

DEFINING SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE: A CASE STUDY IN THE GATED
COMMUNITIES OF YAŞAMKENT, ANKARA

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CEREN KULKUL

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıođlu
Head of Department

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

Assoc. Prof. Ayça Ergun Özbolat
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Fethi Açıkeli (Ankara Uni., SBKY) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayça Ergun Özbolat (METU, SOC) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Çađatay Topal (METU, SOC) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Ceren KULKUL

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Kulkul, Ceren

M.S., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayça Ergun ÖZBOLAT

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For centuries, the usage and the transformation of urban spaces has been defined as crucial in reproducing cultural codes of societies. Urban spaces did not only witness the conflicts, negotiations and dilemmas of the society; they were also shaped, transformed and produced by the people. Today, urban space is accepted as an inextricable part of the public life. It is assumed that upper-middle class has been separating itself from the rest of the society by living in enclosed and private spaces. This intentional disengagement from public life and public spaces has been studied by the gated community literature. This thesis embraces gated community beyond the debate of social segregation and includes it into the discussion of using, producing and transforming urban spaces along with isolating, privatizing and idealizing a specific place. In other words, this study departs itself from an understanding that gated community is only a new form of social segregation; it acknowledges enclosed residential areas as semi-public spaces in which the attributions of public and private spaces are merged. In doing so, the case of

Yaşamkent, Ankara is studied on the basis of a qualitative research in Yaşamkent. Through such an analysis, it is aimed to understand how the residents of gated communities evaluate private and public spaces, how they demarcate these two spheres and correspondingly how can we define the gated community as a semi-public space which functions as a buffer zone in between private and public domains.

Keywords: urban space, gated community, public and private spaces, semi-public space

ÖZ

YARI-KAMUSAL ALANIN TANIMLANMASI: ANKARA YAŞAMKENT’TEKİ KAPALI SİTELERDE BİR SAHA ÇALIŞMASI

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Kent mekanlarının kullanımı ve dönüşümü toplumun kültürel kodlarının oluşumu açısından hayati önem taşıdı. Kent mekanları yalnızca toplumun çatışmalarına, uzlaşmalarına ve ikilemlerine sahne olmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda insanlar tarafından şekillendirildi, dönüştürüldü ve yeniden üretildiler. Günümüzde, kent mekanı kamusal hayatın olmazsa olmaz bir parçası olarak ele alınıyor. Üst orta sınıfın kendini bir süredir toplumun geri kalanından ayırma, ayrı tutma çabası olduğu ve bu doğrultuda kapalı ve özel alanlarda yaşamayı tercih ettiği konuşulmakta. Kamusal mekanlardan ve kamusal hayattan bu kasıtlı kopuş kapalı sitelerle ilgili literatürün odağı haline geldi. Bu tez çalışması, kapalı siteleri toplumsal ayrışma kavramsallaştırmasının ötesine taşıyarak kent mekanının kullanımı, üretimi ve dönüşümü kapsamında ona biraz da karşı gelecek şekilde tek bir alanın nasıl kapatıldığı, özelleştirildiği ve idealize edildiğini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu çalışma kapalı siteleri yalnızca yeni bir toplumsal ayrışma modeli olarak ele almak yerine kapalı yerleşim yerlerini hem özel hem de kamusal alanın

izlerini taşıyan ‘yarı-kamusal alan’lar olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bunu Yaşamkent örneğinde, niteliksel araştırma tekniklerini kullanarak yapılan saha çalışması sonucunda ortaya çıkan verilere göre inceleyecektir. Bu çalışma ile kapalı site sakinlerinin özel ve kamusal alanları nasıl değerlendirdikleri, bu iki alanı birbirinden hangi temalarla ayırdıkları ve bunlara bağlı olarak kapalı siteleri ‘yarı-kamusal alan’ tanımının altında, özel ve kamusal arasında bir tampon bölge olarak nasıl ele alınabileceği irdelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kent mekanı, kapalı site, özel ve kamusal alanlar, yarı-kamusal alan

To my lock of paled hair in gratitude

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade and at the present time, the urban space of big cities in Turkey has been dispersed to larger areas and segregated through various ways of fortification. This fortification process includes poor neighborhoods in the city center, enclosed residential areas for upper-middle class, shopping malls on the highways and mass housing projects developed by the state. As space becomes more broad and partite, everyday life becomes accordingly wider and fragmented. Throughout the fragmentation of urban space and social relations, enclosed residential areas, in other words, gated communities appeared to be protected fortresses of upper middle class. It is assumed that upper middle class has been separating itself from the rest of the society by living in enclosed, private spaces and promoting more walls and gates around their lives (Aksoy& Robins, 1994; Öncü, 1997; Bali, 1999; Geniş, 2007). Thus this intentional disengagement from public life and public spaces considered as characteristics of upper-middle class-ness.

Although the subject is either new or unusual for urban studies, researches are rarely concentrated on the practical consequences of this fortification processes. Whereas the question of how and in what ways upper middle class define and use different spaces reveals the social consequences of spatial segregation. This thesis is aimed at investigating social significance of enclosed residential areas in urban context and aiming to interpret this issue through giving a new definition of gated communities as semi-public space. In the existing literature there is no direct attribution to the gated communities as semi-public areas; thus this study aims to contribute the literature with this concept. The definition of *semi-public space* aligns with the dichotomy of public and private spaces and accepted as a buffer zone in which attributions and usages of space are interwoven. In that sense, I define semi-public space as a new form of public domain which is a common sphere for the residents of gated communities while excluding others. This new form is not acknowledged as only an end product of a transformation of public sphere; it is rather a newly produced urban space by including the concepts of both public and private areas.

Thus the conceptualization of gated communities will be reconsidered and structured on the basis of three main domains of urban space; private, public and semi-public. The reason for making an attribution on semi-public space is due to the endeavor of this study for a socio-spatial analysis rather than remain limited on the social segregation emphasis of existing gated community literature.

In that regard, reconsidering the definition of gated communities in a specific context is apparently the most difficult yet most crucial part of this study. Since it will be a socio-spatial analysis of urban space both inside and outside gated developments, there are fundamental questions to be covered in this thesis. These are mainly (1) what is the role of gated communities in urban spatial organization? (2) What is the significance of gated communities in urban social life? (3) How to think gated communities beyond the 'social segregation'? While investigating these questions, it is aimed to reconsider and disclose the status of gated developments both in spatial organization and in social practice.

While considering urban fabric in a theoretical manner, the main premise of modernist thought is to design and understand cities in a holistic manner. However postmodernist approach on cities has developed in a totally different pattern because it concentrates on contradictions and differences rather than makes space an object of a social project. Correspondingly, urban landscape in postmodernist approach is defined in a continuous change with ephemeral and idle usages of individuals. This study is aligned with the postmodernist understanding on space that is basically treating the space itself as a decomposition of numerous social dynamics. In other words, this study will mainly focus on the ways in which the residents of gated communities perceive their milieu with respect to the private, public and semi-public spaces. In other saying, this study will aspire to understand the constructed ideas and assumptions of the residents of gated communities with regard to their desires and emphases to live in an enclosed locale which situated at the frontiers of city. By doing so, a deliberate analysis on the *raison d'être* of gated communities will be built.

1.1.The Sample of the Case Study

The main question of this study is to discover the changing meanings of public and private spaces and how they merged in a semi-public space; through an analysis on residence preferences and daily practices of social groups. Selected social group in its usages and definitions of urban spaces is exclusively the upper-middle class. The desires and expectations of this group are usually fulfilled by shopping malls, social complexes and –as a living space, gated communities that welcomed upper-middle class to be secure and comfy.

In this thesis, I attempt to understand cultural boundaries and repertoires of middle classes while looking at their residential preferences. Thus it will be aligned with recent studies which are mainly focused on daily lives, routines and habits in order to analyze class identities. (Devine, 1992; Reay, 1998; Savage, 2000; Skeggs, 2004) Furthermore, class is still considered to be significant in defining social identities but in a more cultural level through comparisons among different classes. In other words, it is acknowledged that people tend to distinguish themselves with relative comparisons to other class positions. (Savage et al., 2001, cited in Hazır, 2013: 4) In that regard, as this thesis will follow the line of describing middle class from a socio-spatial analysis, all preferences, opportunities and assets of this social group have a great importance including consumption practices, daily routine and usages of urban space. Harvey (2012) stated that “we increasingly live in divided, fragmented, and conflict-prone cities. How we view the world and define possibilities depends on which side of the tracks we are on and on what kinds of consumerism we have access to.” (Harvey, 2012: 14-5) Therefore, in order to understand how middle class will be treated in this study, it is meaningful to state that the traces of fragmentation and division of social groups will be traced in the spatial organization of the urban environment.

As urbanization has emerged alongside with population growth in big cities and its meaning has transformed over time with the changing economic and political dynamics, social relations has been reshaped and reproduced accordingly. In parallel with social and economic changes, the meaning and definition of social class has

been altered. The migration from rural to urban areas paved the way for population growth in cities which was seen as an opportunity to supply labor power to new industries. However it turned out to be an economic turmoil with excessive migration to the urban areas rather than providing a mutual adaptation in terms of supply of labor power and employment opportunity as it used to be. Consequently, “the majority of so called ‘industrial reserve army’ transformed into ‘urban poor’.” (Ertuna, 2003: 25)

In contrast with those gradually impoverishing groups, there was another group who was increasingly getting wealth. Skilled white collar works have gained importance and accordingly professionals started to be higher-paid. Thus an upper-middle class has started to become a question of debate and to be defined as *nouveau riche* whether they own the means of production or possess international standards of wage and high consumption amenities.

The growth of middle class in number and the wide range of higher-paid occupations are not only related to the level of income they earned. It is also strongly associated with new ambitions and desires as well as recent needs in specialization of professionals with the technological developments. As skilled white collar works have gained importance, middle class appeared to be integrated to a consumption culture along with -and beyond- their economic means of living. (Yücebaş, 2013: 22) Thus defining middle class requires an insight on consumption habits as well. Therefore, consumption habits of the residents of gated communities in daily needs and luxuries will be seen in the analysis part of this study. Beyond the perceptions about space, consumption habits, daily routine and expectations of the interviewees, no further analysis about ‘middle class’ will be made throughout the thesis since it would be an overloaded study to integrate a theoretical background of middle class identity.

1.2.Methodology

The main idea of this study was emerged out of a debate about the relationship of people with the physical space. I argue that space is by no means only a container or a tool; it is strongly influential on the socio-cultural codes of different social groups

and their daily practices. Space is also shaped and transformed by those codes and practices. In the light of this argument, this study aligns itself with a Lefebvrian analysis in which space is taken into consideration as a social production (Lefebvre, 1991) In other words, the main proposition of this thesis is that the ways in which people engage in social life are not solely based on the relationship of individuals; it is also related with how people describe their physical spaces since that physical space *per se* has a manifold of symbolic meanings, representations and social labels. Thus this study is aimed at understanding the perceptions and attributions of people about private space, public space and -as a buffer zone- semi-public space (gated communities). Yaşamkent was specified as the area of study since it has a rapidly developing characteristic in comparison to other outskirts areas of Ankara, as a suburb with multiple gated developments. Three gated communities were chosen for the case study and pseudonyms were used.

The demarcation of private and public space is well-acknowledged by the residents of gated developments due to their daily experiences in the physical and social segregation among all those spheres. In other words, they assumed to experience and feel the differences among those spaces extensively. Therefore sample is selected from gated community residents.

Throughout the study, the main purpose is to comprehend how people describe public and private spaces, in what ways they identify themselves with those spaces and most importantly how they attribute their spaces of residence (gated communities) in comparison to their houses (private sphere) and urban environment (public sphere). In that sense, gated communities are semi-public spaces. I define semi-public space as a buffer zone of attributions towards both public and private domains. Because gated communities are appeared to be composed of different meanings than solely public space or private sphere; it rather constitutes a mixture of these fields. Thus, in order to understand the development of urban life in accordance with socio-spatial segregation, gated communities are considered as a meaningful space in which definitions of public and private spaces have blurred in many respects. The emphasis of semi-public space, in that sense, is the main concept that is proposed by this study.

In order to trace and understand the social practices in different urban spaces and the ways in which they are perceived, this study is designed on the basis of a qualitative research. In that regard, in-depth interviews were set as the main data collection technique. Additionally, participant observation was held during the fieldwork through joining social events and neighbor gatherings.

In the field, both ethical considerations and trust building were given a great importance. In the gated community literature, it is a frequently mentioned issue that accessibility is the most rigorous part of the research in this subject. As I already knew that it would not be possible for me to enter the gated developments and to find people for the interviews, I made an extensive search for acquaintances in the gated developments in Yaşamkent which are appropriate for my selection criteria (i.e. social facilities, 7/24 security) For a while, I went and spent time with those acquaintances either in their houses with their neighbors or in one of the facilities in the development. Besides, I went to a New Year's party in one of the gated communities for networking. After conducting a number of pilot interviews and revise my questions, I have started to the field research and proceed with snow-ball technique. As for entrance to the developments, I always arrange appointments for the interviews, so I did not encounter with any difficulties in entering. Appointments were settled and forty in-depth interviews by approximately one hour meetings were conducted with the residents of three gated developments in Yaşamkent. The case study proceeded for three months and during this time period, due to the invitations of residents; I was participated in a number of other meetings. These meetings were neighbor gatherings of women on weekdays. Some of the non-employed or retired women residents usually meet for breakfast of coffee on a weekly basis.

Accessibility is not the only issue for this research; trust building is also important. The relations with the interviewees had to be on the basis of trust because more than half of the interviews were conducted in respondent's houses while only a few others were settled either in a café or in the workplace of the interviewees. Except a few of interviewees who said that they had no time in the evenings and accordingly I visited them in their workplaces, all other respondents invited me to their homes. Indeed, a number of respondents showed me the house while speaking about the evaluations of

private space. Throughout the fieldwork, tape recording was used except one interview.

Another issue is about ensuring *insiderness*. Interviewees usually wanted to learn especially where I am living. Therefore, before and after the interviews they asked me similar questions with my interviews and we had conversations about other related issues like house, previous neighborhood as such. As I am also living in a gated development with my family near Yaşamkent and as in many cases I either interview with coevals or their parents, in almost all cases I was accepted as an acquaintance which provided me with insiderness throughout the fieldwork. Therefore, sharing the same experience and location with the interviewees made me an insider during the fieldwork.

The only access problem was related with gender. Since snow-ball technique is based upon the neighborly relations, women participants introduce me with their closest neighbors. Also, it was seen that women spend relatively long hours in the houses and in a few cases male participants referred me to their wives because of the lack of their time. Therefore, due to the access problems to male respondents in weekdays and their unwillingness to allocate time in weekends, women compose the majority of the sample. The data is composed of 16 male and 24 female interviewees. However, since this was a qualitative research based on the patterns of perceptions and narratives it is believed that it did not appear to be a problem during the analysis.

The design of the thesis is based upon defining gated communities as a *semi-public space* through the ascribed meanings of both its' inner areas and its' relationship with other domains (public & private spaces). In the Chapter 2, as an introductory to the discussion on *semi-public space*, urbanization processes and urban space will be elaborated and then the demarcation between public and private spaces will be introduced. In the Chapter 3, gated community as the unit of analysis of this study will be approached. In this chapter, the main aim is to understand the fundamental processes of proliferation of gated developments as well as to see how these processes have been started and continued in the context of Turkey. Furthermore, since this thesis aims to ascribe a new definition to the gated community (semi-public space), what has been said on such enclosed residential areas is significant. In

that regard, a second part of the Chapter 3 will contain the existing literature on gated developments. Thereafter, in Chapter 4, the case study will be integrated to the discussions made by contributing to the whole study with the findings on the definition of public, private and semi-public spaces.

CHAPTER 2

URBANIZATION AND URBAN SPACE

2.1. Introduction

As this study is mainly focusing on the existence of gated communities in urban environment, definitions of the concepts *urban*, *urbanization* and *urban space* have a great importance before conceptualizing ‘gated community’. Hence this chapter concentrates on the questions of how urbanization processes have been studied and how urban space has been defined. In other words, it aims to analyze the processes and characteristics of urbanization. It will firstly introduce the classical approaches to urbanization, then the definition of urban space in the social inquiry and contributions to the conceptualization of urban space in contemporary world will be investigated. After then, urban space will be distinguished into two domains due to the further discussions about gated communities as semi-public spaces. These domains are namely identified as public space and private space. This chapter will contribute to the whole study by clarifying the position of the concepts ‘urban’ and ‘urban space’ in this specific content in order to have a deliberate insight on the position of gated communities in the urban environment.

The concept of urban is strongly related to the historicity of a town or a city. It is usually defined as a characteristic that pertain to the lifestyle, space and structure of the city itself¹. While speaking of urban, there has been a variety of theoretical and empirical studies that were extensively discussed. (Ley, 2004; Smith, 2005; Zukin, 2008; Soja, 2011; Sassen, 2011; Scott & Storper, 2015) In fact, urban is not the only area of inquiry for sociologists. Economy, psychology, political science, architecture and urban design are some of the branches that have been working on urban. It is surely not possible to have an insight that includes all of these disciplines or every theoretical interpretation on urban sociology. However, it is necessary to understand

¹The concept of urban is defined as “In, relating to, or characteristic of a town or city i.e. *the urban population*” in <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/urban>

the main arguments and conceptualizations of classical theories on urbanization and urban agglomeration in order to see how this discussion was generated at the beginning. Moreover, it will be significant to introduce certain theoretical contributions in order to express the approach of this thesis. Therefore, before defining urban space or analyzing gated communities, a brief overview on main perspectives of different schools on urbanization will be meaningful.

2.2. Urbanization

Urbanization has been at the center of the debates in the sociological inquiry for many decades. A variety of perspectives on the scientific accounts of urbanization processes has been subsisted. This part will endeavor to introduce how urbanization has been studied from different standpoints and how urbanization has been shaped over contemporary explanations. When huge cities and hinterlands are considered, it is quite impossible to go back and answer the question ‘when urban emerged’. Just as the difficulty of identifying the exact time of the first urban agglomeration, it is not easy to claim a single way of urbanization either. Therefore, looking upon different perspectives on urbanization will be meaningful in order to open up a further discussion about the current structures of gated developments in urban scale.

2.2.1. Classical Approaches to Urbanization

Debate on the urbanization process usually engaged with the organization of cities regarding social and economic dynamics of the society. This study divides this debate into five different ways of defining urbanization. The first one is considering urbanization as a natural social process (Burgess et al, 1925) which addresses the city structure as a gradually and naturally established field. The second one is defining urbanization as a component of capitalist mode of production and industrialization (Engels, 1845) that focuses on the class struggle and inequalities within the urban life. The third one is a perspective that is focusing on urbanization as a way of life (Wirth, 1938) in which individual appears to be the focus point while examining the urban. The fourth definition is a critical account of previous ones and it defines urbanization as an ‘urban revolution’ which refers to the process towards urban-

based capitalist production (Lefebvre, 1974). In line with the last standpoint, the fifth account takes urbanization as a fundamental field of neoliberal economic tendencies through urban remaking procedures (Harvey, 1985) which also considers the suburbanization, gentrification and restructuring processes as significant components of the new urban structure.

Urbanization as a natural process

The concept of city has a longer history and a significant event at the end of the 18th century has changed the trajectory of cities and urban areas. Industrial revolution has gradually spread to more and more areas over the years and it had a great influence on the planning, design and usage of urban spaces. And at the very beginning of 19th century, Chicago School constituted a new theoretical perspective on urban.

Ernest Burgess, Robert E. Park and Roderick D. McKenzie are some of the pioneer scholars of Chicago School. Their perspective is determined as a second thought on urbanization which is based upon the definition of urban scale as a natural area. In a sense, this perspective leans towards a functionalist understanding in the analysis of urban life. The Lutters and Ackerman (1996) described this approach by stating that,

Chicago School” refers to a specific group of sociologists at the University of Chicago during the first half of this century. Their way of thinking about social relations was heavily qualitative, rigorous in data analysis, and focused on the city as a social laboratory(Lutters& Ackerman, 1996: 2)

The starting point of Chicago School was a qualitative and ethnographic account of the urban environment just as a biological investigation on an organism. The main objective of Chicago School was to identify a certain model of the urban environment and conceptualizing cities in a descriptive account by using biological terminology. Today, this idea may seem quite ordinary but while speaking of those circumstances -during war and post-war periods-, it was presumably significant to have a functionalist perspective in order to influence, change or transform the social structure.

Although the conditions seem quite different and complex for contemporary world, the works of Chicago School are still accepted as influential and substantial. While considering their studies it is important to note that it was the time of First World War which results with an enormous migration to United States. In addition to this, Chicago was a big city that has been rapidly growing after the Industrial Revolution. Therefore, the transformation of the city and its socio-cultural dynamics were drastic for that time. In such circumstances, Chicago School developed a great number of theoretical explanations and ethnographic studies to understand the urban environment and more importantly to solve growing problems of the city. In other words, Chicago School had a functionalist perspective concentrating on daily life and social interactions in Chicago in order to find solutions to existing urban problems.

As this approach referred to the city structure as a naturally established socio-spatial area, they generated various methods and techniques in their analyses of urbanization process. Particularly, they used different models to explain the urban development – especially concentrating on Chicago to adapt these theoretical models.

As a pioneer sociologist in Chicago School, Ernest Burgess (1925) created a *concentric zone model* which is also entitled as CCD model. According to this theoretical explanation, urban land is distributed to different zones with distinguished characteristics and they are interconnected with each other regarding their own conditions and peculiarities. In this model, urban land is depicted as a composition of concentric circles. At the very center of this form, there is Central Business District (CBD) and circles are respectively enlarged as transition zones, working class residential areas, middle class residential areas and commuter zone. (Burgess et. al., 1967: 50-1)

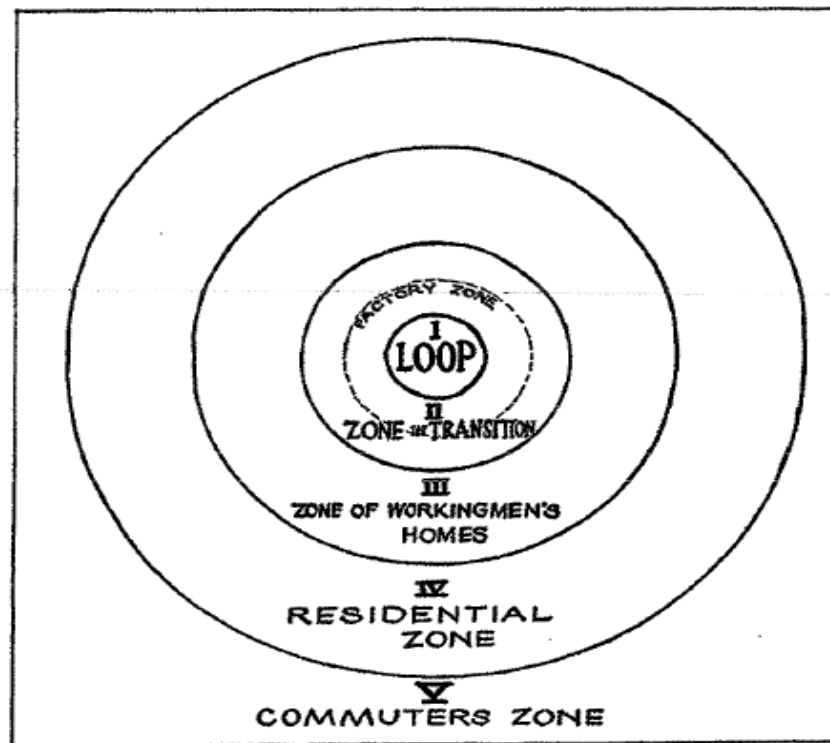


CHART I. The Growth of the City

Figure 1. The Chart of CCD model

Another model was set up as invasion-succession model² which was developed along with the CCD model. It was a frequently used model in 1920s and 1930s by Chicago School scholars. It included examples and portrayals from equilibrium of nature. It mainly addressed to the replacement of a group of people by the arrival of another group to a particular land. The invasion-succession model was also constituted as if it is a natural environment of competition and survival. Schwirian (1983) described this model in these words; “Competition for housing may be turned into conflict as the locals and the newcomers attempt to devise strategies to beat each other. If some accommodation between the two populations is not reached, one of the two groups will withdraw.” (Schwirian, 1983: 89) Chicago School scholars mostly integrated this idea to ethnic and racial characteristics and they presumed that there are natural areas in which different groups of people are willing to accommodate.

²Definition: “A theoretical construct, setting out the sequence of competitive social actions by which a human group or social activity comes to occupy and dominate a territory, formerly dominated by another group or activity.” Retrieved from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/invasion-succession-model>

Since this thesis is dealing with neighborhood change to a certain extent along with the desire of upper middle class to escape from city center and its chaotic environment and to move towards the outskirts of the cities (eventually gave rise to gated communities to be emerged and developed) *invasion-succession model* is hereby treated as an initial account of urbanization. Although such a simplistic model would not be sufficient for understanding current dynamics of urban transformation, it provides a preliminary insight on the historicity of urban change. Besides following approaches will demonstrate how urbanization can be explained differently while criticizing Chicago School in many respects.

Urbanization as an industrialization process

First perspective on urbanization process at hand was proposed by Frederick Engels and it mainly held a political economic understanding which embraces capitalist mode of production and industrialization period as the framework of studying urbanization itself. His famous work *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, published in 1845, was offering a systematic analysis of working class in England (Engels, 1969). In fact, it was an attempt to describe the rapid and uneven industrialization process of 19th century. His work contained the perspective that urbanization was emerged through industrialization and transformation of rural areas and it came along with the peculiarities of modern capitalist society. Urbanization was considered as a specific phenomenon in the transformation of societies from feudal to capitalist economic structure. However, unlike Chicago School, Engels did not treat urbanization as a natural process or a fair development; it was rather an unequal process considering the situation of working class. He was interested in describing and revealing the life conditions of working class (including health, safety, expenditures and working conditions) in the industrialized cities of England. Therefore, his work was strongly related to the urban space due to the detailed descriptions of living and working environments of proletariat.

In his study, the size of population, the characteristics of poor and rich neighborhoods, the spatial order of towns are significant categorizations in defining the rise of industrial cities and capitalist mode of production. Engels found out that poor neighborhoods were allocated in a certain pattern that is specifically designed

for making them invisible to bourgeoisie who passes through those places. He argued that the configuration of cities was not natural outcomes they were rather planned spaces due to political concerns of the bourgeoisie (Engels, 1969: 58)

He proposed a critical perspective towards the capitalist mode of production by revealing the unfair consequences of capitalism in the urban domain. Following excerpt from the book shows his approach in a clear way:

The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these, and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys ... The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows, mended with oilskin, sprung doors, and rotten doorposts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, in this atmosphere penned in as if with a purpose, this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity (Engels, 1969: 83-4)

Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) is significant for this study because it generated a sociological description of urbanization process and urban space by providing examples and imageries from cityscapes of England.

Urbanization as a way of life

A third perspective was defining urbanization as a way of life and it was proposed by Louis Wirth who was also one of the scholars at Chicago School. He was an American sociologist who gave great importance to urban life, urbanization and civilization discussions in his studies.

Louis Wirth combined demographic notions and paradigms with ecological approach in order to define urbanism and trying to answer the question of how different groups of people are living together. In his article 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' (1938) he remarked the hazard of equalizing urbanism to industrialism or capitalism even if they are strongly related to each other. (Wirth, 1938: 190) He argued that the urban

structure can be distinguished from rural by determining the characteristics of a city which are size, density and heterogeneity. However, the particularity of his approach was proposing urbanism ‘as a way of life’ and asserting that the city itself cannot be approached without considering its impacts on human behavior³.

This approach claimed that urbanization and urban space cannot be considered with only economic structure by equating urbanization to capitalism; rather it is crucial to look upon the social networks of the city life.⁴ Although this present study also gives emphasis on social conditions of an urban environment in order to describe urbanization, it departs itself from a social psychological standpoint in analyzing urbanization processes. Nevertheless, there are two main reasons for including this perspective to the present study. At first, by focusing on the social networks and human behavior, Wirth’s perspective has provided a different trajectory in the analysis of the parameters that influence urbanization and urban life. In this thesis as well, the question of how urban land use is connected with the ways of social networking will be discussed while describing the social relations in and outside of the gated communities. Secondly, the debate on gated community could not be possible without touching upon lifestyle and taste which can be broadly categorized as *a way of life*.

Urbanization as an ‘urban revolution’

From the beginning of 1970s, urban studies were dominated by neo-Marxist scholars who were highly critical to the premises of abovementioned classical approaches. As for this study, Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey will be introduced since their theoretical approaches are both consistent with each other and substantiate this study in defining *urban*. By passing on to the approaches of Lefebvre and Harvey, the discussion on urban space will be introduced as well.

³ Georg Simmel (1903) was also another scholar who described urbanization and urban life in terms of mental conditions, human behavior and social networks in his famous work ‘*The Metropolis and Mental Life*’.

⁴ Wirth’s arguments were mostly focusing on the social relations in cities and while differentiating rural and urban, asserting that “The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental.” (Wirth, 1938: 192)

Henri Lefebvre was a French sociologist and philosopher who pioneered urban sociology in many respects, especially by providing the debates on the social production of urban space, urban revolution and critique of everyday life. His account on the definition of city and the urban fabric was highly critical to previous debates. He stated that:

The concept of the city no longer corresponds to a social object [...] However, the city has a historical existence that is impossible to ignore. Small and midsize cities will be around for some time. An image or representation of the city can perpetuate itself, survive its conditions, inspire an ideology and urbanist projects. In other words, the “real” sociological “object” is an image and an ideology! (Lefebvre, 2003: 57)

He defined city as a composition of ideological projects and images in which the hegemony of capitalist relations designates the space and homogeneity is imposed in a systematic way. Moreover, he believed that urbanization is a process which includes both urban and rural areas. In other words, in Lefebvrian sense of urbanization, everything is inevitably related to urban itself and every phenomenon is somehow connected to the urbanization process.

Beyond his critique of homogeneity of urban fabric through capitalist impositions, Lefebvre is considered as one of the most influential scholars in urban studies because of his revolutionary theoretical explanation of *space*, since he inverted the meaning of space. In the introduction of his well-known book *Production of Space*⁵, Lefebvre (1991) stated that “Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area ... and the general feeling was that the concept of space was ultimately a mathematical one. To speak of 'social space', therefore, would have sounded strange.” (Lefebvre, 1991: 1) While defining that ‘social space’, his account was following Marx and Engels⁶ to a

⁵*La Production de L'espace* was originally published in 1974, but translated to English in 1991 by Donald Nicholson-Smith.

⁶ Lefebvre, H. (2016). *Marxist Thought and the City*. (R. Bononno, Trans.). University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=LCb3jwEACAAJ>

certain extent and as a response to their claim on the linkage between capitalist production and urban environment, Lefebvre described urban space as an active scene in which the traces of capitalist production can easily be found. In other words, Lefebvre's critique on the processes of capitalist production and consumption enriched and sharpen the arguments of Marx, through developing a theoretical account on the urban space itself. However, his critique was also coming out against Marxist perspective which took space as a place, a tool or a container rather than attributing it any role in socio-political relations. Goonewardena (2008) identified this by stating that "Against the excrescence thesis of neoclassical Marxism, however, Lefebvre argues that "[s]pace and the politics of space" not only "express' social relationships" but also "react against them." In so doing, space "becomes a productive a force, like science.""(Goonewardena, 2008: 126) Further arguments of Lefebvre on urban space will be provided in the following part of this chapter.

For the nonce, Lefebvre's definition of urban and urbanism must be at least briefly introduced. He claimed that urban can be considered in a threefold structure that are space, everyday life and reproduction of capitalist relations. Without opposing to Marx, he proposed an additional object of analysis to the mode of production that is the reproduction of social relations in capitalist economy. In *The Production of Space* he stated that "Capitalism and neocapitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state." (1991: 53) In short, he argued that capitalism overcomes its turmoil by commodifying urban space and urbanization itself turns out to be an ideological tool of bourgeoisie.

Another influential figure in defining urbanization is David Harvey. As a British geographer, he was professionalized both in geography and anthropology. Harvey's account on urbanization and urban space has at least significant as much as Lefebvre's perspective since Harvey developed a broadened definition on urban that was aligned with Lefebvrian understanding.

Harvey proposed a fundamental Marxian analysis to the transformation of urban environment in neoliberal economy. Corresponding with Lefebvre's understanding on urban space, he developed a political economic perspective. In a

sense, Harvey (2004) suggested that the accumulation of capital is generated itself through the creation and transformation of urban space:

The production of space, the organization of wholly new territorial divisions of labour, the opening up of new and cheaper resource complexes, of new dynamic spaces of capital accumulation, and the penetration of pre-existing social formations by capitalist social relations and institutional arrangements (such as rules of contract and private property arrangements) provide multiple ways to absorb existing capital and labour surpluses. (Harvey, 2004: 65-6)

He conceptualized this neoliberal economic transformation resulted in a manifold of unequal relations and competition which leads to the recreation of class distinction. He defined aforementioned way of capital accumulation as the *accumulation by dispossession*⁷. It is not only the geographical content that is transformed through accumulation by dispossession, but it is social organization of cities as well. He put forward the idea that urbanization is inevitably linked with class –and also strongly related to the capitalist mode of production since it has to produce surplus value and mobilize it. Hence, his approach frequently gave reference to class analysis in the ways of perceiving urbanization processes. Following words provide clues about this interconnection between class and urbanization:

From their very inception, cities have arisen through the geographical and social concentration of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon of some sort, since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while control over the use of the surplus typically lies in the hands of a few. (Harvey, 2012: 5)

As Lefebvre, Harvey will be mentioned in the next part due to their theoretical relevance in describing the parameters of urban space as well as giving reference to the data analysis about the usage and transformation of urban spaces along with the emergence of gated communities.

⁷ Harvey (2003) claimed that imperialism and capitalism make use of *accumulation by dispossession* in order to cope with the structural problems generating from over accumulation of surplus. (Harvey, 2003: 140-50)

2.3. Urban Space

The concept of space has always been in consideration while speaking of social relations and conflicts. Furthermore, the usage and the transformation of urban spaces have been defined as crucial in reproducing cultural codes of societies. Urban spaces did not only witness the conflicts, negotiations and dilemmas of the society; they were also shaped, transformed and produced by the people. Today, urban space is accepted as an inextricable part of the public life along with the concept of time. However, this was not always the case in previous decades for urban geographers, sociologists or anthropologists. Classical approaches described urban space as a container in which social institutions and social relations are situated. It was considered like a locale that includes all kinds of social interactions thus it was not more than a platform. As an example, Chicago School determined natural areas and cycles in order to define urban space without attributing any role to the space itself in shaping, influencing or changing social dynamics. Walton stated that “Although the ecologists made important studies of land use and urban spatial “zones,” an effective integration with social action was not accomplished.” (Walton, 1993: 314)

Space is a relatively new concept within the social inquiry. It was taken as an inactive background of all social and political relations. Nevertheless, it gradually gains an active dimension in academic literature for treating social relations within both urban and rural environments. The recognition of space as a mutually related dimension with socio-political life was relatively late in the history of social sciences. It was after the 19th century when different environments have started to be considered as critical in determining different perceptions and lifestyles. Afterwards, it was accepted that space itself has a specific force on people to behave in a certain way. On the other hand, the organization of space has been changing according to time and different cultural settings. Stuart Minson (2012) suggested that “Attitudes to space and spatial organization of life tend to reflect the social, political and economic structures of a given society.” (Minson, 2012)

The definition of space has been embraced variously by different scholars from sociology and human geography. While Simmel was centering spatiality into the

social relations in a very early period (Simmel, 1903); Lefebvre proposed a path-breaking approach to the sociology of space (Lefebvre, 1991). Following Lefebvre, many Marxist scholars like Castells (1983), Soja (1996) and Harvey (1989) developed theories on space as well. Apart from them, Foucault (1967) was also concentrating on space from a different angle by giving emphasis to the concept of heterotopia⁸. However it will be overloaded to mention all of these theoretical accounts within this single study. Therefore only Lefebvre's definition of space will be addressed since this thesis is particularly aligned with Lefebvrian approach – especially in defining urban space.

Although the critique of Henri Lefebvre developed through a different direction after some point, for the conceptualization of this thesis, his approach provided a substantial ground for analyzing space. His main proposition was that space should be analyzed dialectically among its exchange value with regard to the social relations of production. In other words, he presumed the importance of social relations in analyzing capitalist production –and space accordingly. As an example to this, we cannot discuss about labor power or in very general terms, capitalist mode of production without considering family relations or political background of a given society.

Lefebvre also argued that space is a something that always in progress rather than a fixed object of social relations. He suggested three types of spaces that are intertwined to each other; perceived, conceived and lived spaces. (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-9) Conceived space is referring to owned and planned spaces that are designated through management. Lived space, on the contrary, is referring to direct experience of people in urban environment. Finally, the perceived space is a mediator between conceived and lived ones. It is referring to control and access in regard to behavior. For Lefebvre, none of these has a priority among them. Rather they are all interlinked to each other in a horizontal plane. Such an understanding on urban space was surely a revolutionary development for urban studies. In fact, space was no

⁸ Heterotopia in Foucauldian sense can be defined as a place where political and ideological powers are weakened, the distinction between public and private is disappeared and an 'other place', as he (1967) put it, is created through non-hegemonic circumstances.

longer considered as an empty container after Lefebvre's groundbreaking conceptualization.

In terms of this study, perceived, conceived and lived spaces intertwined and the demarcation between these Lefebvrian concepts are blurred since the perceptions on private, public and semi-public spaces are transitional. Gated communities as semi-public spaces might be evaluated as *planned* conceived spaces while public space refers to direct experience (lived space). On the other hand, both public and semi-public spaces might be considered as perceived spaces since they are both designed through plan, access and control. Therefore, Lefebvrian triangle of space merges in the context of this study.

For the purposes of this study, space is approached as a relational and vigorous asset in respect to its interaction with social phenomena. The significant thing about defining space as an active force in social life is that the relationship between space and society is surely a mutual and a two-way relationship. So firstly, space is not treated as an empty, geometric locality in which social and political developments flow over. Rather, it is taken to have a specific role in social life and to exercise various sorts of force on people that make them perceive, understand and behave in a particular way. A pertinent description of space was given by Michel Foucault in these words:

The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things ... we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another (Foucault, 1984: 3)

In the light of Foucault's depiction, the relationship of space and society has another side that is space -both urban and rural- is surely not a natural area occurred without any human intervention; it is something created through people. In that regard, while looking to the urban environment, it is not only the construction of buildings,

monuments and roads that is considered as social production; it is also a creation within daily lives of people through using, transforming, perceiving space in its different forms. Urban environment is designed in a particular way by conceiving social and political formations of a given society. Besides, people are using those places in accordance with their particular needs and desires. Therefore, every space contains a manifold of meanings for each and every person who uses it. Accordingly, every place has its own written or unwritten rules.

Without ignoring that no space is singular, permanent or absolute⁹, considering space requires another dimension which has two fundamental domains; public and private spaces. This distinction will also be significant in the present case study on gated communities as a multifaceted analysis on the definition of private and public spaces will be introduced. Moreover, gated communities will be identified as semi-public spaces due to their dual position including both private and public areas. Therefore, addressing to the distinction among public and private spaces will be meaningful.

2.3.1. Public and Private Spaces

Conceptualizing urban space in a conjuncture of the domination of neoliberal tendencies has its own difficulties yet most of the rigor lies upon the definition of *public* space. This part of the work aims to comprehend public space in current circumstances of enclosure and in contrast with private sphere of everyday life since an ongoing discussion about the binary opposition between public and private will be made throughout the study.

Urban public space is the most prominent arena for social and political relations – including conflicts, contradictions and negotiations. Throughout the history, it includes a manifold of reproduced and constructed meanings of both social division and social cohesion. In political philosophy, public has been depicted in terms of archaic examples of Greek and Roman societies. It was mostly articulated around the idea that public space has been a necessary ground for social and political affairs

⁹ A History of Urban Space: Changing Concepts of Space in the Study of the Early Modern Metropolis (2012), conference talk by Stuart Minson. See <http://www.history.ac.uk/podcasts/metropolitan-history/history-urban-space-changing-concepts-space-study-early-modern>

throughout the history. Hannah Arendt had a specific focus on Greek agora while considering *raison d'être* of public realm. (Arendt, 1958) Thus, in general terms, public space has been regarded as open areas for every citizen as opposed to private sphere of everyday lives. Streets, shopping areas, squares and workplaces were involved in the field of public. House, on the contrary, was a domain of family relations or personal time. Although it is not easy for today to conceptualize public and private with these mere descriptions, the dichotomy of house and outside world can only be a starting point.

Along with Arendt, another influential figure for depicting public or publicity was Jürgen Habermas. He (1989) was also addressing the etymological origins of the word public in Greek and Roman histories while claiming the transformation of its meaning under the feudal system in the eighteenth century. In his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, he mentioned the distinction among the areas that was common (*koine*) to the free citizens and the sphere of the *oikos* (Habermas, 1989: 3) He concentrated on the juridical and institutional meanings behind the definition of public. Moreover, he elaborated the public sphere as a realm of freedom and permanence (1989: 4) In his words ‘only in the light of the public sphere did that which existed become revealed, did everything become visible to all.’ (Habermas, 1989: 4)

Richard Sennett¹⁰ provided a genuine analysis on the history of urban spaces by giving examples from ancient times to contemporary conjuncture. He argued that nineteenth century bourgeois family tried to preserve the distinction among private life and extremely different circumstances of public world. (Sennett, 2013: 25) Although such a desire neither the first nor the last for bourgeoisie, Sennett’s contribution to the public space was quite influential in showing how class dichotomies pave the way for spatial segregation. Furthermore, he identified public space in capitalist modern world as *dead public spaces* (Sennett, 2013: 27) since they

¹⁰His books *Flesh and Stone: The Body And The City In Western Civilization* (1994) and *The Fall of Public Man* (1977) are influential for this study. The Turkish editions of *Flesh and Stone: The Body And The City In Western Civilization* (1994) and *The Fall of Public Man* (1977) were used in this thesis.

had a privatized and fragmented characteristic. This assumption will be discussed extensively in this case study in order to regard possible examples of that supposedly fragmented and disassociated public domain.

Upon the preliminary definitions of Arendt and Habermas, Sennett provided a new direction to the discussion of publicity. He argued that today people do not desire for being together with the mass. In fact, they prefer to be distant from the crowd. Unlike the ancient understanding of agora or forum, people in present time are mostly coming together in shopping areas rather than gathering to constitute a political power or so. (Sennett, 2014: 15) His most striking idea was the death of public space due to the desire of bourgeoisie for privacy and security. The main argument of this study is following the idea and arguing that middle class has similar desires with upper classes to be distant from crowds with the aim of having safe and exclusive lives. Following Sennett's argument, Judit Bodnar (2015) defined public space as "the clearest expression of the urban predicament, the tension between the physical proximity and moral remoteness of city dwellers." (Bodnar, 2015: 2091) She stated that public space inherently obliges to be brave and strong since it comprises chaotic, unpleasant and even frightening encounters. (Bodnar, 2015: 2092)

On the other hand, in recent decades, private spaces globally increased in importance while public life gradually loses its *raison d'être*. This has strong ties with the emphasis of having privacy, especially while speaking of upper-middle classes. There is a clear distinction of private and public spaces in 21st century. Following Sennett, as public urban spaces become more lifeless private sphere is gaining substance. For sure, private space for many people is more or less equal to be at home. (Rybczynski, 1986) Moreover, it includes individualism, isolation, family bonds and avoiding from chaos and crowds. Therefore *home* becomes a sacred space for many to be with their own or with their families. The question hereby is that if private space is equal to house, what characteristics and attributions of house for middle class today that should be considered? For examining it, throughout the study a deliberate comprehension of private space will be provided with regard to the concepts of family, time, privacy and leisure in contrast with public space including participation, rhythm of life, publicity and social institutions. For the nonce, the

important thing is that while considering upper-middle class families in this age, private space has a sacred meaning far beyond the concept of *oikos*¹¹ from Ancient Greece. Even the daily lives of people are shaped around the potentialities of house itself. In other words, life flows over the concept of *home* for middle class. After defining the features of middle class with respect to this study, their relationship to public and private spaces will be analyzed in depth.

¹¹In Ancient Greek, the word *oikos* refers to both house as a dwelling and household as the family. For further information, see <http://biblehub.com/greek/3624.htm>

CHAPTER 3

GATED COMMUNITIES

3.1. Introduction

Urbanization processes are somehow attached to the transformation of urban landscape along with the different sectors of production process and global boundaries. In this chapter, the main focus will be on the emergence of gated communities and how they were described in the literature. Following the discussion on urban space in the first chapter, there will also be an important emphasis on how urban space was transformed according to the economic (i.e. industrialization, financialization of urban landscape, neoliberal urban restructuring) as well as social (socio-spatial segregation of different groups, lifestyle) pillars in a given society. In other words, for having a better insight on the questions why and in what ways gated communities have become so important for at least one segment of society (upper-middle classes), the processes that underpinned the development of gated communities have to be mentioned.

As it was mentioned in the first chapter, this thesis ascribes a new meaning to the gated community by defining it as a 'semi-public space'. Accordingly, the main aim of this chapter is to elaborate the conceptual framework of this case study in describing gated community as a semi-public space. In that regard, this chapter will primarily look upon the neoliberal transformation of urban space either through gentrification or suburbanization. Thereafter, the definition of gated community along with its place in academic literature both in Turkey and on international level will be elaborated. In doing so, the gated communities will be pondered from a socio-spatial perspective in line with the premises of this study to reconsider its components, usages and significance. Therefore, this chapter will contribute to the whole study by providing the existing literature on the gated community as a part of the urban space.

3.2. Neoliberal Tendencies for New Urban Areas

Debates about suburbanization, gentrification, displacement and neoliberal urban policies are far beyond the limits of this study. Moreover urban restructuring itself is an intensive subject for social inquiry. However it is precisely the neoliberal restructuring processes which enabled the ground for creating new areas both in city centers and in the outskirts, and that is exactly how gated communities were proliferated.

While speaking of urban environment, neoliberal logic endeavors to provide entrepreneurial opportunities for promoting new investments in the urban land and for revitalizing the market economy through construction sector. For sure, neoliberal economic openings are by no means independent from governance and policies. By advocating entrepreneurialism for the sake of an active market economy, state usually takes part in the processes of neoliberal urban restructuring. According to Harvey (2007), neoliberal state focuses on creating optimal conditions for ‘a good business climate’ rather than dealing with the socio-economic well-being of the whole population (Harvey, 2007: 31) In that regard, capital accumulation through allocating urban land and transforming urban fabric have the primary importance both for the neoliberal economy and the state itself.

This attempt to create accumulation of capital which is apparently not possible to sustain within the limits of production per se, usually paves the way for opening up new areas in specific zones of cities. In order to balance the over-accumulated capital, construction sector came to the help of neoliberal economy. Surplus that was occurred after over-accumulation had been transformed into exchange value by using the land property. According to Harvey (2012) “The property market absorbed a great deal of the surplus capital directly through new construction (of both inner- city and suburban housing and new office spaces)...” (Harvey, 2012: 11) The processes of suburbanization, but more particularly gentrification result from this underlying idea of (re)production of space for aggregation of capital. Even though there is a huge discussion behind these concepts, it will be adequate to leave this debate here in order to progress towards the formation of gated communities.

3.2.1. Suburbanization

As a part of urban transformation process, suburbanization has been a contentious issue for years. Herewith, suburbanization will be introduced as a significant phase for the emergence of gated developments in big cities.

There are two major standpoints in defining the process of suburbanization. The first one is close to the natural environmental change theses of Chicago School. In very brief terms, it suggests that central areas are initially developed and filled; then new housing opportunities are created in surroundings of the cities; it is a cycle from inner-city to suburban areas; technological developments in communication and transportation are helpful in these processes. This idea is basically aligned with the premise of Chicago School while describing the city as a natural environment of social change. “This natural evolution theory of urban development emphasizes the distance of residential sites to central work places, the effects of rising real incomes over time, the demand for new housing and land, and the heterogeneity of the housing stock.” (Mieszkowski & Mills, 1993: 136-7)

A second explanation on the reasons behind suburbanization is much more problem-based. According to this view, crime, high taxes and lack of high life standards make upper middle classes to move from inner-city areas. Eventually, a social segregation emerges due to the separation of residential areas of social groups. These two explanations on suburbanization were preliminary ideas on suburbanization which are still acknowledged as primary reasons behind suburban life.

As it is seen from abovementioned explanations, the debate on suburbanization is usually considered along with the processes of industrialization and capitalist mode of production. Along with the problem-based thesis, another significant dimension in the course of moving to the outskirts of cities is strongly bound up with social class. In Western countries, it was aristocracy of 19th century which was acknowledged as the starting point of suburbanization. Living in suburbs was -and still- accepted as a desire to overcome besetting impacts of newly industrialized cities like dirt and crowd. Along with this desire over years, suburbs have become a public area that were designed by urban policies of cleansing and made attractive for an opted

customer mass (Bodnar, 2015: 2093) Put it differently, suburbs have always been a site for social segregation among different social classes that was principally an effort of upper classes to withdraw from industrial areas as well as from the lower segments of society.

It is considered that suburbanization has undergone a change in the early part of 20th century with a major shift that has been occurred in Western countries with the displacement of factories from inner-city areas to the environs. (Ertuna, 2003: 14-15) This displacement resulted with a massive migration of lower classes to suburbs for attaining closer residential units to industrial areas. After that time, upper classes felt uncomfortable of reuniting with lower segments and suburbanization process has been interrupted in many aspects.

Among all other Western models of suburbanization, Turkey has distinctive local characteristics due to its socio-economic dynamics. (Erişen, 2003: 3) Turkish upper-middle class was relatively lately developed group in comparison to Western countries. Correspondingly, suburbanization had two different dimensions. First one was the newly emerged upper classes moved to the outskirts in order to achieve an exclusive life (Ayata, 2012) and secondly inner migrants who located in slum-like areas within big cities for attaining more job opportunities (Erman, 2001: 986) Due to this situation suburbs in Turkey constituted a more heterogeneous feature especially between 1970s and 80s. After lower classes were settled in the inner areas of cities, suburbs have started to redevelop as upper class localities which are mostly composed of gated developments. As for this thesis, Yaşamkent district, the locality that was selected for the case study is also a suburban area in Ankara which is still in the progress of developing and enlarging. So, it will be analyzed correspondingly what has been discussed in this section.

3.2.2. Gentrification and Urban Renewal

After 1980s, the trend towards moving to the suburbs has slowed down because of its failure to satisfy upper classes to have a ‘sterilized’ life. In the meantime, inner-city areas were again congesting with various social groups. Therefore, the urban redevelopment and gentrification became an issue of modern industrial cities.

“The essence of gentrification is disguised” said Beauregard (2015), claiming that the underlying reasons behind gentrification have not been disclosed yet. (Beauregard, 2015: 56) Although perspectives and definitions differ, gentrification is mostly described as a neighborhood change through socio-economic dynamics.

In this study, gentrification is considered as a manifold of socio-spatial changes in the inner-city neighborhoods which resulted with an increase in land values and ends up with the displacement of lower classes (usually specified as working class) from these areas and upper-middle classes to move in. This process may include various procedures and modalities but its prerequisite is usually the endeavor for investing on the inner-city lands for capital accumulation.

In respect to gentrification, an outstanding explanation was the rent gap thesis of Neil Smith who proposed that renovation of urban land through gentrification and/or suburbanization eventually resulted in a circular disparity between rents and aroused the attention of investors. Smith formulated rent gap as “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use.” (Smith, 1979: 545)

In exemplifying redevelopment processes Sharon Zukin also provided a persuasive account by concentrating on the desires of new dwellers of renewed urban areas. (Zukin, 2008) For framing the process of gentrification, most important component is newcomers to restructured urban spaces. They are usually described as upper-middle classes in different narratives on urban redevelopment. Zukin had an emphasis on these people by claiming that “whether they are middle-class gentrifiers, underpaid creative producers, or yuppie scum, new residents of old neighborhoods are consuming an idea of authenticity.” (Zukin, 2008: 727-8) Her emphasis is also valid for many cases in Turkey like districts of Cihangir, Moda –and recently in Balat¹². In a sense, “Gentrification involves the transition of inner-city neighborhoods from a status of relative poverty and limited property investment to a state of commodification and reinvestment.” (Ley, 2003: 2527)

¹² Nil Uzun (2013) explained that “Cihangir, Galata and Tarlabası, when evaluated together with the changes in the Istanbul metropolitan area, reveal that the increasing importance property rights regimes with the neoliberalization of the economy has caused new sociospatial inequalities based on land and property market competition.”

All those suburbanization and gentrification processes have a great importance in the proliferation of gated communities. However, in order to make an extensive analysis of gated communities more effort is required on the insight of its theoretical and experience-based explanations. This study stands precisely at that point of endeavor.

3.3. Gated Communities

This part of the thesis will intend to sort out the meaning and transformation of gated communities as *enclosed/fortified* residential spaces. In that way, proposing the main argument of this study in defining gated community as a semi-public space will be meaningful. Gated communities have been studied by urban sociologists and geographers in many perspectives. The accounts on gated developments are usually based upon the concept of social segregation (Caldeira, 2000; Blakely & Snyder, 1997a, 1997b; Atkinson & Blandy, 2006) and they concentrate on the argument that how can we define gated communities with respect to social inequalities, unbalances and isolation (Caldeira, 2000; Le Goix, 2006; Vesselinov, 2008). In other words, gated community is defined as socially segregated and isolated areas in which security concerns have an essential importance (Blakely & Snyder, 1998; Graham & Marvin, 2001). In fact, the emergence of gated developments has been discussed through the notion of urban fear (Low, 2001). Besides security and segregation, gated communities have been debated in terms of inner social dynamics, neighborly relations and sense of belonging (McKenzie, 1994). Class dimension which puts forward the socio-economic status of the residents is also a frequently integrated debate to the literature on gated communities (Mycoo, 2006; Low, 2001).

In other words, in the discussion of gated community, social segregation, security, isolation and class positions are the main characteristics to describe the *raison d'être* of such settlements. This study departs itself from these debates to propose a further description to enclosed residential areas from a socio-spatial perspective which focuses on the concept of space.

3.3.1. Definition of gated community

Gated communities have been studied until 1990s with their emergence and proliferation in Western cities and have become a frequently mentioned topic in social inquiry. However, the presence of early developments structured as gated communities in urban areas is not a nouveau phenomenon. It was ancient times – approximately around 300 BC- that urban development has already shaped by the codes of enclosure and social segregation. (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a) More especially, gated developments were built because of the danger of civil wars and revolts. Besides, archeological evidences demonstrated that early settlements near Nile River were enclosed areas against the danger of hunter-gatherer tribes. (Blakely, 2007: 475) Hence spatial boundaries have a history go back a long way in social dynamics of civilizations. However, in contemporary era, gates, walls and protection are not signifying solely the security concerns in any case of danger. Thus the question of whether walls were only built for protection or for demarcating the differences among people emerges, as Marcuse (1997) posed, in the following:

The physical characteristics of walls are not decisive as to their meaning. Rather, the key question is: Who is on which side of the wall? Does the wall perpetuate power, or defend against it? Does it reinforce domination, or shield vulnerability? Does it strengthen hierarchical relationships among people, or does it pave the way towards greater equality?(Marcuse, 1997: 109)

In analyzing gated communities, there are mainly two distinct perspectives. First one is claiming that gated communities are isolated areas which usually have no direct connection with outside world (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; 1998; Caldeira, 2000) While a second group of scholars object to the idea that an urban space can totally be closed to its surroundings (Judd, 1995; Graham & Marvin, 2001) This study is aligned with second perspective due to three main reasons. First of all, each urban space is acknowledged as the part of a multifaceted whole in which socio-spatial dynamics are interwoven. In other words, urban space can by no means exist without any interconnection with other urban areas as mentioned in the first chapter of this

thesis. Secondly, there are many distinct types of gated communities and some of them do not have a great variety of social amenities that can provide its residents with the opportunity of satisfying their all needs and requests.¹³ And a third critique of the first perspective is about the focus on social segregation. In this study, it will be discussed that although social segregation has a great importance in the ways in which gated communities established and proliferated, defining gated community as a socio-spatially segregated area would be a superficial account of these specific urban spaces. Hereby, it is rather preferred to describe gated community in its further complexities and diversities without ignoring that it is somehow an enclosed urban area.

In defining gated communities there are various difficulties to comprise all qualities as a whole. The primary issue about its definition is due to the dichotomy in the evaluation of physical space and social space. In regard to physical space, it would be insufficient to describe a suburban style of such developments since there are many other types of gated communities having various characteristics. Flats with security systems at the entrance, residences and multi-storey buildings are also considered as gated developments. So the question arises; how to define those different characteristics without any deficiencies. The best way of overcome this problem is to remark a contextual framework. In Turkey, gated developments are usually composed of several buildings within an enclosed area. This is due to the tradition of mass housing projects assigned to military service or other civil servants. However, through the suburbanization, gated developments with single-detached dwellings and villas have also been emerged lately. And the most recent form of gated developments is multistoreys which are still relatively few in number (especially in Ankara, in contrast to Istanbul). In that context, the first thing come to mind is the first type of housing with security, middle size multistoreys and social amenities. This study will focus on this particularly most common form of such dwellings in the suburban areas of Ankara.

Any attempt to define gated community also requires miscellaneous perspectives to the concept in several respects: physical existence, fortification, security,

¹³An example of this will take part in the case study of this thesis in one of the selected gated communities for the fieldwork; *Daisy Houses*.

surveillance and organization of community life. Gated communities are usually described as walled and secured areas in urban environments with the purpose of avoiding from external dangers through controlling the access. (Low, 2003; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Soja, 2000) A slightly different definition was that “gated communities are residential areas with restricted access such that normally public spaces have been privatized.” (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b: 1) According to this point of view, these areas are usually suburban fields of urban developments or inner-city areas, yet this standpoint acknowledged that definition of gated communities has a large scope in practice. A more detailed definition on gated communities as follows:

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access that makes normally public spaces private. Access is controlled by physical barriers, walled or fenced perimeters, and gated or guarded entrances. Gated communities include both new housing developments and older residential areas retrofitted with barricades and fences. They represent a phenomenon different from apartment or condominium buildings with security systems or doormen. (Blakely & Snyder, 1998: 53)

While speaking of gated communities, this study critically concentrates on three basic arguments. Firstly, gated communities have a specific physical existence with fences and guards that create privatized, secured and isolated public spaces in itself (Judd, 1995, Caldeira, 2000; Graham & Marvin, 2001). In other words, social facilities in those structures are usually assigned exclusively to its residents. Thus the physical properties of gated developments change the established meanings of public and private spheres and they turn out to be semi-public spheres through privatization processes of urban sites.

The second respect about gated communities is due to the discussions on social segregation (Caldeira, 2000; Le Goix, 2006; Vesselinov, 2008). The basic assumption in defining these residential sites is that they are creating included and excluded identities not only by building walls but also by promoting a certain lifestyle that can only be achieved through money capital and social status. (Harvey, 2012: 14) In other words, gated communities are criticized for constituting and reproducing a social gap among different social groups which ends up with social

polarization. This study departs itself from this preliminary analysis of these structures without totally ignoring its effects on social polarization. In the last part of this chapter, this idea will be elaborated in detail.

The third aspect is that gated communities reinforce economic segregation among social groups (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a; Le Goix, 2006). According to this argument, these urban sites become luxurious and privileged day by day and eventually they happen to be representatives of money and high standards of living. Particularly in economically and socially polarized third world countries, visibility of luxury may have hostile connotations for underprivileged groups. Therefore, for this thesis, physical, social and economic segregation are three main respects in defining gated communities with both conceding and also criticizing some arguments in academic literature.

3.3.2. Literature on Gated Communities

Discussions on gated communities mainly originate from Euro-American research agenda; nevertheless there are recent examples from Eastern countries as well (i.e. South Asia and Middle East). After all, almost all of them focus on the influences of gated developments in urban life through treating social segregation as the most prominent objective. This present study engages with these researches to a certain extent and it aims to elaborate existing discussions from a slightly different perspective. In many ways, this thesis reclines the main premises of gated community literature. Therefore, a detailed analysis of existing studies will be meaningful for this study.

The study by Caldeira (2000) on the gated communities of Sao Paulo is accepted as one of the outstanding studies for a long while. Indeed, it is one of the initial discussions on gated communities in terms of social segregation. Her main premise in that article was that urbanization is a process which is gradually expanded rather than condensed (Caldeira, 2000) As discussed there, Sao Paulo has transformed into a world city after 1980s which eventually brought new expectations from urban space. She used surveys in order to conceptualize characteristics of residents in 'fortified enclaves'. The importance of this article for the present study is that

Caldeira asserted that it is not only security issues that direct people to live enclaves but also the desire for having high standards or at least a certain feature of lifestyle. This idea was a recently discussed theme in academic literature which was also proposed by Blakely and Snyder (1997a) who claimed that such privatized spaces are particularly identified with the lifestyles of people living there (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a: 19) Another point hereby is that Caldeira's definition of gated communities in Brazil were in specifically described as 'self-contained worlds' that are usually disconnected from the rest of the city and in which social and physical desires are perfectly fulfilled via social amenities while calling them *closed condominiums* (Caldeira, 2000: 257) However, this study approaches this idea with a little suspicion because of two reasons. First of all, it is hereby acknowledged that no urban space can be totally segregated from its surroundings. And secondly, it is usually not possible for its residents to be satisfied with the opportunities of gated developments as it will be discussed again in the forthcoming data analysis part. For the nonce, the question is that how a closed urban development can possibly be a *self-contained* area without any contact with outside world?

Klaus Frantz (2000) concentrated on physical and functional aspects of gated communities in United States and mainly proposed an outline about them in such respects; protection and fear, types of housing and facilities. He also discussed who were living in these areas and in what ways these developments are marketed in U.S. economy. One of the important points in that research was about the environments that gated communities were usually settled. Klaus showed that gated communities were exclusively centered within master-planned communities (MPCs) which were large-scale urban sites in the outskirts of cities (in specifically focusing upon Phoenix – Arizona) separated from rural areas and built up as a town-like structure through a master urban planning (Frantz, 2000: 103-4) At first glance, this definition looks quite similar to a suburban area but these sites were established according to a set of private and public urban projects as a whole and they were usually include parks, golf areas, artificial lakes and many other large-scale facilities (Frantz, 2000: 104) Turkey has different dynamics than U.S. in the emergence of gated communities, yet this research is influential for comprehending how those developments are constituted large-scale urban spaces.

Atkison and Blandy (2006) described gated communities as “walled or fenced housing developments, to which public access is restricted, characterised by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct and (usually) collective responsibility for management” (Atkinson & Blandy, 2006: viii) Their contribution to the current discussion was that gated communities have a pre-defined *code of conduct* and *rules*. In a sense, these urban developments do not only have physical peculiarities like walls or fences to be distinguished from surrounding areas, but they also have a certain way of social order in itself. In this respect, “McKenzie (1994) also emphasized the role of homeowners associations as the governing body in such settlements and the importance of the code of conduct and monthly fees paid by residents” (Roitman, 2010: 32) In regard to security, access control and utilization of social facilities, homeowners associations have a significant role in ensuring a coherent social life within gated communities. Due to these regulations and rules, idiosyncrasy of such urban environments is settled. A thesis study on gated communities in Istanbul by Sibel Ekdemir Kaya (2010) was also addressing homeowners associations as an important component of gated communities.

Another important discussion was generated by Blakely and Snyder (1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2007)¹⁴ who are still acknowledged as pioneer figures for this literature. They defined gated communities in three major typologies (Blakely & Snyder, 1997b) and in one of his articles Blakely (2007) iterated those three types as; lifestyle communities, prestige communities and security zones (Blakely, 2007: 477) *Lifestyle communities* are settled in the suburban areas with a large scale environment and various social facilities. This type of GC is basically originated from the lack of civil authorities to keep population safe. Consequently, wealthy groups prefer to ensure the security through gathering their own resources (Blakely, 2007: 478) *Prestige communities*, on the other hand, promote aesthetics and luxury as the primary features. Although they have similarities with lifestyle communities, they are designed for refined and fancy pleasures of the rising upper classes of societies as

¹⁴‘Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution)’ (1997a) was the first book that was exclusively focused on gated communities written by Blakely and Snyder.

Paris, Rome, London, Tokyo or Los Angeles¹⁵ . Albeit implementing physical security is also the initial aim for prestige communities, they are distinguished from lifestyle communities with carefully selected social amenities and emphasis on the appearance. The third type is called *security zones*¹⁶ and it was defined as defensive fortifications against any kind of danger and insecurity. They can be found in inner city areas for different social classes. They are formed through enclosure of streets and entrances of a certain neighborhood. Blakely and Snyder were distinguished with their claim that gated communities are also existed for poor neighborhoods as exemplified in security zones for protecting the neighborhood from outer dangers. However, this study digresses from this definition because of two reasons. At first in Turkey, security zones are not very common. Although there are relatively poor neighborhoods which blocked out for strangers¹⁷, they are not answering to the description of security zone. Secondly, this thesis aims to associate gated communities with a certain way of lifestyle with regard to social class and status. Therefore, security zones will be outside of this study in defining and analyzing the data.

3.3.3. Emergence and transformation of GCs in Turkey

In the academic inquiry about urban development in Turkey, there has been a variety of empirical studies that gradually change in terms of their unit of analysis. In 1950s, together with the high rates of migration to big cities, academic investigations were begun to develop. The dichotomy of rural and urban has been frequently discussed with the aim of construing possible outcomes of the migration. In those times, Turkey has experienced a new way of residential type, namely *gecekondu* that can be regarded as a type of squatter housing or slum¹⁸. These types of residents were mostly built by the migrants who were in search of job opportunities and they were

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Çinçin Bağları neighborhood in Altındağ, Ankara

¹⁸Both of these terms are different from ‘*gecekondu*’ in practice; yet the usage of these concepts are due to their approximate features in definition.

usually lack in infrastructure. Empirical studies about gecekondu have not lost their popularity until 2000s (Erman, 2001, 2004; Yasa, 1966, 1973; Güneş Ayata, 1991; Erder, 1997) However, a drastic shift in the meaning of such settlements due to the economic policies directed scholars to consider new concepts about uneven development of big cities in Turkey (Etöz, 2000; Tok, 1999) By this way, studies on poverty have emerged (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001; Erdoğan et. al., 2007) Alongside with the discussions on globalization a new field of inquiry has developed in Turkey that was concentrated on capital accumulation, wealth and urban professionals.

Liberal tendencies in economy have started with 1980s in Turkey and gradually showed an increase in various cities. Both new opportunities for private market and attitudes of governments to laissez faire economy created influences on the construction industry (Sassen, 2011). Furthermore, in last two decades a construction boom has experienced in Turkey due to the stance of last government AKP (Justice and Development Party) that promotes urban redevelopment projects in city center and embraces the flow of foreign capital in building sector (Yapıcı, 2015). It results with wide spreading gentrification and urban renewal projects as mentioned above. Apart from that, TOKİ (Governmental Public Housing Administration) has been offered mass housing projects as a tool for accumulation of capital. By this way, economic growth of Turkey has become more dependent on construction sector including respectably foreign money (Yapıcı, 2015). It is not only the construction of housing projects or luxurious gated communities that come with neoliberal expansion, but it is also infrastructural configurations that are consequences of this urban evolution. “Now, without thinking if there is a need or not, without considering the urban ecology, the geography or the topography, we are facing many mega projects”¹⁹ These mega projects (i.e. major roads, bridges, airports) are mainly about transportation problems due to the population growth in city centers.

In a developing cosmopolitan urban environment through neoliberal openings, an upper middle class has risen. Most of those works were appeared in Istanbul, the

¹⁹These are the words of master architect Mücella Yapıcı who is a member of *The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects*. Quotation was retrieved from the documentary *Non-Space: The Collapse of the City as Commodity* (2015)

rapidly growing city of Turkey (Aksoy & Robins, 1994; Öncü, 1997; Bali, 1999; Daniş & Pérouse, 2005; Geniş, 2007)

Through the emergence of an upper-middle class and difficulties in settlement of crowds a new subject matter has ensued, namely gentrification. As scrutinized in the previous part, gentrification and suburbanization are two main domains in identifying the residential preferences of newly emerged upper classes after 1990s. In this vein, social inquiry on urban development in Turkey turned out to be based upon lifestyle, consumption culture and social segregation with 2000s (Ayata, 2003; Daniş & Pérouse, 2005; Marmasan, 2014) As a component of these research areas, gated communities have been at the center of theoretical and empirical discussions about middle classes (Hazır, 2013; Yücebaş, 2013) Yet, in the context of urban transformation in Turkey, academic literature usually takes Istanbul as example (Aksoy& Robins, 1994; Geniş, 2007; Lovering & Evren, 2011) However the effects of neoliberal expansion can be seen in various cities of Turkey –especially for last decade there have been a lot of urban redevelopment projects in Ankara, İzmir, Bursa and others.

In the light of this brief historical background of urban development in academic inquiry, this study takes two main lines of factors in the emergence and proliferation of gated communities in Turkey, namely structural factors (globalization of economy, deficiencies in public services) and subjective factors (fear of crime, status, prestige). These fields are specified through following Sonia Roitman (2010) who differentiated the causes of gated communities as structural reasons and subjective reasons. (Roitman, 2010) This thesis leans towards those causes with modifying them according to the social conditions of Turkey. Structural reasons of gated communities to appear after 1980s and to proliferate with 1990s are substantially determined as (1) the globalization of economy and (2) the rise of urban violence (Roitman, 2010: 33-4)

(1) Globalization of the economy: While speaking of Turkish conjuncture, globalization of economy has a great significance especially with 1990s onwards that brought foreign investments into the market economy as well as construction sector. Abovementioned mega projects, newly

established social amenities, shopping malls and gated communities are all outcomes of globalization procedures on urban fabric and city structure.

(2) *Deficiencies in public services*: Roitman's second aspect in structural causes was mostly upon the lack of governmental services against increased public violence²⁰ but hereby this study takes deficiencies in providing public services in the context of Turkey as a whole -including garbage collection, recycling and installation work along with the security services. As neoliberal policies have gained importance in Turkey after 1980s, governments gradually became disqualified in providing with public services. Consequently, private sectors monopolized the duties like recycling and security in many urban sites in specifically residential areas. This way was seen more reliable in the eyes of wealthy people. Thus they demanded private solutions for creating safer and cleaner areas for themselves which brought gated communities to show up.

To conclude, as described by Blakely (2007), the majority of gated communities in Turkey can be identified as *lifestyle communities* in where governments could not ensure the public security and local governments are usually unsatisfactory in civic actions. As it will be referred in the next chapter, local governments are still at the center of debate while speaking of privatization of civic duties in and around gated communities. In recent years, especially in Istanbul, *prestige communities*²¹ have also been emerged for fulfilling the demands of wealthiest group of Turkish upper classes but they are still few in number and much more similar to lifestyle communities than Blakely (2007) mentioned. Nevertheless, these types of walled developments excessively emphasize aesthetics.

Structural causes for gated communities as were also described by Roitman have been inspirational for this study and it constituted a general framework on this type

²⁰Ibid. pp. 34

²¹Prestige Community was mentioned in the previous part, it is the second type of GCs as Blakely (2007) explained.

of residential preference. However, when discussion comes to the subjective causes, the present study will depart itself from Roitman's analytical schema in order to reflect Turkey in its own conditions in practice since "subjective causes of the expansion of gated communities are ... resulting from individuals' desires, interests, viewpoints and opportunities." (Roitman, 2010: 34) As the following reasons; (1) increased fear of crime (2) having an exclusive lifestyle (3) attaining a higher social status and (4) concerns about family are some of the aspects for identifying Turkish upper classes to prefer gated communities. Some of these were already mentioned by Roitman (2010) as well; but for having a more accurate insight about subjective matters, it will be meaningful to scrutinize these aspects through data analysis. Subjective causes for preferring gated communities are by all measures dependent on a variety of experiences. Therefore, in the data analysis part, all of these aspects will be covered in detail.

CHAPTER 4

GATED COMMUNITIES AS SEMI-PUBLIC SPACES: THE CASE OF YAŞAMKENT

4.1. Introduction

This case study aims at investigating the ways in which the residents of gated communities use and perceive different spaces in their daily routines and ascribing a new definition to gated communities as semi-public space. According to these two corresponding purposes of this study, urban space was divided into three main domains; namely private space, public space and semi-public space. Additionally, an insight on the daily life and social relations in gated communities were added to the analysis in order to see the reflections of *perceived, conceived and lived spaces*²². In line with this conceptual triad, throughout the analysis, this study will treat space as a transitional sphere of attributions in which the meanings of public, private and semi-public space are interconnected. In other words, this thesis will show how a given space can be considered as perceived/conceived or lived in different cases. In that regard, this case study primarily focuses on semi-public space through numerous attributions which are interwoven with the ascriptions of both public and private spaces.

In addition, as previously discussed, the question of how urban space becomes fragmented and socially segregated needs a further and a detailed account of how a specific social group (residents of gated communities) describes and uses various urban spaces; and this is precisely what this case study is about. Thus the analysis part of this thesis will be focused on the ways in which people perceive and describe the spaces which either they use, pass by or avoid to go.

As for this study the selection of the city that will be approached was an important question since any attempt to examine urban space requires a specific consideration

²² This triad of space by Lefebvre (1991) was discussed in the previous chapter.

on the urban setting and every city has its own particular conditions and dynamics in accordance with their socio-historical backgrounds and their ways of integration to the market economy. The capital city of Turkey, Ankara, has been identified as the city of officials in which socio-cultural opportunities are usually lacking. This study was intentionally conducted in Ankara in order to understand the main characteristics attributed to private and public spaces in a so called ordered city. A second reason for choosing Ankara is because of existence of multiple previous studies in Istanbul (Bali, 1999; Öncü, 1999; Geniş, 2007; F. Özgür, 2006; Daniş & Pérouse, 2005; Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008; Töre & Som, 2009; Ekdemir Kaya, 2010; Aydın, 2012; Gönüler, 2015) while Ankara is always lacking in the analysis of urban structure, usage of public spaces and gated communities (Güzey, 2003; Ertuna, 2003; Akçal, 2004; Erkip, 2010; Güzey & Özcan, 2010; Ayten & Barkul, 2011). This study aims to interrogate Ankara due to this reason in respect to the features of gated developments in Ankara and Istanbul which have also many differences. The gated developments in Istanbul have more luxurious characteristics and they allocate more space in the market economy through foreign and national construction companies. However, in Ankara, gated communities are mostly built by cooperatives. In other words, Istanbul is a city in which gated developments have almost the higher density both in terms of the market and the allocation of space in the urban fabric. In that regard, this thesis is an attempt to understand the nature of gated communities in an environment in which socio-spatial dynamics of the urban structure is relatively ordered and low density in comparison to Istanbul.

4.2. A Short Gaze at Yaşamkent District

Yaşamkent is a district of Ankara, situated at the west side of the city, beyond other western regions, Ümitköy and Çayyolu. It is 21 kilometers to Kızılay which is accepted as the city center since its establishment. The district was incorporated into Yenimahalle Municipality until 2014, but after the last local election in 2014, it was conjoined to Çankaya Municipality.

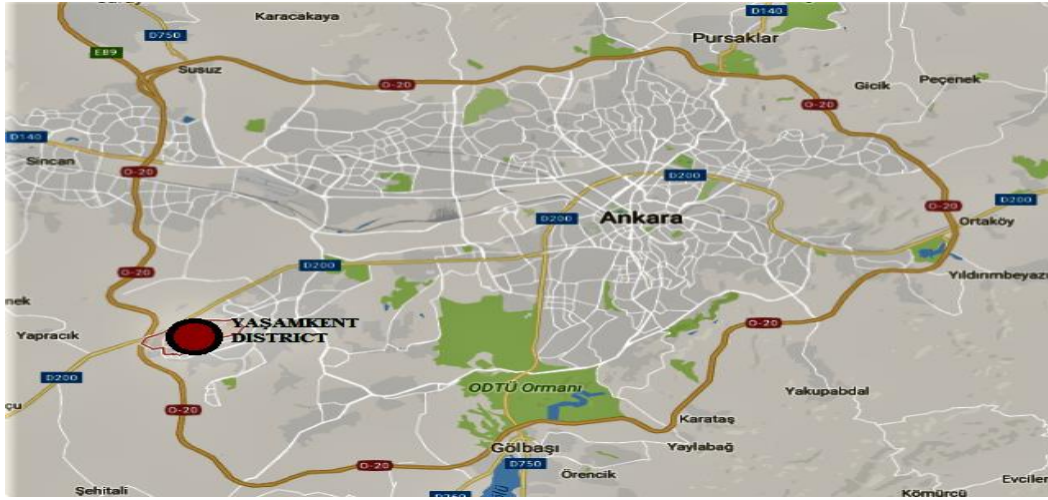


Figure 2. The map of Ankara including Yaşamkent District

Yaşamkent along with Çayyolu and Ümitköy is largely comprised of upper-middle class dwellings. This province has been developed through a suburbanization process and its spatial development has gain a great acceleration in last decade. Particularly, Yaşamkent is the most recently developed region among others (i.e. Ümitköy, Çayyolu, Konutkent) In line with new settlements in the area, various social amenities, shopping malls, sport centers; cafés as such have been built. At the very beginning of the case study, it was seen that it is not long now before Yaşamkent was a neighborhood with a limited number of dwellings. However, a decade has changed a lot in this province and turned it a middle class suburban area in a great demand.

Among all dwellings and gated developments in Yaşamkent, three of them are selected for this case study. The selection criteria are based on the differences of those gated communities which have also a common ground of containing security measures and somehow addressing to ‘a middle class lifestyle’. Alongside this common ground all three gated communities (Mimosa, Magnolia and Daisy Houses) have different characteristics in terms of years of establishment, social facilities, location within Yaşamkent and size of population. For the ethical purposes, real names of the gated communities have been changed with pseudonyms.

Magnolia Houses

Magnolia Houses is located on the northern part of Yaşamkent and it is close to Eskişehir Road which is one of the main arterial roads in Ankara that connect city center to many neighborhoods including suburbs. There are three blocks in the development and two types of apartments; mainly 3+1 flats with 134 square meters and 4+1 flats with 149 square meters. There is an outdoor swimming pool, a sports center with personal trainers, a basketball court, a sun terrace, a tennis court, a playground, 7/24 security (composed of at least two security guards and multiple cameras in and around the development) and decorative pools. Also each building contains an elevator, a fire escape, electric generator and a reservoir. Besides these, there are parking garages and lots offered to its residents a space in both. The number of apartment houses is 224.

Mimosa Houses

Mimosa Houses is located in the southern region of Yaşamkent, on a relatively distant place to Eskişehir road. It was established in 2003 as a cooperative and started to be built in 2004. And in 2007, residents have begun to move in their houses. The development contains eight blocks which are settled on a very wide area. Besides dwellings, there are parking garages and lots, 7/24 security with at least two security guards and cameras, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, a snack bar, a private kindergarten, walking and cycling tracks, outdoor sport center, playground and a little aqua park in the development. Since it was established as a cooperative, homeowner associations and site management have great responsibilities and roles in comparison to other selected gated developments. The number of cooperation partners is 440.

Daisy Houses

Daisy Houses is located in a relatively northern area in Yaşamkent. It was a part of a large construction project of a leading company in Turkey. It has two blocks with eleven folds. Each flat includes four apartments and apartments are 3+1 or 2+1; with respectably 138 square meters and 118 square meters. It is relatively smaller to previously mentioned gated developments. It only includes 7 /24 security with at

least one security guard and cameras, a playground, a tennis court and parking garages and lots. The number of apartment houses is 96.

4.3. House as a Reflection of Private Sphere

4.3.1. The Meaning of House

In the field of urban sociology, the analysis of private space is indeed as important as the analysis of public space. Even though house is regarded as an irreplaceable component of everyday life and it is usually associated with a set of social and cultural indicators, there were relatively few studies on the constitution of house and its existence within the daily practices. However “a house is a meaningful cultural object” (Rakoff, 1977: 85) and it is dominantly influential in defining the private sphere. The meaning of house usually includes privacy, intimacy and confidence in numerous societies for many decades. Yet the ways in which house is perceived differ considerably not only from one culture to the other, but also among individuals. Although perceptions may vary, it is possible to trace commonalities in identifying the house.

A house definitely means something more than being a physical shelter. Perceptions about ‘house’ express the ways in which people demarcate public and private spheres as well as the idea of house itself represents a specific place where is free from complexities and contradictions of ‘outside world’. The historicity of house also demonstrates the significance of this border between public life and house –which was particularly determined as a division between workplace and house. In the earliest phase of capitalism, house and workplace were still hand in hand. With the industrial revolution, a separation between house and workplace brought a radical division among public and private spheres. Although all other economic and social conditions are greatly different and highly multifaceted in contemporary capitalist relations, the separation of private and public life is still visible and reveals its promises with the strict physical demarcations among public space and private space. Today, for most people who have to work intensively in their daily lives, house is like a tree branch to be held on in a fast-flowing river.

In this study, house will be considered through aforesaid premises of private sphere and in doing so, most prominent words in how 'house' is defined in the interviews will be provided for a better understanding on the connotations of house as a private space. The aim is to comprehend how and through which attributions people evaluate their private spaces.

The most remarkable attribution to house is equating house with peace and tranquility²³. The emphasis on peace has a different feature among all other attributions to home because regardless of age, gender and occupation, nearly every interviewee somehow identify house with peace and tranquility. Almost all of them stated that house is in the first place referring to peace on their behalf. An interviewee expressed "home is the only place in which I can be comfortable and peaceful" (R16) and another one stated "above all, house reminds me peace" (R23). This attribution is also highly significant since it shows what people desire and what they expect from private sphere. In addition to this, a great majority of respondents manifested that house must be safe and comfortable. It is not surprising that comfort and safety are substantial for people who live in gated communities as they prefer to demarcate the borders between private and public space. The desire to have a quiet, comfortable and peaceful environment within the limits of private space is best understood in comparison with their definition of public space as it will be introduced in the following parts. This study argues that as they face with a great deal of chaos in their workplaces as well as in the public arena, they wish for a silent, secured place without conflict and confusion. And it is precisely the house *per se* which would ease their minds after all fatigue and chaos they encountered. In that sense, house is considered to be a place to retreat and rest one's head. A respondent stated "...after being so tired in work, house is a place in which you seek peace" (R5). For the retired residents, the meaning of house is slightly changing since they have no obligations to face with chaos and problems in their daily lives. The variation among employees and retirees will reveal itself in the following analysis of everyday life. It is meaningful to remind that even if they are not seeking for

²³The word '*huzur*' in Turkish is usually translated to English as peace, tranquility or serenity, but it has a deeper meaning which is composed of all of those meanings in addition with comfort, quietness and ease. There is no word in English that corresponds the exact meaning with '*huzur*'.

recovery after work, they are still emphasizing peace and silence as the most important features of house that has to be fulfilled.

A second attribution of house emphasizes intimacy and family. A few respondents described house as a living space while most of them put a specific emphasis on 'personal space'. An interviewee expressed; "house is indeed a living space that belongs to me" (R3). In other words, house is not only a living space for participants; it usually refers to an exclusive place for them and for their families. The house is strongly associated with family especially to those who have children and who share the house with three or more family members. The residents of gated communities in this case study are middle class members with a more or less similar pattern of family life, namely a nuclear family with one or two children at most. They usually situate domestic life within the definition of house since their opinions about '*home*' is strongly correlated with household and domesticity rather than its physical characteristics. The connection between house and family can be traced in the following words of respondents; "house is where family gathers" (R1), "it is a place in which I can be peaceful with my family" (R5), "it reminds me a beautiful family environment" (R21). Thus house is not only associated with peace and comfort but also the family. In fact, house has sanctity in terms of familial relations.

Participants who live alone or who are recently married are more likely to associate house with 'personal space' and solitude. One respondent, who is now living with her husband and her cat for two years after living in a dormitory for five years, mentioned that "house is my zone, my place...that belongs to me in every respect." (R4). This remark on personal zone reveals a very significant point that is to say house is strongly attached to selfhood and individuality. In a sense, the meaning of house is far beyond being four walls and an indoor area. It is rather a particular setting of personal attachment and a sense of belonging.

In accordance with intimacy and selfhood, house is frequently depicted as a place of comfort and freedom. Many interviewees stated that they can do whatever they want in whenever they wish. This means, while they are at home they are set free from the obligations of public life and therefore house makes them feel comfortable and free. Thus, another important connotation of house is being a place of freedom as it is also

expressed clearly by an interviewee, saying “I see home as my realm of freedom in which I can do whatever I want” (*referring to any kind of leisure time activity without being dependent on any other external factors like other people, time, rules as such.*) And that’s why home has a particular importance in my life” (R9).

Another very significant concept is privacy that seems inherent to the house. Paula Townsend (2000) cited Rybczynski (1986) by stating that “Having a private place is central to what it means to many to be at home.” (Townsend, 2000: 42) Privacy is interconnected with intimacy and they are both referring to be alone and/or being with family members without the involvement of any other person. As for the residents of gated communities, privacy is something that has to be ensured in order to live in peace and serenity. Thus, it is highly identified with a supply of control mechanisms for restricting the access of outsiders. This desire to control the private environment manifests itself within the sphere of house as well. Yet, the control and order of the house may differ. For example, an interviewee stated that house is where she can have the control of everything while another respondent expressed that her house must be neat, clean and in a specific order which she herself regulates. Besides these expressions, a twenty years old woman who lives with her parents said that “when someone, for instance a friend, comes to our home I feel strange... Usually I want to be on my own in the house” (R10). This situation was best disclosed in the words of Saunders (1990), cited by Townsend (2000): “The doorstep forms a boundary between the private realm of the family, away from the scrutiny of others where they can exercise control over outsider’s involvement in domestic affairs, and the public world of wider society” (Townsend, 2000: 42)

The meaning of house has a great deal of emotional associations such as peace, tranquility, intimacy, freedom and sense of belonging. In order to show how significant ‘*house*’ is hereby for the residents of gated communities, more strong references will be introduced in regard to the description of house. Some interviewees said that house means *everything* to them for emphasizing the importance of their homes in their lives. Some other definitions of house are as following; “it is my castle” (R14), “it is a haven” (R26), “it is a sacred place for me” (R37). These expressions demonstrate that people have a very strong attachment with

their homes. Along with this, the word ‘*castle*’ refers to protection from all sorts of danger and threat while the word ‘*haven*’ indicates that people seek for solitude and safety over against the struggle in the public arena. In the light of these and some other emphases on safety, it should be said that interviewees regard house as a secured place from all kinds of danger and difficulty. Although not in absolute terms, that might be why they chose to live in a gated community with walls, cameras and security guards that would make them feel comfortable and safe.

Beyond these, happiness is also a mentioned feeling in describing the house. The word happiness has a particular significance for this analysis as it is mainly an attached expression only for home –again in contrast to what is experienced in public sphere. With all of these references, they commonly describe house as a field of happiness and joy. Thus, house has positive connotations which go beyond than merely being a shelter.

4.3.2. House as a Reflection of Self-identity

The house is also closely associated with self-identity. It is a place where one’s identity is reflected. Evidences can be found in their responses which reveal the sense of belonging to the house. Respondents are asked to understand how people identify their houses in relation to their personality, lifestyle or personal characteristics. Such a point was found important to see whether people emotionally associate their homes to their characteristics or not. Yet, in terms of this study, it is not sufficient to describe the preferences and attributions for private space on a personal level; it is rather significant to understand how people associate their tastes and consumption preferences with their class positions since a specific (upper-middle) class position is under consideration while speaking of gated communities.

From a Bourdieusan perspective, it can be said that consumption preferences are not intrinsic to individuals; they are rather socially constructed. So, Bourdieu’s work on culture and taste based upon the premise that consumption is a field of struggle and conflict among different class positions that is to say it is a part of power relations (Bourdieu, 1984) Here, the financial constraints indicate that middle class members have the aforesaid struggle in order to acquire the necessary tools for distinguishing

themselves from other classes. Wacquant (2007) analyzed Bourdieusan framework in terms of taste; “A second major argument of *Distinction* is that the aesthetic sense exhibited by different groups, and the lifestyles associated with them, define themselves in opposition to one another: *taste is first and foremost the distaste of the tastes of others.*” (Wacquant, 2007: 271) It is confirmed that people are usually willing to express their tastes and consumption preferences (as it is herein seen in the example of decoration) in order to identify their social class and status in a given society through distinguishing their position from the ‘others’.

The gated community literature extensively debates the class dimension of such settlements (Bali, 1999; Öncü, 1999; Geniş, 2007; Yücebaş, 2013). But this study departs itself from a detailed class analysis in gated communities since it has another major aim to analyze the perceptions about different spaces. Nevertheless, through discussing the emphasis on taste (including the notions of being modern, ordered, neat, and luxurious as such), this part will enable to comprehend the middle class perception about private space by giving a great importance to those concepts as an indicator of class position they have.

It was clearly expressed by all respondents that house is seen as a place where people seek to be comfortable and tranquil. When it comes to the organization of indoor spaces, most prominent argument is about the order and neatness. A 40 years old housewife said “I like order and tidiness. I am also very neat as a person” (R2) and a 48 years old retired bank employee emphasized that both she and her husband are very meticulous about their house’s order, by saying “everything has to be decent in our house, there must be a standard and that standard has to be maintained all the time” (R7). Another example of being neat came from a 39 years old preschool teacher with two children who said that “I am a bit painstaking about cleaning.. My house has to be clean and neat..” (R11). All those expressions show a general tendency towards being highly attentive to the hygiene and order of the indoor spaces. However gender makes a difference at that point. No male interviewees emphasized aforementioned issues while considering the connection between their personal characteristics and their houses. Thus it can be said that women are more likely to identify themselves with the responsibility of keeping the house clean and

tidy. More significantly, they did not mention this in a manner of necessity or constraint, they rather expressed that it is their identity that was reflected on the organization of their houses.

A second issue about the organization of indoor space is closely related to the first one and concentrates on the importance of 'beauty' and 'comfort' inside the dwelling and this shows the given emphasis on the aestheticization of life itself along with the physical environment. Measuring comfort and beauty is by no means an easy attempt due to their subjective nature and difficulty of setting criteria. However, interviewees mostly considered decoration while speaking of the link between the house and themselves. That's why a specific focus on decoration has to be mentioned. As this part of the study tries to understand how people refer to their houses in terms of their lifestyle, values, identities and characteristics, *decoration* is appeared to reflect all those features in a certain order within the house. Townsend (2000) argued that:

Our homes not only provide us with a form of shelter and escape, but also act as arenas which allow us to express individual personality and taste. They serve as a vehicle within which to be creative when other areas of our lives may deny this. As a result, our values and identities are created and objectified in home decoration. (Townsend, 2000: 44)

Decoration is a frequently mentioned way of self-expression and it usually goes hand in hand with the concepts of beauty and comfort. A recently married female respondent expressed "as an interior architect I usually think about how to make my house more beautiful... I try to design it according to our taste" (R32). The desire to have decent, neat and beautiful environment for themselves indicates the wish for establishing an exclusive and comfortable life.

In terms of decoration, there is again an apparent distinction between men and women. Many male interviewees particularly stated that they are not very involved in these issues about decoration as much as their wives are. A male interviewee stated that they are both spend a great time to beautify their house but by adding that "especially my wife makes a great effort in house to make it more beautiful... I'm not that much dealing with those issues" (R5). The idea of domestic practices such as

cleaning and decoration belong to the women's business demonstrates that house is largely considered as a female environment. Decision making processes in the organization of house dominantly refers to women while men are seen in a secondary position except doing the physical work about the decoration.

Another important point about the order within the limits of house is that the financial restrictions are usually appeared to be a constraint for people to design their houses according to their pleasure. A respondent claimed "these issues are directly related to money... the decoration of your house changes according to how much money you can put on the side..." (R24) and another one also said "these are all about money... in order to decorate the house, financial possibilities must be considered... at the end, you can't buy new furniture or continuously change the design of your house... all these require a certain amount of money" (R26). In a sense, financial potential of the household is somehow related to the aforementioned beautification process of indoors. As the interviewees are dominantly middle class members with salaried employment, affordability of luxuries has specific limits. In order to analyze the endeavor of making house beautiful regardless of having the necessary amount of money or not, examining the consumption practices of middle class is the keynote for understanding how their class identities are shaped.

Besides these, a strong claim of modernity in the interior design was indicated. One way or another, all interviewees except two of them, remarked that they would like to have modern furniture with simplicity and roominess. A very similar account was made by Sencer Ayata who asserted that it is not common to encounter valuable objects like antiques in the middle class dwellings within gated developments (Ayata, 2012: 47) In the same article, Ayata said that if only they have antiques which inherited by their grandparents (2012: 47) Besides that, as it was seen here, they are more likely to prefer new furniture and style of design that are signs of a modern lifestyle. There are two exceptional arguments which are predicated on the importance of life experience and memories in contrast to modernist preferences. For example, a 60 years old female respondent argued "the objects in my house must carry something from my youth... from my life... they should bear a stamp of my memories..." (R29). And second particular argument was of a 55 years old female

interviewee who said “I love antiquity. I am a bit addicted to my belongings. I love true life experiences. When I enter to my house I don’t want to feel like I’m getting into a furniture shop.” (R14). But for others, modernistic design is more beautiful and decent for them. So, the question turns out to be whether people prefer to identify their characteristics through tradition or modernity. It seems that more common pattern for the middle class residents of gated communities is in favor of modernity. A 27 years old respondent emphasized the conflict of tradition and modernity within their house in these words: “My parents have a traditional way of designing everything in the house. If it was up to me, I would not even place any furniture to my living room; I would rather prefer to put cushions and pillows everywhere. I mean... Minimalist design as far as possible... I would feel more content.” (R39). Apparently, this idea comes from the desire to identify oneself with exclusive tastes and lifestyle which absolutely belongs to what is new and what is modern.

To sum up with the definition of private sphere, a one last point is significant. Whether it is a part of the struggle to distinguish the attained class position or not, people associate their identities with their houses, and this association is usually related with the decoration of indoors. As expressed by one of the interviewees, “In many respects, you are caring your house to the core, and eventually your house bears the traces of you” (R5). Thus, decoration of the indoor spaces appears to be another way of reflection of self-identity. However, designing the house according to tastes and preferences is not the only way of establishing a link between lifestyle and physical environment. As it will be discussed in following sections, area of residence and features of gated developments are also significant factors in defining one’s lifestyle and identity.

4.3.3. The Usage of Inner Spaces and Allocation of Time

As the daily routine has a significant place in perceiving the surrounding through using the spaces, the ways of using the house and the time span that is allocated for the family are assumed to have an important impact on the attributions to the private sphere. In order to understand the ways in which residents of gated developments

evaluate the private space, the usage of those inner areas in the daily life has to be covered. By doing this, the opposition of public and private spaces will be clarified (since the expressions of the residents mostly reveals the dilemma of their daily routines in between being at home to rest and being in the public arena for necessities).

First of all, house has two different meanings for the people who still work/study and the people who are already retired. As mentioned at the beginning of this part, for working people, house is seen as a place that out of all tiresome activities and obligations. Consequently, those who cannot spend any time in house during weekdays frequently expressed that house is somewhere to rest and that is precisely what they are doing when they are at home. A male respondent said that “First, you have to ask whether I can spend any time in my house or not... Sometimes I even work in the evenings at the office. So, I have no time for my children yet. The time spent in the house usually passes with rest only.” (R22). An interviewee complained about his job by saying “Unfortunately, because of my job, nowadays, I can’t allocate time for me and for my house.” (R26) while another one mentioned “When you are working you can’t be able to get round to anything in house. I usually work till very late hours in a day and I come home exhausted.” (R6). Similarly other interviewees explained the time span in their houses as “I don’t have much time in home.” (R26); “The time spent in the home is mostly for relaxation.” (R17); “We go out in the mornings and come back in the evenings. It is almost impossible to spend time in the home. We mostly use our house to rest.” (R22). These are only some statements of working interviewees that indicate how dominant their jobs are in their daily lives. With a great variety of other expressions, it can be said that house is in the first place a physical space for recovery and relax for those who are working. The significant thing is that it is expected to have a contrary position with those who are not currently working. However, except a few different daily activities within the house, retired people also defined home as a place for rest. In a sense, private space is considered to be a silent and peaceful environment in which people can freshen up. A 48 years old, recently retired respondent mentioned that she even feels tired when she goes to malls or city center for shopping (R7). This demonstrates that public space itself is considered as a tiresome environment both for workers and retirees.

However the difference among these two cases reveals itself with certain other daily activities in weekdays such as inviting friends for a coffee, going to malls, sport centers and so on in a relatively early hour within the day, being at home to guests as such. For retirees, unlike people who are ‘tired’ of work, house is not somewhere to escape from outside world, it is rather a place for opening up to the outside world (Ayata, 2003: 48) Even though they also define home as a place of relaxation, they are not using it to avoid public life. This study takes house as a controllable environment in presenting oneself to the others. As Ayata (2003) described, especially women are more engaged in such occasions to participate in public life within a determined circle –old friends, neighbors, relatives and so forth. (Ayata, 2003: 48)

Another distinctive definition of time and activities in private sphere is again strongly associated with gender roles. As it is already mentioned that house is dominantly considered as a female universe, domestic affairs are usually assigned to women. In fact, women are considered to be responsible to keep house clean, neat, well-organized and beautiful, especially for the self-representation to others in friend gatherings at home. Almost all married, female respondents mentioned that as individual their most commonly used room in the house is the kitchen while they are using the living room for family gatherings –which means that when their husbands come home they have already finished domestic work, prepared the supper and so forth. Moreover, as expressed in the words of a housewife, women spend a great time in their homes, occupying with cleaning, doing the laundry and cooking; “Cleaning... I always do cleaning... It takes plenty of my time. In fact, my day passes in the kitchen” (R2). This situation does not even change in the cases of which woman is also working in a full time job. A university lecturer woman stated that;

“Are you asking the way *I want* to spend my time at home or the way *I am obliged to*? The two are totally different. Most of the time, as I work full time, when I come to home I usually take care with housework like cooking, laundry... Then I help my daughter in her homework.” (R24)

On the other hand, except one male interviewee who stated that sometimes he also cooks, no men remarked that they are doing domestic work. Thus the usage of

physical space of private sphere is differentiated according to gender roles that are traditionally established in preconceptions of middle class families as well. Even though their way of perceiving life usually indicates that they are part of a minority in Turkey who are modern, respectful to diversity and novelty, open-minded and opposed to gender discrimination²⁴, in their daily lives they live with a gender-blind perception about domestic work, decoration and childcare.

Another distinction about the usage of rooms and time within the house is between those who have children and those who have not. In this study, a variety of experiences were traced through interviewing with different age groups and other demographic features. There is a common tendency among parents to organize daily life according to children, especially if children are in small ages. A single mother expressed that “I am living with my daughter. She is 12. We usually spend time together in home and I have to make time for her in order to help with her homework and to provide a nice environment for her.” (R27). It is a well-known characteristic that middle class members have a great emphasis on ‘family’. Therefore, the house is seen as a place for family unity. In other words, it is considered to be the only place for gathering with family members and having commons. In doing so, both among men and women, this notion is revealed as a responsibility. However, the better part of childcare is again assigned to women whether they are also working or not. A father of six years old twins said that “Our life at home is going on the basis of children, because they are still kids. If we have time for going out, we go out with them. But usually they want to be at home. That’s why we also stay at home.” (R1). This perception that emphasizes playing with children in leisure times is dominantly held by men; whereas women mostly mention the necessities and responsibilities of childcare. While explaining an ordinary weekday, a housewife told that;

“I wake up at 06.30 am. I waken my son at 07.00 am. I prepare breakfast, then send him at 08.00 am. Afterwards, I waken my daughter, this time prepare breakfast for her and for my husband. They go school and work. And I start to tidy the house, do cleaning...” (R2).

²⁴This assumption will be broadly discussed once again in one of the following parts, ‘Social Relations’; and will be supported with words of interviewees as well as theoretical explanations.

And a mother with two sons who has to take care of her children in weekdays, usually travels long distances between house, schools of her children and her workplace, said that;

“I usually wake up at 06.50. I waken my children, prepare breakfast for them. I dress them up, prepare their school bags, I take one of my sons to his school in Beysukent then I get the other one to the kindergarten in Bilkent²⁵... Towards evening, on my way back home, I pick up my sons from their schools, I prepare supper then I help my son in his homework. They go to sleep at 9.00 pm...” (R33).

Therefore, it is apparent that the time spent in the house is mostly concentrated around *domestic work* for women while strongly emphasized as *a time of relaxation* by men. Correspondingly, the usage of private space is determined according to these assigned roles and attributions which are different for men and women. In the household, as the responsible person for cleaning, cooking and doing all other domestic works, women generally have a great dependence on the house itself (both physically and emotionally).

Among all interviewees, another commonly used place in the private space is the living room and accordingly the most common leisure time activity is watching television. Living room is particularly used for family members to come together in a common field after individually engaging with various affairs during the day at work.

In Turkey, in contrast to many other Western countries, there is a distinction of living room. In relatively old houses, there are two living rooms, namely ‘*salon*’ and ‘*oturma odası*’. *Salon* refers to the bigger living room while *oturma odası* is called to a smaller living room (or parlor) that is sometimes translated to English as sitting room or lounge room. Even they have no exact equivalent word in English, these two rooms are considered differently. In Turkey, there is a commonly appreciated tradition in houses for many years that remarks *oturma odası* as a living space for

²⁵The distance between Beysukent and Yaşamkent (the district of residence) is approximately 10 kilometers (20 min). The distance between Bilkent and Yaşamkent is approximately 15 kilometers (25 min.). And her workplace is in Bahçelievler which has a 25 kilometers (30 min.) journey to Yaşamkent.

residents of that house while *salon* is considered to be a place for welcoming guests. This tradition is appeared to be broken down in new middle class families in relatively young ages. A 39 years old interviewee said that “I see some houses with a living room (*salon*) just like a museum with all adornments and accessories in it. And I can’t believe this. Why would I to in for such a decoration in my living room, if I myself won’t use it?” (R11). And another 40 years old respondent also mentioned that “In my childhood, our main living room (*salon*) was like a museum. Laces and patchworks everywhere... In my case, just to spite, I was saying that I’m going to use my living room when I have my own house. It is so ridiculous not to use the largest and most comfortable room in the house.” (R1). However, in many households, the tradition not to use large living room in daily life still exists. An interviewee said that “We are not using *salon* because it is too large for us. We get used to the small room with television. It comes more sincere to us.” (R18).

To sum up, there were three main clusters of themes in regard to the definition of private space. First one was about the fundamental attributions to house which are peace, intimacy, selfhood, comfort, privacy and freedom. These are indicators of perceiving house as a secure and tranquil haven in contrast to workplace (more broadly, the public space) that is mostly comprised of chaos, noise, tiresome and confluence. A further analysis in defining public space will better demonstrate this binary opposition among private and public spaces.

A second theme was regard to personal attachment to house as well as identifying it as a part of middle class lifestyle. It was seen that neatness and hygiene are most crucial components of the private space along with the endeavor of beautification of house through decoration. Hereby, it was discussed that financial restrictions cause dissatisfaction of private space. Also, a strong emphasis was made about a second binary opposition of modernity vs. tradition.

Lastly, it was understood that daily activities within the house is considerably gendered. Especially in terms of childcare and domestic work, women spend their time with responsibilities whereas men consider house as a place of rest. All these findings will be better understood towards the end of whole analysis in regard to the definition of public space and definition of gated communities as semi-public space.

It is important to see that daily life reveals the practices in using the private and public spaces which will enable to question whether semi-public areas are evaluated as a desired place to be in the daily routine (like the house) or a place to pass by.

4.4. Definition of public space

Sennett defined public space as *dead urban spaces* (1974) in which visibility of intermix persons and diverse activities no longer exists. The relationship of space and human kind was defined by Sennett in a striking way in which the crisis of public space and publicity is revealed in its most rigid form. Sennett (1994) argued that there is a tendency in modern urban planning which aims to minimize the possibility of touching bodies of different groups. In that regard, modern urban design is based on the segregation of roads, residential areas and neighborhoods. He stated that:

“...planners will often direct the river of traffic so as to... separate rich and poor sections or ethnically divergent sections... planners will concentrate on building schools or housing at the center of the community rather than at its edge where people might come into contact with outsiders... the fenced, gated, and guarded planned community is sold to buyers as the very image of the good life.”
(Sennett, 1994: 18-9)

His account is considerably influential for this study, particularly as a point of departure in the analysis of public space. Although, this thesis departs itself from absolute judgements and sharp definitions as ‘*dead public space*’, what Sennett (1974, 1994) argued about the visibility and interaction of multiple social groups in a given public area has a great importance by all means. In that regard, one of the main arguments of this thesis is that public space is gradually fragmented and accordingly social relations are crystallized. These two reasons may result to social segregation and alienation but this study deliberates in such clear cut arguments. Since the visibility of different social groups in all urban scopes is no longer valid for many metropolitan areas, those who live in suburban areas in gated communities are barely seen in city centers while relatively low income groups are not visible in upper middle class neighborhoods unless they are not working as security guards,

day laborer or gardener as such. Despite the visibility issue of various groups at the city center, it cannot be said that socio-spatial segregation is in drastic levels. Both the residents of gated communities go to the city centers for various needs and people who live in those neighborhoods come back and forth to the suburban areas for work. So, the socio-spatial segregation in Ankara is not on a knife-edge. Evaluations and attributions on public space have many other distinguishing aspects but almost all of them are fluid and dependent on specific situations. This part will show those fluid meanings of public space.

It was found out that for the residents of Magnolia, Mimosa and Daisy Houses, public space has mostly negative meanings in contrast to private sphere. People are less willing to spend their time outside and they usually would like to be in at least a relatively controlled public area. A respondent who is a father of twins said that “In open areas like Kızılay or Tunalı, there is a madding crowd in which it is almost impossible to keep your children safe and under control. A family with children can’t be peaceful in such places.” (R1).

In respect to such desires, public spaces turn out to be segmented into categories (where to go, where not to go) and more central areas, streets and squares become transition zones only while shopping malls, restaurants and neighborhood of residence (Yaşamkent in this case) appear to be only public spaces that are integrated to urban life. In that sense, it can be said that Sennett was right in his claim of dead public space; “Dead public space is one reason, the most concrete one, that people will seek out on intimate terrain what is denied them on more alien ground.” (Sennett, 2017: 15)

This part will elaborate the definitions and perceptions of interviewees about city center, public and urban issues, characteristics of their own district in relation to ‘other’ public spaces. In other words, a comparison among what the interviewees have in their surroundings and other public areas which they use less often. Throughout the analysis, the definition of private space which was previously analyzed as the obverse of public space will also be kept in mind. Afterwards, an overview of daily practices of interviewees will be incorporated into discussion. The

emphasis on daily life will be supplementary to how they evaluate public arena and in what ways they use various public fields.

4.4.1. Defining the city center

4.4.1.1. The City Center of Ankara

It is a well-known fact that metropolises and big cities have more than one city center. In many Western cities, there are various centers for different social opportunities. Therefore it is not easy to specify a single city center for current cities. However, the accustomed opinions about city centers must be reminded for understanding how public space is evaluated today. In Ankara, with the expansion of city towards western region, urban fabric has changed and dispersed into multiple areas. In that sense, each neighborhood is turning out to be a center on its own. As for the city center in a traditional setting, Kızılay and Ulus²⁶ were two main zones that might be accepted as city center. This thesis departs itself from a standpoint on a single city center but on the other hand it considers that those centers have a deep-seated root since almost all respondents immediately referred to Kızılay while speaking of the center before it was mentioned by me.

The purpose of this part is not to determine a ‘city center’ for Ankara, it is rather aimed at understanding how interviewees describe the center of their city and in what ways they are interacting with different public spaces. With the acknowledgement of the idea that Ankara has more than one center even Kızılay is the most prominent one, this study will reveal the ways in which people conceive the urban landscape and ‘use’ those spaces.

In regard to the city center, a great majority of interviewees said that city center of Ankara is either Çayyolu or Yaşamkent. But it is crucial to state that those responses were given on the basis of their own life experiences and daily activities. Although explanations of this argument differ according to demographic features as well as the

²⁶Kızılay is a neighborhood in Çankaya, Ankara which was named after Kızılay Derneği (Turkish Red Crescent) and designed by a German architect Hermann Jansen in 1924. For further information, see <http://fotogaleri.hurriyet.com.tr/galeridetay/73406/2/2/bir-yokulus-hikayesi-guvenpark> And Ulus is a quarter near Kızılay which was considered as the heart of Ankara due to the settlement of the first Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) at the Ulus Square.

place of previous dwelling, variations remained insignificant. Because the main argument proposed by respondents indicated that Çayyolu and Yaşamkent are developing areas of Ankara in which many new opportunities and incoming potential. Whether they explain it through their personal experiences or common sense judgements, they are convinced that the western side of Ankara has the potential of being the new city center instead of Kızılay or Çankaya²⁷. A respondent well-expressed this by saying “The center of Ankara has started to become Çayyolu, center is moving to there. Before, the city center was Çankaya and its surrounding but due to the socio-economic reasons, Çayyolu has developed and now it is as a whole the city center of Ankara.” (R37). The emphasis on socio-economic reasons has a great importance in order to see how middle class members redefine and reclaim their spaces through urging upon their difference in social and economic terms from the rest of the society.

Although, main tendency was to identify Çayyolu/Yaşamkent as the center, a respectable majority remarked the significance of Kızılay in many respects. A respondent said that “I mean... The center is Kızılay... There is nothing to do about it, it is always Kızılay...” while also stating that “My father works there, I also worked there for a while. Even I hate to go to Kızılay, it is the city center.” (R25). While at the same time, interviewees mentioned that they are not going to Kızılay or Ulus so often even they see those places as the city center. An interviewee said that “Kızılay is the city center but not for us. When you ask to us, since we are living here, we don’t use those places unless we have a particular thing to do there. We don’t go there so often.” (R22). And another one expressed that “We of course don’t of Kızılay or Ulus for our pleasure... If we have a necessary thing to do in there, we go. Except that, we prefer to be here (Yaşamkent/Çayyolu)” (R32) There are many other expressions like these which indicate that people have their own centers in the places they live rather than assigning a city center for all activities. Even one respondent clearly expressed that “Actually, I create and shape the center in where I

²⁷ Çankaya is a district of Ankara, Turkey. It is home to many government buildings, including the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, as well as nearly all foreign embassies to Turkey. Çankaya is a cosmopolitan district and considered the cultural and financial center of Ankara. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%87ankaya,_Ankara_\(district\)#cite_note-3](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%87ankaya,_Ankara_(district)#cite_note-3) And according to the 2016 data, the population of that central province is nearly 1 million. For further information and graphics, see http://www.nufusu.com/ilce/cankaya_ankara-nufusu

am. So center is here (Yaşamkent), because I don't feel the need for any other place to go." (R9).

The city center is a fluid concept for many people since it has no single answer to this question. As it is seen, some interviewees expressed the significance of Kızılay due to its historic and settled place in the map of Ankara, while some others argued that center is determined according to their own activities, therefore it is naturally Yaşamkent/Çayyolu. But none of these answers claimed a strict sense of city center.

A third perspective on the center of Ankara was mostly related to past time life experiences and/or social network. Those who said that city center seem like (they usually prefer to use seem like, for me, it feels like etc. probably in order to emphasize the personal reasons behind their answer) Bahçelievler, Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya or Etlük. All these exceptional specifications were come from personal life experiences or ongoing social networks with those places. For example a respondent said that "Center is Etlük to me; because I was born and raised in there. I am still going there so often. My mother still lives there, the job of my husband is there and my siblings live there as well. Everything exists there." (R2). This perspective comes from a mere perception to the city rather than conceiving Ankara from a general and wider perspective. It is quite related with the previous expression of another respondent who was saying that she creates the center in regard to where she lives.

Another similar perspective to this one is defining city center through workplace. It was seen that people who live in Yaşamkent but works in Bahçelievler or Çankaya are more likely to refer to the province of their workplaces as the center. For example a lecturer in Middle East Technical University who lives in Yaşamkent for twelve years said that "My workplace, here, METU is right in the middle of the city, so I don't need to go the other side of the city. I use METU as the last point and the frontier." (R24). Also, another respondent who works in Bahçelievler as a teacher in a high school expressed that "Since I am a teacher in this school for many years, whether I moved to Yaşamkent or not, the city center is Bahçelievler. Of course, now we don't have enough time to spend here with my colleagues because my house is far from here. So, a second center can be Çayyolu/Ümitköy for me. In short, center is where I am." (R3).

Along with the emphasis on personal location, these words also demonstrate how the concept of city center is fluid and changeable according to different perspectives and experiences. A further discussion will elaborate the usage of different urban spaces like Kızılay, Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi, and Ulus as such in order to understand the ways in which people conceive their lived space (Yaşamkent) in comparison with those places which have been considered as the city center for many decades. For the nonce, it is crucial to once again state that the conception and definition of city center are not completely conclusive or exclusive for people in contrast to strict determinations of common sense generalizations. Following section will support this argument with further findings.

4.4.1.2. The Usage of Public Areas in Ankara

The main purpose of this part is to show the differences among public spaces due to various factors and perceptions. Those factors that were considered during the interviews while defining the characteristics of different urban spaces like Kızılay or Yaşamkent can be gathered under four main issues; namely the concepts of daily needs, entertainment, necessities and obligation. All of those categories will also be influential in the further analysis of private and public space opposition.

First issue in terms of the usage of city center is the concept of ‘need’ which is basically relied upon the daily needs of goods and services. Almost all respondents with few exceptional cases indicated that they fulfill all their basic needs from Yaşamkent rather than going somewhere else. This is precisely the most prominent reason of all while defining city center. Since there is no need for going other districts to fulfill the daily needs, most commonly used urban space ultimately turns out to be Yaşamkent. In order to figure this situation more explanatory expressions from a further question in the interview, “From where do you fulfill your daily needs such as groceries, butcher, coiffeur etc.?” will be provided here to ensure the consistency of analysis. This question was important to reveal how people define and use the urban space in terms of their daily needs of goods and services. With a few exceptional responses, all interviewees stated that they are using Yaşamkent district for their basic needs. “All places that I fulfill my daily needs are within walking

distance” (R36), “Here we have all those opportunities and places, we don’t need to go out for anything” (R5) and “I can meet all those needs in Yaşamkent” (R11); such expressions can be multiplied similarly. Except from a tendency to go other provinces for coiffeur (usually their old neighborhoods), all basic needs are satisfied in the same district. Therefore, the necessity of using Kızılay or Ulus for grocery shopping as such is out of question.

Second category to understand the ways in which people use city centers is about the social activities. Although Kızılay and Ulus are not preferable zones for social activities as they used to be, certain social amenities still exist there such as opera house, theater buildings and museums. Since those places are considered in terms of high culture activities which upper-middle classes are willing to participate, especially Ulus becomes preferable in that sense. A university lecturer stated that “I go to Ulus once or twice a year... If there is new and specific restaurant or for a museum...” (R24). Such expressions are quite rare though. Interviewees usually mentioned that they are not using Kızılay and Ulus for their pleasure. A more distinctive concept for defining their usage of those places is about ‘necessity’.

Accordingly, third issue is about necessity and obligation. Either because of necessities like medical examinations, dentist appointments as such or due to the obligations about their jobs, people sometimes oblige to go to Kızılay, Ulus or Tunalı. Going to those centers is only because of such obligations for many respondents. An interviewee stated that “I have to go Kızılay due to my occupation. I am responsible of public department of our company and our clients are there. So I usually go there, but certainly not on weekends. I never go there except obligation.” (R8) while another respondent expressed “In every two months we go there for medical examination.” (R20). A retired resident explained that “I go Kızılay for some stuff to do; like paying the real estate taxes or personal income taxes.” (R29) and another one stated “I almost never go those places you have said. Unless a very urgent thing that is impossible to find here (usually we have everything but...) maybe just in that case I go.” (R34). Also a young female interviewee complained about such public areas by saying “I go Kızılay because of my job. I work there

unfortunately. I have no other choice. But I hate to go there. Because every time I go there I smell like street. Really! Those smell of chestnut...” (R25).

Those expressions are all indicated that going to Kızılay or Ulus cannot be a preferable milieu for these people unless a specific requirement exists. In other words, it was seen that the most prominent reason for using those centers is due to the necessities. The last expression above, of a female respondent who works in Kızılay shows the displeasure of going there in relation to the ‘smell’ of the street is quite important to see how public space is described. Similar examples will be introduced in next part both in order to understand how people define public space and what kind of discourse they use in their definitions. Those expressions will reveal the ways in which they distinguish their lived spaces (Çayyolu/Yaşamkent) from other public areas.

While evaluating public sphere, two important issues were revealed. First one is about the discourse in defining the activities within the city. Whether it is a social activity or a requirement due to a job or other issues, urban space is described as a place ‘to use’. Theoretically speaking, *the usage of urban space* is a common conceptualization within urban sociology. However, it was interesting to see that people also utilize this conceptualization throughout the interviews. It was usually expressed as ‘the usage’ of this or that space. For example, in the question of how often do you go to Kızılay or Ulus, interviewees frequently said “I don’t *use* Kızılay to fulfill my basic needs” or “We *use* Yaşamkent instead of Kızılay to meet with our friends”. Even though there is no existing lexical bundle in Turkish to refer space and it was not found voice by me in any moment of the interviews, respondents put their relationships with any given urban space through the discourse of ‘use’. It is significant with respect to the theoretical assumption of this study which considers urban space as a commodified arena. Since the usage of things refers to that thing as a tool or a means to end, it is crucial to see that space itself has a similar characteristic for middle class members. As mentioned in the first chapter, this study departs itself from the idea that space is a tool or a container. However, the perspectives of interviewees indicated that space does not have an active role in the daily lives of people. It is rather considered as a place in which people act, live and

pass through. In short, the discourse on space along with its ‘usage’ shows the commodification of space.

Another significant point is based on a shift from relatively more central spaces in city towards Yaşamkent which is considered as a suburb area. A respondent said that “Previously, we were using Kızılay more often; I was going to *dershane* (a private teaching institution that is complement to school).” (R19). And another one stated that “Once we were going to Ulus for ballet and opera. We never missed any occasion like opera, theatre or ballet. But now we don’t go any of them because it is already too far. We usually went there with my mother and aunt. Now we don’t go because it is difficult to go there and turn back at night as three women.” (R39). Hereby, in addition to the shift of activity spaces, there is a sense of insecurity in relatively central places of the city, but the conception of insecurity will be discussed later. For the nonce, it is adequate to see that people usually change their habitual daily activities according to the province they live in. This may not appear as surprising but it is interesting to figure how people alter and even transform their ways of living due to the urban environment they settled in. In particular, relatively young people are more likely to complain about this situation because of being away from certain social activities in the city center. A 27 years old interviewee said that;

“Kızılay and Ulus were not like this before. There were many shops that we went and took all our clothes and other stuff. There was a culture of *esnaf*²⁸ and we frequently went shopping to those small shops rather than shopping malls...” (R39)

The same respondent expressed a similar complaint in another following answer by saying that;

“We used to go a café in Kızılay with my friends, we all knew its manager; we were like living in that café. I was always going there to study, to meet with my friends. I was always outside. Day and night... But when we came

²⁸The word *esnaf* in Turkish is usually translated to English as shopkeeper, handicraftsmen or artisan. However, in Turkey *esnaflık* (work of a tradesmen/craftsmen) has a deep-seated meaning due to the historical background coming from Ottoman Empire times. In many small cities and villages, it has a great importance but it gradually loses its place because of large shopping malls and branding.

here, I could not manage that life. it was impossible to go out at night because there is no public transportation to here after a point at night. So, I quit that lifestyle and now I am always at home.” (R39)

A closely related point is about the categorization of those acknowledged city centers. While people were stressing out that they do not prefer those places anymore mainly because of the distance between Kızılay, Ulus and their houses, they emphasized that Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi is different. Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi is an area in between Kızılay and Çankaya. There is a huge park, called Kuğulu Park, at the top of the street and there are various kinds of cafés, restaurants and bars on it. It is mostly considered as a place which appeals to youth and upper middle class income groups with relatively higher education. Even though, this is only a common sense on this province, it is understood from the interviews that middle class is also identifying their class position (socio-economic status or socio-cultural standards) in line with this common sense claim. Although, there is no significant difference in terms of distance, they usually said that even they do not go to Kızılay or Ulus; they sometimes go Tunalı for pleasure or shopping. Moreover, the time intervals to go Kızılay or Ulus on the basis of a necessity or a particular social activity are between three months to one year; whereas the frequency of visiting Tunalı is one week to one month. There are various possible reasons for this preference but the only expression of this distinction between Tunalı and Kızılay came from a respondent who stated that “...according to my socio-economic status Tunalı, Gaziosmanpaşa, Arjantin and Filistin are much more preferable places. Very rarely, we go to the opera house in Ulus... but it is like once in a blue moon. On the contrary, maybe not once a week but bi-weekly a night passes in Tunalı for sure.” (R40). The emphasis on socio-economic status is quite significant in terms of describing the middle class tendency in lifestyle and cultural preferences. Another point is the expression of opera house by many interviewees while speaking of Ulus. Although there is a great variety of social activities and shopping opportunities in Ulus, middle class members are not willing to participate in the public life in that sense within those places. They only prefer to go opera, ballet, concert of classical music and so forth which are well-acknowledged activities of high culture.

Before concluding with the descriptions of city center and its usage, a last point is about using the urban space as a *transition zone*. Among those interviewees who said that they occasionally go to Kızılay, many of them expressed that they are using Kızılay as a transition zone. The main reason of this is that all public transportation lines are passed and transferred to other provinces from the heart of Kızılay, Güvenpark Square. While a respondent was saying that “I use Kızılay only for transportation. I never walk around the streets, go window-shopping or else. If I have something to buy, I go there, get it and then I leave Kızılay immediately” (R23) a more remarkable expression came from another interviewee saying “I only use Kızılay to go to airport. I never go there for any other reason until this time. I never even stop there for five minutes to do something.” (R40). This strict isolation from Kızılay and other urban centers is a meaningful object of analysis for the purposes of this study. However, it is more important to ask the question whether public spaces, city center, squares and parks are fading from the scene or the meaning of publicity, collectivity and urban space transforms into something else (like shopping malls, socio-spatially segregated areas as such). In terms of usage of urban space by middle class members, city is appeared to be divided into segments. An interviewee mentioned that “Unless we don’t go to AŞTİ (*bus terminal of Ankara*) to welcome a relative or a friend, we never go beyond Armada (*a shopping mall on the Eskişehir road which is one of the biggest connection line of Çayyolu and Kızılay*)” (R34). Another respondent also claimed her distance with the rest of the city by stating that “We almost never lie beyond Ümitköy (*a close neighborhood to Çayyolu*)” (R19) and another one said that “We don’t cut across Bilkent (*an upper middle class neighborhood on Eskişehir road and it is closer to Çayyolu*)” (R32). Thus all those expressions are indicators of determined frontiers and those frontiers are considered to be a buffer zone between middle class and lower classes. In order to search for further descriptions of this border within the cityscape, it will be meaningful to move towards the following section on public space that focuses on the comparison between those two sides in regard to the social and structural problems.

4.4.2. Concerns about Public Space

4.4.2.1. Urban Problems and Challenges in Ankara

As a significant component of defining public space, urban affairs and problems were included to the discussion because the definition of semi-public space will be emerged out of the merged meanings and attributions of public and private spaces. In other words, as in the definition of private space, the evaluation of public space will lead the discussion towards the proposition of semi-public spaces. Since the definition of public space involves a manifold of chaotic, crowded and noisy imageries, further challenges and difficulties will reveal the relatively unfavorable characteristic of public space in comparison to private space. However, it is crucial to state that public space is not considered in a holistic manner by the interviewees, it is rather emerged to be fragmented in terms of numerous characteristics. For instance, Yaşamkent was differently treated as a public space which is considered to be relatively quiet and tranquil; while Kızılay and Ulus were representing the chaotic image of public life. This section will seek the ways in which neighborhood of residence and city centers like Kızılay and Ulus are treated differently in terms of the attributions of public space.

At first, an important emphasis has to be mentioned about the perceptions of urban affairs in Ankara. A number of respondents immediately replied this question about urban issues by saying “Urban problems in Ankara... It is more than you can shake a stick at!” (R4, R5, R26). As a point of departure, this reaction shows how the interviewees characterize and even label urban life and public space in a negative manner.

The most frequently mentioned issue about urban life in Ankara is traffic density and the lack of public transportation. Whether the interviewees use it or not each household has at least one car; the lack of public transportation was usually referred in order to express the need for it for lowering the density of vehicles and traffic. One way or the other every respondent stated that transportation is the biggest urban problem in Ankara. A respondent who complained about the lack of public transportation even he does not use it at all was saying that;

“There is a lack of public transportation... Traffic turns out to be a nightmare... It is like a torture. There is a serious vehicle density and disorder. And when people don't use public transportation, I mean, when they can't use it... People who don't have car, of course, use public transportation and government is responsible to provide this service to them...” (R16)

Another emphasis about transportation problems was seen as important as the lack of public transportation was the conditions of roads. Many interviewees mentioned that they face with various difficulties on the road because of the conditions of ill-planned roads. A respondent said that “When I was working in Oran/Çankaya, my car's tire blew-out three times because of nails on the road.” (R36). Both lack of public transportation and road conditions were considered as a common problem in every place of Ankara, including Yaşamkent. Other urban affairs were distinguished among different public areas (i.e. Kızılay vs. Yaşamkent) as it will be shown in the following. However the transportation problem is generally treated as a ubiquitous issue for Ankara. In that sense, the significance of this commonness comes from being an exception. Moreover, the transportation issue is considered as a *must be* thing in such a large city therefore the lack of its presence makes many public spaces less favorable and eventually it may decrease the participation to public life in certain urban areas. Although this is only a presumption and requires a further study, the words of a respondent show that this assumption may be correct at least to a certain extent: “We cope with such transportation issues simply by not going out. For instance, there is an opening of an exhibition in city center tonight to which my wife wants to go. But I am coping with the distress of going there and returning back just simply by not going at all.” (R38).

A second issue about urban affairs is strongly related with the desire to have order and neatness in the house as previously discussed. The same emphasis is also valid for public space but in an adverse situation. People are able to design, control and change their private environments whereas it is usually more difficult to attain and sustain a well-organized and controllable environment. That's why order and hygiene are two emphasized issues in public sphere as non-existent things. In other words,

interviewees believe that public space is dirty, disordered and ill-organized. This belief is mostly compared with their private areas and it has a number of components.

First one is kind of a cliché in defining public space; namely, irregular urbanization. A strong emphasis was made by the respondents in the context of Ankara and its primary problems. Most common responses are as such: “Everything is so disordered in this city.” (R10); “We can never see anything in an order, in a systematic way... Everything proceeds in a chaos. Nothing is planned. And there occur a lot of problems because of this ill-planning.” (R19); “Everywhere is dirty... People easily throw their garbage on streets. They have no qualms about making their space dirty.” (R14); “This city is such a disorganized and distorted... And unfortunately it is getting worst. Nothing is planned, envisaged... If we did not get our jobs here and make a life for ourselves in Ankara, I certainly would not live here.” (R16). All of these similar expressions clearly reveal the discontent of interviews about public life and urban space in Ankara. But more importantly, it shows how significant order and hygiene are for those people. The desired level of order is apparently not provided to them. Moreover, people have the displeasure and even embarrassment on behalf of this city. A young female respondent said that “If a person comes from another country and see Ankara, probably he/she would say ‘such a mess, such a gross city’” (R14)

In terms of disorder of the urban structure and city life, interviewees usually see the government, but more prominently the municipalities as the responsible. Since it is their job to provide sufficient and good conditions to its citizens and it must have the ability to sustain those standards on a preferable level, any kind of malfunction is inevitably landed with municipalities and with the government on a more broad level. In fact, a number of interviewees clearly expressed that Melih Gökçek²⁹ is the biggest problem for Ankara. Although this claim also contains a great deal of political statements, from a broader perspective, it is the mayor and municipality that are considered as pillars of urban affairs and they are responsible of transportation problems as well as the disordered structure of the city.

²⁹Melih Gökçek is the Metropolitan Municipality Mayor of Ankara since 1994.

Along with the disorder of Ankara, another urban affair that has been discussed during the interviews is about urban fabric. Besides disorder and dirt, public spaces of Ankara are characterized by interviewees as ‘ugly’. In contrast to the ‘beauty’ of their private spaces (as discussed above), public arena is defined as ‘ugly’ due to a number of reasons. First and most frequently stated reason is about appearance of the city. The ugliness of Ankara is usually identified through construction of malls and plazas. A respondent defined Ankara as “a shopping mall heaven.” (R39). In the following part, it will be shown that malls are most frequently used areas for shopping and leisure time activities. However, the increase in number of malls was considered as one of the negative features of Ankara. The density of malls is seen as congestion and also a constraint of open areas in urban landscape. A middle aged male respondent criticized the existence of malls by these words; “Today, an old man in age 65, for example, who has retired and accordingly has many hours to spend in a day, he gets the bus, goes to Kızılay AVM (shopping mall) and spends his whole day in there. He doesn’t have money. So, the purpose is not do shopping, just for nothing he walks around there hours and hours.” (R37). This critique towards the daily lives and ways of using the space of relatively lower classes also shows the discontent of malls in creating such spaces of leisure time. In fact, malls are seen as spaces of idleness, laziness and eventually waste of time. In the following parts, this negative treatment towards shopping malls will be better understood through the analysis of how interviewees use those spaces.

There is a similar common opinion about plazas, skyscrapers and multistoreys are which seen as ‘ugly’ as well. These complaints about city landscape are based on those large construction projects. The challenge in analyzing this situation is that gated development of contemporary cities are generally have more or less the same characteristics of those multistoreys and those buildings are indeed defined as ‘vertical gated developments’ which were dominantly established through an urban renewal project in the city center. It gets difficult to identify their presence in urban landscape since interviewees also live in another type of multi-folded gated development³⁰. A respondent stated that “Actually the main problem in this city is

³⁰Among three selected gated developments in this case study, the minimum number of floors is eleven; DaisyHouses.

those multi-folded buildings. We are also living in one of those though... It seemed ironical and absurd to say this. But I mean, probably a million people is currently living on Eskişehir road, in those multistoreys.” (R32). This ‘ironical’ perception and dilemma of respondents are somehow reduced and disappeared through differentiating the characteristics of Yaşamkent from other neighborhoods of Ankara. Since it is a well-emphasized belief that Yaşamkent has wider areas and roads in comparison to other regions, the construction of multistoreys and large gated developments are not seen as a great problem for urban issues.

Both the construction of multi-storey developments and shopping malls are seen as significant factors of distortions in city landscape. It was striking to see that a great number of interviewees called this “a distortion in *urban fabric*”. This emphasis on *urban fabric* reveals the desire to have ‘a beautiful’ environment in public space just as constituted within private sphere. At that point, since it is quite impossible to analyze or even categorize such a subjective concept as ‘beauty’, only a particular comparison is given below in order to at least comprehend the expectations from a ‘beautiful public space’. An interviewee explained his expectations from a city in comparison to Ankara in these words:

“If you ask me what kind of a place you want to live in, I would say a city in which when you get out of your home a street with full of shops and cafés, life flows, people walk around on the streets. It looks more sincere to me. Ankara is not like that. Perhaps Ankara is similar to United States in that sense; in US people get in their cars, go to a point from another, do their jobs and turn back. It is nearly impossible to see people on streets. I don’t like this kind of lifestyle. Ankara is the same. We have huge roads, huge sidewalks but nobody on those sidewalks.” (R1)

A last important point about urban fabric is about lack of green areas in Ankara. Interviewees stated that they are in need of parks and green areas in the city whereas it is nearly impossible to have in Ankara. A respondent said that “Continuously shopping malls are constructed. Accordingly there is a lack of green areas. No parks, no gardens... If we don’t have garden around our house, we couldn’t even see a

piece of green. Everywhere is building, road and pavements...” (R20). According to many respondents, the increase of constructions is considered as a direct interference to their daily lives. An interviewee expressed this as “In everywhere there is a construction site... It is problematic for traffic density, transportation, environmental pollution and noise. It makes life difficult for people... It makes our daily lives become unbearable.” (R31). Instead of buildings, people would like to have more green areas in the city for having a decent and peaceful daily life.

In all these structural urban problems, a strong emphasis was made by interviewees to compare Ankara with western cities. The reference of Europe is directly given in several interviews. This was an indicator of associating west -and more specifically Europe- with high levels of development. The examples had a wide range from restoration of old buildings to the affluence of green areas. A respondent compared Turkey with France in these words; “I wish our old buildings are also protected as they do in France.” (R8) while another one said that “In Europe for example those old buildings which are the origin of urban fabric, they are renovated by protecting its original structure. In Turkey, we open LC Waikiki in such historic buildings.” (R39). These two critiques demonstrate the gap between two perspectives and for interviewees European model is a better way and a level of development to which Turkey has not been reached yet. Since the most important urban problem was seen as the transportation manners in Ankara, another emphasized comparison between Turkey and the west appears one again. An interviewee mentioned that “Here we don’t have a European kind of public transportation... If you know western cities a bit, in those metropolises like Paris or New York, when I am in these cities I usually get a subway map from the hotel I stay and I can easily see from where I should take the subway etc. Here it is just an impossible thing to achieve.” (R38). Western model appears to be an ideal model in terms of urban structure as well as how urban operates.

There are also two significant patterns in regard to social affairs in urban life. alongside with transportation issues, increased number of constructions and malls, and the lack of green areas, Ankara is considered to have social problems such as migration from other cities and villages and accordingly population growth,

congestion and 'socio-cultural gap' among different social groups. These are as important as structural and practical problems since these are also very influential issues for middle class people to move out from city centers to the outskirts and start to live in gated developments.

First notion is about migration from other cities and villages to Ankara. In that regard, mostly lower classes were mentioned who come to Ankara for job opportunities or for education purposes. However these people are not welcomed for a number of interviewees. One of the explanations was as such; "In my opinion, migration is a very big problem for Ankara. I'm not saying this to exclude people; but the natives of Ankara are much more decent than those people who are coming from other cities. Those people are annoying us, harassing us... So, I can't use public transportation, it is really difficult, usually buses are too crowded and people disturb me." (R39). The perception about outsiders may be an illusion or not, but in each way, the idea that people from other cities distort the social structure of Ankara has an influential place in upper-middle class perspective. For sure this idea is not the only reason to be distant to city centers; still it has an effect on the definition of public space. Also Syrian refugees were emphasized by a few respondents as a problem in urban spaces. A female respondent said that "Syrians... They are a bit trouble. Every corner, every light you can encounter them... I am quite uncomfortable with them. Where is our beggars, I really wonder that. Because of Syrian beggars... I don't know maybe they do racketeering or something." (R32). Another huge gap appears among middle class members and lower classes. Even the encounter on the street is considered to be a social problem in the city.

In speaking of social issues in urban life, it is not only migration which brings 'problems' to the city. A great number of interviewees mentioned about other examples and experiences. A more general attribution was made by those interviewees through speaking of 'people' without any other specifications about age, ethnicity or class position. But in some of them there are slight indicators of status and position in the society. A respondent told that "*People* are disrespectful in Ankara. As I said before, parking to the walking roads for blind people or parking before wheelchair ramps, not following the traffic rules, seeing environmental

pollution as a very normal thing, naturalizing to throwing garbage or tossing out a cigarette butt to the street...” (R14). Although there is an ambiguity in these given examples, some women interviewees especially expressed their unpleasant experiences with men on the streets. A 27 years old woman said that;

We were going Kızılay and Tunalı much more often. Now we don't go those places. They are changed a lot... And when I go there, I hate everything. Everywhere is so ugly in those centers, people are dirty... and there is nothing about women's rights in those places. A continuous sexual abuse and harassment with their eyes... You have to wear 'appropriately'. You can't smoke on the street for instance... Not everyone but... Some people may look at you like you are a prostitute. That's why I hate Kızılay and Ulus. I never go there for my pleasure anymore.” (R39).

To conclude, the opinions of people about public space were observed as quite negative and public space is indeed considered to be the opposite of what people constitute and control in their private spheres. This opposition among public and private domains are encountered, contested and negotiated to a certain extent in the semi-public space. The most strict and harsh meanings were attributed to public space. Moreover, people are hopeless about a possible change or a better potential for those problems they have mentioned. A respondent said that “This city is like an ugly dystopia. There was a book called Skyscraper, I guess it was of J. G. Ballard. Ankara is exactly a city like described in that book.” (R39). And another interviewee also mentioned that “It is no longer possible to go back for Ankara. We won't live that long to see its better days. So it goes...” (R38). Thus the possibility of making the public domain desirable for a living is not considered by the respondents; it is rather a kind of 'too little too late' situation that is attributed to the public sphere of Ankara.

4.4.2.2. The Reasons to Prefer Yaşamkent District

In comparison between central districts and Yaşamkent, definition of public space has certain differences. This part is aimed to show those differences. First of all, it is crucial to state that problems are not seen as significant negative factors that

influence the daily lives of people and a strong emphasis on hope was made in contrast to other public areas. This hope for future potentials was based on the fact that Yaşamkent is a recently developed neighborhood. An expression was as such “Yaşamkent is a still developing region, so even it is like a construction site for now, in the future it will be more beautiful, I guess.” (R3). And another similar idea was like “Because Yaşamkent is a new area, trees are still very small here, but it takes time. We’ll see, it will probably get better in some years.” (R34). Unlike Kızılay or Ulus, Yaşamkent is seen as an urban place for potential in terms of better qualifications and environment. Although there is no evidence to prove that Yaşamkent has those possibilities for its future, resident’s belief makes this public space much more preferable.

There are two distinct perceptions in defining public areas of Yaşamkent; first one is that Yaşamkent is the exact opposite of Kızılay, Ulus, and Bahçelievler as such while the second view includes a number of tolerable problems in Yaşamkent. But both of them claimed that Yaşamkent is far better as a public arena than other regions. As for the first view, Yaşamkent is clean, ordered and comfortable. These conceptions are nearly same with the attributions towards private space. On the other hand the other perception involves a number of structural problems while indicating that there are no social problems as the city center. The emphasized structural problems of Yaşamkent are mainly based on transportation issues. Since it is a relatively distant region to other places, the lack of public transportation can be a problem if residents have to use bus or subway instead of their cars. Another problem was again closely related to transportation at it is about the bad conditions of roads. An interviewee expressed this by saying “Metropolitan municipality does nothing about Yaşamkent. I mean, he hates us because he can’t receive votes from this neighborhood. So he does nothing.” (R7).

One way or the other, even structural problems in this neighborhood are not seen as fundamental issues both because of the hope for future circumstances and the opinion that they are tolerable problems. A respondent said that “Of course there will be some small problems; after all we are living in Turkey, what do you expect? But

we are complied with that. At least we are not crammed in a place.” (R36). These words are also important for a following discussion below.

As it was seen in the last example, being distant from crowd and congestion of population is most crucial opportunity for the residents of Yaşamkent. Even though there are problems determined in this neighborhood as well, they can be ignored for the sake of being avoided from population growth and confluence. This emphasis is primarily made due to the security concerns. A joke by a respondent well expressed the opinion about security; “Probably even thieves don’t want to come Yaşamkent because it is too far from everywhere.” (R6). In the same breath, he also added that “We are not living *within* the city in many respects. So, we are not included into those various social groups and we believe that we can be avoided from terrorist attacks because we are out of those social groups and territories. At least we think that we have a chance to be protected. Because Yaşamkent is relatively out of the city.” (R32). Such concerns have an important role as a trigger for middle class to move out from city centers and live in suburbs. Since suburban areas are seen as more secured, safe and peaceful environments, it turns out to be a chance to have a silent and decent life out of crowd and confluence.

In that regard, distance was at the center of discussions during interviews in numerous aspects. As it shown above, distance can be seen as an advantage to be free from chaos. However in another respect distance may cause to transportation and time management problems. A brief discussion was made above about the transportation issues in Yaşamkent. As an additional point it is crucial to say that the reason for considering transportation problems in Yaşamkent as minor issues is precisely possession of cars. In all forty households, there was at least one car and usually there were two. An interviewee stated that “All people who live here, luckily, have cars. I thank god we have that financial conditions. Car is a great ease and comfort. You feel safe and you are free to go out and come back home whenever you want.” (R39). Also many other respondents mentioned that they can overcome all transportation problems and the fact of being distant to many areas by using their cars. In that manner, for the residents of Yaşamkent, car is called “a necessity, not a luxury” Corresponding to this discussion, Sennett (2017) explained the desire to have

good quality roads and a vehicle to use rather than the desire to be in a more central place in the city, in this paragraph:

Today, we experience an ease of motion unknown to any prior urban civilization, and yet motion has become the most anxiety-laden of daily activities. The anxiety comes from the fact that we take unrestricted motion of the individual to be an absolute right. The private motorcar is the logical instrument for exercising that right, and the effect on public space, especially the space of the urban street, is that the space becomes meaningless or even maddening unless it can be subordinated to free movement. The technology of modern motion replaces being in the street with a desire to erase the constraints of geography. (Sennett, 2017: 14)

It is also important to discuss one last point mainly about gated community. In all aforementioned issues and conditions, it is not only Yaşamkent *per se* which enables a ground for a silent and peaceful environment; living in a gated development with security facilities and a large green area makes residents feel more comfortable and tranquil. Besides transportation, a second structural problem of Yaşamkent was about construction sites due to its recently developing structure. However, this one was also not seen as a great problem since residents are separated from public areas of Yaşamkent (roads, streets, other buildings etc.) through their gated development's garden and walls. An interviewee expressed this as "It has an advantage to live in a multi-folded building and in a gated development, it detracts you from outside. You come here with your car, get inside and while I'm walking to my home, I don't encounter with rough roads and pavements, I'm walking through a beautiful garden." (R34). Another expression from another respondent supported the same idea; "Living in a gated development also gives you a certain amount of space around your house. You have a distance to outside. And that distance protects you from noise and dirt of those construction sites outside." (R10). In short, by using cars and living in walled, safe areas residents of Yaşamkent can avoid from *rigors* and *poor conditions* of outside world. In order to have a better insight on their relationship with all aforesaid public spheres, daily routines of interviewees will be introduced.

4.4.3. Public Space and Daily Life

Harvey (1990) argues “How a city looks and how its spaces are organized forms a material base upon which a range of possible sensations and social practices can be thought about, evaluated and achieved.” (Harvey, 1990: 66-7) The reason for integrating a focus on daily life to this study is behind the idea that organization of space has a direct relation with the ways in which people maintain their lives as Harvey claimed with those words above. The debate on public space was also aligned with arguments of Sennett; accordingly the discussion of daily life is strongly integrated to previous arguments. Additionally, in terms of daily routine and leisure time activities, an essential emphasis will be about ‘lifestyle’. The ways in which people spend their times within different arenas will support previous discussions on which places are commonly used while some others are not preferred so often.

The analysis of daily life will be elaborated in two main fields; routine in requirements and routine in leisure times. Under the first one, time management and obligations will be introduced as the major concerns of people in using public sphere. On the other hand, second field about leisure time will be analyzed in terms of lifestyle and cultural activities. As all these concerns were already discussed in the analysis of private and public spaces above, rather than making a detailed elaboration a supplementary summary will be provided in order to show the major differences in using public and private spaces. This part will contribute to the main discussion by providing data about how and why residents of gated communities have a tendency to dignify private sphere while considering public arena as a chaotic environment.

As previously mentioned, weekdays are dominantly occupied by work for employed people while obligations in daily life go down after retirement. For those who have to be at work for many hours in a weekday, time management is a very crucial issue. Since middle class members are predominantly white collar workers with a standardized schedule, time management has a great significance in their daily lives, even in leisure times. Habitually, they tend to determine and express each and every activity in their daily routines with exact dates and hours. And this habit continues after retirement. A retired respondent explained her daily routine “I always work

with day planners and calendars. It is a habit for me for many years. Certainly every night I keep a diary. I am doing this for years as well. I plan everything throughout a year and write down all of them on my calendars.” (R29). This punctuality matches up with the desire to have an order life in an ordered and neat environment. Middle class has this tendency for many years.

Time management is also a very significant issue for middle class since their weekdays have to be organized in a strict sense of hard work. All working interviewees mentioned that they are working long hours and usually their whole weekdays pass in workplace and with traffic on the way back home. A respondent said that “The summary of my weekdays is ‘work’. Nothing else... The only thing I do in weekdays is to wake up in an early time, go to work and go through the traffic on my way back home.” (R16). Another interviewee complained about long working hours and the lack of leisure time by saying that “On weekdays, the whole day passes at work and I can’t even allocate a time for myself or at home.” (R8).

On the other hand, weekends and evenings of weekdays were considered as leisure time, times for rest and joy. Interviewees usually prefer to be at home in those leisure times to rest and to meet with their families and friends. Thus private domain is appeared to be an often used space for middle classes once again. Besides, there are also a number of other leisure time activities which were mentioned by some interviewees. These activities are usually based upon certain cultural activities and vacations. Since the opportunity to go to a vacation, opera, cinema or a luxurious restaurant is a direct determinant of class and status, this last part will aim to understand how people identify their class positions. It is important to better comprehend previous discussions on preferences in using different public spaces.

To conclude, the question re-emerges once again ‘is the public space dead?’ After the whole analysis, it is still difficult to argue that public spaces are dead. However, it can be said that, with the great emphasis on family and home which is dominantly promoted by construction companies to offer upper middle classes an ‘exclusive’ life, public spaces are gradually fragmented and the demarcations of physical spaces have sharpened. Accordingly, many public areas become only a transition zone for middle class members. In the light of all these, the analysis of gated communities

will deepen this discussion. Gated communities will be approached as semi-public spaces in order to show one of its preliminary duties as being a buffer zone between *perfectly designed* and *controlled* private sphere and *disordered* public domain.

4.5. Definition of Gated Community as a Semi-Public Space

The basic principle behind gated developments has a long history in modern urban design; a pursuit to create safe and secured residential areas for upper middle classes. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, gated developments may also have a function to preserve a certain group or an environment in a socially or politically segregated city. In the case of Turkey, gated developments are not evolved in a manner of protection from violence; they are rather emerged along with an emphasis on lifestyle and status for the newly created wealthy group. The desire for protection is at the most against the robbery instead of a security to other forms of urban crime³¹.

In this study, gated communities are approached as a recent form of urbanization in which new demands for physically secured, facilitated residence environments are provided. Along with many other factors in urbanization processes (gentrification and suburbanization), gated developments hereby defined to be an exclusive spatial area that influence daily life and trigger the crystallization of social relations. However, the most appreciated attribution to gated developments is social segregation in many studies. As for this thesis, the ways are being searched for a further analysis of such settlements beyond the social segregation. Therefore, this study defines gated developments as *semi-public spaces* in which the ascriptions about private and public arenas are merged. In other words, this thesis advances the definition of Blakely & Snyder (1997b) as ‘privatized public area’ and describes these kind of housing settlements as *semi-public spaces*.

In that regard, this part of analysis will concentrate on the attributions of residents to their living spaces and the ways in which they perceive this semi-public

³¹ Roitman (2010) mentioned the urban crime and violence as the primary structural reasons for the withdrawal of certain social groups (mostly upper classes) from common public areas. (Roitman, 2010: 34) Even though, it is not clear what is meant by *urban crime in all forms*, it can be considered as usurpation, rape, robbery, sexual harassment, inter-group violence or any kind of bullying.

environment. Firstly, the desired and/or imagined living space will be analyzed as an introduction. Then, the expectations and current situations about gated development will be compared in order to see in which manners they correspond and in which manners they do not overlap. Such an analysis will enable to see the fluidity of perceptions about both the space itself and the resources provided in the gated development. Lastly, social relations and networking will be focused in order to see how residents get in contact -or at least familiarize- with their neighbors. In all these, an essential attempt is to cover previously mentioned concepts either in evaluation of private space or public space (peace, tranquility, comfort, safety, crowd, chaos, confluence and so on) Accordingly, it will be easier to see how these three domains overlap each other in some cases³², while diverging in other respects³³.

4.5.1. Description of ‘Dream House’

In respect to the middle class, the evaluation of the standards of lifestyle is usually based upon the level of discrepancy between desired life conditions and current circumstances. Therefore, the minimum level of discrepancy between expected and existing conditions is aimed to achieve. There is a pattern in residence preferences when examined along with the previous types of dwelling and expectations from the future. Accordingly, it will enable a ground to discuss through which aspects *semi-public space* is evaluated.

A number of interviewees desired single-detached dwellings for their prospective settlement in a case of moving out from their current houses. They are composed of different age groups and gender; but the prominent motivation behind the desire for a separate house is an individual yard. A recently married interviewee said that “Actually, I always dream about a house with a garden. Both for myself and if it would be, for my children... Sure, we have a garden here as well, but it would be different to be your own garden, it could be used more comfortably.” (R10). An individual yard is mostly mentioned due to the wish to gardening which is a common

³²The desire for peace, tranquility, freedom and safety attributed to both private and semi-public spaces while totally secluding public space as an uncontrollable, unsafe field.

³³ The debate upon being civilized or non-civilized revealed itself in the evaluation of semi-public space as well as in public space; and distinguishing these domains from private sphere.

pleasure for retired white collar workers and more specifically executives. This common sense reveals itself in the expectations of interviewees after retirement. A 40 years-old respondent mentioned that “If I would be retired, I would like to have a separate house with a yard... A garden in which I can spend time...” (R17). The important point here is that having an individual yard or owning a villa is seen as a further level of status and lifestyle. Although this opinion is not surprising, it has a great importance in terms of defining both private and semi-public spaces. Evaluating physical space along with the standards of life and status is a common feature among middle class members and it may even be considered as a peculiarity of upper-middle classes.

The interviewees who expect to live in a villa with garden have the assumption that the one and only further step in their lives is to move in a villa. Some expressions that support this are as followed; “If I was free from all circumstances and if I could decide where to live -totally according to my will, I would like to live in a house with garden.” (R3); “My dream is of course to live in a villa.” (R6); “If our financial situation was much better, I would like to own a separate house with a garden.” (R4). These expressions demonstrate that villa is considered as a further phase in terms of prestige and luxury.

However, in all these wishes and expectations, the emphasis on gated and secured areas remained unchanged. A female respondent claimed that it would not be safe if the villa is not within a gated development while another female interviewee with two children strongly emphasized her ‘dream villa’ to be in a gated area, not solitary. Therefore, it can be said that even if it is an apartment flat or a villa, interviewees would like to have that *semi-public space* in advance of public domain. As the main assumption of this study, *semi-public space* is the most commonly appreciated sphere for security and tranquility, even as a prerequisite to be comfortable, safe and peaceful in the private space.

Nevertheless for relatively young people, being in a protected or a walled area has not that much importance. A 20 years-old female respondent expressed that it does not matter to her to be in a gated area or being isolated as a single-detached house also by claiming that it is not necessary to be secured (R10). On the contrary, a 50

years-old married female interviewee said that “Even the house is a villa or not, it should be in a gated development. I never want to live in a totally separated house... security is very important to us.” (R3). Thus, although the desire to live in a villa instead of existing flat does not refer to a differentiation among ages, living in a gated development in all conditions is varied according to age.

Lastly, it has to be mentioned that none of these interviewees who wishes to live in a villa in the following years are planning to move out from their current homes. They were all saying this only as a dream for the future but nothing concrete was expressed as a plan. The reasons are either insufficiency of current financial conditions or pleasantness of existing house. In short, living in a single-detached house remains as a dream as also expressed by one of the respondents in these words; “If you are asking my dream house, I have been dying for living in a villa with a yard and a pool since my childhood, but of course it is something extreme to us right now.” (R28).

Some interviewees in terms of potential dwellings in the future claimed a similar - even same- type of housing with they already live in. Since they are content with their present houses and gated developments, they are not willing to change their homes. Moreover, they expressed that under a necessary condition, they also want to live in the same district -Yaşamkent- even they would have to change the current gated development or the type of dwelling. An interviewee explained it as; “If we move to another place, it won’t be different... It would be a gated development for sure.” (R31) while another one referred to the gated development and flat-type dwellings by saying “I would like to live in a same kind of house like this”. (R14). A respondent addressed to apartment flats and said “Maybe it would be a newer one but certainly same type” (R21) while another interviewee mentioned “We are totally adapted to Yaşamkent, so I would like to live here even if in not this house.” (R14). The significance of these opinions is that the presence of a semi-public space is strongly held by the interviewees whether it is an expectation for a villa or contentment of current house. Therefore, it can be said that along with the importance of the features of the district and location of it, the gated development itself is considered as the most important place to function as the plain space. Further

examples will clarify this point by providing direct expressions about the gated area as a buffer zone.

Besides these, a few people stated that they do not want to live in Ankara in case of moving out from their current residence. Two of them said that they want to go to Aegean region to live for the rest of their lives while one respondent stating that he wants to move abroad since he does not find Turkey as a worth living place. These expressions are also significant even if they are minority of answers, because it reveals a great deal of expectations to change the whole environment rather than simply moving out from the discontented place. In other words, for some interviewees, it is not the space itself while considering a peaceful place to live, but it is a whole environment with all its social and structural dynamics. This emphasis may hereby seem as a weak assumption that comes out from a few answer, however it will be shown in the following that discontent from social dynamics in Ankara as well as in Turkey is highly valid for many interviewees.

4.5.2. Evaluating Gated Community

Gated communities were already described with literature review; however a further understanding will be introduced here with the evaluations of interviewees. Since their experiences will indicate a pattern along with all diversities, defining a semi-public space with the usage of the area of gated developments as well as social dynamics in such communities would be the basis of this study. It is not only because of the attempt of this thesis to define gated development beyond being a sphere of social segregation among different groups but also the assumption that gated development is -as a semi-public area- functioning to establish meanings and perceptions about both public and private spaces. In other words, gated development is not only a buffer zone between *chaotic* public space and *peaceful* home, but also a container in which all opposite attributions are merged (i.e., noise vs. silence, chaos vs. tranquility, obligations vs. leisure times) and lines are blurred.

4.5.2.1. Expectations from Gated Communities

The expectations from gated community is important for making an introduction to the evaluations about gated community and the main purpose is to understand what people perceived about gated developments and what sorts of preconceptions they attributed before started to live in one of those. As an additional outcome of this question, some remarkable responses were given with respect to certain discrepancies among previous expectations about the environment and their experiences.

There is a distinction among the respondents in terms of deciding to own or rent a flat from Magnolia, Mimosa or Daisy Houses. Some respondents have been settled on the houses after its construction has completed. They saw the house with all respects as is. In that sense, they do not express that they faced with variations or any kind of discrepancies in terms of construction as such. A respondent who is a resident of Magnolia Houses stated that “While we were moving into this home, everything was settled and already established. We could see everything like indoors, sports center, pool... So, we bought this house by seeing. Which is why, there hasn’t been anything out of our expectations” (R7). Similar expressions were provided by other interviewees with same situation. For example another respondent said that “Before moving in, I saw this place, we have looked for this development before” (R23) while another one expressed that “Actually we were coming to this gated community before because we had already friends. So, I knew in what kind of a housing estate I was moving in.” (R4)

However, a number of interviewees have decided to buy an apartment flat by only seeing the project. They were either partners of cooperative (in the case of Mimosa Houses) or the first buyers of the house (in the case of Magnolia or Daisy Houses). Unlike who settled on to the house by seeing it, this way of purchasing house is more open to discrepancies. However, interviewees have not experienced major variations or negativities in respect to the construction. Only a few number of respondents said that there occurred some problems with building material quality. An interviewee who is a resident of Mimosa Houses complained about this by saying;

“There are certain things to be mentioned which we dissatisfy with the house, I mean, I guess we can count them as things that couldn’t meet our expectations. For example, there is a problem with fireplace, it doesn’t work properly... and also there has been a trouble in bathroom lately. I think it is because these houses are constructed by a cooperative. So, they probably didn’t use high quality materials in the construction... But, I mean, they are not huge problems that would influence our life standards, all are minor issues.” (R15).

Therefore structural problems about spaces of indoors are not seen important because as this respondent expressed they are not seen as crucial issues for life standards.

Lastly, as for those who bought the house before its construction has been completed, the construction firm had a great impact on their decision. Several interviewees stated that the firm itself was confidential and that was the first reason why they chose these gated developments. This is usually valid in many other districts and for preferences of housing in Turkey; because there is a number of construction companies which made a name and even became a trademark. (i.e., Aġaoġlu, Kuzu Group, Enka) Therefore, the trust towards the construction company is usually a crucial factor for believing that expectations will be met.

4.5.3. Advantages and Disadvantages of Gated Communities

In regard to the evaluation of semi-public space and perceptions about gated communities substantially revealed itself under this debate on advantages and disadvantages of gated developments. Since the detailed evaluations were given under this subtopic in the interviews, this section is appeared to provide the substantial reasons for preferring the gated community while enabling me to define such residential areas as semi-public spaces. This definition is also become apparent in regard to the existing ascriptions to the gated developments like security, social facility, isolation and social relations.

4.5.3.1. Advantages of Gated Communities

To begin with the perceptions of interviewees about the positive sides of living in an enclosed area, a manifold of answers were given for describing the convenience of the environment they live in. But for the purposes of this study, there is a pattern among three main issues as advantages which were mentioned by the majority of respondents. These are namely; security, social facilities and fulfilment of daily needs. In the analysis of how these three advantages are evaluated, a previous discussion of attributed meanings such as *'private space is peaceful, comfortable and tranquil'* while *'public space is chaotic, crowded and insecure'* must be kept in mind since there will be further illustrations of this debate.

Security & Fear

The most frequently expressed advantage of gated communities is security. In fact, security which is provided and sustained through gates, walls, security guards and cameras, is described to be the main reason for choosing a gated development to reside. This finding is not only valid for this case study; it is rather a continuation of the main theme in other studies about gated communities. (Danış & Pérouse, 2005; Marmasan, 2014; Geniş, 2007; Ertuna, 2003; Töre & Som, 2009; Yücebaş, 2013) Gated communities are indeed presented in the market primarily with this security aspect. Since this study is mostly focusing on the perceptions of interviewees rather than other aspects in the development of gated communities, this debate will not be continued with further details. It is significant to bear in mind that marketing strategies are very influential on people's perceptions about these enclosed residential areas³⁴.

In respect to the present case study, above all, the main question about this concern must be about the description of security. In the answers to the question about advantages/disadvantages, security was mentioned by almost all respondents as the primary aspect of gated community. A direct expression was that "Above all things it

³⁴ For an analysis of advertisements of construction companies to see how marketing strategies of gated communities follow the same pattern of security concerns, promotion of social amenities and exclusive lifestyle, see Marmasan, D., (2014). "*Bir Mekansal Ayırışma Modeli Olarak Modern Gettolaşma: Televizyon Reklamları Üzerine Bir İnceleme*", Anadolu University.

is secured.” (R32). Also another interviewee stated that “There is security at least psychologically you can feel this safety.” (R28). In the same breath, a respondent highlighted that “This place provides us safety and comfort. We don’t even lock the door at night.” (R26) while another one said that “The most important issue is of course security.” (R34). This feeling of security is also mentioned by another respondent as “We feel ourselves safe here.” (R3). Other expressions are as “The most important advantage of living in a place like this is to have security.” (R21) and “As for advantages, of course security *-for which everyone firstly seeks-* is in the lead.” (R1). In other words, the question is that what the criteria in defining security are. This question remained unanswered due to the ambiguity of the concept itself.

Ulrich Beck (2006) described the new world as a continuous creation of risks and attempts to overcome them by also defining this risk society as “Modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing and managing risks that it itself has produced.” (Beck, 2006: 332) As for the debate on the security concerns of interviewees in the case of gated communities, it is meaningful to mention this assumption of risk; because in this study, it is believed that the perception about security and assurance is absolutely linked with potential risks. Interviewees indicated their desire for obtaining guarantee to be safe and secured while they were talking about the positive sides of having security around their residences. For example, a 60 years old respondent said that “We have security. It clearly enables peace of mind. Of course, nothing is 100% but even a 70% guarantee gives me a chance to live peacefully.” (R29). The wish for such a guarantee is not because they have direct negative experiences about crime or disasters. It is rather due to their will to manage and if possible to prevent potential risks. To clarify, only one interviewee stated that they wish for security because they faced with robbery for three times in six months in their previous home in the city center. So, she is the only respondent who mentioned security concern due to a previous personal experience. The others expressed that they feel the anxiety while either they or their children are alone at home, but they did not mention any bad experiences. Illustrations will be introduced below in the following part of the analysis.

As for those aforementioned risks, they might be of robbery, earthquake, fire or else. In that regard, security is not only about the possibility of facing with a crime like burglary, but it is also related with all kinds of risks that would endanger the safety of the residents. And gated developments are designed precisely with these notions in mind. Reducing all types of risks is the main aim of such enclosed settlements and this is well-known by the residents. An interviewee expressed his trust towards the construction company by mentioning that “I guess everything due to the possible disadvantages has already been considered in the construction phase and they have been eliminated at the very first place.” (R26).

Among all those expressions about managing risks, besides a few emphases on natural disasters, two main respects came to the forefront; namely protection of children and avoiding robbery. For those who have child, the emphasis on security is mostly based upon the desire to protect their children from danger. However, the concept of danger here remained superficial, so it is not easy to understand what is meant by danger. It is rather related with a set of common sense about robbery as such. In order to have a better insight, as a matter of interviews, undesigned additional questions of “what do you meant by danger?” or “in what context do you define security?” were asked to some respondents. Still, the way they approach either security or danger is not clear. However, examples given to express their perceptions were mostly related with protection of children as it was said before. A respondent with two children stated that “It is a very good opportunity to let our children to go outside and play without us. Since we know that they will be safe as long as they stay in this area, we don’t feel anxious.” (R23). Also, another respondent who is a mother of two children with the ages of six and thirteen mentioned that she would not even live in such a gated area if she does not have children. She told that “It is totally secured... The most important thing was about the children while moving into this house. I can live in any place on my own, a separate apartment, in the city center or else. But it is not appropriate for children...” (R11).

All these expressions are indicators of defining security, especially in the scope of residence, interviewees perceived enclosed areas as secured, probably because of control at the entrances which prevents *unwanted people* (criminals, deviants as

such) to come inside. However, even this assumption remained unsubstantial since there is no clear evidence that interviewees label others as deviants. It is also not applicable to define unwanted people. But apparently, there is a perception of the environment of gated developments to be safe for children. This perception is usually coming from the control mechanisms inside the semi-public area. For instance, an interviewee stated that

“Our children were always outside in the summer. I was never anxious about it. I mean like if they go outside of the site or if anything bad happens when I’m not around... I never thought about these, because security guards would immediately let me know if anything happens. And they also would not let children go outside. They don’t ever permit it. They can also inform us about any occasion as they always watch the footages of cameras” (R11).

In that regard, semi-public space is seen with a similar potential of public space to include any kind of risks of danger; but on the other hand it is evaluated as a place like private space in which it is possible to control the environment. Moreover, the demarcation between public space and semi-public space is strictly defined as the toughness of walls around the gated developments. A single mother of a twelve years old girl mentioned that “My daughter gets on the school bus in front of the gate of the site, so I can’t see her while getting the bus. But our security guards and I are always in communication via phone. So, I can be sure that she is alright.” (R27). Such a detailed thought even while speaking of the door of the gated development, the feelings about public space as a dangerous domain are revealed once again.

Lastly, it has to be mentioned that the desire for having a secured, walled environment to protect children is also considered by interviewees who have not children yet. A recently married respondent expressed his preference to live in a gated development with its advantage of being secured and enclosed by saying “...if we have children in the future, such places would seem much more safe. We would let them go outside with quietude.” (R4). This expression is another example of preemptive solutions to potential risks and also it can be seen as a wish to control even the upcoming conditions.

The second respect in terms of describing security concerns is about the possibility of robbery. As it was mentioned above, robbery is not considered as threat which has been experienced before. In most cases, security is just taken into account as a preemptive solution to a possible threat like burglary. A respondent said that “When we think about any kind of robbery, security of our community has an intimidating influence on outsiders. I mean, of course it might be still possible for thieves to get inside but I think security guards and cameras are disincentive in that sense.” (R13). Also another interviewee mentioned about security cameras as a comforting quality of such enclosed residential areas; “For sure, such gated areas are always much more secured, I mean, in which there is a security control at the entrance, there are cameras everywhere... So, you can feel comfortable and safe inside.” (R15). None of these interviewees experienced robbery attempts, but still they are considering about the possibility of it. A more explicitly expressed understanding of the potentiality of crime is as follows;

“You can also feel more comfortable in your house if you have security outside. On any account, it is certainly a higher possibility for a thief to break into a house within an unprotected area like streets than the possibility to be able to get inside a fully controlled and protected area with guards and cameras.” (R34).

This possibility, in fact, is directly related with the perceptions about public domain. Both the protection of children and avoid from burglary are components of a larger picture that is the public space. As it was said at the beginning, semi-public space is usually considered as a domain in which meanings and attributions to private and public spaces are blurred and merged. In that regard, with the tools for security, it is aimed to establish a safe public arena inside the walls while public space is highly uncontrollable and unsafe. An interviewee who repeated once again that he defined house as a peaceful environment stated that “Nowadays, on the streets, we are all stressful and in a continuous brawl. So, there is disturbance and chaos everywhere.” (R26) while another respondent mentioned the same issue, hereby taken as a continuation of previous expression, “we don’t feel secure in many places... in the city... on the streets... we already feel anxiety for ourselves, for our children. So, it is

really important that your house is being protected and controlled with such great security methods. (*referring cameras, video door phones etc.*) It makes us feel safe and serene.” (R16). Thus, the desire for having a safe and peaceful environment has started with private space –as explained previously- and has continued with semi-public space.

For such a discussion about security, it is crucial to remind that many gated community literature relied upon the fear of crime as a fundamental reason for its emergence and proliferation. (Wilson-Doenges, 2000; Low, 2005; Vilalta, 2011; Abdullah, Salleh & Sakip, 2012) In a sense, a direct relation between fear of crime and development of enclosed areas was considered. However this study departs itself from such an analysis based on crime and fear, since many other dimensions are seen significant as both data shows and literature suggests. Still, the importance of fear is taken into account but in a different way. This thesis suggests that *fear* is valid for the residents of gated developments but it is towards the *uncertainty* and accordingly the *risk* –as mentioned above. Thus, fear can be interlinked with crime, natural disasters or any other negative occurrences; it is mainly related to ambiguity. People –especially upper-middle classes, since they have fiscal opportunity to prefer– who live in chaotic and crowded urban areas, are unwilling to engage in problematic issues about their homes. A respondent said that “I am already dealing with nonsense issues at work, struggling with ambiguities and stress. So, I don’t want to be involved any kind of negative thing when I’m at home.” (R5). Therefore, fear is not considered as a terrified state of mind due to the possibility of robbery as such, it is rather a feeling that something negative will disconcert people in a place which they seek for peace and silence. Thus fear must be deliberated in regard to any kind of negativity along with the risk of crime.

Social Facilities

The second advantage is considered as the opportunities that are provided by the development. These opportunities may vary according to gated communities but for this case study, the most featured opportunity is shown as the social facilities. In order to see how perceptions may change according to the existing social amenities in the development, cases were selected corresponding to their differences in that

respect. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Daisy Houses only have a playground and a tennis court as facility. Unlike Daisy, Magnolia and Mimosa Houses include sports centers, pools, courts, playgrounds and even an aqua park. Therefore, in this part, a comparison will be made among the expressions of residents of Daisy Houses and of others. The main aim of this part is to illustrate that the space of gated developments are designed as a public space in which any kind of leisure activity can be found; on the other hand it will be shown that interviewees are not regarded gated community for entertainment since they see it insufficient.

Respondents were asked about the social facilities in order to get a detailed account of how important facilities are for the residents of gated communities. Since gated communities are established upon the idea that it would provide an enclosed neighborhood in which every means and facilities are included, an emphasis on this issue was seen important from the very beginning of this case study. As interviewees answered the question, it was understood that gated communities -that are considered to be comfort zones in which a safe public arena exists- seem insufficient in terms of social amenities even they involve full-equipped and luxurious opportunities. In other words, social facilities that are regarded as the second advantage of gated developments are not promoted as an unmitigated potential.

Interviewees expressed that they do not use social facilities like pool, sports center, parks, courts and so on either because they do not have time or because they do not find those amenities good enough. As for interviewees who complained about their workloads during weekdays, it is a normal state that those social facilities remained unused. The same respondents who said that they are working for long hours and do not have time for their homes, themselves or for their families, referred to similar accounts in this question as well. A respondent who works for six days a week stated that "As I said before, I really don't have time for such things. I come home too late on weekdays and I feel very tired afterwards. So I don't have a chance to go sports or else." (R9). Similar situations are valid for others who work and many of them admit that not using social facilities in the gated developments is because of their sloth or laziness. An interviewee rendered that "It results from us..." while another following statement is as such; "Actually, I believed that I will be using those facilities more

often while we first moved in here. But maybe because of lack of time maybe because of my laziness, I figured out that I never use any of them. Neither pool nor sports center...” (R15).

Besides few respondents who stated that they are completely content with the facilities and those who complained about lack of time, all others expressed some insufficiencies about the services and facilities. A respondent stated that “Once or twice I went to the sports center here, I didn’t like it. I think it is not good enough, I mean, the sports equipment and those tools to exercise were not so useful.” (R8). As he expressed, some residents are not content with those amenities, especially while speaking of sports centers. In fact, a number of interviewees said that they are using other sports centers outside the development by paying extra charges. That is precisely because facilities inside the development are considered lacking. This is important for this study, because it reveals that an artificially designed semi-public area with all amenities included might be much more useful and preferable for its residents, whereas it is not the case for Magnolia and Mimosa Houses. Although social facilities are seen as good opportunities, even the secondly mentioned advantage of gated developments, they are not used so often. An interviewee stated that “I don’t think that these facilities are used so much but I guess it is still a good thing that they exist.” (R24). And another respondent also mentioned that “I didn’t ever use them but it is good to have them.” (R3). Similar accounts are as follows; “I usually don’t have time for doing sports or else but it is really nice to have these amenities at hand.” (R9); “I don’t use them but they look nice, I’m sure others are using them. I see children in the pool so often in summers.” (R15).

A corresponding pattern can be traced in the daily practices –which were analyzed in the previous part. People do not find amenities within the gated development good for spending their whole leisure time. They rather prefer to go outside of enclosed residential areas for entertainment. In the daily practices part of the questions, in-depth interviews revealed that respondents either prefer to be at home in their free times or to go outside for concerts, cinema, theatre and so on. None of them stated that they enjoy being in the sports center, park or any other social facilities inside the development in their leisure times. Therefore, it can be said that social amenities of

gated communities are only considered as an advantage in display, not in use. This situation puts forward the idea that gated developments and especially the facilities they have are the images of prestige and status rather than being functional.

Especially, youth is not willing to stay in the gated community since they have relatively more extraverted way of entertainment. A 20 years old respondent expressed that she prefers to go outside with her friends when she has time for social activities rather than staying at home or being inside the development (R10). On the contrary, for interviewees who have children, social facilities are considered as the most important advantage of gated communities due to their needs to entertain their kids. Also, those who have never settled in such a dwelling inside a gated development before, appreciate social amenities more with speaking of previous houses which had no such opportunities.

To compare Daisy Houses which has no large facilities inside to other two cases of Magnolia and Mimosa Houses, there is a huge difference in terms of responses. The residents of Daisy Houses claimed that they do not prefer to have pool or sports center anyways because they do not find them useful or necessary. An interviewee who is currently living in Daisy Houses stated that “We don’t have those facilities like pool, centers, cafés etc. And I don’t want them anyway, I mean, I don’t think that I would use those facilities. I find them unnecessary. If I want to do sports I can walk outside, we have a large, beautiful yard down there.” (R24). And another resident of Daisy Houses who has a little child mentioned that “Probably, even if we would have a pool, we would not let our daughter to use it so often because it is doubtful that how those facilities would be cleaned.” (R23). A similar expression about pool was as such “I would not like to have a pool inside the site, especially not an outdoor pool. I mean, we are living in Ankara. How useful could it be?” (R33). Such accounts can be multiplied that were mentioned by the residents of Daisy Houses. Although, the residents of other two gated communities are also not quite positive in terms of social facilities as mentioned before, the strictest answers to this question came from the residents of Daisy Houses. The differentiation among responses from Daisy Houses and other gated communities indicates that there is a shift from old-type housing towards a fully equipped lifestyle community (the

typology of Blakely & Snyder (1997b)). In other words, being in a walled and secured area is not the only dimension to define gated developments today; it is rather related with other amenities and social opportunities that have to be reached by the residents. On the other hand, it was seen that from the perspectives of residents, social facilities might not be a foremost advantage of gated communities but still it is highly appreciated –even without using them. Therefore, more recently emerged gated developments must have such facilities in order to promote their *raison d’être* from a higher level of being a lifestyle community. However, this study still departs itself from analyzing such findings by concluding that gated community is a total sign of status and prestige because it is case study that is relied upon the perspectives of residents and none of the residents clearly expressed that they have the prestige and status thanks to the social facilities or all other opportunities of their gated community.

As it can be traced from previous analyses, the evaluation of semi-public space contains several fluid meanings. The existence of social facilities in the gated community is seen important but in practice those facilities are not used so often. In fact, they are not preferable for social activities of the residents. In that breath, semi-public space appears to be the most transitional ground as an urban space in which perceptions and practices overlap at the lowest level. But, for sure, it does not influence the idea that gated communities are seen as secured comfort public areas for its residents.

Fulfilment of Daily Needs

Another advantage of living in a gated community is demonstrated as the fulfilment of daily needs such as grocery shopping, installation works and so on. An interviewee explained it as “The second thing is that, in such settlements, there is usually a doorman who comes to help you in any moment regardless of what you’re in need of. They do everything for us, like collecting the garbage both in mornings and evenings, bringing newspaper and bread every morning...” (R13) and another respondent said that “Here, they provide help with anything about electricity or else. They (*referring to management of gated community that collaborates with a private company*) called carpenter, electrician and any other staff to solve your problem. It is

a very good thing that such things are offered to us.” (R40) while another interviewee highlighted “It is a great advantage that lots of things (*referring the same issues mentioned by others*) are solved on behalf of us.” (R9).

All these expressions mention about same issues either in regard to infrastructure or basic needs. These opportunities are enabled by building enterprise which cooperates with another private company that is responsible for providing residents with these opportunities. As respondents also expressed, whole infrastructure is under control and responsibility of those private companies. Magnolia Houses is working with a private firm, Mimosa Houses was already established as a cooperative but currently it is also collaborating with many different private companies (for sports center and pool there is a firm, coiffeur is privatized by another employer, grocery store is also run by another employer). Only Daisy Houses do not have such kind of a privatized business inside, such opportunities like garbage collection are provided by site management, besides that, other amenities are relatively limited since it does not include any large social facilities –as discussed above.

What is the importance of these illustrations about fulfilment of daily needs as a great advantage of living in a gated community? Why such opportunities are seen so important? These questions are important to comprehend the usage of enclosed spaces not only as a residential area but also a semi-public domain in which daily needs are met through a great convenience. People prefer gated developments due to its opportunities and amenities since they do not want to involve in any kind of exertion. Along with this, having a personal parking lot is also mentioned for several times as an advantage of gated developments. It is due to the same reason not to have difficulties in daily life. interviewees who mentioned parking lot as an advantage also explained this by stating that they were facing with problems to find a place for their cars and that it was a formidable situation for them to deal with this after a tiresome day at work.

In the light of these, the easiness for fulfilment of basic needs and having physical amenities are addressed as third significant advantage of gated communities by interviewees. That is precisely linked to the desire to sustain that aforementioned peaceful and comfortable environment through possessing every kind of amenity

around the private sphere. In other words, semi-public space functions as a comfort zone for residents in which they do not have to deal with anything about groceries, water, and infrastructure as such.

4.5.3.2. Disadvantages of Gated Communities

While speaking of gated communities, interviewees rarely mentioned about the disadvantages of it since living in an enclosed area is mostly seen as an advantageous condition. In fact, a great number of interviewees clearly expressed that there are no disadvantages as stated by a respondent in these words; “I don’t know, what kind of a disadvantage may occur? I mean, why there would be any negative sides of being in a secured, enclosed space?” (R4). Despite these views, three minor negativities were expressed by some of the interviewees. First one is about the distance to the city center, second is related with being in an isolated area and thirdly the complaints about lack of neighborliness.

First disadvantage is mentioned by some respondents who do not have personal vehicles and use public transportation. As it was discussed in the public space analysis before, public transportation is considered as problematic in many respects. Accordingly, using public transportation becomes an issue for many respondents. Those who have to use this way to go to the city center stated that it is a problem of such gated developments because these residential areas are usually settled in the outskirts of the city. A respondent who has his own car said that “For such developments like Magnolia Houses, large areas are required to include everything. And of course it’s not possible to find a place like this in the city center. So, these gated developments are established to the outer spaces of the city. In the end, it may become a problem to reach the inner areas for certain needs, especially for those who don’t have cars.” (R26). Similar accounts that verified this expression have also come from the residents who do not own cars. Therefore, it can be said that being distant from city center may result certain transportation problems.

Corresponding to the distant from inner areas, a stronger emphasis than the transportation issues has made on the isolation. A respondent who is living in Yaşamkent district since 2005 stated that “You become isolated when you live here.

Isolated from the street, from the life itself... You are far apart from those things. This is a negative side. You can't live that culture of the neighborhood." (R14). She also said that she got used to this situation since she has been here for many years. Still, isolation is a frequently expressed problem of gated communities. Another interviewee also highlighted that;

"What are the negative sides? You are disconnected from outside. You have only dialogue with those people inside. If we were living in a single apartment on a street, perhaps we would go to the park of our neighborhood to entertain our children and we would encounter with different cultures there. There is a loss at that point. You are always with the same people here." (R1).

Although such expressions remained insufficient to claim that there is a feeling of isolation and disconnection among all residents, it is significant to see that the sense of isolation appears to be a disadvantage for some of the interviewees.

Thirdly emphasized disadvantage of gated communities is the lack of neighborliness. This is also related to the sense of isolation and lack of constituting a community. An interviewee said that people become more individualized in such enclosed residential areas and they do not want to encounter with others in many cases. According to this introversion, friendships and neighborliness become much more difficult. A young respondent stated that "The disadvantage is that, for example, there is no neighborliness as it was before. Maybe it is not very important for us, but for our parents and grandparents it is more of a problem, not to have friends, not to have people to receive support when in trouble." (R19). And another young female interviewee highlighted that "We use the elevators to get our homes. There is not chance to meet with people in the site. The relations with neighbors are over now." (R39). However, the sense of community is not always a required specification of gated communities as it will be discussed in the following part. A clear expression of this can be seen in the words of a respondent who said that "Since this development is closed to outer areas, a disadvantage may be related to neighborliness. I mean, nobody knows each other; we are like blind people who have a familiarity with others but not know who they are. But, this is not only valid for such enclosed areas.

Neighborliness is over in many places in such big cities.” (R23). Thus, the lack of neighborliness does not occur to be a great deal for many residents. The further statements about social relations in gated communities will illustrate this better.

4.5.4. Social Relations in Gated Communities

4.5.4.1. Neighborly Relations and Socialization in the Gated Communities

In this part, it will be shown that relations among neighbors in the gated communities remain at a superficial level and not go beyond greeting each other. Thus, it is hard to argue that there is a sense of community as the phrase of gated *community* purported. Illustrations will reveal the lacking points of neighborliness in such enclosed developments. The most clearly stated answer was as such; “Everybody is like a closed-book, so individualistic... They go into their shells and live inside of them. To break that shell, to communicate, I mean if you want to have neighborliness, you have to take steps for breaking it. You have to put so much effort into it.” (R1).

The responses to the question of defining relationships with neighbors were mostly based upon greet, respect and familiarity. Some interviewees stated that their relations are only at the level of greeting each other in the elevators or at the entrances. A respondent stated that “We only say hello to each other, but beyond greeting, there is nobody that we communicate” (R3) while another one said the same thing as “there is nothing further than greeting each other when we are going to work.” (R18). So, it can be discussed that relations among neighbors are superficial which make difficult to get involved in a deeper conversation or friendship.

Second concept that was frequently mentioned in terms of social relations was ‘respect’. Interviewees did not blame the others for not being friendly or more sociable; they rather evaluate their relations upon respect. A respondent said that “Usually our relations are on the level of respect and greet. Everyone is respectful to the others; they are usually so kind to each other.” (R26). This situation can be linked with some of the discussions that were made during the interviews about the perspectives of people. Those perspectives are generally based upon the attitudes of residents towards each other and also the background of people living in the gated

areas. An interviewee was telling this by these words; “Here, a certain group is living. I mean, a group with similar worldviews, similar financial assets and for example their children are going to similar schools... The people around you is just like you, most probably, they also don’t want to contact or communicate with others... The people who want to be quite and inoffensive...” (R27). Therefore, respect and kindness among the residents are due to their wish not to involve in communication, contradiction or any kind of possible social conflict. A respondent said that “I don’t want to be so close with people. I’m not willing to be intimate with my neighbors, I don’t prefer.” (R4) while another one saying “I don’t want to socialize in here. I don’t have a care to be close to my neighbors.” (R6). Another interviewee also stated that “Such relationships are dependent on your own. If you make an effort you can be friends with your neighbors but I don’t need friends.” (R19). All these expressions are coming from a perspective that neighborliness is not a necessary thing to maintain. As the residents of gated communities are not using the inner areas of this semi-public space for socializing, they do not desire to have close relations with other residents. In other words, the unwillingness to have intimate relations with the neighbors demonstrates the transitory character of semi-public space once again. The inner space of gated developments is only used for passing into the house rather than managing a social life within.

The third concept appeared to be the *familiarity* which was considered to be on a shaky ground in many cases. Along with respect and greet, familiarity was used to define their relations with their neighbors. Many respondents stated that they are only familiar with their neighbors but they do not know them deeply. The answer of a respondent who said that they are blind as they do not know each other was illustrated above. Also an interviewee highlighted that “There are four flats in our floor. I know two of them but just on a level of greeting and I only know their names, no further knowledge... And the last one... I even don’t know who is living there. I have never seen them.” (R2). Thus, even the familiarity appears to be ambiguous in many cases since people do not have a chance to encounter to each other.

Besides those three concepts of greet, respect and familiarity across the residents to define social relations in the gated community, a number of respondents claimed that

their relationship with others is near-zero. And it was not an exceptional one or two answer like this; they are rather a great number of responses that showed that neighborliness is on a zero level in many respects.

As for the positive accounts on the social relations within the gated communities, a few number of interviewees stated that they have friends in the development they live in. A non-employed female respondent said that “We have a good relation. For example, we are so close with my next door neighbor. I have their keys and they have mine. If anything is needed, we lend a hand for each other” (R27) while another respondent mentioned that “Relations are not bad. We have some friends here. We meet once or twice in a month.” (R33). However, it was determined that almost all positive responses which propose that close relations have managed among the residents are from Daisy Houses in which both the population and the social facilities are less. From a socio-spatial perspective, this situation can be read that the existence of social facilities is not influential on the increase of social relations. In fact, the larger population leads to more disconnections across the residents. A supportive expression is as such “Since our gated development is smaller in comparison to those in Yaşamkent (*referring the newer and bigger gated communities*), we have much more close relations with each other.” (R24). Thus the positive responses about social relations remained insufficient to assert that there is a *sense of community* in gated communities. So, the claim of gated communities to establish a neighborhood-like social environment becomes void in respect to this case study.

An additional issue to the sense of community in gated communities is about the wish to harness a neighborhood inside the development. It was seen that there is no strong desire to attain close relationships as it is a small, gated neighborhood. The previous answers about the unwillingness to have intimacy with the neighbors also illustrated the same idea. However, while speaking of sociability, many interviewees mentioned the lack of the sense of community as a negative thing. There is a discrepancy between the individualistic thoughts that were expressed by many as it was already discussed above and the nostalgic views about the old neighborhoods. A great number of interviewees explained their childhoods to compare the current situation with previous neighborhoods they have lived in before. A 76 years old

female respondent told that “Once, when I was a young lady, it was not like this. Our parents were trust to each other so much that we even didn’t lock our doors. Everyone has known everyone. We have all know each other, we were so close. There is no such thing in these times.” (R12). For sure, the most nostalgic-like view has come from this 76 woman who experienced a very different type of neighborliness. But similar accounts were told by other residents as well. A young interviewee criticized that “As a matter of fact, this place is just like a small neighborhood. I believe that normally it should be much more closed and intimate space. But it isn’t” (R4) while another one stated that “I don’t believe that neighborliness like previous times remains anymore, especially in the enclosed spaces like this.” (R21). Although, it is considered that enclosed areas like gated communities should be much more open to closer relations among the residents, besides a few respondents, nobody tries to put an effort into sociability. For a further analysis, the reason for the lack of establishing a relation with the neighbors, the external conditions have to be considered. As shown in the daily practices, people are mostly engaged in their personal lives, families and more importantly in their jobs which makes it almost impossible to allocate time for other social activities. Those times that were referred by 76 years old interviewee provided people with the opportunity to have intensive conversations in front of the doors with the neighbors and to spend more time together by going to each other’s places. Also, another external factor for nowadays is the higher levels of participation of women in the labor market. Previously in Turkey, women were usually staying at home with their children and had a whole day to spend time in and around their houses. However, women are also in workforce in contemporary Turkey, especially while speaking of high skilled, white collar workers as the residents of selected gated communities are. So, the usage of space along with the establishment of social relations among neighbors is mostly based upon workplace and public arena. As people feel stressful and tired in their daily practices within those public spaces, they do not have the desire to involve in further social relations.

In respect to the possible reasons behind the lack of social bonds in the gated communities; three prominent issues come out. First one is the aforementioned problem of lack of time. Since people are usually working on weekdays including

women and they only have weekends to have leisure time they prefer to be with their families or friends rather than spending time with their neighbors. A respondent stated that she already has no time for her friends because it is difficult for her to manage her time both for her family, friends and for her job. Similar examples of daily routine can also be traced in the previous parts about daily life.

The second important issue is about the unwillingness to participate in social activities inside the gated development. This was also previously discussed under the subject of social facilities. As it was debated there, social facilities of the gated developments are not seen as adequate places to entertain. In other words, semi-public space remains insufficient to satisfy the expectations of residents to spend leisure times. In that regard, the residents of gated communities spend the majority of their times in the workplace or in other public spaces. Therefore, the chance of being involved in different social relations with the neighbors reduces. There is a good example of this from an event in Magnolia Houses to which I also joined and that was held a week before the New Year's Day. The following account is of the manager of Magnolia Houses;

“This year we organized a New Year's party as you know, you were also there. That day, I guess, there were 25 households out of 224. Do you believe that? It is a 10% of participation rate. It isn't done. We don't expect any financial support from anyone to organize such activities. They could just come to meet with other neighbors. Even this minor example shows how lazy and reckless those people are.”
(R29).

The following words of the manager were even more striking in terms of the evaluation of social relations within the gated community. She said that

“They want me to invite them in a fancy restaurant, they want waiters to gather around; they would pay and go to an elegant place. But not here! They don't open themselves up to something intimate inside the development. That's because they see themselves as high society.”
(R29).

These critiques that were posed by the manager of Magnolia Houses supports the idea of this study that people prefer to be outside of the gated development in their leisure times, especially in the special cases like New Year's party as such. The usage of semi-public space is not seen primary in those respects. The question, why then those people prefer to live in such developments can be answered in two dimensions which were already debated before; namely security and display. In other words, semi-public space is expected to be secured and to be beautiful in landscape and amenities. However, it is certainly not considered as a place in which social relations can be established or strengthen.

The third and the last reason of unwillingness to involve in close relations, was specified as the lack of trust, according to the evaluations of the interviewees. A respondent expressed that "Nowadays, in this kind of gated communities, there is introversion... actually there is distrust among people in the society, people don't trust each other. That's why they choose such places to live." (R8). This expression shows an underlying reason for gated communities to merge and proliferate; but it also demonstrates the lack of social relations in the enclosed residential areas in which it seems difficult to establish rapport among the residents. Another emphasis was made by a middle-aged female interviewee; "Even your situation here, I mean, when my neighbor called me and said that there is a student who works for her thesis, I wanted to help you because I have also a daughter. But many others might not be willing to open their houses to you. They don't trust others." (R23). Both of these expressions looks like distrust is towards the outsider of gated community, but the feeling of insecurity influences all social relations either speaking of public area or semi-public domain.

Besides all three outgoing reasons of lack of intimate social relations in the semi-public sphere, interviewees evaluate their relationships with their neighbors on a basis of similarity. Along with their unwillingness to have close relations with each other, they expressed their content and wish to have similar people around. The definition of this similarity is also a problematic issue since the perceptions about the background of their neighbors are differential and multiple. However, a pattern can be followed by some illustrations from the interviews. Almost all interviewees

mentioned the financial situation as the common ground for the residents of gated developments. Since it is not possible to reach the information about all of the residents in selected gated developments, this criterion will only be introduced through the explanations of interviewees. In fact, their suggestion should be correct to a certain extent because all of those respondents, who said that their common ground is the financial status, explained this as “these houses have a certain provision, one must have a certain amount of money in order to buy this house.” (R34). As Yaşamkent is not a gentrified neighborhood, the transformation of landowning is not valid for this region. Therefore, the only way of buying and even renting a flat from such gated communities in Yaşamkent must be due to the financial opportunities. In that regard, financial status appeared to be one of the criteria of that common ground.

The second point is about the occupations of the residents. A deliberate thought was made during most of the interviews about occupational status of the neighbors. The most extensive explanation was that;

“First of all there is a group of people who are working for a salary. This group can be explained by the young couples, middle-aged people like us, and elderly who are retired from a job on a salary basis. To those young couples, their parents have said that I bought you a house, now you have a head start in life. The second group is like us, with children and both of man and woman are working for a salary. And others are retired people. Probably, their investments for many years ago came to a conclusion finally. And there is also a fourth group of tradesmen who own their workplaces.” (R1).

The third common point was specified by the interviewees as being family. Almost all of the respondents stated that people with children or retired couples whose children already leaved the house are living in their gated developments. The emphasis on family has been made before in the private space analysis. As stated there, being a family is appreciated by people in many respects. The feelings of security, comfort and peace are also attributed to the notion of family. In that regard,

people with children hold the desire to provide their kids with a tranquil and safe environment which leads them to live in gated communities.

Finally, interviewees have a belief that the residents of Yaşamkent in general and of their gated communities have a common cultural background. There are no single or well-determined criteria for this assumption. Thus, this study will avoid for making generalizations about this issue. It can solely be said that a higher level of education in comparison to other neighborhoods of Ankara and certain values about respect to the others, freedom of self-expression as such have been mentioned; as introduced in the following. A respondent said that “I guess many people here are university graduates, or even postgraduates.” (R22) while another one mentioned “People are more respectful to each other in Yaşamkent. I can wear what I want, for example. It was not possible in Kolej³⁵, our previous neighborhood.” (R39). A middle-aged interviewee said that “I observed that people in Yaşamkent have a higher level of education as against my previous neighborhood.” (R32). Another respondent also expressed “Here, people are much more conscious, urbane and cultivated.” (R14). In relation to those, another respondent highlighted that “I can’t say that everybody is university graduates, but most of them are. Indeed, I think that postgraduates are also a lot.” (R34). While a recently moved resident to her current gated community expressed “I don’t know many people here but from my limited knowledge, I guess there is a group which belongs to upper-middle class with a certain level of financial situation and education.” (R10).

These are all assumptions of the respondents which can also be multiplied. Even though they do not represent any kind of specified fact, they have importance in terms of understanding how people evaluate their social milieu. Therefore, although interviewees do not have the need of being close to each other, they hold the wish to encounter with the people who have similar economic and ‘cultural’ backgrounds. In other words, they grounded their milieu on the basis of financial, educational and occupational statuses; and only wish to have a limited interaction with others rather than being intimate.

³⁵*Kolej (Kurtuluş Mahallesi)* is a neighborhood of Ankara which is located near Kızılay, the city center.

To conclude this part through a socio-spatial analysis of semi-public space, gated developments must be seen as a continuation of private space in which the residents seek peace and tranquility with a minimum interaction with the others. Semi-public space is also evaluated as a buffer zone between public and private domains. Thus the analysis of gated communities requires a further insight beyond social segregation since it is also fragmented like public sphere and included introversion within. This study concludes that gated communities are semi-public areas which involve the characteristics and attributions of both public and private spaces. Additionally, it is difficult to generalize the social milieu of gated communities as a community since the residents are not willing to engage with their neighbors on the basis of fellowship, friendship or intimacy. According to all those findings, gated communities appear to be a comfort zone in which security is sustained; but usually they are not used in social networking.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Analyzing urban structure and gated developments requires a further discussion about allocating and using urban spaces in order not to fall into superficiality. In doing so, the concepts of social segregation and isolation need further explanations that demonstrates how the residents of gated communities perceive and evaluate their milieu. In this thesis, the main purpose was to understand those perceptions under three fundamental domains of space; private, public and semi-public spaces. The data analysis was aimed at comprehending the gap among public and private domains through the analysis of the idle usages of all aforesaid spaces in the daily routine. It is believed that the most fundamental way of demonstrating the *raison d'être* of gated developments in contemporary cities is to understand why people want to live in such structures. In that regard, the ways in which they use their private spaces as well as public urban areas are prominent indicators. Beyond that, a new ascription to the area of gated communities was seen necessary and it has been defined as the semi-public space in which the attributions of both public and private spaces exist.

The concept of semi-public space is originally developed by this study in order to refer the in-between feature of those residential areas. The search for a new conceptualization for these areas was due to the idea that gated communities are either totally privatized areas or entirely public spaces. Thus there was a need to name these urban areas by making its characteristics clear. Defining gated communities as 'privatized public spaces' (Blakely & Snyder, 1998) was the closest idea to the premise of this study. However this definition was not directly used in this thesis because it is hereby believed that it is not sufficient to declare gated communities as an urban space which is still in its state of emergence. Blakely and Snyder (1998) was saying this in 1998, when these urban areas were recently debated in the academic literature. However, for the current conjuncture, gated communities are already proliferated and differentiated in many respects. In other words, these

spaces are no longer in a transformation of being *privatized*; on the contrary they are usually settled as semi-public areas in which both private and public space connotations are included and merged.

The second reason for not directly using the definition of ‘privatized public areas’ (Blakely & Snyder, 1998) for gated communities is that this research is based on the perspectives of gated community residents rather than making a structural analysis of the ways in which gated communities are created and designed. The previous definition was proposing such a description in order to show how the idea of gated communities are emerged and developed. However in this thesis, the main premise is to understand how people perceive this milieu and it is not very common among daily lives of people to consider the ‘privatization of public space’. Therefore, gated communities are called semi-public spaces. It could have been used as semi-private as well but in order to emphasize the correspondence with the urban landscape in its widest sense, semi-public was used instead of semi-private.

For this purpose, in this thesis, Yaşamkent, the suburban area of Ankara has been studied through selecting three gated developments. The analysis of the perceptions on three different spaces is an attempt to approach gated communities from a different perspective than defining enclosed residential areas as socially segregated urban spaces. For doing this, this study defined gated communities as semi-public spaces and addressed three spatial domains to see how they differ from each other in some cases and how they are interwoven in the sphere of semi-public.

As for the method and research techniques of the fieldwork, the research was designed on the basis of qualitative research techniques. The selection of the neighborhood was due to the recently developed and (still developing) characteristics of Yaşamkent as a suburban area of Ankara. The selection of the gated communities to study is based on their common points like security, location and target groups while also having differentiations in terms of social facilities in the developments. 40 in-depth interviews with 26 questions have been conducted.

The main idea of this study emerged out of a curiosity upon the fragmentation of urban space in according to its usages by different social groups. Through a

departure point of reading Lefebvre and Harvey in order to define urban space from a socio-spatial perspective, understanding enclosed residential areas from a different standpoint than social segregation was aimed. In other words, it is a purpose to investigate the ways in which gated communities can be described as a new form of urban space in which a specific social group uses, idealizes and encloses to the others. Thus, urban space was divided into three main domains in this study. First two were already settled fields, namely public space and private space. These areas are already defined by many scholars and have been discussed from numerous angles (Habermas, 1989; Sennett, 2013; Bodnar, 2015; Rakoff, 1977; Rybczynski, 1986). In that sense, public domain was addressed through the perspectives of Habermas (1989), Sennett (1974, 2013) and Bodnar (2015) to provide a general understanding of how publicity and public space can be defined. On the other hand, private space was referred as the field of house in which totally different attributions and connotations are included in contrast to the public domain. Finally, a third domain was required in order to define gated communities. In order to offset the characteristics of gated communities which were already settled by many scholars as isolated, segregated, upper middle class residential areas; a new concept was identified for them as 'semi-public space'.

While ascribing a new definition to the gated communities, it was important to consider the meaning and historicity of urban space and urbanization. After this consideration, it was seen that urban space has always been fragmented and open to social segregation. Therefore, gated developments are appeared to be only a new form of socio-spatial segregation while speaking of the urban history. Beyond that, private and public spaces have been demarcated by various means throughout the history. The gated community literature seeks to understand this relatively new form of isolation of middle class from the rest of the society. In that sense, security concerns, fear of crime, status and prestige were the most prominent concepts that have been discussed by this literature. After reconsidering the meaning and significance of gated developments in the urban fabric as well as in the urban social life, this study departed itself from the existing literature to a certain extent and named gated communities as a new type of spatial domain; semi-public space. As for

the case of Yaşamkent, patterns in perceiving and evaluating the space were approached through the in-depth interviews.

In terms of public, private and semi-public spaces, three major findings can be mentioned. These findings provide a ground for identifying the concept of semi-public space as well as reveal some of the characteristics of middle class residential areas. It is not a complete description of ‘what gated community is’ since there are many other types of enclosed residential areas (i.e. gated communities in the inner city areas) with different characteristics.

First one is related with private sphere and it is the evaluation of house as the reflection of self-identity and the family. In that regard, house is associated with tranquility, peace and comfort. In other words, house is a space which is not only private and enclosed to the others but it is also a field to relax, enjoy and fulfill the leisure activities. These attributions to the house make public space less desirable for joy and rest on the weekends. Almost all respondents who are currently working stated that their house is the only place they can feel comfortable and tranquil. Therefore, the contrast between public and private spaces is sharpened, since the evaluations of those two domains are totally the opposites.

As for the reflection of self-identity, the respondents mentioned that their houses are the places in which they can be themselves. This thought usually includes a sense of peace (‘huzur’) which cannot be found in the public sphere, especially in the workplace. From another point, this self-reflection can be seen as a description of class identity. It is important to understand that the house is seen as a place in which status, prestige, characteristics and values of an individual or a family as a whole can be traced. Accordingly, opening the house to friends and neighbors (or in different terms to the public) means that the features of its residents will be revealed. This was also discussed in the article of Sencer Ayata (2012) about satellite cities and it has a great importance in terms of the presentation of the self to the public domain.

The second one is related to the public space which is a manifold of negative attributions including chaos, insecurity and crowd. This reveals that public space is considered to be a contested space in which any kind of risk may be encountered.

Public space is usually referred as dirty, crowded and irregular. The desire to have a systematic and beautiful life in a tidy environment can be reached in the private sphere through any kind of control and regulation while it is almost impossible to control something in the public domain. That is the reason why respondents complain about the problems in urban affairs which are mostly the responsibility of municipalities. In order not to face with problems like ‘dirt, noise, crowd’, respondents prefer to use almost all public spaces (especially the undesired ones like Ulus, Kızılay) as transition zones. The contrast between private and public spaces becomes sharpened while speaking of public space because all respondents emphasized that public space is a place in which controversy always exists. On the contrary, private space is usually attributed as a peaceful place without great deals of controversy.

As a space of mixture of those attributions to private and public spaces, semi-public space appears to be a buffer zone that includes both publicity and privacy. The main purpose of this study was to understand how those dichotomies between public and private spheres are interwoven in an enclosed residential area. The most prominent and significant finding of this study is that semi-public space makes its residents feel more comfortable in a public space. Since all individuals and social groups have the need to socialize and to be integrated in a social milieu which obviously includes a space as well, this need is fulfilled by the gated communities with its social facilities and open areas. In other words, gated communities are not providing an enclosed residential area to a certain social group; they are also functioning as a public space in which undesirable crowds and chaos are not included. However, the spaces of semi-public field are not efficiently used by the respondents due to the lack of time and obligations. But the important point here is that the desire to have such a public area around the residence comes from the need to establish and sustain a safe and comfortable public space since public space of the urban landscape is not seen peaceful. Even if it is not used efficiently or for example the social relations and neighborly ties are not strong enough to sustain a ‘community’, the perception about semi-public space functions as a separate field of publicity.

Throughout the analysis, four main dualities which represent the perceptions and preconceptions of people are appeared. The first and foremost binary opposition in this study is based on the relationship of private and public spaces. Interviewees' evaluations of private space (their homes) are the opposites of the ways of defining public domain. In most general terms, private space is considered as the field of peace, order and intimacy whereas public space is described as a container of chaos, disorder and uncontrollable crowd. In that regard, gated developments and the district of residence appear to be a protected buffer zone. In other words, gated community functions as a field of distance from danger, insecurity and risk. However, these conceptions of danger and insecurity are vaguely defined since the assigned meanings are usually not based on personal experience, but on common sense. Still the attributions of public and private spaces are much more sharply defined and the demarcation of these two domains is more explicitly determined.

A second duality is based upon the gender distinction among different spaces. Space has a gendered nature according to many respondents. In a sense, gender differentiation is ascribed to various spaces. For instance, house is usually appeared to be a female universe and more specifically kitchen is the most frequently used space of home by women³⁶. Although such an attribution was not directly expressed by the respondents (claiming that house is a female environment), the usage of indoor areas as well as the narratives of women about their daily practices revealed this understanding as an accepted assumption. The illustrations were introduced in the analysis of private space.

Another binary opposition is about the assumptions and expressions on tradition and modernity. In many cases, interviewees are more willing to express their impotence to the modernity while underrating certain traditional customs and accusing such habits for 'rusticity'. However, it is not possible to claim that interviewees have a homogenous ground in describing modernity or tradition. In fact, there are no sufficient data for arguing a certain type of modernity. Therefore, the debate on modernity was only limited to a tendency towards novelty, trend and fashion.

³⁶For a detailed analysis on the gendered spaces in gated communities, see Gönüler, M. (2015), "*Kentte Sosyal Ayırışma ve Mekânsal Dönüşüm: Kapalı Sitelerde Kadının Konumu*", M.A. thesis, Maltepe University.

Otherwise, the study should have to consider a theoretical basis for defining modernity which is certainly not a designated purpose.

Final duality for this study is actually an interchangeable situation of two concepts; fear and risk. While speaking of gated developments, it is inevitable to mention about fear and security. However, defining fear is not easy since it can be perceived in terms of a risk condition. For instance, fear of crime might be a concern for people who live in a society in which crime rates are so high, but without having such a knowledge on crime rates or even while knowing that there is no dramatic crimes in that region, people might have a concern for their safety. It is hereby defined as considering the risk rather than having a fear of crime. In Ankara, for this case study, fear of physical violence or robbery is not very prominent but there are a great number of answers which indicate that preemptive solutions are seen significant for any kind of potential risks. Therefore, choosing an enclosed and secured space to reside becomes the very basic way of ensuring safety in any case of risk. In that regard, risk might have different connotations for each respondent.

In the light of all these, gated developments are hereby accepted as a space (including the connotation of distance and gap) in between public and private spheres. In other words, it is neither a completely public nor a private space. It is rather a semi-public space in which attributions become blurred and intertwined. As an enclosed residential area, gated community is seen to be a mixed urban space in the following decades and due to the analysis of this study it is believed that gated developments will be the main preference and expectation for the upper-middle classes in order to have a controllable and secured public space.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE RESIDENTS

RESPONDENTS	AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE
R1	40	M	MILITARY OFFICER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R2	40	F	HOUSEWIFE	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R3	50	F	GYM TEACHER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R4	26	F	MASTER STUDENT	MIMOSA HOUSES
R5	32	M	ENGINEER	MIMOSA HOUSES
R6	28	M	MECHANICAL ENGINEER	MIMOSA HOUSES
R7	48	F	BANK EMPLOYER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R8	35	M	ENGINEER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R9	52	F	ACCOUNTANT	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R10	20	F	STUDENT	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R11	39	F	PRESCHOOL TEACHER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R12	76	F	HOUSEWIFE	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R13	36	M	EXPORT MERCHANT	MIMOSA HOUSES
R14	55	F	RETIRED BANK EMPLOYER	DAISY HOUSES
R15	24	F	STUDENT	MIMOSA HOUSES
R16	42	M	ENGINEER	MIMOSA HOUSES
R17	40	M	ENGLISH TEACHER	DAISY HOUSES
R18	49	F	RETIRED TOURISM PROFESSIONAL	MIMOSA HOUSES
R19	24	F	INTERPRETER	MIMOSA HOUSES
R20	53	F	RETIRED BANK EMPLOYER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R21	41	F	TOURISM PROFESSIONAL	MIMOSA HOUSES

R22	43	M	ARCHITECT	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R23	58	F	RETIRED CIVIL SERVANT	DAISY HOUSES
R24	49	F	UNIVERSITY LECTURER	DAISY HOUSES
R25	24	F	ENGLISH TEACHER	DAISY HOUSES
R26	37	M	ATTORNEY	DAISY HOUSES
R27	41	F	ECONOMIST	DAISY HOUSES
R28	25	F	UNEMPLOYED	MIMOSA HOUSES
R29	60	F	CHEMICAL ENGINEER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R30	43	M	FINANCIAL ADVISOR	MIMOSA HOUSES
R31	26	F	STUDENT	MIMOSA HOUSES
R32	29	F	INTERIOR ARCHITECT	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R33	39	F	LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT	DAISY HOUSES
R34	52	M	MATHEMATICS TEACHER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R35	25	F	MIGRATION POLICY PROFESSIONAL	MIMOSA HOUSES
R36	24	F	ATTORNEY	DAISY HOUSES
R37	55	M	JOURNALIST	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R38	67	M	CIVIL ENGINEER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES
R39	27	F	ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEER	DAISY HOUSES
R40	27	M	SOFTWARE ENGINEER	MAGNOLIA HOUSES

APPENDIX B

TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

Kent mekanlarının kullanımı ve dönüşümü toplumun kültürel kodlarının oluşumu açısından hayati önem taşıdı. Kent mekanları yalnızca toplumun çatışmalarına, uzlaşmalarına ve ikilemelerine sahne olmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda insanlar tarafından şekillendirildi, dönüştürüldü ve yeniden üretildiler. Günümüzde, kent mekanı kamusal hayatın olmazsa olmaz bir parçası olarak ele alınıyor. Bu bağlamda önemi her geçen gün daha fazla anlaşılan mekan-insan ilişkisi yalnızca mimarinin ya da şehir plancılığının değil, aynı zamanda sosyal bilimlerin de konusu haline gelmeye başlıyor. Bu sosyolojik merakın bir örneği olarak modern toplumlardaki sınıf çatışmaları, güç ilişkileri ve daha nice toplumsal mevzu kent mekanlarındaki yansımaları göz önüne alınarak çalışılıyor. Bu yansımaların en çok tartışılan örneklerinden bir tanesi de farklı sınıfsal grupların konut tercihleri ve yerleşme, yaşama, barınma pratikleri olarak beliriyor.

Üst orta sınıfın kendini bir süredir toplumun geri kalanından ayırma, ayrı tutma çabası olduğu ve bu doğrultuda kapalı ve özel alanlarda yaşamayı tercih ettiği konuşulmakta. Kamusal mekanlardan ve kamusal hayattan bu kasıtlı kopuş kapalı sitelerle ilgili literatürün odağı haline geldi. Birçok çalışmada özellikle kamusal yaşantının boyut değiştirdiği, anlamların muğlaklaştığı ve sınıfsal ayrışmanın mekan bağlamında yeniden gözle görülür hale geldiği tartışılıyor. Dahası, korunaklı sitelerle ilgili yapılan çoğu akademik çalışma, sınıfsal ayrışmaya ve toplumsal bölünmeye değiniyor. Hatta birçoğunda bu kavramlar anahtar kelime olarak yer alıyor.

Bu tez çalışması, kapalı siteleri toplumsal ayrışma kavramsallaştırmasının ötesine taşıyarak kent mekanının kullanımı, üretimi ve dönüşümü kapsamında ona biraz da karşı gelecek şekilde tek bir alanın nasıl kapatıldığı, özelleştirildiği ve idealize edildiğini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tezin esas vurgusu, daha önceki çalışmalarda olduğu gibi toplumsal ayrışma olmak yerine, kent mekanlarının nasıl

bölündüğü, nasıl algılandığı ve kullanıldığı üzerinde yoğunlaşacaktır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu çalışma kapalı siteleri yalnızca yeni bir toplumsal ayrışma modeli olarak ele almak yerine kapalı yerleşim yerlerini hem özel hem de kamusal alanın izlerini taşıyan ‘yarı-kamusal alan’lar olarak tanımlamaktadır.

Bu anlamda, bu tez çalışması korunaklı sitelerin yaygınlaşmasına ve gittikçe daha çok tercih edilmesine sosyal ilişkilerin kristalize olması veya bölünmesi üzerinden değil, belli bir sosyal grubun mekanı algılama ve kullanma pratikleri üzerinden bakmayı amaçlamıştır. Bunu yaparken, oluşturulması gereken şema kent mekanını bölüp her birinin temsil ettiği anlamlar bütünü kapsamalıydı. Böylece, bu çalışmada, kent üç ana alana bölünerek incelendi. Bunlardan ilki özel alan; evin ifade ettiği anlamları, kullanılma biçimlerini ve sınırlarını anlayarak tanımlandı. İkincisi kamusal alan; korunaklı sitelerde oturmayı tercih eden insanların gündelik hayatlarının ne kadar zamanını kamusal alanda geçirdiklerini, bu alanla ilgili görüşlerini, düşünce ve hissiyatlarını, zaman zaman şikayetlerini ve genel olarak özel alanla (evle) arasında gözetilen farkları kavrayarak tanımlandı. Son olarak, ihtiyaç duyulan bir diğer kavram literatüre dahil olmamış ancak korunaklı siteleri tanımlamak için bu çalışmada uygun görülen yarı-kamusal alan kavramı. Bu alanı belirlerken göz önünde bulundurulmuş bazı noktalar var. Blakely ve Snyder (1998) korunaklı sitelerle ilgili yapılan ilk çalışmalardan birine imza atarken, bu tarz kapalı yerleşimleri “özelleştirilmiş kamusal alan”lar olarak tanımlamıştı. Bu tezin savunduğu fikir de özünde bu tanıma denk düşen bir kavramsallaştırmadan geçiyor. Ancak bu tez çalışması konuyu yalnızca toplumsal değil toplumsal-mekansal bir çerçevede açıklamayı amaçladığı için özellikle vurgu yapmak istenen mekan kavramı Blakely ve Snyder’ın (1998) tanımının ötesinde bir kavramsallaştırmayı gerektiriyordu. Böylece kapalı yerleşimlerin, toplumsal ayrışmayı beraberinde getirdiği ve belli bir grubun kamusal alanı kendi için özelleştirmesi fikirleri yadsınımsızın korunaklı siteler yarı-kamusal alanlar olarak tanımlandı.

Bu bağlamda, yapılan çalışma öncelikle kenti ve kent mekanını tarihselliği içinde inceledikten sonra bu tez kapsamında üretilmiş olan yarı-kamusal alan tanımını inşa etmeyi amaçladı. İlk olarak, kent mekanının toplumsal ilişkiler açısından önemi ve yeri vurgulanmak üzere, Engels (1844), Chicago School

(Burgess, 1925; Wirth, 1938), Lefebvre (1991) gibi düşünürlerin ve ekollerin kurduğu çerçevelerden yararlanıldı. Bunu yaparken kentleşme süreçlerinin nasıl ele alındığı, her bir düşünce setinin vurgusu üzerinden tartışıldı. Yapılacak olan çalışmaya giriş niteliğinde hazırlanan bu bölüm, mekanın insan ilişkilerindeki rolü bir kez daha vurgulanırken, en başta sözü edilen toplum-mekan ilişkisinin tarihsel önemi göz önünde bulundurulmuş oldu.

Kentleşme ve kent mekanları tartışıldıktan sonra, tezin araştırma nesnesi olan korunaklı sitelerle alakalı literatür farklı açılardan verildi. Bu bağlamda, hem dünya tarihinde korunaklı sitelerin nasıl ortaya çıktığı ve yaygınlaştığı hem de benzer süreçlerin Türkiye’de nasıl geliştiği tartışıldı. Korunaklı sitelerin ortaya çıkışını anlayabilmek için gerekli olan toplumsal ve tarihsel süreçler irdelendi. Bu süreçler en genel anlamda ikiye ayrıldı; banliyöleşme ve kentsel mutenalaştırma. Bu süreçlerin işleyişi tek bir neoliberal eğilimle başlasa bile, hem zamansal açıdan hem de biçimsel anlamda farklılık göstermektedir. Bu farklılık banliyöleşmenin şehrin dışına taşıdığı orta üst sınıfın daha sonra kent merkezlerine yeniden dönüp orayı kendi arzuları doğrultusunda baştan şekillendirmesi şeklinde özetlenebilir. Bütün bu tartışmalar esnasında, bu konular üzerine önemli çalışmalar yapmış olan Harvey (1985, 1989) ve Smith’in (1979, 2005) tartışmalarına yer verildi.

Korunaklı sitelerin tanımına ve yaygınlaşmasına böylece geçiş yapıldı. Korunaklı siteler 1990’lardan bu yana tartışılan ve özellikle batı toplumlarındaki çeşitleriyle yıllar içinde akademik çalışmaların odağı haline gelen bir kentsel mekan. Ne var ki, bu tip kapalı yerleşmeler tarihte modern toplumla birlikte oluşmadı. Milattan önce 300’lü yıllarda bile konut yerleşmelerinin kapatıldığı, korunaklı hale getirildiği ve katı bir toplumsal ayrışmaya neden olduğu bilinmekte (Blakely & Snyder, 1997a).

Bunun yanısıra, korunaklı sitelerin modern toplumlarda nasıl çeşitlendiği ve hangi şekillerde tanımlanması gerektiği de tartışma konusu olabilir. Bu tarz yerleşim yerlerinin tanımlanmasında göz önünde bulundurulması gerekenler; fiziki koşullar, toplumsal ayrışma, tahkimat, güvenlik, gözetim ve komünitelerin organizasyonu şeklinde özetlenebilir. Bunların her biri göz önünde bulundurulmuş olarak yapılan bir analizde bile tek tip bir kapalı site tanımından söz etmek mümkün değildir. Bu

yüzden bu tez çalışmasında özellikle nasıl korunaklı sitelerden söz edildiği özellikle açıklanmaktadır. Bunlar, Türkiye'nin toplumsal ve tarihsel yapısı göz önünde bulundurularak tartışılmış ve sonucunda bu tezde ele alınan korunaklı siteler orta-üst sınıfa ait bir yaşam tarzının şekillenmesinde rol alan ve rolü oldukça büyük olan bir kentsel organizasyon olarak tanımlanmıştır. Türkiye özelinde düşünüldüğünde, korunaklı sitelerin yapısının genellikle batı ve daraltmak gerekirse Amerika örneğine daha yakın bir yapıdan esinlendiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Diğer bir deyişle, bu tez çalışması, sözü edilen korunaklı site literatürüne Türkiye'nin başkenti Ankara'da yeni oluşmaya başlayan bir orta-üst sınıf semtinin biçimlenişine odaklanarak ve bu tip yerleşimlere yeni bir kavram atfederek katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamıştır. Daha önce sözü edilen yarı-kamusal alan tartışması, Ankara'nın göreceli olarak yeni denebilecek olan semti Yaşamkent örneğinde, niteliksel araştırma teknikleri kullanılarak yapılan saha çalışması sonucunda ortaya çıkan verilere göre yapılmıştır. Bu çalışma ile kapalı site sakinlerinin özel ve kamusal alanları nasıl değerlendirdikleri, bu iki alanı birbirinden hangi temalarla ayırdıkları ve bunlara bağlı olarak kapalı siteleri 'yarı-kamusal alan' tanımının altında, özel ve kamusal arasında bir tampon bölge olarak nasıl ele alınabileceği irdelenmiştir.

Çalışmanın esas vurgusu ancak yapılan saha çalışması ve onun sonucunda elde edilen veriler ışığında yapılabileceğinden, tezin büyük bir bölümü verilerin analizine ayrılmıştır. Çalışmanın çıkış noktası, belli bir sosyal sınıfın kent mekanını nasıl değerlendirdiği üzerine bir merak olduğu için, üçe bölünen kent alanları saha çalışmasının alt başlıkları olarak belirlenmiş, buradan yola çıkarak hazırlanan 26 soru, üç farklı korunaklı siteden rastgele ve kartopu yöntemiyle seçilen 40 görüşmeciye sorulmuştur. Derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılmış ve her bir görüşme ortalama bir saat sürmüştür. Görüşmeler esnasında ses kayıt cihazı kullanılmıştır (kayıt almayı kabul etmeyen bir görüşmeci hariç.) Daha sonra bütün kayıtların tam deşifresi araştırmacı tarafından yapılmıştır.

Saha çalışması esnasında karşılaşılan bazı problemlerden söz etmek gerekirse; öncelikle görüşmelerin site sakinlerinin evinde yapılması durumlarında sitenin kapısından geçiş konusunda yaşanabilecek sorunlar önceden düşünülmüş ve

buna bağı olarak görüşmecilerle kararlaştırılan randevu saatlerinde kendileriyle telefonda randevu teyit edilerek gidilmiştir. Bunun yanısıra, kartopu yöntemi kullanıldığı için ve erkek görüşmeciler göreceli olarak daha fazla iş hayatında olduğu için çoğunlukla kadın görüşmecilere ulaşılabilmiştir. Çalışma sonunda 24 kadın, 16 erkek site sakiniyle görüşme yapılmıştır.

Saha çalışması kapsamında karşılaşılabilecek bir diğer problem ise güven inşası ve yabancılık olarak belirlenmiştir. Ancak bu konudaki olası problemler araştırmacının kendisinin de aynı bölgede benzer bir konut tipinde yaşaması ve her sitedeki ilk görüşmecinin tanıdıklar vasıtasıyla bulunmasıyla ortadan kalkmıştır. Bazı görüşmeler yoğunluk ve iş nedeniyle bazıları da görüşmecilerin evlerinde misafir bulunması gerekçesiyle ev dışında gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Saha çalışmasının verileri beş ana başlık altında toplanmıştır. Bunlar sırasıyla; özel alanın tanımlanması, kamusal alanın tanımlanması, yarı-kamusal alanın tanımlanması, gündelik hayat ve sosyal ilişkilerdir. Tezin altbaşlıkları da araştırmanıninkilerle örtüşecek şekilde dizayn edilmiştir.

Özel Alanın Tanımlanması

Özel alan tanımlanırken ev ve ev yaşantısı üzerinde durulmuştur. Sorulan sorular eve verilen önem, özel alanın site sakinleri için ifade ettiği anlam ya da anlamlar, ev yaşantısında evin içinin kullanım alanları ve biçimleri tartışılmıştır. Özel alanın site sakinleri tarafından nasıl algılandığı tartışılırken elde edilen en önemli veri, evin bir huzur alanı olarak nitelendiriliyor olmasıydı. Diğer bir deyişle, ev dışarının kaosunun bir kenara bırakıldığı, dinlenmenin ve rahatlamamanın mekanı olarak nitelendiriliyor. Bu yalnızca korunaklı sitelerde oturan insanlara özgü bir durum olmamakla birlikte, evin gündelik yaşantı içinde arzu edilen dinginliği ve rahatlığı içinde barındıran yegane mekan olarak görülmesi tezin ana argümanı olan yarı-kamusal alan kavramının önemini vurgulamak açısından büyük önem taşıyor. Burada görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğu tarafından ifade edilen anahtar kelime ise huzur. Evin kendisi için ne anlama geldiği sorulduğunda ilk söylenen şey çoğunlukla huzur oldu. Huzur kelimesinin özellikle Türk toplumunda rahatlamamanın ötesinde daha derin bir anlamı olduğu göz önünde bulundurulacak olursa ev, görüşmecilerin büyük

çoğunluğu için yalnızca bir dinlenme alanı değildir. Ev, her şeyden önce dingin, sakin ve sessiz bir rahatlama alanıdır.

Özel alanla ilgili bir diğer önemli bulgu, evin yalnız yaşayanlar için bireyselliğin, ailesiyle birlikte yaşayanlar için de bir aradalığının sağlandığı bir alan olarak görülmesidir. Bu anlamda ev, gün boyunca rutin telaşlardan dolayı yakalanamayan samimi ilişkilerin, ailevi mevzuların veya yalnız kalmanın mümkün olduğu alan olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Özel alanın ne kadar katı bir ayırım ile kamusal alandan ayrıldığını görmek ise kamusal alana görüşmecilerin atfettiği olumsuz anlamları anlamakla mümkündür.

Kamusal Alanın Tanımlanması

Bu çalışmanın ilk kıvılcımları Sennett'in (2013) kamusal alanın 'ölü' olduğunu ifade eden çalışmasından (Sennett, 2013) yola çıkarak parlamıştı. Bu bağlamda, kamusal alan farklı orta sınıfları bir araya getiren, zaman zaman karmaşaya ve çatışmaya, zaman zaman da bir aradalığa olanak sağlayan müşterek mekanlar bütünü olmaktan çıkıp gitgide parçalanan, bölünen ve sınıfsal ayrımlarla doğru orantılı olarak yeniden biçimlenen bir alan olmaya başladı.

Bu tezin ana argümanı doğrudan kamusal mekanın parçalanışı ile ilgili olmasa da yarı-kamusal alan gibi yeni bir kavram ortaya koyarken kamusal olan ile özel olan nasıl birbirinden ayrışıyor ve bu farklı alanlara görüşmeciler nasıl atıflarda bulunuyor diye sormak önemliydi. Bu yüzden hem saha çalışması için hazırlanan derinlemesine mülakat soruları hem de tezin yapısı kamusal alanın tanımlanmasına da yer vermek durumundaydı.

Bu bölüm kapsamında ortaya çıkan verilere göre, korunaklı sitelerde oturan insanlar kamusal alanı da kendi içinde bölmektedir. Farklı bir deyişle, kamusal olan da yalnızca homojen bir bütünden ibaret değildir. Örneğin, şehrin merkezi olarak kabul edilen ve aslında bugün Ankara düşünüldüğünde merkez denebilecek tek bir yer kalmamış olmasına rağmen daha önceden oluşmuş düşünce sistemine göre hala merkez olduğu varsayılan Kızılay, Tunalı, Ulus gibi bölgelerin görüşmeciler tarafından çok fazla kullanılmadığı görülmüştür. Kullanıldığı zaman ise yalnızca

gereklilik ve çoğunlukla zorunluluk şeklinde tanımlanan işler için kullanıldığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Artık büyük şehirlerin tek bir merkez etrafında biçimlenmediği zaten literatürde de pratikte de mevcut. Ancak özellikle Yaşamkent gibi banliyö olarak kabul edilen bölgelerdeki korunaklı sitelerde yaşayan insanlar için bu bölgeler en fazla kendi merkezlerinde bulunmayan birtakım şeyleri almak ya da işlerini halletmek için kullanılan alanlardır.

Buna bağlı olarak, bu tarz merkez kabul edilen bölgeler sadece geçiş bölgeleri olarak kullanılan alanlar olarak kalmaktadır. Şehrin yapısının parçalanmış olması kamusal hayatı oldukça etkileyen bir faktördür. Bu konu üzerine eğilen birçok farklı alan ve çalışma olmasına karşın, bu tip bir kamusal hayat parçalanması korunaklı siteleri odak alan bir çalışma için elbette büyük önem taşımaktadır. Yolların, parkların, sokakların ve meydanların geçiş bölgesi olarak kullanıldığı, alışveriş merkezlerinin ve özel alanların keyif, rahatlama, dinlenme bölgeleri olarak kullanıldığı bir şehirde kamusal hayatın içiçeliğinden veya bütünlüğünden ne kadar söz edilebileceği bir tartışma konusudur. Dolayısıyla, bu tezin saha çalışmasında görüşmecilere yöneltilen soruların kamusal hayatın tanımlanması ile alakalı olan bölümünde çoğunlukla kentin düzenine, dışarıda geçirilen vaktin yoğunluğuna, kamusal alana hangi sebeplerle çıkıldığına dair sorular yöneltilmiştir.

Sosyal ilişkilerin detaylarına ilişkin bir sorgu yapmak bu tez çalışması açısından fazla yüklü olacağı düşünüldüğü için, görüşmecilere daha çok yapısal kentsel sorunlar ve kendi bireysel deneyimleri sorulmuştur. Bu yapısal sorunlar konuşulurken asıl amaçlanan görüşmecilerin kente dair şikayetlerini değerlendirmek değil, kamusal alana dair görüşlerini açıklayabilecek ipuçlarına ulaşmaktır. Nitekim, görüşmecilerden alınan bilgiler doğrultusunda, Ankara ile alakalı kentsel problemler ya da diğer şehirlere kıyasladıkları belli başlı farklar değerlendirildiğinde kamusal hayatın düzensiz ve kirli olarak nitelendirildiği görülmüştür. Bu değerlendirmelere göre, kamusal alan karmaşık, çatışmalarla ve sıkıntılarla dolu, kaotik, düzensiz, iyi yapılanmamış ve pis bir alandır. Bunu anlatırken, görüşmecilerin bir kısmı Ankara'yı ve Türkiye'yi Avrupa şehirleriyle kıyaslamış, oralardan alınan örneklerle iyi bir kentin nasıl olması gerektiğini değerlendirmişlerdir. Buradan da anlaşılacağı üzere,

orta üst sınıfın yalnızca korunaklı siteleri tercih etme pratikleri değil aynı zamanda kamusal alanı nitelendirme biçimleri de batılı bir anlam taşımaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, kamusal alan orta üst sınıf için ve özellikle banliyö bölgelerinde korunaklı sitelerde yaşayanlar için, geçiş bölgesi olarak kullanılan yollar ve caddeler bütününden fazlası olamamaktadır. Çok nadiren gezmek için tercih edilen bazı kamusal alanlardan söz edilirken genellikle alışveriş merkezleri örnek gösterilmiştir. Fakat bu bölümün tez çalışması açısından daha kritik olan ve aslında en önemli olan bulgusu, kamusal alanın özel alanın tam zıttı olarak değerlendirilmesidir. Diğer bir deyişle, özel alan düzenli, kontrol edilebilir ve huzurluyken kamusal alan kaotik, düzensiz ve kirlidir.

Yarı-Kamusal Alanın Tanımlanması

Bu tez çalışmasının en çok vurgu yapmayı amaçladığı kent mekanı, aslında göreceli olarak yeni oluşmuş bir alan olarak korunaklı sitelerdi. Daha önceden de belirtildiği gibi, bu çalışma bu tip yerleşim yerlerine yeni bir kavram atfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, korunaklı siteler hem özel alan ile hem de kamusal alan ile arasındaki benzerlikler, farklar ve bağlar aracılığıyla incelenmiş, sonucunda ise bu alanlara yarı-kamusal alan kavramını atfetmiştir. Yarı-kamusal alan akademik literatürde korunaklı siteler için daha önce kullanılmış bir kavram değil. Ancak burada, daha önceki teoriler ve tanımlar tezin ana argümanını doğrudan karşılayamadığı düşünüldüğü için yeni bir kavrama ihtiyaç duyulmuştur.

Yarı-kamusal alan, kamusal alanın gittikçe parçalanmakta ve sosyal ilişkilerin bu alanlarda gittikçe daha fazla kristalize olmakta olan yapısıyla özel alana atfedilen huzur ve kontrol tanımlarının arasında kalmışlığı en iyi gösteren kent mekanı olarak belirmektedir.

Yarı-kamusal alan özünde orta üst sınıf için oluşturulmuş bir tampon bölgedir. Bir diğer deyişle, bu tip yerleşim yerleri bu sınıfsal gruba özel ve dışarıdan kontrol olmaksızın kimsenin giremeyeceği bir kamusal alan sağlamaktadır.

Korunaklı siteler, görüşmeciler için hem özel bir alan görevi görmekte hem de kamusal alanda varolan tehlikelerden azade bir kamusallığı onlara sunmaktadır.

Böylece hem kirli ve düzensiz olarak kabul edilen şehir merkezine ya da ona gittikçe daha çok benzediği iddia edilen diğer mahallelere bağımlı kalmak zorunda olmadan istenilen kamusal alan yakalanabilmektedir.

Fakat bütün bunların yanısıra, pratikte korunaklı sitelerin sunduğu sosyal tesis olanaklarının çok fazla kullanılmadığı görülmüştür. Çoğunlukla site içinde olmasından memnun olunan spor tesisleri, çocuk oyun alanları, parklar veya diğer olanaklar çeşitli sebeplerden ötürü çok fazla kullanılmamaktadır. Görüşmecilerin büyük bir çoğunluğu site içindeki sosyal olanaklardan memnuniyetlerini belirtmiş olsa da ya zaman yokluğundan ya da iş yüzünden fırsat bulamamaktan dolayı bu tesisleri neredeyse hiç kullanmadığını söylemiştir.

Sonuç

Bu tez çalışmasının ana argümanı, kamusal alanın parçalanması ve sosyal ilişkilerin kent mekanlarında gittikçe daha fazla kristalize olması sonucunda ortaya çıkan bir orta üst sınıf arzusunun, korunaklı sitelerde yaşamayı, literatürde bulunmayan yeni bir kavram üzerine kurulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, korunaklı siteler kamusal alanın orta üst sınıfa sağlayamadığı temiz, hijyenik, düzenli ve elit yaşantıyı özel alanın aile ve bireysellik ile özdeşleştirilen mekanıyla arasında bir tampon bölge olmaktadır.

APPENDIX C

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: