**GATED COMMUNITIES
AS A NEW UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS "UTOPIA" IN TURKEY:
THE CASE OF ANGORA HOUSES**

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ABSTRACT

GATED COMMUNITIES

AS A NEW UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS "UTOPIA" IN TURKEY:

THE CASE OF ANGORA HOUSES

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The aim of this thesis is to analyse the effects of gated communities in the increasing fragmentation of urban space and in the increasing polarisation among different classes in the Turkish context, more specifically in the capital, Ankara.

Since the case study is based on an upper-middle class suburban gated community, first, suburbanisation "as a wave of urbanisation" is analysed. Then, the debates about the middle class and the transformation that this social stratum has undergone are discussed. Later, the formation of gated communities around the world and in Turkey are analysed within the

general framework of the transformation of the urban sphere. Finally, the theoretical arguments are scrutinised by incorporating the findings of the case study carried out in Angora Houses. In this study Angora Houses is concluded to be a gated community which is "fortified" for the preservation of an upper-middle class lifestyle rather than for security concerns and which reproduces socio-spatial inequalities among Ankaraites rather than standing as only the expression of them.

Keywords: Gated community, suburb, fragmentation of urban space, upper-middle class, lifestyle, social polarisation, privatisation

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ YENİ ÜST ORTA SINIF "ÜTOPYASI"

KORUNAKLI SİTELER

ÖRNEK ALAN: ANGORA EVLERİ

Ertuna, Ayberk Can

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

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Bu tezde, korunaklı sitelerin Türkiye ve Ankara kent mekanındaki parçalanma ve sınıflar arasındaki kutuplaşmanın artması üzerindeki etkileri araştırılmaktadır.

Alan çalışması bir üst-orta sınıf alt kent örneğini kapsadığı için, öncelikle bir kentleşme biçimi olarak alt kent gelişimleri üzerine yoğunlaşılmaktadır. Daha sonra, orta sınıf ve bu sınıfın uğradığı dönüşüm incelenmektedir. Bir sonraki bölümde, korunaklı yerleşimlerin ortaya çıkışı ve bu yerleşimlerin özellikleri, dünyada ve Türkiye'deki kentlerin uğradığı

dönüşümler çerçevesinde ele alınmaktadır. Son olarak, kavramsal tartışmalar çerçevesinde geliştirlen olguların geçerliliği, Angora Evleri'nde yürütülen alan çalışmasının verileri ışığında sorgulanmaktadır. Bu araştırmada temel olarak Angora Evleri'ndeki korunma araçlarının, güvenlikten çok üst-orta sınıf yaşam biçiminin korunmasına hizmet ettiği ve bu yerleşkenin salt Ankaralılar arasındaki sosyo-mekansal farklılaşmaların bir ifadesi olarak değil, aynı zamanda böyle bir farklılaşmayı yeniden üreten bir öge olarak var olduğu belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Korunaklı yerleşim, alt kent, kentsel mekanın parçalanması, üst-orta sınıf, yaşam biçimi, toplumsal kutuplaşma, özelleştirme

To my dear mother…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, the urban space in Ankara has been reshaped by a process of suburbanisation. The strategy of moving towards the outskirts of the city has not been employed by middle and upper class masses in Ankara until very recently. Such an urbanisation pattern has come to the agenda of the city a century later than the cities in the developed countries. However, "distinguished" Ankaraites caught the train on time when a new urban phenomenon, namely gated communities, started to redefine the boundaries in/of the cities around the world. Today, middle and upper class Ankara citizens enclose themselves in gated communities and thus new social, spatial and economic boundaries are formed in this city concomitantly with other cities in different geographies.

This thesis is aimed at demonstrating the role of gated communities in the increasing fragmentation of urban space and in the increasing polarisation among different classes in the Turkish context, more specifically in the capital, Ankara. This study concentrates on Angora Houses gated a community which is a typical example of this contemporary being erected as the "safe havens" of upper-middle and upper classes, There have been similar studies focused on the gated communities of İstanbul in the literature. İstanbul is the city where the capital / labour antagonism is experienced at its harshest level. The income and lifestyle gap has also been experienced at the built environment for decades and has been

increasing in recent decades. However, Ankara has been considered as a more "stable" city, where the inequality among citizens is not as much as that in İstanbul and where the urban space has not been fragmented as that of İstanbul. This general assumption may be true in some instances; however, by focusing on the Angora Houses gated community in Ankara, it is aimed to show that such urban developments are not restricted to certain urban areas which are conceptualised as financial and business command centres.

By considering a specific example in Ankara, this thesis raises the argument that such residential pattern is indeed a class-specific practice, which is experienced in different urban geographies. The transformation and the increasing polarisation of the middle class and the changes taking place in the urban space are in a dialectical relation with each other. Therefore, gated communities as welfare enclaves are not only the reflections of increasing socio-economic polarisations in the urban areas. Rather, by raising an objection to this tautology, this thesis asserts that this urban development is among the constituents of such an increasing gap. Gated communities and similar urban forms both reflect and at the same time reproduce inequalities, since they act as the breeding ground of petty bourgeois lifestyle.

Since the case study in the thesis is based on an upper-middle class suburban gated community, macro-level analysis include the examination of the emergence and the evolution of suburbs in an international context, arguments about the middle class and its transformation, and the comparisons of gated community experiences around the world. Lastly, before analysing the Angora Houses in Ankara, the gated community experience in Turkey will be considered within the historical context of urbanisation in which the period after the proclamation of the republic will be covered.

The term urbanisation has a twofold meaning. The first one is a spatial dimension which signifies the concentration of numerous activities and populations in a limited space. The

second point that the term urbanisation addresses is the existence and diffusion of a particular ideological and cultural system in these spaces. Therefore, urban space has also been the "arena" of the competition of different classes and groups.

One of the major problems of today's cities is increasing fragmentation arising as the outcome of social, spatial and economic differences and inequalities. These differences and inequalities contribute greatly to the "ghettoisation" in the urban space and result in a strict residential differentiation. Gated communities, with their walls for enclosure, guards for eliminating the unwanted people and surveillance systems for a permanent imposition of the feeling of being under control, are the latest and the most discriminative expressions of such fragmentation. They are both the products and actors of the fragmentation of contemporary urban areas and maybe for the first time since the middle age, such physical barriers – which have of course sociological and psychological connotations – create boundaries among the "equal" citizens. However, neither segmentation nor residential differentiation is a new phenomenon in the history of urbanisation. The fragmentation of urban population has been one of the most important topics for different schools of urban studies since the capitalist mode of production has increased the segmentation within the urban society and it was mostly the industrialising cities of the West that grand theories about residential differentiation were inspired from.

In the early twentieth century, a sociologist, Edward Burgess carried out researches in Chicago which was then growing bigger and bigger by the labour power flow to the city. Burgess was later joined by scholars such as Robert Park and H.W. Zorbaugh and in time they became known as the Chicago School. The Chicago School analysed the city as a social organism and theorised the growth in terms of a zone structure and predicted an urban mobility from inner city slums to suburbs as the wealth of the urbanites increased. According to them, it was the limited resource migrants who accommodated in the inner city where the

housing costs were the lowest. Later, as they became engaged in the urban economy and as their wealth increased, they gradually moved to the outer neighbourhoods (Short, 1996: 180). Viewed from this perspective, residential differentiation was an inevitable formation in the growing cities.

There has been a strong criticism of Chicago School from the Marxist school of thought. David Harvey, a dedicated Marxist scholar, in his book: *The Urbanisation of Capital* (1985), analysed the built environment as the most important element in the secondary circuit of capital. Shortly, according to Marx, "the general law of the capitalist accumulation" – and therefore the capitalist status quo – was based on a positive rate of accumulation and reproduction of the capitalist class. This positive rate of accumulation was realised according to Marx by either on an increase in the length of the working day or through the reorganisation of the work process which raised the productivity of the labour power.

However, as Harvey (1985: 4) stated, the inherent problem of the primary circuit of capital, the operation of which was described above, was overaccumulation. Overaccumulation resulted in the crisis of the capitalist system by leading to overproduction of commodities, decreasing the rates of profits, decreasing opportunities for profitable employment and causing a great surplus labour which might lead to an increasing rate of exploitation of labour power. Under the condition of overaccumulation, with the flow of capital from the primary to the secondary circuit, a temporary solution to the problem could be implemented. The secondary circuit of capital relied on fixed capital items which were used as aids to the production process and consumption funds which were used as aids to consumption. The built environment, the most important element of the secondary circuit of capital, could be classified as functioning as a physical framework for production as well as for consumption (in the case of transportation network). Therefore, investment in it meant the creation of a physical landscape for production, circulation, exchange and consumption. One of the

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important actors that regulated the flow of the capital from the primary to the secondary circuit was the state. The state functioned as the nerve centre and allocated (or mediated the allocation) the capital to certain aspects of the secondary circuit such as transportation, housing, etc. (Harvey, 1985: 6-7).

According to Harvey (1985: 118), when analysed in this framework, residential differentiation in the capitalist city lead to "differential access to the scarce resources required to acquire market capacity". This differential access contributed greatly to the reproduction of classes in themselves. Shortly, this meant that a white-collar labour force was generally reproduced in a white-collar neighbourhood. Harvey asserted that the residential differentiation was in fact a produced phenomenon that is, produced by financial and governmental institutions for the sustainability of the accumulation and for the sake of economic crisis management. This phenomenon also created a structure in which individuals – to a degree – had a chance to make a choice however could not influence the production in the housing market (Harvey, 1985: 121).

The residential differentiation in the urban space since the early periods of industrialisation, suburbanisation, as a traditional urbanisation pattern especially in the West, is analysed in the second chapter of this thesis. This analysis includes both the history of the development of suburbs and different examples of suburbanisation around the world. Suburbanisation has been adapted as the basic method of withdrawing from the mess of the cities since mid-19th century. Moreover, this practice has always meant living in a social milieu together with the ones alike. In the early stages, suburbanisation was a dream available only to the bourgeoisie, later it was adapted by the upper-middle and middle classes. Later, the post WW2 economic and social developments enabled certain portions of the working class to suburbanise.

When the welfare epoch has lost its ground in the West in the late 1970s and 80s, suburbanisation had become an ordinary practice in countries such as the United States and Britain. This gave way to a different urbanisation pattern especially among the new upper-middle class and the wealthier proportions in the society, namely, the gentrification. It was not only the suburbs have lost their attractiveness because of the crowd but also the decreased land prices in the already "decayed" city centres that triggered gentrification and once again set the goal of living and working at the city centre. However, gentrification is not itself the only new wave of urbanisation, rather it can be considered as an urban trend at its limits. Therefore, suburbs are still employed throughout the world by the upper classes though they have transformed dramatically in terms of social character and physical appearance and design. Today, it is the upper-middle class gated suburbs which spread in the urban arena and intensify the urban fragmentation and social polarisation.

Third chapter is based on the evaluation of arguments about the middle class, specifically the new upper-middle class, who are conceived as the primary client group of the houses (and the lifestyle) in the gated communities. Such an evaluation is indispensable since the gated communities in the contemporary urban areas play an important role in the reproduction of middle and upper classes. Moreover, it is obvious that it is these strata of the societies which are engaged in the sustainability of the positive rate of accumulation by both contributing the large scale speculative building activities and by stimulating the financial system which provides loans for the builders and consumers.

It was the upper and middle classes which segregated themselves by settling in the remote suburbs for decades. After the reorganisation of the economy with a more flexible accumulation model in a global scale, it was the new upper-middle class whose level of segregation has increased by moving into the fortified, gated communities which constituted "welfare" enclaves in the urban space that had already fragmented. Third chapter also

consists of short reviews of various studies concerning class positions of Turkish urban population. The first one of these models is developed by Korkut Boratav (1995) and rests on Marxian understanding. The second one developed by "Data Research Company" (Veri Araştırma Şirketi – Sosyo-ekonomik statü endeksi) rests on both Weberian and Marxian foundations. Although they both have problematical points, their attempts of relating the empirical realm with the theoretical discussions provide a ground of discussion for arguments on class in Turkey. Similar measures will be employed in discussing the data gathered from the fieldwork in Angora since it is argued in this thesis that Angora Houses is an upper-middle class community.

In the fourth chapter, the gated community practice is analysed within the context of contemporary urban space and its transformation. It is obvious that, the most important motto behind the formation of these communities is the exclusion of the unwanted; the urban poor and the outcast group which are conceived as threatening the comfort and life(style) of the upper classes. Such exclusion is made possible by privatising the public spaces, erecting physical barriers such as walls and fences and imposing control on citizens either by private guards or surveillance systems. However, gated communities, although display quite similar characteristics, are not totally homogenous. They differ because of the facts such as class status of their residents, the level of fortification and their geographical position. In order to evaluate the similarities and differences that these communities display, the study on the gated communities in the United States, carried out by E. Blakely and M. G. Snyder and a research made by Teresa Caldeira on such communities in Sao Paulo will be evaluated. Lastly in this chapter, the problems arising because of the existence of such exclusive communities, such as privatisation of the public realm and obliteration of urban democracy, will be discussed before considering the residential differentiation and evolution of gated communities in the urban areas of Turkey.

In the fifth chapter, the urbanisation process in Turkey since the proclamation of the Republic is examined by especially focusing on the post-1980 period. The urbanisation in Turkey since 1923 has been a capitalist process and the urban space has been shaped by different waves of urbanisation until 1980s. A special emphasis is given to the post-1980 period because it was in this period that the Turkish economy has become more integrated into the global capitalism and the state gave up most of its regulatory functions which in the long run resulted in the deprivation of the lower middle and lower classes. Moreover, it was again in this period that the competition among different classes in appropriating the urban surplus has increased after the state gave up its intermediary role and the urban space became more open to speculations. One of the competing groups in the urban arena was the upper segment of the new middle class, whose welfare has increased considerably due to the increased rate of capital accumulation in the private sector.

The post-1980 period can be theorised as a period of increasing fragmentation of urban areas and residential differentiation among different classes in Turkey. The well off middle and upper classes started to move to the suburbs in the outskirts of major cities and segregated themselves in the isolated spaces remote from the city centre. Moreover, in the mid 1990s, a differentiation even among these suburbs has occurred. New gated communities with luxurious facilities and fortification systems were started to be introduced to the upper-middle class consumers. Although it was in İstanbul where these new communities mushroomed and enclosed lifestyle became popular, Ankara has adapted itself to the trend quickly. Today, the middle and upper class Ankaraites move to the gated communities in the suburban areas or in the city centre. Therefore, the urban space in the capital city is becoming more fragmented as the rate of privatised spaces increase.

Sixth chapter is based on the description of Angora Houses, a gated community in Beytepe, Ankara. The settlement in Angora Houses has started 5 years ago and although the building

activity is still going on, the community today has nearly 3.000 inhabitants living in three major types of houses; villas, row houses and apartment houses in multi-storey buildings.

When its location is considered Angora Houses is a suburban community remote from the city centre. It is surrounded by a wire fence and at the entrance gate there is a control point where there always are private security guards. The guards also patrol in the "private" streets of the community. In this sense it is designed and administered to be a fortified, gated community. The prices of houses, depending on their type and design are between $ 90.000 and $ 300.000. Moreover, consumers need to pay extra money which ranges between $60.000 and $ 150.000 in order to finalise the rough construction according to their tastes. When their purchasing power – especially when the amount of money paid to the houses are taken into account – and other factors such as their occupational status and consumption habits are considered the residents can be classified as the upper-middle class if not the capital owners. Shortly, Angora Houses is an upper-middle class, gated community in Ankara which displays the basic characteristics of such communities in other parts of Turkey and throughout the world. The analysis of Angora Houses will enable us to evaluate the actual conditions of such communities in Turkish urban context and to theorise the socio-economic and cultural positions of the gated community residents. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are used in the fieldwork in addition to the data collected from the Promotion and Sales Office of the Barmek Construction Firm, the builder of the community. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about the economic, social and cultural statuses of the residents. Moreover, the basic concepts which define suburban gated communities such as, the concern of security and the interaction or embeddedness to the city life were the focus of the questionnaire. In addition to the data collected from the questionnaires, deep interviews with some participants were carried out in order to integrate the everyday stories and experiences about living in such a community to the thesis.

One of the main concerns of the thesis is to make a comparison between "taken for granted" aspects which come into agenda especially when theoretical arguments about gated communities are raised and everyday life aspects which exhibit different aspects from generalisations and theoretical arguments. Therefore, in the final part of the thesis, the gated community "theories" and generalisations will be compared with the findings from the actual data obtained from the fieldwork. Only after making such a comparison, we will be able to evaluate the conditions which give rise to the mushrooming of such communities in the urban fabric of Ankara as well as these communities' role in increasing fragmentation of urban space and increasing polarisation in social structure.

CHAPTER 2

SUBURBANISATION AS A WAVE OF URBANISATION

2.1. Introduction

There has been a long debate over suburbanisation in which contrasting views from different schools of thought are presented. However, there is one point which those different points of views seem to agree upon, that is; the process which we call suburbanisation today, occurred around the 19th century, when a massive industrialisation movement affected both the pace and the structure of urbanisation. Therefore, before jumping into the debate about suburbanisation, a short gaze to the discussions about urbanisation, especially urbanisation in the industrial era, will be meaningful.

It is obvious that there is an interaction between the built environment and social life. One of the most important scholars who has theorised this interaction is Louis Wirth. Wirth, with the article *Urbanism as a Way of Life,* has conceptualised this relationship mostly as a "one way" interaction in which the built environment (city) is considered to be an influential actor in the social life of man. According to Wirth, cities are "the initiating and controlling centres of economic, political, and cultural life" and the melting-pot of people from different cultures and races who are "useful" to each other (Wirth, 1995: 58). However, diversity is not the only outcome of the concentration of masses in cities. Moreover, the large size of population leads to the representation mechanism and collective consciousness. The representation mechanism, which is inevitable because of the crowded population, gives way

to the operation of pressure groups. Interest units are formed in cities where the territorial unit as a basis of social solidarity is absent (Wirth, 1995: 79).

One the one hand, we see Wirth's approach which considers factors imposed to social life of men by the built environment, but on the other there are different arguments which conceptualise the city as the realisation of social relations in the spatial dimension. At this point, a different perspective comes into agenda. Richard Walker -in contrast to Wirth's conceptualisation of the relation between man and the built environment- approaches the concept of space as the outcome of social relations among men. According to the Walker, the city is the "container" for the capital and capitalist relations (Walker, 1981: 405). From this point of view, the construction of built environment is the process of the flow of capital into the fixed capital formation which is realised in the period of overaccumulation.

David Harvey also theorises suburbanisation as an integral part of the capitalist mode of production and asserts that it is indeed a created "myth". For him, the reasons behind such a "creation" is as follows: 1) Suburbanisation sustains an effective demand for products and therefore facilitates the accumulation of capital. 2) The formation of white-collar workers with the changing division of labour in the capitalist society who, largely by virtue of their literacy and work conditions, adapted the ideology of competitive and possessive individualism which is quite appropriate for the production of a mode of consumption called suburban (Harvey, 1985: 122). From the point of view of Harvey's former student, Neil Smith, this process can also be viewed as the survival strategy of the capital. It is not only the period of overaccumulation but also times of crisis that capital is switched from industry into the built environment (Smith, 1997: 352).

Wirth's theorising of city as a totally heterogeneous entity, is also severely criticised by Herbert Gans in the article; *Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life.* Gans' arguments

are not only limited to the criticism of Wirth, but also are targeted to analyse the structure of suburbanisation. According to Gans, heterogeneity which Wirth described as the most important feature of cites, is practiced in the "transient" parts of the city because of residential instability not because of the number and/or density of population. Moreover, residential segregation of homogenous people is seen in the "outer city" rather than the distinct neighbourhoods in the inner city (Gans, 1995: 176). The debate over urbanisation includes suburbanisation as a sub-topic and inevitably leads to the discussion of this phenomenon. In the next section, suburbanisation will be analysed by again comparing the different views on that subject.

2.2. Genesis of Suburbanisation

As stated before, suburbanisation is generally considered as a process which is bound up with industrialisation. However, according to Lewis Mumford, the motivation behind choosing a suburban life, "to withdraw like a monk and live like a prince", had been a quite popular idea all through the history among the upper class members of the society (Mumford, 1961: 484). Before the advancement of rapid transformation and communication techniques, the "suburban pleasure" was appropriated by the ruling class who had the privilege to benefit from the fruits of a rural surrounding while at the same time carrying out urban occupations. The upper class commitment of suburbanisation can be explained by both pull and push factors. It both meant an escape from the polluted and crowded city and a refuge in "the house in a park" (Mumford, 1961: 484), where both relaxation and reproduction of cultural values were possible.

When talking about suburbs and suburbanisation, the first concept introduced in the discussion is class. Mumford proposes the rural enclaves of the ruling class and aristocracy as the first examples of suburbs. 19th century suburbanisation in England during the

industrial revolution is also seen an upper class "solution" developed to overcome the detrimental effects of industrial cities. Moreover, suburbs not only served the idea of spatial segregation of upper classes but also the social segregation was one of the most important targets. Thus, the concept of decentralisation is only one side of the coin which is not enough to explain the whole concept of suburbanisation. In this sense, the suburbanisation of upper classes had been an effort which aimed at moving away not only from the industrial areas but also from the working class living near those areas. Friedrich Engels, in his book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, stresses the significance of the spatial segregation of the rich from the poor in 19th century English cities and describes the working class dwellings as follows:

> True, poverty often dwells in hidden alleys close to the palaces of the rich; but, in general a separate territory has been assigned to it, where, removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can. These slums are pretty equally arranged in all the great towns of England, the worst houses in the worst quarters of the towns; usually one or two-storied cottages in long rows, perhaps with cellars used as dwellings, almost always irregularly built… The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. Moreover, ventilation is impeded by the bad, confused method of building of the whole quarter, and since many human beings here live crowded into a small space, the atmosphere that prevails in these working-men's quarters may readily be imagined (Engels, 1987: 70-71).

As industrialisation speeded up and cities expanded, the idea of suburbanisation has been adapted also by middle and upper-middle classes and set as a goal to be achieved. Twentieth century suburbia, different from nineteenth century suburbs which were formed by the bourgeois elite, became the dwelling unit of the middle class (Fishman, 1997: 32). One of the most important reasons behind this was the improved transportation and communication facilities which eased the movement of upper and middle classes to the urban fringe. Moreover, the vast amount of land needed to establish a middle class life was found in

reasonable costs in the outskirt of cities, which were considered as easy to defend against the intrusion of lower classes at the same time (Walker, 1981: 397).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, industrial facilities were displaced from the inner city to the countryside. This displacement of industry also lead to a movement of working class to the outskirts of cities. Therefore, lower middle class and working class were also decentralised to an extent before the First World War (Walker, 1981: 396). However, the decentralisation of these classes which was facilitated by the driving force of moving near industrial facilities, did not create a lifestyle that can be called "suburban" and therefore differentiated from the movement of middle classes. The decentralised residences of the working class were unlike the "green ghettos" of middle classes. It was not the romantic suburban villa image, but a depressed environment just like the one in the inner city, that was realised in the decentralised working class neighbourhoods (Mumford, 1961: 492). Different from the decentralisation of the working class, upper-middle class suburban experience had an ideological content which was developed as a solution to the problem of class reproduction (Walker, 1981: 392). Preservation of nuclear family, property ownership and local political power were the most important figures of this suburban lifestyle.

However, at this point it is important to note that suburbanisation has not been a universal process practiced by every industrialised country. The suburbanisation was an Anglo-American way of "solution" to urban problems. Although in the twentieth century, the bourgeoisie in France was as developed as its English and American counterparts and possessed the same means of transportation and communication, Paris had undergone a different process than Anglo – American cities. Robert Fishman explains the reasons behind this difference as follows:

> The example of Paris proves that middle-class suburbanisation was never the inevitable fate of the bourgeoisie. With bourgeois commitment to a distinctly

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urban culture, the central city could be rebuilt to suit their values. Bu this rebuilding was impossible without a government willing to intervene massively both in the housing market and in the urban fabric. In the nineteenth century, suburbia represented the path of small-scale enterprise and laissez-faire. The great Parisian boulevards lined with rows of apartment houses expressed the union of middle – class values with authoritarian planning…In the absence of Napoleon III and the autocratic French state, there could be no American Haussmann (Fishman, 1997: 43).

If one of the most important developments in the formation of suburbs is industrial revolution, the other milestone is the Second World War. The spatial differentiation called suburbanisation spread in Anglo - American cities as an outcome of the capitalist development of the division of labour (Walker, 1981: 385), realised after industrialisation. The significance of the Second World War in the history of suburbanisation lies in the fact that it became a mass movement and a "way of life" even for the large proportion of the working class in the United States.

2.3. Suburbanisation in the Post-war Era

After the Second World War, a new period of urban renewal started especially in the countries whose cities have faced the destructive effects of war. Although not ruined under the bombs, cities in the United States have also undergone restructuring, triggered by war time effort of mass production which became one of the most important means of achieving a "post-war renaissance". In this period, different countries sought different solutions and followed different paths for urban renewal and restructuring. Suburbanisation which started in the industrialised cities of 19th century Britain was to become an American phenomenon since Britain and the United States have followed different urban strategies and policies after the war.

British, after adopting a town and country planning legislation, targeted to restrict suburbanisation and promoted new-town development in order to eliminate slums, and promote equality (Harvey, 1990: 69). Just like Britain, many other European countries followed similar policies in order to achieve growth and welfare both at the social and spatial levels. However, different from the European solution, the strategy developed in the United States lead to a suburban boom in the post-war era. According to David Harvey, this was due to the weakly controlled suburbanisation which was privately developed but subsidised by government (Harvey, 1990: 69). Moreover, investments in highway construction and other infrastructures needed in suburban settlements, speeded up this process. William Whyte, in his 1957 book, *Organisational Man*, conceptualised suburbanisation as a demand and supply relationship between the senior managers, professionals and their companies. According to Whyte, organisation man was tied into the demands and dictates of the company which he worked and accepting the need for spatial mobility and relocation was one of these dictates. Therefore, these men, leaving behind their family roots in small town America, started to lead a highly regularised way of life, which was, for them, an achieved respectability (Whyte, 1957, cited in Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 102).

As stated before, the increases in real incomes combined with the policies which encouraged single-family homeownership, resulted in the flow of lower middle class and upper working class into suburban areas which once were previously available only for upper and upper-middle classes (Gans, 1995: 178). Moreover, the working class families had suburbanised in order to be near to the employment opportunities which were available in industrial areas situated on the fringe of cities.

Suburban lifestyle, in the first decades after the war, also lead to a specific organisation of family which was based on gender inequality. The unpaid labour of suburban women contributed greatly to the household economy by eliminating the wages of servants and

workers that had to be hired otherwise. Moreover, women in suburbia, before promoting to be full time chauffeurs (Mumford, 1961), were far from owning the means of transport which were then meant also the means of emancipation. As Tim Butler puts it:

> Suburbia was a 'cage', particularly for women, who were unable to get to work even if they had wanted to because of the absence of suitable transportation (the car still being a largely male possession), the lack of available child-care and other domestic labour, and the paucity of appropriate jobs (Butler, 1997: 15).

According to Mumford, the mass movement into suburbs made the suburbia a part of the "inescapeable metropolis" (Mumford, 1961: 505). This was because of the fact that the population limit to achieve a "semi-rural perfection" had been overpassed in the post-war era. Moreover, with the promotion of the automobile as the individualised means of transportation alternative in the suburbs made the pedestrian scale disappear and therefore lead to disappearance of neighbourhood atmosphere (Mumford, 1961). This process ended up in the transformation of a suburban area into one of the centres of a multicentered urban structure. In the post-war suburbia, nearly all central city facilities such as industry, shopping malls, hospitals, universities, cultural centres and parks could be seen (Fishman, 1997: 33).

As a result of the mass movement into suburbs, especially in the United States, most suburban areas have lost their distinctiveness and importance as a provider of an alternative lifestyle and transformed into heterogeneous, polluted and crowded settlements which also had the burden of transportation to the city centre for those who were still working there. Moreover, uniformity in both planned environment and architecture transformed the "suburban dream" into "suburban boredom" and the suburban escape, for most of suburbanites, has become a low-grade uniform environment from which escape has been impossible (Mumford, 1961: 486).

2.4. Is Gentrification the End of the Suburban History?

The suburban disappointment summarised above combined with a shift in the world economy which resulted in significant changes in the class structure of developed countries after 1980s, lead to the flow of capital from suburban areas into inner city areas. This contemporary "trend" in urbanisation was called gentrification. However, gentrification did not result in a dramatic decline in the population of suburbs. Rather it was the newly emerging group of employees, called "the new middle class" or "yuppies" or "white collar employees" who chose to live in the city centre, not those living in suburbs which had become a part of the city (Smith, 1996: 92; Butler, 1997: 37). Reasons behind the formation of this "new" class (or the transformation in the socio-economic conditions of members of different classes) will be discussed in forecoming chapters, however, a short description of this transformation is important at this point in order to trace the reasons behind gentrification and understand its effects on suburbanisation.

Although there were some efforts spent by upper classes to settle in the "rehabilitated" districts of the inner city in the late 1960s and 70s, gentrification as a "new wave" of urbanisation occurred mainly after 1980s. 1980s was the decade in which the capital accumulation processes in advanced capitalist countries had undergone structural changes. "Winds of change" in this period restructured city centres which have been headquarters of production and centre of markets through history. Neil Smith summarises this symbiotic relationships between different modes of production and urban centres as follows:

> If, in the precapitalist city, it was the needs of the market exchange which lead to spatial centralisation, and in the industrial capitalist city it was the agglomeration of production capital, in the advanced capitalist city it is the financial and administrative dictates which perpetuate the tendency toward centralisation (Smith, 1997: 351).

The shift in the economic activities in city centres from production to finance and administration in the advanced capitalist countries also changed the composition of labour needed at those centres. The small portion of blue collar workers who were still earning their lives in small scale manufacturing facilities, were driven out from city centres to either outskirts or lower class suburban areas in the era of the shift of economic activities from manufacturing to services. It was white collar urban professionals that superseded this group of blue collar workers at city centres as more and more office buildings opened instead of factories and manufacturing facilities. Even a stereotypical description of a gentrifier was formulated. According to this widely accepted description, gentrifiers were middle and upper- middle class single people or young couples, who were normally childless. They were not considered as suburbanites returning to the city but rather as city dwellers remaining within the city (Butler, 1997: 37).

The effect of suburbanisation in the process of gentrification was significant. The flow of capital to suburban areas for decades and policies promoting suburbanisation had caused to an inner city decay. As a result, there occurred a rent gap between "liveable" suburbs and inner cities which for a long time have been considered as areas of deterioration, crime and pollution. However, this rent gap became one of the most important sources in a process leading to gentrification since it was more profitable to rehabilitate and repair the inner city building stock than investing in a new suburban construction (Smith, 1997: 346).

Despite being a feasible trend and a promoted consumption pattern in urbanisation, gentrification has never been a mass movement as suburbanisation. Moreover, gentrifiers are considered as more vulnerable to economic crisis than suburbanite population and therefore assumed to decrease in number in crisis times. According to Gans, if the boom time in professional service employment ends, the number of white collar "yuppies" would quickly shrink. Moreover, for him even when single professionals marry and have children, they

move to suburbs in the search of a better family life (Gans, 1995: 189). Smith (1997) argues that it is not the whole middle class or white collar employees who prefer to live or sustain their lives in the rehabilitated central city districts. This is closely related with the fact that while some white collar activities such as routine clerical systems associated with administration and organisation and management of governmental and corporate activities which have been already suburbanised still function on the periphery, other activities such as central decision making in the form of corporate and governmental headquarters persist at the city centre. As a result, although gentrification can be understood as an alternative "segregation" formula developed especially by "new elites" of the late 20th century, it does not end up in a "back to the city centre" movement. It is a widely accepted idea today that it is not the suburbanites of the old days who choose to move to the city centre to work or live, rather vice versa, it is the gentrifiers of today who would presumably move to suburbs some of which are still attractive with the provision of certain services that central city can not provide.

2.5. Theorising Suburbanisation:

There is a vast literature about suburbs and suburbanisation. Therefore, there have also been various attempts of defining what the suburb is. Among these, one of the most widely accepted definitions was formulated by Robert Fishman. Fishman defines suburbs first by what they include, that is; middle class residences, and second by what they exclude, that is, all industry, most commerce except for enterprises that serve a residential area and all lower class residents except servants where all the social and economic characteristics are expressed in landscape and architectural design (Fishman, 1997: 25). However, when we consider the arguments in the preceding sections (section: 2.3.), we see that this description, points to an "ought to be" situation rather than defining what the suburbs "are" today. It is true that at the beginning suburbs served the "withdrawal" of upper and middle classes.

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However, post-war suburbanisation was realised by nearly all segments of the society in advanced capitalist countries especially in the United States. The utopian idea, "marriage" of the rural with urban seems to have vanished since suburbs of today are integrated parts of metropolitan areas and therefore metropolitan life in most cases.

Herbert Gans advocates that suburbs are not the only residential areas where homogeneity is realised and sustained (Gans, 1995: 182). His approach is also based on the idea that suburbs are integral parts of the city rather than being autonomous units. As summarised in the first section, Gans states that homogeneity is the characteristic feature of all neighbourhood units which are settled in the "outer city". The "outer city" consists of "segregated" neighbourhoods of people who choose to live among distinct neighbourhoods on the basis of place and nature of work, income, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status, custom, habit, taste, preference and prejudice. Moreover, it is not only the suburbs which settlement is based on uniformity but also other "outer city" residents live on blocks of uniform structures as well (Gans, 1995,: 181). However, even Gans admits that there is a "distinct" suburban lifestyle in sociological terms. He defines this lifestyle as a "quasi-primary" lifestyle which is more intimate than a secondary contact experienced in economic institutions and workplaces, however, more guarded than a primary one because of the strong emphasis of privacy in a suburban life (Gans, 1995: 177).

Suburbanisation can also be analysed in different scales. These are urban and national scales. Neil Smith (1997), from an economic perspective argues that suburbanisation is a decentralisation process when evaluated from urban perspective. However, he advocates that suburban movement, which means at the same time an outward expansion of centralised urban places, also represents the centralisation of capital which leads to the growth of towns into cities and metropolitan areas when analysed at the national scale.

Among all the attempts in theorising suburbanisation, some of which have been explained above, one of the most comprehensive formulation was developed by Richard Walker. Walker in his article; *A Theory of suburbanisation: Capitalism and the Construction of Urban Space in the United States* (1981), identifies three major defining characteristics of suburbanisation. These are: Spatial differentiation, decentralisation and waves of urbanisation. As a combination of these three characteristics, suburbs are the realisation of spatial differentiation which is an outcome of capitalist division of labour. However, both the "white collar" and "blue collar" worker neighbourhoods decentralised as forces of aggregation dissolved and city centres repelled this population. These two tendencies, namely spatial segregation and decentralisation have not developed independently, rather they were triggered by the waves of urbanisation in the capitalist era in which a symbiotic relationship determined both the capital accumulation and the built environment.

David Harvey argues that this capitalist wave of urbanisation has indeed contradictory consequences for the system itself. According to him, residential differentiation, in the long run, creates contradictions for the sustainable capitalist growth. In the case of suburbs, this problem can be theorised as the limitation of growth since the suburbs are based on the idea of "preservation" of certain life-styles and privileges. Because of the promotion of such conservative ideas, suburbs are not open to change and growth which is necessary for a positive rate of accumulation (Harvey, 1985: 122). Another dilemma is the fragmentation of the society into different communities. The residential differentiation produces community-consciousness among certain type of individuals living in a certain environment. According to Harvey (1985: 120), as this kind of consciousness becomes the basis for political action, community-consciousness replaces class- consciousness. Therefore, the danger of an emergent class-consciousness is avoided in the capitalist city. However, it is also very hard to unite different "communities" in the direction of national interest which is based on

capital accumulation in capitalist societies. In this sense the formation of communities is once again antagonistic to the interests of capitalism.

When the debate over suburbanisation is reconsidered, it is obvious that suburbanisation is still an urban phenomenon whether approached as an integral part of the metropolitan area or theorised as sub-cities. However one thing is certain, that is; suburbanisation is not an upper class phenomenon anymore. Therefore, today, the upper class demand of segregation has transformed into a new urban utopia: Gated Communities. This contemporary urban phenomenon which is a "new wave" of urbanisation among upper segments of the society is not restricted to advanced capitalist countries. It is a global phenomenon practiced in the Third World cities as well as those in the developed countries.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSFORMATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS
AND THE NEW UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS

3.1. Introduction

One of the most important mottos of urbanisation in the industrial age was the migration from rural areas to urban areas in order to supply the huge amount of labour power needed for the developing "labour intensive" industries. In this process, as the rural population which had transformed into the urban population of industrialised societies exhausted, population in urban areas increased rapidly.

However after the introduction of advanced technologies into the production processes, corporate reorganisation, and the increasing participation of women in the labour force competition in the labour market increased and the majority of so called "industrial reserve army" transformed into "urban poor". Accompanying these changes was the rapid growth of employment and economic activities in the service industries in both public and private sectors (Mingione, 1981: 56). The outcome of these transformations was an increase in social polarisation which was due to the increase in the number of higher paid jobs (in producer services, high tech manufacturing, the media, etc.), increase in the number of low paid jobs (in routine clerical positions, retail sales, etc.), and a decrease in middle income

jobs (skilled blue-collar manufacturing) (Knox, 1993: 21). Shortly according to this point of view, in recent decades, the size of the one portion of the middle class grew –and according to some theorists "new" middle classes emerged – while another part of this class has shrunk. According to Ayşe Öncü (1997: 70), globalisation also played an important role in this restructuring of middle classes by strengthening the upper segments of the middle strata at the expense of worsening conditions for the lower middle class who are faced with the prospect of downward mobility.

The expansion of a part of the middle class and the alliance of this group with the bourgeoisie in most cases had its own political consequences. Tom Bottomore (1992: 45), argued that the 'service class', the growing part of the middle class, did not displace the capitalist class in the domination of the society, nor did it merge with the capitalist class to any considerable extent. It played an important part in the management and regulation of many vital economic and social agencies (public and private corporations, the administration of welfare), but primarily in a subaltern role as the executor of decisions made elsewhere. As the middle class has grown, the diversity of civil society increased and thus new forms of political activities have arisen. However, this lead to the diminishing of class based politics mostly at the expense of working-class interests since a large part of the middle class tended to support the capitalist economic order and the interests of the "governing elite" (Bottomore, 1992: 45).

These changes in economical, political and social spheres, also transformed the urbanisation patterns from the second half of the 20th century. As argued in the previous chapter, relatively, uniform suburbs have gradually lost their significance as being a bourgeois and a middle class utopia. However as time passed, wealthy upper class citizens of capitalist societies, were offered new residential consumption and lifestyle patterns which would be

considered as urban reflections of socio-economic differentiation. One of these patterns was gated communities.

In this chapter, arguments about the new middle classes, the purchasers of this new "urban" lifestyle, will be discussed. Analysing the whole theoretical framework regarding the arguments about the concept of middle class is beyond the extent of this work. However, a short gaze to these arguments – especially by concentrating on the transformation that the middle classes have undergone – will be very helpful in determining the class character of gated communities.

It is obvious that capitalist industrialised societies are still stratified, "class societies". At the top there are the members of upper class owning and controlling the means of production and dominating the working class whose principal "capital" is labour power. Shortly, capitalist societies can be defined by the exploitation relationship between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited working class. However, when we consider empirical evidences as well as theoretical, we see that things are not as black and white as they seem to be. Erik Olin Wright, a Marxist class scholar, criticised the Marxist commitment to conceptualise the class relations in advanced capitalist societies as strictly polarised. According to him, the classical analysis based on the polarised class structure between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was not adequate in defining the concept of middle class in a situation where, "the concrete class structures of contemporary advanced capitalist societies looked anything but polarised" (Wright, 1989: 3). At this point however, there are different approaches in defining and "classifying" middle classes. Therefore, these approaches should be discussed before analysing the transformation that these classes have undergone and before comparing the "old" and the "new" middle classes.

3.2. Analysing the Middle Class: Different Approaches

Analysing the middle class has been a problematic task for schools of classical social theory. This problem was mostly due to the heterogeneous character of its members in terms of ownership, profession, social status, etc., namely, the differentiation within the middle class. There have been different paths followed by scholars in defining middle classes and in categorising them in the social stratification schemes. In a broader sense, classical social theory has developed three ways in analysing the middle classes. The first way is to place them into either the dominant or the subordinate groups, namely the bourgeoisie and the working class. The second strategy is based on providing a descriptive approach about the "middle strata" of societies and therefore abandoning their specificity. The third way in contrast to the second one was targeted to explore how the middle classes can be social classes in their own right (Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 1).

3.2.1. Marxist Approaches in Analysing the Middle Class

Various Marxist commitments in analysing the middle class notion have been discussed broadly by Tom Bottomore in the book; *Classes in Modern Society*. Bottomore (1992: 43-45) asserts that Marxist theory has followed two different paths in analysing the class position of the middle class. The first group of theorists argue that the middle class after increasingly become propertyless, gets closer to the working class and as time goes by merges with it. However, the second group of Marxist theorists, including Poulantzas, argue that middle class (petty bourgeoisie) is a distinct class between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Apart from this thesis E.O. Wright with his notion of contradictory class locations rejects the proleterianisation thesis and argues that the middle class members occupy working class positions and rooms in the bourgeoisie at different times. Some members of the group which rejects the proleterianisation thesis such as Urry and

Abercrombie argue that middle class members (service class) take on as the capitalism advances and concentrate within itself the functions of capital and therefore merge in a new type of dominant class.

The relationship of the contradictory class locations – the notion introduced by Wright – to the class struggle is also based on various different strategies. They can use their position as an exploiter, they can attempt to build an alliance with the dominant exploiting class, or they can sometimes form some kind of alliance with the exploited class (Wright, 1989: 30). All of these strategies are pursued by contradictory locations under different conditions. For instance in some cases, members of this stratum are offered prestigious posts and high salaries by the exploiting class in order to be made their interests tied to the bourgeoisie. However, in some cases, contradictory locations forge an alliance with the exploited classes especially when they are affected by proleterianisation and deskilling process manipulated by the exploiting class.

At this point, we shall introduce another strategy followed in analysing the middle class, pursued by another wing of Marxist tradition, which according to Poulantzas was relayed by social democratic tradition into the strategy of "third road" between capitalism and socialism. Poulantzas (1978: 196) argues that according to this tradition, the middle class is defined on the basis of income criteria, and criteria of mental attitudes and of psychological motivations. The middle class in this sense is supposed to be the result of dissolution of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in a melting pot by the embourgeoisement of a larger and larger section of the working class and the declassing of a larger and larger section of the bourgeoisie. The political implications of this process would be the dissolution of class antagonism. However, Poulantzas argues that using the term "class" would be quite pointless in conceptualising this "group" which is expected to dissolve the class struggle. According to him, this tertiary sector should be considered as belonging to various different

classes if the traditional Marxist conception of social classes is maintained, namely, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the working class (Poulantzas, 1978: 197).

Linking the middle classes to either the dominant or to the subordinate class interests is not pursued only by Marxist theoreticians. Max Weber, himself saw the middle class as a "lieutenant class" performing certain functions for other classes or groups. According to him, the middle classes – within the bureaucratic processes – were functionaries for the process of domination (Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 3).

3.2.2. Weberian Approach in Analysing the Middle Class

The social theory of Max Weber rests on a totally different ground than Marx. Anthony Giddens (1981: 46) argues that in Marx's model of analysing the capitalist society, the analyses proceeds from economic to political. However, in Weber's model the political realm is used as a framework for understanding the economic. For Weber, it is not the capitalist mode of production that gave rise to the modern rational state but it is indeed it is the bureaucraticised state that preceded the capitalist mode of production.

According to Weber, a class situation is typical of market economy and the presence of classes as historical social groups is only possible with the existence of a market economy (Milner, 1999: 67). Different from Marx's theorisation of classes, for Weber there can be as many classes in a market economy as possible, since differences in income and property ownership give way to a plurality of class situations. However, the examples that Weber gives, resembles Marx's categories and he also theorises a "middle stratum": the "working class", the "lower middle class", "the privileged classes" and the "intelligentsia" (Milner, 1999: 68). Weber, unlike Marx, does not adhere any historical "mission" to these classes, such as any revolutionary character. Despite the plurality social classes that exist in

Weberian theory, there are two major groups, namely, ownership classes and acquisition classes. The members of the first group has a property that is usable for returns, the second group possesses services that can be exchanged in the market (Giddens, 1981: 42). However, the middle class, standing in between these two groups also differentiate in itself. Among these are the positively privileged and negatively privileged middle classes. The first group members have some amount of property whereas the latter lacks both the property and the marketable skills. Moreover, among the propertyless, the ones who have marketable skills are in a different class situation than those who have only unskilled labour (Giddens, 1981: 43). Shortly, according to Weber, it is the different combinations of possessions and skills that define one's market position and therefore his/her class situation.

Another concept, which is of central importance to Weberian sociology, is status. Weber conceptualised status as a source of inequality as well as class. Contemporary sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Zygmund Bauman, who follow cultural studies in analysing the stratification in contemporary societies, are influenced by this approach in varying degrees. Their arguments and Weberian approach to the concept of status will be analysed in the last part of this chapter in more detail while evaluating the debates about "the new middle class".

According to Weber, the interplay of class situation and class position "might" lead a consciousness and a collective action among the members of a "social class". At this point, Weber once again exhibits a break from Marxist theory, since he encounters "status" as a vital variable. The notion of the social class for Weber is the plurality of class statuses and can become an effective social actor if there is a capacity to concentrate on rival class opponents, a common class status shared by large masses of people, the technical possibility of coming together physically and a leadership directed towards readily attainable goals (Milner, 1999: 68).

The debate about the class character of the middle classes, which is about their position as a distinct class or as an intermediate group somewhere between (or within) the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, still remains as a complex issue when the concept, "social class" is introduced into the analysis. In their book, *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture* (1992), Mike Savage, James Barlow, Peter Dickens and Tony Fielding argue that middle classes are social classes in their own right. According to them, social classes are stable social collectivities and groups of people with shared levels of income and remuneration, lifestyles, cultures, political orientations, etc. However, they also argue that, "in order for a social collectivity to be regarded as a social class, it has to have its roots in a process of exploitation" (Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 5).

Poulantzas (1978: 14), from the Marxist camp, also argues that the economic place of agents alone is an insufficient criteria in determining their class positions. Therefore, he also advocates the Marxist tradition's emphasis of the importance of the concept of social class. Poulantzas uses the term "social class" while referring to the "superstructure", that is; the political and ideological relations. According to Poulantzas, only a conceptual mental/manual labour division is not a sufficient basis to determine the class character of various groups. He argues that determining the position of different groups in the political and ideological relations of the social division of labour is vital in such an attempt (Poulantzas, 1978: 251).

As summarised before, traditional Marxist argument theorizes "social" as a superstructure concept and in a subordinate position to the "economic" structure. Weber introduces the term status groups which are best understood in the realm of consumption not in the realm of production. Status groups are crystallised in the style of life and similar to classes which are based on the variable of property ownership, status groups have a correlation with the possession of property (Giddens, 1981: 44).

3.2.3. Pierre Bourdieu's Analysis of the Middle Class

For Pierre Bourdieu, the class-analysis meant to identify class-specific cultural practices (Milner, 1999: 136). According to Bourdieu:

> … A class or class fraction is defined not only by its position in the relations of production, as identified through indices such as occupation, income or even educational level, but also by a certain sex-ratio, a certain distribution in geographical space and by a whole set of subsidiary characteristics which may function, in the form of tacit requirements, as real principles of selection or exclusion without ever being formally stated (Bourdieu, 1986: 102).

Bourdieu conceptualises the formation of social groups as a result of the interplay between four different kinds of capital, namely; the economic capital (economic opportunities), the cultural capital (education and accessibility to information), social capital (social networks) and symbolic capital (value sytems and norms). He is primarily concerned with this dynamic interaction which results in class structuring or class formation (Crompton, 1993: 175). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the middle class formation is the result of such a dynamic process, in which cultural, organisational and skill assets are allocated in the struggle for position in the social space.

Bordieu criticised the conceptualisation of experts and intellectuals as a dominated fraction of the dominant class by, as either a "new working class" or a "new petite bourgeoisie" by neo-Marxists and as "service class" or a "new middle class" by neo-Weberians. Bourdieu proposed specific identities for the middle strata of the societies. Bourdieu's approach in analysing the middle class will be discussed in the forthcoming sections. However, before passing to such an argument and before introducing the commitment of different schools of thought in explaining the new middle classes, the processes which "transformed" these strata will be explained in the next section.

3.3. Restructuring of the World Economy: From Fordism to Post-Fordism

Up to this point, classical arguments about the middle class debate have been summarised. However, as stated in the beginning of this chapter, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle classes are designated as transformed with the restructuring of economy and with the transformation in contemporary capitalist societies. Therefore, theories about the "new middle class" and the "new petty bourgeoisie" are closely related with this shift in economical sphere. Scott Lash & John Urry in their book: *Economies of Sign and Space* (1994: 2), analysed this transformation in three different historical contexts. First, in nineteenth century "liberal" capitalism, different types of capital (money, the means of production, consumer commodities and labour power) was circulated locally within a region. Second, in twentieth century "organised" capitalism, these different types of capital came to flow on a national scale. Thirdly, in the era of "disorganisation" of capitalism, such a circulation shifted to international scale and necessitated more fragmented and flexible types of production.

Broadly, this last shift from Fordism to post-Fordism –or from "organised" capitalism to "disorganisation" of capitalism as Lash & Urry conceptualised – was reflected to the rhetoric of sociology as the shift from industrialism to post industrialism. Changes in production process and corporate reorganisation were closely associated with this shift. According to Lash & Urry (1994: 18-21), this shift was mainly due to the transformation of capital markets by three interlinked processes: "securitization", "deregulation" and "electronification". "Securitization" signifies a new relationship between banks and industrial firms. In this new relationship banks underwrite share issues and therefore directly involve in the business, rather than borrowing money to industrial firms. Secondly, "deregulation" which started in late 70s and speeded up in the 80s, resulted in the abolition of exchange controls on currencies and also enabled financial institutions to buy shares of

industrial firms in other countries. Finally, "electronification" provided investors and financial institutions from all over the world with reliable and detailed data and therefore contributed to the integration of different markets and increased the traffic of trade among these.

In general, Fordism refers to economic centrality of mass production which is based on de-skilled tasks and involving standardisation of products and the elimination of skilled by semi and unskilled labour. This process involves mass consumption of standardised products to be sold profitably. Fordism was open to "Keynesian" style state interventions which targeted to manage demand in economy in order to ensure the fluidity (Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 60). Post-Fordism, in contrast, is defined in terms of the shift from the mass production to specialised production in international level in which state intervention is replaced by strong "laissez-faire" policies and the celebrated neo-liberal ideals. In the core of the Fordist organised capitalist system, there were heavy industrial branches such as, motor, chemicals electrical and chemical industries. Sectors such as finance, services and distribution, were in the periphery of this organisational system. However in the post organised capitalism, the new core is clustered around information, communications and advanced producer services. Heavy industry is now "subordinate" to these sectors (Lash & Urry, 1994: 17).

As Gilles Deleuze (1997) puts it, today advanced capitalist countries relegated the task of production to Third World countries by only buying the finished products and assembling parts imported from them. The advanced capitalism has transformed itself from being the capitalism for production to the capitalism for the product and the marketing of these products. Shortly advanced capitalism has eliminated the factory and given way to the corporation. This shift, in turn, necessitated new organisational policies in capitalist

economies, and these new organisational policies lead to new formations and cleavages in the middle classes, which are "hired" by the dominant class.

In analysing the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism -or the transformation of the capitalism itself- some theoreticians employed occupation based class schemes. These schemes are arranged in a very broad sense and targeted to reflect the differences between industrial and post-industrial hierarchies on the basis of occupations. Gosta Esping-Andersen (1995: 24-25) is one of the scholars who have worked on the classification of occupations. His classification is as follows:

> 1. The fordist hierarchy:
> (a) managers and proprietors (includes executive personnel and the 'petit bourgeoisie';
> (b) clerical, administrative (non-managerial) and sale workers engaged in basically routine tasks of control, distribution and administration;
> (c) skilled/crafts manual production workers, including low level 'technical' workers;
> (d) unskilled and semi-skilled manual production workers, also including transport workers and other manual occupations engaged in manufacture and distribution, such as packers, truck drivers, haulers and the like.
> 2. The post-industrial hierarchy:
> (a) professionals and scientists;
> (b) technicians and semi-professionals (school teachers, nurses, social workers, laboratory workers, technical designers, etc.);
> (c) skilled service workers (cooks, hairdressers, policemen, etc.);
> (d) unskilled service workers, or service proletariat (cleaners, waitresses, bartenders, baggage porters, etc.).

Esping-Andersen argues that, both hierarchies combine a command/authority structure. However, he defends that the difference between them is seen clearly when the "fuzzy" command structure of the post-industrial hierarchy is considered as one of the most important outcomes of this dramatic institutional transformation.

Rosemary Crompton (1993: 193) indicated that, in the post-Fordist era, changes in the class structure have largely taken place below its topmost reaches. Middle classes largely eroded with the abolition of "cushioning" state welfare policies. However, this does not mean that

the middle classes have totally disappeared. Globalisation which has spread the "laissez-faire" ideals around the world also strengthened the upper strata of this middle grouping by creating new and lucrative employment opportunities for small number of its members. In the next section, the "new shape" that the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie took, in the post-Fordist era will be analysed by again comparing different views.

3.4. New Middle Classes and the New Petty Bourgeoisie

Analysis of the class character of the new petty bourgeoisie, and the new middle classes, has also been carried out in different paths as that of the "traditional" classes. Poulantzas, theorised these new classes under the spectacle of exploitation and argued that this heterogeneous group is divided into two camps on the basis of mental and manual labour. He did not put a special emphasis on the analysis of these "new" classes and his attempts in establishing a concrete general framework seem to be far from being comprehensive.

According to Poulantzas, the new petty bourgeoisie displays a contradictory standpoint because they neither belong to the bourgeoisie nor to the working class. They do not belong to the bourgeoisie because they are not economic owners and do not possess the means of production. Moreover, it is hard to claim that all of its members belong to the working class since some of its members are not productive labour in the Marxist sense. In his words, new petty bourgeois groupings are: "…wage earning employees who do not belong to the working class but are themselves exploited by capital, either because they sell their labour-power, or because of the dominant position of capital in the terms of exchange" (Poulantzas, 1978: 251). However, managers according to Poulantzas, belong to the capitalist class even if they do not "hold formal legal ownership" by exercising the powers in fulfilling the functions of capital. He claims that ideological and political relations that managers possess are a constitutive factor of their structural class determination and therefore make them an

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integral part of the bourgeois class (Poulantzas, 1978: 180). Poulantzas differentiates between the middle class and the working class on the basis of the division between mental and manual labour.

According to his point of view, the new petty bourgeoisie is located on the side of mental labour which is the common aspect in the kind of work involved in accounting, banking, insurance, services of various kinds, office work and the greater part of the civil service (Poulantzas, 1978: 258). The role of "superstructure" agents such as cultural elements and education, according to Poulantzas, also is an important factor in the break of this group from the working class. Similar to Bourdieu, he asserts that "the capitalist school" which plays an important role in the training of mental labour, reproduces the mental/manual labour division by disqualifying manual labour, by only qualifying mental labour (Poulantzas, 1978: 266).

However, different from Poulantzas, Bourdieu has theorised them in a grey area between black and white, namely; the bourgeoisie and the working class, especially by emphasising their struggle for "distinction" in the social sphere which relied on the interplay between cultural and economic capitals. According to Bourdieu, class analysis is based on identifying class specific cultural practices (Milner, 1999: 136). In constructing such a framework, he was influenced both by Marx and Weber. For him, cultural capital is as vital as economic capital in the possession of material and symbolic goods which are the source of distinction.

Bourdieu's insight has been frequently employed by theoreticians who are prone to analyse contemporary societies on the basis of consumption rather than production. Therefore, today, studying the consumerism is a widespread tendency among contemporary sociologists.

In his book: *Distinction, a social critique of the judgement of taste* (1986), Bourdieu focused on the social world and social transformation which was the result of the individual or collective classification struggles. According to him these classification struggles were the forgotten dimension of the class struggle (Bourdieu, 1986: 483). He conceptualised the formation of social groups by focusing on people's "investments" on cultural capital to realise economic capital and vice versa. Among various social groups, his main concern was about the "upper strata" of the society, namely, the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class. He emphasised three groups in his analysis. First, there is the dominant class which consisted of industrialists and managers of large scale capitalist enterprises. Second, the "new petty bourgeoisie", people in the service sector such as marketing, advertising, public relations, the media and the helping professions. Finally, there are the intellectuals who are low in economic capital but high in cultural capital. This group includes teachers, the artistic producers and the intellectuals (Savage, Barlow, Dickens, Fielding, 1992: 100). Among these three groupings, according to Bourdieu, "the new petty bourgeoisie" which is equipped with considerable amount of cultural capital compared to industrialists and managers, is the taste-setter and standard-bearer group for other two groups.

Taste is an important concept for Bourdieu. In his analysis, he conceptualised taste as a cohesive factor which brought things and people together (Bourdieu, 1986: 241). The new petty bourgeoisie, the taste-setter group is in constant struggle in the paradoxical realm of tastes. This realm is paradoxical, because according to Bourdieu, true basis of differences are found in the opposition between the tastes of luxury and the tastes of necessity (Bourdieu, 1986: 177). Therefore, for the new petty bourgeoisie there is a constant struggle for appropriating tastes of luxury rather than tastes of necessity while underlining their positions as distinct from that of the members of the working class. The struggle for appropriating tastes of luxury is undertaken in the realm of different lifestyles. In Bourdieu's words, the bond between the symbolic struggle and the life-style is as follows:

Struggles over the appropriation of economic or cultural goods are, simultaneously, symbolic struggles to appropriate distinctive signs in the form of classified, classifying goods or practices, or to conserve or subvert the principles of classification of these distinctive properties. As a consequence, the space of life-styles…is itself only the balance sheet, at a given moment, of the symbolic struggles over the imposition of the legitimate life-style, which are most fully developed in the struggles for the monopoly of the emblems of 'class'-luxury goods, legitimate cultural goods- or the legitimate manner of appropriating them (Bourdieu, 1986: 249).

As one moves to the upper parts of the social strata starting from the working class, the capacity to purchase the tastes of luxury increases and the struggle for appropriating certain symbols gets harsher. Commitment to "symbolic" becomes the key element of existence for the middle class and the basic strategy for the petty bourgeoisie. However, "the site par excellence" of symbolic struggles is the dominant class which is the most powerful group in appropriating cultural goods with vast economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 254). Despite this classification, Savage, Barlow, Dickens and Fielding (1992: 59) argue that after the contemporary restructuring, the middle classes adopted petty bourgeois values and for example property assets which have hitherto been of relatively marginal importance, have become more integrally tied to the processes of middle class formation and today increasing numbers of the middle class can draw upon both property and cultural assets. This proposition is supported by other examples of adoption of other elements what once were "petty bourgeois life-style", such as "healthy lifestyle", which according to Bourdieu, was a typical petty bourgeois symbol.

3.5. Analysing Middle Classes and the Petty Bourgeoisie in the "Consumers' Era"

As was stated in the beginning of this section, today most of the debates about the analysis of new middle classes and the new petty bourgeoisie are carried out by giving reference to several concepts signifying their "dedication" to consumption and the culture of consumption itself. However, before passing onto the arguments of scholars who have

"committed" themselves to consumption based social analysis, we would follow Bourdieu's arguments about the consumption habits of the upper segments of the society.

Consumption was designated an important role by Bourdieu in the process what he called the symbolic struggle. Moreover, in this struggle the concept of taste plays the most important role which according to Bourdieu is a typical bourgeois ideal. Basically, he sees a direct relationship between the tastes which are reflected as demands in the market and the production sphere in which both the products are developed and the tastes are determined. This according to Bourdieu is a dialectical relationship in which the field of production "enables taste to be realised by offering it, at each moment, the universe of cultural goods as a system of stylistic possibilities from which it can select the system of stylistic features constituting a life-style" (Bourdieu, 1986: 230). He goes further by claiming that every change in tastes will also result in a transformation in the field of production. Therefore, this dynamic process determines the nature of consumption and the struggle for appropriating goods. As tastes change constantly, values and status of goods are determined accordingly. In his words:

> At each level of the distribution, what is rare and constitutes an inaccessible luxury or an absurd fantasy for those at an earlier or lower level becomes banal and common, and is relegated to the order of the taken-for-granted by the appearance of the new, rarer and more distinctive goods; and, once again, this happens without any intentional pursuit of distinctive, distinguished rarity (Bourdieu, 1986: 248).

The sociology of consumption not only deals with the relationship between the occupational class categories and consumption patterns, but also analyses the political consequences of consumer behaviour. According to these arguments, the ones who are able to satisfy their needs through private purchase tend to support political parties which stress the importance of individual self-reliance, and the market rather than the state. In the British context for example, it is argued that those who had purchased their council houses switched their votes

from Labour to Conservative as their housing status was transformed (Crompton, 1993: 169).

Zygmunt Bauman in his book; *Work, consumerism and the new poor* (2001), evaluated contemporary societies on the basis of consumerism by claiming that the ideals of the "producer society" of our predecessors is now replaced by the dictation of the need to play the role of a consumer in the present-day societies (Bauman, 2001: 24). He argues that these new type of societies are now in the "late-modern", "second-modern" or "post-modern" stage. Bauman's arguments can be considered as very radical especially when his broad classification of societies into two camps, namely; producer societies, and consumer societies, is taken into account. However, his theorisation of consumerism provides us with a detailed definition of consumer culture and therefore, is important in analysing the "superstructure" of contemporary societies. There is another point to be noted before presenting Bauman's arguments. While talking about consumer societies, Bauman does not put a special emphasis on the middle classes or the petty bourgeoisie. However, after calculating these groups' commitment to consumption (just like Pierre Bourdieu did) and their power of appropriating cultural and material goods, it is obvious that most of Bauman's arguments are in fact realised by these classes.

In a way, Bauman can be considered as a successor of Bourdieu especially when his strong emphasis on the permanent nature of consumer goods – even consumers' identity – and aesthetics of consumption is taken into account. According to Bauman (2001: 27), in the "consumers' modernity", nothing truly lasting can be reasonably hoped to be erected on the "shifting sand" character of tastes. Therefore, today the old days' consumer expectation of durability has given way to temporality and the idea of temporariness and transitoriness is intrinsic to all kinds of consumer activity. Moreover, both the consumers and the companies which supply consumer goods are resentful towards any kind of regulation mechanism

which is cursed as an obstacle to the practice of free will. In fact Bauman's definition of consumer society is based on exhibiting its differences from the producer society. Moreover, he achieves this purpose by placing these two different society definitions into two poles of a binary opposition. In his words (2001: 32):

> If the producer society is Platonian by heart, seeking unbreakable rules and the ultimate patterns of things, the consumer society is Aristotelian – pragmatic, flexible, abiding by the principle that one worries about crossing the bridge no earlier (but no later either) than one comes to it.

Bauman carries this comparison further by asserting that aesthetics has taken over the field where once ethics was dominant. According to him, now it is the aesthetics of consumption that rules where the work ethic once ruled (Bauman, 2001: 32). At this point, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the new petty bourgeoisie as the "taste-setter and standard-bearer group" for others can be reconsidered. Thus in the light of Bourdieu's statement, Bauman's claims can be carried to a point that today's societies are ruled by the "hidden hand" of upper-middle class – or in the Marxist sense by the petty bourgeois – aesthetics.

The role adhered to consumer culture and aesthetic values in Bauman's perspective might be seen as exaggeration of present day conditions. Nonetheless, today it is obvious that there is an ever increasing effort spent by middle classes for distinction. And in doing so, members of these groups usually rely on cultural assets and aesthetic values which also lead to the fragmentation of markets accordingly. The fragmentation of the housing market will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter. However, before discussing the gated communities and this "new" urban lifestyle, the concluding remarks, about the middle classes should be made.

As shown in this chapter, theorising middle classes and determining their actual position in the social strata has been a very hard task for every school of thought. However, none of these schools can deny the existence of such groups even though it is hard to conceptualise

them. Moreover, it is also true that the structure of middle classes have undergone a transformation in the last two decades. Scholars related the reasons behind this transformation process to different facts such as economic restructuring, corporate reorganisation and globalisation of capitalism, each of which indeed can be considered as interrelated to each other. As a result of this transformation, it is argued that (Knox 1993; Öncü, 1997; Crompton 1993) middle classes eroded to a degree and separated into two camps one of which is placed on the periphery of the bourgeoisie and the other, that of the working class. However, this does not mean that – as was anticipated in the classical Marxist theory – the middle classes have totally disappeared. Rather despite their smaller number, their influence determining the agents of superstructure that are; politics, ideology and culture has increased to a considerable degree. Especially when their dialectical relationship with the market is taken into account, today it is obvious that the upper-middle classes can be perceived as the most influential agents in manipulating the market conditions. However, it should also not be forgotten that, in such an exchange relationship, these groups are the most vulnerable part of the society to the manipulation of market conditions.

3.6. Conceptualising the Urban Middle Classes in Turkish Context

As stated early in the introduction chapter, the class profile of the Angora Houses residents will be drawn by employing various schemes developed by different schools of thought around the world. However, also various empirical researches on urban class profiles in Turkey will be evaluated at this point in order to be able to relate the findings of the field research in Angora to the conceptualisations developed in the Turkish scope.

One of the most reliable class schemes concerning urban social classes in Turkish cities is developed by Korkut Boratav and discussed in the book; *İstanbul ve Anadolu'dan Sınıf Profilleri (Class Profiles from Istanbul and Anatolia)* (1995). Boratav, following a Marxian

path, classifies the urban population in İstanbul into nine categories by looking at sample population members' position in production relations and their occupational status. These categories are: 1) Middle – large scope employees (hiring three or more salaried workers), 2) Petty employees (hiring one or two salaried workers), 3) Tradesman, guilders and marginal occupations (working in his own account), 4) Highly qualified, salaried employers (elite occupations; doctors, lawyers, etc.), 5) White-collar employers (less qualified than the previous group; nurse, secretary, etc.), 6) Unqualified service workers (requiring no specific qualification; waiter, guard, chauffeur, etc.), 7) Blue-collar workers (manual workers directly involved in industrial sector), 8)Unemployed, 9) Retired (Boratav, 1995: 4-6). After constructing these broad categories, Boratav (1995: 6-7) admits the problems faced when one is trying to group these categories into class clusters. He offers various fusions of categories in constituting class schemes. The first grouping is classifying blue collar workers, unqualified service workers and unemployed under the category of urban proletariat and middle and large scope employees (by either including or excluding petty employees) under the category of urban bourgeoisie. He also argues that a broader definition of working class can be made by including high qualification salaried employees, white collar employees and retired population into the first group. However, he admits that, a petty bourgeoisie group in its own right can be theorised by clustering petty employees and some members of marginal occupations including people working in their own account into one group. The strategy followed by Boratav himself during the discussion is to keep these nine different categories separate and drawing theoretical class schemes formed by the coalition of various categories which can be reformulated from different points of view. As can be seen from Boratav's attempt of relating empirical findings to conceptual realm, "middle strata" of the urban population is "inevitably" considered as a distinct category in the Turkish case as well. Occupation based class schemes, although drawing the crucial and basic boundaries of classes, are usually insufficient especially in analysing the middle class.

Since 1995, a class scheme developed by Veri Araştırma A.Ş. (Data Research Company) is employed by some researchers in Turkey. The socio-economic status index developed by this company is based on Weberian social stratification index and Marxian notions concerning social transformation (Kalaycıoğlu; Kardam; Tüzün; Ulusoy, 1998: 128). According to an empirical research concerning 4.000 families, the socio-economic status of families is determined by the employment status of family members, their level of education, ownership of selected consumption goods (car, personal computer, automatic washing machine, dish washer, video, music set, camera) and finally land values of the houses owned. The middle and upper class groups (which are the concern of this thesis) are classified in the Turkish context as can be seen below:

Table 3.1. Socio-Economic Status Grouping of the Veri Araştırma A.Ş. (Data Research Company)

Socio-Economic Status Groups	Employment Status	Level of Education	Ownership of selected consumption goods	Land values of the houses owned
Upper SES	At least two members of the household are employees	All members of the household are graduates of or are studying for university degrees	Ownership of all	Owns house in the highest rent area
Upper-middle SES	At least two members of the household are employed in management or administrative positions	At least two members of the household are graduates of or are studying for university degrees	Ownership of all	Owns house or apartment flat (at least 5 rooms) in a high rent area
Middle SES	At least two are working as government employees	At least one member of the household is an university graduate/student and another high school graduate/student	In very rare cases ownership of PC and dishwasher. Car ownership is also rare and is usually shared within the wider family or very old. Households do own the remaining goods.	Owns low standard house in a squatter area or a flat (4 rooms) in medium rent area

Source: Kalaycıoğlu; Kardam; Tüzün; Ulusoy, 1998.

The class scheme model developed by Veri Araştırma A.Ş. (Data Research Co.) integrates education consumption habits and rent ownership as variables determining the socio-economic status as well as occupation. However, some variables such as education and ownership of consumption goods need qualitative description as well as quantitative approach. Moreover, as criticised by Kalaycıoğlu, Kardam, Tüzün and Ulusoy (1998: 130),

the index remains short sighted in a country like Turkey where structural changes in fields like education occur frequently.

Relating the findings of empirical research to theoretical realm has been a problematic task for all class scholars. We see that Marxian notions are indispensable in the broadest level however they lack in the micro-level analysis. Weberian model in addition – although providing the researcher with more descriptive terms – is not always universal and reliable because the notion such as status and the consumption habits are relative even within a society. Therefore, as offered by Kalaycıoğlu, Kardam, Tüzün and Ulusoy (1998: 130), empirical studies on class need to be broadened by also qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and observations.

CHAPTER 4

GATED COMMUNITIES AS A NEW UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS UTOPIA

4.1. Introduction

In 1863, an essay celebrating the joy of the urban centre and metropolitan crowd was published in the Parisian newspaper, Figaro. The author Charles Baudelaire, one of the most famous poets of all times, had described the urban experience in the metropolis as follows:

> …To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world – impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito. The lover of life makes the whole world his family, just like the lover of the fair sex who builds up his family from all the beautiful women that he has ever found, or that are or are not – to be found; or the lover of pictures who lives in a magical society of dreams painted on canvas. Thus the lover of universal life enters into the crowd as though it were an immense reservoir of electrical energy. Or we might liken him to a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness, responding to each one of its movements and reproducing the multiplicity of life and the flickering grace of all the elements of life… any man who can yet be bored in the heart of the multitude is a blockhead? A blockhead? And I despise him! …[*]

In his essay, Baudelaire was indeed describing the new lifestyle started to be shaped by the flow in the boulevards of Paris, which were constructed by Georges Eugené Hausmann

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[*] Baudelaire on the Flaneur. History of Photography: www.art.usf.edu

under the rule of Napoleon III. The redevelopment project carried out by Hausmann was called "constructive destruction" in which Paris underwent a regularisation and standardisation process of housing and street system. The broad boulevards not only created long corridors for the operation of infantry and artillery in the case of an uprising, but also became a part of a bourgeois lifestyle where the housing of this class was concentrated (Ellin, 1997: 18). However according to Marshall Berman (1990: 151) the boulevard system opened up the whole of the city to its all inhabitants for the first time in its history. The joy that Baudelaire had indeed was about the modern encounters in a modern urban space which would at the same time create new bases for economic, social interaction and aesthetic perception.

However, 140 years after the publication of Baudelaire's essay, real-estate advertisements in different media declare that people are now "bored" of multiplicity of metropolitan crowd by claiming that contemporary cities have deteriorated and the time to move to a private gated community has come. These advertisements have proven to be successful since living in a gated community became a global urban trend. In this chapter, a new residential trend among "bored" citizens (usually members of the middle and upper classes), namely, gated communities will be examined as one of the signifiers of increasing polarisation and duality in contemporary urban areas.

4.2. Contemporary Urban Space

Throughout history, urban areas have been the centre of different activities such as politics, culture and economy. In the economical sphere, urbanisation was directly related to the mobilisation, production, appropriation and absorption of economical surpluses and therefore this universal phenomenon can not be identified with a specific mode of production. However, as discussed before urbanisation has specific functions under the capitalist mode

of production (Harvey, 1989: 22). In the capitalist mode of production the space itself has become a commodity and has promoted to be a vital factor in the capital accumulation processes (Şengül, 2001: 9).

Urbanisation during the first industrial revolution was based on two facts which at the same time accompanied the capitalist mode of production: 1) The emigration of population from agrarian social structure towards the urban areas, providing the labour force essential to industrialisation. 2) The advancement of economy from domestic to small-scale manufacturing and then to large scale manufacturing, which initiated the concentration of manpower, the creation of a market and constitution of industrial social structure (Castells, 1977: 14).

As well as the two facts listed above, rapid urbanisation under capitalism is also bound to the increasing need of coordination among different actors of the production process by eliminating spatial barriers in order to decrease the turnover time of the capital (Harvey, 1989: 22). Before the advancement of information technologies, this need could only be satisfied by concentrating the capital, labour force and market in one place, namely urban areas. However in the late capitalist era – and with post-Fordist production systems – as the capital accumulation changed the structure of the labour market and as the new information systems set the flow of capital and labour "free", urbanisation process has also transformed and undergone significant changes. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the late capitalist era, the capital accumulation process has transformed with the push of advanced technologies. Moreover, in this period polarisation and competition has increased dramatically.

After 1960s, with the altered relationship between the public and private sectors, the urban space became one of the most important sources of profit and cultural expression. According

to Susan Christopherson (1994: 410), from this period on, the practice of citizenship has transformed into consumer behaviour. It was not only the practice of citizenship that has changed but also the organisation of urban space. According to Tarık Şengül (2001: 30), in the Keynesian era, the urban space was organised on the basis of the priority of the use value. However in the post-Keynesian era the urban space has started to be privatised in an ever increasing rate and the notion of exchange value has become the primary concern.

The transformation in the capital accumulation process not only widened the gap among the different layers of society but also between different cities around the world. In the Keynesian era, generally there used to be a kind of division of labour among various cities. For instance, some cities were regarded as production centres and some were either administrative or allocation centres. However in the post-Keynesian era a harsh "competition" started among different cities which once were tied with organic bonds and which used to complement other cities' functions in the national scale (Şengül, 2001: 32). The new accumulation model in the post-Keynesian era was only possible by a global circulation of capital, labour and goods. Cities would be the battlefield of this global competition.

The strategic importance of urban areas for economic globalisation derives from their positions as command points, global market places and production sites for the information economy. As cities successfully adapted to "global phenomenon" became the centres of economic power, the cities that were once manufacturing centres suffered declines (Sassen, 2000).

Throughout the capitalist era, the sectors vital for global accumulation process were backed by devalued sectors of the urban economy which relied on the surplus value produced by low-income workers. In most cases neo-liberal policies led to decreasing welfare provisions

and the market-led, deregulated economy impoverished the living conditions of those who are at the bottom of the social strata.

The revisions stated above have increased individual employment opportunities for some but at the same time they have resulted in an increase in social polarisation and socio-spatial segregation in urban areas. The excluded proportion of the society were the ones who lost the ability to participate in society, which is expressed by a lack of labour market participation, low school participation, a weak position in the housing market, limited political participation and restricted socio-cultural integration which also resulted in the separate residential concentrations of wealthy people and of poorer households, namely spatial segregation (Musterd, Ostendorf, 1998: 2). Theoreticians usually employed the term "divided cities" in analysing contemporary urban areas. Peter Marcuse (1993: 355-356) argues that contemporary cities are generally divided into five "quarters". These quarters are: 1) Luxury housing of the topmost part of the society. 2) Gentrified city of professional-managerial-technical yuppie groups. 3) Suburban district of skilled workers and mid-range professionals. 4) Tenement, most often rental, quarters of lower paid workers and blue-white collar workers. 5) Abandoned areas of the poor, the unemployed and the excluded.

Urban differentiation is not a new phenomenon. In the early capitalist era of 19th century, such a differentiation was practised in its sharpest form. Friedrich Engels, in his book; "*The Condition of the Working Class in England*" gives a long description about the spatial differentiation and inequality between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the industrial city of Manchester. After giving many examples about the unliveable conditions of the filthy slums of the working class, he describes this differentiation and criticises the ignorant bourgeois attitude as follows (Engels, 1987: 86):

> …Outside, beyond this girdle, lives the upper and middle bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie in regularly laid out streets in the vicinity of the working

quarters, especially in Chorlton and the low lying portions of Cheetham Hill; the upper bourgeoisie in remoter villas with gardens in Chorlton and Ardwick, or on the breezy heights of Cheetham Hill, Broughton, and Pendleton, in free, wholesome country air, in fine comfortable homes, passed once every half or quarter hour by omnibuses going into the city. And the finest part of this arrangement is this, that the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business, without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and to the left.

More than a hundred years have passed since Engels made such a comparison between the working class districts and bourgeois districts in the cities. However, the phenomenon differentiation has not ceased. In contemporary urban areas, differentiation and exclusion of certain groups from the urban life is still one of the most important problems. However, the number of factors affecting such a dualism has increased in comparison to Engels' era. The economic restructuring of the post-1970s, made inequalities and differentiation sharper and more visible when compared with the post WW2 era of Keynesian economic policies.

Marcuse (1993: 358), lists major characteristics of contemporary cities which, directly or indirectly, lead to sharp differentiation within its boundaries. These are: 1) "Advanced" homelessness. 2) The growth in size of certain quarters, especially increasing gentrification and expansion of the abandoned parts of the city. 3) Increased dynamism within the city which ends up in continuous displacement. 4) The identification of residents with their quarters. 5) The walls and barricades built between quarters. 6) Government's promotion of private interest especially by fortifying the gentrified and the abandoned parts. 7) The nature of political conflict and coalition-building. 8) The growing internationalisation between certain sections of the city and the outside world. 9) The "centralisation" of the control of economy in the global context. 10) Transformation in the process of production of goods and services.

As a result of the boundaries within contemporary cities, members of different classes started to seek for safe havens in closed and sometimes fortified spaces. Marcuse (1997 b: 228),

classifies "closed" spaces into three groups: 1) The "outcast ghetto", whose residents are subject to exclusion from the mainstream of the economic, social and political life of the city. 2) Immigrant and cultural enclaves in cities. 3) "Citadels" which are established by higher income status groups. By looking at this classification we can understand that today every member of an urban population has his/her reason to live in enclaves, no matter what is his/her class situation or social status. This is what a divided city means. Different groups have different reasons to close themselves; however, the reason for doing so and the degree of exclusion of others vary from one closed group to the other. Marcuse (1997 b) classifies closed spaces as in the table below:

Table 4.1. Ghettos, Enclaves, and Citadels: A Preliminary Taxonomy

Term	Example	Spatial Formation	Voluntary (Yes or No)	Economic Relationships	Social Relationships	Identifying Characteristics
Ghettos						
Classic Ghetto	Jewish ghettos, Harlem 1920	Insular, walled in	No	Seperated but linked; exploited	Discriminated against	Race, colour, religion
Outcast Ghetto	South Bronx today	Insular, walled in	No	Excluded	Discriminated against	Race, colour, class (bottom)
Enclaves						
Immigrant Enclave	Chinatown, Cuban Miami	Concentrated but mixed	Yes, seen as transitional	Seperated but linked	Open	Nationality, ethnicity
Cultural Enclave	Williamsburg; Soho	Concentrated but mixed	Yes, seen as permanent	Various; generally integral	Not hierarchically discriminating	Culture, language, religion, lifestyle
Exclusionary Enclave	Beverly Hills	Insular, physically protected	Yes	Integral; exploitative	Discriminating	Class (upper) economic status
Citadel						
The Imperial Citadel	Canton; Trump Tower	Insular, physically dominated	Yes	Integral; exploitative	Discriminating	Class (upper), political, military power

Source: Marcuse, P. (1997b)

By interpreting the definitions in the table, we can see that citadels are oriented to preserve superiority in power, wealth, or status of the wealthiest and most powerful group of the social stratum. Therefore citadels are different from the general concept of walled enclaves. In general walled enclaves serve to protect groups feeling vulnerable by excluding other different groups. On the other hand, citadels serve to dominate and protect the power and/or sources of power and influence (Marcuse, 1997 b: 247). Different from the enclaves and the ghettoes, citadels are by their nature exclusionary. Their cultural homogeneity is bound to class than factors such as ethnicity and belief which define the homogeneity in the ghettoes (Marcuse, 1997 b: 247).

Marcuse (1997 b: 249), points to different categories of enclaves: Immigrant enclave, cultural enclave and exclusionary enclave. Different from ghettoes, enclaves can be considered as voluntary attempts which immigrants see as transitional and religious and cultural groups perceive as permanent. Exclusionary enclaves of upper class citizens are discriminating like citadels, whereas immigrant enclaves are open and cultural enclaves are not hierarchically discriminating. Just like citadels which are for the top members of the society, exclusionary enclaves' identifying characteristic is class and economic status. Citadels are marginal to a degree in an urban life with their limited population. However, exclusionary enclaves, which can also be categorised as gated communities, and walled communities, are more widespread and attract larger proportions of urban upper classes.

The exclusionary "gated", "common interest" or walled housing development exploded in the developed world (and consequently in the underdeveloped countries) after the socio economic transformation that took place after 1970s. The major purpose of this development is to protect property values by maintaining the homogeneity of the area, by restricting individual property rights and by providing extensive security and services to the property zone (Christopherson, 1994: 412). In the next sections, both the historical background and

the contemporary formation of upper class (middle class and the bourgeoisie) exclusionary enclaves and gated communities will be analysed.

4.3. Walls, Gates, Guards and Surveillance; Fortification in the Urban Space

In contemporary urban space, there are various reasons behind well off citizens' attempts to "fortify" their lives. The most important are; the security concern against fear, the significance of such residents as status symbols, and the search for a community in the fragmented and atomised everyday life. Among the frequently used fortification "apparatuses", there are walls, gates, surveillance systems and service provided by guards. In some cases, one of the "apparatuses" listed above are employed by residents of gated, walled communities. However, usually combinations of those are found in fortified urban enclaves.

The basic tool for excluding the "other" is the wall. In his article: *"Not Chaos, but Walls: Postmodernism and the Partitioned City",* Peter Marcuse (1995: 248) defines the functions of walls by emphasising their symbolic connotation as follows:

> Walls define the quarters of the city –define, not surround; since the ghettos of medieval Europe were built, it has been rare that physical walls in fact circumscribe a delimited and homogenous quarter of the city. Yet the walls existing within each quarter define the nature of that quarter and the position of its residents within the hierarchy of quarters, the hierarchy of cities within the city. Sometimes the walls are symbolic boundaries, often they enclose similar individual units within one quarter and define its character.

Among different kinds of walls such as; walls for protection, walls for defining the places of confinement, etc., Marcuse introduces the category of "stucco walls", in describing gated and exclusive communities. These walls, as Marcuse puts it; "exclude for reasons of status and social control, protecting privilege and wealth from the threat of physical intrusion". Moreover, walls have a two-sided, dual character, they protect but at the same time imprison

and confine. Stucco walls and iron fences for example provide a sense of identity. However they also increase the feeling of insecurity and vulnerability for those inside (Marcuse, 1995: 250).

Marcuse (1997: 103) also argues that the functions and meaning of walls have undergone a considerable transformation since antiquity:

> Anthropological literature suggests that walls around the places where one or more families dwelt were first used for purposes of social identification, each household having a similar definition. At some point walls were used as protection against threats from the outside…They served the basic human needs, and their social role was positive. Only aggressors could complain. But, since these early days, walls have come to play a more ambiguous and increasingly divisive role. They have become boundary walls. They have come to reflect, and to reinforce, hierarchies of wealth and power; divisions among people, races, ethnic groups, and religions; and hostilities, tensions, and fears. Their use has become aggressive as much as defensive…

Nan Ellin also pointed to a transformation in analysing the effects of the feeling of fear on the urban design. According to Nan Ellin (1997: 13-14), the feeling of insecurity and danger has played an important role in town building through history. From antiquity to the Reneissance, citizens sought a safe haven in areas defended by walls. In the era of transition from feudalism to capitalism, the bourgeoisie "struggled" to establish its distinct place outside the established structure of the aristocracy, the peasantry and the newly emerging working class. The bourgeois strategy in doing so was based on an obsession with control, discipline and rationality. The primary tool for establishing control would be surveillance. In the same year that the French Revolution began, the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham conceived the Panopticon (Ellin, 1997: 16). A new form of architecture and urban design, based on bourgeois ideology was on its way. Before the bourgeois revolution, the dark dungeon was the primary tool for punishment and for "normalising" the deviants. However, Bentham's design emphasised visibility. In the age of bourgeoisie deviants were to be

watched by supervisors and thus were under control permanently. This was a transformation from society of discipline to the society of control.

Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is the architectural figure of "branding" and "altering" mechanisms (Foucault, 1997: 360). Broadly, the Panopticon is arranged as follows: There is a tower at the centre of a circular building. The building in the periphery, which encircles the tower, is divided into cells. The cells have two windows one of which corresponds to the tower and the other to the outside allowing the light cross the cell from one end to the other. In the tower, a supervisor is placed and in the cells those who are controlled, such as; madmen, patients, condemned men, workers or schoolboys. By the effect of backlighting, supervisor can easily observe lonely individuals distributed to cells from the tower. However, the supervisor can not be seen. According to Foucault (1997: 361), the Panopticon reverses the principle of the dungeon which is a punishment mechanism with three functions: the enclosure, depriving of light and hiding. The Panopticon only preserves the first function and eliminates the other two.

By establishing a permanent visibility, the Panopticon assures the automatic functioning of power. The surveillance can be discontinuous and individuals in the cells can not realise the absence of the supervisor since they can never see him. Therefore, this architectural apparatus creates and sustains a power relation independent of the person who exercises it. Shortly, power is automtised and disindividualised this way (Foucault, 1997: 361-362).

Susan Christopherson argues that the design employed in fortifying enclaves is based on the idea of control. According to Christopherson (1994: 421), although socio-spatial segregation is not a recent phenomenon especially when suburban housing is considered, there are some new elements that are typical of post-1980 urbanism. In every design scale, control and regulation of human behaviour is emphasised, often by obscured and unobtrusive (not

obvious) control and surveillance techniques. The contemporary citizen is watched either by the eyes of security guards or by mechanical eyes of the surveillance cameras. In the contemporary urban space, surveillance is frequently used for sustaining control.

The fear of urban violence can be considered as one of the factors triggering contemporary urban segregation practised especially by affluent citizens. The popular culture which has determined urban violence as a "lucrative" topic and everyday talk about crime results in the generation of stereotypes of people as dangerous. Consequently, the increasing measures of security and surveillance are legitimised on this basis (Caldeira, 1996). In extreme cases, the term "social warfare" dominates the rhetoric which typifies the interaction between urban poor and the middle class as a zero-sum game, by abolishing the liberal paradigm of social control based on attempting to balance repression with reform. As a result, in some cities, urban design, security and the police apparatus intersects in a single, comprehensive security effort (Davis, 1991: 224).

However, it is not only the fear of crime and concern for more security that increases segregation in metropolises but also the consumption patterns of the middle and upper-middle class citizens. The poor and homeless who are often associated with violence in the urban areas not only diminish the exchange value of residential areas but also "threaten the ability of upscale settings to deliver style, distinction and exclusivity" (Knox, 1993: 28). Therefore, the avoidance to contact with the poor is legitimised under the ideology of consumerism.

In recent decades, the rhetoric of post-modernism has been frequently adopted in analysing the changes in the culture of cities and urban lifestyles. One of the most influential theorists was Baudrilliard, with his notion of simulational culture. Baudrilliard argued that consumer commodities in late capitalism, with their imaginistic and symbolic associations, overlay

their use value and become commodity signs. In this phase of "hyperreality" Baudrilliard argues, the piling up of signs, images and sign through consumerism results in a destabilised, aestheticised, hallucination of reality (Featherstone, 1994: 391-392). Thus according to Mike Featherstone, when viewed from the perspective of Baudralliard, the post-modern city can be considered as a centre of both cultural consumption and general consumption, where the latter can not be separated from cultural signs and imagery.

With the ever increasing post-modern and post-modernising tendencies, the urban spaces in contemporary Western or first world cities are undergoing a process of aestheticisation of the urban fabric with the development of new consumption and leisure enclaves. The enclave areas of the new middle class, either gentrified or suburban, are stylised forms of the aestheticisation of everyday life. The new middle class seeks to cultivate a style of life in a pleasurable aestheticised living environment (Featherstone, 1994: 404). However, this "pleasurable, aestheticised" living environment is usually exclusionary and closed to the "other" namely; the urban poor. Even buildings which are designed to fulfil public purposes look inward and turn their back on the street of the public. According to Christopherson (1994: 421):

> The street is left to the unhoused, the poor and the undesirable, the unprofitable… Activities that on took place on the street are displaced to privately maintained spaces such as business complex atria. In these territories, the responsibility for the safety and security of all who use the space lies with the property owner, not with the user.

There are various residential trends practiced by "professional", new, middle classes such as gentrification, appropriation of areas of historic preservation and private master-planned communities (Knox, 1993: 27). However, "private master-planned communities" can be perceived as spatial expressions of segregation especially when walls, fences and gates surrounding them are taken into consideration. In the next section, the gated community phenomenon will be discussed and different forms of these contemporary urban enclaves

will be compared by considering two different researches carried out in the United States and in Brazil.

4.4. Gated Communities as a Global Urban Phenomenon

In the contemporary urban areas, there is an increasing tendency to privatise public spaces. This tendency can be observed in different levels of urban and architectural design. The socioeconomic privatisation of public space motivated by a desire to protect property and integrity also results in the "militarisation" of the public space (GUST, 1999: 94). The fear of crime arising because of the huge difference between the wealthy and the impoverished is both the cause and the result of such privatisation attempts. In today's cities "technoburbs", shopping malls are usually designed with the notion of "defensible architecture" (GUST, 1999: 95) and attract middle and upper-middle classes by excluding the undercast urbanites.

In the article *"Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation"*, Teresa Caldeira gave a description about the general characteristics of the "fortified" enclaves which have become widespread in Sao Paulo after 1980's. As Caldeira cites from Sassen (1991), this process is closely related to Sao Paulo's transformation into a world city. According to her point of view, the high income gentrification requires an increase in low-wage jobs, yuppies (the new middle class) and poor migrant workers, each depending on each other. Caldeira's survey demonstrates that fortified enclaves have different uses and specialisations such as residence leisure, consumption and which are more restricted whereas some are more open. The common characteristics of these are as follows (Caldeira, 1996: 308):

1. They are private property for collective use.
2. They are physically isolated, either by walls or empty spaces or other design devices. Therefore they are turned inwards not to the street.

3. They are controlled by armed guards and security systems which enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion.

4. They are very flexible. Due to their size, new technologies of communication, the new organisation of work, and systems, they possess all that is needed within a private and autonomous space and can be situated almost anywhere, independent of the surroundings.

5. Most of them have been placed in the old periphery and have as their neighbours concentrations of auto constructed houses (squatter housing).

6. The enclaves tend to be socially homogenous environments, mostly for middle and upper classes.

In her research, Caldeira found out that the most important motivation behind the formation of "fortified enclaves" was the codification of those spaces as something signifying high status representing a new alternative for the upper and middle classes. Such spaces have become a part of lifestyle in which residents and "users" of those spaces wish to identify with (Blakely, Snyder, 1997: 18). Therefore, in the consumers' era, private spaces became a new source of prestige, a new form of *taste* and a part of the "symbolic struggle" as Pierre Bourdieu conceptualised.

Caldeira also analysed the class relations within these fortified spaces where administrative organs of "fortified enclaves" always rely on the service of lower-class workers:

> The middle and upper classes are creating their dream of independence and freedom – both from the city and its mixture of classes, and from everyday domestic tasks – on the basis of services from working class people. They give guns to badly paid working-class guards to control their own movement in and out of their condominiums. They ask their badly paid 'office-boys' to solve all their bureaucratic problems, from paying their bills and standing in all types of lines to transporting incredible sums of money. They also ask their badly paid maids –who often live in the favelas on the other side of the condominium's wall- to wash and iron their clothes, make their beds, buy and prepare their food, and frequently care for their children all day long. In a context of

increased fear of crime in which the poor are often associated with criminality, the upper classes fear contact and contamination, but they continue to depend on their servants (Caldeira, 1996: 311).

The fortified enclaves of Sao Paulo are indeed a product of two interrelated process. The first one is the economic restructuring during 1980's, which transformed the - city which used to be a centre of industry - into a centre of finance, commerce and the coordination of production. Consequently, the polarisation between the incomes of different groups and the living areas, have increased rapidly. Moreover, such a sharp differentiation resulted in increasing crime rates (Caldeira, 1996: 307). The result was the genesis of fortified enclaves. Heavily guarded and exclusionary enclaves, either private or public, was once associated with Third World countries where there has been an overwhelming polarisation between haves and have-nots (GUST, 1999: 94). As stated before, it has been a "trend" among the affluent citizens throughout the world. Gated communities as residential enclaves can be seen as one of the most striking examples of this urban development.

There are various definitions concerning walled enclaves and gated communities. However, the most comprehensive and basic definition is made by Edward Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder. According to their point of view, "gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatised".

In general, gated communities are different from multi-unit, high density condominium buildings which are "guarded" by security systems and doormen. Gated communities' walls and fences encircle streets, sidewalks, parks, beaches, rivers, etc. and therefore, prevent public access to these areas (Blakely, Snyder, 1997: 2).

According to Blakely and Snyder (1997: 3), gated communities manifest several tensions; between exclusionary tendencies stemming from fear and privilege and values of civic responsibility, between the trend toward privatisation and ideals of public good and between

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the need for personal and community control of the environment and the dangers of outsiders. However, the direction of urban and nation wide policies in many countries is another source of differentiation among citizens and "division" of the urban areas. According to Peter Marcuse (1993: 363), the social and political division between the citizens of the city is mainly due to the promotion of alliances of middle and professional-managerial-technical and ruling groups and division of white-collar workers from the blue-collar and from the very poor, by established policies. The "localisation" of conflicts and problems therefore, lead to the loss of a common agenda about city-wide or national issues. The gated communities therefore, can also be seen as spatial manifestations of policies promoting alliances within classes and exclusion among them.

Gated communities have become one of the key actors in the urban development of the US cities over the past 15 years. A study carried out in 1997 demonstrated that up to 9 million the US residents were living in 3 million units in around 20.000 proprietary residential communities bounded by walls and entrance gates (Webster). However, it is obvious that the gated community phenomenon is not limited to the US and it is spreading rapidly in the world and practised in every continent.

In the Kuala Lumpur region of Malaysia, it is estimated that there are up to 60.000 residencies located in condominium apartment complexes which provide residents with services such as; reading rooms, business centres, restaurants, health suites and swimming pools. There are security-guarded "Mediterranean-style" villas in the cities of Southern China. Similarly, walled and guarded private residential developments are quite common in some African cities (Webster).

In the United States the suburbs have lost their significance as uniform and ethnically and racially "sterile" environments. Today, African Americans, Hispanics and Asians have

access to suburban areas which once were available to white middle class citizens. Therefore security concerns and community spirit today are satisfied behind walls and gates (Blakely, Snyder, 1997: 15). Moreover, gated communities are marketed as the newest product of the housing market with slogans such as comfort, neighbourhood, community, security and safety which once were the key words in marketing suburban houses. Gates and walls are not only for satisfying security concerns they are also a part of the design connoting a lifestyle which buyers wish to identify with.

In designing gated communities, the developers focused on new forms of social institutions as well as new housing and street designs. The system proposed for such a community life is based on governance. In the United States, homeowner associations (HOAs) try to protect property values by ensuring uniformity in the development and in the aftermath. Such attempts protect the gated communities against changes which are made by individuals and the local government. Local governments usually favour the developer-HOA partnerships because the building of new streets, sewers and other infrastructure are covered by developers and the maintenance costs are passed to home purchasers (Blakely, Snyder, 1997: 20). In order to sustain uniformity and property values, HOAs undertake the purchase of many services such as; guards, electronic monitoring systems, fences, landscaping, garbage pickup, street maintenance, and swimming pools. Not surprisingly, in the age of private entrepreneurship, most of these activities are purchased through contracts with private firms.

After the dramatic changes that took place in the world economic system and the diminishing of the security concern in occupations which are part of this "new" economy, places became a tool for compensation of the feeling of security, community cohesion and stability (Sennett, 1997: 61). Richard Sennett (1997: 67) argues that in a community, people try to compensate for their dislocations and impoverished experience in the economy with communal coercion and illusion. Obviously one of the most important slogans in advertising

gated communities is the rebirth of the community spirit which is absent in the "chaotic" urban life.

There are various elements of community spirit in gated communities. For Blakely and Snyder (1997: 33), these are: 1) Physical markers such as housing type, major roads or walls. 2) Shared values which may include racial, class or religious characteristics or common history. 3) Public spaces where residents meet and talk. 4) Shared support structures which may include churches, charitable organisations, social and recreational clubs. 6) Elements of a shared destiny such as voluntary neighbourhood improvement groups, civic associations, or homeowner associations, etc.

Blakely and Snyder (1997: 38), categorised gated communities into three groups: Lifestyle communities, prestige communities, and security zone communities. In lifestyle communities, the gates provide security and separation for leisure activities within. The gates of prestige communities symbolise distinction and prestige and create and protect a secure place on the social ladder. These communities include the enclaves of the rich, famous and executive home developments for the middle class. Security zone communities are motivated by the fear of crime and outsiders and occur at all income levels. Because of inability to flee to suburbs some security zone communities are fortified by walls and gates in inner city areas (Blakely, Snyder, 1997: 38-43).

In their research, Blakely and Snyder (1997: 44) focused on the importance of social values in residents' choice of a gated community and the results are displayed in the table below.

Table 4.2. The Importance of Social Values in Residents' Choice of a Gated Community

Value	Lifestyle	Prestige	Security Zone
Sense of Community	Tertiary	Tertiary	Secondary
Exclusion	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
Privatisation	Primary	Tertiary	Tertiary
Stability	Secondary	Primary	Secondary

Source: Blakely, E. J., Snyder, M. G., (1997)

The gated communities resemble each other not matter where they are. According to Caldeira (1996: 313), the segregation may vary in different contexts however it is obvious that it is present in both the American and the Brazilian contexts. There are other similarities when the administration of these enclave communities is concerned. For instance, there are administrative organs in the Brazilian enclaves which resemble homeowner associations like Blakely and Snyder described in their survey. Similarly these organs in the Brazilian context perform similar functions such as taking care of labour management and imposing strict forms of control among the labourers and residents (Caldeira, 1996: 310). Therefore, it is obvious that there are certain forms that gated communities and fortified enclaves can take and these forms are more or less similar no matter where they are.

4.5. Gated Communities, Privatisation of Public Realm and Urban Democracy

There have been various arguments about gated communities and their significance in contemporary metropolises. There is one point agreed upon by all scholars, that is, the gated communities are the safe havens of the bourgeoisie, the new petty bourgeoisie or the middle classes (especially in the developed countries). The historical roots and characteristics of these classes were discussed in the second chapter. It is obvious that gated communities and in general fortified enclaves are class-biased contemporary urban phenomena. Therefore, as Mike Davis (1991) put it this is a form of "class war at the built environment".

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Critics of the gated communities concentrate on the threat of residential segregation and social fragmentation of societies in urban areas where there are significant numbers of gated communities, whereas those favouring this new urban phenomenon usually consider the benefits acquired by middle and upper class residents such as the feeling of security and the high quality of living environment and services.

Apart from security concerns, these private communities are also considered as efficient dwelling units in the provision of public goods for especially those living there (Webster). According to this point of view, gated communities are designed so that a resident is not obliged to pay for a service which he/she does not use or value, since these are purchased by "joining fees" and "member subscriptions". Secondly, unlike the problem faced by municipal government which has to allocate tax revenues between competing areas and groups, the distribution of services in gated communities pleases more of the people since these private spaces are limited and homogenous communities (Webster).

Despite the positive aspects of private gated communities practised only by a small proportion of urban dwellers, this new trend in urbanisation is considered as a serious threat to the citizenship identity, urban democracy and equality for various reasons: First, private usage of some public goods and services such as; security, street maintenance, parks, recreation, garbage collection etc., by some segments of the urban society increases the burden of "unprivileged" taxpayers. Second, these private efforts may end up in little or no voter interest in participating tax programmes or spending voluntary efforts to deal with community problems. The socio-spatial segregation practised in these "enclaves" loosens the social contact as well as weakening the feeling of "mutual responsibility" which is essential for community living and formation of citizenship (Blakely, Snyder, 1997; Christopherson, 1994; Caldeira, 1996).

The gated and "fortified" communities are the spatial expressions of the abolition of the ideologies of openness and commonality and when the interaction of people and different groups is no longer possible because of some barriers and restrictions, realising universal principles of equality and freedom for social life also becomes impossible (Caldeira, 1996: 325).

Private, gated communities have been the new trend of urbanisation among upper classes around the world. Social problems that this phenomenon creates are practised nearly in every region as the number of these communities increase everyday. However, these communities are only a part of a new urban "system" in which middle and upper classes spend their working and leisure hours in exclusionary and usually fortified spaces and bypass public spaces such as streets, parks and neighbourhoods which are still "open" with their car. Most of the streets and boulevards which Baudelaire celebrated as the melting pot of a modern urban realm, are now abandoned by the "elites" and left to those who can not afford to go into the "exclusive" spaces such as gated communities, technoburbs, business atria and shopping malls. However, the new petty bourgeoisie and the middle classes are under the heavy burden of a "distinct" lifestyle and "secure" environments and they are suffering from the restraints in their milieu. They are encircled by walls, fences, watched by surveillance cameras, their movements and actions are limited by strict rules. It is obvious that these "exclusive" new urban spaces are more exclusionary and less democratic than the streets.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSITION IN THE TURKISH URBAN FRINGE:
THE DAWN OF GATED COMMUNITIES

5.1. Introduction

Urbanisation in Turkey through different decades of the Republican era has been motivated by different factors (agents) and therefore, the urban space in Turkey in each epoch has been shaped by different waves of urbanisation. In spite of its discontinuous nature, especially when policies concerning urbanisation is considered, there has always been various characteristics inherited from previous eras and in the broadest level as Şengül (2001: 66) states; urbanisation in Turkey has always been a capitalist process and therefore reflected (and indeed effected by) contradictions inherent to this mode of production.

In this chapter, the gated community experience, a contemporary "trend" of urbanisation, will be analysed within the historical context of Turkish urbanisation. A special emphasis will be made to the post-1980 period when the class polarisation in the country has increased considerably and major Turkish cities have undergone a serious spatial differentiation process. In this era, although the early examples of "prestige" and "lifestyle" gated communities have sprung in İstanbul, which has become the part of global markets and therefore global contradictions and trends earlier than any other Turkish city, Ankara, as the capital and the second largest city has "imported" such trend after a very short time. Because

the gated communities in different geographies display similar architectural and planning forms, and in the national level, similar social characteristics, studies conducted on the gated communities in İstanbul I believe, are relevant in analysing the ones in Ankara.

5. 2. A Brief History of Urbanisation and Urban Policies in Turkey in the Period 1923-1980

In the early republican period of Turkey, the ideals of the regime were based on the tradition of enlightenment and elites of the Republic aimed at constructing a nation-state with a break from the imperial Ottoman era. One of the basic elements of such a fundamental modernisation project was indeed urban development which was vital for the diffusion of rural population in order to allocate the needed amount of labour power in developing the industry and realising the economic goals for the success of such a modernisation attempt (Tekeli, 1998: 1). Shortly, the republican "mind" has realised from the beginning that the urbanisation process and the modernisation were closely interrelated.

In the early republican period, under the one party rule of the Republican People's Party (CHP), spatial organisation of urban areas has become the main concern together with the attempts of transforming the country into a nation-state. The workshop area of creating a modern capital was Ankara, which less than a decade ago was an ordinary Anatolian town with a population of 20.000. However, the republican regime also spent such efforts in other Anatolian cities in order to increase the integration in the national level. The urban development in this era is characterised by development of urban areas according to major plans as the one designed by Herman Jansen for the capital Ankara. However, it was not always possible to follow these plans in the development of urban areas since the rate of population growth in urban areas was extremely high and the land market was open to different kinds of speculations (Tekeli, 1998: 8).

According to Şengül (2001: 75) before 1950s, the state was the hegemonic actor in the process of urbanisation. This was because the state owned the large part of the industry and strictly controlled the economy and shortly owned and controlled the largest part of the capital in the country. However, because of the flow of economic resources mostly to the developing industrial sector, the urban sphere had started to be dominated by small scale investments of private entrepreneurs and the idea of planning underwent severe criticisms (Şengül, 2001: 75). In spite of the "small scale" intrusions to the planned urban space in the period between 1923-50, it was the 1950s when planning efforts seemed totally lacking.

In the 1950s, the agricultural sector has undergone a modernisation process especially with the advanced technology imported from the United States with the Marshall Aid. This mechanisation of the rural sector however resulted in unemployment in the rural areas and speeded up the migration to urban areas. The Democratic Party rule in this era did not totally abolish the modernisation concerns of the previous era but directed those aspirations to a populist route dominated by liberalist rhetoric. The formation of squatter settlements in the outskirts of cities as a result of this massive migration boomed and became an organic part of the urban life. Moreover, in this era, the measures taken to prevent the spread of squatter settlements proved to be unsuccessful since the governments taking these measures also legalised the existence of such settlements for the sake of populism (Tekeli, 1998: 13).

The May 27 military coup of 1960 gave way to significant changes in socio-economic structure of the country. A planned development approach, as well as welfare policies were introduced into the agenda of the country. Such an approach was also adapted to the sphere of urban development. The growth of urban population decreased in this era because of the policies oriented to sustain small scale production in rural areas and therefore "keeping" the rural population in rural areas and the flow of unskilled labour power to the European countries especially to Germany (Tekeli, 1998: 16). Tarık Şengül (2001) states that the era of

1950-1980 would in general be called "the urbanisation of labour power". It was obviously the squatter housing "system" which enabled the labour power to urbanise. The informal solidarity networks established by rural migrants in urban areas in 1950s, transformed into formal networks as these "first generation" migrants have gained access to the political system in 1960s. The improvement of their status enabled squatter settlers to work in governmental organs and bargain for infrastructural services such as, water and electricity (Şengül, 2001: 82). Moreover, the introduction of "squatter law" in 1966 legalised the presence of squatter areas and in a way guaranteed their position in the structure of urban areas. The population in those areas, with their large number of votes, became an influential group in the political decision making process and strengthened their "legal" citizenship status with the continuum of populist policies.

Melih Pınarcıoğlu and Oğuz Işık (2001), argue that the urbanisation in Turkey was based on an (invisible) compromise between different classes and this compromise was guided by state authority. Such a compromise "system" was indeed vital for macro economic decisions such as import substitution oriented industrial strategy which dominated the economic sphere of the country until mid-70s. In the urban scale, such a compromise was based on the appropriation of urban surplus in different amounts by different classes. The state did not have enough resources to control and regulate the housing market in large scales. Thus, the surplus which was the result of rapid urbanisation, was shared by lower and middle classes who pursued different urbanisation patterns. The urban poor "survived" in cities with squatter housing system which provided them with cheap shelter opportunities. The middle classes resorted to the apartment housing mostly realised by private builders (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2001: 33-34).

In the "import substitution" era, the upper class was usually made up of productive capital owners such as factory owners, private builders and traders who provided the industry with

raw material. This group's primary concern was to be as close as possible to the offices which were situated at the CBD because of the necessities such as easy communication and transportation. Moreover, the lack of professional managers who would undertake all the professional responsibilities of a firm also made the "boss" bound to the office. Due to these reasons, the owners of the capital or rich businessman were living side by side with the lower classes at the city centre. Therefore, in this era, there had been no strict spatial differentiation between the lower and the upper class in the urban space (Kurtuluş, 2003a: 85).

In such a "compromise system" among different classes restored until 1980s, the state intermediated between different classes and regulated the allocation of urban areas to these classes. Such a system not only developed the land market in urban areas but also contributed to the welfare of different classes and therefore was valid for the sustainability of import substitution policies.

5.3. Urbanisation in Turkey after 1980: Increasing Spatial Differentiation

In the economic crisis period of late 70s, the compromise between the classes in sharing the urban surplus was abolished. Moreover, after the military coup of 1980, the state gave up its intermediary position, which in the previous era, was very important for lower classes' survival. In 1980s, the welfare policies were left aside to a large extent and most of the functions fulfilled by the state were privatised. After the state gave up its intermediary role, a harsh competition between different classes started under "less regulated" market conditions (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2001: 37). Such economic policies were adapted throughout the world in 80s and aimed at a fundamental break with the national developmentalist strategies of post-WW II era. Not surprisingly, this global economic trend reflected to Turkish economy as reducing the scope of the state sector and therefore enabling Turkey's full integration into the system of global capitalism. The Motherland Party (ANAP) was formed in 1983, and

won the first elections after the military coup by collecting 35-40% of the votes. ANAP pursued policies oriented towards liberalisation and deregulation. However, in this era, income distribution has worsened, subsidies and social expenditures have decreased, the real wages have declined and unemployment has risen while the speculative gains have legalised and a small number of entrepreneurs have become the new riches (Keyder and Öncü, 1993: 19-20).

As a result of a shift in economic policies; from import substitution to import oriented, urban space has become more open to the manipulations and speculations of capital. After such a transformation in economic strategies, the idea of investment into large scale industry was abolished and capital has started to be invested into the built environment in major cities. Shortly, the early 1980s were marked with a shift from the urbanisation of the labour power to the urbanisation of capital (Şengül, 2001: 86). However, the "urbanisation of capital" had drastic consequences for the urban poor. The urban poor have become poorer in this era, because of the lack of "cushioning" measures. Therefore, the polarisation in the society has increased dramatically. In such a competitive and unequal system, appropriation of urban surplus became the only survival strategy for some groups and new groups emerged in this competition especially with the fragmentation of the middle class.

Urban policies implemented by post-1980 governments (and local governments) were in the direction of global trends and this has transformed the form and social structure of the major cities. The idea of planning which was promoted in the era following the military coup of 1960 was left aside in the post-1980 era which was marked by another military coup. In this era, the rural-urban migration has lost its significance as inter-urban migration has become the new pattern. This was mostly because of the policies oriented to promote private entrepreneurship and capital in major cities (especially in İstanbul) in order to "catch up with" global market conditions, instead of public investment and subsidies directed to the

Anatolian cities in order to increase economic integration in the national level. Similar to the transformation of urban areas experienced throughout the world in this era, the central business districts (CBDs) in Turkish cities lost their significance as production centres and became decision making centres of finance and service sector (Tekeli, 1998: 22).

It was not only the income gap that has increased between upper and lower classes but also the gap between different fractions of the middle classes in the post-1980 era. Salaried and especially public sector employees have become increasingly impoverished while employees of multinational firms and members of the private business, corporate and financial sectors have started to earn "world-class" incomes (Kandiyoti, 2002: 5). This structural transformation reflected to the rhetoric with the introduction of the concept: "Businessman". This conceptual category which was signifying welfare was not limited to the factory owners as that of previous decades but consisted of the capital owners from production, finance, service and media sectors as well as very high income doctors, lawyers and managers. Therefore, it can be said that both the resources of wealth and its representations have changed in this period (Kurtuluş, 2003b).

The well off middle classes tended to distinguish themselves with their living environment by flowing to satellite cities or suburban areas which are placed even farther than squatter districts already surrounding the cities. The new upper-middle class members also moved to the suburbs just like other members of the middle class, however they chose (they were introduced), more luxurious homes and more secure communities namely; gated communities.

Shortly, the urban differentiation which was the unavoidable reflection of social differentiation in general, has increased dramatically in the post-1980 era. According to Pınarcıoğlu and Işık (2001: 36), the new urban differentiation is because of the new

allocation mechanisms in distribution of surplus. They identify three groups in contemporary urban areas, who compete with each other and whose interests are usually opposed to the other. The first group is the urban poor who are usually settled in the outskirts of cities and ready to engage in every activity (formal/informal) in order to survive. The second group is the middle classes whose aspirations are mostly based on appropriating urban surplus by engaging in cooperative housing. The last group in the urban warfare of appropriating surplus is the upper class, whose shared commitment is to live in an enclosed and fortified enclave-like areas and who are prone to ignore the real conditions in the urban life and other members of the city. In the next part, the upper class commitment of "enclosure" in gated communities will be discussed.

5.4. The Contemporary Urban Trend in Turkey: The Exodus of Middle Classes to Suburbs and Gated Communities

In Turkey, since 1990s, the capital has enhanced its power in urban areas with large scale investments to the built environment such as shopping malls, five star hotels and business centres and major Turkish cities have become the market of speculative profits (Şengül, 2001: 89). Such a transformation has also redefined class relations and increased class polarisation by dividing the middle class and degrading some of its members into the lower classes. Moreover, the strategies followed by governmental organs and local governments have become oriented to the exchange value of urban space rather than to its use value and this understanding legalised and even promoted speculation (Şengül, 2001: 94). The perception of urban space as a commodity with a high exchange value, gave way to several market strategies implemented to appropriate the highest rate of profit while marketing. In this new era, housing was to be one of the most important commodities signifying status for the new middle class and the "yuppies".

Turkey experienced a flood of consumer goods after 1980s by the effect of economic policies resulting in capital inflow from abroad and high inflation rates. According to Ayşe Öncü (1997: 61), in this era of consumerist boom, a lifestyle cleansed from poverty, immigrants, elbowing crowds, dirt and traffic became the focus of the middle classes' desires. The housing market was ready to market "dreamlands" where there were ideal homes in a surrounding promising clean air, clean water, healthy lives, a homogenous setting and a cultural milieu where adults and children could experience a life that they saw in films and TV serials, mostly imported from the U.S. Therefore, since the late 1980s, new villa type residential areas, which were mostly designed for the new upper-middle class, mushroomed first in the outskirts of İstanbul. Designed with facilities such as; tennis courts, swimming pools, etc., these suburbs "promised" a complete lifestyle rather than being only a "bedroom community" (Bartu, 2001: 146).

These prestige gated communities have been marketed to businessmen and private sector managers as well as to the top names of the media and entertainment sectors whose welfare has increased considerably since 1980s. Advertisements of these communities have been appearing in "exclusive" magazines such as decoration, antiques and business, rather than the major newspapers. In the advertisement campaigns, it is usually emphasised that purchasers of these homes will have famous businessmen, artists, journalists and bureaucrats as their potential neighbours. This goal is somehow realised since houses in these communities have been "sold" to the members of "crem de la crem group" (the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie) with considerably low prices and even sometimes given for free (Bali, 2002: 111-112).

The new upper-middle class and petty bourgeois İstanbulites have been offered a "public" space in these new communities where they would interact with people whose cultural capital level (needless to say economic capital at the same time) is more or less the same

with theirs. However, things were not as easy as they seemed to be. Although developers of gated communities have aspired "homogenous" milieus and promised such public sphere to their clients, there has not been a close connection with İstabulites' economic and cultural capitals. Neighbours who have paid the same amount of money and live next to each other usually had different lifestyles and were from different class backgrounds (Bali, 2002: 119).

Despite the general description given above about "prestige" gated communities which are marketed for the "crem de la crem", most of the middle class members and the lower-middle class do not have the chance to buy homes in such communities. However, developers have been marketing different "community" lives for different budgets. Therefore most of the middle and lower middle classes flee to "site"s where they can enjoy a community life and a "clean" environment. Although *site* life is in the agenda of Turkish urbanisation since mid-70s, after 90s it has become a more widespread practice among the middle classes.

In her article; "The myth of ideal home", Ayşe Öncü (1997: 64-67) lists these different ways of contemporary "departure" from the İstanbul city centre. The first group according to Öncü is "The new suburban villages of İstanbul: The garden cities". These single-home suburban villages described above, whose prices are between $ 150.000-$ 500.000, are usually purchased by corporate executives and top professionals in the upper ranges of the middle strata. The second group is "The new high-rise suburbs of İstanbul: The site". Different from the garden cities, these new high-rise suburbs are residential areas of the members of the broader segments of the middle class which range from managers and upper civil servants to employees from public bureaucracies and quasi-public organisations. The site developments are subsidised by the Mass Housing Fund (MHF) and the developer companies are paid back by the MHF after the completion of the building. These high-rise, uniformly built suburbs are usually placed along the expressways and are away from the city centre. Öncü argues that recent surveys show that the residents of these *sites* share the dream of "an independent

house in the garden". However, the homogenous demographical structure and the adjectives employed by residents in describing these suburbs such as; "airy", "light", "refreshing", "clean" and "orderly", demonstrate that *sites* are preferred by citizens who share similar aspirations with garden city dwellers, but who have less purchasing power when compared with them.

Moreover, the middle class ideal of a community life and even "ghettoisation" has some ideological and political connotations. In Turkey as throughout the world, the middle classes tend to distinguish themselves from other classes through, what Ayata (2002: 30) calls, "culturalised lifestyle choices", that is; cultural products with a strong emphasis on secular values. These choices reflected a strong opposition to the Islamist middle classes and lead to "secular" middle classes' segregated existence in different parts of the city (Ayata, 2002: 30).

The middle class *site* life is not only restricted to the outskirts of İstanbul. In Ankara similar to İstanbul, middle classes started to flee to *site* life since mid 70s when the private car ownership rate has increased and the MHF has enabled developers to engage in cooperative housing projects. Moreover, after designated as the capital of Turkey, Ankara has grown faster than any other city in Turkey and has experienced the highest rate of urban population growth between 1950 and 1970 with the rural-urban migration. Not surprisingly, then the city had the highest rate of squatter settlements in comparison to any other Turkish cities (Özyeğin, 2002: 46). Therefore, there was a quick middle class reaction to the urban life continuously "intruded" by rural-urban migrants and "migrant culture" and this speeded up the flow of the middle class to suburban and satellite city settlements surrounding the city.

Actually, the site boom in Ankara has started in late 80s and early 90s. The middle classes in Ankara, as in other Turkish cities, have fragmented and polarised in the post-80 period. In

Ankara, as some parts of the middle class have degraded, living standards of some white collar employees have risen considerably with huge increases in their salaries. The expansion of this group was the outcome of both the growth of the civil service and the expansion of managerial and entrepreneurial occupations (Ayata, 2002: 30).Today, the unequal income distribution and lifestyle differences can easily be observed in Ankara as well as in İstanbul. The "desertion" of city centres, namely, Ulus and Kızılay by upper classes and the exodus of these classes to suburbs situated along the Eskişehir Highway clearly demonstrates the spatial differentiation within the city and to some extent makes Ankara a decentralised city (Bora, 2001: 57).

In the article: *The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia*, Sencer Ayata (2002) argues about the outcomes of surveys conducted in various suburbs in Ankara located along the Eskişehir Highway. The "site", according to Ayata is a highly homogenous and single-class residential area where work and industry and lower-income residences are decisively excluded. Shopping malls, together with university campuses and government buildings can be considered as urban actors intruding this uniformity and homogeneity however, these malls consolidate the isolation of the middle classes by decreasing their dependency on certain services in the city (Ayata, 2002: 30).

According to Ayata, the "site" life in Ankara is highly gendered. Although two-thirds of the married women are university graduates, nearly half of them work outside the home and during the day, women are more visible in the neighbourhood. Women are more concerned with the household shopping than men and they have their "gendered" networks with other women organised around various leisure activities. Ayata (2002: 30-32) asserts that in "site" life, men tend to see home and various activities associated with it as the women's sphere and "escape" to work which they perceive as their private sphere. The gender differentiation is also reflected in the social roles fulfilled by different sexes. In the suburbs, men can be

considered as concerned with the accumulation of economic capital whereas women are more concerned with the concentration of cultural capital which is satisfied with a high level of consumption.

Sencer Ayata (2002: 37) describes the level of "community spirit" in a "site" and compares the Turkish context and Western experience as follows:

> The site is conceived as a community of equal, but unique and autonomous, individuals. The generalisable aspects are those that distinguish the middle classes from others, and the unique codes and styles are what separate them as individuals, families and status categories… In the suburb, conventions and proprieties are less rigid, and they are less imposed on individuals. Consequently, there is less community control in the site life. Such individuating and emancipating aspects of suburbia in the Turkish context contrasts with the description of the suburb in the Western literature as a place of standardisation, monotony and conformity.

Kozanoğlu (1995: 110) emphasises the symbolic meaning of exclusion in "site", community enclaves. He argues that, social exclusion of the poor is indeed not only restricted to gated communities and such practices but also can be observed in central city public spaces such as Beyoğlu in İstanbul. Such a "cleansing" attempt according to Kozanoğlu reflects the aspirations of elite citizens to privatise spaces in order to create their own "hygienic" milieu. What Kozanoğlu emphasises is the divided city phenomenon which has become a common problem in Turkish cities in 90s as polarisation and fragmentation has increased in urban areas and as urban space has privatised and left to the speculation of the capital.

In residential level however it is usually not the high rise suburbs of the middle class which are most exclusive but private gated communities of upper-middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie which Öncü (1997: 64) calls, "the gardencity", Hatice Kurtuluş (2003a: 92) calls, "the welfare enclave" and Ayfer Bartu (2001: 148) calls "the prestige community". According to Bartu (2001), although concepts such as "multiplicity", "variety", "difference"

are frequently employed in marketing the "lifestyle" in Kemer Country, Bartu (2001: 148), asserts that this enclave is indeed very exclusionary rather than promoting multiplicity. With house prices between $300.000-$2.000.000, this suburb is only available to the very affluent part of the society. Moreover, information brochures about Kemer Country, continuously emphasise the possible threat of "invasion" of "outsiders". In order to prevent any kind of intrusion, this community is guarded by advanced security systems and security guards. After evaluating the Kemer Country case, Bartu concludes that, this community is an exclusionary settlement, and concepts such as; "multiplicity", "variety", "difference" and a "new civil society", which are employed by marketers are only valid as slogans. Shortly, isolation, security and differentiation have become symbols of prestige and a tool for a respectable status.

Contemporary gated community formation in İstanbul also demonstrates or rather is based on ideological and socio-cultural polarisations. In contrast to the Kemer Country which is designed by an American architecture company with all the settlement names in the community in English, Beykoz Konakları, another gated community along the Bosphorus, is based on the Ottoman heritage. The houses which are built according to Ottoman architecture style have Ottoman names. According to Kurtuluş (2003a: 92), these two different examples demonstrate the difference (or polarisation) within the upper class. On the one side there are some members of the upper class who identify themselves with the western culture, on the other hand there is another group who are usually from an Anatolian city – making fortune in İstanbul - and identifying themselves with the Ottoman heritage and representing a more conservative world view.

Hatice Kurtuluş (2003a: 93), lists the common characteristics of gated communities in İstanbul. According to her, these "welfare enclaves" are usually situated along an attractive geographical point such as forest, lake or the sea. They are away from lower classes and

masses, however can easily reached by the residents. They are guarded security guards, walls, gate and electronic surveillance systems. They are designed by prestigious design offices or architects and built up from top quality and aesthetic construction material on a secure geographical spot. They have professionally designed and administrated recreational spaces. They have rich socio-cultural facilities such as sport facilities (some including tennis and golf), kindergartens, parks and sometimes even a primary school or high school. They are usually marketed in such a way that the members of lower classes are automatically eliminated.

The private gated communities are no more restricted to the urban geography of İstanbul. In recent years they have also been adapted to the urban life of Ankara with small modifications in design and advertisement slogans. It is not only the relationship among the suppliers, namely the contactor firms and the housing consumers that re-shape the urban macro form. It is the planning authorities which are influential in different scales from national to local, that direct the development in cities. Therefore, before passing onto the Angora Houses case study, and analysing this suburban "life-style" gated community, the role of planning bodies in the development of Ankara macro form will be summarised by giving a special emphasis to the developments in recent decades.

5.5. Planning Ankara: The Role of Planning Bodies and Legal Decisions in the Formation of the Macro Form of the Capital

The proclamation of Ankara as the new capital city of the Republic had changed this small central Anatolian city's destiny. In 1923, the city's population was estimated as 20.000, in 1927 this number had tripled and reached to 75.000. By 1950, Ankara had 290.000 inhabitants. With the turn of the century, the city had already become a large metropolis with a population of 3.500.000. Such a high rate of population increase could not be met by

adequate housing policies at all times and created a huge pressure on the city's planned structure. Therefore, the development of the city and the role of planning activities and institutions – some of which are unique when the administrative bodies in other cities of Turkey are considered – will be evaluated by emphasising the problem of housing and the solutions posed to overcome this problem.

The first applied land use plan of Ankara was made by German planner Hermann Jansen in 1927 and was started to be put into practice in 1932. Until this date, the housing problem of the increasing population was tried to be met both by consumers themselves by self-built houses and by the municipality (Türel, 1986: 55). Later, expropriation of vast amount of land by the newly established Ankara Municipality (Şehremaneti) paved the road for the application of Jansen plan. Until 1930's, the state and the municipality played the most important roles in housing supply. However, after this date, with the detrimental effects of economic cirisis, the state mostly gave up its role and the self-built housing became inadequate for the increasing demand. The result of this was the spread of low-cost and irregularly built squatter houses. One of the solutions implemented to overcome the housing shortage was building up cooperatives and the first cooperative was established by high rank bureaucrats and administrators of the time in 1934. The area where the houses of this cooperative were built was Bahçelievler and by the end of 1938, 169 housing units had been built. However, neither the self-built housing activities nor the establishment of such cooperatives could erode the housing shortage (Türel, 1986: 55).

By 1948, with the introduction of new laws, squatter housings became legal and with the introduction of "the law of the promotion of apartment construction", the right of distribution and allocation of the land within the municipality borders was given to the municipalities. The goal of the law was to make municipalities to supply planned and developed land where the infrastructure is built for the consumers who were expected to build their houses on these

planned areas. The outcome of this law was the formation of 2000 housed Yenimahalle district and construction of scores of housing units at Etlik district (Türel, 1986: 56). However, due to the weakness of the financial structure which would supply credits for such construction activities and the unwillingness of forthcoming governments made such an attempt erode as time went by. In late 1930s and 40s, vast amount of land was developed according to the Jansen plan. However, because of the ever increasing speculative prices of the developed land, the construction took place in undeveloped areas within the city; squatter housing neighbourhoods determined the new form of the urban fabric.

1957 was marked by the introduction of a new master plan for Ankara. The population and the city growth had far exceeded the variables predicted by Jansen plan by the mid-1950, and this new plan prepared by Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin was targeted to rehabilitate the deteriorated parts of the city. Although put into practice, in the long run the plan could not succeed because of the reluctance of the government which had then concentrated all efforts in İstanbul and also because of the pressure groups which had considerable power and who were benefiting from speculative land and flat prices. The main problem was the pressure of decision making organs – which had close relations with the pressure groups – to increase the density of the built environment rather than adding new housing areas and extending the planned city limits (Bademli, 1986: 107). By 1960s Ankara horizon had become marked by multi storey apartment buildings.

The increasing population growth rate which continued in 1950s and 60s, also brought up new laws and regulations into the agenda. The flat ownership law (kat mülkiyeti yasası) was introduced in 1965 and enabled the land owners and small scale builders to profit from the housing trade and dramatically increased the number of tenants which were mostly the middle class and the lower-middle class members (Türel, 1986: 57).

In 1969, "The Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau" (AMAPB) was established by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement. According to the findings of the studies carried out by this bureau, and contrary to the propositions of the Yücel-Uybadin plan, the built environment – especially the residential areas – in Ankara had to decentralise. The master plan scheme for 1990 prepared by this bureau proposed a planned development through the west and south-west corridors of the city (Altaban, 1997: 93). Due to the problems faced in expropriating land for mass construction projects offered for such a development, it took decades to realise the extension of the city. However, the development of suburban areas such as Batıkent, Eryaman, Çayyolu, Korukent and Konutkent in recent decades, are indeed the outcomes of AMAPB proposals. Therefore, it can be argued that "suburbanisation" has been experienced in Ankara as a planned development since the last two decades.

After the introduction of new "laissez faire" accumulation model to the Turkish economy in the post-1980 period, the building sector has started to be dominated by big firms rather than small-scale contractors. This new model; large scale cooperative housing could be undertaken by big firms which could afford such costs. As Oğuz Işık (1999; 265) demonstrates, the percentage of cooperative housing has gradually increased since 1970s. The percentage of cooperative housing buildings within the whole housing building activities was 10.9 in the period 1975-80. In the period 1980-85 it was 21.1% and in the period 1985-1990, nearly one third of every building that was built in the planned area was a cooperative housing. Such an increasing share of cooperatives in the development of Turkish cities and especially in Ankara, also decentralised the residential zones. Since the cheapest land has been in the outskirts of the city, cooperatives chose those sites as building areas. Moreover, factors such as the increasing rate of car ownership and decentralisation of some governmental buildings and universities also contributed to this phenomenon (Işık, 1999: 265).

However, it is hard to argue that all the developments in these last two decades were in the direction of master plan. In 1984, AMAPB was incorporated and "handed over" to the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and became an ineffective directorate. In the 80s the dominant political strategy was laissez faire, and degradation of AMAPB was because of the pressure of the entrepreneurs who were dominant in land and flat market and considered the AMAPB as an obstacle (Altaban, 2002: 38).

It was not only the weakening of planning organs that lead to the unplanned suburbanisation after the second half of 80s, but also the dispersed authority that empowered various actors in supplying land. With the introduction of new legal regulations, district municipalities and even the governorships became influential actors, however not all of these actors have the capability of providing infrastructure and services to the cooperatives spreading in new residential areas and mass housing areas (Altaban, 2002: 38). Another negative implication of the consequences listed above is the increasing fragmentation of the urban population. As Altaban (1996: 11) argues, cooperative mass housing was targeted to solve the housing problem of the low and middle income population. However, the conditions under which loans are distributed make only regularly employed and well off citizens the clients of these loans. Moreover, because of the booming rate of inflation in late 80s, only upper-middle and upper class people can make use of housing loans and therefore, only upper-middle and upper class cooperatives can survive under such conditions. Other than Batıkent and Eryaman housing areas which were planned late 70s, nearly all cooperatives especially the ones situated along the Eskişehir Highway attracted upper-middle class citizens and therefore lead to the fragmentation and segmentation of urban space in Ankara.

Angora Houses is a unique cooperative community when the other cooperative housing areas along Eskişehir Highway such as Konutkent, Korukent and the ones in Ümitköy and Çayyolu is taken into account. It can be considered as an upper-middle class gated

community in terms of high house prices and higher security concern when compared with other satellite communities. In the next chapter Angora Houses as an example of a gated community experience in Ankara will be analysed.

CHAPTER 6

ANGORA HOUSES: AN UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS

GATED COMMUNITY IN ANKARA

6.1. Introduction

Getting on the car at the city centre, riding through Eskişehir highway to the west of Ankara, leaving behind the campuses of three distinguished universities; Middle East Technical University, Bilkent University, Hacettepe University, passing by two commercial complexes; Armada and Bilkent Centre, as well as the buildings of "recently decentralised" ministries and public institutions… After a half an hour ride on this upper-middle class boulevard, the car stops in front of a gate. On the left, there are private security guards looking at you in order to understand if you are one of the residents or a "foreigner". On the right, there is a huge signboard on which it is written "Angora Evleri" (Angora Houses). Behind the gate there is a wide boulevard intersected by side streets along which neatly designed and well kept villas, semi detached houses and apartment blocks are situated and in front of which luxurious cars are parked. This is Angora Houses, a huge gated community which, as stated in the advertisements, is claimed to be "the meeting point of the people who know how to live"[1]. However when the prices of the houses are considered, this is obviously

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[1]"This is Angora; a city where people that know how to live meet" (Burası Angora… Yaşamayı bilenlerin buluştuğu kent) is one of the earliest slogans in marketing the community and this

the meeting point of the people who can afford to pay double prices for housing in order to live in such a community. This is the place of withdrawal for a part of Ankara's upper-middle class. It is in this chapter that the spatial, social, cultural and demographic aspects of the Angora Houses will be evaluated.

Mainly there are two groups of purchasers of such a "life" in Angora. The first group includes the members of the "Housing Estate Co-op 18" (S.S. Konut Yapı Kooperatifi-18) which was the owner (appropriator) of the land and have their houses built by the contractor firm Barmek Construction Company. This group, which most of the members have not settled to the Angora yet, had their houses under very advantageous conditions. Moreover, it is also a known fact that some members of this group have already sold their houses and profited from such a trade. Secondly, there are the ones who directly bought their houses from Barmek. Today, the community is mostly made up of this second group residents and it is this group on which the case study is built.

6.2. Methodology of the Study

In this case study, both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed. A questionnaire was designed in order to understand the social, economic and cultural profile of the residents and to find out the push and pull factors that drove them to this gated community and this questionnaire was applied to forty people. Among these forty people, fifteen have been selected for in-depth interviews and inquired in detail about the topics such as, their perception of the urban life in Ankara, of the suburban life and gated communities as well as their everyday experiences about the community life in Angora Houses and their relations with their neighbours. Since some of the interviewees were former managers in the governing body of the community and some were in the management post of the high rise

advertisement was published in major newspapers such as Cumhuriyet (May 27, 1996) and Milliyet (May 31, 1996).

blocks, the management of the community and administrative problems were discussed with them.

Angora Houses is a gated, fortified suburban community. The questionnaire of the field research was designed to learn about the level of integration of its residents with the city life and to test the hypotheses if the existence of such "remote" communities contributes to the fragmentation of urban social life or not. Moreover, the motivation of residents behind choosing to live in a secure and gated community is also questioned to find out if Angora Houses was chosen because of the feeling of security or mostly because of its high quality suburban life quality.

In addition to the points listed above, one of the most important hypotheses in this study is that Angora Houses is an upper-middle class community. In order to "measure" the class position of the residents, different measures, developed by different schools of thought discussed in Chapter 3, is employed. The general framework is drawn from the Marxian point of view by analysing household members' position in production relations. Such an analysis will be based on the conflict theory of Marxian sociology which allows us to identify the class position of people in the antagonist context of capital and labour power. However, since this fact is not only sufficient to explain the class position of the residents, the Weberian stratification method is also integrated into the analysis when more concrete data about occupational status, consumption patterns, etc. are being evaluated. Lastly, the level of cultural capital of the residents will be analysed by demonstrating the free time practices of the residents. Shortly, class map of Angora Houses is drawn by employing Marxian notion in the broadest level and by employing Weber's and Bourdieu's notions in the micro level analysis in order to find out sub-groups and intermediary strata of the class positions of the residents.

In addition to the material collected directly from the field research, precious data from the Angora Houses Promotion and Marketing Office, about the age groups, employment status and former place of living of all house buyers have been gathered. However, although these data is employed in the forthcoming sections of this work, the overall analysis will not be totally based on them. The reason for this is the inappropriate classifications of the data gathered and missing information in the overall data which will be exhibited in the appendix part of this thesis.

In the light of the information gathered from the field research, Angora Houses Promotion and Marketing Office and direct observations made by the author himself, a gated community experience in Ankara will be analysed in this chapter by employing (and sometimes questioning) theoretical arguments discussed up to this point.

6.3. Creating a Welfare Enclave "in the Middle of Nowhere": A Short Story of Angora Houses

Angora Houses is situated at Beytepe, between Beysukent and Çayyolu. It is 15 kilometres from the city centre and occupies 1.400.000 m². The planning activities were carried out by PROMİM Landscape Planning, Urban Design and Computer Services Company and houses were designed by architect Can Ersan. According to the development plan, nearly 49% of this area is used for housing and the rest 51 % of land is used for public purposes. The percentage of green area per person is nearly 50 m² which is ten times more than the average percentage in the rest of Ankara[2]. On this vas amount of land, 1929 housing units were planned to be built. The completion of construction took longer than anticipated and because

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[2]Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Beytepe Mass Housing Area 1/5000 Development Plan, Planning Description Report.

of the recent bankruptcy of Barmek, the contractor firm, there are still incomplete buildings in the area which disturbs the heavenly image of the community.

Today Angora Houses has nearly 3.000 inhabitants. After the completion of building activities, nearly 8.000 people are expected to live there. The story of Angora houses is indeed quite an extraordinary one, always mentioned with various rumours about illegal processes and corruption. It has been covered by different media organs and even by a book written by an ex- Government Accounting Bureau inspector Ali İhsan Saner (2000). From the illegal appropriation of the land (Saner, 2000: 37) to the bankruptcy of the contractor, Barmek construction firm, the story of this community includes many topics which can be considered as important subjects for different studies and theses projects. Unfortunately, analysing these stories in full detail and uncovering all the claims are beyond the extent of this thesis. However, the purchasing (or rather the appropriation) of the land by a housing cooperative established by 18th term members of the Turkish National Assembly will be summarised below in the light of the data obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality[3] and from the work of A. İ. Saner.

In the general elections of 1987, 18th term members of the parliament were elected. The Motherland Party collected 36.31% of the votes and came to the power. The Motherland Party was followed by Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) which collected 24.74% of the votes. Lastly, True Path Party (DYP) made it to the parliament by collecting 19.14% of the votes. The mayor of Ankara was Mehmet Altınsoy, who also was from the Motherland Party lead by Prime Minister Turgut Özal. On May 25, 1988, the site, today occupied by Angora Houses, was declared "mass housing area no:48" by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. In March 27, 1989, Murat Karayalçın from Social Democrat People's Party became the new

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[3] The data obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality was provided by people working there as civil servants. Due to our confidentiality agreement, their names and sources will not be cited as a reference.

mayor of Ankara. It was in the same year that 18th term MPs established "Housing Estate Co-op 18" (S.S. Konut Yapı Kooperatifi-18). Shortly after, an agreement between the Cooperative and the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality was signed. Under the agreement there were the signatures of Murat Karayalçın from the Social Democrat People's Party, as the Mayor, Ahmet Karaevli, from the True Path Party, as the president of the Co-op and Nafiz Kurt from the Motherland Party as the vice-president of the Co-op. According to the agreement, the Municipality was "supposed to" expropriate the area and after building its infrastructure, allocate the area to the Cooperative (Saner, 2000: 32). On January 17, 1989, the Metropolitan Municipality decided to expropriate the mass housing area no: 48 by emphasising public benefit. Later, this decision was approved by the governorship on February 28, 1989. Finally, in 1991, 617.307 m² of land was bought from the Municipality by the Co-op for 61.730.700.000 Turkish Liras. This meant that each member of the Co-op had to pay at around 86.000.000 Turkish Liras (1991 prices) for their share (Saner, 2000: 33). When the land prices of those years are considered, this was a truly a "lucrative business" and a profitable investment for the members of the Co-op.

Table 6.1. Chronology of Angora Houses' Story: Events and Actors

Chronology of Angora Houses' Story: Events and Actors
26.05.1988 – Governership has declared Mass Housing Area No: 48 in Beytepe following Ankara Metropolitan Municipality's request (1).
04.8.1988 – General Directorate of Building Sites was asked to expropriate the land in Beytepe Mass Housing Area No: 48 (1).
1989 – Housing Estate Cooperative 18 is established by 18th term members of the parliament (2).
17.01.1989 – Metropolitan municipality took over the task of expropriation since the general Directorate of Building Sites announced that the expropriation procedure could not be realised by the Directorate itself due to lack of funds (1).
28.02.1989 – Governership has approved Metropolitan Municipality's decision of expropriating land (1).
04.7.1989 – Co-op 18 and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality signed an agreement. According to this Municipality was supposed to expropriate land, complete the infrastructural works of the area and hand it over to the Co-op 18 (2).
08.01.1990 – Municipial Council has approved 1/25.000 scale plan (1).   29.01.1990 – Municipial Council has approved 1/5.000 scale plan (1).   12.02.1990 – Municipial Council has approved 1/1.000 scale plan (1).
05.8.1991 – Co-op 18 bought the land expropriated by the Metropolitan Municipality (617.307 m²) at a cost of 100.000 Turkish Liras (TL) for 1 m² (2).   12.8.1991 – Co-op 18 bought 216.674 m² land from the General Directorate of Building Sites at a cost of 30.500 TL for 1 m² (2).
1996 – Co-op 18 signed an agreement with Barmek Construction Company for the building of houses (2).

Source: (1) Ankara Metropolitan Municipality; (2) Saner, A. İ., 2000, "Devletin Rantı Deniz…", İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

The number of the members of the cooperative was more than 700, far exceeding the number of 18th term members of the parliament. Other than members of the parliament, top bureaucrats, local government administrators, journalists, writers and businessmen also had a share in the Co-op (Saner, 2000: pp. 34-35). Shortly it was a group of "power elites", no matter to which party or ideology they belonged to, that would benefit from this site which had been expropriated in the name of "public benefit".

As stated before, 1929 housing estates were designed in the development plan. According to the plan, 49% of houses were villa type. Other than these 945 villas, 496 apartment houses in 12 high rise buildings (with 10, 12 or 14 storeys), 488 row houses in 72 semi-detached buildings (with 4 or 5 storeys) are designed. Out of 945 villas that were planned, 745 were given to the members of the Co-op 18 in return for land. The sales rights of remaining 200 villas, 72 semi-detached buildings and 12 high-rise apartments belonged to Barmek. The prices of the houses are as follows: Apartment flat (with three rooms and a living room): $ 91.500, apartment flat (two-storey): $ 171.500, row house flat (with four rooms and a living room): $ 150.000, row house flat (with five rooms and a living room, two-storey): $ 171.500, roughly built villa (with eight rooms and a living room): $ 180.000, prestige villa (with eight rooms and two living rooms): $ 300.000[4]. In addition to these prices, consumers need to pay extra money which ranges between $ 60.000 and $ 150.000 in order to finalise the rough construction of villas according to their tastes.

One of the advantages of living in gated communities has always been mentioned as the provision of "top quality" private services. These private services range from security, cleaning, garbage collection and inner community transportation to household maintenance and repair activities. Since, the whole area in considered as a private property, the municipality is not responsible for the provision of urban services. Therefore, it is the

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[4] Prices of April 2003. Data obtained from Angora Houses Promotion and Sales Office

administrative body of the community that is responsible from the management tasks and provision of services. As stated before, the case study considers the ones who bought the houses later, rather than the ones who were the members of the Co-op 18. In the next section, the administrative body in the community, the Collective Building Administrative Committee (Toplu Yapı Yönetim Kurulu) which was established by the residents who are not the members of the Co-op 18 will be analysed.

6.4. Demographic Profile of Angora Houses Residents

Angora Houses is not a community of single "yuppies". Rather, by looking at the table below, it can be argued that it is mostly the middle aged people who would like to spend rest of their lives in an ordered, silent and tranquil environment.

Table 6.2. Age Groups of House Owners in Angora

Age	Number	%
20 – 30	67	8%
30 – 40	289	33%
40 – 50	329	37%
50 – 60	155	17%
60 – 70	37	4%
Over 70	10	1%
Total	887	100%

Source: Angora Houses Promotion and Marketing Office, 2003.

Below is the demographic data about the sample group of interviewees. Among 40 people that interviews were conducted, 33 were house owners, 7 were tenants and 17 of them were living in a flat in high-rise blocks, 15 were living in a row house flat and 8 in a villa.

Table 6.3. Age groups of interviewees

Age Group	Number	(%)
20-29	2	5.0
30-39	9	22.5
40-49	9	22.5
50-59	11	27.5
60-69	8	20.0
70-79	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Thirty three of interviewees were male and seven were female. Out of these seven female interviewees, one was single and the rest 6 were widow. Moreover, among 33 male interviewees, one was divorced and one was single. 80% of interviewees were living within a nuclear family (no extended family was recorded) and the average size of a family was 2.65. In the next section, class profile of Angora Houses residents will be analysed by arguing about the data gathered from the field research.

6.5. Class Profile of Angora Houses Residents

In this section, the class profile of Angora Houses residents will be evaluated. First, economic indicators such as income, occupation, occupational mobility and consumption patterns of the interviewees will be discussed. In this part, firstly classical Marxist point of view in evaluating the employment status and analysing the class position will be employed. Secondly, Weberian notion of market position will be measured by looking at interviewees' occupational status, material rewards acquired and by evaluating the consumption patterns. In the second part, socio-economic indicators about the lifestyles of interviewees will be evaluated and facts, that Bourdieu emphasised when arguing about cultural capital as one of the primary sources of distinction for the upper strata of societies, will be listed. Such a discussion comprises variables such as the level of education and the consumption of "cultural products". The aim of such a dual grouping is not to compartmentalise the two realms (economic and socio-cultural) which are indeed closely interrelated but to establish an organised framework in discussing the class profile of the residents in the light of field research data.

6.5.1. Economic Indicators

After reading the story of Angora Houses it can be understood that social milieu in the community is not as homogenous as one can expect. There are various reasons behind this. First of all, from the beginning people with different purchasing power were targeted by the land owner Co-op and the developers and this resulted in product differentiation; as stated before the prices of different types of housings vary from $ 90.000 to $ 300.000. Second, the problems faced in selling the houses reflected to the prices of the houses in time and especially after the economic crisis that the construction firm Barmek has fallen into, prices of the houses have fluctuated and this resulted in the flow of different-income buyers to the community. However, apart from these one thing is certain and that is; the price of the houses has been relatively so high that the upper strata of society have flown here in the search of living with the ones alike in a "hygienic" milieu. One of the primary sources in determining the socio-economic position of interviewees would be their income. Below is the approximate monthly household income of the 37 interviewees who declared their overall income:

Table 6.4. Monthly household income distribution of interviewees (1000 Turkish Liras)

Income	Number	Sex	(%)
1.000 – 1.900	3	1 male, 2 female	8.1
2.000 – 2.900	7	5 male, 2 female	19.0
3.000 – 3.900	5	3 male, 3 female	13.5
4.000 – 4.900	5	5 male	13.5
5.000 – 7.400	13	13 male	35.1
7.500 – 9.900	1	1 male	2.7
10.000 – 14.900	1	1 male	2.7
15.000 – 20.000	2	2 male	5.4
Total	37	31 male, 6 female	100.0

Source: Field Research

During the days that these interviews were conducted (August-September, 2003) the declared minimum wage in Turkey (for 16 years old and older) was 306.000.000 Turkish Liras. From the table it is seen that monthly income of households are far beyond this number. The first cluster, the ones that declared their income as between 1.000.000.000 – 1.900.000.000 are

made up of the ones who were either housewives or retired. In this case the house (usually a flat in one of the high-rise Angora blocks) is purchased by lifelong savings or by their children who have good wages and who are also living in Angora. The largest group consist of the ones whose income is between 5.000.000.000 – 7.400.000.000. Four members of this group are living in a villa, five in a row house flat and four in an apartment flat. Such a differential distribution clearly demonstrates that it is the size of the family as well as the level of income that determines the choices. Three interviewees (two living in a villa and one in a row house) whose income is above 10.000.000.000, are among the "riches" in Angora. They constitute the topmost part of the "welfare" triangle in Angora.

Evaluation of income distribution alone is not an accurate category in determining interviewees' class position. Their position in the relations of production is one of the most important variables in determining the class positions.

Table 6.5. Employment status of interviewees

Employment Status	Number	Sex	(%)
Employer /Self Employed	8	8 male	20.0
Salaried (Private Sector)	11	10 male, 1 female	27.5
Salaried (Public Sector)	8	8 male	20.0
Retired	3	3 female	7.5
Unemployed / Not Working	6	3 male, 3 female	15.0
Other	4	4 male	10
Total	40	33 male, 7 female	100.0

Source: Field Research

From the table it is understood that 20% of interviewees own their business. In Boratav's terms (Chp. 3.6.) they are either in the bourgeois, petty bourgeois grouping or belong to the group of marginal jobs which can exist in the same cluster with bourgeoisie or with the exploited "folk classes" (a term developed by Boratav in analysing the class profiles in Turkey). In the case of Angora it can be expected that residents of this community belong to the first cluster. If the employment status variable of "socio-economic status index" is employed (Chp. 3.6.), this first group would be expected as belonging to the "upper socio-

economic status group". The second largest group is the retired and unemployed interviewees. As noted above they are either single / divorced housewives or retired couples who either invested savings into this housing estate or who are "looked after" by their children. The largest group is salaried interviewees. This group is not homogenous. It is made up of chief executive officers of big firms, administrators in the public sector, civil servants, etc. They are mostly highly qualified employees (or belong to the upper-middle socio-economic status) and they are earning good wages as can be understood from the previous section. As Poulantzas (1978) argues, the members of this class (managers, administrators, etc.) neither belong to the working class not to the bourgeoisie since they are not manual labourers and they do not own the means of production. In this case they are on the side with the exploiter bourgeoisie not only in terms of ideological and political choices but also in terms of spatial organisation. Another point to be noted is that when interviewees' salaries are considered, it is seen clearly that houses with such prices can not always be purchased by the savings from the salaries. Therefore, in the case of Angora, one should not think that it is only achieved success and surplus that enabled interviewees to settle in Angora. Rather, it can be said that it is usually both the achieved and ascribed rewards that make people to live in Angora.

When evaluated from a Weberian point of view, Angora Houses residents can be considered as the positively privileged middle class members who have marketable skills mostly acquired by education. Most of the interviewees have varying degrees of properties and high status jobs. The fusion of the "positive" features listed provides them a privileged position in the capitalist market. Moreover, their consumption habits which will be discussed in detail later is another source of high status.

Table 6.6. Occupations of interviewees

Occupation	Number	(%)
Engineer	9	22.5
Doctor / Pharmacist	6	15.0
Housewife	6	15.0
Manager	4	10.0
Academic Staff / Teacher	4	10.0
Diplomat / Embassy Staff	3	7.5
Architect / City Planner	2	5.0
Merchant	2	5.0
Tourism Agent	1	2.5
Other	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Among the working population, the leading group is engineers. However, this does not always mean that they perform engineer's tasks in their professional life. Some of the engineers involve actively in trade or they are occupying managerial posts in firms or public sector institutions. When the sector distribution of interviewees' jobs is concerned, it is understood that Angora Houses is chosen by well off private sector employees more than bureaucrats, public administrators, etc., with whom the urban population in Ankara is associated.

Table 6.7. Sector distribution of interviewees' jobs

Sector	Number	(%)
Private	25	62.5
Public	9	22.5
Unemployed / Not Working	6	15.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.8. Occupational mobility of the interviewees

		Previous Occupation				
		Self employed / employer	Salaried (Private Sector)	Civil Servant (Public Sector)	Other	Total
Current Occupation	Self employed / employer		1 (5.3%)			1 (5.3%)
	Salaried (Private Sector)	1 (5.3%)	1 (5.3%)	9 (47.4%)		11 (57.9%)
	Civil Servant (Public Sector)		1 (5.3%)	3 (15.8%)	1 (5.3%)	5 (26.3%)
	Other				2 10.5%	2 (10.5%)
	Total	1 (5.3%)	3 (15.8%)	12 (63.2%)	3 (15.8%)	19 (100%)

Source: Field Research

The public/private sector mobility of the interviewees clearly demonstrates that today, the speculative wealth, which attracts people hoping a personal economic boom, is concentrated in the private sector rather than the public sector. Nearly half of the interviewees who were working in the public sector before are now working in the private sector. Such a striking data verify statements about the change in economical sphere noticing the growth of private sector after 1980s and the increasing number of privatised services, increasing tendency towards entrepreneurship and the flow of qualified mental labour from public to private sector. This data also allows us to speculate about the expansion of "privatisation ideology" in Turkey in the last two decades which resulted in office boom and generated new areas of "specialisations" for mental labour and which therefore created a small but powerful upper-middle class.

The consumption patterns of interviewees also can be considered as indicators of their status. Since Angora is a remote suburban community, and mass transportation is still problematic, the rate of car ownership is quite high when compared with the average rate in Turkey.

Table 6.9. Car ownership in households

Number of Cars	Number	(%)
1	15	37.5
2	17	42.5
3	4	10.0
No Cars	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Because of the poor transportation facilities car ownership is a "must" in Angora. As can be seen from the table, only 10% of the interviewees do not own a car. However, most of these are mostly retired old people who are not quite mobile and who at the same time have never had a driving licence. They mostly rely on either their children or sometimes on municipality busses which stop at the entrance of the community. From the table it is also understood that more than half of the households have two or three cars. When the average household size is considered (2.65), this means that nearly all wives and also some children – still living with the parents – own a car. Such a data also enables us to comment on women's status. It is known that car ownership contributes to women's "emancipation" by making them more mobile and less dependant on husband. Moreover, it is not the quantity of cars in a household that differentiate Angora residents from average citizens but also the quality. Among the interviewees' cars, the oldest (and the poorest) one was a 1974 VW beetle which was drawn by a middle aged woman and which was declared to be kept because it felt like an old friend to have that "sympathetic" car. Other than that, most of the cars were either European or Japanese brand and some of them were even 4x4 Jeeps which were at most 4-5 years old. In Angora owning a shiny luxurious car is a common practice and it is also considered as a status symbol.

Table 6.10. Rented labour power in households

	Number	(%)
Cleaning woman	32	84.2
Maid / Servant	3	7.9
No rented labour power	3	7.9
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Research

Depending on wage labourers in domestic works is also typical of Angora. Every afternoon one sees numerous women with scarves and men with worker's outfit waiting in the bus stop in order to get back their homes. As Caldeira (1996, 311) put it, upper class lifestyle experienced in gated, fortified enclaves depend on – usually badly paid – servants who come from the "other side" of the fence. Although their existence in the street is not welcomed their labour within the house is indispensable. Yes, Angora women are busy since most of them are working outside. Moreover, they are well off enough to rent a labour force for domestic work (cleaning, ironing, washing the dishes, cooking etc.). Women (wives, daughters, etc.) in Angora community, are not perceived as natural born domestic labourers as is typical of well educated Turkish upper-middle class.

Table 6.11. Highest expenditure of the interviewees

Expenditure	Number	(%)
Household expenditures	17	42.5
Children's expenditures / education	9	22.5
Transportation / Gas	7	17.5
Rent	4	10.0
Socio-cultural activities	2	5.0
Health	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

When asked about their highest expenditure, nearly half of the interviewees declared household expenditures (food, cleaning materials, money spent on furniture, decoration, etc.). In most cases household expenditures are so high because most of the interviewees are newcomers and they spend a lot of money for the decoration of the house. Moreover, they usually purchase well known brands (which are relatively expensive at the same time) and

they "play" the ideal consumer as typified in the advertisements. Some families who own more than one car and whose members work in "remote parts of the city" spend huge amount of their money for gas (and in the long run, repair and maintenance of their cars). The declaration of money spent on children and their education as the highest expenditure is also typical of well educated upper-middle class families who try to raise their children as best as they can and ensure their future market position (and positive privilege) which is determined by education. Investing on cultural capital is a common reaction among this class' members which will be discussed in the next part in more detail.

6.5.2. Socio-Cultural Indicators

In the previous part, economic indicators about the sample Angora Houses residents were discussed in detail. After evaluating the research data one thing is seen clearly; they belong to the either upper-middle class, the petty bourgeoisie or to the bourgeoisie. Although not strictly homogenous, Angora Houses residents are in general middle aged people living in nuclear family formation in which usually both the husband and the wife works usually as a qualified salaried worker and sometimes as a manager mostly in private sector. In this part, socio-cultural indicators will be evaluated in order to test the above hypothesis, since the (new) upper-middle classes are expected to possess a high degree of cultural capital as well as economic. In order to achieve this purpose, facts such as level of education, life-style, integration to the social life, etc. will be demonstrated.

Bourdieu (1986: 241) conceptualised the "new petty bourgeoisie" groups as taste setters and standard bearer for other upper class members. In their constant struggle for appropriating tastes of luxury – in order to signify their difference from the working class – this class emphasises the importance of cultural assets as well as property. A 34 year old male

interviewee confirms Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the new petty bourgeoisie as the taste setter, after describing a stereotypical Angora resident, as follows:

> "…People who bought their houses from Barmek belong to the upper-middle class, 95% of them are university graduates, they read newspaper everyday, go to the cinema and theatre, listen a wide range of music from classical to Turkish pop music… Their cultural level is very high. When villas are the case; nearly 65-70% of the residents living there are university graduates, they either are bosses or top managers in private sector companies. However, when we look at Co-op 18, most of them are former members of the parliament or are bureaucrats, the source of their income is "uncertain". Nobody knows how they make investments such as this. Most of them have more than one villa. Their economic level is high however they lack cultural capital. These two sides are jealous of each other and they imitate each other at the same time. People who live in apartment flats or in row houses who bought the houses from Barmek are jealous of others' spending on decoration, etc. Others, however, although economically stronger, imitate the people living in flats or row houses because they do not want to be perceived as vulgar and improper. Therefore they are trying to catch up with these people's cultural habits…"

Since the field research was conducted on CBAC members (nearly all of which purchased the houses from Barmek as described above) the analysis below will cover the "first group"; the upper-middle class Angora residents. Many of the interviewees owe their success in their career, their wealth and finally ownership of a house in Angora to their economic capital which is bound to their cultural capital which is determined more or less by education.

Table 6.12. Level of education interviewees

Level of Education	Number	(%)
Phd. Degree	5	12.5
Master Degree	9	22.5
University	17	42.5
High School	7	17.5
Secondary School	1	2.5
Primary School	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.13. Level of education of house owners' wives

Level of Education	Number	(%)
Phd. Degree	1	3.4
Master Degree	1	3.4
University	22	75.9
High School	3	10.3
Secondary School	1	3.4
Primary School	1	3.4
Total	29	100.0

Source: Field Research

77.5% of interviewees (33 male, 7 female) have at least a university degree. What is striking is the number of interviewees who have a master degree or a Ph.D. (35%). The interviewees who have a Ph.D. degree are either academic or doctors. Possession of a Master degree has become a requirement in the "career world" which has become quite competitive since last two decades. 82.7% of house owners' wives have at least a university degree. Although only two of them have either a master or a Ph.D. degree, more than two third of them are equipped with a high level of cultural capital, enough to help them to move upwards through their lives. Although it is certain a crucial notice should be made at this point: The education level of interviewees is far above the average level of education of Turkish urban population just like their economic capital.

Education plays an important role in the reproduction of classes. Good education is usually a prerequisite for either upward mobility or for sustaining the present class position. Since most of the interviewees' children's education was "in progress", only a rough division between children studying in public schools and children studying in private schools were made.

Table 6.14. Type of schools that children of interviewees attend

Type of School	Number	(%)
Private	16	72.7
Public	6	27.3
Total	22	100.0

Source: Field Research

Studying in a private school does not always mean a good education. However it can be assumed that by paying huge amounts of money, parents are trying to make their children equipped with cultural capital and status, bound at least to a university degree. Moreover, although in some cases true, there is a common prejudice about private schools' superiority to public schools. Nearly two thirds of children are studying in private schools which range from kindergarten to university.

Free time activities are also indicators of lifestyles of interviewees. Below are two tables that demonstrate both the areas of interest and activities carried out at home and outside home by interviewees in their free time.

Table 6.15. Free time activities of interviewees (at home)

Activity	Number	(%)
Reading	27	67.5
Using computer / internet	16	40.0
Watching TV	15	37.5
Listening music	14	35.0
Hobby activities / handworks	14	35.0
Gardening	10	25.0
Pets	3	7.5
Sports	2	5.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.16. Free time activities of interviewees (outside home)

Activity	Number	(%)
Meeting with friends	33	82.5
Going to cinema	28	70.0
Sports	15	37.5
Going to concert	10	25.0
Shopping	9	22.5
Going to theatre	5	12.5
Involvement in club, society, etc. activities	1	2.5

Source: Field Research

About the free time activities at home; what is quite interesting at first sight is that interviewees spend more time on reading and using computer, internet than watching T.V. This data can be interpreted as indicator of interviewees' inclination towards intellectual

activities and technological media. Another interesting result is that, only 10 interviewees spend some time on gardening. Since 15 interviewees were living in a row house flat (14 of them in ground floor) and 8 were living in a villa surrounded by huge gardens, less than half of them carry out gardening activities. The rest can be assumed to desire gardens maintained by labourers rented either directly or by CBAC.

Free time activities of interviewees carried out away from home also displays interesting link with theoretical arguments. As Bourdieu argued, the concept of healthy body has been an important factor in the constitution of new petty bourgeois lifestyle. As can be seen from the table 37.5% of the interviewees declare that they regularly do sports. Of course this is also a considerably high ratio when average citizens' active involvement in sports activities is taken into account. Thanks to movie theatres in nearby suburban shopping malls, 70% of interviewees go to cinema frequently. However, the ratio of going to theatre is quite low (12.5%) when compared with this number. It is true that theatre has never been as popular as cinema, but it can also be argued that the concentration of all theatres at the city centre is also an important factor behind such a low ratio.

Newspaper subscription of interviewees also allows us to comment on their similar lifestyle choices. Two thirds of interviewees read Hürriyet which has been advertised on T.V. as "the most popular newspaper in Turkey". Hürriyet in the last decade has been – without transforming its neo-liberal and sometimes conservative rhetoric – a popular newspaper because of variety of columnists from different camps in its body. Although the overall rhetoric is neo-liberal one can find "moderate" conservatives, "moderate" Kemalists and "moderate" social-democrats in different columns. Shortly, Hürriyet is a newspaper for all "moderate" tastes. Milliyet, a newspaper quite similar to Hürriyet comes before Cumhuriyet which has social democrat rhetoric in the line of Kemalism.

Table 6.17. Newspaper subscription of interviewees

Newspaper	Number	(%)
Hürriyet	23	74.2
Milliyet	4	12.9
Cumhuriyet	3	9.7
Sabah	1	3.1
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Research

Reading magazines is the common aspect of upper-middle and upper classes throughout the world. From different genres of magazines, they can acquire knowledge to make their investments, they can catch up with latest lifestyle trends, they can add some more information to their overall popular science knowledge, etc.

Table 6.18. Genres of frequently read magazines

Genre	Number	(%)
Travel / Geography	8	38.1
Fashion / Lifestyle	5	23.8
Sports / Automobile	3	14.3
Computer	2	9.5
Economy / Finance	2	9.5
Popular Science	1	4.8
Total	21	100.0

Source: Field Research

From the table it is seen that magazines such as National Geographic and Atlas are the most popular ones among the interviewees. These magazines which are concerned with geography and travel promise both information about different geographies, cultures etc. and beautiful mostly "refreshing" best quality photographs. Women prefer to read fashion, decoration and lifestyle magazines whereas men (usually young men) prefer sports and automobile magazines as can be expected. These last category of magazines are usually designed to introduce the latest consumption patterns and items to their readers (consumers).

Club and association membership of interviewees can be considered as an indicator of their integration to the society and their position in social networks.

Table 6.19. Membership of interviewees to clubs, associations, etc.

Type of Association	Number	(%)
Sports	11	32.4
Alumni	9	26.5
Occupational	6	17.7
Solidarity	4	11.7
Other (Masonry, Rotary, etc.)	4	11.7
Total	34	100.0

Source: Field Research

Membership to sports clubs demonstrates the importance of "healthy body" in interviewees' perception. These are private sports clubs (such as Sports International situated in Bilkent) which members pay a lot. Some interviewees are members of more established clubs such as Equestrian Club (Atlı Spor Klübü) or Tennis Club. Since most of the interviewees are members of "distinguished" high schools and universities, they actively involve in the alumni organisations of their previous schools. Women pay off their social duties by spending some time in various solidarity associations. Although it is not a common practice to declare memberships to some solidarity groups for the crème de la crème part of society such as masonry and rotary organisations, four interviewees declared their memberships to such associations.

Final remarks about the class profile of Angora Houses interviewees should be made here. First of all the field research was focused on the purchasers of houses (and a lifestyle) in Angora not the members of Co-op 18 to whom the houses were built for and given. Among the sample group only one fifth of interviewees owned the means of production. The majority were salaried with an average monthly household income of 4.800.000.000 Turkish Liras ($ 3.300). They can be best called as upper-middle class or the new petty bourgeoisie who have high status jobs and consumption habits but who do not belong to the bourgeoisie or to the working class. In socio-cultural spectacle hey more or less share the same secular upper-middle class value system. During the in-depth interviews many of them emphasised that they are living among people like themselves and that's why they liked it here.

6.6. Residential Mobility of Angora Houses Residents

Arguing about the residential mobility of certain classes or sub-groups enable us to comment on the restructuring in the built environment, spatial reorganisation, flows of capital in the secondary circuit (chp. 1). The residential mobility of Angora Houses will demonstrate the upper-middle class commitment of displacement within city limits.

Table 6.20. Previous districts that house owners in Angora resided

Previous Districts of the House Owners in Angora		
Çankaya / Yıldız	107	12%
Ayrancı	63	7.0%
Gaziosmanpaşa	58	6.5%
Bilkent	51	5.7%
Ümitköy /Çayyolu	50	5.6%
Oran / Gölbaşı	41	4.6%
Bahçelievler	38	4.3%
Beytepe / Angora	35	3.9%
Konutkent	34	3.8%
Kavaklıdere	34	3.8%
Emek / Beştepe	30	3.4%
Anıttepe / Yücetepe / Mebusevleri / Tandoğan / Beşevler	29	3.2%
Keçiören / İncirli / A. Eğlence / Etlik	27	3.0%
Esat / S. Bağları / Kocatepe	25	2.8%
Beysukent	24	2.7%
Mesa Koru	21	2.3%
Dikmen	20	2.2%
Yenişehir / Kızılay / Sıhhiye / Bakanlıklar	19	2.1%
Balgat / Öveçler	17	1.9%
Eryaman / Batıkent / Etimesgut	16	1.8%
ODTÜ / Söğütözü / Eskişehir Yolu	14	1.4%
Yenimahalle / Demetevler / Çiftlik / Ulus / Aydınlıkevler / Subayevleri / Dışkapı	13	1.5%
Cebeci / Kolej / Abidinpaşa	12	1.3%
Karakusunlar / Çiğdem	10	1.1%
Maltepe	9	1.0%
Other City	48	5.4%
Abroad	24	2.7%
Missing	23	2.6%
Total	892	100%

Source: Angora Houses Promotion and Marketing Office, 2003.

The table above includes the comprehensive information about the previous districts that house owners in Angora resided. By looking at the districts it is not easy to argue whether

residents come from upper, middle and lower class neighbourhoods since some districts such as Yıldız and Ayrancı are organised in such a way that upper-middle and upper class enclaves stand next to the lower class neighbourhoods. Moreover in some lower-middle and lower class districts such as Dikmen, there are some apartment communities (*site*) which are quite luxurious. However, a vague classification can be made by strictly compartmentalising districts by considering their overall character in terms of generalised house prices and rents. By resorting to such classification, it can be argued that Çankaya, Yıldız, Ayrancı, Gaziosmanpaşa, Bahçelievler, Kavaklıdere, Emek, Beştepe, Anıttepe, Mebusevleri, Tandoğan, Beşevler, Yenişehir, Kızılay, Sıhhiye and Bakanlıklar can be considered as either upper-middle or upper class neighbourhoods (it should also be noted that districts such as Yenişehir, Kızılay and Sıhhiye have been deteriorating in the last decades and have started to be "invaded" by the lower class). By considering the districts listed above it can be argued that 42.3% of the residents were living in upper-middle class or upper class districts which are within the central limits of the city.

From the table it can also be understood that 30% of the house owners were residing in an upper-middle class, upper class suburban district / satellite city such as Bilkent, Ümitköy, Çayyolu, Konutkent, Oran, Beytepe, Beysukent, Koru Sitresi, ODTÜ before coming to Angora Houses. 1.8% of the residents were residing in middle, lower-middle class suburban district such as Batıkent, Eryaman and Etimesgut. The remaining 26.9% of residents can be considered as living in a middle, lower-middle class districts within the city limits such as Keçiören, Etlik, Seyranbağları, Kocatepe, Yenimahalle, Demetevler, Ulus and Çiğdem.

Overall evaluation demonstrates that 72.3% of residents have moved from upper-middle class / upper class districts (central city and suburban) and the rest 27.7% have moved from either a middle class or a lower-middle class district. The moving of 27.7% from a middle class or a lower-middle class district can be argued as an upward mobility which is expected

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to occur as a result of upward mobility in socio-economic terms. However, as stated before it does not always mean that all individuals' economical status has improved since a considerably large number of people from this group were living in districts which were once upper-middle class districts. Therefore the reason of mobility in these cases is mostly the deterioration of the city centre (or the sub-centres). As a 62 year old woman who was previously living in Maltepe puts it its not only the built environment which has transformed but also the social fabric as a central city location as such has transformed from a residential area to a business district.

> "When I was living at the city centre various people whom you could never guess who he was were coming into the apartment that I was living in. This disturbed me too much. Here in Angora there is no such a thing. Moreover, there were a couple of offices in the apartment. The people working there wanted the heater on during the daytime and off during night so that they could pay little membership fees. Here, you do not have to deal with such problems."

Below is the table about interviewees' previous districts of residence. Similar to the results above, 35% of the interviewees resided in an upper-middle class or upper class district which was within the central limits of the city (especially in Çankaya [20%]). Another 35% were living in an upper-middle class, upper class suburban district / satellite city. 17.5% of the residents resided in a middle class or a lower-middle class district and only 2.5% of them were residing in middle, lower-middle class suburban district.

Table 6.21. Previous districts of residence of interviewees

District	Number	(%)
Çankaya	8	20.0
Beysukent	3	7.5
Konutkent	3	7.5
Bilkent	3	7.5
Bahçelieveler / Anıttepe / Beşevler	3	7.5
Çayyolu	2	5.0
Oran	2	5.0
Gaziosmanpaşa / Kavaklıdere	2	5.0
Yenimahalle / Demetevler	2	5.0
Ayrancı	1	2.5
Maltepe / Demirtepe	1	2.5
Balgat / Çiğdem	1	2.5
Gölbaşı	1	2.5
Etlik	1	2.5
Keçiören	1	2.5
Eskişehir Yolu	1	2.5
K.Esat / Kocatepe	1	2.5
Other City / Abroad	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Among the interviewees 86.1% were living in an apartment flat whereas 13.9% were living in a detached house mostly in a garden. It is possible to have more comprehensive information when the cross-table about the previous location of residence and the most important factor behind deciding to move to Angora is taken into account.

Table 6.22. Previous location of residence and the decision to move to Angora

		Previous Location of Residence		
		City Centre	Suburb / Satellite City	Total
The most important factor behind deciding to move to Angora	Silence/tranquillity	7 (19.4%)	4 (11.1%)	11 (30.6%)
	Orderliness	2 (5.6%)	3 (8.3%)	5 (13.9)
	Good social milieu		1 (2.8%)	1 (2.8%)
	Security		2 (5.6%)	2 (5.6%)
	Abundant green area		1 (2.8%)	1 (2.8%)
	Raising children in a good environment	2 (5.6%)		2 (5.6%)
	House in a garden	4 (11.1%)	2 (5.6%)	6 (16.7%)
	Low traffic density / enough car parking space	2 (5.6%)		2 (5.6%)
	Low population density	1 (2.8%)	1 (2.8%)	2 (5.6%)
	Living near to relatives	3 (8.3%)	1 (2.8%)	4 (11.1%)
	Total	21 (58.3%)	15 (41.7%)	36 (100.0%)

Source: Field Research

By interpreting the data in the table, one can see the similarities and differences between the motivations of the interviewees who previously resided at central city locations and the interviewees who lived in a suburban district / satellite city.

In general whether coming from a suburban background or from a central city dweller background the majority of the interviewees chose Angora because of its silent and tranquil environment. Although not as noisy and as chaotic as the central city, some districts of

suburban spots are not as tranquil as can be expected either, especially when the flow of considerable population to those areas in recent decades is considered. When the second largest group of suburbanites' declaration the fact of orderliness as a motivation behind deciding to move to Angora is taken into account, the statement above gets even much stronger. As can be expected it is ex-central city dwellers that chose to live in Angora because of low traffic density and enough car parking space. It is seen that house in a garden is a common aspiration for both group of interviewees since in many suburban district / satellite cities the ratio of green area is very low and there is not much chance to involve in gardening activities in high rise suburban blocks of flats. Maybe one of the most "surprising" outcomes is that only 2 (5.6%) interviewees declared that they chose to live in this gated community because of their concern of living in a more secure environment. The "security concern" of the interviewees will be discussed broadly in the forthcoming sections. Before that the level of content of interviewees and their integration to the city life will be analysed in the next two sections.

6.7. The Level of Content of Interviewees

During the interviews, nearly 90% of the interviewees expressed that they were contended to live in Angora. Is Angora a community where dreams come true? The answer to this question will be formulated later. Before doing so, the advantages and disadvantages of living in Angora from interviewees' point of view will be demonstrated.

Table 6.23. The most important advantage of living in Angora

Fact	Number	(%)
Silence/tranquillity	17	43.6
House in a garden	8	20.5
Clean air	6	15.4
Abundant green area	5	12.8
Orderliness	1	2.6
Good social milieu	1	2.6
Security	1	2.6
Total	39	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.24. The most important disadvantage of living in Angora

Fact	Number	(%)
Poor transportation opportunities	13	34.2
Remoteness from the city centre	10	26.3
Poor shopping opportunities	5	13.2
Poor infrastructure	4	10.5
Lack of social facilities	4	10.5
Administrative problems	1	2.6
Problems in neighbourly relations	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Research

In the last section, it was understood that most of the interviewees' expectation about the community before moving into was silence and tranquillity. From the first table above, it can be understood that consumers were satisfied since nearly half of them declared that the most important advantage of living in Angora was the silent and tranquil environment. The factors such as house in a garden and clean air (factors that were mostly emphasised by people who had children or who were middle-aged or old), come second and third before the emphasis on abundant green area. What is interesting again is that only one interviewee emphasised the fact of security as the most important advantage of living in Angora.

The mostly complained disadvantage is the poor transportation opportunities. Since municipality busses are the only alternatives other than private cars and moreover since these busses are not allowed into the community and arrive only once in an hour, one can understand that why for so many people transportation is the most important disadvantage of living in Angora. An interesting data is that for nearly a quarter of the interviewees, remoteness from the city centre is the most important problem. One sees a real dilemma when it is considered that one of the most important reasons behind "fleeing" to Angora had been to get away from the city centre. However, this data shows that people in some cases still depend on the city centre for the provision of services if not feeling an old days' nostalgia.

The lack of shopping facilities and social services are among the most emphasised disadvantages. The complaints of a 38 year old male interviewee are as such:

> "… The area for commercial activities is indeed a private property, the area allocated for the kindergarten is a private property, and the area allocated for playgrounds is not suitable for this purpose. Most of the "public" green area has been "invaded" by villas and added to their garden. When I bought the house, I was told that Barmek would undertake the construction of all social buildings. But soon I realised that this was not the case. Shortly, we were cheated. They once promised a social club. Now there is nothing like that. They even gave a club membership card to the people at first. I saw these cards…"

Living in Angora had been promoted as a lifestyle. It was not only the houses that were sold but also the various facilities and services which do not exist in many other communities alike. A 53 year old male interviewee, who was a civil engineer, explained his disappointment as follows:

> "My house is 160 square metres. Whatever you spend, the cost of one square meter is at most $ 300 for the construction company. Overall it makes at around $ 50.000. When you add the builder's profit to this amount – which is at most 25% - 30% of the overall cost – it makes $ 65.000. They sold these houses at the price of $ 115.000. In doing so, they were supposed to build social facilities, sport centres and social clubs. By now, none of them has been built. I was expecting that Angora would be a good example but things did not happen that way."

In addition to the complaints listed above, nearly all of the interviewees were critical of the building quality. Most emphasised problems are about the poor construction material and the low quality infrastructural works. A 58 year old woman complained about noise insulation:

> "When I visit friends living in Angora I frequently hear some noises. When I ask them what is going on, they either tell me that their next door neighbour is watching T.V. or talking on the phone. You can not speak out loud. You do not have a private life."

Another middle aged female interviewee emphasised her disappointment about the building quality as follows:

> "Before I moved to Angora, I was expecting a well developed and high quality infrastructure… Indeed the building quality was quite low. I felt to have been swindled. At first glance everything seems to be high quality, however after spending some time, there occurred many problems with the infrastructure and with the building material. For example everything was sticked together with silicon. I then started to call here "the silicon valley"… You see, there are cracks on the wall. I even saw 5 cm cracks on some of my friends' walls… Shortly, the building quality is quite low. I feel cheated, swindled because I bought this house with the money I saved all through my life."

Despite emphasising their disappointments, many interviewees added that they were quite lucky because they had their houses right after paying the money. By September 2003, there were many families who had invested huge amounts of money into buying a house in Angora and who still had not taken their houses because of the bankruptcy of the construction company Barmek. There still are many people who are waiting their houses to be handed over to them. A 30 year old female interviewee, who is a tenant in one of the high rise blocks, gives striking information about the "unfinished Angora story".

> "Three years ago one of my close friends' father who was in the board of directors of Barmek told us not to buy a house in Angora. He said: '- Even do not think about it! Rather buy a land and build a squatter on that land but do not buy a house from this community'. He knew from the beginning that this would collapse. He told us to rent a house rather than to buy one…"

6.8. Neighbourly and Community Relations in Angora

An advertisement which was published in Hürriyet newspaper in 1997 called people to buy houses in Angora – which was then under construction – by emphasizing that it would be only elites who would live in this community.

> "There is only one spring left for pleasant chats…
> There is only one spring left for you to enjoy chatting with your elite neighbours in Angora Houses.

Come and join this distinguished world!.." (Hürriyet, October 29, November 10, 1997).

Six years have passed since this "elitist" ad was published and 5 years have passed since the people have started to enjoy "pleasant chats" with their elite neighbours. But is this the case? Do people really get on well with their neighbours and involve in a community life in Angora? Well the first table below demonstrates that three quarter of interviewees get on well with their neighbours.

Table 6.25. Neighbourhood relations in Angora

	Number	**(%)**
Getting on well with neighbours	29	74.4
Having problems with neighbours	10	25.6
Total	39	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.26. Source of problems among neighbours

Fact	**Number**	**(%)**
Neighbours are cold / arrogant	4	44.4
Neighbours are pretentious / rude	2	22.2
Neighbours are noisy	2	22.2
Neighbours intrude privacy	1	11.1
Total	9	100.0

Source: Field Research

The level of content with the neighbours is quite understandable, since many interviewees chose to live next to (or to interact with) their families, friends, etc. Other than that one can not deny that although the overall demographic structure of Angora is quite heterogeneous, "the upper-middle class Angora" consists of individuals and families who more or less share the same value system. Getting on well with neighbours does not always imply a very friendly atmosphere and a lively community life. Sometimes it only means "no intrusion to the private life" which is not always possible in a city life. As a 34 year old male interviewee put it:

"… I can not jog in the streets with only shorts on me in Mamak, Altındağ or Keçiören. If you do so, they would beat you up. Here the atmosphere is quite relaxed; such a pressure does not exist. This place is far much beyond the common value system in Turkey. In the spring or in the summer I can read a newspaper by enjoying my beer on the grass of my garden. Where else in Ankara can you do that?.."

Four interviewees emphasised that they have problems with their neighbours because of their cold and arrogant behaviour. They said that it was mostly because of the economic gap that their neighbours denigrate them. Other than this two interviewees – in a way denigrate – their neighbours and describe them as "villagers" who are rude and pretentious. Despite these, most of the interviewees expressed their content when talking about their neighbours. The most important factor behind this for them was, "their neighbours respected their private life and did not intrude".

Although there was this general contend towards neighbourly relations, nearly all interviewees told that there was no community spirit in the "community". One of the reasons behind this could be the importance adhered to the private life, a value which has been quite common for the new petty-bourgeoisie and the upper-middle class. Another reason is the lack of social club, facility where people can interact as was promised by the builders. A 34 year old woman explains the fact of the lack of a community spirit in an ironical way:

"We do not feel belongingness to Angora, there is no community spirit. However outside everybody classifies us. They say: '- Oh you are living in Angora, what a strike!'. They think that this is a place for the very rich it is a distinguished. We do not have a community but people outside here have prejudices."

6.9. Integration of the Residents to the Urban Life

At this point we are to test the hypothesis that by fleeing suburban gated communities citizens isolate themselves and retreat from urban life (and in a way from their civil responsibilities). Below are three tables that demonstrate the frequency of interviewees' visits to different

centres of Ankara; Ulus from which the upper-middle classes have been assumed as retreated since 70s, Kızılay which once was the scene of contemporary lifestyles and which has been deteriorating in the last decade, and finally Tunalı Hilmi Street on which there are still some shops, restaurants and bars which attracts upper class citizens.

Table 6.27. The frequency of visiting Ulus

Frequency	Number	(%)
Never	14	35.0
Once or twice a year	13	32.5
Once or twice a month	11	27.5
Once or twice a week	1	2.5
Everyday	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.28. The frequency of visiting Kızılay

Frequency	Number	(%)
Never	4	10.0
Once or twice a year	10	25.0
Once or twice a month	17	42.5
Once or twice a week	4	10.0
Everyday	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Table 6.29. The frequency of visiting Tunalı Hilmi Street

Frequency	Number	(%)
Once or twice a year	12	30.0
Once or twice a month	20	50.0
Once or twice a week	5	12.5
Everyday	3	7.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

The term "visiting", was employed to signify spending some time and carrying out some activities in a district rather than just passing by. The table strikingly demonstrate that Ulus has been omitted by these upper-middle class interviewees; only 30% of interviewees visit this city centre once a month or more frequently. Among these, there were three doctors who worked at public hospitals in Ulus District. Other than this, some women declared that they

scarcely visit Ulus area in order to buy authentic furniture or antiques hunt. For others, this trade centre of Ankara, where today mostly the middle-class and lower class people meet, has no use and seems to have been forgotten. Kızılay is visited more frequently than Ulus, since it is the governmental district and since some of interviewees' offices are "still" situated there. However, only a couple of interviewees told that they go shopping or to the restaurants in Kızılay, for the others it is a place in which they have to fulfil their duties and run away as soon as possible. Kızılay, unlike Ulus, still attracts people from various classes, however, from the interviewees' statements it can be understood that once the activities that ought to be carried out and institutions that have to be visited are displaced, Kızılay will be deserted by this class.

Tunalı Hilmi Street (and the surrounding area) has been the centre of attraction for the bourgeois and petty bourgeois Ankaraites since the last two decades. Although branch offices of many fancy shops, restaurants, pastry shops, etc. have been established in suburban districts, the urban capital oriented to luxurious consumption still flows to this district. Compared to Ulus and Kızılay the rents are quite high and the "undeserved" lower class because of these facts do not frequently wander around here. From the table it is seen that half of the interviewees visit here once or twice a month and 20% visits even more frequently. It is true that upper-class offices, where a lot of people from Angora are expected to work, are concentrated in this area. However, here is one of the rare central city locations where these people also meet their friends, shop, entertain themselves and feel like an urbanite. The places where the interviewees go shopping also are a source of information about their integration to the city.

Table 6.30. Places of shopping

Place	Number	(%)
Bilkent Centre / Real	35	33.7
Armada	21	20.2
Ümitköy Galleria	14	13.4
Beysukent Migros	14	13.4
Mesa Koru Plaza	9	8.7
City Centre	8	7.7
Other	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field Research

From the table, it is seen that only 8% of interviewees prefer the shops and markets at the city centre. Despite this low ratio, the remaining 90% prefer shopping at shopping centres situated nearby suburban areas. Bilkent Centre / Real is the place where the majority of interviewees prefer shopping. In Real, which is a part of Bilkent Centre – a shopping and entertainment centre situated on a vast amount of land – they buy their food, cleaning stuff, stationary, etc. all in once. After shopping they go to cinemas within the complex, they can dine in one of the restaurants and head back to Angora after filling up the baggage with food, drinks, etc. They prefer Armada – the new upper class shopping complex of Ankara – for the luxurious boutiques and shops. Bilkent Centre and Armada meet different demands and in a way "complement" each other. The consumption patterns offered in Ümitköy Galleria and Mesa Koru Plaza are quite similar to the ones in Bilkent Centre and can be considered as alternatives to this complex.

The information about the places of shopping of these suburbanite interviewees is quite vital, since it demonstrates that suburbanisation is not (has not been) only a residential pattern. Rather, it ought to be considered as a displacement not only of people but also the capital. By moving towards the outskirts of a city (and by increasing the motivation of people to move), it can be seen that, capital decreases its outflows and profits from the new areas of demand that occurs as a result of suburbanised lifestyles. Shortly, suburbanisation can be considered

as a new strategy (in Turkey) implemented to maximise profit in the second circuit of capital.

Just like the existence of shopping malls and commercial complexes, car ownership is a prerequisite (and at the same time a triggering factor) of suburbanisation. In the previous sections (6.6.1) it was seen that the rate of car ownership was quite high in Angora as can be expected. However, the high rate of ownership does not always mean that the owners always use cars. Could this be the case? Below is a table about the frequency of employing mass transportation of interviewees.

Table 6.31. The frequency of employing mass transportation

Frequency	Number	(%)
Never	17	42.5
Once or twice a month	12	30.0
Once or twice a week	10	25.0
Everyday	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Nearly half of the interviewees asserted that they never resorted to mass transportation (bus, minibus, underground, etc.). It is only 27.5% of interviewees that frequently use mass transportation. Although riding in a car is quite comfortable, it is obvious that reliance of transportation to car ownership is not profitable for the household economy and even for the national economy. However, it is not only a burning desire to own one's means of transportation and car ads on TV that made Angora houses resident resort to their cars in going everywhere, but also the lack of mass transportation in Angora. Many interviewees told that they would use the underground if it was built somewhere near Angora, since it is the most "hygienic" mass transportation – where the level of interaction with the "masses" is considered to be lowest – vehicle in Ankara and since it can be the fastest alternative. However, it is also a fact that by resorting to their driver's abilities that much, their lifestyles have also changed considerably. At least they prefer to go to places where they can park their

cars easily and usually this place is not the city centre. A 56 year old female interviewee relates her freedom to her car:

> "I do not feel isolated here; we just jump into our cars and go anywhere we like. I also have a couple of friends here. If this is isolation, I like it. I am depressed at the city centre… no I don't feel isolated, I can go wherever I want…"

In a lifestyle that depends on car ownership, the most important complaint about the central city locations is the traffic density. Below is a table that demonstrates the most important urban problem in Ankara from interviewees' point of view.

Table 6.32. The most important urban problem in Ankara according to interviewees

Problem	Number	(%)
Traffic density	11	28.9
Unplanned development	7	18.4
Limited car parking space	4	10.0
Continuing infrastructure works / repair activities	4	10.0
Infrastructure problems	4	10.0
Dense population	3	7.5
Pollution / unhealthy environment	3	7.5
Noise	1	2.5
Lack of green areas / parks	1	2.5
Total	38	100.0

Source: Field Research

After the traffic density, the unplanned development that is according to interviewees the mushrooming of ugly apartments all over the city and the destruction of the green areas and parks, is the most important urban problem. From the table it is seen that interviewees complained from various problems. One of the reasons behind such a variety is the different districts that these interviewees come from. For example it is quite meaningful for an interviewee who previously lived in Kızılay district to complain from limited car parking space or dense population. For someone who previously lived in Cebeci, the main source of complaint would be pollution which affects that district especially in winter time. When the most chaotic district in Ankara is asked to the interviewees, other than four of them who

answered this question as the whole city, who are sick and tired of the entire city life, most of them described their previous districts of residence as the most chaotic one.

Table 6.33. Most chaotic district in Ankara according to interviewees

District	Number	(%)
Whole city	4	12.5
Kızılay	9	28.1
Ulus	6	18.8
Çankaya	4	12.5
Mamak, Altındağ	3	9.4
Demetevler, Yenimahalle	2	6.3
Pursaklar	2	6.3
Bahçelievler, Anıttepe, Emek	1	3.1
Ayrancı	1	3.1
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

Kızılay is the most chaotic district according to 28% of the interviewees. This is quite meaningful for some reasons. First of all Kızılay, today, is an attraction point for the masses, a nodal point of various activities. The streets are full of people flowing from here to there, moreover, they are polluted by poisonous gas pumped out from the exhaust pipes of huge busses and cars. In addition to the huge noise of the traffic, street vendors especially in the weekend, shout out loud to attract people. Yes, Kızılay is one of the most chaotic districts in Ankara. But it is not worse than Ulus where the chaos is even more visible. However, as stated before, Ulus has been deserted by these people. The case is when asked about the most chaotic district they can hardly remember it. What about Altındağ and Pursaklar then? Interviewees are familiar to the poverty and deprivation in these districts because these spots are on the way to the airport. They usually describe these districts as "…those ruined places in the airport route". Nearly 20% of interviewees described Çankaya, Bahçelievler and Ayrancı as the most chaotic districts most presumably because these upper-middle class districts were their previous districts of residence. Was it the ever increasing chaos that drove these people behind the gates of a suburban life or was it something else? A single answer to this question is not possible. Rather it is both the deprivation of central locations or sub-centres that pushed them away from the urban life but at the same time it is the suburban

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dream that attracted these people (most of whom declared that they are not young enough to enjoy living at the city centre) to Angora.

Table 6.34. The desire to live at the city centre if not faced with complained urban problems

	Number	(%)
Yes	12	30.0
No	28	70.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

The table clearly demonstrates that 70% of interviewees, after having experienced a suburban life, would not return back to the city even if the complained problems listed previously had not existed. This data allows us to comment that people voluntarily retreat from the urban life and interaction with other social classes by choosing to live in an upper-middle class gated community Angora Houses.

6.10. Security Concern of the Interviewees

As emphasised many times before Angora Houses is not an ordinary suburb where people from outside can come and go whenever they want, even the public busses are not allowed in. It is a gated community where visitors are stopped and asked about whom they are visiting or so. It is encircled with a wire fence and private security guards, whose uniform resemble American cops with baseball caps, patrol in the streets. At first sight, Angora is a community where you can live among people like yourself and raise your children in a heavenly environment where you can feel secure whatever you do, wherever you go. But is this the case? Did people buy houses from this community because it was gated and because of the tightly knit security network within the community? Is Angora as secure as it seems? The answer to the first question is no. As was demonstrated in section 6.7., only four (out of forty) interviewees chose to live in Angora because of the fact of security. Although it is known that there are some people in Angora who might seek such high level of security.

These people range from former politicians to high rank officers, top bureaucrats and to those who have accumulated a speculative wealth. However, the sample group of interviewees were not among those. It is also obvious that Ankara is not a chaotic world city like Sao Paulo as described by Calderia (1996), or Los Angeles as described by Davis (1991). Although there are huge gaps among different districts in terms of wealth, although there are gaps between the secular lifestyle of some and the Islamic lifestyle of the others, there is nothing like established street gangs which threaten people's lives. There are hundreds of thousands of poor and deprived people in the streets of Ankara however, the crime rate is quite low when compared with the same size cities of the West and even of the Third World. So what is it? Why do people in Angora want to segregate themselves? A 58 year old woman explains:

> "I want to live among 'civilised' people, I do not want to feel people's eyes on me when I wear shorts, and I do not want to live with people who dispose skins of fruits into the street…"

In the case of Angora it is not the racial, ethnic discrimination but rather the cultural that made people to resort a life behind the gates. However, money is not always the only criterion of eliminating who's civilised or not. A 30 year old woman complains:

> "…There are some neighbours who shake the crumbs left on the table cloth to your balcony… I was expecting more "civilised" people indeed. I was expecting kind people around me since they could afford to live here…"

Despite the criticism above, many interviewees asserted that they were happy to live among "elite" people. From these data it can be understood that the primary concern of Angora Houses residents is not (has not been) security in choosing where to live. In the next table, the security concern of interviewees is being demonstrated.

Table 6.35. Security concern of the interviewees

	Number	(%)
Feeling of security in Angora	27	67.5
Feeling of insecurity in Angora	5	12.5
No security concern	8	20.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Research

It is seen that the majority of interviewees feel secure in Angora. 20% of interviewees asserted that they do not care about the gate, the fence or the guards. They told that such precautions only are symbolic means of protection; they asserted that anything could happen despite these protections. And some things happened previously. A 30 year old woman tells about an organised burglary story that happened in the previous years:

> "The only thing that gives me the feeling of security is to live in the main street. There were some burglary incidents in the houses situated away from the main street… For example Barmek fired 130 workers previously, those workers robbed parquets and other building materials, they even stole bicycles from the gardens but not from the gardens of people who are living in the main street. They broke into houses in the side streets. Such a thing does not happen in the main street because it is lighted better. Many people mounted alarms, I sometimes hear them ringing but I don't know what's going on…"

Although "ordinary" people who have nothing to do in the community are not allowed in, this time it was a "Trojan horse" story; it was the angry workers who robbed the houses before saying goodbye to this welfare enclave. Since the construction is still going on in some parts of Angora, there are still many workers who are considered as the source of trouble by the interviewees. Moreover, many interviewees complained from the fluctuations in the provision of security by different administrations. During the days that these interviews were conducted, the security was quite loose indeed. Angora only seemed to be guarded. An American woman, who lives in Angora Houses, makes a comparison between the gated communities in the United States and Angora:

> "The communities in the States usually have a more secure fence and usually there is more control on people coming in and out. Here they can just smile, wave and drive through. I tell to my friends that do not stop, they do not speak to you, just smile and wave…"

When asked about the facts behind their feeling of security, 63% of interviewees emphasised the precautions such as guards filtering people at the entrance and the guards patrolling in the streets, provided by the CBAC. The remaining however, asserted that it is either reliance to the neighbours or personal precautions that make one feel secure in Angora.

Table 6.36. The facts behind the feeling of security of the interviewees

Fact	Number	(%)
Guards at the entrance	10	37.0
Patrolling guards	7	25.9
Reliability of other residents	7	25.9
Personal precautions (alarm, guard dogs, etc.)	3	11.1
Total	27	100.0

Source: Field Research

By settling in a luxurious gated community, the Angora Houses residents also encircle themselves, it is not only their prejudices that make them segregated from the greater society but also the prejudices of people "outside" that make them encircled. A 34 year old male interviewee explains this ironic encirclement psychology as follows:

> "The fence surrounding the community may be loose, however, people outside evaluate as 'others' mostly because of the articles published in the newspapers. Does this have a positive meaning? Not necessarily. For example there were some topics in the newspapers such as: 'Bribery Villas…'. You live in such a community which is built illegally and then of course you feel a huge pressure on yourself. I am a tenant and I don't care how my proprietor owned his house. However, if I owned a villa here, I would really be ashamed."

Shortly, it is clearly seen that Angora did not appeal to the purchasers because it was gated; rather, this was welcomed by the residents who already bought the houses. Moreover, despite the security precautions there occurred burglaries even the organised crime. Lastly, the gate and the fence surrounding the community are the symbols of their retreat from the society and these symbols increase the socio-cultural gap among the citizens living in the same city.

6.11. Governing the Community: "Collective Building Administrative Committee" in Angora Houses

When someone buys a home in Angora Houses, he/she is also given a thin yellow booklet on which it is written with bold letters; "Angora Houses Administration Plan"[5]. This booklet can be considered as the constitution of the community and covers all the information about the administrative and managerial structure of the "Collective Building Administrative Committee" (hereafter CBAC), the executive organ of the community.

CBAC is selected by "Collective Building Representative's Committee" (Toplu Yapı Temsilciler Kurulu) for one year. It is made up of 5 principal and 3 reserve members. The Representative's Committee, which selects the Administrative Committee, is formed by the participation of: a) every plot's administrators, b) a selected representative from every plot determined by the land use development plan, c) the members of the administrative committee of Co-op 18 and d) one representative of commercial and social complexes within the community.

CBAC is the executive organ of the Representative's Committee and is responsible for the enforcement of rules and regulations. Moreover, CBAC holds the rights of the maintenance of "public" areas and management of services within the community. In order to be able to engage in purchasing of services, CBAC has formed a Community Management Co-op (Site İşletme Kooperatifi) which can engage in commercial activities legally. Basic services that are carried out by CBAC are as follows: Technical services (the operation and maintenance of boilers, the operation and maintenance of lighting system and elevators), maintenance and upkeep of roads, sideways, parks and gardens, management and maintenance of socio-cultural and sport facilities, provision of security services, management and maintenance of

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Angora Houses Administration Plan (Angora Evleri Yönetim Planı), 2001, Ankara.

parking lots,   upkeep of the green area, garbage collection, etc. The monetary resource of

CBAC for carrying out such activities is membership fees collected from each household.

The amount of this fee depends on the size of the household and calculated accordingly.

CBAC has 699 members (304 apartment houses in high rise buildings, 308 houses in row

house buildings and 87 villas)[6]. Membership fees of these houses are between 100.000.000 –

400.000.000 Turkish Liras (prices of July, 2003). Despite these considerable high

membership fees, nearly half of the residents are dissatisfied with the services provided by

CBAC (table 6.2.).

Table 6.37. Satisfaction of interviewees with services provided by CBAC

	Number	**(%)**
Satisfied	21	52.5
Dissatisfied	19	47.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field Research

As can be understood from the description about the administrative body, the system is based

on the ideal of representative democracy. When someone reads the administration plan

booklet, everything seems to be carefully planned and the system seems to be operating

without any obstacles faced. However, in reality things are not as straightforward as they

seem to be. The main source of the obstacles in the operation of the system is the lack of a

comprehensive law that covers the management and administration in such private

communities. Violations of the rules and regulations such as not paying the membership fees

although using public services in the community is beyond the extent of the "flat ownership

law" (kat mülkiyeti yasası) especially when the villa plots are taken into consideration. The

rules are enforced by referring to both the flat ownership law and law of obligation (borçlar

yasası). However, as a former CBAC administrator stated that the legal procedure has not

been clarified yet since the trails are still in progress. Today, not every household is the

member of CBAC (there are the members of Co-op 18 which collects their own membership

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[6] Source: CBAC, August, 2003.

fees) and some members quit their membership from CBAC and buy services from their own budget. Moreover, the membership fees can not be collected regularly and it is usually very hard to act against such violations because of the narrow scope of laws. A former CBAC administrator complains about the unwillingness of members to pay their fees:

> "Some members asked us to let the public busses in, they said, 'I can not walk the distance from my home to the entrance', moreover, they said, 'If you don't collect the garbage, then we would pay 25 Million Turkish Liras less", when I asked them 'would you like to see a garbage truck passing in front of your house by spilling dirty water on the street?' they told me 'no problem'. What can you achieve when faced with such indifferent attitude? A guy whose name is familiar to all of us was in 3.5 Billion Turkish Liras debt to CBAC. We know his name from the newspapers, he has a fortune of million Dollars and he is living in a villa. This guy has not paid his membership fees for years. He uses those cleaned and lighted streets but does not pay his fees."

It is not only the unwillingness of the residents in paying their membership fees that threaten the system and the order of the society, but also illegal constructions which endanger the harmonious physical environment and rights of privacy. Another former CBAC administrator gives a striking example about the violation of the land use development plan:

> "The mayor, Melih Gökçek (the mayor of Ankara) has appropriated the green area in front of his house and included it to his garden with a fence. Today he has the largest garden in Angora. He dug a well and now we heard that he is constructing a pool in his garden… The people who bought these houses consciously, in order to enjoy a suburban life are more harmonious, however the members of the Co-op 18 and the ones that bought houses from them purchased houses just to trade and to earn a profit…"

There are many other stories about the violation of the plan and rules especially by the residents who have economic and political power or "good connections". When the large number of such residents in Angora is taken into account, one can understand the difficulties faced by the residents who are trying to establish a community life there. The former CBAC administrators agreed upon one point and that is, unless a law comprising such communities is introduced and implemented, unless some people give up the idea of conceiving Angora as

an investment and source of profit, the things would not change. It is obvious that there will always be some residents who will cause a trouble for the administrative organs in such communities. However, it is also a fact that in order to solve such problems in these communities you have to rely on the legal system, laws and courts which are established "outside". Therefore, ignorance and total withdrawal from civic life is not possible for the residents since they are subject to power relations of the public space and the only way to raise solutions lie in the judicial system of the society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, Angora Houses, a suburban gated community in Ankara has been analysed in order to understand about the effects of such urban development on both the urban and the socio-cultural fabric of the city. Moreover, such an analysis covered the attempt of displaying the similarities and differences between this gated community (in a broader sense the gated community experience in Ankara) and different examples mushrooming throughout the world.

Residential differentiation (and the fragmentation of the urban space) has been a problem through the history. However, after the advent of capitalism, the differentiation which usually occurred within the city limits, among different districts, has transformed considerably, and first the bourgeois, then the petty-bourgeois and the middle classes flee to the outskirts of cities from the central locations which then became the cradle of the industry. This movement which was conceptualised as suburbanisation became a mass movement after the Second World War, in the countries such as the United States and Britain. The reason behind this was the empowerment of middle classes by welfare policies and enabling them to afford a suburban lifestyle. However, suburbanisation was not the only alternative way of urbanisation in the West. For example in France, in Paris, the middle and upper classes were not driven to the outskirts of the city. Rather, the capital had flaw to the city

centre for the renovation – the constructive destruction – of the city. In the Parisian example, the investments of the capital had been mediated by the state.

In the case of Ankara, in the first ten years after the proclamation of the Republic, the state and the public institutions were the primary actors in controlling the allocation of urban surplus. However, as time went by, both the influence of speculators and their pressure on administrative bodies have increased and the growth of the city has started to be determined by the will of the capital. By 1980s the city which was once planned as to be constituted from 3-4 storey buildings, had transformed into an urban area made up with the fusion of high rise apartments at the city centre and low-grade squatter housing in the periphery. Indeed, the pressure of increasing population was intended to be met by planned suburbanisation developments. The Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau (AMAPB) which was established in 1969, had prepared a master plan scheme for 1990, and in this plan a planned suburbanisation development had been proposed. Such a policy proposal targeted to provide housing with considerable prices to middle class citizens who were stuck somewhere in between illegally built squatter districts and low-grade apartments. Some suburban districts such as Batıkent and Eryaman were established as a result of such strategy.

1980s were marked by strong "laissez-faire" wind blowing from the West. In this era, the state gave up its regulatory and mediatory role to a large extent and many public institutions were degraded. The built environment had started to be dominated by capital more severely than it was before, and large-scale construction firms had knocked out small contractors. The big construction firms relied on the cooperative housing projects mostly realised in the outskirts of cities where the land was cheaper. However, since providing shelter for the urban poor was not the primary concern of these firms, it was the upper-middle and upper classes that were "invited" to these new suburbs. Moreover, suburbanisation had created an

effective demand for various new commodities in this new consumer age of Turkey where every voter was promised a car key as well as the one of his/her own house by the politicians. Shortly, together with the notion of private car ownership and huge shopping complexes where conspicuous consumption was triggered, suburbanisation became an integral part of a new economy in which consumption was praised.

In addition to the points listed above, it was also the individualist and competitive social rhetoric of the "laissez faire" ideology imported in the 80s, which attracted people to the quasi-primary lifestyle in the suburbs which are also expected as the hygienic breeding grounds for the next generation of certain social classes.

By 1990s, suburban villas had become an "ordinary" practice among the affluent groups in major Turkish cities such as İstanbul and Ankara. The marketing of a new urban residential pattern corresponds to this last decade. By then, enclosure as a traditional method of distinction has started to be employed in these newly established communities. Throughout history, groups of people have built walls, fences, etc. around their communities in order to increase the feeling of security or sometimes for constituting a sense of identity. In 19th century, new forms of control based on the surveillance had integrated into the institutional structure of modern societies.

By the end of the 20th century, both the different methods of encirclement and surveillance have started to be employed in some of the residential districts of West and at some parts of the Third World. Gated communities, started to be built as the manifestation of the increasing socio-economic gaps in those societies. However, by dividing the cities (or increasing the division that already exists) with their walls, fences, and homogenous demographical structures they also speeded up the fragmentation of urban space. Living in one of those communities have been marketed as the new source of distinction for the upper-middle and

upper classes. Not surprisingly developers in Turkey did not waist much time in importing such a notion. And again not surprisingly, gated communities of various types have mushroomed first in İstanbul in which the income and cultural gap among different classes had already drifted these people apart from each other dramatically.

In the literature about gated communities (Marcuse, 1997b; Blakely & Snyder, 1997), these communities are classified into different groups. This classification is made according to a)what they preserve (a certain lifestyle, wealth, security, etc.) and b) the level of fortification and spatial formation. The examples in Turkey are various and designed to fulfil different expectations of different groups. However, the basic motivation behind the formation of such communities is distinction since there has never been a massive social warfare among different classes in major cities. Therefore, security and fortification are indeed marketed as sources of distinction and prestige in Turkish context.

Angora Houses is the largest suburban gated community in Ankara. As summarised in chapter 6, illegal actions mark the story of this community. However, no legal procedure was put into practice from the beginning, and today, on the area which once was expropriated in the name of "public benefit", a luxurious community with a population of nearly 3.000, stands as the symbol of the contemporary fragmentation of urban space. The population living in the community is not homogenous. There are two groups. The first group are the members of the Co-op 18, politicians, top bureaucrats and various people "close" to this group. The second (and the larger) group of people are those who bought these houses directly from Barmek construction firm. The field research was based on a sample of forty people, who "belonged" to this second group.

As it was discussed before, the majority of these people belonged to upper-middle class and most of them were middle aged couples. It is understood that it was not the fear of crime that

drove these people to Angora. Rather, they came here with the expectation of a life within the nature, and a social milieu where they are not disturbed or intruded. Therefore, it is obvious that the "rabbit proof fence" encircling the community and the provision of 24 hour security by private guards are indeed factors reinforcing the hierarchy of wealth and power. Although such physical barriers limit the entrance of "unwanted" lower class people into the community, one can ask the question: Would it be different, would the lower class, under class masses flow to the community otherwise? The answer is no since, Angora is a suburban community already restricted to these people because of its remoteness and poor transportation opportunities. It is also known that there have been various crime incidents within the boundaries of the community despite all these precautions. Shortly, the barriers such as the gate, the fence and guards can be considered as symbolic barriers connoting the high-status of the community for those living inside and outside the barriers. Enclosure in Angora is considered as a source of distinction not as a necessity. Moreover, it is obvious that selling a "secure" life and an encircled lifestyle is more profitable for the land owners and builders since it attracts customers. Shortly, in the case of Angora, the feeling of security has been commoditised and marketed. Moreover, it was also observed that feeling insecurity towards the "outside" world, especially towards the poor and deprived parts of the city was the common attitude of the residents.

When combined with the degradation of city centres and provisions of many services and activities in the suburban areas close to these communities, this feeling of insecurity resulted in the retreat of Angora Houses residents from the city centre. The frequency of visiting two important centres; Kızılay and Ulus was quite low. They were spending more time in suburban shopping malls and commercial complexes than in the shops located at the city centre.

Another strategy in marketing the "dreamland" Angora expensively was the supply of neatly designed houses, social facilities, well kept green areas; shortly aestheticised life as conceptualised by Featherstone (1994). However, most of the interviewees were not satisfied with both the building quality and the provision of services. The provision of urban services (cleaning, maintenance of the green area, upkeep of the infrastructure, etc.) by private companies has been a more expensive alternative than the provision of such services by the public sector. There were many complaints about both the cost and quality of those services. Since many people had not paid their membership fees to the Collective Building Administration Committee, there were problems with the provision of these services and this resulted in the degradation of the environment and the quality of life. Lacking of comprehensive law that covered the management and administration in such private communities was the source of such problems according to former CBAC members.

In the case of Angora, from the provision of housing to the provision of services, everything is undertaken by private firms. In his article: *Problems of Privatisation in the Housing Sector"* (1987), Ruşen Keleş lists the problems that arise as the result of privatisation in the provision of housing and the urban services. According to Keleş (1987: 83), provision of urban services by the private sector does not always mean that the best option is provided. Rather, it is usually more expensive (the cost is divided into a smaller number and the shares are therefore higher) and there are not much alternatives to choose from because of the monopolistic structure of sectors. Shortly, the "complained" state paternalism is replaced by private sector paternalism. Privatisation has more serious consequences also for the greater society. The privatisation of the housing sector put the urban poor, who are not capable of covering the housing costs, into a desperate position since it is the public sector which could undertake the responsibility of providing adequate housing opportunities for the unprivileged part of the society. Lastly, privatisation also leads to social fragmentation. Since privatisation

results in unequal consumption patterns among different classes, collective spirit vanishes and the gaps among different social groups increase considerably.

The privatised usage of urban services by the "affluent" groups also increases the burden of unprivileged taxpayers living "outside". Moreover, such a spatial division has serious consequences for the social integration of different classes. When the Angora Houses were marketed, the "rebirth" of the community spirit was one of the most important themes of the ads. Although, most of the interviewees asserted that there had been no sense of belongingness to Angora community, they were emphasising at the same time that living in such a place with people whose lifestyles are "top quality" and similar had been their dream. The residents of Angora may not have a closely knit community spirit, however, the community consciousness that occurs as a result of socio-spatial segregation and as a result of an introvert lifestyle in these communities, replaces the feeling of mutual responsibility. As the social contact among the citizens loosens, the citizenship identity vanishes. Moreover, gated communities can not only be conceived as the expressions of inequalities in economic and political realms. They have become an integral part of an upper-middle class lifestyle. They are the workshop grounds for the creation (or absorption) of new middle class lifestyle and tastes. Hence, they are not only the reflections but also one of the causes of class polarisation in the urban geography. It is obvious that privatisation of public spaces have negative consequences for the whole society. However, this urban pattern is the outcome of macro level policies which have been on the agenda of Turkey since the last two decades. Below, are some policy proposals which could be implemented under more regulated dynamics not under the laissez-faire dynamics of the market.

The development and allocation of urban areas should not be left to the dynamics of market in which private sector companies gain huge amounts of money as a result of speculation. Rather, they should be allocated by public sector administrative bodies whose primary goal is

to achieve public benefit. Planning bodies, such as the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau, which once was actively involved to the planning process and which is made up of specialists, should be directly integrated to the planning process, and the developments within Ankara should take place according to those plans. In order to stop the "plundering" of urban areas, more comprehensive and "to the point" laws ought to be made. However, as the case of Angora Houses show, extending the limits of related laws and making their context more concrete only has not been a viable solution to overcome the "plundering". As the former Government Accounting Bureau inspector Saner (2000: 36) complains, the official reports prepared about illegal procedures should not be ignored by judiciary organs. Rather, such developments should be allowed to take place within the limits required by laws.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

1. The Type of Housing

a) Villa   b) Row house   c) Apartment Flat

1.1. Ownership Status

a) Owner   b) Tenant

2. Demographical Structure of the Family

	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Level of Education	Occupation	Workplace / retired	Sector (Public/Private)

2. **Spatial Data**

3.1. Previous Residential Patterns

City	District	Apartment Flat / Detached House	Ownership Status	Period of Residence

3.2. Why did you choose Angora?

3.3. Are you content with your life in Angora?

3.4. What are the advantages of living in Angora?

1)
2)
3)

3.5. What are the disadvantages of living in Angora?

1)
2)
3)

3.6. Are you satisfied with the urban services in Angora?

Yes… (which services)

No… (which services)

3.7. Do you feel secure here?

Yes… (Why?)

No… (Why?)

3.8. Are you getting on well with your neighbours?

Yes…

No… (What problems do you face with them?)

3.9. Are you planning to move from here?

Yes… (To where ?)… (Why ?)…

3.10.1. How frequently do you go to Ulus?

a) Never   b) Once or twice a year   c) Once or twice a month   d) Once or

twice a week   e) Everyday

3.10.2. How frequently do you go to Kızılay?

a) Never   b) Once or twice a year   c) Once or twice a month   d) Once or

twice a week   e) Everyday

3.10.3. How frequently do you go to Tunalı Hilmi Street?

a) Never   b) Once or twice a year   c) Once or twice a month   d) Once or

twice a week   e) Everyday

3.11. How frequently do you use mass transportation?

a) Never   b) Once or twice a month   c) Once or twice a week   d) Everyday

3.12. What are the most important urban problems in Ankara?

1)
2)
3)

3.13. Which district do you think is the most chaotic and problematic district in Ankara?

3.14. Would you live in the city centre if the problems you complained from did not exist?

4. Data about the Socio-cultural status of interviewees

4.1 How do you spend your free time at home?

1)
2)
3)

4.2. How do you spend your free time outside home?

1)
2)
3)

4.3. Where do you go shopping?

1) City Centre
2) Ümitköy Galleria
3) Mesa Koru Plaza
4) Bilkent Centre
5) Armada
6) Akköprü Migros
7) Other

4.4. What are the newspapers and magazines that you regularly buy?

4.5. Are you a member of an association, club, etc.?

Yes… (What are they?)

No…

5. Data about the Economic status of interviewees

5.1. Where did you work previously?

1)
2)
3)

5.2. Where did your spouse work previously?

1)
2)
3)

5.3. How much is your monthly household income?

5.4. Do you make investment?

Yes… (What kind of investments do you make?)

No…

5.5. Names and status (public / private) of the schools that the children attend?

5.6. What are you're your main expenditures?

1)
2)
3)

5.7. Do you own a car?

Yes… How many cars are there in the household?...

No…

5.8. Do you hire someone to undertake domestic labour?

Yes…   No…

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF

ANGORA HOUSES RESIDENTS[*]

Ev tipi	Yaş grubu	Meslek	İşi/işyeri özel/ücretli /emekli ev hanımı/kedi işyeri/devlet memuru	İş Yeri Adı	Oturduğu semt
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci		Ümitköy
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	20-30	Serbest	Tüccar	MEDİKON	B.evler
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	20-30	Sporcu	Ücretli	BJK	İstanbul
İleri kaba villa	20-30	Bankacı	Ücretli		Çankaya
İleri kaba villa	20-30	Öğrenci			Çankaya
İleri kaba villa	20-30	Yönetici	Kendi iş yeri	HAŞEMOĞLU İNŞ.	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Bankacı	Memur	İŞ BANKASI	Beşevler
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Diplomat	Memur	DIŞİŞLERİ	Çek cumhuriyeti
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Doktor	Ücretli	ÖZEL GÜNEŞ TIP	Kolej
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Kızılay
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Doktor	Ücretli		Kızılay
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	MİKES	Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Emlakçı	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent

[*] **Source:** Angora Houses Promotion and Marketing Office, 2003.

Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Felsefe	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Fizik mühendisi	Ücretli	BARMEK İNŞAAT	Batıkent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Hazine uzmanı	Memur	TC HAZİNE DIŞ TİCARET	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	İçmimar	Ücretli	ASPEN	Yıldız
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	İnş. Müh.	Memur		Amerika
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	İşletmeci	Ücretli		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Makina mühendisi	Ücretli	ASELSAN	Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Muhasebeci	Ücretli		Konutkent 2
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Mühendis	Ücretli	AFKEN	Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Öğrenci		BİLKENT	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci	ÖĞRENCİ	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Öğrenci			Angora
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Öğrenci			Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Öğretim görevlisi	Memur	ODTÜ	Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Sporcu	Ücretli	ANKARAGÜCÜ SPOR	Abidinpaşa
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	ÇIRAĞAN/KARTON	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Bankacı	Ücretli	ESBANK	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Doktor	Memur	DEVLET HASTANESİ	Yenimahalle
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Doktor	Memur		Gop
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	İşletmeci	Ücretli		Oran
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	İNŞAAT	Gölbaşı
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	PARFÜMERİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 4+1	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	NAKLİYE	Eryaman
Nokta blok çatı	20-30	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Arabistan
Nokta blok çatı	20-30	Halkla ilişkiler	Ücretli		Çankaya

Nokta blok çatı	20-30	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Diş hekimi	Kendi iş yeri		Maltepe
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Diş hekimi	Kendi iş yeri		Beştepe
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Keçiören
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Elektronik müh.	Ücretli	SİMKO	Yıldız
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	İnş. Müh.	Kendi işyeri		Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	İşletmeci	Ücretli		Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Memur	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Çin
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Öğrenci		BİLKENT	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Öğrenci			
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Öğretim üyesi	Ücretli	BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Sporcu	Ücretli	ANKARAGÜCÜ SPOR	Abidinpaşa
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	ÇIRAĞAN/KARTON	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	GALERİ	Mesa koru
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Elektronik müh.	Ücretli	ASELSAN	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci	ÖĞRENCİ	Angora
Sıra ev bahçe	20-30	Sporcu	Ücretli	BJK	İstanbul
Sıra ev çatı	20-30	Bankacı	A bank		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	20-30	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Mebusevleri
Sıra ev çatı	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci		Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	20-30	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	UNYAPAN	Angora
Sıra ev çatı	20-30	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	20-30	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA	Ayrancı
Tripleks villa	20-30	Öğrenci		BİLKENT	Bilkent
Tripleks villa	20-30	Öğrenci	Öğrenci		Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Beysukent
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	30-40	Ev hanımı			Anıttepe
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	LACOSTE	Ayrancı
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	LACOSTE	Ayrancı

Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Bodrumlu villa	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Bodrumlu villa	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	KENTBANK	Bilkent
Bodrumlu villa	30-40	Ekonomist	Kendi iş yeri		İstanbul
Bodrumlu villa	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	KURUÇAYIRLI OTOMOTİV	Kavaklıdere
İleri kaba bodrumlu villa	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	MİKES	Angora
İleri kaba bodrumlu villa	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli	NYNAS	İstanbul
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Adana
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Doktor	Memur	GAZİ ÜNV.EĞT. FAK. HAST.	Angora evleri
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Dikmen
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Ev hanımı			Konutkent
İleri kaba villa	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli		Oran
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Kimyager			Bilkent
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ŞEKER FABRİKALARI	Angora
İleri kaba villa	30-40		Ücretli	DEMİR EXPORT	Angora evleri
İleri kaba villa	30-40	Zir. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri	CİPSAN CERASUS	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ateşe	Ücretli	DIŞ İŞLERİ	Roma
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ	Aşağı eğlence
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Yenimahalle
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		K. Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Avukat	Kendi işyeri		Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Aydınlıkevler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	ZİRAAT BANKASI	Y.mahalle
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	YAPI KREDİ	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	HALK BANKASI	Kurtuluş

Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	ZİRAAT BANKASI	Çiftlik
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	EMLAK BANKASI	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	T.İŞ BANKASI	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	YAPI KREDİ	Basınevler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	KALKINMA BANKASI	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	EXIMBANK	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	ZİRAAT BANKASI	Eryaman
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	EXIMBANK	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bilgisayar mühendisi	Ücretli	HEWLETT PACKARD	Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bilgisayar mühendisi	Ücretli	IBM	Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Bilgisayar mühendisi	Ücretli		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Biyolog	Ücretli		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Diş hekimi	Memur	SAĞLIK BAKANLIĞI	Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Ücretli	ONKOLOJİ HASTANESİ	Söğütözü
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	GAZİ HASTANESİ	Kavaklıdere
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	ONKOLOJİ HASTANESİ	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	SSK HASTANESİ	Aşağı eğlence
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	NUMUNE HAST.	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Keçiören
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	KIRKKALE DEVLET HASTANESİ	Kırıkkale
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Ücretli	METROPOL TIP	K.esat
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	MUŞ DEVLET HASTANESİ	Muş
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ekonomist	Memur	SPK	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli	STFA	Çiğdem mahallesi

Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli	AKFEN	Aydınlıkevler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli		Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	KOÇ	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Ücretli	AYDIM YAZILIM	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	End.müh.	Ücretli	BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	PEKER	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	TUBİN İNŞAAT	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İşletmeci	Ücretli	CEYTUR	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	İşletmeci	Ücretli	BARMEK DIŞ TİCARET	Cebeci
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Kimya müh.	Ücretli		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mak. Müh.	Yönetici	METEKSAN SİSTEM A.Ş.	B.evler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Makine mühendis	Ücretli	BARMEK	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli	BARIŞ ELEKTRİK	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli		Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mimar	Ücretli	TEPE	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	LABRİS İNŞAAT	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Muhasebe	Ücretli		Angora
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Muhasebeci	Kendi iş yeri		Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Müfettiş	Memur	İŞ BANKASI	Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	ARÇELİK	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	TAİ	Akıncı

Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	EXIMBANK	İzmir
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	MITSUBİSHİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	SİEMENS	K.dere
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretim üyesi	Dekan	MEMUR	Burdur
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretmen	Kendi iş yeri	DERSANE	Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ÖZEL ARI LİSESİ	Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli	BİLKENT	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli		Almanya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli		K. Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Pilot	Ücretli ceylan inş.	CEYLAN İNŞ.	Eryaman
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Psikolog	Ücretli		Kavaklıdere
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Satış müdürü	Ücretli		Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sekreter	Ücretli	TÜPRAŞ	Kırıkkale
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sekreter	Memur	TBMM	Eskişehir yolu
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi işyeri		Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Gölbaşı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	ALMET	Batıkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	ALMET	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	ALMET	Sıhhiye
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Y.mahalle
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sigortacı	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sigortacı	Ücretli	BAŞAK	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sosyolog	Kendi iş yeri		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Sporcu	Ücretli	GÖZTEPE SPOR	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Şehir plancısı	Ücretli		Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Kırkkonaklar
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli	OYAK	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	30-40	Ziraat mühendisi	Memur	KÖY HİZM. GEN. MÜD.	Ümitköy

Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Bilgisayar mühendisi	Ücretli	HEWLETT PACKARD	Söğütözü
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Bilgisayar programcısı	Ücretli	IBM	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA	Emek
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Hakim	Memur	ADALET BAK	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	ECZA DEPOSU	Altındağ
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	MEDİKAL	Bilkent
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	MCA/SARAR	Karakusunlar
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	KONFEKSİYON	Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	İNŞAAT	Ulus
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Yönetici	Memur	TEDAŞ	Gop
Nokta blok 4+1	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli	SPORTS	Dikmen
Nokta blok çatı	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri	ASYOL ASFALT	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Konutkent 2
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Devlet memuru		Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	İŞ BANKASI	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Devlet memuru		İstanbul
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	İŞ BANKASI	Almanya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	İŞBANKASI	İstanbul
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bilgisayar mühendisi	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Diplomat	Memur	NATO	Belçika
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Memur		Ordu
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Ücretli		Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri	KBB UZMANI	Konutkent

Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri	HAKTANIR ECZANESİ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri	ÇANKAYA	
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ekonomist	Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK	Esat
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli	ODTÜ REKTÖRLÜK	Balgat
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli		Etimesgut
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Ümitkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Ücretli	BİLTAN	Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Elektronik müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Batıkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Gümrük müşaviri	Memur	GÜMRÜK BAKANLIĞI	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İktisatçı	Memur	ODTÜ REKTÖRLÜK	Karakusunlar
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK İNŞAAT	Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli		Maltepe
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli		Yenimahalle
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Batıkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İstatistikçi	Ücretli	DEKORUM	Dikmen
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İşletmeci	Ücretli	BOTAŞ	Esat
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İşletmeci	Memur	SPK	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İşletmeci	Ücretli		İstanbul
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	İşletmeci	Ücretli	BİLKENT OTEL	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Jeoloji mühendisi	Ücretli		Etlik

Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Jeoloji mühendisi	Ücretli		Mesa koru
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli		Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli	BARIŞ ELEKTRİK	Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Muhasebeci	Ücretli		Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli		Tandoğan
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	ABB ÖZEL SEKTÖR	Dikmen
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mühendis	Ücretli	MICROSOFT	İstanbul
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Öğretim görevlisi	Ücretli	BİLKENT	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Öğretmen	Memur	ODTÜ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Pilot	Memur	SUBAY	Etimesgut
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Sigortacı	Kendi iş yeri		Küçükesat
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Sporcu	Ücretli	GENÇLER BİRLİĞİ SPOR	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Şehir plancısı	Kendi iş yeri	EBREN İNŞAAT	Gazi mah.
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi işyeri		Yunanistan
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	İNŞAAT	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	BAŞAK SİGORTA	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		İncirli
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Dışkapı
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Yönetci	Ücretli	TANOTO	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Yönetici	Memur	GÜMRÜK MÜSTEŞARLIĞI	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ziraat müh	Memur	TOKİ	Subayevleri

Sıra ev bahçe	30-40			DEMİR EXPORT	Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	ZİRAAT BANKASI	Kavalıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Danışman	Ücretli		Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ekonomist			Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Ekonomist	Memur	THY	Almanya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Havacılık mühendisi	Ücretli	ROKETSAN	Demetevler
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Mimar	Ücretli	OBA MAKARNA	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli	TOKİ	Mesakoru
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	TEMİZLİK HİZ	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	SHOW FUARCILIK	Esat
Sıra ev bahçe	30-40	Yönetici	Memur	ANKARA ÜN	Ümitköy
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Diplomat	Memur	DIŞİŞLERİ	Almanya
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Kocatepe
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Doktor	Memur	NUMUNE	Oran
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli	AKFEN	Gop
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Etlik
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Ev hanımı			K.ören
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Gümrük müşaviri	Memur		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Jeoloji mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Balgat
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Şehir bölge plancısı	Ücretli	BELEDİYE	Kurtuluş
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli		Çayyolu
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Ateşe	Memur		Mesa koru
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Bankacı	ücretli	EXİMBANK	Yıldız
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Mebusevleri
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Çevre mühendisi	Ev hanımı		Ümitköy
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Diplomat	Memur	CUMHUR BAŞKANLIĞI	Tandoğan
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Diyetisyen	Ücretli		Çankaya

Sıra ev çatı	30-40	End.müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK DIŞ TİCARET	Aydınlıkevler
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	EKİNCİLER HOLDİNG	İstanbul
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	İstatistikçi	Kendi iş yeri	ERKO LTD	Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri	PROKO MÜHENDİSLİK	Etlik
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Pilot	Ücretli		Gop
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	SAGERSTRIP	Konutkent
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	BURSA UCUZ	Etlik
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	BURSA UCUZ	Etlik
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Yönetici	Kendi iş yeri	YEM FABRİ	Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli		Eryaman
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	ERE MÜHENDİSLİK	Karakusunlar
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Bilkent
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Bankacı	Ücretli	VAKIFLAR BANKASI	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Doktor	Memur	KKDEVLET	Kırıkklae
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Doktor	Memur	NİĞDE DOĞUMEVİ	Niğde
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Sancak mahallesi
Sıra ev kat	30-40	End.müh.	Ücretli	HAVELSAN	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	İzmir
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Konutkent
Sıra ev kat	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	TEPE	Balgat
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Muhasebeci	Ücretli	TED VAKFI	Oran
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ANADOLU MESLEK LİSESİ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Psikolog	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	BANKO LTD.	Çayyolu
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	AVUNDUK OTO	Emek
Sıra ev kat	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	RENO BAYİİ	Keçiören
Tripleks villa	30-40	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Tripleks villa	30-40	Bankacı	Memur	ZİRAAT BANKASI	Balgat
Tripleks villa	30-40	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA HASTANESİ	Ümitköy
Tripleks villa	30-40	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri	AN-MED SAĞLIK	Konutkent
Tripleks villa	30-40	Eczacı	Pınar ecza deposu	BAHÇELİEVLER	
Tripleks villa	30-40	Ekonomist	Ücretli		Oran
Tripleks villa	30-40	Ekonomist	Kendi iş yeri	SPARCO SARCO	Gop
Tripleks villa	30-40	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Konutkent
Tripleks villa	30-40	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent

Tripleks villa	30-40	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	ÇANKIRI İNŞAAT	Bilkent
Tripleks villa	30-40	Mühendis	Kendi işyeri	GENTAŞ	Siteler
Tripleks villa	30-40	Mühendis	Kendi işyeri	GENTAŞ	Siteler
Tripleks villa	30-40	Mühendis	Kendi işyeri	SAYER ŞİRKETLER GRUBU	Balgat
Tripleks villa	30-40	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	REYSAŞ A.Ş.	Konutkent
Tripleks villa	30-40	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	GAYEM İNŞAAT	Emek
Tripleks villa	30-40	Öğretmen	Memur		Angora
Tripleks villa	30-40	Şehir plancısı	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	30-40	Teknik direktör	Ücretli	MKE ANKARAGÜCÜ	Bilkent
Tripleks villa	30-40	Turizm	Kendi iş yeri	ZED TURİZM	Etlik
Tripleks villa	30-40	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	ART COM BİLGİSAYAR	Kavaklıdere
Tripleks villa	30-40	Veteriner	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent
Tripleks villa	30-40	Yönetici	Ücretli	SPORTS	Angora
Tripleks villa	30-40	Öğretmen	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Tripleks villa	30-40	Yüksek elektronik mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Ümitköy
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	GÜVENSOY LTD.	Mebusevleri
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	40-50	Müteahhit	Kendi iş yeri	CERSAN	Bilkent
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	40-50	Noter	Kendi iş yeri		Osmainye
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ÜÇLER DERSANESİ	Konutkent
Bodrumlu ileri kaba villa	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	KAZGAN TUR. İŞL. A.Ş.	Eskişehiryolu
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri	KİBELE	Angora evleri
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Eksper	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri	GÜLŞE ELEKTRİK	Mesa koru
İleri kaba villa	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	EVLİYAOĞLU LTD.	Bilkent

İleri kaba villa	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	SİSTEM SAĞLIK LTD.	Çankaya
İleri kaba villa	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	SİSTEM SAĞLIK LTD.	Çankaya
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Mimar	Memur	İLLER BANKASI	Oran
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Sanayici	Kendi iş yeri	ULUSOY TOHUMCULUK	Çankaya
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	PAMUKBANK	Gop
İleri kaba villa	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	ALES DIŞ TİC.	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ	Ümitköy
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Avukat			
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	ücretli	İŞBANKASI	Aydınlıkevler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	A.ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	INTERBANK	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Memur	İŞ BANKASI	İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Dışkapı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	VAKIFBANK	Batıkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Balgat
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Bankacı	Emekli		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Biyolog	Ücretli	ATATÜRK ANADOLU LİSESİ	Çiğdem mahallesi
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Danışman	Ücretli		Otel
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Defterdar yard	Memur	DEFTERDARLIK	Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Denetçi	Memur	BAŞBAKANLI K	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Diplomat	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	GAZİ HASTANESİ	Kızılay
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	TARSUS SSK	S. Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	ÇANKIRI DEVLET HASTANESİ	Çankırı

Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	ücretli	BAŞKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ HASTANESİ	Bakanlıklar
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	MEB ANKARA SAĞLIK	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	OSMANİYE DEVLET HASTANESİ	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA HAST.	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	BAYINDIR HASTANESİ	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Anıttepe
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ekonomist	Öğretmen		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ekonomist	Ücretli		Bakanlıklar
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ekonomist	Memur	TURİZM BAKANLIĞI	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ekonomist	Ücretli	NOKSEL	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ekonomist	Ücretli		İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	EMEK ELEKTRİK	Gölbaşı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Emekli	Memur		Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Amerika
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Emekli		Etimesgut
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Gazeteci	Ücretli		İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Grafiker	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İdari işler sor.	Ücretli	REN DIŞ TİC.	K.dere
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İktisatçı	Ücretli		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Memur	ELEK İŞLERİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	ücretli	TEMEL SU	Küçükesat

Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Memur	HAZİNE DIŞ TİCARET	Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	YÜKSEL	İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli	HAVELSAN	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İşletmeci	Emekli		Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli	METRO	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli	ADM DOYSAN	İstanbul
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Jeoloji mühendisi	Memur	TPAO	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Kimya müh.	Ücretli	NUHUN ANKARA MAKARNASI	Tandoğan
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Kimya müh.	Ücretli		Mersin
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Kimya müh.	Memur	TCMB	Mebusevleri
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Kimyager	Memur	TEAŞ	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mak. Yük. Müh.	Ücretli	ROKETSAN	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli	TC KARAYOLLARI	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mimar	Ücretli		Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli		Angora evleri
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli		Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mühendis	Memur	TSE	Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Müsteşar	Memur	TURİZM BAKANLIĞI	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretim görevlisi	Ücretli	BİLKENT	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretim görevlisi	Memur	NİĞDE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Dışkapı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Ücretli		Mesa çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	NİĞDE ÜNV.	Aksaray
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	KURTULUŞ İLKÖRTETİM OKULU	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretmen	Memur		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Psikolog	Ücretli		Kızılay
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler

Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	YAK LTD. ŞTİ.	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Subay	Emekli		Anıttepe
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Subay	Memur		Anıttepe
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Turizmci	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	İNTAÇ LTD.	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Keçiören
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Balgat
Nokta blok 3+1	40-50	Yönetici	Memur	KÖY HİZMETLERİ	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	ŞEKRBANK	Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Diplomat	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Ümitköy
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	İktisatçı	Memur	DIŞİŞLERİ	Belçika
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Matematikçi	Kendi iş yeri	DERSANE	Bilkent
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	KESİT ALÜMİNYUM	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Müsteşar	Memur	İMAR İSKAN BAKANLIĞI	Yenimahalle
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Öğretmen	Kendi iş yeri	DERSANE	Konutkent
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ÇANKAYA LİSESİ	Gop
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Yönetici	Memur	TRT	Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 4+1	40-50	Ziraat mühendisi	Ücretli	TOPRAK GÜBRE	Eryaman
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Yönetici	Ücretli		Amerika
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Balgat
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Müteahhit	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Ressam			Ayrancı

Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	GAMAŞ LTD.	Oran
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	RESTORAN	Ayrancı
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ümitköy
Nokta blok çatı	40-50	Yönetici	Ücretli		Beysukent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Akademisyen	Memur		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Dikmen
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	VAKIFLAR BANKASI	Yenişehir
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Bürokrat	Emekli		İzmir
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		A. Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Kolej
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Mebusevleri
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Devlet memuru		Diyarbakır
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Memur	GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	ÇANKAYA HASTANESİ	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor			Beysukent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	ESTETİSYEN	Avusturalya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	BAŞKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Aşağı eğlence
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Eczacı	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Abidinpaşa
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Eczacı	Ücretli		Yıldız
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ekonomist	Kendi iş yeri	İLKADIM YUVA	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	HAVELSAN	Dikmen
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	SİMKO	Mebusevleri
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Emekli		Eskişehir yolu

Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	SIEMENS	K.esat
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	End.müh.	Ücretli	ASELSAN	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ev hanımı			Y ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Erzurum
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Cebeci
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Fizikçi	Ücretli		A. Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Hakim	Memur	DANIŞTAY	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Halkla ilişkiler	Ücretli		Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İktisatçı	Ücretli		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İktisatçı	Kendi iş yeri		Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Balgat
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Memur	KIZ MESLEK LİSESİ	Karakusunlar
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	İŞBİR OPTİK	Keçiören
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	GÜVENSOY LTD.	Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	GÜVENSOY LTD.	Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Jeoloji mühendisi	Memur	ODTÜ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Jeoloji mühendisi	Memur	DSİ	Eskişehiryolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Kimya müh.	Ücretli		Mersin
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Kimya yüksek müh	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Makine yüksek mühendisi	Ücretli		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Milletvekili	Memur	TBMM	Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mimar	Ücretli	BARMEK	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Muhasebeci	Ücretli	GENTAŞ	Küçükesat
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli	BARMEK İNŞAAT	Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	ODTÜ	Odtü lojmanları

Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Ücretli		Etimesgut
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	ODTÜ	Y. Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Memur	KIZ MESLEK LİSESİ	Odtü
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Devlet memuru		Kızılay
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	BİLİM KOLEJİ	Odtü
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Memur	ODTÜ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli		Ümitköy
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Psikolog	Ücretli	GELİŞİM YUVA	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Sekreter	Memur	ODTÜ REKTÖRLÜK	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Sigortacı	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Subay	General	GENEL KURMAY	Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Subay	Memur		Anıttepe
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Şehir plancısı	Ücretli	TEPE	Konutkent
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Kurtuluş
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Yönetici	Ücretli		Çiğdem mahallesi
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Yönetici	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Yüksek mimar	Memur	ODTÜ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Almanya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Yenimahalle
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Memur	NUMUNE	Kızılay
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	SSK	Bursa
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Eczacı	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	SİMKO	Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Fizik mühendisi	Ücretli		Abidinpaşa
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent

Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İstatistikçi	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	ABBATE	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mali müşavir	Kendi iş yeri		İzmir
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mimar	Kendi iş yeri	ACE	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli		Mesa koru
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	ANKARA ÜN.	Seyranbağları
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	ÇANKAYA LİSESİ	Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri	GENESİS	Balgat
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Subay	Memur	KKK	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Y. Bilg. Müh.	Ücretli	LN A.Ş.	K.esat
Sıra ev bahçe	40-50	Yönetici	Ücretli	GLAXO WELLCOME	İstanbul
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	EXIMBANK	Oran
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	EXIMBANK	Dikmen
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	K. Esat
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli		Bahçelievler
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Memur		Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Memur	SAMİ ULUS ÇOCUK	Dikmen
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Memur	YÜKSEK İHTİSAS	Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	SSK	Seyranbağları
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	BARTIN DEVLET HASTANESİ	Bartın
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri	SELAMOĞLU ECZANESİ	Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Ekonomist	Memur	EMEKLİ SANDIĞI	Beşevler
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Kızılay
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İktisatçı	Memur	KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI	Gop
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İktisatçı	Ücretli	MYDONOSE	Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli	HAVELSAN	Gop
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Jeoloji mühendisi	Ücretli		Konutkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Çayyolu
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Memur	MTA	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Öğretmen	Ücretli	TED	Gop

Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Ümitköy
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	MC DONALDS SAHİBİ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Mesa koru
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	MC DONALDS SAHİBİ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	HANCI ÇAY	Gop
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Otel
Sıra ev çatı	40-50		Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK	Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri	ODTÜ BİLG MÜH	Odtü
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Avukat	Ücretli		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli		Balgat
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Danışman	Ücretli	ZORLU HOLDİNG	Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Doktor	Memur	GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK HOLDİNG	İstanbul
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Çiğdem mahallesi
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Bilkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Emekli		Beysukent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli		Ümitköy
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İşletmeci	Devlet memuru		Emek
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	İşletmeci	Ücretli	ASELSAN	Yenimahalle
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Konutkent
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Noter	Kendi iş yeri		Sakarya
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	VAN GÖLÜ TUR	Van
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ	İrlanda
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Bankacı	Ücretli	YAPI KREDİ	Emek
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Y ayrancı
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Batıkent
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Ücretli	BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bilkent
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Samanpazarı
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Albay	Ücretli	MSB	Oran
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Doktor	Memur	KIRŞEHİR DEVLET HAST	Kırşehir
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Giresun
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Ekonomist	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Almanya
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Gazeteci	Ücretli		Konutkent
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Gazeteci	Ücretli	STAR	Konutkent

Sıra ev kat	40-50	İnş. Müh.	ücretli	ATİLLA DOĞAN	Ayrancı
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Makina müh	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Memur	ODTÜ	Bilkent
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Maltepe
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Mimar	Memur		Gop
Sıra ev kat	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	ARÇELİK BAYİİ	Eryaman
Tripleks villa	40-50	Akademisyen	Memur	ODTÜ	Mutluköy
Tripleks villa	40-50	Doktor	Kendi işyeri	GÜVEN HASTANESİ	Ayrancı
Tripleks villa	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Tripleks villa	40-50	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Balgat
Tripleks villa	40-50	Doktor	Ücretli	UZMANLAR TIP GRUBU	Angora evleri
Tripleks villa	40-50	Ekonomist	Kendi iş yeri		Angora
Tripleks villa	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Tripleks villa	40-50	Elek. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri	TİT ELEKTRİK	Mebusevleri
Tripleks villa	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Çayyolu
Tripleks villa	40-50	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Gop
Tripleks villa	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Tripleks villa	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Memur	ODTÜ	Odtü
Tripleks villa	40-50	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Angora
Tripleks villa	40-50	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	BOĞAZİÇİ LOKANTASI	Ulus
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mak. Yük. Müh.	Ücretli	TEKNİKEL SAN.	Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Makine yüksek mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	VEHBİ YILMAZ MÜH	Ümitköy
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli		Konutkent
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis	Ücretli	TAİ	Ümitköy
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	MARTI LTD. ŞTİ.	Bilkent
Tripleks villa	40-50	Mühendis			

Tripleks villa	40-50	Müsteşar	Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK	Gop
Tripleks villa	40-50	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	ODTÜ	Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Öğretmen	Kendi iş yeri	YÖNTEM DERSANSEİ	Ayrancı
Tripleks villa	40-50	Öğretmen	Emekli		Oran
Tripleks villa	40-50	Petrol yüksek mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Mebusevleri
Tripleks villa	40-50	Psikolog	Ücretli		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Reklamcı	Kendi işyeri	ÖYKÜ REKLAMCILIK	Kızılay
Tripleks villa	40-50	Serbest	Kendi iş yeri		Bahçelievler
Tripleks villa	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi işyeri	ALPARDA MOBİLYA	Maltepe
Tripleks villa	40-50	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	AS KÜRK	Beysukent
Tripleks villa	40-50	Yatırımcı	Kendi iş yeri	İZOSAN	Dikmen
Tripleks villa	40-50		Kendi iş yeri	DİMSA PLASTİK	Çankaya
Tripleks villa	40-50	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Bodrumlu villa	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Bodrumlu villa	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	SUN EXPORT	Mebusevleri
İleri kaba villa	50-60	Ev hanımı			Gop
İleri kaba villa	50-60	Ev hanımı			Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Avukat	Emekli		Balgat
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Avukat	Ücretli	BARMEK	Maltepe
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Bankacı	Emekli		Bahçelievler
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Bankacı	Memur	MERKEZ BANKASI	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Diplomat	Memur	ROTERDAM BAŞ KONSOLOSU	Hollanda
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Diş hekimi	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Doktor	Memur	GATA	Etlik
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Doktor	Ücretli	ÇANKAYA HASATANESİ	Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Doktor	Memur	KARAYOLLARI	Angora
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Kavaklıdere
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Eczacı	Emekli		Çankaya

Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ekonomist	Ücretli	MİLLİ PROKDİVİTE MERKEZİ	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ekonomist	Ücretli	STFA	Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ekonomist	Memur		Çayyolu
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Elektronik müh.	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Balgat
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı			Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Maltepe
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Yenimahalle
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Sıhhiye
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Gazeteci	Ücretli	HÜRRİYET	Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Gazeteci	Ücretli	HÜRRİYET	Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Gazeteci	Ücretli	DÜNYA	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Hakim	Memur	YARGITAY	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Halkla ilişkiler	Ücretli	ATAKULE	Yenimahalle
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İktisatçı	Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK Y.D.K.	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İktisatçı	Memur	SPK	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Kızılay
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Memur	BAYINDIRLIK İSKAN BAK	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İşletmeci	Emekli		Eskişehir
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	İşletmeci	Emekli		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Jeofizik yük. Müh.	Ücretli	PET. OİL A.Ş.	Söğütözü
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli		Dikmen
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli	YÜKSEL İNŞ	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Muhasebeci	Ücretli	VAKKO	Gop

Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Mühendis	Ücretli	TPAO	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Öğretim görevlisi	Ücretli	BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Öğretmen	Memur	SAĞLIK BAKANLIĞI	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Öğretmen	Emekli		Keçiören
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Öğretmen	Emekli		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Öğretmen	Kendi iş yeri	BAŞAK SİGORTA ACENTESİ	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Sanayici	Kendi iş yeri	UZUNGİL LTD	Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Siyaset bilimci	Ücretli	DOĞU AKDENİZ	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	KUYUMCU	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	ŞAHİN PETRO L	Bilkent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ziraat mühendisi	Memur	ÇUKUROVA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Adana
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60	Ziraat mühendisi	Emekli		Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	50-60		Emekli	KARUM	Çayyolu
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Bankacı	Emekli		Ümitköy
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Doktor	Ücretli	ZİRAAT BANK SAĞLIK	Kavaklıdere
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Beşevler
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Konutkent
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Memur	Memur		Karahkusunlar
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Nokta blok 4+1	50-60		Yönetici	DSİ	B. Esat
Nokta blok çatı	50-60	Akademisyen	Memur	ODTÜ	Karakusunlar
Nokta blok çatı	50-60	Araştırmacı	Ücretli		Amerika
Nokta blok çatı	50-60	Öğretmen	Ücretli		Tandoğan
Nokta blok çatı	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Angora evleri
Nokta blok çatı	50-60	Bankacı	Ücretli	YAPI KREDİ	Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Akademisyen	Memur	ODTÜ	Odtü

Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Mesa koru
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI	Rusya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Avukat	Memur	TİSK GENEL SEKRETERİ	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Avukat	Emekli bürokrat		Y. Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Bankacı	Ücretli		Çayyolu
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Bankacı	Ücretli	ETİBANK	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Diplomat	Memur		Yenimahalle
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Doktor	Memur	NUMUNE HASTANESİ	Yıldız
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Doktor	Memur	DOĞUMEVİ	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Doktor	Memur	DEVLET HASTANESİ	Balgat
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Doktor	Ücretli	ÇANKAYA HASTANESİ	Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Doktor	Memur	S.DEMİREL ÜNİVE	Maltepe
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Eczacı	Ücretli		Bahçelievler
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK HOLDİNG	Maltepe
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Elek. Müh.	Ücretli	BARMEK	Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Elek. Müh.	Memur		Angora evleri
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Emekli	Emekli		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Gazeteci	Ücretli		Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Gazeteci	Ücretli		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli		Balgat
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	İşletmeci	Kendi iş yeri	BIÇAK ELEKTRONİK	K.dere
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Jeofizik mühendisi	Memur öğretim gör	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Kimya müh.	Ücretli	TSE	Anıttepe
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Kimya müh.	Memur	SS MÜSTEŞARLIĞI	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli		Çankaya

Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Memur	Emekli	MALİYE BAKANLIĞI	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Optiker	Kendi iş yeri		Yenişehir
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Sosyolog	Memur	ODTÜ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Subay	General	GENEL KURMAY	Bakanlıklar
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Subay	General	GENEL KURMAY	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Ümitköy
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Yönetici	Memur		Beysukent
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Ziraat mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60				
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Avukat	Kendi iş yeri		Oran
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Bankacı	Emekli		Angora
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Eczacı	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Ekonomist	Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK	Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Kimya müh.	memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Tandoğan
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Bilkent
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Mimar	Ücretli	KALKINMA BANKASI	Ayrancı
Sıra ev bahçe	50-60	Subay	Memur	GENEL KURMAY	Kıbrıs
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Ateşe	Memur	DIŞ İŞLERİ	Avusturya
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Makine mühendisi	Kendi iş yeri		Tandoğan
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Öğretim görevlisi	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Beysukent
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	ODTÜ	Odtü
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Sosyolog	Memur	ODTÜ	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Subay	General	GENEL KURMAY	Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	UZUNGİL ŞEKER	Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Anıttepe
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri	KBB UZMANI	Oran
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Çankaya
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Memur	DSİ	Yücetepe
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Mimar	Emekli		İstanbul
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Noter	Kendi iş yeri		Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Rektör	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Beysukent

Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Rektör	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Beysukent
Sıra ev çatı	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Yıldız
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Doktor	Memur	HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Öğretim üyesi	Memur	SİYASAL BİLGİLER FAK	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Subay	Memur		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Bankacı	Memur	İŞ BANKASI	Bahçelievler
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Elektronik müh.	Ücretli		Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev kat	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	TETİKO	İstanbul
Tripleks villa	50-60	Bankacı	Ücretli	VAKIFLAR BANKASI	Maltepe
Tripleks villa	50-60	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA	Bahçelievler
Tripleks villa	50-60	Doktor	Memur	GATA	Etlik
Tripleks villa	50-60	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Anıttepe
Tripleks villa	50-60	Eczacı	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Çankaya
Tripleks villa	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Gop
Tripleks villa	50-60	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Çankaya
Tripleks villa	50-60	Modacı	Kendi iş yeri	ALİYE GELİNLİK	Gop
Tripleks villa	50-60	Mühendis	Kendi iş yeri	ECHO İTHALAT İHRACAT	Çayyolu
Tripleks villa	50-60	Öğretmen	Emekli		Çankaya
Tripleks villa	50-60	Sanayici	Kendi iş yeri	PAUL	İskitler
Tripleks villa	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri	AYKA OPTİK	Kızılay
Tripleks villa	50-60	Yönetici	Ücretli	BARMEK	Angora evleri
Tripleks villa	50-60	İnş. Müh.	Ücretli	AKEDA	Gop
Tripleks villa	50-60	Tüccar	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Bankacı	Emekli		Anıttepe
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Doktor	Kendi iş yeri		Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Balgat
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Emekli	Memur	YÖK	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Emekli	Emekli	EMEKLİ	A. Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Kayseri
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı			Çankaya

Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı			Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı			Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Oran
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Konutkent
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Beysukent
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Hukukçu	Kendi iş yeri		Emek
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Hukukçu	Memur		Gop
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Makine mühendisi	Ücretli	AĞAÇLI PETROL	Ayrancı
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Öğretmen	Ücretli		Kavaklıdere
Nokta blok 3+1	60-70	Ziraat mühendisi	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Beysukent
Nokta blok 4+1	60-70	Bürokrat	Emekli		Beysukent
Nokta blok 4+1	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Avukat	Memur	ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ	Emek
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Bürokrat	Emekli		Kızılay
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Emekli	Emekli		Bahçelievelr
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı	EV HANIMI	Gop
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	İnş. Müh.	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Jeoloji mühendisi	Ücretli		Kurtuluş
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Mali müşavir	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Mühendis	Ücretli		Karakusunlar
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Subay	General		Bakanlıklar
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Tiyatro	Oyun yazarı		Çankaya
Sıra ev bahçe	60-70	Hukuk müşaviri	Memur	BAŞBAKANLIK	Kavaklıdere
Sıra ev çatı	60-70	Doktor	Memur	İBNİ SİNA	Mesa koru
Sıra ev çatı	60-70	Ev hanımı			Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	60-70	Elek. Müh.	Yönetici		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	60-70	Vali	Memur		Kütahya
Tripleks villa	60-70	Doktor	Memur	PSİKİYATR	Bilkent
Tripleks villa	60-70	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Gop

Tripleks villa	60-70	Doktor	Devlet memuru	İBNİ SİNA HASTANESİ	Mesa koru
Nokta blok 3+1	70-80	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	70-80	General	Emekli		Büyükesat
Nokta blok 3+1	70-80	Hakim	Emekli		Esat
Nokta blok 3+1	70-80	Öğretmen	Emekli		Angora evleri
Nokta blok 3+1	70-80	Öğretmen	Emekli		Ayrancı
Sıra ev çatı	70-80	Sigortacı	Kendi iş yeri		Çankaya
Sıra ev kat	70-80	General	Emekli		Büyükesat
Sıra ev kat	70-80	Ev hanımı	Ev hanımı		A. Ayrancı
Tripleks villa	70-80	Mühendis	Emekli	MARDEK	Çankaya
Nokta blok 3+1	80-90	Müşavir	Emekli	EMEKLİ	Çankaya

ANGORA IMAGES[*]

Eskişehir highway; the upper-middle class boulevard connecting the suburbs to the downtown

The gate of the community

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[*] All photograpshs by the autor.

Angora: The welfare enclace in the middle of nowhere

A general view of the villa district in Angora

A stylish mailbox; details connote western lifestyle

Surveillance cam; more security within the community

Everything is designed to signify the heavenly image of the community: "The street of dreams"

Luxurious cars parked infront of the houses are typical of the streets of Angora

Housing stock for new upper-middle class customers: A rowhouse to be sold for $ 150.000 under construction

The signboard of the bankrupted construction company