar, own a family house with a garden in Türkkonut, which is very distant from the city centre, and they moved from there. The wife prefers to live there but for reasons of accessibility emerging from their daily use of space, (taking kids to sports activities etc.), they moved here because Türkkonut is far away for the activities of their children. When the kids will be grown up, she wants to move back. “Here, after all it is just an apartment. Here I want to go out more than I did in Türkkonut because there is no garden here. In Türkkonut, I did not feel the need to go anywhere else.”

In this case, a direct relation between daily use of space and selective perception of space can be observed around which the comparison of neighbourhoods evolve. In other cases, environmental qualities of the neighbourhood come forward. One respondent while comparing his previous (Etlik, a relatively central neighbourhood), current (Barış Sitesi, now in a central neighbourhood, previously constructed as a low-density one) and future (Park Avenue) neighbourhoods, makes emphasis on “being squeezed,” “peaceful and green.” Green areas and spaciousness are the comparison criteria.

In Park Avenue, I will be imprisoned in an apartment but I will still have a view from my balcony and window. The view is AOC, presidential palace from the 32nd floor. It is not as peaceful and green as Barış sitesi but I will be able to take a walk in the green areas and watch a movie, all within the “rezidans” per se, and not in the neighbourhood.

Actually it seems that he will not be able to receive the panorama he desires, as the residential area is surrounded by other residential areas and industrial areas. A misleading promotion and perception is detected in this contradictory case.

Along with practical points, the comparison of neighbourhoods was sometimes made based on sentiments. Maintenance of the soul of the city can be ensured through a continuous construction of everyday experience and enduring living and working practices. This soul is lost when these practices are interrupted and places of habit disappeared (Zukin, 2010 a, p.6). In this regard, the perception of the respondents was tried to be elaborated on the basis of the familiar practices and spaces. However, the responses indicated more a series of practices of a newly established social life rather than familiar practices. Few respondents indicated sentimental attachments. There is one case where the respondent realized that she misses her previous neighbourhood where she lived in a house with a garden. “My house in Çayyolu is freedom (Çayyolu’ndaki evim özgürlükmüş)! I did not notice until now. It is peaceful, there is no noise,” stated Şule, in comparison of her current apartment in Sinpaş Altın Oran with her previous house with a garden in Çayyolu. In these

examples, it has been noticed that a sentiment of being stuck is accompanied with a feeling of prestige and convenience of location.

Some of the respondents used to live in gated communities, not very luxurious compared to “rezidans” type of housing. This type is called “site” in Turkish. They are basically gated housing groups without any or with less facilities than the “rezidans” areas accommodate. The emphasis of the interviewees who moved from “site”s, is mainly on the facilities and professional management of their new housing group. The “rezidans” areas are found of higher quality, desirable, distinct, with clean air, with green areas and close to everything such as shopping areas and schools. Presence of a mall within the “rezidans” facilities is also reported as a positive quality. “Here we have Panora which is an important advantage for us,” (Aynur from Park Oran).

Convenience of location and affordability within the range of relative proximity to the spaces of daily use come forward especially for Park Avenue. One future resident of Park Avenue, describes Park Avenue as closer (10 km) to the city centre than her current neighbourhood (Turkuaz TOKİ, 40 km).

It is also new. (Bir de yeni ev istiyordum, eski evleri sevmiyorum). Balgat and 100. Yıl are more centrally located. Park Avenue is not at a very desirable location, it is across industrial areas. But considering the prices, it was the most convenient and most affordable one for us.

Interviewees from Park Avenue often stressed its central location and affordability, although the price of apartments is above 500.000 TL., which is relatively low in comparison with other “rezidans” groups but still beyond affordability with current wages.

Some of the respondents on the other hand, used to live in regular apartment houses in the city. Their concepts for comparison are also linked to security, green areas, and the quality of their neighbourhood. One resident (Pelin) interviewed from Park Oran

used to live in Öveçler. “I find Park Oran of higher quality, secure, desirable, with green areas and close to everything I need in Ankara, such as shopping areas and schools.”

Previous central neighbourhoods are often referred to as “old and ruined,” however some of the respondents voice their sentiments about the old neighbourhood referring to the relations with neighbours and a more traditional urban life.

When I first moved from Esat, I thought I would never get used to high-rise buildings. I even lived in a house where we had a stove and then converted to central heating. But you get used to luxury very easily. I still see my previous neighbours. Here in Sinpaş, I do not know anyone (Esra from Sinpaş).

Comparison of neighbourhoods also includes the peaceful qualities of the housing group, arising from construction (free) activities and therefore the related understanding of the management. Neşe, who has rented out her apartment in Sinpaş Altın Oran, complains that in Yaşamkent, where she currently lives, the small constructions and renovations have not ceased even after completion of the construction.

In Sinpaş however, they allow you six months only to carry out any additional construction, if any. It is in our contract. When they submit the apartments, the construction has been completed to the full extent. For example they do not allow you to close the balconies.

The respondent heard that in İncek Loft, another “rezidans” area, no construction is allowed at all, after submitting the apartment. In this sense, the “rezidans” type of housing is much more preferable for her.

The other resident from Sinpaş, Şule on the other hand is complaining about this “six months only” duration allowed for the finishing works of construction. It is remarkable how opposing views were presented about the same housing group. This may be given the fact that Neşe is not currently living there and has a perception of admiration from outside. Other residents of Sinpaş Altın Oran also complain that the

six-month duration was not kept up by the administration and this gave them disturbance. They moved here for peaceful qualities but could not find peace yet.

Şule contests Neşe's positive opinions about Sinpaş. She is even considering to move back to Çayyolu where she lived before. She still keeps their house in Çayyolu intact. Her building in Sinpaş is adjacent to the construction company's another "rezidans" construction, Marina Ankara and she is utterly disturbed both by this construction which will go on for years and for the on-going finishing works in her own neighbourhood. "I came across face to face with a man on the crane at 3 am. because of Marina Ankara construction."

That part of Ankara indeed, is facing the new production of space in accordance with capitalist policies and is full of construction of similar housing groups. All these statements conflict with the claims of peacefulness of the residential areas. While the very chic sales offices present a totally peaceful and distinct image, the reality of production of space on-going even after residence begins, brings about a disappointment and a mismatch with the original claims. Şule complains about overall physical qualities of Sinpaş, inconvenience of the parking space included. Besides she does not find the people living in Sinpaş equivalent to her life style. "Here, it is like social housing. Çayyolu is silent and peaceful whereas Sinpaş is full of noise due to on-going constructions." This point indicates the contrast between the presented picture of the "rezidans" areas and the actual case, which may be interpreted as specific for the Turkish cities even in the luxurious residential areas.

Apart from the peaceful qualities, security issue is stressed by the respondents within the frame of comparison of neighbourhoods. Despite all the complaint she has about Sinpaş, Şule noted that where they lived in Çayyolu, not all the houses were constructed yet. "There are empty plots and there is no security there, it is not gated. We decided to live in a smaller house but with security." Another resident from Park

Oran, Fatima, used to live in Yemen. “I find it secure here, my husband finds it secure. Besides, I am glad that it includes facilities, especially gym.”

Perception of residential space: “Distinct, European, illuminated (ışıl ışıl)”

“People will live there, we live here across the street and we shall not get to know them, see them. This type of residence areas segregates people.”

Another item with which perception of residential space was inquired is related to how the respondents perceive and describe their neighbourhood, both in the sense of wider neighbourhood and in the meaning of the “rezidans” area in particular.

According to Latham, the city as perceived by the middle class is comparable to an entertainment area, where it is possible only to visit, shop, akin to a theme park. (Latham 2003, p. 1699). Indeed, the outcomes of the interviews reflect such an approach, not at the urban scale but particularly at the scale of their own residential areas.

The concept of neighbourhood satisfaction can encompass a wide range of priorities by different people. Some studies conclude fear of crime or the need to feel personal safety are the principal indicators of neighbourhood satisfaction while other studies attach less significance on security. They also claim that some studies indicate the significance of neighbourhood attributes such as friendliness of the neighbours (Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson, 2002, pp. 2414-2415, 2417). Their research indicates housing satisfaction and the overall looks of the area to be directly related to neighbourhood satisfaction. They however note that the reverse may also hold true which they have not searched; i.e., neighbourhood attributes for neighbourhood satisfaction can also influence housing satisfaction. The researchers also argue that other factors such as crime, noise, schools, community spirit and friendliness of people also affect neighbourhood satisfaction (Parkes, Kearns and Atkinson, 2002, pp. 2435-2436).

In this present research, with regards to perception of neighbourhood, neighbourhood satisfaction was pronounced with emphasis on homogeneity, green areas, proximity to city centre, distinctive qualities described with the terms “European,” “illuminated (ışıl ışıl)” and one emphasis on segregation. In this regard, the findings of the above-mentioned research seem to match with those of this present research on the neighbourhood attributes concerning the overall looks of the area and the qualities of the neighbours.

How the respondents perceive and describe their neighbourhood is in general varied. Çankaya, for example, is found “distinct”. Some of the respondents find that the lifestyle here is close to theirs as well as the general profile of the people. The accent is on homogeneity and distance.

I like to interact with people but at the same time find it important to keep my distance. I can find this in my neighbourhood, in fact in Çankaya in general. I prefer to have homogeneous type of people living in the same neighbourhood. I would not consider living in Yenimahalle, Keçiören or Mamak. Here I live in an apartment but I would not consider living in for example Keçiören, even if I owned a private house with a garden there. I would consider İncek however (Yeşim).

This statement provides information as to the relations with the neighbours as well, which shall be elaborated below. Also in this statement, a cognitive map of the city is apparent, based on homogeneity. Homogeneity is emphasized as a positive quality of their neighbourhood, by most of the other respondents as well. They think that the people living in Park Oran are homogeneous in terms of life style and mentality. It is also noted that many foreigners live here too. Physical environment here is described as beautiful, “European.”

According to one respondent from Park Oran, this is a big residence group, it is like a city in itself. There are extended family members living in this residence group, living in different blocks. They are far and near in a sense. They sometimes help each

other with the kids and other matters. But at the same time they are not too close. Necla and her children are an example for such extended families.

Normally you would not want to live in the same building with your adult children, you do not want to use the same gate. But we are close enough to help each other when needed. Besides, we can make use of the same facilities.

Keeping the distance yet being close enough for social interaction is the main point of description of social life linked to perception of space. This may explain what seems conflictual at first place, concerning homogeneity and neighbourly relationships.

Another emphasis concerning perception of neighbourhood is on the green areas the “rezidans” has. All respondents from Park Oran believe Oran is green and this is not only thanks to their housing group but the existence of the woods in Oran adds to the quality of their place. Sinpaş Altın Oran on the other hand, is defined with its facilities to offer whatever one may need, despite mentioning loose or no neighbourly relations as a negative aspect. Availability of a bicycle lane in one of the residential groups is considered as a positive aspect by one respondent. “It is a modern city, a ‘site’ and multifunctional. A European city,” (Esra).

Proximity to city centre, to work or to the places of particular interest are other characteristics in describing the respondents’ neighbourhood. In particular, Park Avenue is described as such. One respondent states its significance as being close to the housing units of the Ministry of Justice (lojman) and adds that they will be close to their friends living there. In this sense, being close to the people she feels affiliated with seems similar with the approach of the residents of Park Oran. On the other hand, she underlines proximity to the city centre (compared to her current home). According to her, the group has a living area of its own and it is close to the subway.

This is very attractive to me. I do not want to spend a lot of time while going to work. It is a liveable environment for me. I have always lived in a green environment and close to centre. So with these two properties (proximity to centre and liveable), all other choices were beyond my affordability (Mehmet).

Despite the pronunciation of overall satisfaction, some of the respondents refer to the segregating and isolating characteristics of their residential areas. In line with the findings by Atkinson and Flint, this type of housing creates segregation beyond the residential area (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 875-876). The communitarian ideal mentioned might not hold for the Turkish cases but its translation may be neighbourly relations without segregation. On the other hand, the influence of the gated communities has implications far beyond the fact that the wealthy have the means to live apart from the wider population but their exclusion from the urban space brings about problems concerning the quality of civic spaces and institutions. Their argument is revolved around the fact that the

...gated communities provide a refuge that is attached to social networks, leisure, schooling and the workplace via paths which are used to avoid unwanted social contact. Our argument is that each of these spaces more or less segregates its occupants from social contact with different social groups, leading us to suggest that the impact of such residential division resembles a seam of partition running spatially and temporally through cities, what we term time-space trajectories of segregation (Atkinson and Flint 2004,877).

It should be noted that security is targeted not only for the protection of the residents against serious crimes but also for avoiding daily social encounters. Urban experience of the upper-middle class requires a selective confronting with the others. This pattern of segregation goes beyond residential segregation and is extended to work and leisure which consequently will have negative effect on social cohesion and the goal of diversity. In that case, “how is empathy for inequality and social problems engendered if it is never or rarely experienced?” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp.877, 880)

The need for safety and security and to feel in a homogeneous residential place have been pronounced as driving motives for spatial segregation but also everyday patterns of people manifest such a desire. In the case study of the gated communities where services were located within the residential area, the residents had little need to go out of the premises further isolating them from surrounding areas (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 876, 885, 890).

The finding here is that the spatial trajectories of gated community residents were segregated at a series of points in their repeated daily patterns of movement—in their shopping, leisure, schooling and home life which were cut-off from the wider community and which did not bring economic benefits to the local area.

Although the findings of this present research indicate limited use of the facilities of the “rezidans” group, their use of space manifests “repeated daily patterns of movement of spatial trajectories.” Therefore the findings of this research prove to be partially in line with the urban literature on gated communities. In the case of Ankara, the residents are not completely segregated in their residential area but still are confined to a limited space at urban scale.

With another approach, according to Sennett, isolation has two connotations; the first being the isolation of the inhabitants from the surrounding their housing is situated and the second one being self-isolation in a “private shame” (Sennett 1977, p. 14). Concerning the perception of the neighbourhoods in terms of segregation as a negative aspect, this issue is mentioned by two of the respondents. One of the respondents, Şule finds neighbourhoods transferred from squatter areas as “segregated.” She believes her neighbourhood in İstanbul, Aġaoġlu residential area in Çekmeköy is such and Sinpaş in Ankara too.

We came here from a different area, transformed their neighbourhood, we seized the neighbourhood from them and created segregation. Young residents of the squatter areas used to stop in front of our cars in İstanbul. I feel this area in Ankara, in a manner is the same.

Another respondent, Yeşim, while praising homogeneity, in a conflictual position, also remarks on segregation. With an emphasis on segregation, she notes:

People will live there, we live here across the street and we shall not get to know them, see them. This type of residence areas segregates people. Sometimes people are segregated based on their political ideas. When we wanted to buy this apartment 30 % (with a reference from residents) + 17 % (they approved us) reduction was made. Another friend of my husband could not get this decrease and also was not approved so he did not buy the apartment. They make discrimination and create segregation in order to increase the quality of people.

These remarks by the two respondents indicate a major conflictual position between their remarks on segregation and their preference of residence. Another example, although not directly related to segregation, can be associated with it in the meaning that these residential groups are referred to as “luxury housing.” One respondent, Esra, from Sinpaş Altın Oran felt uncomfortable during the interview when her area of residence was described as luxury housing.

I used to feel embarrassed when my father’s driver dropped me to school when I was in high school. I was studying in state school and my friends were not so well off and I used to beg our driver to drop me a little down the street so that no one would see me coming by car. You may say, ‘if you are uncomfortable, then leave the house.’ I did actually, Park Vadi, my previous neighbourhood, was more luxurious.

Conclusion for perception of space

As a conclusion of this part of the research, it can be deferred that the perception of urban space in general revolves around the issues of environmental qualities, homogeneity of inhabitants, perception of distinctive qualities of the city, quality education opportunities, order, accessibility, intensity of traffic, being systematic and structural, variety of daily activities and segregation.

In comparison of Ankara with other cities, it is notable that comparison with İstanbul was made the most, particularly on the intensity of traffic. It was also worth the attention as only two of the respondents compared Ankara to a city abroad, although

all respondents except one, often travel to other countries. Cultural facilities of a city is mentioned by few of the respondents. It will be seen in the section related to perception of urbanity however that, there has been little mention of cultural and artistic activities.

Perception of residential space is directly related to daily use of space and thus a relatively selective perception of space has been noted around which the comparison of neighbourhoods evolve. In other cases, environmental qualities of the neighbourhood come forward. Existence of green areas and spaciousness are the comparison criteria while there is a significant emphasis on “being squeezed” and “peaceful and green” characteristics of the “rezidans” groups. These are contradictory concepts indicating contradictory characteristics of space. A place can mean one and/or the other to the very same person depending on the perception. A sentiment of being stuck is often accompanied with a feeling of prestige and convenience of location with the illusion of spaciousness. It is imperative to note that none of this has been conceived as contradictory by the respondents.

Peaceful characteristics of residential areas are contested also with the on-going construction activities. There is a disparity between the peaceful and distinct image presented by the very chic sales offices and the reality of non-ceasing construction activities within and around the housing groups.

This perception of the city in general, and of Ankara in particular as an orderly city is in total conflict with the preference of “rezidans” areas, as will be seen in the coming sections, where seclusion, desire for homogeneity, locational advantage are stressed, which in fact has been one of the conflictual findings of this research.

Yet another conflict in perception of space is that a restricted perceived space, linked to use of space, where a world of their own, with a limited sense of activities which allow the respondents to meet only a limited number of people, present the feeling of

constraint as well as preference for seclusion. This matter is also presented by the findings related to the use of space.

Perceived space on the basis of social relations is one of the findings of this section. Maintaining a certain distance yet being close enough for social interaction has been one of the main points of description of social life linked to perception of space. This perception seems in line with eventual preference for this particular type of housing. In a manner, “rezidans” areas can be described as the spatial manifestation of the blasé attitude. However, the issue of segregation stressed by two of the respondents indicate a major conflictual position between their remarks on segregation and their preference of residence. Representation of Ankara as an orderly city also appears to be in conflict with the choice of residence; a desire for seclusion and provision of all services delivered within the area of residence do not necessarily overlap. Therefore it can be concluded that the perception of space of the respondents support partially their preference of the “rezidans” areas.

Use of space

In reality, social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects, both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act.

...

Let everyone look at the space around them.

What do they see? Do they see time?

They live time, after all; they are in time. Yet all anyone sees is movements.

Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space

Use of space of the respondents was elaborated based on their daily patterns, schedule and activities. First of all, the interviewees were asked to narrate *one day of theirs*. The second item investigated was whether the respondents *spent time in their neighbourhoods*; the third item the *reasons for preferring to live in this neighbourhood/housing group*; and the fourth the *mostly visited and mostly liked parts of Ankara*.

Firstly, in order to define their use of urban space, the respondents were asked to describe *one day of theirs*, where they go, how they go there, which routes they use, how they come back home etc. The main findings concerning daily use of space is mostly consumption-based and via using isolated public spaces, namely shopping malls. In this manner, isolation and consumption have conjoined to produce a new and “desirable” use of space. In accordance with Sennett’s emphasis, the new forms of urban public space has isolated urban events from the street (Sennett 1977, p. 12). The use of space patterns of the respondents of this present research illustrate such a retreat from the street. Urry underlines that places are being restructured as centres for consumption and that places themselves are being consumed (Urry 2004, pp. 55-56) and this research also reveals such connotations.

Zukin, notes that new consumption spaces in the urban realm reinvent the urban community (Zukin, 2010a, p. 20). In line with her assertion that privatized public space reinforces social inequality, the findings of this present research indicate use of space in malls, meeting with family and friends in such places with restricted entry of the greater population thus ensuring homogeneous public confrontation, with limited variety. Consumption-based leisure constitutes the major part of daily use of space, utilizing the public space as their own private space.

Power embodied in cities has combined consumption and repression since the 1980s and that consumer culture enabled the people to make peace with the city (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 230). Similarly, public space has been converted to being “consumption-oriented, filtering and excluding” (Kes Erkul, 2015). Latham also clarifies the crucial place of consumption in the urban political economy discourses (Latham 2003, p. 1713). This aspect provides a reference for the perception of urbanity, which will be demonstrated in the next section to be particularly consumption-oriented.

Besides consumption, Latham’s case studies demonstrate the specificity of urban events. The findings of this present research however do not reveal any particular

characteristics of the urban events for the respondents. An exceptional case is the participation of some of the residents of Park Oran in the spring festival organized by the management. In this regard, the vivid life as advertised in the promotion materials of Sinpaş Altın Oran, with a mention of open air concerts and water displays could also be named under this category. However, this is quite limited within the housing group and not spread to the urban space in general. In this aspect, the findings of the urban literature do not overlap with the findings of this research in Ankara.

Another item searched during this research was the existence of a will for full seclusion and what it meant for the residents. Inclinations of the super-rich are represented around two major points: safety/security and engagement/public presence. In their research conducted in İstanbul, Töre and Som have concluded that the participants in their research living in gated communities prefer to conduct their activities mostly in the closed prestigious urban spaces, such as malls, and that they have no physical and social contact with the neighbourhood in which their gated community is located, except for the use of transportation axis (Töre and Som 2009, p. 129). This finding also is line with Atkinson and Flint's analogy of "corridors" as well as the use of public spaces, mostly of malls as their private space. The use of space by the respondents of this research revealed such a manner of segregation, or a desire towards it, to state the least.

As regards to isolation in public urban space, mobilities may contribute to the retreat of wealthier groups to spatial and social isolation which reflect spaces like "institutional settings, work and leisure sites" (Atkinson 2015, p.4). Although this statement is not a one-to-one correspondence to the findings of this present research and only slight hints of such requirements of privacy during the use of space were detected, Next Level, the "rezidans" which was removed from the scope of this thesis due to the inaccessibility of the sample carries implications of such an extreme exclusion. According to the staff and the concept consultant interviewed, the

management provides the residents, in exchange with a price, airport transfer, purchase of concert tickets and dry-cleaning service which in fact is an indication of an “oysterization.” No such direct and clear evidence was grasped with the residents of the housing groups included in the scope of this thesis.

Whether the respondents identified themselves with the places of daily use was tried to be comprehended in the course of this research. In one research, gathered qualitative data was gathered on the “place-based identities” of residents, their daily use of public space including the social dynamics of semi-public spaces, like hotel lobbies, pubs, restaurants, the role of local service providers in producing the assembly of network comfort, the social networks and institutional life of the neighbourhood, and a better comprehension of “the relative levels of and rationales for public presence and spatialised withdrawal into these neighbourhoods, gated communities and fortified homes” (Atkinson 2015, p. 8). This present research indicates use of space materialised in retreating into the malls and consequent identity-production based on place in the form of leisure and socializing.

This withdrawal and identity-production is performed by the practices of daily use of space. It has been noted that daily use of space is based on consumption-oriented leisure, a form of socializing by window-shopping, and spending time in the cafés of the malls. The replies revealed that the respondents are not making use of sports facilities, nor any other facilities of their “rezidans” although they find their existence as a positive quality. They spend time in the mall of the rezidans if any. Taking a walk is the maximum way for practicing any sports. A limited use of urban space is noticed and it is restricted to certain neighbourhoods. Isolation and seclusion have been observed to be the main characteristics of daily use of space. The interviewees mostly use their cars and occasionally use dolmuş in order to access the central and denser parts of the city. Within the scope of their daily use of space, almost no cultural involvement is present with few exceptions.

Use of urban space: “I meet my friends in a café in Panora”

“We never stay at home on weekends”

Daily use of urban space is almost similar for the residents of the housing groups studied. The retired or not working wives have similar daily use of space based on daily house routines such as shopping and cooking and meeting or visiting friends and family members.

Daily routine of Yeşim from Park Oran and the other non-working or retired female respondents involves similar patterns.

I see the kids off to school, and my husband off to work in the morning; I tidy up the house; two days in a week I go to painting course in Oran; I come back home at noon. I do the daily shopping for cooking in Migros or Panora. Most days I meet with my friends/neighbours for a coffee in the afternoon in Panora or visit my family by car. I take my son to his sports class on Eskişehir Road, Tarım İl Müdürlüğü after 5 pm by car via Konya road and not İncek road. My husband picks up our daughter from her volleyball training in the evening and the family comes back together in the evening for dinner.

Although she claims to take a walk in the neighbourhood occasionally, the kids intervene during the interview and say that their mother took her last walk last year. So although in theory they have the opportunity for outdoor activities, in practice they hardly practice it. This was the case for almost all of the respondents.

Some differences in daily use of space by non-working female respondents can be detected. Aynur, in an attempt to distinguish herself as a retired woman, from the rest of the housewives, states, “After breakfast, seeing the kids off to school, and doing some housework, I try not to stay at home because I was working and I am not used to staying at home.”

One exceptional case where one of the respondents actually uses the gym facilities is in the case of one foreign national. “I am glad there is a gym!” In fact, it has been observed that the usage of gym facilities of Park Oran is mostly by foreigners. Apart

from Fatima, other foreigners, namely “Russian wives” go to pilates classes and swim in the pool. The latter was found out through a respondent from Park Oran, Yeşim, who is very attentive to her neighbourhood. She describes other people’s lives based on her observation and dialogues with her neighbours. She mentions many foreigners living in Park Oran because they prefer this place.

There are many people living here, Russian wives. They live an isolated life with a group of their own. They go to pilates class as a group, they swim all the time in the pool. They go to the same café. They have isolated themselves from other neighbours.

Looking at the mode of transport, almost all of the respondents travel by their own car, exceptionally however, they take dolmuş or subway for the more crowded parts of the city. One exception is Şule. She goes everywhere by car because she is allergic to smells and cannot travel in other means of transport due to smell/perfume. She manifests a perfect example for Atkinson and Flint’s analogy of “corridors” and “bubbles.” She goes to Çayyolu to meet her friends and to Tunalı Street to spend time and “to breathe their atmosphere.” Twice a week, she goes to Ankara castle to take photos. This location is exceptional in the daily use of space of the respondents, a place where no other interviewee mentioned. In fact, no other historical site visits have been mentioned by the respondents.

Working respondents have a daily use of space based on where they work. Mostly, they travel by car. Weekend visits to nearby natural areas such as Eymir Lake is frequent especially among the working respondents.

I come back home at 3 pm because I changed my work schedule due to my medical condition. My husband comes later in the evening and we have dinner together. Often, we invite our children for dinner. In the weekends, we go to Eymir. I read a lot when I am at home (Esra).

Proximity to the places where he conducts his daily activities is the focal point for Mehmet, another future resident of Park Avenue who currently lives in Barış Sitesi which is very close to his office.

I walk to work in the morning. After work, I go to mall close by (about 1.5 km to work), I used to go there by car until very recently (as now I sold it to be able to afford the initial payment of the flat in Park Avenue) and go to gym there. After gym, I go to a café to meet my friends in Bahçelievler or in Balgat. I am never caught up in traffic. In the weekends I go to Kızılay by car or by subway, for music practice. When I go there by car, I park it in Yargıtay's car park, my father's work place. I find transportation to be very convenient for me. The rest of the time, I spend it at home, in the garden.

As he places proximity at the focus of his choice for a living space, Mehmet bought this flat after measuring the distances. He plans to ride a motorbike which he plans to buy or use the work bus (servis) to go to work after he moves to Park Avenue. The distance is 8 km. via Anadolu Boulevard, whose traffic is almost never blocked. After work, he will use the same route home. He does not think of using the gym facilities of Park Avenue firstly because he already has a long time gym membership, and secondly this type of housing groups has very "primitive" gym facilities. Even the highest quality ones have low quality equipment, not able to compete with the professional gyms. He will mostly be using the green areas of the "rezidans." He is not planning to use the swimming pool of the "rezidans" either since it will be by membership. Park Avenue is close to subway so he will probably take it for going to Kızılay in the weekends.

Use of residential space: "In Ramadan after iftar we sit in the garden with neighbours. There are pilates classes in the gym facilities and I attend in case my friends do."

"I do not use the gym facilities nor the swimming pool."

"I do not socialize with my neighbours; I do not find them close to my life style."

Secondly, in order to determine the daily use of space of the respondents, whether or not they spend time in their neighbourhood was inquired with a view to understand their daily and weekly use of space in the neighbourhoods based on their activities.

Additionally, if the respondents knew their neighbours and if they spent any time with them was researched.

It has been found that the residents of a gated communities do not interact with each other, and asserted that the existence of gates may be an artificial distinction and also this seems to contradict the idea that the gated communities enhance communitarian ideal of interaction and support with “like-minded people” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 886).

Homogeneity is emphasized both in the interviews with the residents and in the promotion materials of the “rezidans” areas. In the case of the research by Atkinson and Flint, they have found out that although gated communities are presented as a site for good internal relations, they have come across several examples of internal conflict (both between residents and between residents and management companies) within the area. They remind the readers that although such conflicts may occur in any community, the management boards come out as an additional layer of governance which is contradictory to the desire for privacy of the residents. (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 881). This present research revealed few interactions with other residents although homogeneity has been one of the points of emphasis. Although at first this may seem conflictual, it is in fact in line with the mention of keeping the distance, narrated in the previous section related to the perception of urban space; “close enough to interact yet keep the distance.”

Simmel, in his analysis of money economy to social life, brings about its characteristics to materialize all relations; it implies the modern spirit of rationality, of calculability, of impersonality (Coser 1977). According to Simmel, concentration of population in cities directed the individuals to create social distance from others by adopting a “blasé attitude.”

This secrecy, the blasé attitude in Simmelian terms was mostly seen in Next Level where no resident accepted to hold an interview. The administration of Next Level stated that the residents get angry if the management office sends them e-mails about the “rezidans” and do not want interaction of any sort. In this present research, neighbourly relationships were found to be not so close, with few exceptions.

During the research, it was found that the participants did not use the facilities of the housing groups even if some of them spent time in their neighbourhoods. Few respondents stated they use the gym facilities or take a walk in the neighbourhood. This issue was brought forward by the architect interviewed; she stated that the existence of certain facilities such as the gym and the swimming pool are just items to tick on a check-list, an indication of prestige only. They are rarely utilised. The management offices of the facilities on the other hand claim intense utilisation of such facilities. This is one conflictual position in terms of use of space. Secondly, although homogeneity was emphasized in other sections of the survey, little socializing with neighbours is observed, in an environment considered as homogeneous. This is another conflictual position, also in the findings of Atkinson and Flint. Nevertheless, although this may be considered as conflictual, it is in agreement with the statement for keeping the distance and the blasé attitude, narrated in the previous section related to the perception of urban space. Despite this finding, it has been noted that some of the respondents have close relationships, and some even make business opportunities with their neighbours.

One example is Yeşim from Park Oran, who generally uses the garden of their housing group for often meeting the neighbours to have tea together or have lunch or dinner with neighbours once a month.

In Ramadan after iftar we sit in the garden with neighbours. There are pilates classes in the gym facilities 3 or 4 days a week and I attend in case my friends do. Gym is free of charge.

Despite noting this, she admitted to having attended a pilates class only once. She does her shopping in the neighbourhood (Migros and Panora) too. Serdar, her husband, on the other hand prefers to meet his friends outside. The other respondents rarely spend time in the neighbourhood. Some respondents take occasional walks in the facilities.

I do not use the gym facilities nor the swimming pool. However the existence of gym facilities and swimming pool was influential in our preference of this “rezidans” group. We think it is important for a housing facility to have a swimming pool, at least for the kids, if not for ourselves (Pelin, Necla and Veli).

Cemile has noted that her current neighbourhood in Turkuaz TOKİ is not convenient to spend any time at all. She does not intend to socialize in Park Avenue either.

We do not socialize much there. I know most of my neighbours here but I do not socialize with them. I do not intend to socialize with my future neighbours in Park Avenue as well. However I hope to be able to go out more when we move to Park Avenue. We used to go out all the time before when we were living in the city centre. So when we move here, we will be able to go back to our old habits. In the weekends we usually go to Eymir by car and we ride a bicycle there. We also go to malls in the weekends as well as to surrounding counties: Kızılcahamam, Beypazarı. We never stay at home on the weekends.

Some respondents seem eager to spend time in their future place of residence. Mehmet currently spends time mostly in his garden in Barış Sitesi, “I go out for jogging in the neighbourhood. I will spend time in the green areas of Park Avenue when I move there.”

In some cases, the respondents intentionally do not prefer to spend time with their neighbours. Şule likes to spend time at home. Her statements crush the discourse of homogeneity in a gated community:

In Sinpaş I do not socialize with my neighbours; I do not find them close to my life style. Besides, not everybody has moved yet; the ones who are settled are too noisy and out of manners. There are also working neighbours whom I do not know.

Two of the respondents have another reason for not using the gym facilities. Esra and Ahmet do not use the sports facilities of the “rezidans” because “our work *is* sports and we practice it during the day at work. However, we take a walk in Sinpaş or in Eymir in the weekend.”

When it comes to neighbourly relationships, emphasis on desire for homogeneity is largely observed. The degree of relationship with neighbours varies between the residents interviewed in Park Oran. According to the staff of the management office in Park Oran, some people spend time with their neighbours and some do not. Some are introvert and children are more extravert and meet their friends.

Yeşim and Serdar from Park Oran are two examples for the respondents who know some of their neighbours and are in good relations with them. Usually they meet them at the café of the “rezidans” group for a coffee. Yeşim also meets them for tea or coffee in the garden of the housing group and they organize occasional dinners or lunches in summer time and after-iftar meetings during the Ramadan. Serdar, her husband on the other hand meets his neighbours during jogging and takes advantage of business opportunities with them.

Here I sometimes meet a friend in the gym, I did not know he lived here. Or you meet a politician here and it impresses me. Meeting some businessmen in the gym is also good for new business opportunities. I become their client, they become my clients. Or simply a cultural exchange is possible. We can have new friends just to have breakfast with. We re-establish or strengthen relations. I meet interesting people during jogging. I met somebody who attends all marathons and he invited me too. We also talked about business opportunities together.

When Yeşim went to the sales shop of an international kitchen furniture company, to buy cupboards, she found out that the manager also lives Park Oran; “I felt like I had met one of my co-patriots in a foreign country.”

They are exceptions among the interviewees voicing good relations with neighbours and spending time with them in the premises. Necla, Yeşim and Pelin are neighbours and see each other quite often. “Neighbourly relationships in Park Oran is good, especially on our floor.” (They knock on wood!)

Necla is happy with her other neighbours as well. Her downstairs neighbours are constantly changing as they are staff of embassies. She also underlines the variety in the housing area. “There are Chinese, people, Japanese people, staff of the embassies also live here.” Despite the overall contentment with her neighbours, Yeşim from Park Oran finds her upstairs neighbours disturbing. She has pronounced ethnical bias on this disturbance as well as a factual case.

They are from Eastern Anatolia. They are already crowded and since they have the eastern culture, there are people coming over to stay, their relatives. They cannot speak Turkish. Once there was a broken plumbing in their apartment and water was flowing into my apartment and the electricity went off because the fuses were affected and the generator could not work. As this is a smart building, the fuses were shot off immediately. When the administrators went to check the broken plumbing, they saw that water had flown inside the apartment and the woodwork floor was deteriorated and the residents did nothing about it, did not inform the administration for renewal. The administration staff said ‘what kind of people are they?’ Whereas they do not need to do anything. The administration would handle everything.

Other respondents do not spend much time in their “rezidans” areas. “I live here as I lived in Dikmen or in Ayrancı. The only thing maybe is to know that there is a gym and I can go there if I want to” (Aynur- although earlier she mentioned that she does not use gym facilities at all).

“We are an introvert family,” states Mehmet.

We do not see our neighbours much, my brothers do not visit their neighbours either. However, I believe I will see more of my neighbours in Park Avenue because I will have my own family then. My life style will change after I get married and will be more family oriented. We will visit our friends more. This will not be due to change in neighbourhood but due to

change in my life by getting married. I will probably spend time in the 'rezidans' area and spend time in the café and the mall of the facilities more.

Most of the respondents at first stated that it is not so much important for them who lives in the same neighbourhood with them. At the later stages of the interviews, they started to list the "but"s:

I would not want to live in a place transformed from "gecekondu" areas and disturbed by the people who live there. The level of education is low in those areas, based on what I hear from my friends: neighbours asking for the password for wireless internet and getting angry if you do not give it; or your neighbours paying attention to the time of your arrival or departure, gossiping about your guests, cooking smelly food, or flapping rugs and carpets down from the windows above your head (Mehmet).

"My neighbours do not have to be rich but they should have high education level and above-average economic level so that I would not be disturbed."

Therefore for all the respondents, who else lives there matters; although in the beginning they state otherwise. Mehmet searched and found out that those who work in Aselsan (due to proximity), hospitals (doctors, nurses), various public organizations (engineers etc.) bought flats in Park Avenue, due to its central location and he is content with these future residents.

Another respondent, Şule from Sinpaş Altın Oran has complaints about her neighbours, mainly about noise. In some flats, construction is still going on. She finds her neighbours disrespectful. They speak to each other rudely. She cannot stand disrespectful people, other than that she accepts any other difference in terms of education and life-style.

I am 51 years old and I have lived in many places. Until now I never had to ring the doorbell of my upstairs neighbour and say: "I am sorry, I am your downstairs neighbour. You wake up at 6.45 and leave at 7.30. Between this period of time, your high heels disturb me. I beg you, I can buy you soft slippers if necessary." But here, I did this, I really did.... I wish I could call this place "a small neighbourhood," I wish it were so. It is also about the people, the neighbours. But what can I share with them?

Contrary to Şule's opinion Esra, another respondent from Sinpaş Altın Oran, considers the residents of Sinpaş Altın Oran to be respectful, although she does not know any of her neighbours in Sinpaş Altın Oran and finds this alienating. However, she had good neighbourly relations in Esat and Park Vadi, her previous neighbourhoods. "Because there are 1+1 apartments in Sinpaş Oran, it is difficult to establish neighbourly relations. As houses get smaller, neighbourly relations get less. You cannot even ask for a lemon. If you die, nobody will care."

Besides the size of the housing group, Esra thinks the people who live there also influence the existence of neighbourly relations. She observes that many working women and many foreigners live in their neighbourhood. The socially perceived traditional family structure matters in this way. "There are for example divorced women living with their child. Those types make it difficult to establish neighbourly relations. You cannot see them as a family."

Therefore although in theory most of the respondents are content with the perceived homogeneity of the residential area, very few have actual neighbourly relationships. Some on the other hand are not pleased with their neighbours at all. Furthermore, it does seem to matter who else lives there despite this lack of contact.

The reasons of their preference to live in this neighbourhood were also inquired in relation to their use of space as well as their perception of security, created perception of prestige and the like.

The residents interviewed have indicated both similar and different reasons for choosing to live in those housing groups. Some of the respondents have brought forward the peculiarity of the neighbourhood, some the rezidans group in particular, in terms of choosing this particular location. Physical characteristics and perceived characteristics are often pronounced. Other reasons for the preference of this "rezidans" group are listed as security, prestige, proximity, reasonable price and

exchange value, green areas, sterile, clean, homogeneous people (although at first declared by most of the respondents as not important), being close to friends (same circle of people).

Security

“Since he is travelling and I am alone all the time, he was worried and he wanted me to be safe.”

“I could not let my child play outside in the city centre.”

“I can walk freely within the facilities without having to wonder if someone is following me, without the need to watch my back.”

The research by Atkinson and Flint revealed the desire for privacy to be as important as the desire for security in preference for residential areas. They conclude therefore that security systems are used to preserve anonymity as much as they are used as a means of protection from crime. Many of the residents in the gated communities requested gate staff not to confirm any enquiries about their residence in the area (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880).

This has been the very case in this research during the efforts to access the residents of Next Level, where the residents could not be contacted at all, and eventually this housing group has been omitted from the scope of this present research. The overtly pronounced excuse by the staff of the management office was that their residents were very attentive about their privacy.

A form of segregation is observed mostly with security concerns, and this also goes beyond the housing group. In the daily use of space of the interviewees, there are nodes (place of residence, work, shopping malls) and ties, which are the roads mostly travelled by car.

With regards to security, the research by Atkinson and Flint found out that safety afforded by gated communities did not necessarily reduce the fear of crime. They reported augmented sensitivity to problems (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880). However this has not been the case for the present research. Often, the sense of crime and safety remained untranslated to concrete statements by the residents. Similar to the findings of Atkinson (2006), the fear of crime and perceived security is not directly manifested by the officials either. This has been elaborated in Chapter 5.2.1.

All of the residents stressed security as a significant factor for choosing to live in this type of housing group. However, none of them pronounced having faced real threats elsewhere in the city. Therefore it may be argued that it is only a perceived security and threat. Husbands being away for most of the year and wives staying alone, is also observed to create a need for a perceived security.

Fatima, the resident who is originally from Yemen lives here because her husband, who is a pilot preferred to buy an apartment from this group firstly due to security reasons. “Since he is travelling and I am alone all the time, he was worried and he wanted me to be safe. Besides, there is everything here, especially gym.”

In a similar manner, Pelin lives here because her husband preferred to buy a flat here. Since he is travelling a lot and working abroad, he wanted his family to be safe. She did not see the flat nor the housing group before her husband bought it. “He bought this flat in one day. I liked it after I saw it.” Besides, Pelin finds this location convenient in terms of accessibility and its clean air. She finds the park areas of the facilities convenient for the children. “It is safe here but we never leave them alone all the same.”

The respondents emphasized security, also with reference to children. Mehmet underlined “I do not carry security concerns but this will be important for me too after we have a child,” which he considers he may have after 3-4 years. “It is

important for me to be sure that my child will be playing 10 meters away while I am reading a book in the park in the green areas of the residential area. I could not let my child play outside in the city centre.”

Among the respondents, security is not only articulated based on children and wives staying alone, but also by various examples.

Since our children got married and moved out, as we get older it is more important to feel secure. Besides, I can walk freely within the facilities without having to wonder if someone is following me and without the need to watch my back (Esra).

Convenience of location, accessible, proximity, exchange value

“This is the best I could afford, close to centre and with open space of its own.”

“Once you start paying for something, it is easy to pay.”

“I inquired about the possible increase in the price of the apartment.”

Atkinson and Flint’s research found out as other motivations for living in a gated community as expected increase in exchange value, therefore a means for investment. The concepts related to use value also come forward as quality of leisure and shopping facilities and the fact that they are accessed within the premises. According to their research, the location preference of such housing groups proved to be based on proximity to business centres and preferred schools as well as additional security measures offered by these housing groups (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 880)

In the scope of this present research, it was observed that in some cases it is the neighbourhood, in others it is the fact that it is “rezidans” is coming forward. Often both are overlapping in statements like “I would not live in such a housing group if it were located in another neighbourhood.” Here, the respondents usually pronounce some districts of Ankara which are known to be inhabited by low-income groups. “I would not prefer to live here if this housing group were in Keçiören⁶⁵ for example,” (Aynur).

⁶⁵ A comparatively central neighbourhood where middle and lower-middle income groups inhabit.

Convenience of living close to family members was pronounced by some of the respondents. Furthermore, for families with children, proximity to some well-known schools was verbalized. Almost all the residents in Park Oran noted that since TED Ankara College is close to here, many children living here go there, or people live here because the school is close to here. “We know that 18 school buses leave and come here everyday for the students, from that school.”

It was uncovered during the research that the concept of “central location” in Ankara has shifted considerably. The sales representative interviewed in Park Avenue stated that Anadolu Boulevard became the new protocol road after the construction of the presidential palace in AOC. She noted that Park Avenue is in a central and prestigious location now. This interview has been further elaborated in the section related to the interviews with the professionals.

For the case of Park Avenue, its “reasonable price” and “proximity” to the city centre, were pronounced as its advantage in location by both of its future residents. “We just looked for new apartments in the city centre; the new ones, for example those in Bahçelievler turned out to be more expensive” (Cemile). “In Park Avenue I will have all facilities in the ‘rezidans’ as well as easy transport, as the area is centrally located,” stated Mehmet.

I live an introvert life. Green areas are very important for me. When I feel I am living is when I am not in the buildings and when I feel the sun on my face. I can understand why this type of “rezidans” areas are built: To maximize profit in the land. I would like to live in a house with a garden if I could afford it. But this is the best I could afford which is close to centre and with open space of its own.

All respondents believe their flat was bought for a “reasonable price” although this varies between the areas, and few make an emphasis of the prospective value increase. “We made the down payment with credit card. Once you start paying for something, it is easy to pay; we have only two more payments left.” Esra also made emphasis on value increase as this place is considered to be “valuable” in Ankara.

The case with Neşe is different. She lives in Yaşamkent because they owned this cooperative years ago. When she started to work for Çayyolu branch of the bank, it seemed convenient to her. Besides, her daughter started high school close by and only her husband had to go to the city centre for work. As for Sinpaş Oran, they bought the flat just by coincidence when her husband's nephew worked for Sinpaş.

My husband just wanted to check out the location and visited the flat prepared for launching and liked it. There, he made the first payment and we bought the flat seeing only the project/architectural drawings. We did not buy a bigger flat because we could not trust the firm completely, no matter how strong it was because we could not trust the Turkish economy. This was already a risk and we did not want to take a bigger risk: Whether the construction could be completed or not etc. But now, I would prefer to live here if it were a two-bedroom apartment with a living room. I find the living standards higher in Sinpaş Oran.

All the above findings correspond to the use value of the residential areas. The exchange value of the groups was brought forward by two of the interviewees. Mehmet stated besides other characteristics, "I inquired about the possible increase in the price of the apartment." Esra also mentioned that the value of their apartment already increased since they bought it. As will be elaborated in the coming sections, prospective value increase was not pronounced by the majority of the respondents. The exchange value of the groups was mentioned more by the sales offices of the "rezidans" areas.

Physical qualities

"This place is like a palace to me"

"Water makes me happy"

The physical qualities of the "rezidans" groups also come forward in terms of preference of flats here. The fact that the flats are brand new and clean, the "pleasant" atmosphere here, positive qualities of the mall of the "rezidans," the well-taken care of places are the main description of positive qualities.

Serdar compares this housing group with his previous apartments which he considers very old and poorly maintained. “Before Türkkonut, I have lived in bad places, old apartments in Reşit Galip Street; there were problems with the chimney, the flat needed a lot of repair. So this place is like a palace to me.”

The surrounding characteristics such as water element has fascinated some of the respondents. One respondent from Sinpaş Altın Oran, Şule, was influenced by the fountain systems, “Venetian style” water ways. “Water makes me happy. The cafés are just being opened. A supermarket is being opened now too, I was happy because I do not want to think about where to do my shopping. This place encompasses all facilities.” It has to be noted here that like most of the interviewees, she is not using all sports facilities. She does not like closed and small sports centres and small swimming pools with “everybody touching everywhere.” Instead, she likes to take a walk in the open air.

All the respondents highlight the comfortable conditions of the group as to the quality of the elevators and the fact that they do not realise if there is a power cut thanks to the existence of generators. They reiterate the availability of all facilities, despite the fact that they are not making use of them.

Prestige is another point to consider in evaluating the preferences of the residents.

“We feel prestigious, even though it did not seem to matter in the beginning.”

“I feel immaterial satisfaction from living in a high-rise building, to have the city under my feet; the house being brand new makes me feel rich and well.”

The prestige that one’s place of residence indicates has been one of the main aspects agreed upon both by the residents and the officials. Even the residents who at first stated that prestige does not matter, their later responses disclosed directly or indirectly that it is one of the main points as to why they prefer to live in such a

housing group. One example is Serdar, who underlined the prestige of living in such a group of “rezidans” although at first it did not seem important for him.

After some time, you realize you feel good living here. I see that the kids and my wife are happy. The image that we live in a good neighbourhood influences us, we feel prestigious, even though it did not seem to matter in the beginning. All services are provided. I like the gym, my wife likes the neighbours. Kids like to spend some time in the mall.

Similarly, when Mehmet decided to buy this apartment in Park Avenue, he states that he did not consider it to be “prestigious.” However, he later came to realize; “to be honest, I feel immaterial satisfaction from living in a high-rise building, to have the city under my feet; and also the house being brand new makes me feel rich and well (Dürüst olayım, yüksek bir binada oturmak manevi bir tatmin de sağlıyor; bütün şehrin ayaklarınızın altında olması... bunlar kendinizi daha iyi ve zengin hissettiriyor).” He admits this was not the reason for his preference but this is a positive feeling that followed the decision to purchase the apartment here. This “feeling rich” attitude can also be discussed to have implications concerning upward mobility, based on the perceived prestige.

Following the inquiry about the reasons for preference of the “rezidans” groups, the respondents were asked about the mostly visited parts of Ankara, in order to evaluate the use of urban space. These locations include both work places, that is places visited out of obligation and places of leisure.

Urban theories are not always in line with the actual findings of the Turkish context in general, and with the findings of this research in particular. Given the theories that the gated communities present a refuge connected to social networks, leisure, schools and the workplace by means of paths that ensures avoidance of undesired contact (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 877); and that a serial mass production of identical urban space is manifested with “festival marketplaces” by revitalising the decayed city centre through commercial and leisure activities (Stevenson 2003, pp. 101-102);

it was observed in this present research that no or little use of space was manifested in the city centre and “festivity” characteristics of urban space is actually not a concern. This however, can be interpreted to be true for residential areas that are being produced in Ankara, which are presenting the same type of facilities and concepts. The analysis of promotional materials of the residential areas reveals one warning to the risk of losing profit because of production of identical spaces. However, this point was not stated by the residents and therefore was elaborated in the section related to the analysis of promotional materials.

It has been noticed that most frequently visited neighbourhoods of Ankara indicate a limited circle. Respondents have developed their own cognitive map. Apart from one respondent, none of them pointed out to visiting historical places or museums in Ankara.

Most of the respondents go to Bahçelievler, Tunalı Street and to Çayyolu for leisure activities. They go to the cafés in the malls to meet friends and family members. Some go to Gölbaşı, İncek and Eymir lake and one goes to Middle East Technical University (METU)⁶⁶ in the weekends. Some also go to Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (AOÇ)⁶⁷ area for picnic. All of them do their shopping in the malls, namely the ones in Oran (Panora) and/or the ones on Eskişehir Road, the south-western corridor. One respondent pronounced Batıkent and one Balgat, for visiting friends. They very rarely go to Kızılay. They travel by their own car but if they are to visit the city centre, i.e., Kızılay, they use dolmuş and subway. The work places of the respondents vary; Köroğlu Street, Öveçler, İncek and Sıhhiye. Şule states that she visits Tunalı and Çayyolu, “to breathe the atmosphere here.” She also goes to Ankara

⁶⁶ In fact, many residents of Ankara prefer this campus for leisure in the weekends due to its green areas and sports opportunities.

⁶⁷ This green area is being diminished in the recent years because of allowing constructions, including the presidential palace.

Castle to take photos; she is the only respondent to visit the historical places in Ankara.

Apart from the visited neighbourhoods, where the respondents like was also inquired. This also manifests a limited sense of place within a cognitive map. Visits to outside of the city in the weekends is frequent.

Most of the respondents like Çayyolu, Oran, Çankaya, Tunalı Street, Dikmen area, for the reasons of attachment and belonging. Some find the places vivid, some continue their old habits and do their shopping in their previous neighbourhoods. Some respondents like the natural leisure places like İncek and Eymir Lake. One respondent likes 100. Yıl district: “I like 100. Yıl (ODTÜ side) because I believe it is calm and people there are nice,” (Cemile).

Yeşim and Serdar like Çayyolu, as they own a house with a garden in Türkkonut. They feel they belong there too. Yeşim replied that she felt freer there since it is a private house, and that she felt more relaxed.

There is a lot of green area here too but after all it is just an apartment. In Türkkonut I did not feel the need to go anywhere. Here I need to go out more. After the kids graduate, I prefer to live back in Çayyolu. I like my neighbours there too. I prefer that house to an apartment.

“I have liked Tunalı Street, since I was very young, I find it as a place with activities. I also like Oran, because I live there and I know what to find where. Additionally, I like my old neighbourhood Dikmen, where I still do my shopping,” (Aynur).

Like the places for visit, places liked are limited in the sense of bubbles analogy. The liked and most visited parts mostly overlap and this is an indication of limited use of urban space. A map of mostly visited and liked places of Ankara is provided in Figure 2.

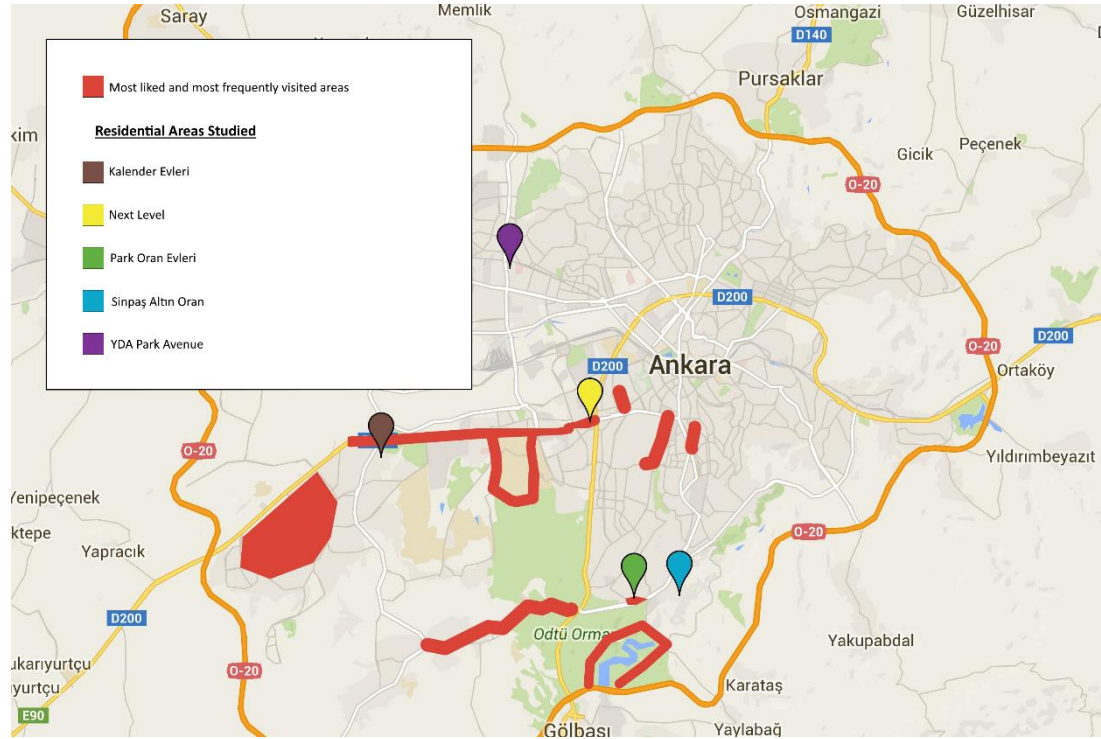


Figure 2: Most visited/liked parts of Ankara

Conclusion for use of space

As a conclusion related to the use of space by the respondents, it can be stated that it is mostly by consumption-based leisure, especially in cafés, which constitutes the major part of daily use of space; by utilizing the public space as their own private space. Daily use of malls is observed for meeting with family and friends where there is restricted entry of the greater population thus ensuring homogeneous and limited public confrontation. This aspect is in contradiction with early urban theories stressing heterogeneity, yet in line with the neoliberal urbanism and gated community literature after 1980s. A retreat into the malls in line with such a withdrawal and production of identity based on place is observed in the form of leisure and socializing and this is in conformity with literary findings. However, contradictory to urban life-style literature, very little involvement in artistic and cultural activities and no use of urban space in city centre has been identified.

Concerning the use of residential space, the most outstanding finding is that the respondents are not making use of sports facilities, nor any other facilities of their “rezidans” although they find their existence as a positive quality. They spend time in the mall of the rezidans if any. Taking a walk is the maximum way for practicing sports, if at all. A desire for partial, not total, seclusion is evident; the respondents are not totally segregated into their housing groups. The fact that the respondents do not use the facilities of the groups but would like to live where they exist, may lead to the fact that they in fact would like to feel belonging to the upper-class and to “feel rich.”

As to whether a desire for full seclusion existed and what it meant for the residents, it can be concluded that the use of space by the respondents of this research revealed such a manner of segregation, or a desire towards it, to state the least. Whether the respondents identified themselves with the places of daily use was tried to be comprehended in the course of this research. This was observed to have been

achieved via retreat into the malls in line with such a withdrawal and identity-production based on place characterised with leisure and socializing.

Not utilizing the facilities of their “rezidans” is one conflictual position in terms of use of space. The second conflictual position is that although homogeneity was emphasized in other sections of the survey, little socializing with neighbours is observed, in a confirmedly homogeneous environment. Although in theory most of the respondents are content with the perceived homogeneity of the residential area, very few have actual neighbourly relationships. Some on the other hand are not pleased with their neighbours at all. Furthermore, it does seem to matter who else lives there despite this lack of contact. This does not go without exceptions though. Despite this finding, it has been noted that some of the respondents have close relationships, and some even make business opportunities with their neighbours. Maintaining a distance, a blasé attitude in some cases is intentional and puts to question the first seemingly conflictual position in terms of neighbourly relations. This distance enables the desired level of social interaction and in this case homogeneity matters.

In terms of reasons for preference of the specific neighbourhood and in particular the residence group, some of the respondents have brought forward the peculiarity of the neighbourhood and some, the rezidans group in particular. Physical characteristics and perceived characteristics are often pronounced. Reasons for the preference of this “rezidans” group are listed as security, prestige, proximity, reasonable price, green areas, sterile, clean, homogeneous people (although at first declared by most of the respondents as not important), being close to friends (same circle of people).

In Ankara, a limited use of urban space is detected and it is restricted to certain neighbourhoods. Isolation and seclusion can be the main characteristics of daily use of space. The interviewees use their cars for the most part, and occasionally use dolmuş in order to access the central and denser parts of the city, the latter being

contradictory to the desire for seclusion. Daily use of space revealed almost no cultural involvement with a few exceptions.

Indeed, a form of segregation is observed with security concerns, and this also goes beyond the housing group. In their daily use of space, there are nodes (place of residence, work, shopping malls) and ties, which are the roads mostly travelled by car. The sense of crime and safety remain untranslated to concrete statements by the residents. Therefore it may be argued that it is only a perceived security and threat. A complete retreat into the housing groups has not been observed; the respondents are not totally isolated in their place of residence.

Convenience of location, accessibility and proximity to the city centre and other places of daily use come forward as other reasons for the preference of the “rezidans” areas. Another pronounced reason is the physical qualities of the premises.

Prestige is another point in preference of the residents. The respondents at first stated that this is not a significant element for them but in later parts of the interview, they confess to feel prestigious in living in that housing group. This feeling of prestigious can be argued to be a success from the point of view of the promotions. Furthermore, it would be legitimate to also argue that a desire to feel rich and feel prestigious and exceptional come forward and are met with the “rezidans” areas, that they in fact would like to feel exclusive, belonging to the upper-class and to “feel rich.” In a manner, this can be interpreted as pretending to belong to the upper-class. Therefore both practical reasons (proximity) and perceived justifications (security, prestige, the feeling of belonging to the upper-class) are pronounced as the justification for the preference of these “rezidans” areas.

Another item investigated in terms of use of urban space is related to the mostly visited and the most liked parts of Ankara. It has been found that most frequently

visited neighbourhoods of Ankara manifest a limited circle and that the respondents have produced their own cognitive map. Visits to historical places or museums have been pronounced only in one case. Where the respondents like also suggests a limited sense of place within a cognitive map. The respondents often go out of the city during the weekends.

The use of space by the residents manifests a desire for seclusion and limited use of space in Ankara, in line with the reasons of preference of “rezidans” group. Although they are not making use of all of the facilities within the housing group and are not totally isolating themselves from the remaining urban space, a desire and an inclination towards isolation seem in line with their preference. Therefore it can be concluded that, use of space by the interviewees support their choice for living in a “rezidans” group.

Perception of urbanity

Fully to construct the space of life-styles within which cultural practices are defined, one would first have to establish, for each class and class fraction, that is, for each of the configurations of capital, the generative formula of the habitus which retranslates the necessities and facilities characteristic of that class of (relatively) homogeneous conditions of existence into a particular life-style.

Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction

As discussed in Chapter II, under the conceptual framework, there are various meanings and understandings of the term “urbanity.” In this thesis, *perception of urbanity* has been taken on board, mainly in the sense of making use of the facilities of a city in a way to define one’s urban characteristics. It was explored within the limits of feeling of belonging, taking note of the urban developments that are taking place and involvement in artistic and cultural activities, both as audience and as performer, participation in civil society activities. Eventually, the perception of urbanity of the residents interviewed shall be evaluated with a regard to its leading to

their preference for the “rezidans” areas. In that regard, perception of urbanity has been explored on the basis of the *feelings of belonging to their neighbourhood, attention to revisions in development plans as well as the changes in the physical urban environment, and participation in artistic and cultural activities.*

According to Dirksmeier, “habitual urbanity and residential capital are instrumental in helping people to deal with the broad range of possibilities that urban life offers.” He adds that spatially based social and cultural reproduction is a significant element of the growing metropolitan habitus (Dirksmeier 2012, pp. 76, 78). “Habitual urbanity” thus can be defined as “the cognitive ability of a subject to cope with the contingency of the city which derives from anonymity and individualisation.”

Belonging

“We feel we belong to this neighbourhood.”

“I feel as if I have lived here all the time.”

Firstly, *belonging to the neighbourhood* has been elaborated as the feeling of belonging to the broader area of the neighbourhood in general and to the inhabited housing group in particular.

As quoted from Bourdieu by Dirksmeier,

the symbolic capital of a place depends on the social class and status of its inhabitants, ‘like a club founded on the active exclusion of undesirable people, the fashionable neighbourhood symbolically consecrates its inhabitants by allowing each one to partake of the capital accumulated by the inhabitants as a whole’ (Dirksmeier 2012, p. 80).

As analysed in the section related to the use of urban space where the reasons of preferring the neighbourhood and the housing group was asked, apart from practical reasons, the respondents pronounced several reasons regarding security and exclusivity in the manner they perceive it. There was also a strong emphasis on homogeneity. In connection with those statements and related to the feeling of belonging, almost all the residents interviewed stated that they belong to the

neighbourhood and particularly in the “rezidans” group and that they define their identity based on that place. This can be considered as a part of symbolic capital attached to place, where the residents are surrounded with desirable people.

People affiliate themselves with their neighbourhoods, houses and their use of space in terms of spaces of socialization (Erman 2016, p. 60). She specifies this particularly for the squatter settlements. This however, has been observed with the residents of the “rezidans” areas as well. In terms of feeling of belonging, almost all the respondents feel they belong to their neighbourhood, some even to their previous neighbourhoods. Two of the respondents do not attach importance to belonging, and one of the respondents does not feel she belongs there.

As argued by Van Diepen and Musterd, urban connectedness is defined based on people’s appearing relationships with the urban society via their residential choices, rather than based on their pronounced preference (Van Diepen and Musterd (2009, p.331). In other words, their residential choices speak for their relationship to the urban. The findings of this present research also indicate both pronounced preference and therefore the feeling of belonging, and the obvious one by the apparent choice of the residential area. “We feel we belong to this neighbourhood; to Park Oran in particular and to Oran, Birlik Mahallesi or GOP in general.” (Yeşim and Serdar)

Sometimes residential capital leads to the feeling of belonging; only the possession of a flat in a certain neighbourhood can create the feeling of belonging and identification with the place. One of the respondents, Neşe feels she belongs to Sinpaş Altın Oran although she does not live there. For her, it is very pleasant. She describes it as “illuminated” (ışıl ışıl), “very European”. “Like a suit in a hotel.” She finds the apartment easy to manage since her flat is small. Besides, she likes being in the city centre, considering the location as central compared to Yaşamkent, where she actually lives. In this example in particular and in all other responses in general, feeling of belonging is accompanied with a feeling of prestige, arising from the

ownership of residential capital so long deserved, with all the privileges attached. Furthermore, although the respondents appreciate the facilities and the prestige of their current residential capital, the sentiments of easy affiliation with and an eternal belonging to the housing group are detected.

I feel as if I have lived here all the time. I am happy here right now, but I do not know what happens when it gets more crowded here. We cannot already enter our own housing group during the weekends, because of people coming to Panora (Aynur from Park Oran).

In this case, feeling of belonging is accompanied with concerns about the near future. Her statement also carries the hints of the reply to the points raised in the inquiry of the noticing and reactions to urban developments which will be elaborated in a few paragraphs ahead.

Two of the respondents stated that they do not feel they belong to the neighbourhood; one because belonging to the neighbourhood did not have a meaning and the other because of the inconveniences experienced. Cemile has indicated “I love my home and I feel I belong to it, wherever it is located.” Therefore she does not feel she belongs to any neighbourhood (current or future) at all and does not produce her identity based on where she lives. No feeling of belonging to the neighbourhood was stated by Şule: “I do not feel I belong to Sinpaş Oran at all, because of the inconvenience I am experiencing with neighbours and due to on-going constructions.” This is particularly worth the attention because the other respondent from Sinpaş Altın Oran felt just the opposite way.

Some of the respondents out spoke a feeling of nostalgia for the traditional neighbourhood culture, although this did not eliminate the presence of feeling of belonging to the “rezidans” area. Ahmet feels he belongs to Sinpaş although he and Esra note that there is no longer the traditional neighbourhood culture. “We miss our old neighbourhood, the warm relationships, but we like it here too and we certainly belong here. We could not go back to Esat.”

Attention to urban developments

“We can afford to live in this housing group with security, however all people living in all parts of the city should have this right to security”.

“We like our residence group but in five years, the traffic here will be unbearable.”

Secondly, the *attention paid to the urban developments* was analysed. Most of the respondents are surprisingly opposed to revision of development plans with a view to increasing building density and constructing the “rezidans” type of housing, although they live or will live in one of them. They present certain justifications ranging from personal justification by placing themselves in a special position to economic justifications at national scale. This is one of the major conflictual positions which was revealed in this research.

Concerning the history of the neighbourhood, curiosity as to the awareness of the residents of Park Oran was raised and this matter was questioned. Two of the respondents, Yeşim and Serdar from Park Oran know what this place used to be (i.e., housing for the MPs). Yeşim’s approach to the matter is in the frame of right-to security in particular, but right for all groups to the city in general.

I do not find such revisions in plans increasing the density right. Since we are better off than many people, we can afford to live in this housing group with security, however all people living in all parts of the city should have this right to security. Building this type of “rezidans” groups prevents the possibility of existence of and access to public parks. Although this place has its own parks and I do not need to go to another park in the city, I would prefer the parks which are accessible to all groups. “Rezidans” groups are isolating and segregating, and that all neighbourhoods should have all facilities like parks, sports areas etc.

She does not find it right to build this type “rezidans” although she has chosen to live in one. Other remarks of this respondent is worth particular attention for they embark concerns of segregation about the land just across Park Oran. According to the respondent, the green area across the street, belonging to Ministry of Finance, with 4-5 storey buildings has been allocated to Kuzu Grup, a group of construction

companies and they will build 55 storey buildings, including all facilities like gym, swimming pool, like Park Oran. With an emphasis on segregation, she notes:

People will live there, we live here across the street and we shall not get to know them, see them. This type of residence areas segregates people. Sometimes people are segregated based on their political ideas. When we wanted to buy this apartment 30 % (with a reference from residents) + 17 % (they approved us) reduction was made. Another friend of my husband could not get this decrease and did not buy the apartment. They make discrimination and create segregation 'in order to increase the quality of people.

During the follow-up telephone conversation with the respondent, it was noted that the sales office did not want to sell the flats to people whose "style" they did not like. They conduct a research themselves, around that person's work environment. Nowadays, the flats are also sold directly by the owner or via real estate agency. Her friend who was rejected before, one year later bought a flat from an owner. But he leaves the flat empty, he neither lives there nor rents it out; "it became an obsession for him to buy it."⁶⁸

Some of the respondents from Park Oran have similar views concerning the on-going constructions and the future raise in the population of the area.

Now the area is sold to Kuzu Group and they are building a very huge "rezidans" group. There will be too many people moving here. There will be a lot of traffic. We are not happy with this. We like our residence group but in five years, the traffic here will be unbearable (Aynur).

As would be observed from this example, some of the respondents indeed are attentive to the urban developments. They are also concerned about another construction just across, with 50 storeys, One Tower, whose flats are already sold out, as far as they have heard. They have heard that there will be also an open-air shopping mall, which is the new trend, as people do not want any more closed shopping areas. "They take Park Caddesi in Çayyolu as a model, with shops directly opening to outside. But the population here will increase and this scares us."

⁶⁸ Follow-up phone conversation conducted with Yeşim from Park Oran on 8 January 2016.

Most of the respondents are opposed to the new constructions around them. “We do not want them but there is nothing we can do about this. We cannot enter the mall in the weekends because it is too crowded and we do not go there.” One respondent heard that there will be a new road from METU to reach here through the forest because after the constructions are completed, there will be need for a new road.

The respondents pay attention also to other residential groups being constructed. Residents of one housing group have an idea or have heard some rumours about the other “rezidans” groups. The residents of Park Oran heard that;

...the flats in Sinpaş Altın Oran could not be sold because the buildings are too close to each other and there is a risk of landslide. In Park Oran on the other hand, no view of one flat is blocked by another.

Although other interviewees from the municipalities had the same perception, the sales office of Sinpaş Altın Oran stated that 95 % of the flats were sold and 900 out of 2500 apartments are already inhabited. The risk of landslide was also confirmed by the official interviewed in Çankaya Municipality.

Disapproval of new constructions in Ankara sometimes carries sentimental connotations concerning Ankara. Another respondent, Şule also does not approve the new constructions in Ankara. She passionately rejects dense constructions and believes they should not be in Ankara.

I feel sorry for Ankara. I often use the road parallel to Eskişehir road. It used to be empty. Now there are huge constructions on both sides of this road. These huge buildings do not suit Ankara. I have seen these huge constructions in İstanbul but they are not suitable for Ankara. This and this houses (Bilmemne evleri). There used to be squatter houses on Konya road and the neighbourhood used to be very picturesque especially in winter time. Now there are huge buildings. This is not “urban transformation” but “urban apportionment, rent apportionment” (Bu kentsel dönüşüm değil, kentsel bölüşüm, rantsal bölüşüm.) This is segregation; ‘us and you.’

Having noted their reactions against the construction of residential groups with a view to density increase, all respondents hold a contradictory approach. Some consider the possibility of value increase of their apartments, and justify their preference with the concerns of security and the availability of green areas. Despite this fact, they find it unacceptable and they get “disturbed” when these areas are transformed with purposes of gaining urban rent. Their discontent has been pronounced in several ways: “I do not like the energy in very high-rise buildings. Like you sometimes feel negative energy in some malls,” (Neşe) None of them however, react to plan revisions: “I am not an activist,” (Mehmet).

The respondents are mostly unaware of the reaction and resistance to urban developments, though some have a vague idea. Neşe read in the papers that the authorities were being pushed to allow 50 stories in Ümitköy, Çayyolu. She also heard reactions but she does not know how and by whom: “Environmentalists maybe?” she asks.

Following the statements of displeasure, all the respondents present a “rational” approach, the inevitability of this state of construction activities and note that the economy is run through construction and construction-related sectors, where there is a rent. Therefore they find such reactions as “emotional” and “irrational.” “Such revisions in development plans are the inevitable requirement of living together.”

One manner of distancing from the disliked new dense constructions and justification to be living in one came out to be advocacy of one particular housing group in various fields; some respondents insisted on the green areas, some on their own particular needs and some on the illusion of heterogeneity and variety this particular group presented. An example for a delusional heterogeneity was in the case of Sinpaş Altın Oran. Esra does not like high-rise buildings but believes that a variety of houses should be produced for every need and taste. She and Ahmet believe that people need all types of houses and this can be found in Sinpaş Altın Oran; whether

they prefer high-rises or not. They underline the freedom of choice based on every taste.

You can feel you are in a summer house or in the city in such an area of variety, depending on the type of your flat or on which floor you live or where your flat faces. You may choose to live in the towers and use your flat as home-office. The important thing is to have green areas. Other than that, you do not need to care about the surrounding buildings.

Ahmet continues that despite the availability of choice and the other qualities, the traffic problem must be solved in the new residential areas. Esra and Ahmet stress once more the positive qualities of the “rezidans” type of areas. “People who have money should live in such areas.” They refer to alienation and lack of neighbourly relations but still prefer this type of housing, “I would not go back to my old neighbourhood, although neighbourly relations were better. Still, even the relation among relatives have become alienated.”

With respect to relations and their reflection on space, Esra compares old neighbourhoods with the new ones and old type of relations with the new. “When I was a child, relationships were maybe too tight, too intimate. Now they are too loose. Maybe we need something in between.”

The conflictual position of the respondents in their opinions about the new development plans is remarkable. They almost exclude the fact that they are actually living or will live in one of the densely constructed housing groups and somehow justify their preference. This indicates that their own status and ownership is regarded as special, almost as advertised in the promotion materials. However, reaction to other urban developments is notable among the residents. They are mostly aware of the on-going developments, new and denser constructions. Still there is consent for such developments, considering such developments as “inevitable.”

Artistic and cultural activities

The third item researched about perceived urbanity is *involvement in artistic and cultural activities*. This has been elaborated on the basis of NGO membership of the respondents, membership of art-related organisations, going to concerts, visiting art exhibitions, practicing art, attending conferences, going to movies, theatres and following particular art festivals or events in Ankara or in other cities in Turkey or abroad.

Mumford was opposed to the developments in the city and he described the city as a theatre.

The city fosters art and it is art; the city fosters the theatre and is the theatre. One may describe the city in its social aspect, as a special framework directed toward the creation of differentiated opportunities for a common life and a significant collective drama (Mumford 2004).

The city is depicted as a scene where people see and want to be seen. Similarly, Sennett also emphasizes the public roles in the cities as “a relationship between the stage and the street” (Sennett 1977, p. 38).

Leaving such characteristics of the city aside, and turning to actual artistic, cultural and civil society involvements, it has been found that none of the interviewees are members of non-governmental organizations. Only one respondent used to be a member of the Chamber of Environmental Engineers but he later quit for personal reasons.

Most of the interviewees are not members of any art-related organizations nor they practice art themselves, with few exceptions. Only three of the respondents are exception to this. Mehmet is a member of a music-related association and he plays ney. Yeşim used to go to art classes of the Municipality. She is now taking design courses and has passed the first stage of an international shoe design contest. She is currently preparing for the second stage and having her shoe produced. Another

respondent, Şule takes photos and is planning to open an exhibition. She is a member of a photography site on the internet where the members share their photos. “I have met some people in that website, from different countries.” She is the only respondent to visit art exhibitions. Additionally, she used to paint.

Even though exceptional among the respondents, the children of some of the respondents play an instrument; they are taking violin or piano lessons. As for going to concerts, movies and theatres, only three respondents mentioned them during their use of space, before specifically being asked. This is not frequent though. Going to concerts is as frequent as once or twice a year. None of the respondents attend conferences except one, who attends only the work-related ones. Three of the respondents declared that they go to movies once a month; two respondents said they go to theatres but this is rare. Only one respondent is very passionate about theatres “For me going to theatre is to say ‘I exist and I am alive,’” states Şule. Many of the respondents stated that they would like to go to theatres and movies but they simply do not for time constraints or for lack of company. “My husband does not go with me because I like to have a crazy time; my friends do not accompany me either because they all have small kids,” (Esra).

In terms of following particular events in Ankara or in other cities, such as music festivals, art biennales, movie festivals, theatre festivals, only Şule tries to follow all art festivals in Ankara. Some residents in Park Oran attend the party that Park Oran administration is organizing the spring. One respondent only follows the spring festival in METU but has the impression that it is not being conducted anymore.

Another item searched was whether the respondents are selective based on the venue or the event which in fact is strongly related to taking notice of the urban developments. The venue of the event is important for one participant, Mehmet; he is selective not based on neighbourhood but based on venue.

I do not prefer concerts in a bar. As for events in METU, I find the Congress Centre not “prestigious” but equipped and thus convenient. I also do not prefer concerts in Mimarlık Amfisi (The Amphitheatre of the Faculty of Architecture) in METU.

The respondent who likes going to theatre goes to every theatre play in Çayyolu Scene, she likes Küçük Tiyatro too. These are the state theatre scenes in different districts. She does not like the events at the malls. “I do not want to visit an exhibition on my way from shopping. I want to visit it on purpose. Art should be performed in its own space.”

As stated before, all respondents travel abroad except one. Another item researched in the view of perceived urbanity was therefore whether they search for cultural activities; concerts, exhibitions, festivals when they go abroad. The outcome was negative in all cases.

One respondent who travels a lot for work is Mehmet. Despite this fact, he admits, “I never searched for artistic activities to attend because usually I do not have free time apart from my meetings.” The present interview was conducted with him in Brussels, where this particular meeting allowed sufficient free time. “I did not search because I did not think there were any artistic activities here.” The other respondents did not even consider searching for any kind of artistic activities when they were abroad.

Conclusion for perception of urbanity

The aim of this section was to explore how urbanity is perceived by the respondents and eventually, how or whether this perception leads to their preference for the “rezidans” areas. In other words, how their relationship with the urban is manifested and reflected in their residential choices. Firstly, the feeling of belonging to the neighbourhood and the residential group was inquired. The findings of this present research indicate both pronounced preference and therefore the feeling of belonging, and an apparent and conscious choice of the residential area. The analysis of this

section related to the perception of urbanity reveals a broad feeling of belonging to and deep identification with their neighbourhood. It has been observed that feeling of belonging goes hand in hand with a feeling of prestige, deriving from the ownership of residential capital which is believed to be so long deserved, with all its accompanying privileges. Symbolic capital attached to place, where the residents are surrounded with desirable people led to feeling of belonging.

In rare cases, no feeling of belonging to the neighbourhood was outspoken. All this feeling of belonging and affiliation is in line with the preference of the type of residence. In some cases, nostalgia was pronounced for the traditional neighbourhood culture, though this did not exclude the feeling of belonging to the “rezidans” area.

Taking notice of on-going urban developments and the reactions constitute a conflictual approach among the respondents. Firstly, they all note their concerns based on right to the city, isolating and segregating characteristics of this new type of housing groups and their concerns about the population increase in their neighbourhood. They find it “disturbing” in the simplest terms. However, in the second part of their reflection they all agree that this is inevitable, it is the rational approach, value increase is expected and that the reactions are emotional and irrational. They manifest self-justification; the fact that they live in one of those housing groups is rationalized in various manners, via security concerns, availability of green areas and their own affordability.

Disapproval of new constructions in Ankara sometimes carries sentimental undertones about Ankara. Having pronounced their reactions against the construction of residential groups with a view to density increase, all respondents turn to self-justification in a contradictory approach. Some consider the possibility of value increase of their apartments, and justify their preference with the concerns of security and the availability of green areas, affordability of the flats and the illusion of

heterogeneity and variety one particular group is believed to possess. Following the statements of disapproval, all the respondents start talking about the “rational” approach, the inevitability of construction activities and note that the economy is based on construction and construction-related sectors, where there is also rent. Reactions to such urban developments are found as “emotional” and “irrational.”

Within the inquiry of perception of urbanity, no NGO membership and very few artistic activities have been detected in this present thesis. In general, it can be noted that a consumption-based urbanity is manifested among the interviewees. Ekici’s thesis, manifested emphasis on cultural aspects, in the part on perceptions of urban way of life of the upper-class neighbourhoods (Ekici, 2004). Other urban literature supports the presence of “consumption of art” as a means of perceived urbanity. In this present thesis however, the interviews revealed little mention of cultural and artistic involvement. There was no mention of historic places of Ankara. Only one respondent included Ankara castle in her daily use of space. Instead, malls constituted the main public space for daily use of space, manifesting a perceived urbanity through consumption-based socializing. Public spaces, i.e., malls are being utilized as their private space.

As Zukin truthfully denotes, “a paradigm shift from a city of production to a city of consumption and from a resigned acceptance of decline to a surprising disillusionment with growth” is in practice. “Cappuccino culture” is defined as a status symbol of the new urban middle class, of the good life and eventually paving the way for investments (Zukin, 2010 a, pp. 221, 231). It can be discussed that if tastes for some types of food are considered as tools for the consolidation of power, having coffee in a mall may therefore act as at least a demonstration of a perceived urbanity if not of power.

The respondents, in their perception of urbanity manifested through their daily use of space, are mostly confined to their limited environment and to consumption in which

they seem to have built their own world. This looks contradictory with the heterogeneity of the cities defined in early urbanity literature. However, in consistency with the urbanity literature after the 1980s, their movement in the city, the nodes and ties could be described as “corridors” and “bubbles.” The respondents construct their urbanity and identity based on place of residence and the places related to daily use of space: “Rezidans” and malls. When compared with the responses by the professionals, interviews with the residents mostly prove to be complementary. The reasons of preference of such places were pronounced by the professionals as *perceived security* and *having all facilities in close proximity/ all services delivered*. The emphasis on the new profile of clients in Ankara was outstanding. The sales offices, like the residents, often pronounced homogeneity within the residential area, however an illusion of heterogeneity was also pronounced.

Having elaborated the findings of the research throughout this chapter, the conclusions of the study will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

*Thus everyday life cannot be understood without understanding
the contradiction between use and exchange.
It is the political use of space, however,
that does the most to reinstate use value;
it does this in terms of resources, spatial situations, and strategies.
Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space*

*What would happen if anti-capitalist movement were constituted
out of a broad alliance of the discontented,
the alienated, the deprived and the dispossessed?
David Harvey, The Enigma of Capital*

The urban space in Ankara has changed considerably and rapidly through several decades. Among the various factors that influence and drive this change and the new understanding of urbanism, are the exchange value of urban land and the concern to gain rent out of urban lots outstands. Planning and especially amendments in development plans cause enormous rise in land prices and consequently increase the building density within the urban area.

The urban literature provides sufficient evidence for the significant role of capitalist policies in the production of urban space. The reflection of capitalist policies on urban space is to prioritize its exchange value and eventually produce the new forms of space. Since 1980s, urban space has been altered drastically as a consequence of global capitalist policies; city centres, streets, public squares and green areas have been losing their significance which they possessed as the major and functional urban spaces. This conversion not only transfers the silhouette and land use patterns of the city but also creates considerable rent by highly speculative policy choices. This pattern is extensively being repeated in Ankara.

With new planning decisions, the right of the greater public to the city is being restricted. During the recent several decades, no new pedestrian areas, inner-city

green zones and efficient public transportation were constructed; instead, Ankara has been rebuilt with a notion of promoting automobile industry mostly excluding pedestrian movement. The public space was transformed to business centres and shopping malls and destruction of large green areas is witnessed.

Having noted such characteristics of the urban policies, it is worth establishing that apart from the top-down, from the political perspective of the problem related to urban transformations disregarding greater public interest, the right to the city and the urban justice, there is another side of it, which can be considered as one of the significant sources of the first: The created consent of and the demand from the people. The citizens provide consent to plan modifications, increase in building density and changes in land use in favour of denser constructions which are considered as “natural” in the course of the “development” of the cities. The newly emerging face of the city is conveniently accepted by the citizens. Almost no protest is manifested against changing the use of a green area into a construction site. This is not only a passive consent but it goes even far beyond and there is a demand from all classes in line with such schemes. Given the fact that space is a social product, the use of urban space, especially the housing preferences of the residents of Ankara trigger planning, re-planning, amending the development plans continuously and political decisions at municipal level are manifested partly as a response to these demands, at least with a confidence that newly created residential areas will be accepted without much objection.

Among all these developments, the most conspicuous urban development in Ankara is the construction of the “rezidans” areas, which are luxury gated communities, including all the facilities which would traditionally exist in the urban context. Their high prices and restrictions in terms of use of space create curiosity as how the residents of these housing areas perceive and use urban space as well as residential space, and how their perception of urbanity is produced. It is imperative to understand the production of demand for these newly established residential areas

and how these residents use and perceive the urban space which eventually leads to their choosing to live in these areas. This created demand is assumed to have a significant role in the new approach to the use of space and to perception of urbanity with regard to housing and neighbourhood. The research question of this thesis therefore is *“How do the upper-middle class residents of the “rezidans” areas in Ankara comprehend urbanity through use and perception of space?”* and it was aimed to demonstrate how the use of space and the residential capital characterized by housing preferences of the upper-middle class is being produced in the course of Ankara’s transforming urban pattern, with a focus on exploring the perception and experience of urbanity of this class, who are the users of the newly created residential areas, called “rezidans” in Turkish. Eventually, it has been aimed to comprehend how the use and perception of space and perception of urbanity of this class led to acquisition of residential capital materialised in the form of “rezidans” type.

It has been intended by this thesis to contribute to urban sociology not from the policy level but from the use, consent, demand and perception side by the citizens and to explore the possibilities of resistance to hegemonic capitalist urban policies by analysing the created consent and demand to such policies. This was tried to be established by understanding the user side of space, the created acceptance and the perception of space by its users, in order to explore the possibilities of resistance which could lead the way to a change in urban policies.

This research had some short-comings. The characteristics of the sample made accessibility particularly difficult. Therefore the number of interviews carried out with the residents came out to be less than initially intended, bringing about the risk of not being representative. Although this research is a cross-sectional one for it is intended for a PhD thesis, it is open to repetition in time, and is strongly suggested to be repeated, in order to observe the changes in space use patterns in a rapidly changing city. Furthermore, only the sales and management staff of one of the “rezidans” areas, i.e., Next Level, could be accessed but not its residents. This

however is crucial in order to understand the use and perception of space patterns of the residents of that particular group. Therefore further research could be useful in order to acquire a comprehensive picture of the new use and perception of urban space.

It has been demonstrated through literature review that revisions of development plans for the sake of higher and denser constructions is not a recent phenomenon and that this has been a political practice since the first city plan of Ankara. It was also elaborated how the economic indicators for Ankara changed in the recent years and therefore the city's profile as a "city of civil servants and students" has been altered. This in a way may provide an inference for the production of new urban space at the expense of public space and is actually accepted almost without any reaction.

In order to find the answers to the research question, the research consisted of two major parts, in addition to the literature review. The first part of the research was conducted through an examination of the advertisements concerning the residential areas investigated. The aim in doing such an investigation was to explore the ways the new residential areas are being promoted and the new life-styles being presented to the society for the creation of a need and the resulting new urban space.

The study revealed that the points of emphasis in such promotion are a *new, prestigious and luxury life, containing all the facilities, natural environment* mostly in terms of *green areas* and with *water element, family life, locational advantage* and *exchange value*.

When the points of promotion are compared with the responses of the residents, it can be concluded that all the points of emphasis in the promotion materials actually find grounds in preference of the "rezidans" groups. The items identified by the residents such as a new prestigious life, containing all facilities, green areas, central location, security especially for the children correspond to the advertised elements.

Exchange value however turned out to be rather implicit, not openly pronounced by the residents except for one case.

The second part of the research was carried out by conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with two groups of respondents: The first group consists of the professionals, who are actors at the plan-policy making side of the urbanisation, as well as the actors on the side of marketing and management of the researched residential areas. The second group interviewed consists of the residents of the residential areas explored in this thesis.

The interviews with the professionals disclose several aspects which are complementary to the outcome of the interviews with the residents. The reasons of preference of such places have been reported as *perceived security* and *having all facilities in close proximity/ all services delivered*. A new profile of clients in Ankara was mentioned, for renewed spatial demands. Other points that were emphasized within the use of the residential areas were location, comfort, prestige, investment, a new life style; a created need by the political economy, all of which, point out a new use of urban space.

However, exchange value of the flats bought are brought about, not often by the residents but mostly by the sales officials who underline that it is a good investment to buy flats in their groups. Only one resident emphasized the exchange value of the flat. The sales offices, like the residents, often pronounced homogeneity within the residential area, however an illusion of heterogeneity was also presented whose subject is the upper-middle class.

One of the problematic fields regarded as significant was the procedures for the revisions in development plans from the point of view of the officials. It was revealed by the municipality officials that the planning practice has been changed through the years and that the municipality's planning office is not directly involved

in the planning process anymore. It was stated by the Chamber of Architects that more than 8000 revisions in Ankara 20123 Nazım İmar Planı were carried out and almost all the reaction came from the chambers. Additionally, some misconception of the city planners in the municipality was noticed: They do not think all the “rezidans” houses could be sold, but the interviews with the sales offices of the housing groups presented just the opposite. The figures indicate high sales and occupation rates.

During the interviews with the residents, several conflictual positions of the respondents have been discovered. These will be further detailed in the sections to follow, however it is worth mentioning here the major conflictual positions. *The first conflict* is in the perception of space where “the feeling of being squeezed” and “peaceful, green and spacious” characteristics of the “rezidans” accompany each other. *The second point of contradiction* is that as opposed to the orderly perception of Ankara, the feeling that it possesses limited variety of activities is a point for complaint. *The third conflictual finding* is that perceived space is restricted and is produced by the use of space which leads to creation of their own world with limited activities which enable them to meet only a limited number of people and which is also a point of complaint. In this case, demonstration of constraint contradicts intentional seclusion. *The fourth conflictual position* is that the segregating characteristics of their neighbourhood is criticised by the respondents in terms of right to the city; however, at the same time, homogeneity of their neighbourhood is often pronounced as a positive quality and their place of residence is self-justified via several aspects. *The fifth conflictual finding* of this research is concerning the use of space in their residential area; the respondents are not making use of the facilities of their “rezidans” although they find their availability as a positive quality for the sake of prestige. *The sixth conflictual position* is that although homogeneity was emphasized and praised in other sections of the survey, little socializing with neighbours is observed, in a confirmedly homogeneous environment. This point though is justified with the blasé attitude and its consideration as a contradiction is a

matter of dispute. Taking notice of on-going urban developments and the reactions constitute the *seventh conflictual approach* among the respondents. As stated during the elaboration of the interviews with the residents, *the eighth conflictual finding* in general was the one concerning security; perceived and actual security concerns are in total disagreement.

The interviews with the residents have been analysed under the headings of *general characteristics of the interviewees, perception of urban space, use of urban space* and *perception of urbanity*.

Perception of space

The analysis of the replies of the interviews concerning the *perception of space*, indicates that the perception of urban space is mostly conceived as environmental qualities, homogeneity of the inhabitants, perception of distinctive qualities of the city, quality education opportunities, order, accessibility, intensity of traffic, being systematic and structural, variety of daily activities and segregation. No historical values have been brought forward in the perception of cities.

Being an orderly city is the primary statement in perception of Ankara, almost by all of the respondents. The perceptions of the interviewees about Ankara can be grouped as quiet, calm, orderly, clean, with cultural environment (this is one of the several conflictual positions identified in this research; conflictual because little mention of cultural activities during their daily rhythm), with its respectful people, systematic, structural, comfortable, with no sufficient green areas, good quality education, no transportation problems, easy to live and with dry climate. Compactness and being orderly seem to be in dichotomy with the feeling of a need of variety. Accessibility and being around the same circle of people are presented both as an advantage and as a feeling of constraint.

In comparison of Ankara with other cities, it is worth noting that comparison with İstanbul was frequently made, especially on the intensity of traffic. Ankara is found to be simpler, with fewer things to do but advantageous in terms of accessibility. It was also noted that only two of the respondents compared Ankara to a city abroad, although all respondents except one, often travel to other countries. This indicates indifference to urban environment during leisure and lack of interest in history of cities abroad. Cultural facilities of a city have been mentioned by few of the respondents. It was seen in the section related to perception of urbanity that, there is little mention of cultural and artistic activities.

Perception of neighbourhood and space is in direct relation to daily use of space and thus there is a relatively selective perception of space. Apart from being connected to daily use of space, environmental qualities of the neighbourhood come forward. Existence of green areas and spaciousness are the points of comparison while there is a significant emphasis on “the feeling of being squeezed” and “peaceful and green” characteristics of the “rezidans” groups. These contradictions in perception in fact indicate the contradictory characteristics of space. A place can be perceived as suffocating and/or spacious to the very same person. A feeling of prestige and convenience of location along with the illusion of spaciousness goes side by side with the sentiment of being stuck. It is imperative to note that none of this has been conceived as contradictory by the respondents. Furthermore, neighbourhood satisfaction was pronounced with emphasis on homogeneity, green areas, proximity to city centre, distinctive qualities described with the terms “European,” “ışıl ışıl,” and segregation. The segregating characteristics of their neighbourhood is criticised by the respondents in terms of right to the city; however, at the same time, homogeneity of their neighbourhood is often pronounced as a positive quality. The emphasis on segregation by two of the respondents indicate a major conflictual position between their remarks on segregation and their preference of residence. This is another point of conflictual positions identified in this research.

A restricted perceived space, produced by the use of space also leads to creation of their own world of the respondents with a limited sense of activities which enable them to meet only a limited number of people. In fact, this demonstrates the feeling of constraint as well as an intentional seclusion. This point is also supported by the findings related to the use of space.

Perceived space is created largely on the basis of social relations. Maintaining a certain distance and still being close enough for social interaction has been one of the fields of description of social life linked to perception of space. This perception is in harmony with eventual preference for this particular type of housing. In a way, the blasé attitude is solidified in spatial terms with preference of “rezidans” areas.

Peaceful characteristics of the residential areas are challenged also with the on-going construction activities within or around the housing group. There is a discrepancy between the peaceful and distinct image presented by the fashionably decorated sales offices and the reality of non-ceasing construction activities.

This perception of the city in general, and of Ankara in particular, mainly as a city with order is in conflict with the preference of “rezidans” areas, as will be seen in the coming sections, where seclusion, desire for homogeneity, locational advantage are stressed, which in fact has been one of the conflictual findings of this research. This perception of the city is not expected to materialise in the form for acquisition of residential capital in the “rezidans” areas. Therefore it can be argued that their preference is more in line with the perception of neighbourhood with emphasis on homogeneity and exclusivity, and with the use of urban space, with much influence of perception of urbanity.

Use of space

Use of space by the respondents can be concluded to take place mostly through consumption-based leisure, especially in cafés, which constructs the major part of

daily use of space; and this means utilizing the public space as their own private space. As to the presence of a desire for full seclusion and its meaning for the residents, it can be concluded that the use of space by the respondents of this research uncovered such a tendency towards segregation, or at least an intention for it. Whether the respondents identified themselves with the places of daily use was tried to be comprehended in the course of this research. Daily use of malls for meeting with family and friends is common in a place with restricted entry of the greater population and ensuring a desired homogeneous public confrontation. This is found as opposed to urbanity theories where heterogeneity and a more general public encounter are underlined. As a consequence of such avoidance with public confrontation, a retreat into the malls and identity-production based on place in the form of leisure and socializing is one of the outcomes of the use of space.

One of the conflictual findings of this research is concerning the use of space in their residential area; the respondents are not making use of the sports facilities of their “rezidans” although they find their availability as a positive quality and even a matter of prestige. They spend time in the mall of the “rezidans” if any. An intended partial, not total, seclusion is obvious; the residents are not segregated into their housing groups in full. The fact that they do not use the facilities of the groups but would like to live where they exist, may mean that they in fact would like to feel belonging to the upper-class and to “feel rich.” Yet another conflictual position is that while homogeneity has been stressed as a positive quality all over the survey, it has been found that there exists very little socializing with neighbours in a confirmedly homogeneous environment. Although all of the respondents are content with the perceived homogeneity of their residential area, very few have neighbourly relationships. Furthermore, who else lives there is significant for the respondents in the absence of contact. Although there are exceptions to this case and some of the respondents have close relationships with each other, and some even make business opportunities with their neighbours, this is a unique case. This little presence of contact in fact is an outcome of the blasé attitude and in many cases intentional. This

distance enables the desired level of social interaction and in this case homogeneity matters which puts its conflictual position into discussion. Concerning this approach, preference of “rezidans” areas is justified with such an opportunity for maintaining a certain distance.

Within the inquiry of use of space, a limited use of urban space within a cognitive map overall Ankara is identified and it is restricted to certain neighbourhoods. Isolation and seclusion are two of the main characteristics of daily use of space. The interviewees use their cars mostly, and occasionally use dolmuş in order to access the central and denser parts of the city, the latter being contradictory to the desire for seclusion. Daily use of space suggested almost no artistic and cultural involvement with a few exceptions. Similarly, no visit to historical places was mentioned.

When it comes to the reasons for preference of the specific neighbourhood and in particular the residence group, some of the respondents pronounced the peculiarity of the neighbourhood and some, the “rezidans” group in particular. Physical and perceived characteristics are often pronounced as advantages. Other reasons for the preference of the “rezidans” group are stated as security, prestige, proximity, reasonable price, green areas, sterile, clean, homogeneous people, being close to same circle of people.

The statement regarding reasonable price is one element which is stunning. As demonstrated in Chapter 4.1 where the characteristics of the residential areas are provided, the price of the flats is exceptionally high. However in this matter, the respondents had their own items for comparison which justified the high price in line with their expectations. This has been observed to be true even in the cases where the residents underwent a considerable long-time debt.

A major reason for preference of such housing groups is identified as security concerns. Gated communities provide security for the elites, on the grounds of their

status “and that security is a right to which freedom of choice should be ascribed” The need for safety and security and the compulsory contact with the similar groups, is an important motive for spatial segregation. The unwanted situations like crime, poor environmental conditions and undesired social contact are handled by people rather than being a mere random product of “trajectories between nodes.” The spatial refuge provided by the gated communities as a “cognitive shelter” and denote that the safeguard becomes bigger with the increase in concerns for possible contacts with the outsiders. These management strategies are not only targeted towards the perceived risks of crime but also to the high rates attributed to privacy, “quiet and an absence of social contact, themselves seen as badges of status” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 890).

Indeed, a form of segregation with security concerns is evident, and this also goes beyond the housing group. In their daily use of space, the residents retain nodes which are the place of residence, work, shopping malls and ties, which are the roads mostly travelled by car. The sense of crime and safety remain unpronounced by concrete statements. Therefore it may be argued that it is only a perceived security and threat. Partial seclusion, at least such a desire has been observed; the residents are not totally segregated into their housing groups. However, as stated during the elaboration of the interviews with the residents, the concern for security is in a conflictual stand. Security was often stressed by the residents without pronouncement of an actual threat in other urban spaces. In the course of this research, the only actual threat pronounced was the risk of landslide and despite all concerns of abstract security, the actual one seems to be neglected for the sake of perceived prestige.

Convenience of location, accessibility and proximity to the city centre and other places of daily use stand out as other justifications for the preference of such housing groups. It was uncovered during the research that the concept of “central location” in Ankara has shifted considerably. Another pronounced reason is the physical qualities

of the premises. Cleanliness and the existence of green areas of its own are considered as positive qualities.

Prestige has been one item to consider in evaluating the preferences of the residents. Although it was at first stated as not a significant element, in later parts of the interviews the feeling of being prestigious in living in that housing group with certain facilities, although in most cases not utilised, was outspoken. This feeling of prestigious can be argued to be a success from the point of view of the promotions, as this is frequently stressed in the promotion materials. Additionally, it would not be wrong also to discuss that a desire to feel rich and feel prestigious and exceptional is associated with residential capital and finds its ground with the choice of “rezidans” areas. This may also indicate a will for upward mobility for the upper-middle class.

Hence, both practical reasons (proximity) and perceived justifications (security, prestige, the feeling of belonging to the upper-class) are summarised as the justification for the preference of these “rezidans” areas. It can be argued that perception and use of space lead to acquisition of a certain type of residential capital.

Related to use of space, is also the mostly visited and the most liked parts of Ankara. It has been revealed that most frequently visited neighbourhoods of Ankara indicate a limited sense of place and that the respondents possess their own cognitive map accordingly. No visit to historical places or museums is manifested except for one case. The parts of Ankara liked the most by the respondents also indicate a limited sense of place within a cognitive map.

To sum up, the use of space by the residents indicates a desire for seclusion and limited use of space in Ankara, not engaging with many parts of the city which proves to be in line with the reasons of preference of “rezidans” group. As urban literature suggests, the desire of the upper-middle class for seclusion in the urban space brings about certain behavioural aspects. However in this research, partial, not

full segregation has been detected. Although the respondents are not making use of all of the facilities within the housing group and are not totally isolating themselves from the remaining urban space, a desire and an inclination towards seclusion seem to be consistent with their preference. Furthermore, contrary to urban literature findings, engagement in activities in the city centre are non-existent in this research. Therefore it can be concluded that, use of space by the interviewees in most manners support their choice for living in a “rezidans” group.

Perception of urbanity

The purpose of inquiring about the perception of urbanity was to uncover how or whether this perception would lead to the acquisition of residential capital with particular preference for the “rezidans” areas. In other words, how their relationship with the urban was reflected in their residential choices.

The findings indicate both pronounced preference and therefore the feeling of belonging and strong identification with their neighbourhood; hence an apparent and conscious choice of the residential area is observed. Perception of urbanity manifests an extensive feeling of belonging to and strong identification with the neighbourhood and the housing groups. A feeling of belonging deriving from residential capital is accompanied with a feeling of prestige. Symbolic capital attributed to place, where the residents are surrounded with desirable people and facilities, leads to feeling of belonging and affiliation which are in line with the preference of the type of residence.

Taking notice of on-going urban developments and the reactions constitute another conflictual position of the respondents. In spite of pronunciation of concerns based on right to the city, isolating and segregating characteristics of “rezidans” groups and concerns about the population increase in the specific neighbourhood due to other constructions, the inevitable nature of all these developments is established. The “rational approach,” prospective value increase are stressed and reactions are found

emotional and irrational. Self-justification by means of security concerns, availability of green areas and their own affordability is common to all.

The respondents, in their *perception of urbanity* characterised through their daily use of space, are mostly restricted to their own sense of place and to consumption. Their movement in the city, with the analogy of the nodes and ties could be described as “corridors” and “bubbles.” Use of public space is limited. No NGO membership and few artistic activities have been detected. It would be right to argue that a consumption-based urbanity is manifested among the interviewees. In line with the findings of the use of space, malls constitute the principal public space for daily use of space, revealing a perceived urbanity through consumption-based socializing with place-based identity production. Consumption in a café in a mall acts as a manifestation of perceived urbanity, if not of power and in nonconformity with the all of the rest of the urban opportunities.

Urbanity and identity are constructed based on residential capital and the places related to daily use of space, which are basically the “rezidans” and malls; limited use of public space is witnessed. Analysis of the interviews with the residents along with those with the professionals, proves to be complementary. The points of emphasis in the promotion materials also compliment the interviews. A new use of urban space and new profile of residents are both created and find grounds in the production of space.

Epilogue

One of the objectives of this thesis was to comprehend the use of space, perception of space and perception of urbanity patterns of the residents which eventually led them to the acquisition of residential capital in the “rezidans” areas. Their use and perception of space along with the perception of urbanity came out to be limited in various senses, as elaborated above and this limitation naturally led them to establish their residential capital in a similarly limited and segregated manner. Although the

perception of space indicates partial seclusion, use of space and perception of urbanity are in accordance with this preference of residential type.

The findings indicate high level of satisfaction by the residents, with the urban spaces produced. However, this satisfaction is only manifested for the place of residence of the respondents and is accompanied by the dissatisfaction of other urban developments. It should be noted however that the malls and the cafés as the new public spaces are much appreciated and they constitute a huge part of daily use of space.

The production and preference for such residential areas are problematic because the production of space via creation of “rezidans” areas indicates, creates and consolidates inequality in the urban context. The facilities which should typically be included in the city, to which all the groups should have right to access, are designed and produced only for a small segment of the society and mainly, these are the reasons for preference of such places by the upper-middle class. This practice influences the use of space and perception of urbanity in line with the perception of space where all uses are consumption and leisure-oriented, while excluding all artistic and NGO activities. The relationship with the city is limited; it is established on a restricted use of space and perceived urbanity is produced through consumption. This practice creates segregation, prevents right to the city and distorts the aesthetics in the urban space. Not only are gated communities viewed as a built form that threatens community sustainability but they are further perceived as an architectural anomaly (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 882). Construction is not uncommon for anyone born and/or raised in Ankara. It is confusing to find out that the residents who are actually living in a construction site rather than in a city, perceive Ankara as orderly.

“The spatial revolt and withdrawal of the elites through GCs appears to be an attempt to escape the 'gravity' of democratic social relationships.” These individual

residential preferences have a series of actual influence on wider society and that this retreat to luxury houses and gated communities are likely to correspond to by equally disturbing public encounters. The warning is that the cost of such a seclusion to the wider society is intensified “by the extension of segregatory time-space trajectories as a response to these encounters (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 891). In a complimentary manner, Zukin notes that the direction the cities are headed can be reversed in the direction of democracy, by creating new forms of use of space that will give all groups the right to “put down root and remain in place.” This would ensure the balance between the origins of a city and the new beginnings, thus restoring the soul of the city (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 246).

As Atkinson denotes, influential policy schemes are required for ensuring heterogeneity in the urban context, accurate responses to housing need and preservation of neighbourhood quality. However such main urban principles are corroded with free residential choices which are activated with the presence of severe social inequality. The need for social diversity and effective responses to housing need in contemporary urban systems requires effective policy frameworks underpinned both by evidence and by principles that guide the protection of household fragility and neighbourhood quality (Atkinson 2008, p. 2632). Indeed, what should regularly be provided in urban space for the whole public, the right to the city and urban justice, seem to be purchased on a high price by certain privileged at the expense of both exclusion of rest of the public from such rights and deterioration of urban space with high-rise and “gated/locked” communities.

Gated communities also have strong symbolic forms related to a fear of crime and negative connotations of space which tend to transfer public social relations. Their growing popularity and interaction and segregation patterns suggest a pursuit of consoling fears and protection of privacy. These quests “strike a chord with wider attempts at security by middle income groups while gated communities suggest these processes in extremis.” Gated communities are developed at a time when policies are

being developed in order to promote sustainability based on mixed use of and revitalisation of public spaces and environments which encourage “social contact, tolerance and political engagement” (Atkinson and Flint 2004, pp. 889-890). No matter how the policy choices may be pronounced to be such in the UK case, there is no indication and no statement by the politicians to support that this is actually intended in Turkish cities in general and in Ankara in particular. In case segregation and homogeneity are considered by policy makers as problematical, they should no longer ignore “the withdrawal of middle and upper income households into their own ghettos.” Further research is suggested in order to determine the patterns of segregation and splitting. The policy makers in the Turkish case however do not out speak the risks of segregation. The only bodies that pronounce such problems are often the chambers and other NGOs whose statements are often neglected or rejected violently. Additionally, the chambers point out to the risk of a fragmented city in terms of planning, which in fact should be considered as a whole. The suggestion for further research for the use and perception of space patterns on the other hand is strongly advised for a change in urban policies in Ankara as well.

The power of the prevailing groups supported by global policies and non-resisting residents of all classes present a picture incapable of any change in Ankara. However possibilities of resistance and transformation still exist through certain channels. Emphasizing the use value of cities by important actors and raising public awareness in this regard seems to be the right point from which to start. A demand from bottom-up for urban space in which to live, should replace the consent and demand to exchange it and profit from it. This requires a total revolutionary regard at the cities which can start from small scale resistance and awareness. Several conflictual positions of the respondents identified in this research suggest that they are not merely neoliberal subjects but also they bring about some questions via these conflicts. The fact that recent urban developments are found not right and disturbing by the residents of the “rezidans” areas in Ankara, even though this is pronounced for new constructions other than their own place of residence, one cannot help

wondering whether this conflictual position can be a hope for urban justice and right to the city.

It is definitely very difficult to interfere, resist or change global or national policies. However, although local policies are strongly related to global capitalist tendencies the public, especially the middle-class and upper-middle class can have a greater say in the urban context and therefore should be made aware of this strength of theirs. The key lies in considering cities and urban space in terms of their use value and in caring about the urban environment as much as people care about the inside of the houses in terms of use of space. Given the history of planning in Ankara, this would be a revolutionary regard to the urban space. Weakening of consent and small-scale profit expectations would crack the reflections of capitalist policies in the urban space. Creating awareness is imperative not only in the general public but also in professional bodies and parts of the local government who are also important actors of the existing capitalist system and are well-integrated in the mechanism at the policy level. These latter groups also hold the responsibility of enabling others to question, reflect on and discuss political decisions taken at urban level which are to have direct implications on everyday life. All these attempts require the support of the middle-class and upper-middle class with their role in the consolidation and transformation of policies which would also apply to urban policies. In this regard, Harvey's proposal is a holistic approach in policies.

To do what has to be done will take tenacity and determination, patience and cunning, along with fierce political commitments born out of moral outrage at what exploitative compound growth is doing to all facets of life, human and otherwise, on planet earth. Political mobilisations sufficient to such a task have occurred in the past. They can and will surely come again. We are, I think past due (Harvey 2010, p.260).

Similarly, Lefebvre proposes urban revolution with an ensemble of all parties concerned. Supporting Lefebvre, Gottdiener establishes that "Lefebvre's users of space are users of everyday life. From this perspective, it is clear that we are all potential candidates for sociospatial struggle" (Gottdiener 1985, p. 156). In this

meaning the actors are significant. This would not mean that a total radical approach could be expected from the upper-middle class. However a new use and perception of urban space can be awaited, along with all classes, where equality and justice in space shall be sought. Points of conflict in use of space can be a hope for this contribution. Jameson offers a Gramscian alternative: A different perspective on architecture and urbanism. He proposes struggle for hegemony; counter hegemony in superstructural terms, corresponding to an institutional base that has not yet been established by political revolution. This counter hegemony is then expected to keep alive an alternate idea of space, urban and daily life. The power of the hegemonic forces backed by global policies and non-resisting residents of all classes present a hopeless picture of any change. However, lights of hope still exist through certain channels.

The problem of injustice and inequality in the city could only be solved by prioritizing the use value over exchange value, which in fact looks almost impossible in the context of global, national and urban policies. The authorities should be driven for policy changes by weakening of consent from the public to the policies implemented. Claims for right to the city and urban justice must be pronounced for all groups. Urban awareness should raise throughout the classes for the production of space in line with more egalitarian policies. Urban developments considering the exchange value and expectation of prospective gain from urban land should cease to be considered as natural and inevitable. It must be demonstrated to the greater public that another approach is possible and in fact is more in favour of social gain.

In order to be able to produce the desired awareness, it is imperative to understand the production of demand in the newly shaped urban structure, specifically in the newly established residential areas. This created demand is assumed to have a significant role in the new approach to use of space and to perception of urbanity with regard to housing and neighbourhood. Daily use of space should be diversified and removed from consumption-oriented leisure towards artistic and cultural realms

with inclusion of all the parties. The use of urban space definitely must be rescued from being confined to limited spaces and thus confrontation with greater public should be ensured. In this context, art groups should avoid holding events in the malls. Streets and squares must be kept safe and alive for all groups with undiscriminated access. If daily use of space is diversified, all urban facilities provided equally for the whole public and security, at least perceived security, granted in all neighbourhoods, the reasons for preference of the “rezidans” areas may diminish and at least a bottom-up action can partly be manifested. In this context, further research is required to comprehend more deeply the spatial patterns of the upper-income groups, along with other classes, in order to determine the grounds of consent for and demand from the urban policies.

As argued in the introduction, up to recently, despite the recent transformations in Ankara, limited resistance was observed against new urban developments. Despite the existence of considerable urban transformation schemes, very little resistance is observed for other urban transformations in Ankara. The widest area of movements is taking place at the legal grounds by the law cases of chambers against the municipality decisions but they usually lack awareness from and the support of the greater public as well as the media. The biggest group of opponents which are the chambers should get the support of the greater public for raising urban awareness and for forcing the policies to divert themselves from exchange value to use value, from privilege to right to the city. Ankara, and all cities in general must be unchained from segregation, distorted urbanism and inequality in urban space; equal, just, rightful urban space must be reclaimed by all groups and actors to influence and make a difference in urban policies.

Therefore we ask again the same question as Harvey does: “So, are our cities designed for people or for profits?”

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APPENDICES

A. QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWS

NAME:

LOCATION: (interviewed in the house or elsewhere)

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW:

I. Characteristics and perception and use of urban space of upper-middle class;

1. General

- a) age,
- b) sex,
- c) marital status,
- d) number of children, if any,
- e) education,
- f) occupation,
- g) number of people living in the household,
- h) monthly income,
- i) Do you travel a lot? For work? For vacation? If yes, for how long?
- j) General information about the flat (date of purchase, price bought, price now, no of rooms etc.)
- k) General information about the surrounding (the facilities the “site” or the “rezidans” has)
- l) How is this group of residences managed? How is the management formed?
- m) If you have any complaints, to whom do you report it? How is it handled/solved?
- n) Is there a collective decision-making mechanism in this group of residences?

2. Perception of space

- a) How do you perceive/describe Ankara?
- b) How do you perceive/describe a city in general? Please refer to other cities you have been to (abroad or in Turkey).
- c) What are the reasons for living in Ankara?
- d) Where did you live before you moved here? Could you compare the two neighbourhoods?
- e) How do you perceive/describe your neighbourhood?

3. Use of space

- a) Could you describe one day of yours? Where do you go, how do you go there, which routes do you use, how do you come back home etc.? (use of space, daily rhythm)

- b) Do you spend time in your neighbourhood? What do you do here in one day or in the weekends? (daily/weekly use of space in the neighbourhoods, activity/action space)
- c) Do you know any of your neighbours? If yes, do you spend time with them?
- d) Why do you prefer to live in this neighbourhood? (explore perception of security, created perception of prestige etc.)
- e) Who would be disturbing for you if they lived here? (Politically, life-style-wise etc.)
- f) How do you position yourself politically? Do you consider yourself conservative?
- g) Which parts of Ankara do you visit the most? Why? (for entertainment, recreation, business, shopping)
- h) Which parts of Ankara do you like the most? Why?

4. Perception of urbanity

- a) Do you feel you belong to this neighbourhood? Can you describe your identity based on this neighbourhood?
- b) What do you think about revision of development plans and/or changes in urban land use patterns (whether there is a reaction or consent or whether such revisions go unnoticed).
- c) Are you a member of an NGO (association, foundation, activist organisations etc.)?
- d) Are you a member of any organization related to arts?
- e) Do you go to concerts? How often? Which one did you go most recently?
- f) Do you visit art exhibitions? How often? Which one did you visit most recently?
- g) Do you attend conferences? If yes, which one did you attend most recently?
- h) Do you go to movies? How often? Which one did you go most recently?
- i) Do you go to theatres? How often? Which one did you go most recently?
- j) Are there particular events you follow in Ankara or in other cities (music festivals, art biennales, movie festivals, theatre festivals etc.)?
- k) If you go to concerts, exhibitions, conferences, where do you prefer to go? Are you selective based on the venue or the event?
- l) When/If you go abroad, do you search for cultural activities (concerts, exhibitions, festivals)? If you did, could you name one?
- m) Do you yourself practice art, play an instrument etc.?

ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

II. Characteristics and perception and use of urban space, perception of urbanity of the residents according to professionals;

- a) How do you think the use of space for a particular type of housing is created? What makes people prefer the housing type called “rezidans”?
- b) Based on your observations, which type of people prefer to buy flats there? How do they define themselves politically? What are their hobbies? Are they engaged with artistic/cultural activities?

- c) From whom do the demands to increase the building density come?
- d) What kind of a procedure does such a demand follow?
- e) What kind of reactions, if any, are perceived at the planning level?
- f) Do you know the level of occupation of upper-middle class residential areas?
- g) General characteristics of the housing group (to be asked to the staff and/or to the management of the “rezidans” group). General information about the surrounding: the facilities the “site” or the “rezidans” has; how is this group of residences managed? How is the management formed? How are complaints reported and to whom? How are they handled/solved? If there a collective decision-making mechanism in this group of residences etc.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

B. FULL TRANSLATION OF PROMOTION MATERIALS

Park Oran

Park Oran presents you health, pleasure and entertainment in the social areas around it, while it enables you to live the quality inside the houses with high standards. Pine forests and fresh air; qualified location of Oran, an exclusive living area; the landscape from your apartment re-starts life with a view you cannot get enough.⁶⁹

Another discourse to promote Park Oran is made via the sports facilities it has. “Houses from inside of which sports centre comes out: Park Oran, which designs life without missing anything, enables the house owners to own a sports centre as well. Residents of Park Oran become a natural member of the Park Club without any payment. In Park Club, where everything necessary for the vitality of your soul and body are thought of, there are many energy-providing alternatives such as a swimming pool, fitness centre, sauna, squash, basketball area and tennis courts, children’s play area, reading rooms, bar and restaurant. Enough to spoil yourself...”

Sinpaş Altın Oran

Sinpaş Altınoran Çankaya

“My new favourite is Altınoran.

What names the cities is the characteristics they carry. Just like Altınoran was named... My city is more special than before with this unique project, which has made water an indispensable part of life and which possesses a perfect architecture by preserving the magnificent balance of nature.”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The information is provided in Turkish on the website of the residential complex and the text has been translated from Turkish.

⁷⁰ The information is provided in Turkish on the website of the residential complex and the text has been translated from Turkish. The original text has incomprehensible and distorted phrases. Such inconsistencies and distortions have been kept in translation. The punctuations have been kept as in the original text as well.

The text goes on with the words of Ankara, the city, speaking full of praises for itself.

“I was born where Midas, the Phrygian king found an anchor. I hosted the Hittites who founded the first strong state in Anatolia. Then I hosted the Phrygians, Lydians, and Romans. I have been with you since the Anatolian Seljuks. Because I am the star rising in the steppes:

I am the most respected in Turkey.

I am the city where the heart of an enormous country beats. A place where everyone is happy, including the bureaucrats, industrialists, merchants, civil servants and the students. I am a very beautiful city for those who can see it, a city full of peace for its inhabitants, with my Kuğulu Park, Anıtkabir, Tunalı, people, crispy bagel (simit) of Kızılay, with my respect and order, Eymir. I am Ankara the capital.

And Ankara keeps speaking, describing the daily life in Altınoran:

Life in Altın Oran

Square of a Hundred Years

All the value I have origins from one point of inspiration. The lives you live.

I am a much more proud city now with the towers 1923 and 2023, which symbolize the foundation of the republic and its great targets for its 100th year. These two unique structures rising around the Square of a Hundred Years, the Starium Mall around it, the water channel, shops, cafés and restaurants, will present you a variety of choices; and will become a brand new centre of attraction with the concerts and activities to be organized in the square.

Concerts and Activities

Your days will pass more joyously in Altınoran with the concerts, special events and social activities that will take place in the square all year long.

Cafés

You will not notice time passing as you sit with your friends in the cafés which have different concepts from each other, and as you enjoy the beauties around you.

Water Spectacle

Don't you think it is a privilege to watch the most spectacular water display in Ankara? On the water channel constructed on a 1200 m² area, you will be enjoying the calming effect of water during the day while you will be witnessing an unprecedented spectacle during the night. Do not forget to bring your raincoat with you while you watch 2-D light shows and water display accompanied by music fascinate you.

Park Avenue

While designing YDA PARK AVENUE we wanted you to have all the happiness by your side whenever you want. We wanted you to have all that you would expect from life in a prestigious project as soon as you go out of your door. And we wanted you to hold in your hands the shopping, sports, nature, leisure and even time.

This is the reason why we are constructing YDA PARK AVENUE on Anadolu Boulevard, which is the fastest value gaining district in Ankara. By its location, our project which has connection with the main axes such as Eskişehir Road, Konya Road, İstanbul Road, Northern Ring Motorway, presents the facility of transportation to Kızılay in 7-8 minutes via Ankara Boulevard without having to stop at any traffic lights. YDA PARK AVENUE with its advantageous location offering easy access to subway stations of Hastane and Macunköy in 5 minute walking distance and 2 minute walking distance to Onkoloji Hastanesi, access in 10 minutes to three university campuses; also attracts attention through its proximity to ANKA Park, the new amusement park and natural park of Ankara, and to Atatürk Orman Çiftliği.

Next Level

www.nextlevel.com.tr access on 25.12.2014

Architectural Concept

It all started with a dream. The dream of a businessman and an investor to make an extraordinary project come true. We have made it come to life for you with our perfectionism and care towards this privileged area of life. The project is located in a place where various living functions have come together, in the most important and most valuable place in Ankara, at the crossing of the main transportation axes of north and south, east and west. This meeting point where business and social life have been merged in one single centre will be the new living area of those who have adopted modern life style. Inspired by the dynamism of this position, (its) architecture is reflecting like a mirror on the general form of the buildings and on their façade, the development in the region and this active life. While the office tower symbolizes the power of its economic potential with its iconic structure and its glamorous monolithic mass; the residence tower manifests its uniqueness with meticulously articulated living spaces tailor-made for people, like a rare piece of jewellery.

The two towers meet on a strong podium which has been designed as a social attraction place. It is transformed into an urban space which provides cultural, recreational and socializing opportunities simultaneously. And the dream comes true. We are inviting you to Next Level to live this dream. August 2011, Brigitte Weber (the architect of Next Level)

Location

The corner of the city, its new centre. We are inviting you not to just any place in Ankara but to Next Level Ankara. Next Level, the new centre of Ankara, is situated in Söğütözü, at the crossing of Eskişehir and Konya roads.

Nata İncek (From its brochure)

Come to Nata İncek houses, see for yourself how close it is to the TED campus. Invest both in your budget and in your child's future. Do not miss the "A+" opportunity by selecting one of the attractive payment conditions, while your child is being educated in the TED Campus which is 100 m. away. The new campus of TED is 100m. away from Nata İncek houses. Enjoy both a glorious life and sending your child to school without leaving them to the school bus.

İncek Loft (from a billboard sign)

Earn from where you live. (The Turkish version is "oturduğunuz yerden kazanın") actually has two meanings: The first is the exact translation as presented. The second implies an easy way of earning, earning without actually making an effort). We are expecting those who would like to own a house with personally tailored payment schemes where you decide about the time of payment and the advance payment amount, without having to deal with bank interests. The life begins!"

ONS İncek (from a billboard sign)

Right now, you are looking at your comfort (şu an rahatınıza bakıyorsunuz: A play with words which also means "you are comfortably enjoying your life.")

You will be comfortable with the smart houses of ONS which have vocal instruction systems and distinguished rezidans services!

The sign is accompanied with a photo of a young couple from behind, embracing each other and looking at a building with three towers.

Koordinat Çayyolu will lift up the standards

<http://www.yasamprojeleri.com/koordinat-cayyolu-standartlari-yukari-tasiyacak.html>

access on 1.4.2016.

Koordinat Çayyolu will lift up the standards

While the perception of housing is being renewed by means of the trademark housing projects being constructed one after another, the sector is facing the threat of ‘becoming ordinary.’

According to the representatives of the sector, among the projects who day by day resemble one another, the companies which will go beyond the line of standard housing will multiply their earnings...

Turkish construction sector is keeping the significant momentum which it grasped during the recent years. The successful representatives of construction sector stress that this development is influenced by numerous reasons varying from the spreading of urbanisation to the consolidation of the perception of quality in housing; from technological advancements to the challenges the urban life brings.

Osman Cem Çankaya, a member of the board of YP Construction, reminded that the buyers of houses especially in big cities pay particular attention to the additional services provided in the projects, and stated “Almost all of the new generation projects are constructed with a now standardized layout. The luxury and comfortable projects constructed with good-quality materials, which have elevated the living standards, and where social facilities are included, contributed to the production of a new perception in housing. However, it is possible to say that even that has now become ordinary. Unfortunately this may lead to a situation where the construction sector will keep the same position and the companies not making profit. Producing projects with similar concepts one after another, means that the sector cannot develop itself.

-The objective for the end of this year is to double the turnover

Stating that at this point the projects which raise the bar come forward, Çankaya continued:

“The perception of luxury housing has raised to a certain point and reached a saturation point. This situation of course, increases the expectations of the consumer. In the period ahead, the firms which surpass this saturation point and go beyond the standardized housing line will win. We, as YP Construction who have been producing projects for 25 years, stress importance to making the different, and touching the lives. Our stand enabled us to increase our capital from 100 thousand TL in the time of our firm’s establishment to 30 million TL of paid capital, today. We are constructing our Nefis Çankaya Evleri Project which will face İmrahor Valley that will be the biggest recreation area in Ankara in case it will be built, with this understanding. We shall lift up the standards with our new Project Koordinat Çayyolu whose sales we are to begin shortly. We plan to double our turnover by the end of this year, with all these projects we are constructing.”

C. INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESIDENTIAL AREAS EXCLUDED FROM THE RESEARCH

Next Level

This “rezidans” is situated on the junction of two main roads in Ankara; namely at the junction of Konya and Eskişehir Roads. The plot is located at the turning curve of the road where normally any construction should not be allowed. It is not a convenient location to access due to heavy traffic of the two main roads. The area used to be a track for practicing driving for those who were preparing to take driving test. With the construction boom in Ankara, the plot was transferred with a controversial procedure to a construction company with no history of construction, mainly dealing with tea trade, according to an article by KIRICI.⁷¹ In a newspaper interview, the founder of the company stated that there has been a capital accumulation in Ankara in mining, energy, and construction sectors and they have developed a real estate project to fulfil their modern needs. He went on to say that in the coming years they will be engaged in logistic and information sectors.⁷²

The complex consists of two high-rise buildings, one for offices and one for residences, with a mall in between, connecting the two towers. The residence tower is situated partly on top of the mall. In between the two towers and at the roof of the mall, there is a space called “the podium” which contains a small open area and cafés. This “podium” is advertised to be the open space of the “rezidans” as probably the area on which it is built does not allow other facilities to be constructed due to its squeezed location on a junction.

⁷¹ Kırıcı, Derya, *Bu Rezidansların Sırrı Ne?*, <http://odatv.com/bu-rezidanslarin-sirri-ne-0312131200.html> last access on 11.11.2015.

⁷² Habertürk, 12 April 2013, <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/serpil-yilmaz/835371-ankarada-kral-dairelerini-kim-aliyor>, access on 22.9.2015

According to the staff of sales and management offices, Next Level is managed with the concept of concierge services, like in a hotel. All required services are provided, some whose expenses are included in regular monthly payments while some of these services are provided for an extra charge. The building is a smart building where all facilities are electronically controlled. The residents can access their flats remotely from a lap-top, or a tablet or from their cell phones. They can control the heating, the lights, the shutters, the curtains; they can view the inside of their apartment too.

The flats may be rented or sold furnished, based on choice. According to the brochure of the group, the interiors of the flats have been designed with three different concepts which the architect named as “London,” “Paris” and “New York.” High quality brands were used as kitchen and bathroom equipment, as advertised in the brochure of the housing group and announced in newspaper articles.

According to the website and the brochure of the group,⁷³ the complex is situated on an area of 20,000 m². The “rezidans” tower is 20-storey high and contains 40 suits and 65 flats. The areas of these flats vary between 100 m²-238 m². Additionally it contains 7 king suits with an area of 426 m² which were sold for 3.3 million TL each.

According to the information obtained from the staff of the sales and management offices interviewed, there are flats of different types in Next Level. 1 room and 1 living room flats are sold for 800.000 TL and 3 rooms and 1 living room flats for 3.000.000 TL. Rent for 1 room and 1 living is 4000 TL. A research on newspaper ads in September 2015 reveals one 1 room and 1 living room flat to be rented for 5500 TL with 15,000 TL of deposit payment. Monthly payment for routine services is 9 TL/m² which would be 900 TL for a 100 m² for a 1 room and 1 living room apartment. Services for the reception, security, fitness area, spa and technical services are included in this fee. There are other services which can be received for a charge; these are house-keeping (250 TL for twice a week), transfer to the airport,

⁷³ www.nextlevel.com.tr access on 25.11.2014.

dry-cleaning, shopping, purchase and delivery of concert tickets, pilates sessions at the fitness area, massage at the spa. There is no swimming pool in the housing group. Nor there is a child care centre, or children's playground. The director of the management office noted that the children could use the play area in the mall. In fact, the housing group advertises that the residents can make use of the facilities at the shopping mall such as the restaurants, cafés and dry cleaning.

All maintenance is under the responsibility of the management company funded specifically to manage these facilities. There are special management offices for the shopping mall, housing group and the office building. Apart from that, there is also a building management, like in regular apartment buildings. The staff of the sales office noted that any problem is immediately solved as the owner of the construction company that built Next Level also lives here.

According to the information obtained from the sales office of Next Level, the percentage of the flats sold amounted to 80 %, while the occupancy level was 70 % at the time of the interview.

According to the publicity in its website, the main idea for Next Level group is that there is one residence building, one office building and there is one shopping mall from whose facilities both building groups are supposed to benefit. In fact, there are few particular facilities only for the residence area and the mall's facilities are advertised to be used by the residents.

According to the staff of sales and management offices, Next Level is managed with the concept of concierge services, like in a hotel. All required services are provided, some included in regular monthly payments while some of these services are for an extra charge. The building is a smart building where all facilities are electronically controlled. The residents can access their flats remotely from a lap-top, or a tablet or

from their cell phones. They can control the heating, the lights, the shutters, the curtains; they can view the inside of their apartment too.

According to the information obtained from the staff interviewed, there are flats of different type in Next Level. 1+1 flats are sold for 800.000 TL and 3+1 for 3.000.000 TL. Rent for 1+1 flat is 4000 TL. A research on newspaper ads in September 2015 reveal one 1+1 flat to be rented for 5500 TL with 15,000 TL of deposit. Monthly payment for routine services is 9 TL/m² which would be 900 TL for a 100 m² for a 1+1 apartment. Services for the reception, security, fitness area, spa and technical services are included in this fee. There are other services which can be received for a charge; these are house-keeping (250 TL for twice a week), transfer to the airport, dry-cleaning, shopping, purchase and delivery of concert tickets, pilates sessions at the fitness area, massage at the spa. There is no swimming pool in the housing group. Nor there is a child care centre, or children's playground. The director of the management office noted that the children could use the play area in the mall. In fact, the housing group advertises that the residents can make use of the facilities at the shopping mall (restaurants, dry cleaning etc.).

All maintenance is under the responsibility of the management company funded specifically to manage these facilities. There are special management offices for the shopping mall, housing group and the office building. Apart from that, there is also a building management, like in regular apartment buildings. The staff of the sales office noted that any problem is immediately solved as the owner of the construction company that built Next Level also lives here.

The interview with the concept consultant of Next Level revealed that the design was shaped according to the profile of the intended users of the "rezidans." This segment of the intended users was identified as "very private, very isolated and with no intention of neighbourly relations." A feasibility study was conducted in the course of development of the concept. During the study, housing units were introduced

afterwards; in the early stages of the concept development, offices and the malls were planned. The study covered not only the potential users in Ankara; the people who worked and lived in İstanbul and spent a few days of the week in Ankara were also considered. The surrounding investments were researched and what exists and what is lacking but should exist in Ankara were identified. The need for car parking was identified and it was seen that the intended users would not be making use of the subway although the housing group is very close to the subway station. The consultant noted that the subway was an advantage only for the mall which is open to public. According to his conclusions for the concept of all the “rezidans” areas in Ankara, Next Level is intended for single people or people with no children, who did not want to stay at home. Among the residents there are families whose children are older (15 and above) and people between the ages 25-30 and 40-45. This supports the fact that this group is preferred despite its non-existence of outdoor facilities and its location which can be considered as central, despite the fact that it is located in a main road junction. Sinpaş Altın Oran and Park Oran on the other hand are preferred by families with children for the reason that children can freely play and wander around within the facilities. In this respect, the residents of Sinpaş Altın Oran and Park Oran prefer these housing groups not only for reasons of the built environment but also for security reasons.

As for the question of the high prices of flats in Next Level, the concept consultant noted that the new city centre requires new understanding for construction. Considering the fact that flats in 20-30-year-old buildings in Çankaya or in Bahçelievler⁷⁴ are sold between 450.000 and 600.000 TL, the flats in Next Level cannot be considered as expensive given the fact that they are intended for a new profile of residents. The main reason for high prices of apartments in Turkey is because the land is expensive.

⁷⁴ Traditionally central and middle or upper-middle class and still popular neighbourhoods in Ankara.

The tower and office coordinator of Next Level indicated that despite the existence of a separate office building, some residents used their flats in the “rezidans” as home offices.

Kalender Evleri

This is a housing area comprised of two 7-storey buildings, densely built in a low-density residential area in Ümitköy. The plot on which it was built used to be basketball area adjacent to the park. Kalender Evleri was built on this basketball area and the adjacent park in the planning area of Çankaya Municipality is still there. The building stands out as it is just across a residential area comprised of two-storey houses with gardens and a common green area, and there is a contrast between the densities of two housing areas, within a street-crossing distance. Apart from the area where private houses are located, the neighbourhood in general is a low density area even in the places with high-rise buildings, not higher than 5-7 stores and with a wide green area around. Therefore this particular housing unit was selected due its high density in a very low density area.

The housing group encompasses only a parking garage and security. It has no green area of its own nor any other additional facilities. There are three types of flats with three, four and five rooms and a living room. According to advertisements in the real estate sections of the newspapers; 3 rooms and 1 living room apartments are sold for 550,000 TL, and rented out for 2000 TL.⁷⁵ Flats with 4 rooms and 1 living room are sold for 1,050,000 TL⁷⁶ and flats with 5 rooms and 1 living room were rented for 2,700 TL.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ <http://www.konutemlak.com.tr/konut-satilik/daire-ankara-yenimahalle-umit-mh-merkezi-dogalgaz-3-1-oda-165m2/7H.uzQAwEGNxUcj0-QIRQ==%7C?new=1> access on 12.10.2015.

⁷⁶ <http://www.famegayrimenkul.net/konut-satilik/daire-ankara-cankaya-mutlukent-mh-merkezi-dogalgaz-4-1-oda-220m2/nqjJKCEwqOiTcoO3Y-GLO==%7C?new=1> access on 12.10.2015

⁷⁷ <http://www.ozlememlak.com/konut-kiralik/daire-ankara-cankaya-mutlukent-mh-merkezi-dogalgaz-5-1-oda-320m2/aaSNWys6GBCqNPoIASFzIQ==%7C?new=1> access on 12.10.2015

The interview with the resident from Kalender Evleri excluded from the research

NAME: Belkıs (pseudonym)

LOCATION: Turta Café, Ümitköy (interviewed in the house or elsewhere)

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 11.10.2015

I. Characteristics and perception and use of urban space of upper-middle class;

1. General

- a) age, 47 (husband 51) Only the wife has been interviewed.
- b) sex, F
- c) marital status, Married
- d) number of children, if any, 2 (one completed masters, the other at 8th grade)
- e) education, High school
- f) occupation, Housewife, never worked; husband civil engineer, working in a construction company, often working abroad (currently in Saudi Arabia).
- g) number of people living in the household, 4 (however husband usually works abroad)
- h) monthly income, did not want to say
- i) Do you travel a lot? For work? For vacation? If yes, for how long? Visits her husband once every two months.
- j) General information about the flat (date of purchase, price bought, price now, no of rooms etc) 5+1 Bought seven years ago for 750.000 TL. These days flats sold for 1.250.000 TL. There are also 3+1 and 4+1 types.
- k) General information about the surrounding (the facilities the “site” or the “rezidans” has). Security, closed car park.
- l) How is this group of residences managed? How is the management formed? Normal apartman yönetimi. Yönetici sadece aidat ödemiyor. İki blok için bir yönetici ve bir yönetici yardımcısı.
- m) If you have any complaints, to whom do you report it? How is it handled/solved? Yönetici

n) Is there a collective decision-making mechanism in this group of residences? Yönetim toplantıları, once a year.

2. Perception of urban space

a) Where did you live before you moved here? Could you compare the two neighbourhoods? In a house with a garden just across the current residence in Ümitköy. She sees her neighbours as she did in her previous house. She feels more comfortable here because it is not double-storey. Before that, before she got married, she used to live in an apartment in Maltepe. Those days, Maltepe used to be a better neighbourhood. Now, it deteriorated. She likes it here in Ümitköy now, because it is clean and “nezih”.

b) How do you perceive/describe Ankara? I was born and raised in Ankara. Easy to live, although now there is more traffic. I find Ankara very ordered. I do not want to live anywhere else.

c) How do you perceive/describe a city in general? Please refer to other cities you have been to (abroad or in Turkey). I lived in Constanza for five years. It is a coastal town, very small, very calm and quiet in winter but too crowded in summer with too much traffic, almost comparable to Ankara and İstanbul. I missed Ankara a lot.

d) How do you perceive/describe your neighbourhood? Ümitköy is very compact, everyone knows everyone. Everybody is united (kenetlenmiş). A family neighbourhood. Like a summer residence. You can find everything here. I don't feel the need to go to the city center.

e) What are the reasons for living in Ankara? I was born and raised here. I did not have any chance. I lived in Constanza for a while, because of my husband's work. My family is here, did not think of anywhere else to live.

3. Use of urban space

a) Could you describe one day of yours? Where do you go, how do you go there, which routes do you use, how do you come back home etc.? (use of space, daily rhythm)

When I wake up, I do sports (she walks in the neighbourhood). Then I meet some of my neighbours for breakfast. If it is a school day, there is always an event at my son's school. I go there. I come back home, tidy up the home. Then it is evening already. The rest of the household comes back home in the evening and we have dinner. I rarely get out of Ümitköy, only to visit my sisters. One of them lives in Çankaya and the other in Gaziosmanpaşa. I go there by car.

b) Do you spend time in your neighbourhood? What do you do here in one day or in the weekends? (daily/weekly use of space in the neighbourhoods, activity/action space)

Once a week, I have lunch with my friends from my old neighbourhood, once a week with my current neighbours. We also go to shopping together.

In the weekends, if my husband has arrived in Ankara, it is like a vacation for him. We have breakfast outside and then visit the family. We meet friends for dinner. We are always in the neighbourhood except visiting family.

c) Do you know any of your neighbours? If yes, do you spend time with them? Yes, I have breakfast and/or lunch with them.

d) Why do you prefer to live in this neighbourhood? (explore perception of security, created perception of prestige etc.)

After I got married, we lived in Çankaya. We waited the house (previous one in Mutluköy) to be completed. I did not want to come here at first from a neighbourhood like Çankaya. But eventually we moved here because it was my husband's house. Now, I would never want to live in the city.

e) Who would be disturbing for you if they lived here? (Politically, life-style-wise etc.) I get along with my neighbours. They have high education profile. There are working and non-working neighbours. (She does not seem concerned with preserving homogeneity etc)

f) How do you position yourself politically? Do you consider yourself conservative? (Not likely)

g) Which parts of Ankara do you visit the most? Why? (for entertainment, recreation, business, shopping) I go to visit my sisters in Çankaya and in GOP. We have

manicure every 15 days and the girl comes to my sister's. So we meet there in GOP. Sometimes I meet my friends in Panora too. However I spend most of my time in Ümitköy.

h) Which parts of Ankara do you like the most? Why? I like Ümitköy the best.

4. Perception of “urbanity”

a) Do you feel you belong to this neighbourhood? Can you describe your identity based on this neighbourhood? Yes, I like it here.

b) What do you think about revision of development plans and/or changes in urban land use patterns (whether there is a reaction or consent or whether such revisions go unnoticed).

Does not like high density constructions. She liked it better when there were not many buildings here. (Tilkiler geçerdı). If this neighbourhood gets any denser, we may move further. Now the Simitçi junction is very crowded, our street is crowded because of the dersanes. The new Galleria will not be so high, gain three stories. Its owner also lives in our apartment building. They want to make it like Arcadium; restaurants in the front, a more organized parking place etc.

c) Are you a member of an NGO (association, foundation, activist organisations etc)? No.

d) Are you a member of any organization related to arts? No.

e) Do you go to concerts? How often? Which one did you go most recently? No. Even though the former company of the husband used to give them concert tickets, (in Bilkent mostly), they never went.

f) Do you visit art exhibitions? How often? Which one did you visit most recently? No.

g) Do you attend conferences? If yes, which one did you attend most recently? No.

h) Do you go to movies? How often? Which one did you go most recently? I used to go with my husband when he was in Ankara. But I do not go anymore. We used to go to movies in Ümitköy/Çayyolu.

i) Do you go to theatres? How often? Which one did you go most recently? No.

j) Are there particular events you follow in Ankara or in other cities (music festivals, art biennales, movie festivals, theatre festivals etc)? No.

k) If you go to concerts, exhibitions, conferences, where do you prefer to go? Are you selective based on the venue or the event? Does not go.

l) When/If you go abroad, do you search for cultural activities (concerts, exhibitions, festivals)? If you did, could you name one? No, not even when they lived in Constanza. They spent time with the family mostly.

m) Do you yourself practice art, play an instrument etc.? No.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

Reason for moving from a house with a garden to an apartment: When they left provisionally for Constanza, they left the key of the house to the neighbour who took care of the house (turning on the heater, etc) But when living in Constanza became long-term, they did not want to bother their neighbour anymore. Besides, we started living in an apartment in Constanza and realized that it is more convenient like that. It was foolish of us to live in a house with a garden. It is good to have a flat flat (not two-storey). Easy to access my sons' room etc. Before, when they were upstairs in their rooms, I did not know what they were doing. Now however, I can take a peek in their rooms.

I like it when it is less dense. Before, Ümitköy used to be safer. I was more secure when my elder son was growing up. Now I do not feel so secure with my younger son. This neighbourhood started to deteriorate too (ipsiz sapsızlar var)

D. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Sözer, F. Şebnem
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 14 June 1968, Ankara
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Science and Technology Policies	2006
Associate degree	Ankara University, DTCF, Cotemporary Greek Language and Literature	2000
B. Arch	METU Architecture	1991
High School	TED Ankara Koleji	1986

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrolment
2006- Present	Ministry for European Union Affairs	Coordinator of Cross-border Cooperation Programmes
1992-2006	Ministry of Industry and Trade	Architect, Site Selection Expert, Head of Department for Industrial Zones
1991-1992	Ömer Irmak Architecture Office, Dalyan	Architect
1990 July-August	Grau Arquitectos, Valencia, Spain	Intern as Student of Architecture
1989 July-August	EMTA A.Ş, Ankara	Intern as Student of Architecture

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English, French, Spanish, Greek, Italian

PUBLICATIONS

Son Vaha, Su Sıkıntısıyla Karşı Karşıya, TÜBİTAK-TEMA, 1999; translation of *Last Oasis, Facing Water Scarcity* by Sandra Postel, Worldwatch Institute, 1992, from English to Turkish.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ANKARA'DA "REZİDANS" LARDA YAŞAYAN ORTA-ÜST SINIFIN YARATILMIŞ TALEP OLARAK KENT MEKÂNI KULLANIMI VE ALGISI

Giriş, Teorik ve Kavramsal Çerçeve

Son yirmi-otuz yıl içinde Ankara'da kentsel mekân, hızlı ve gözle görünür biçimde değişmiştir. Bu değişimi ve yeni kentsel anlayışı etkileyen ve tetikleyen faktörler arasında, kent toprağının değişim değerinin ön plana çıkması ve kentsel parsellerden rant elde etme kaygısı en belirgin olanlarıdır. Planlamalar, özellikle imar planlarında yapılan değişiklikler, arsa fiyatlarında çok yüksek artışa neden olmakta ve bunun sonucunda kentsel mekânda yapı yoğunluğu artmaktadır.

Kentsel araştırmalar, kapitalist politikaların kentsel mekân üretimindeki belirgin rolünü ortaya koyan yeteri kadar veri sunmaktadır. Kapitalist politikaların kentsel mekâna yansımaları, değişim değerinin öncelenmesi ve nihayetinde yeni mekân türlerinin üretilmesini getirmektedir. 1980'lerden itibaren kentsel mekân, küresel kapitalist politikaların sonucu olarak büyük bir hızla değişmektedir; kent merkezleri, sokaklar, meydanlar ve yeşil alanlar, başlıca işlevsel kentsel mekânlar olarak sahip oldukları önemi yitirmektedir. Bu dönüşüm kentin silüetini ve mekânsal kullanım kalıplarını değiştirmekle kalmayıp spekülasyon politikası tercihleri yardımıyla hatırı sayılır rant yaratmaktadır. Bu durum Ankara'da geniş ölçüde tekrarlanmaktadır.

Kent mekânı kapitalist politikalar tarafından üretilmektedir. Harvey, kapitalizmin kentlere olan artan ilgisini, kapitalizmin çevrimleri ile açıklamaktadır. Geniş çevreler tarafından bilinen analizinde Harvey, birinci çevrimde aşırı birikim meydana gelip kâr oranları düştüğünde, sermayenin ilgisini ikinci çevrime, yani yapılı çevreye yönlendirdiğini belirtmektedir. Bu ilgi ile birlikte kent mekânının kullanım değeri arka plana kaymış, değişim değeri ön plana geçmiştir. Harvey'ye göre kapitalizmin krizleri de aslında kentsel krizlerdir ve bu krizlerden, kent mekânının kullanım

değerinin ön plana çıkarılması ve kent hakkı, konut hakkı gibi kavramların tartışılması ile çıkılabilecektir.

Lefebvre, kapitalizmin 20. Yüzyılı görmesini, kentleri keşfetmiş olmasına bağlamaktadır. Mekânın bir kap, bir ihtiva aracı olmanın ötesinde, toplumsal olarak üretildiğini dile getirerek, mekân analizini bütüncül bir yaklaşımla ele almıştır. Bir üçleme biçiminde gerçekleştirdiği analizi, günlük mekân kullanımı ile ortaya çıkan *mekânsal pratikler*, başka bir deyişle *algılanan mekân*; daha çok uzman kullanımına yönelik olarak *mekânın temsili* ya da *tasavvur edilen mekân*; ve *temsil edilen mekân* ya da *yaşanan mekân* olarak da adlandırdığı, duygusal, tarihi ve geleneksel aidiyetleri barındıran mekâna atıflardan oluşmaktadır. Günlük mekân kullanımının ürettiği mekân algısı, kentsel bağlamda ve kent mekânı kullanımında önemli faktörler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Benzer şekilde Castells de kent mekânını kapitalist politikaların belirlediğinden hareketle, kenti anlamak için orada yaşayan sınıfları ve emek-sermaye ilişkisini incelemek gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Kentlerin yalnızca üretim değil, aynı zamanda tüketim yerleri olduğunu, bu bağlamda özellikle toplu tüketim pratiklerinin araştırılması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır.

Her üç kent düşünürü de, kapitalizmin şekillendirdiği kentlerde ortaya çıkan eşitsizliğin, adaletsizliğin ve hak engellemelerinin çözümü için bütüncül bir tepki, bir hareket önermektedir. Neticede sınıfsal etkilerinin yoğun olarak görülmesine rağmen, ortaya çıkan adaletsizlik tüm sınıflar için olumsuz sonuçlara sahiptir ve buna karşı topyekûn bir anlayış gerekmektedir. Bu anlayış, kent halkının selametini düşünen, kent hakkını savunan, kentsel adaleti temin edecek ve kentlerin kullanım değerini ön plana çıkaracak kökten bir değişikliğe ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Gelineen noktada her sınıftan vatandaş kent mekânının değişim değerinden kazanç bekler pozisyona getirilmiştir. Bu toplumsal anlayışın kökten dönüştürülmesi ve kullanım değerinin her kesimin yararına olacağına farkına varılması önem arz etmektedir.

Kapitalist politikaların Ankara'ya yansması had safhadadır. Ankara'nın 1920'lerden itibaren planlama pratikleri incelendiğinde, kentsel parsellerden rant elde etme kaygısının yeni olmadığı görülmektedir. Ankara'nın, cumhuriyetin yeni yüzü ve başkenti olarak planlanması, mevcut ideolojinin kent mekânındaki izdüşümü olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu özelliği yıllar içinde devam etmiş, mekânsal uygulamalar egemen politikalarla uyumlu olarak sürdürülmüştür. Bunun her döneme özgü en önemli yansması yapı yoğunluğunun artırılması, yeşil alanların azalması ve kamusal mekânların değişime uğraması şeklinde tezahür etmiştir. Ankara'nın ilk planından başlayan değişim değeri odaklı bakış açısı, 1980'lerde daha belirgin hale gelmiş, 1990'larda ve 2000'lerde gözle görülür bir keskinlikle yükselerek kent hakkı ihlallerine yol açmıştır. Bu bağlamda sürekli değişen planlama kararları ile geniş kitlelerin kentsel hakkı kısıtlanmaktadır. Son yirmi-otuz yıldır yeni yaya mekânları, kent içi yeşil alanlar ve etkin toplu taşıma hayata geçirilmemiştir; bunun yerine Ankara, otomobil endüstrisini besleyecek şekilde ve yaya hareketliliğini göz ardı ederek yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Kent mekânı iş merkezleri ve alış-veriş merkezleri vasıtasıyla yeniden üretilmiştir ve geniş kentsel yeşil alanların yok edilmesine tanık olunmuştur. Hâkim politikalar kendini en fazla konut alanında sergilemektedir. Konut alanlarının yoğunluğunun artırılması, çok katlı apartmanlar, banliyöler, korunaklı siteler, banliyölerde yoğunluk artışı ve kent merkezinin yeniden inşası, bir Ankaralının yarı hayatında gözlemleyebileceği dönüşümler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Kentsel politikaların bilinen bu yönünü not ettikten sonra, yukarıdan aşağıya konumlanan ve genel kamusal yararı, kent hakkını ve kentsel adaleti göz ardı eden kentsel dönüşümlerin politik yönünden başka diğer bir yönünün mevcudiyetini de saptamakta yarar bulunmaktadır. Bu diğer yön, esasında birincisinin önemli nedenlerinden biri olarak değerlendirilebilir: Halktan gelen üretilmiş rıza ve talep. Kent halkı, kentsel "gelişme" adına "doğal" kabul edilen ve daha yoğun yapılaşmaya ve buna yönelik arazi kullanım kararlarının değiştirilmesine olanak tanıyan tüm plan değişikliklerine rıza göstermektedir. Kentlerin yeniden üretilen çehresi, tüm kentliler

tarafından kolayca kabul görmektedir. Örneğin bir yeşil alanın yapılaşmaya açılmasına hemen hemen hiç itiraz olmamakta, buna karşı bir protesto sergilenmemektedir. Bu yalnızca edilgen bir rıza göstermenin ötesine geçmekte, bu tür düzenlemeler lehine tüm sınıflardan talep oluşmaktadır. Kentsel mekân kullanımı, özellikle Ankara halkının konut tercihleri planlamayı, yeniden planlamayı tetiklemekte, bu sayede imar planları sürekli olarak revize edilmekte ve belediye düzeyindeki politika kararları kısmen bu taleplere karşılık olarak, en azından yeni üretilen kentsel mekânların çok da fazla tepki ile karşılaşmayacağı güvencesi ile alınmaktadır. Kentsel mekânın değişim değerini ön plana çıkaran bu uygulamayla yalnızca kentin “büyüme koalisyonu” değil, neredeyse tüm vatandaşları bütünleşmiş görünmektedir.

Tüm bu kentsel gelişmeler içinde Ankara’da en çok göze çarpan mekân üretimi, “rezidans” tabir edilen lüks konutların üretimidir. Türk Dil Kurumu’nun sözlüğüne göre “yüksel devlet görevlileri, elçiler vb.nin oturmalarına ayrılan konut, saray, konut” anlamı taşıyan bu sözcük, daha çok büyükelçilerin çalışma ofisleri olan büyükelçilik ile yaşam alanlarını ayırmak için kullanılmakta ve bu görevlilerin yaşam alanlarına “büyükkelçilik rezidansı” denmektedir. Yeni üretilen kentsel mekânlar bağlamında bu sözcük, lüks ve güvenli konut alanları için kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu tezin sahibi bu kullanımı uygun bulmadığından, tez boyunca adı geçen ifade tırnak içinde kullanılmıştır.

Daha önce de değinildiği üzere, kapitalist kentsel politikaların kendini gösterdiği önemli bir alan, konut alanlarıdır. Çoğunlukla rant elde edilmesi amacıyla yapılan plan değişiklikleri uzun yıllardır gözlemlenmektedir. Bu pratik yıllar içinde yoğunluk artırma, banliyölerde yeni konut alanlarının üretimi, banliyölerin yapı yoğunluğunun artırılması, soylulaştırma ve diğer uygulamalarla yeniden kent merkezini keşfetme biçiminde gerçekleşmiştir. Bu döngü tüm kentlerde olduğu gibi yoğun bir biçimde Ankara’da da gözlemlenmektedir. Bu çerçevede, yapılan plan değişiklikleri ve kullanıma sokulan yeni konut finansman mekanizmaları sonucunda lüks konut

inşaatları artmıştır. Alış-veriş merkezleri ile diğer kentsel olanakları bünyesinde barındırma iddiasında bulunan ve “rezidans” diye tabir edilmeye başlanan bu alanlar vasıtasıyla kent mekanı yeniden üretilmektedir. Bu yeni üretilen mekânlar gündelik kent mekânı kullanımını, mekân algısını ve kentlilik algısını da etkilemektedir. Bu bağlamda mekân kullanımı, mekân algısı ve kentlilik algısı yeniden üretilmektedir. Bu algı ülkelere ve kentlere göre farklılıklar barındırmakla birlikte, Türkiye örneğinde bazı farklılıklar olsa da, temel olarak benzer pratiklere işaret etmektedir. Araştırmalarında Zukin, Atkinson, Dirksmeier ve Latham, yeni kentsel mekân kullanımı ile kentlilik algısının tüketim odaklı olarak üretildiğini vurgulamaktadır. Gerçekten de yeni kamusal mekânlar kısıtlı karşılaşmalar sağlamakta, mekânsal ve toplumsal ayrışmalara yol açmaktadır. Bu bağlamda en sık rastlanan kentsel faaliyetler, tüketim odaklı pratikler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. “Rezidans” tabir edilen konut türleri de ayrışmayı yeniden üretmekte ve derinleştirmektedir.

Kentlerin kapitalizm tarafından şekillendirilmesi meselesinin yanı sıra, bu yeni mekânları kimlerin kullandığı hususuna gelince, özellikle yüksek fiyatlı ve korunaklı konut gruplarının, orta-üst sınıflar tarafından tercih edildiğine tanık olunmaktadır. Bu sınıf, ekonomik gücü bakımından kapitalist sınıf olarak değerlendirilebilmekle birlikte, gelirlerini her zaman tekrar üretime sermaye olarak katmadıkları göz önüne alındığında, bilinen anlamda bir kapitalist sınıf olarak değerlendirilemezler. Bu bağlamda, yalnızca üretim ilişkilerini göz önüne almayan, sınıfsal farklılıklarda başka etkenlerin de düşünülmesi gerekliliğini vurgulayan Bourdieu, sınıf analizinde tüketim pratiklerini de incelemiştir. Sermayeyi toplumsal, ekonomik, kültürel ve sembolik sermaye olarak ayırarak, toplum içinde farklı katmanlar üreten diğer etkenleri de göz önüne sermiştir. Bu şekilde farklı sermaye tanımlarından yola çıkarak, beğeni, statü, kültürel tercihler ve konut kullanımı bakımından da sınıfların oluştuğunun altını çizmiştir. Bourdieu'den yola çıkarak, belli bir konut tercihinin de bir sınıf oluşturduğu var sayılabilir. Nitekim Dirksmeier da, konut ya da ikamet sermayesinin de, konut vasıtasıyla elde edilebilen bir toplumsal sermaye olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Araştırma konusu olan “rezidans” alanlarının en önemli özellikleri lüks konut olmaları, güvenli olmaları ve geleneksel olarak kentsel mekanda bulunması gereken tüm olanakları ve yerleri içermeye iddiası taşımalarıdır. Bu alanlardaki konutların yüksek fiyatları ve mekân kullanımı bakımından kısıtlama getirmeleri, bu alanlarda yaşamayı tercih edenlerin kent mekânı algılarını, mekân kullanımlarını ve kentlilik algılarının üretilme sürecini merak konusu haline getirmektedir. Yeni üretilen bu kentsel mekânlara karşı talebin nasıl oluşturulduğunun ve bu alanlarda oturanların nihayetinde buralarda yaşamayı tercih etmelerine yol açacak olan mekân kullanımı ve mekân algılarının anlaşılması önem arz etmektedir. Bu yaratılmış talebin, konut ve mahalle özelinde kentsel mekân kullanımı ve kentlilik algısına ilişkin yeni yaklaşımda belirgin bir rolü bulunduğu ön görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu tezin araştırma sorusu, “Ankara’da “rezidans”larda yaşayanlar, mekân kullanımı ve mekân algısı üzerinden kentlik olgusunu nasıl anlamaktadır?” Orta-üst sınıfın konut tercihleri ile karakterize edilen mekân kullanımının, Türkçe’de “rezidans” olarak tabir edilmeye başlayan yeni üretilmiş konut mekânlarının kullanıcısı olan bu sınıfın kentlilik algısının ve deneyiminin keşfi özelinde bu tür konutların tercih edilmesinin ve Ankara’nın değişen ve dönüşen kentsel mekânı bağlamında nasıl üretildiğinin gösterilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Bu araştırmaya ait teorik çerçeveden kullanılan kavramlar *kentsel mekân kullanımı*, *kentsel mekân algısı*, *kentlilik algısı* ve *orta-üst sınıf* tır.

Bu tez kapsamında *orta-üst sınıf*, yüksek geliri olan ve ikamet sermayesi olarak “rezidans” adı verilen konut alanlarında daire sahibi bulunan grup olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu ekonomik tanımın yanı sıra Bourdieu’nün teorisi ile uyumlu olarak, bu grubun sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyetlerle ilişkisi, bu bağlamda bir sınıf tanımı yapmak maksadıyla değil, ancak bu grubun bu tür özelliklerinin de tespiti amacıyla incelenmiştir.

Tez kapsamında faydalanılan diğerk bir kavram olan *kentsel mekân algısı*, Lefebvre'in mekân analizinde yer alan *mekân pratikleri* üzerinden tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda katılımcıların genel olarak kent ve özel olarak Ankara algısı, buna ilaveten yaşadıkları semt ve mahalle algısı, günlük pratikler ve mekân kullanım tecrübeleri üzerinden araştırılmıştır.

Kentsel mekân kullanımı kavramı, yine Lefebvre'den yola çıkılarak kurgulanmış olup, günlük pratikler ve kent mekânı üzerinden toplumsal ilişkiler üzerinden araştırılmıştır. Bu kapsamda Ankara genelinde günlük mekân kullanımı gündeme getirilmiştir.

Bu tez kapsamında kullanılan diğerk bir kavram olan *kentlilik algısı* araştırıldığında, *kentlilik* terimi için çok farklı tanımlamanın bulunduğu gözlenmiştir. Yapılan incelemeler sonucunda ve bu tezin amaçlarına uygun olarak *kentlilik algısı*, kentsel yaşamın sunduğu olanaklardan yararlanma bağlamında günlük pratikler içinde sanatsal ve kültürel etkinliklere ve kent mekânındaki dönüşümlere ilişkin farkındalık, sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyetlere izleyici ya da uygulayıcı olarak katılım, sivil toplum kuruluşları üyeliği üzerinden kurgulanmıştır. Buna ilaveten ait olma duygusu da araştırma kapsamında değerlendirilmiştir.

Ankara'da Kentsel ve Ekonomik Gelişmeler

Literatür taraması ile gösterildiği üzere, daha yüksek ve daha yoğun yapılaşma adına imar planı revizyonu yeni bir olgu değildir ve Ankara'nın ilk kent planından beri bu siyasi pratik uygulanmaktadır. Bu pratik belli bir düzenle hareket etmektedir: Kent içinde daha yüksek ve daha yoğun yapılaşma, önceleri kooperatif biçiminde olmak üzere banliyölerde konut ve işyeri üretimi, banliyölerde yapı yoğunluğu artırımı, kent merkezinin yeniden keşfi, korunaklı siteler, ve nihayetinde “rezidans” tabir edilen lüks ve çeşitli olanaklara sahip konut grupları. Son yıllarda Ankara'daki ekonomik göstergelerin değiştiği ve kentin “memur ve öğrenci şehri” profilinin evirildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu durum kamusal alanların yok edilmesi pahasına yeni kentsel

mekânlar üretilmesini ve neredeyse hiçbir tepki olmaksızın bu durumun kabul edilmesini açıklayabilmektedir. Bu “rezidans”lar, finansal hareketliliğin yeni mekânsal izdüşümü olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Metodoloji

Araştırma sorusuna cevap bulabilmek amacıyla, literatür taramasına ilaveten bu araştırma iki ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde, araştırmaya konu konut alanlarının reklamlarının incelenmesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu çeşit bir incelemenin amacı, bir ihtiyacın ve bunun sonucu olarak yeni kentsel mekânların yaratılması amacıyla, yeni konut mekânlarının nasıl tanıtıldığı ve yeni yaşam tarzlarının topluma nasıl sunulduğunun araştırılmasıdır. Daha sonra yapılan görüşmelerde, söz konusu tanıtımların yaşayanlar üzerindeki etkisi de araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Araştırmanın ikinci bölümünde, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar vasıtasıyla iki grup toplam 35 katılımcı ile derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Birinci grup katılımcılar, kentsel planlama-politika yapıcılar grubu ile araştırmaya konu olan konut alanlarının satış ve yönetim tarafında yer alan aktörlerden oluşmaktadır. Bu kapsamda mimar, meslek odaları, belediyeler, satış ve tanıtım ofisleri çalışanlarından oluşan evrenden toplam 18 görüşme yapılmıştır. Mülakat yapılan ikinci grup ise bu tez kapsamında araştırılan konut alanlarında yaşayan kişilerdir. Bu kapsamda, Park Oran, Park Avenue ve Sinpaş Altın Oran’da yaşayan ya da buralardan daire satın almış olan, 12 haneden toplam 17 katılımcı ile görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Araştırma Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi

Araştırmanın birinci kısmında, “rezidans”lara ait promosyon araçlarının incelenmesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu inceleme ile amaçlanan, bu tür konutların nasıl tanıtıldığı, ne tür bir yaşam tarzının reklamının yapıldığı ve bu tür bir ihtiyacın nasıl oluşturulduğunun araştırılmasıdır. Araştırmanın sonucunda öne çıkan reklam unsurlarının *yeni, prestijli ve lüks bir yaşam*, konut gruplarının *tüm olanakları*

içermesi, çoğunlukla yeşil alanlar ve su elemanı ile karakterize edilen doğal bir çevre, aile yaşamı, konum avantajı ve değişim değeri olarak belirlenmiştir.

Reklamlarda öne çıkan unsurlarla katılımcıların cevapları kıyaslandığında, bu unsurların “rezidans”ların tercihinde kendine yer bulduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Katılımcılar tarafından telaffuz edilen yeni ve prestijli yaşam, tüm olanakları barındırması, yeşil alanlar, merkezi konum, özellikle çocuklar açısından güvenlik, reklamların öne çıkardığı hususlarla örtüşmektedir. Konutların değişim değeri ise daha çok satış ofisleri tarafından dile getirilirken, bu konutlarda yaşayanlar tarafından içkin olarak ima edilmiş, yalnızca iki katılımcı tarafından doğrudan dile getirilmiştir.

Araştırmanın ikinci kısmında ise, iki farklı grupta mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Mülakatların birinci bölümü, plan-politika yapıcılarla satış ve yönetim tarafındaki aktörlerle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, “rezidans” türü yapı tasarlayan bir mimar, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nde görevli üç şehir plancısı, Çankaya Belediyesi Planlama Şubesinden bir yetkili, Yenimahalle Belediyesi İmar ve Şehircilik Şubesinden bir yetkili, Park Oran yönetiminde güvenlik müdürü, Sinpaş Altın Oran’da satış sonrası müşteri temsilcisi, Park Avenue’den iki satış temsilcisi, Next Level’den bir satış temsilcisi, yönetim ofisinden üç yönetici ile bir konsept danışmanı ve Marina Ankara’dan bir satış temsilcisi ile olmak üzere, toplam 18 katılımcı ile görüşme yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin analizi sonucu elde edilen bulgular, “rezidans”larda yaşayan katılımcılarla yapılan görüşmelerden ortaya çıkan bulgularla örtüşmekte, zaman zaman tamamlayıcı nitelik taşımaktadır. Meslek odaları, belediyeler, satış ve yönetim ofisleri yetkilileri ile yapılan görüşmelerde, bu tür konutların tercih edilmesinin nedeni olarak güvenlik algısı, aynı konut grubunda tüm olanaklara erişim ve tüm hizmetlerin sağlanması unsurları öne çıkmaktadır. Bu grupta gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerde, Ankara’daki yeni müşteri profiline vurgu yapılmıştır. “Rezidans” alanlarının tercih edilmesine ilişkin bu grup katılımcının öne çıkardığı diğer nedenler

konum, konfor, prestij, yatırım, yeni bir hayat tarzı ve politik ekonomi ile yaratılmış olan ihtiyaç olarak dile getirilmiştir. Tüm bu faktörler yeni bir mekân kullanımına işaret etmektedir.

Ancak satın alınan dairelerin değişim değerine vurgu, bu dairelerin kullanıcılarından ziyade satış ofislerindeki temsilciler tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Bu görevliler kendi konut gruplarından daire satın almanın doğru bir yatırım olduğuna işaret etmektedirler. Oysa konutların kullanıcıları arasında yalnızca ikisi değişim değerine işaret etmiştir. Konutların kullanıcılarına paralel olarak satış ofisi çalışanları da konut grubunun homojen özelliklerine vurgu yapmıştır; ancak aynı zamanda bir çeşitlilik yanılığı da sunulmaktadır.

Belediyede görevli şehir plancıları tarafından ortaya konulan ve problemliler olarak nitelendirilen bir alan, imar planı revizyonu süreçleri ile ilişkilidir. Planlama pratiklerinin son yıllarda büyük ölçüde değiştiği, Büyükşehir Belediyesinin planlama dairesinin artık planlama ile doğrudan ilişkili olmadığı, planların parsel bazında ve inşaat firmalarının talepleri ile revize edildiği ifade edilmiştir. Söz konusu revizyonlar çerçevesinde ihtiyaç analizlerinin, yoğunluk artışının ortaya çıkaracağı kentsel sorunların ve diğer şehircilik ilkelerinin göz önüne alınmadığı vurgulanmıştır. Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi yetkilisi, Ankara 2023 Nazım İmar Planında 8000 kadar değişiklik yapıldığını, bu revizyonlara karşı neredeyse tek tepkinin odalardan geldiğini ifade etmiştir.

Belediyelerde görevli şehir plancılarının “rezidans” alanlarına ilişkin yanlış bir ön görüşü de görüşmelerle ortaya çıkmıştır: Bu tür konut gruplarında dairelerin çoğunun satılmadığını düşünmelerine rağmen satış ofisleri ile yapılan görüşmeler, yüksek satış ve oturma oranları ortaya koymaktadır.

“Rezidans”larda yaşayanlarla yapılan görüşmelerde de ortaya çıktığı üzere, bu araştırma ile ortaya çıkan bir çelişkili konum, genellikle ilgilidir. Konutlarda

yaşayan katılımcılar, diğer kentsel mekânlarda gerçek bir tehdidin tanımını yapmaksızın, kendi konut gruplarındaki güvenliğe vurgu yapmışlardır. Araştırma sırasında telaffuz edilen tek gerçek güvenlik tehdidi, çalışılan konut gruplarından birisinin kurulu olduğu alana ait jeolojik raporda dile getirilen heyelan riski ve bu alanın yapılaşmaya kapalı olması gerektiği söylemi olmuştur. Ancak tüm soyut güvenlik söylemlerine karşın bu tek somut tehdit, katılımcılar tarafından göz ardı edilmiş, ciddiye alınmamış ve söz konusu konut grubunda yaşamaya dair algısal prestij ön plana geçmiştir. Bir katılımcı bu jeolojik raporun iki belediye arasında rant savaşından kaynaklandığını ve gerçeği yansıtmadığını dahi dile getirmiştir.

Görüşmelerin ikinci kısmını teşkil eden konut sakinleri ile yapılan görüşmeler ***katılımcıların genel profili, kentsel mekân algısı, kentsel mekân kullanımı ve kentlilik algısı başlıkları altında incelenmiştir.***

Katılımcıların genel profili

“Rezidans”larda yaşayan ve görüşme yapılan toplam 17 katılımcı, 27-59 yaşları arasında olup 8 tanesi birbiriyle olmak üzere, 14’ü evlidir. Ailelerdeki çocuk sayısı 0-2 arasındadır. Bir lise mezunu ile yüksek lisans yapmakta olan bir katılımcı dışında tümü üniversite mezunudur. Dört kadın ve bir erkek katılımcı emekli, dört kadın katılımcı şu anda çalışmamaktadır. Üç erkek katılımcı kendi şirketine sahiptir. Bir erkek bir kadın katılımcı doktor, bir kadın katılımcı hâkim, bir kadın katılımcı özel bir okulda öğretmen, bir erkek katılımcı ise devlet memurudur.

İfade edilen hane halkı aylık geliri 7500 ile 15.000 TL arasında değişmektedir. Ancak hemen hemen tüm katılımcılar yaklaşık 10.000 TL tutarında bir rakam telaffuz etmiştir ve bu tutar gerçekçi görünmemektedir. Bir kısım katılımcı ise gelirlerini ifade etmek istemediğini ya da bilmediğini belirtmiştir.

Kentsel mekân algısı

Kentsel mekân algısına yönelik görüşmelerde verilen cevaplar analiz edildiğinde, kentsel mekân algısının büyük ölçüde çevresel nitelikler, yaşayanların homojen özellikleri, kentin seçkin niteliklerine ilişkin algı, nitelikli eğitim olanakları, düzen, ulaşım kolaylığı, trafik yoğunluğu, sistematik ve yapısal özellikler, gündelik faaliyetlerde çeşitlilik ile ayrışma ve tecrit kavramları üzerinden üretildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Kentsel mekân algısına ilişkin olarak kentin tarihi değerlerine ilişkin bir husus katılımcılar tarafından gündeme getirilmemiştir.

Ankara'ya ilişkin algı, hemen hemen tüm katılımcılar tarafından her şeyden önce “düzenli bir şehir” ifadesi ile şekil bulmaktadır. Katılımcıların Ankara algısı şu kavramlarla özetlenebilir: “Sakin, düzenli, temiz, kültürel ortama sahip (bu husus araştırma sırasında tespit edilen çelişkilerden biridir çünkü günlük mekân kullanımı ile ilgili sorularda kültürel faaliyetlere çok az vurgu yapılmıştır.), insanları saygılı, sistematik, yapısal, rahat, yeterli yeşil alana sahip olmayan, nitelikli eğitim olanaklarına sahip, ulaşım problemi bulunmayan, yaşaması kolay ve kuru iklime sahip bir kent.” “Derli toplu” olma niteliği ile çeşitlilik arayışı arasında bir çekişme olduğu gözlenmiştir. Ulaşılabilirlik ve hep aynı toplumsal çevrede yer alma hususu ise hem bir avantaj olarak görülmekte, hem bir “sıkışmışlık” algısı oluşturmaktadır.

Ankara'nın başka şehirlerle kıyaslanması istendiğinde, katılımcıların büyük bir bölümünün, özellikle trafik yoğunluğu bakımından İstanbul ile kıyaslama yaptığı gözlemlenmiştir. Ankara daha sade, daha az faaliyet çeşitliliğine sahip ancak ulaşım konusunda daha avantajlı olarak tanımlanmıştır. Biri hariç tüm katılımcıların sıkça yurt dışına seyahat etmelerine rağmen, yalnızca iki katılımcının Ankara'yı başka ülkeden bir şehirle kıyasladıkları görülmüştür. Kentteki kültürel faaliyetler çok az sayıda katılımcı tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Kentlilik algısına yönelik bölümden de görüleceği üzere, kültürel ve sanatsal faaliyetlere az sayıda vurgu yapılmıştır.

Yaşanan mahalleye ve konut grubuna ait algıya ilişkin olarak, homojenlik, yeşil alan mevcudiyeti, kent merkezine yakınlık, “Avrupalı,” “ışıl ışıl” gibi terimlerle tanımlanan seçkin özellikler ile ayrışma kavramları vasıtasıyla mahalle ve konut grubu memnuniyeti dile getirilmiştir. Kendi konut gruplarının ayrıştırıcı özellikleri, katılımcılar tarafından kent hakkı üzerinden eleştirilmekle beraber, aynı zamanda “rezidans” alanındaki homojen özellikler olumlu bir nitelik olarak dile getirilmektedir. Bu anlamda fikren karşı olunan bir uygulamanın pratikte gerçekleştiriliyor olması, katılımcılar tarafından kendilerine yönelik olarak gerekçelendirilmektedir. Bu durum, araştırma sırasında ortaya çıkan diğer bir çelişkili durumdur.

Katılımcıların hâlihazırda yaşadıkları konut gruplarını, daha önce yaşadıkları semtlerle kıyaslamaları istendiğinde, bu karşılaştırma günlük faaliyetlere erişim, evlerin kalitesi, olanaklara erişim, mahallenin çevresel nitelikleri, kent merkezine ve alış-veriş merkezlerine yakınlık ile mahalle hakkında duygusallık üzerinden yapılmıştır. Sıkışık kalmışlık duygusunun yanında ait olma, prestij ve konuma ilişkin avantaj sıkça dile getirilmiştir. Kıyaslama sırasında sıklıkla başvuru kavramlar güvenlik, yeşil alanların varlığı ve semtin kalitesi olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Ankara’ya ilişkin mekân algısı, “rezidans” türü konut tercihi ile çelişmektedir. Çoğunlukla “düzenli” ve “mazbut” olarak tanımlanan bir kentte, ayrışmaya ve tecrite neden olan konut türünün seçilmesi bağdaşmamaktadır. Ancak mekân algısının mekân kullanımı üzerinden tanımlandığı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, mekân algısının diğer parametreleri bu tercihi desteklemektedir.

Mekân kullanımı

Katılımcıların kent mekânı kullanımına gelindiğinde, özellikle kafelerde tüketim odaklı boş zaman geçirmenin, kamusal alanı kendi özel mekânı olarak kullanmanın, günlük mekân kullanımının odağını oluşturduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Aile bireyleri ve arkadaşlarla buluşma için, giriş-çıkışların belli bir kesimin kullanımı ile kısıtlı olduğu

ve ayrıştırılmış kent mekânlarından olan alış-veriş merkezlerinin tercih edildiği, bu sayede sınırlı bir çeşitlilik ile homojen bir toplum kesimi ile karşılaşmanın garanti altına alındığı belirlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda alış-veriş merkezlerine çekilme, bu çekilme ile uyumlu olarak boş zaman geçirme ve sosyalleşme ekseninde mekân-bağımlı bir kimlik oluşturma gözle görünür hale gelmiştir.

Bu araştırma kapsamında tespit edilen bir başka çelişkili bulgu, “rezidans” alanlarındaki mekan kullanımına ilişkindir. Bu konut gruplarında mevcut bulunan tüm sosyal olanaklar, özellikle spor alanları, katılımcılar tarafından bu “rezidans”ların seçiminde önemli bir etken olup aynı zamanda bir prestij göstergesi olarak dile getirilmektedir. Ancak özellikle spor alanlarının kullanılmaması, çelişkili bir konum ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Katılımcılar, eğer mevcut ise konut gruplarının alış-veriş merkezlerinde vakit geçirmekte, diğer konularda bu alanların kullanımı kısıtlı kalmaktadır. Aynı şekilde Ankara genelinde de kısıtlı bir kentsel mekân kullanımı ortaya çıkmaktadır ve bu kullanım bazı semtlerle sınırlı kalmaktadır. Tecrit ve inziva, günlük mekân kullanımının önemli öğeleri olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Kent içinde genel olarak otomobil kullanımı, trafiğin yoğun olduğu kent merkezine ulaşım söz konusu olduğunda ise tecrit arzusu ile çelişir bir biçimde dolmuş ile ulaşım söz konusudur. Günlük mekân kullanımı pratiklerinde, bir iki istisna dışında hemen hemen hiç sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyet dile getirilmemiştir. Benzer şekilde, kentteki tarihi mekânlara ziyaret de günlük mekân kullanımının bir parçası değildir.

Daha önceden bahsi geçtiği üzere, bu araştırma katılımcıların bazı çelişkili konumlarını ortaya koymuştur. Bu bağlamda tespit edilen diğer bir çelişkili konum, araştırmanın çeşitli aşamalarında yaşanan semtin ve özellikle konut grubunun homojen karakteri sıklıkla vurgulanmış olsa da, komşularla ilişkilerin fazla olmamasıdır. Ancak, bu bulguya istisna oluşturan durumların da mevcudiyetini not etmek gerekir. Bu bulguya rağmen bazı katılımcıların komşuları ile iyi ilişkileri olduğu gözlemlenmiştir; bazılarının birlikte iş olanakları paylaştığına dahi rastlanmıştır. Öte yandan, bu durumun bir çelişki olarak değerlendirilmesi de

tartışmaya açıktır. Bilinçli bir mesafenin korunması ancak gerekli durumlarda toplumsal ilişki içine girilmesi de katılımcılar tarafından yaşanan konut grubunda olumlu bir özellik olarak ifade edilmiştir.

Yaşanılan semtin ve özellikle “rezidans” grubunun tercih edilme nedenleri arasında bazı katılımcılar semtin, bazıları ise konut grubunun özel konumunu dile getirmiştir. Fiziksel nitelikler ve algılanan nitelikler tercih nedeni olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu tür konut gruplarının tercih nedeni olarak dile getirilen diğer hususlar güvenlik, prestij, yakınlık, makul fiyat, yeşil alanların varlığı, “steril,” temiz, homojen yapı ve arkadaşlara yakın olma durumudur.

Sayılan özellikler arasında bulunan “makul fiyat” esasında şaşırtıcı bir bulgudur. Tezin ilgili bölümlerinde aktarıldığı üzere bu tür dairelerin fiyatları oldukça yüksektir. Ancak bu konuda katılımcılar, bu ifadelerini meşru gösterecek kıyaslama unsurlarını dile getirmişlerdir. Bu durumdaki bazı katılımcıların uzun süreli ve zorlayıcı borç altına girdiğinin de altını çizmekte yarar görülmektedir.

Bu tür konut alanlarının seçiminde öne çıkan bir faktör güvenlik olarak dile getirilmiştir. Güvenlik endişesi ile ortaya çıkan bir tecrit durumu söz konusudur ve bu endişe konut alanının ötesine geçmektedir. Günlük mekân kullanımında ev, işyeri ve alış-veriş merkezlerinden oluşan “düğüm” ve özellikle özel otomobil ile kat edilen yollardan oluşan “bağlar” mevcuttur. Katılımcılar esasında bir güvenlik endişesinden söz etmemişler, suç ve güvenlik algısı kendileri tarafından somut olarak ifade edilmemiştir. Dolayısı ile algısal bir tehdit ve güvenliğin varlığından söz edilebilir. Ancak önceki bölümlerde ayrıntılı olarak ifade edildiği üzere, ortaya çıkan gerçek bir güvenlik probleminin, daha açık bir ifadeyle bir konut grubunun yer aldığı alandaki heyelan riskinin ve yapılaşmayı riskli gören bir jeolojik raporun varlığından bahsedildiği durumun, katılımcılarda gerçek bir endişe yaratmadığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bulgu, algısal tehdit ile gerçek tehdit durumunda dile getirilen diğer bir çelişkili konum olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Elverişli konum, ulaşım kolaylığı ve kent merkezine ve diğer günlük kullanım mekânlarına olan yakınlık, bu konutların seçiminde öne çıkan diğer nedenler olarak telaffuz edilmiştir. Araştırma sırasında, Ankara’da “şehir merkezi” olarak algılanan yerlerin değişim geçirdiği, merkez olarak algılanan mekânların önemli ölçüde yer değiştirdiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bazı katılımcılar bu merkez değişimini, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği arazisinde kurulan cumhurbaşkanlığı sarayına yakın olma ile ilişkilendirmekte, yakın zamana kadar sanayi alanları içeren Anadolu Bulvarını “yeni protokol yolu” olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bir takım katılımcılar ulaşım kolaylığı nedeniyle Oran semtini de merkezi olarak tanımlamaktadır.

Dile getirilen diğer bir tercih nedeni de konut grubunun fiziksel koşulları olmuştur. Özellikle temizlik ve yeşil alanların varlığı olumlu özellikler olarak telaffuz edilmiştir. Buna ek olarak konutların içinin nitelikleri de ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Katılımcıların incelenen türdeki konut gruplarını tercih etmelerindeki bir diğer sebep, prestij olarak ifade edilmiştir. Mülakatların ilk dakikalarında bunun önemli bir etken olmadığını belirtmelerine karşın görüşmenin ilerleyen bölümlerinde bu tür konutlarda yaşıyor olmanın prestijli olma hissi yarattığı, katılımcılar tarafından ifade edilmiştir. Bu prestij algısı, orta-üst sınıfın toplumsal olarak yükselme isteği olarak da yorumlanabilir. Sonuç olarak “rezidans” türü konutların tercihinde hem pratik nedenlerin (yakınlık, ulaşılabilirlik) hem algısal nedenlerin (güvenlik, prestij) etkin olduğu söylenebilir.

Mekân kullanımı konusunda araştırılan bir diğer başlık, Ankara’nın en çok ziyaret edilen ve en sevilen semtleriyle ilgili idi. Ankara’nın en sık ziyaret edilen kısımlarının kısıtlı bir çevreyi içerdiği ve katılımcıların kendi bilişsel haritasını ürettiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bir katılımcı dışında tarihi mekânlara ya da müzelere ziyaret telaffuz edilmemiştir. Ankara’nın en sevilen semtleri de, oluşturulan bilişsel harita kapsamında sınırlı bir yer anlayışı içermektedir. Hafta sonları kent merkezi dışına gitmeye sık rastlanmaktadır.

Mekân kullanımı, konut tercihleri ile uyumlu bir sonuç oluşturmaktadır. Her ne kadar konut gruplarının mevcut olanaklarından yararlanmama hususu çelişkili bir konum ortaya koysa da, sonuç olarak mevcut kent mekânı kullanımı, katılımcıların “rezidans” türü konutları tercih etmesi ile uyumlu görünmektedir.

Kentlilik algısı

Gündelik mekân kullanımı üzerinden ortaya konulan kentlilik algısının araştırılması çerçevesinde, katılımcıların büyük çoğunlukla kendi kısıtlı çevreleri ve tüketim pratikleri üzerinden bir kentlilik algısı inşa ettikleri ve kendi gerçekliklerini ürettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Kent içindeki hareketleri, “koridorlar” ve “baloncuklar” olarak ifade edilebilecek olan düğümler ve bağlar kapsamında gerçekleşmektedir.

Kentlilik algısı analizi, yerleşik bulunulan semt ve konut grubuna kuvvetli aidiyet hissi ve buralarla kendini özdeşleştirme bulunduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Sivil toplum örgütlerine üyeliğe rastlanmamıştır; az sayıda sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyet mevcuttur. Bu bağlamda genel olarak tüketim odaklı bir kentlilik algısının mevcudiyetinden söz etmek yerinde olacaktır.

Kentlilik algısı bağlamında araştırılan diğer bir husus olan, kentte süre gelen imar planı değişiklikleri ve yoğun yapılaşma pratiklerine karşı farkındalık düzeyi ve bu gelişmelere karşı oluşan tepki de katılımcıların bir diğer çelişkili konumunu ortaya koymaktadır. İlk olarak, hemen hemen tüm katılımcılar yoğunluk artışının ve “rezidans” türü konutların kent hakkı kavramı çerçevesinde, dışlayıcı ve ayrıştırıcı özelliklerinden, semtlerindeki nüfus artışından doğan endişelerinden bahsetmektedir. Bu gelişmeleri en basit deyişle “rahatsız edici” bulmaktadırlar. Ancak mülakatın ilerleyen kısımlarında, konu hakkında biraz daha düşündükten sonra bu gelişmelerin önlenemez olduğunu, bunun rasyonel yaklaşım olduğunu, değer artışının olağan olduğunu ve imar planı değişikliklerine karşı oluşan tepkinin akıl dışı ve duygusal olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Kendilerinin ilk başta uygun olmadığını söyledikleri konut türlerinde yaşamakta olduklarını güvenlik endişesi, yeşil alan mevcudiyeti ve

fiyat olarak erişilebilir olduğu gibi faktörlerle meşrulaştırmaktadırlar. Katılımcıların kentlilik algısının da, yaşanan konut türünün tercihi ile uyumlu olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Bulgular, üretilen yeni kentsel mekânlarla ilgili yüksek beğeni düzeyine işaret etmektedir. Ancak bu memnuniyet, yaşanan konut grubu üzerinden dile getirilirken, bu hisse diğer kentsel mekân üretimleri ile ilgili olarak memnuniyetsizlik eşlik etmektedir. Kafelerin ve alış-veriş merkezlerinin yeni kentsel mekânlar olarak takdir gördüğü ve günlük mekân kullanımının büyük bir kısmına sahne olduğu da göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

Sonuç

Bu araştırma, “rezidans” alanlarında yaşayanların kent mekân algısı, kent mekânı kullanımı ve kentlilik algısının, bu tür konutları tercih etmelerine neden olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca bu tür konutların inşa edilmesiyle üretilen kentsel mekânların kentsel alanda eşitsizlik yarattığını ve bu eşitsizliği pekiştirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Geleneksel olarak kent mekânında yer alması ve tüm grupların erişim hakkı bulunması gereken kentsel olanaklar, kısıtlı bir grubun erişimi için tasarlanmaktadır ve bu olanakların mevcudiyeti, üst gelir grubundaki kişilerin bu tür konut alanlarını tercih etmelerinde büyük ölçüde belirleyici olmaktadır. Bu pratikler mekân kullanımını ve kentlilik algısını, tüm kentsel mekân kullanımının tüketim odaklı olduğu ve tüm sanatsal ve sivil toplum faaliyetlerinin ihmal edildiği bir mekân algısı ile uyumlu olarak etkilemektedir. Bu durum mekânsal tecrite neden olmakta, kent hakkını engellemekte ve kent mekânının estetiğini bozmaktadır. Ankara’da doğmuş ve /veya büyümüş herkes için sürekli bir inşaat faaliyeti görmek şaşırtıcı değildir. Bu kentte yaşayanların, bir şehirde değil adeta bir şantiyede yaşıyor olmalarına rağmen Ankara’yı “düzenli” bir şehir olarak algılıyor olmaları hayret vericidir.

Kent içindeki bu tür mekânsal ayrışmaların toplumsal bir dizi olumsuz sonuçları olacağı öngörülmektedir. Atkinson ve Flint, elitlerin korunaklı sitelere çekilmelerinin, demokratik toplumsal ilişkilerin “ağırlığından” kaçma girişimi anlamına geldiğini ifade etmekte, bu kişisel konut tercihlerinin bir dizi toplumsal sonuç doğuracağına ve bu çekilmenin daha rahatsız edici yüzleşmeler üreteceğine işaret etmektedirler. Bu tür yüzleşmelerin bedelinin topluma karşı sonuçlarının, bu rahatsız edici yüzleşmeler sonucunda zamansal ve mekânsal olarak daha da keskinleşeceği yönünde uyarıda bulunmaktadır (Atkinson and Flint 2004, p. 891). Zukin ise bu hususa ilave olarak, kentlerin gitmekte olduğu yönün, tüm grupların kent hakkını gözetecek ve bu gruplara “bir yerde yerleşip orada kalma” hakkını tanıyacak yeni mekânların üretilmesi vasıtasıyla demokrasi yönüne doğru değiştirilebileceğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu durum kentin kökleri ile yeni başlangıçlar arasındaki dengeyi temin ederek “kentin ruhunun tamir edilmesi”ne olanak verecektir (Zukin, 2010 a, p. 246).

Atkinson’ın işaret ettiği üzere, kentsel mekânda çeşitliliğin sağlanması adına etkin politikaların geliştirilmesi, konut ihtiyacına doğru çözümlerin üretilmesi ve mahalle kalitesinin korunması gerekmektedir. Ancak bu tür temel kentsel ilkeler, toplumsal eşitsizliği kuvvetlendiren konut politikalarının tercihi neticesinde aşındırılmaktadır (Atkinson 2008, p. 2632). Gerçekten de toplumun tüm kesimleri için kentsel mekânda sunulması gereken olanakların, kent hakkının ve kentsel adaletin, yüksek bir bedelle seçkin bir kesim için satışa sunulması, toplumun diğer kesimlerinin bu haklardan dışlanmasına, aynı zamanda çok katlı ve korunaklı sitelerle kentsel mekânın bozulmasına neden olmaktadır.

Küresel politikalardan destek bulan kentsel egemen gruplar ve tüm sınıflar tarafından kentsel direnişlerin yetersizliği, Ankara’da bir değişim için çok da umut vaat etmemektedir. Ancak bu duruma karşı direniş ve mevcut durumun değişmesine ilişkin olasılık alanları hala bulunmaktadır. Kent mekânının kullanım değerinin öne çıkan aktörler tarafından vurgulanması, bu yönde toplumsal farkındalığın

oluşturulması, doğru bir başlangıç noktası olabilir. Aşağıdan yukarı bir talebin *yaşanacak kentsel mekanlar* için oluşturulması ve bu talebin değişim değerini vurgulayan *kentsel mekandan rant elde etmeye* yönelik rıza ve talebin yerini alması gerekmektedir. Bunun için kentlere karşı bakışta kökten bir değişikliğe ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. “Rezidans”larda yaşayanların, kendi yaşadıkları gruplar dışındaki yapılaşmadan rahatsızlık duyması ve buradaki eşitsizliklere dikkat çekmesi, bu çelişkili durumun kentsel adalet ve kent hakkı bağlamında bir umut olabileceğini akla getirmektedir.

Küresel ya da ulusal ölçekteki politikalara direnmek hiç kolay değildir. Ancak, küresel ve ulusal politikalarla yakından ilişkili de olsalar kentsel bağlamda halkın, özellikle sözü geçebilecek orta sınıf ve orta-üst sınıfın dile getirecekleri tepkileri olabilmelidir ve bu güçlerinin farkında olmaları sağlanmalıdır. Burada anahtar, kentleri ve kentsel mekânları kullanım değeri bağlamında dikkate almakta ve aktörlerin kent mekânına, evlerinin içine gösterdikleri özeni göstermelerini sağlamakta yatmaktadır. Ankara'nın planlama tarihçesi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu anlayış kentsel mekâna bakışta kökten bir değişim yaratmış olacaktır. Kentsel rant edinimine gösterilen rızanın ve küçük ölçekli kâr beklentilerinin zayıflatılması, kapitalist politikaların kentsel mekana yansımalarını çâtırdacaktır. Bu bağlamda sadece genel kitleler arasında değil, mevcut kapitalist sistemin önemli aktörlerinden olan ve politika düzeyinde sistemle bütünleşik olan meslek grupları ile yerel yönetimlerin ilgili birimlerinde de farkındalık yaratılması yüksek önem arz etmektedir. Bu grupların aynı zamanda diğerlerinin, günlük hayata doğrudan etkisi bulunacak olan kentsel ölçekte alınan kararları sorgulamalarını, düşünmelerini ve tartışmalarını sağlamak gibi bir sorumluluğu da bulunmaktadır. Tüm bu girişimler, kentsel politikaları da içeren tüm politika kararlarının pekiştirilmesindeki ya da dönüştürülmesindeki rolleri bakımından orta ve üst sınıfın da desteğine ihtiyaç duymaktadır.

Küresel politikalarla desteklenen egemen güçler ve tüm sınıfların bu politikalara direniş göstermemesi, deęişim için umutsuz gibi görünen bir tablo sunsa da bazı kanallarda hala umut ışığı bulunmaktadır. Nitekim Lefebvre de tüm tarafların katıldığı kentsel bir devrimden söz etmektedir. Jameson ise Gramscivari bir seçenek önermektedir: Mimaride ve şehircilikte farklı bir perspektif. Egemenlik için, üstyapı terminolojisi ile karşı-egemenlik için çaba gösterilmesini önermektedir. Bu karşı-egemenlik, alternatif bir mekân, kent ve günlük yaşam anlayışını yaşatacaktır.

Kentlerdeki, adaletsizlik ve eşitsizlik, ancak kullanım değerinin deęişim değerine üstün kılınması ile mümkün olabilir. Hüküm süren küresel ve ulusal politikalar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda bu durum imkânsız gibi görünse de, bu politikalara gösterilen rızanın zayıflatılması suretiyle ilgili makamlar politika deęiştirmeye zorlanmalıdır. Kent hakkı ve kentsel adalet talepleri, tüm gruplar tarafından telaffuz edilmelidir. Eşitlikçi politikalar çerçevesinde mekân üretimi için tüm sınıflar arasında kentsel farkındalık geliştirilmelidir. Deęişim değerini ve kent toprağından gelir elde etme beklentisini göz önünde bulunduran kentsel gelişimlerin doğal ve önlenemez olduğu düşüncesi toplumda son bulmalıdır. Başka bir yaklaşımın mümkün olduğu, hatta bu yaklaşımın daha fazla toplumsal kazanımdan yana olduğu, geniş kitlelere gösterilmelidir.

Arzu edilen farkındalığın tesis edilebilmesi bağlamında, inşa edilen yeni kentsel yapıda, özellikle yeni oluşturulan konut alanları için nasıl bir talep üretildiğinin anlaşılması yüksek önem arz etmektedir. Bu yaratılmış talebin, mekân kullanımı ve kentlilik algısına olan yeni yaklaşım üzerinde, özellikle mahalle ve konut bağlamında büyük etkisi olduğu farz edilmektedir. Günlük mekân kullanımı çeşitlendirilmeli ve tüm kesimlerin de katılımı ile tüketim odaklı boş zaman geçirmekten sanatsal, kültürel ve diğer toplumsal alanlara kaydırılmalıdır. Kentsel mekân kullanımı kesin olarak kısıtlı mekânlara hapsedilmekten kurtarılmalı, bu yolla daha geniş kitlelerle karşılaşma garanti edilmelidir. Bu bağlamda sanatçılar ve sanatçı grupları, kısıtlı toplum kesimlerine açık olan mekânlarda, örneğin alış-veriş merkezlerinde etkinlik

düzenlemekten kaçınılmalı, sokaklar ve meydanlar ayrımcılık yapılmaksızın tüm grupların katılımı için canlı ve güvenli tutulmalıdır. Günlük mekân kullanımı çeşitlendirilir, kentsel olanaklar tüm halk için eşit olarak sağlanır ve güvenlik, en azından güvenlik algısı tüm mahallelerde temin edilirse, korunaklı sitelerin tercih edilme nedenleri büyük ölçüde ortadan kalkacak, en azından aşağıdan yukarıya kentsel bir eylem kısmen de olsa gerçekleşebilecektir. Bu çerçevede, üst gelir gruplarının ve diğer sınıfların mekânsal alışkanlıklarının anlaşılması ve kentsel politikalara gösterilen rıza ve bu politikalardan taleplerin belirlenmesi amacıyla daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır.

Ankara'daki tüm kentsel gelişmelere rağmen, yakın zamana kadar bu yeni gelişmelere karşı sınırlı bir direniş gözlemlenmiştir. En geniş mücadele alanı, belediye kararlarına karşı meslek odaları tarafından açılan davalar üzerinden hukuki alanda gerçekleşmektedir ancak bu mücadeleye geniş kitlelerden ve medyadan yeterince farkındalık ve destek görülmemektedir. Bu alanda en kayda değer muhalefeti sergileyen meslek odalarının, kentsel farkındalığın artırılması ve politikaların değişim değerinden kullanım değerine, ayrıcalıktan kent hakkına doğru yönlendirilmesi için geniş kitlelerin desteğini alması gerekmektedir. Ankara ve genel olarak tüm kentler tecritten, çarpık yapılaşmadan ve kent mekânında eşitsizlikten kurtarılmalı, eşit ve adil kent mekânı tüm gruplar ve aktörler tarafından talep edilmeli, bu sayede kentsel politikalarda fark yaratılmalıdır.

F. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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