

THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF REPRESENTATIONAL MEDIA
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY HOUSING:
THE GATED ENCLAVES OF ANKARA AND CONSUMER CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

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The overruling transformation, which represents a new phase of capitalism since the mid 1970s, in fact delineates a radical transition from Fordist to Post-Fordist structure. Based on a more flexible labor formation, market, and a highly geographical fluidity of capital, the Post-Fordist structure, on the other hand, is a response to the stable and rigid configuration of Fordism that caused a bottleneck within capitalist organization. Consequently, the Post-Fordist phase additionally requires a rapid change within the consumption patterns. This period can also be labeled as flexible accumulation, which is based on the least circulation period of capital, and as a result turnover time of the consumption objects. Here, consumption becomes a cultural activity besides its role of meeting material necessities and calls for a form of culture, in which the symbolic value of any object is of significance more than its use-value.

As part of that development, on the other hand, gated enclaves represent a form of investment for the legitimization of values projected by the consumer culture – of course,

within the domain of privatized housing production and consumption patterns. The most important features of gated enclaves, especially located at the new urban development areas, can be stated as: they are shared by high income level owners; surrounded by fences and walls; guarded by private security personnel and systems; accommodate houses with identical comfort standards; and provide additional privatized services.

This research aims at studying the modes and forms of marketing strategies of these newly emerging housing provisions in Ankara that all are all constructed around the theme of “a distinct life style” through their original representational media. Therefore the study will investigate how the idea of distinctness is made public and available in housing settlements. And by means of spatial analyses that are based on environmental and architectural qualities how and to what extent the assertion of distinctness is achieved or constituted a genuine position within the academic or professional architectural culture will be investigated while such concepts as “homogenization” and “distinctness” will be used as key apparatuses. And finally, the study will highlight the apparent relation between the advertising strategies of a “distinct life style” and the legitimization processes of it that is also fabricated over the specialized housing settlements as well as the dynamics of today’s consumer culture.

Keywords: Flexible accumulation, consumer culture, advertisement industry, gated enclaves, symbolic value, life style, identity, status, homogenization, distinctness.

ÖZ

SUNUŞ ORTAMLARININ ÇAĞDAŞ KONUT ALANINDAKİ DÖNÜŞTÜRÜCÜ ROLÜ: ANKARA’NIN KAPALI YERLEŞKELERİ VE TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜ

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1970’ li yılların ortalarından itibaren kapitalizmin yeni bir aşamasına geçişi temsil eden yapısal dönüşüm, Fordist bir alt-yapıdan Post-Fordist bir alt-yapıya geçişi de tarifler. Fordizmin istikrarlı ve durağan gelişme yapısının kapitalist örgütlenmede tıkanmaya yol açmasına yanıt olarak ortaya çıkan, daha esnek emek süreçlerine, piyasalara ve sermayenin yüksek coğrafi akışkanlığına dayanan Post-Fordist yapılanma, tüketim kalıplarında da hızlı değişikliklere ihtiyaç duyar. Sermayenin dolaşım süresinin mümkün olduğu kadar kısalmasına, dolayısıyla tüketim nesnesinin yaşam ömrünün kısa olmasına dayanan bu dönem, “esnek birikim” olarak da adlandırılır. Tüketim, maddi ihtiyaçların giderilmesinin yanı sıra kültürel bir eylem içeriğine de kavuşmaktadır. Nesnelerin sembolik değerinin kullanım değerinin önüne geçmesini imleyen bu dönem, tüketim kültürü olarak adlandırılmaktadır.

Tüketim kültürü değerlerinin özelleşmiş konut üretimi ve tüketimi alanında meşrulaşmasını “kapalı yerleşkeler” temsil eder. Çoğunlukla kentin yeni gelişim alanlarında yer alan bu

yerleşkelerin en önemli özellikleri: üst gelir grupları tarafından talep ediliyor ve kullanılıyor olması, duvarlarla çevrili olması; özel güvenlik birimleri ve sistemleriyle kontrol ediliyor olması; benzer konfor standartına sahip konutlardan oluşması; kamusal alanın özelleşmiş olması; ve çeşitli kamusal hizmetlerin özelleşmesi olarak sıralanabilir.

Bütün bu bulguların ışığında, çalışmanın amacı yeni konut sunumlarının farklı bir yaşam tipi üzerine kurguladıkları pazarlama stratejilerinin, Ankara’da seçilmiş, on yerleşkenin özgün sunum ortamları üzerinden incelenmesidir. Dolayısıyla çalışma, bu farklılık kavramının nasıl açığa çıkarıldığını ve sunulan ev yerleşkelerinin mekansal sonuçlarına nasıl atfedildiğini açığa vuracaktır. Yerleşkelerin çevresel ve mimari kaliteleri üzerine temellendirilen mekansal analizler vasıtasıyla farklılaşma iddiasının nasıl ve ne derece elde edildiği, ya da akademik ve profesyonel mimarlık kültürü içerisinde ne derece farklı veya özgün bir pozisyon teşkil ettiği, aynışma ve farklılaşma temaları üzerinden araştırılacaktır. Sonuç olarak çalışma, özelleşmiş ev yerleşkeleri üzerine kurgulanan farklı bir yaşam tipi temasını ve bu farklılık temasının meşrulaştırılma sürecini, tüketim kültürü dinamikleri çerçevesinde inceleyecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Esnek birikim, tüketim kültürü, reklam endüstrisi, kapalı yerleşkeler, sembolik değer, yaşama üslubu, kimlik, statü, aynışma, farklılaşma

To My Family; Servet Öden, Ruvide Öden, and Cenker Öden

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The space as a basic outcome of architectural discipline is in fact produced and consumed within social practices, needing a framework for the changing consumption activities. Accordingly, the relation between architecture and consumption has two related dimensions. In one of them the space is part of social sign systems and the consumption patterns turn to be mere objects that are produced and consumed within social practices, and they are mostly defined by unstable ground of fashion systems. Besides being a consumption object, the space has a potential to organize and direct the consumption patterns more actively.¹ This study aims to decode this apparent relationship between the contemporary housing production and the consumer culture and to uncover the dynamics of this relation in the light of the two discussions given above.

Abdi Güzer in his essay “Housing in the Context of Cultural Difference” states that architecture, both as a representation and legitimization of lifestyles, production and consumption patterns widely reflects cultural forms and such diverse patterns especially within the process of housing production. Housing is a dominant form of architectural production in which characteristics and values of the era, the consumer culture, are forcefully revealed even it is contradictory to the nature of architectural culture. It represents a conflicting antagonism between the premises of architectural profession and the consumer culture, and for that reason, it becomes a scene for continuities as well as discontinuities in-between values. Within the consumer culture, housing is not only a base for consumption – agglomeration space for consumption objects – but it is also the

¹ Hakkı Yırtıcı, 2002, “Tüketimin Mekansal Örgütlenmesinin İdeolojisi”, *Mimarlık ve Tüketim*, ed. by Nuray Togay, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 9-38

consumption object itself. Attributed to the contemporary housing projects, the legitimization of consumption-oriented values can now be exercised by the help of image-based representations. It is no coincidence that all these representations find ample room commonly in the popular media.²

The capitalist production presents some packaged and constructed diversification of products to the supposedly diverged segments of society. Through the apparatuses of consumer culture the advertisement industry, on the other hand, has a crucial role via such diversification processes of production. The standard customers have now a chance to choose or prefer any commodity, service and such sign systems among them as an expression of their identity or status. What the ordinary man has ever been offered to select is always pre-constructed and determined; however, this very unavoidable process at the end helps for the development of re-determined homogenized subgroups.³

The issue of consumption should be studied in this particular framework, in which it is regarded as sign systems, set by global codes and rules, instead of the satisfaction of natural necessities through commodities and services. The exercise of consumption, in other words, is not a free act of individuals. The individuals' performance of consumption is rather under the constraints of both productive forces, which produces and directs the necessity patterns, and sign systems in which the relative status and values are attributed to the consumption of the commodity.⁴ As explained by Baudrillard:

The consumption entails the active manipulation of signs. This becomes central to late capitalist society where sign and commodity come together to produce the commodity sign. The autonomy of the signifier, through for example, the manipulation of signs in media and advertising, means that signs are able to float free from objects and are available for use in a multiplicity of associative relations...Emphasis shifts from production to reproduction, to the endless reduplication of signs, images and simulations through media, which effaces the distinction between image and reality.⁵

² Abdi Güzer, 2001, "Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut," *Gazi Sanat Dergisi*, September 2001, pp. 71-80

³ Hakkı Yırtıcı, 2002, "Tüketimin Mekansal Örgütlenmesinin İdeolojisi", *Mimarlık ve Tüketim*, ed. by Nuray Togay, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 9-38

⁴ Ibid., pp. 9-38

⁵ Mike Featherstone, 1991, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, p. 15

Within this perspective, this study examines the underlying power of life style images around the themes of “privilege”, “exclusivity”, “status”, and “identity” in relation to the production and reception processes of specialized housings; the gated enclaves. The thesis’ main argument will be the refutation of the assertion of each provisioned environments’ promotion for “distinctness”. Their self-framing for social and physical exclusivity to express themselves as “distinct” will be studied to question how this particular image is to be created through the channels of media. However, we suggest in our thesis that whatever the final image is, and in what ways this image is created as “distinct”, the end products are always mere examples of homogenization through which their spatial characteristics are the same in many respects. For this particular reason, the thesis will mainly focus on some of the common spatial characteristics of ten specific gated enclaves on the new development axis of Ankara; namely along Eskişehir highway, as well as some inner city districts by doing a spatial analysis over their intrinsic architectural qualities, overall environmental formations, and social aspects as well as the conditions where they are specifically built around. In this investigation for their architectural characteristics, we will analyze their spatial qualities individually as well as the planning outlines as a complex. The specificities of these selected examples can be outlined as; each example in fact represents and markets itself via the channels of popular media for a specific segment of Turkish society, and creates its own representational medium. The primary source for this analysis will be their representational tools for marketing, which are their original pamphlets and brochures.

In the following chapters we will draw an outline for a specific era, the consumer culture, and explore the economic conditions and the roots of it within the frame of capitalist development. Initially the theories of consumer culture will be summarized to make a clear definition for our thesis. Then the role of advertisement industry, which keeps the market and the consumer economy stimulated by creating an appealing desire on masses, will be analyzed. The advertisement industry will also be explored in reference to its role within the phases of reproduction of consumerism. The commodification processes of life styles and the reproduction of symbolic values to create an unceasing consumption desire will be the outlining concepts for this part.

For Chapter 3, discussion on the social motives of the rise of the gated enclaves in the global scale will be made and the social grounds of them in Turkey and Ankara will be revealed. Then some common representational tools within the advertisement milieu of selected settlements will be investigated. The study will first highlight the issue of an “ideal and distinct life style” and its fabrication processes over the settlements’ environmental qualities. We will discuss the elements of such distinctive values, which are attributed to their overall environmental and urban characters, either explicitly or implicitly. From then on, we will decode some of the reflections of the idea of distinctness onto spatial formations in site plans and in settlement patterns. Secondly, the study will discuss the outlining concepts of the “ideal home” as part of a “distinct life style” and then reveal some of the strategies of myth making for an “ideal home”. To be able to discuss the housing units’ distinct positions the study will also question some of the architectural and spatial qualities of housing units such as: plan layouts and program, programmatic sequence, mass and elevation articulations, tectonic language, the relation with environment, etc.

Finally, with reference to the above-mentioned issues of the selected examples the study anticipates that the assertion of proposing an ultimate ideal realm of an “ideal/distinct life style” through provisioned housing units and their environments are thoroughly mythical, superficial and rather they are creating similar spatial formations. Additionally these settlements are represented in a way that their self framing for a legitimate “distinct” position is mainly leaned on metaphoric association with constructed, so-called “distinct life style” and its mere symbols rather than the architectural and spatial qualities of provisioned housings and settlements.

CHAPTER 2

CONSUMER CULTURE

2.1 The Shift in the Capitalist Development: The Era of Flexible Accumulation

Connected to the political and economic transformations of capitalism and in relation to the changes in the organization of production in the twentieth century the consumption patterns have long been changing. The capitalist system took shape on the basis of Fordist production, which is leaned on scientific rationalization and standardized mass production until 1970s. In mid 1970s two important developments that implied new and different phase of capitalism that arouse as a response to the bottleneck caused by the stable and rigid formation of Fordism. First one is the creation of a new accumulation regime; flexible accumulation in Harvey's term, which is based on more flexible labor formations, markets, and highly geographical fluidity of capital and rapid changes in the consumption patterns.⁶ Harvey explains the characteristics of the new accumulation regime as:

Flexible accumulation, as I shall tentatively call it, is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. It has entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between the sectors and between geographical regions, giving rise, for example, to a vast surge in so-called 'service sector' employment as well as to entirely new industries ensembles in hitherto underdeveloped regions.⁷

⁶ Dürrin Süer, Yasemin Yılmaz Sayar, 2002, "Küresel Sermayenin Yeni Tüketim Mekanları Lüks Konut Siteleri", *Mimarlık ve Tüketim*, ed. by Nuray Togay, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 39-66

⁷ David Harvey, 1990, *The Condition of PostModernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, UK: Blackwell ,Cambridge, MA and Oxford, p. 147

In the new accumulation regime the overall aim is not the mass production and consumption, unlike the Fordist regime, but a flexible production targeted to the different segments of the growing global market. This could be attained through the exploration and determination of different market niches, particularly more profitable ones, and the organization of product differentiation accordingly.⁸

This flexibility within the organization of production gave a chance to satisfy a greater range of market needs under the conditions of recession and heightened competition among the sectors of economies. The economies of scale have been replaced by economies of scope in which variety of goods are manufactured cheaply for the highly specialized small market niches. Such a flexible system requires the acceleration in the pace of product innovation and the exploration of different market segments.⁹

The turnover time is also reduced dramatically by the deployment of new technologies and organizational forms within the flexible accumulation. However, the acceleration of turnover time in production would have been useless, unless it was also reduced in consumption. Thus the flexible accumulation regime necessitated rapid changes in today's consumption patterns in order to increase the re-route of capital and consumption turnover time as fast as possible.¹⁰ For Harvey:

The half-life of a typical Fordist product was, for example, from five to seven years, but flexible accumulation has more than cut that in half in certain sectors, while in others the half-life is down to less than eighteen months. Flexible accumulation has been accompanied on the consumption side by much a greater attention to quick changing fashions and the mobilization of all the artifices of need inducement and cultural transformations that implies.¹¹

The second development that led the capitalism into a new phase was the reorganization of the global financial system and the emergence of an enhanced power of the financial coordination. This has resulted the formation of financial and broker companies, and

⁸ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, p.19

⁹David Harvey, 1990, *The Condition of PostModernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, UK: Blackwell ,Cambridge, MA and Oxford, pp.155-156

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 156

¹¹ Ibid., p.156

consequently the emergence of “high middle class” as a new societal stratum.¹² This new stratum found a chance to differentiate itself and constituted totally different life style within the flexible accumulation regime, in which the themes of individual consumption rather than massive one, ephemerality and fashion became the dominant motives in all consumption patterns.¹³ Harvey clarifies this as “the relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion and the commodification of cultural forms”.¹⁴

2.2 The Dynamics of the Consumer Culture

In relation to the above framework, one should now explore this massive shift in the dynamics of capitalism that has radically broken the production chain. According to Marx the economic conditions of consumer culture is part of the capitalist development. He suggests in his famous formulation of $M \rightarrow C \rightarrow M$ that "Capitalists invest money, or capital, in a productive enterprise, which then produces a commodity. The entrepreneur then sells this product in a market... Marx summarized this dynamic in his formula $M \rightarrow C \rightarrow M$ —that is, money, or M is invested in commodity production, or C, which, when sold, becomes more money, or M".¹⁵

Marx’s dictum seems to be very simple and yet very operational to understand capitalist process. In his deep-long analysis, however, Gottdiener goes further with certain reservations:

Early analysts of capitalism focused on the first step in the equation, namely the conversion of money to commodity production within the environment of the factory. The second step in the formula, conversion from the commodities to more money was simply assumed for many years...More important for them were the dynamics of

¹² Dürrin Süer, Yasemin Yılmaz Sayar, 2002, “Küresel Sermayenin Yeni Tüketim Mekanları Lüks Konut Siteleri”, *Mimarlık ve Tüketim*, ed by Nuray Togay, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 39-66

¹³ Ibid., pp. 39-66

¹⁴ David Harvey, 1990, *The Condition of PostModernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, UK: Blackwell ,Cambridge, MA and Oxford, p. 156

¹⁵ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press, p. 43

production, the problems of an industrial labor force, and the complexities of profit making in a world of competitive capitalists and landlords.¹⁶

What Gottdiener explains is very important for our study; according to him, the early studies of capitalism seemed to have focused on the first step and dealt with the emergence of social and economic conditions; and yet the second phase of capitalism requires a further analysis.¹⁷ Following his assumptions this study will mainly focus on the second step in the above formula which marks a shift in the capitalist development and results with the emergence of anew culture; consumerism. Gottdiener explains this shift within the capitalist system that,

In the even more highly competitive environment of twenty first century, the primary obstacles to the continued expansion of capital are no longer predominantly those of production-capital valorization in commodities at the factory- but those of consumption, capital realization at the market...The shifting dynamic of capitalist accumulation process, from an emphasis on manufacturing to a focus on the dynamics to profit making in a globally competitive environment, illustrates the neglected problem area of capitalism known as the realization of capital. The transfer of value from the commodity to its realization in sales has become increasingly riddled with risks and embattled by voracious competition. The production or manufacturing process simply valorizes commodities by creating value in production. In order for capitalists to realize that extra value they must sell the goods, they produce.¹⁸

Contemporary critics pay attention to the realization of this problem as a new condition for the survival of capitalism. Baudrillard, for instance, explains the exercise of capital as "...the realization problem of capital, rather than the valorization problem of factory-based industrialization, currently stands at the very core of capitalism's historical dynamics".¹⁹ The realization problem of capital for him is a true dynamic of capitalism; "...which was less about the world of factory and the conversion of an agricultural labor to the regime of industrial production, than about the world of the market and the conversion of laborers of all kinds to consumers. Without the latter social change, manufactured products would

¹⁶ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press, p, 43

¹⁷ Ibid. , p. 43

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 44-45

¹⁹ Jean Baudrillard, 1973, *The Mirror of Production* , quoted from *The Theming of America American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, p. 45

simply rot in the market place and the emergent capitalist class would fall into abjection and poverty".²⁰

The act of consumption as a realization of capital rather than production is at the base of survival of capitalism and a precondition for the growth of the productive powers of the capitalist system; and this act depends on the transformation of individuals into desiring consumers.²¹ Stuart Ewen in his book *Captains of Consciousness* explains the consumer culture as the extension of corporate control over ways of life. The farsighted businessmen, he argues, began to see the necessity of organizing their business not merely around the production of goods, but around the production of a buying public and of psychic desire to consume.²² Here the advertisement now became a very important tool for making potentially consumer masses informed about the availability of industrially produced goods with the emergence of industrial corporations and enterprisers, which tried to satisfy both national and international market demands.²³ This leads us to the role of advertisement industry within the realization of capital in consumer culture.

2.3 Advertisement Industry and the Re-Production of Consumer Desires

The accumulation of the capital and the expansion of capitalist production, especially after the boost received through the scientific management and 'Fordism' around the turn of the century, necessitated the construction of new markets and education of publics to make them prospect consumers by the help of advertising industry. This leads the capitalists to realize the importance of advertising industry, which becomes a primary tool for marketing commodities, by stylizing them to please the consumers' senses.²⁴

²⁰ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press, pp. 45-46

²¹ Ibid., pp. 58-59

²² Kevin Robins, 1996, *Into the Image: Culture and The Politics In The; Field Of Vision*, London and New York: Routledge, p.107

²³ Stuart Ewen, 1988, *All Consuming Images, The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture*, New York: Basic Books, pp. 41-42

²⁴ Mike Featherstone, 1991, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, p.14

The major instrument to purchase these stylized products is to advertise and project them to the mass in an imaginary medium, as Walter Lippmann clarifies:

Inextricably linked to the development of consciously styled products, advertising projected images of these products, and of the happy consumers who purchased them, across the horizons of everyday life... Business was coming to embrace advertising as the ignition system of the economy, the dynamo of mass dissatisfaction and the creator of illusions in a most materialistic world.²⁵

The consumer economy, to be able to become active all the time, not to collapse, should utilize the style as a dynamic object, which must visibly change the everyday life. This economy should create the feeling of obsolescence for every stylistic entity and manipulate the desires of masses through new styles that have a purchased value; something to buy.²⁶ Ewen explains that, "in the 1930s, with the consumer economy in serious straits, styling and 'style obsolescence' came to the forefront as methods designed to stimulate markets, and keep them stimulated."²⁷ This style obsolescence dominates the consumer economy and becomes the invariable part of the commercial world. For Gottdiener:

There is an increasingly strong connection between the economic need to make a profit and the reliance on symbols in the marketing of commodities...During the period of early capitalist industrialism, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, economic competition meant competition through production that is, the need simultaneously to reduce costs and manufacture products in quantity. Today these production criteria remain important, but in addition, there is a second aspect; thematic competition or competition through variation in symbols among products that are virtually same.²⁸

Therefore, the advertisement industry has a crucial role within the reorganization of the capitalist development. Before 1950s the advertising industry extolled commodities' 'use value', which includes the intrinsic quality, durability and labor saving property, as an appealing theme, but after that time, following the Fordist marketing transformations in the 1930s and then Post-Fordist accumulation regime in 1970s, it rather focused on and targeted commodities' image or symbolic values; their value could be defined as a sign of

²⁵ Walter Lippmann, 1914, *Drift and Mastery*, pp. 52-53, quoted from *All Consuming Images*

²⁶ Roland Barthes, 1983, *The Fashion System*, p. 300, quoted from *All Consuming Images*

²⁷ Stuart Ewen, 1988, *All Consuming Images, The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture*, New York: Basic Books, p. 51

²⁸ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press., p. 41

either fashion or progress. Briefly, rather than informing the consumer about the use-value of products, advertisement industry was now to manipulate the consumer by using symbolic or image-dependent appeals.²⁹

To sum up so far through creating image dependent products the advertisement industry associates them with the symbolic value in relation to social status; and the production of desire is now the dynamo of consumer culture. Individuals search for new kind of tastes, which represent their identity in the consumption object that is to satisfy their difference in status in consumer culture. Advertisement industry becomes diversified in itself to respond these diversification and differentiation desires through making collective identities.³⁰ Marketing procedure today cuts down the mass of consumers into individual market segments or cluster using highly accurate demographic techniques and surveys. Specific appeals are then aimed at these particular segments.³¹ The association of symbolic values with artificially created status then gives a chance to the advertisement industry to create different modes of desire for the individual consumer.

Gottdiener states that, "presently, then, the price-consumption link that once dominated consumer choices is now joined by the symbolic value-consumption link, which involves considerations of a personal, sign oriented nature in the purchase of consumer goods".³²

²⁹ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press., p. 65

³⁰ Stuart Ewen, 1976, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 25, quoted from *Into the Image: Culture and The Politics In The Field Of Vision*

³¹ Mark Gottdiener, 2001, *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press , p. 69

³² Ibid., p. 42

CHAPTER 3

A CASE STUDY: THE GATED ENCLAVES of ANKARA

3.1 The Rise of Gated Enclaves

The gated enclaves are newly emerged housing types of which the first contemporary examples of them are seen in the U.S. in the 1980s and have been attained and appropriated in Turkey since the beginning of the 1990s.³³ Although they vary in several aspects, these types have some common characteristics: they are shared by high income level owners, surrounded by fences and walls, guarded by private security personnel and systems, and they accommodate houses with identical comfort standards and provide additional public services. Fundamental features of such developments can be summarized as controlled access to inside, and some privatized amenities; social, sports, recreational facilities, and public services; cleaning, maintenance etc.

The idea of gated enclave has appeared as a solution to satisfy the high-income level groups' desire that demand a form of "habitat" in a more privileged parts of the city to protect and guarantee their values constructed around the artificial themes of privacy, exclusivity, protection and prestige. They are more commonly located on larger properties, mostly at the periphery or newly developing areas at the outskirts of cities, where land prices are relatively cheaper and where such units can cover their expenses collectively. Gates, walls and fences create boundaries and subsequently define their membership,

³³ U. Tanyeli, "Kapalı Yerleşmeler, Kapalı Banliyöler, Kapalı Siteler", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., p.56

giving the sense that someone must be inside and someone outside. They create the spaces of a particular economic and social life, which characterize their togetherness.³⁴

3.1.1 The Evolution of Gated Enclaves in Global Scale

Appeared as an alternative solution the evolution of gated enclaves can be over-read in relation to the epochal transformations and connected to the radical changes in the production and consumption patterns being experienced since the 1970s. On the other hand, these settlements are not direct outcomes of a new economic order, but rather the manifestation of an inherent unrest of social and economic climate that was caused by the new economy.³⁵ For Harvey it is impossible to imagine the capital accumulation and production of urbanization processes as separate developments. Capital flow requires a geographical grounding, through patterning of labor and commodity markets and spatial division of production and consumption. Urban land is re-shaped according to these new development phases of capital accumulation that instantly required new physical infrastructures; transportation, communication systems and modified social infrastructures; centers of production, consumption and agglomeration.³⁶

Two prominent developments that prepare appropriate environment for the rise of gated enclaves in the new accumulation regime are significant. The first one is the “entrepreneurial” as a new urban governance and development model. The over accumulation crisis of Fordist structure gave rise to new organizational forms and production, distribution, consumption patterns, accompanied with the new transportation, communication and information technologies. Within this new area, namely the flexible accumulation, production, merchanting, marketing and the finance capital obtained great flexibility with the aid of the decrease in the transport costs. Consequently multi-national capital had a chance to choose the best “locals” to make a profitable investment, which

³⁴ E. J. Blakely and, M.G. Snyder, 1997, *Fortress America*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C., pp.1-29

³⁵ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara., p.14

³⁶ David Harvey, 1994, “Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization: Reflections on ‘Post-modernism’ in the American City”, *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, ed. by Ash Amin, Blackwell: Oxford, pp. 361-85

means a competition for position in the international labor divisions, consumption centers to gain financial and administrative power as well as governmental redistributions. These transformations imply new urban governance model in which products are specialized and targeted not to whole society but to certain segments of it.³⁷

The second development is the widening of class divisions, caused by polarization in the distribution of wealth, with reorganization of the economic activities, in which manufacturing was shifted from industrialized countries to developing countries and replaced by the newly rising service sector and accordingly emergence of the new social stratum “upper middle class”. Newly emerged service sector is composed of business and financial companies operating in a global scale.³⁸ The new class divisions, the result of the Post-Fordist economy, for Peter Marcuse, are composed of five partitions; a globally-oriented upper-class, a growing professional, managerial, technical class, an educated, stably employed middle class, a traditional working class as part of formal labor market, and an excluded class which is outside the formal labor market.³⁹ Spatial result of this class division is a partitioned urban form consisting separate, hierarchically related, and walled off, socially homogeneous and mutually dependent small clusters.⁴⁰ The realm of gated enclave is part of these changes in the urban land, demanded by the newly emerging “upper middle classes”.

The walls and gates around the settlements can be traced back to the walled cities that are in fact as old as the early settlements. In history, such spatial patterns were very common and generally defined by walls and gates to be able to assure the security of its inhabitants’ power over their territories. And yet, all these power-oriented inclinations were generally based on the inhabitants’ religious, their socioeconomic status and such political relations and connections.⁴¹ Today the criteria for living behind walls and gates can be explained briefly by two social motives. Blakely and Snyder clarify these as; to seek for a stable

³⁷ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, pp. 14-20

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 14-21

³⁹ Peter Marcuse, 2001, *Of States and Cities and the Partitioning of Urban Form*, quoted from *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, p. 17

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 18

⁴¹ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara , p. 1

neighborhood and to be within a socio-spatial community within the face of rapid urban change.⁴²

For them the gated enclaves represent one of the most dramatic forms of “territory” for the residential settlements as they are constituted by physical barriers and controlled by active security mechanisms. These developments are the outcomes of the growing public fear about the stability of neighborhood fabric, socially and spatially, within the dramatic demographic, economic and social transformations. Such constructed themes as escaping from the impacts of urban crime and securing the values of privileged inhabitants are of significance as well. They are constituted with the notion of community as an island, a social bulwark against the degradation of urban social order. This has been reflected in the growing number of methods for years now to be able to control the environment for physical and economic reasons. Gates, private security guards, land use policies, development regulations and planning tools are used as significant means to control or to limit access to residential, commercial and public spaces.⁴³

The gated enclaves, in fact, are not only an attempt for the exclusion of any public contact by the aid of physical barriers; they are also a search for privileged socio-spatial communities. In other words, they are an attempt to find totally privatized and controlled community spaces shared by neighbors with similar income levels. They are walled and fenced communal residential spaces with restricted access, which is previously integrated with larger, shared civic spaces. The new gated enclaves are therefore completely different in terms of the restrictions they impose: they have a well-protected nature in regard to other community-based developments such as the multi-unit, high density apartment and condominium buildings in which public access to the parking lots, lobbies and hallways is controlled with tight security systems or the personal surveillance. Now the walls and fences are to preclude any public access to streets, sidewalks, parks, beaches, rivers, trails,

⁴² E. J. Blakely and, M.G. Snyder, 1997, *Fortress America*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C., pp.1-3

⁴³ Ibid., pp.1-3

playgrounds; resources that without gates or walls would be open and shared by all the citizens or the surrounding locals.⁴⁴

Both criteria imply a formation of inwardly focused and totally controlled residential spaces by constituting some regulatory means and infrastructures. All these efforts are to eliminate any chance of surprise that may affect this privately exclusive life. Borden explains this attitude as: The homestead represented a life of predictable experiences shared by generations as survival consumed the majority of daily activity. With an explosion of this model, the individual detaches the self from place and turns to infrastructure to predict experience. The landscape of sameness emerges to provide a predetermination of components that allow for a safe and clear existence of eliminating any chance of either surprise or responsibility.⁴⁵

Therefore, for understanding what these regulatory means and infrastructures mean is significant for us to reveal the common spatial and social features of the gated enclaves. We should mention here that the primary aim of suburban establishment was the separation of residences first from the city and then even from each other to fulfill several aspirations; proximity to the nature, safe neighborhood etc. The gated enclaves go on one step forward in this process by separating themselves from the surrounding elements by adding physical barriers such as gates, walls and fences to be able to control and limit access to their territories. The most striking and substantial regulatory elements at first glance are the gates and the walls that border these exclusive territories. Excluding their territories and functioning as an isolator, a physical segregator within an urban landscape, they at the end define a social terrain of their own. These walled off areas are not to provide any social relation: Dissociated from the environment they are not to relate with their near surrounding and thus they can be placed anywhere within the urban land; in other words, they are placeless.

Along with the privatization of their public spaces, some services like maintenance, recreation, entertainment, and educational facilities are commonly owned and civic responsibilities such as police surveillance are also privately supplied within the gated communities. As a result, the relation between the residents of these gated enclaves and the

⁴⁴ E. J. Blakely and, M.G. Snyder, 1997, *Fortress America*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C., pp.1-3

⁴⁵ G. P. Borden, 2001, "Suburban Placelessness and Identity", *Oriental-Occidental: Geography, Identity, Space Proceedings 2001 ACSA International Conference*, New York: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture Press, p. 253

urban core has been reshaped under these circumstances. They are designed inwardly and need to share very little with the urban core.⁴⁶ Even in many times, the residents no longer necessitate such public facilities neither from the local or central governments.

Planning tools also are effectively used to control them. Blakely and Snyder exemplifies similar controlling devices in some designs processes that:

Over time developers have devised many means of controlling access. Street design was the original and favored technique for providing exclusivity and privacy in the suburbs. Michael Southworth has documented how developers progressively sealed off suburban residential areas by altering the old grid street patterns, moving from the gridiron to interrupted parallels, to loops and lollipops. These street patterns thwarted easy automobile access and created successively more self-contained, self-focused, and unconnected subdivisions that made easier for residents to control their own space. The move away from grid was an intentional devise, similar to gate today. Convoluted dead end streets limit access and restrict who enters the area by acting as deterrent to all nonresidents- casual visitors as well as criminals... Many other forms of control of access and space, less tangible than street design, have been developed ...Private backyards and fenced-in areas shielded neighbors from one another. The carport or garage replaced the porch in front of the house, reorienting the dwelling unit to its rear, away from the street, neighbors, and other people.⁴⁷

To conclude, all these settlements are rather controlled environments with active security mechanisms to prevent intrusion into their private domain. Therefore what we have here is spatial pattern that is to create a new form of social space.

3.1.2 The Historical Grounds of Gated Enclaves in Turkey

For understanding the very background motives that leads the evolution of special settlement types, gated enclaves in Turkey, one should go back to Turkey's Modernization process. Modernization of Turkey since the beginning of the 19th century is no homogenous, and in fact, each epoch differentiates itself from each other both in terms of

⁴⁶ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, p. 14

⁴⁷ E. J. Blakely and, M.G. Snyder, 1997, *Fortress America*, Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C., p. 8

process and form.⁴⁸ These epochs mark important turning points and reveal significant national and universal dynamics, all originated by the economical, political, and social impacts.⁴⁹ Thus exposing the turning points and distinguishing the characteristics of each epoch, both in local and universal levels, is of crucial in order to understand how housing and settlement types have been developed in Turkey.⁵⁰

The dynamics of the rise of gated enclaves as a prevalent and legitimate housing development form in the beginning of the 1990s in metropolitan cities of Turkey have their roots mostly within the last period that started in 1980 to present. İlhan Tekeli argues that the two fundamental factors, which sharply determined Turkey's spatial organizations, are the redistribution of population and capital in space that have followed after significant changes in the 1980s.⁵¹ The redistribution of population as a result of the changing migration patterns was of significance. The migration from rural to urban has lost its significance and it was replaced by urban to urban migration after the 1980s. This tendency

⁴⁸ İhsan Bilgin, 1996, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia in the Process of Modernization", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia A Historical Perspective*, ed. by Yıldız Sey, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp 472-490

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.473

⁵⁰ İ. Bilgin clarifies these dynamics of both universal and local perspectives as:

1) Beginning of 19th century to 1920

The universal perspective: From the beginning of the period to the World War I the impact of industrial capitalism started being felt on a worldwide level.

The local perspective: From Tanzimat to the Republic.

2) 1920-1946

The universal perspective: The period of crisis and uncertainty between the two World Wars.

The local perspective: The foundation of the Republic and industrialization of state through a single party state

3) 1945-1980

The universal perspective: A bipolar economic and institutional integration: the period in which industrial capital and technology are exported.

The local perspective: The period of industrialization based on import substitution with a populist, multi-party political life.

4) 1980 to present

The universal perspective: A multi-polar period characterized by globalization, disorganization and communication.

The local perspective: The period during which the international standards in communications started being implemented and import substitution economy is quickly abandoned in favor of exports and liberal monetary policies.

⁵¹ İlhan Tekeli, 1998, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, p. 20

caused overgrowth of some developing regions, especially Eastern Marmara with its center İstanbul for having highest potential for integration with the world economy.⁵²

The three strategic choices on economic policies made by the state in the 1980s also marked out the redistribution of capital over space. The first one was the abandonment of import substitution as a development model. Completely dependent on domestic market it was soon replaced with an economic model based on export. This transition necessitated Turkey to become a part of globalization process and to unify with the world economy. As a secondary choice within these infrastructure policies the priority was given to the telecommunication investments. These strategic choices reinforced and enabled the each other. Third one was to develop necessary institutions of global economy; establishing capital markets, free trade and production zones and improvement of financial sectors.⁵³ Connected to these developments the significant and prominent dynamics that gave ways to the gated enclaves as a newly emerged housing presentation and necessity in Turkey can be enumerated as:

1. Integration with the world through transition to the free market economy was achieved with an economic restructuring programme in a direction that promotes economic activities in order to bring the foreign currency into Turkey and to encourage domestic enterprises to be able to compete in foreign markets. Entrepreneurialism in urban governance was accompanied by the state sponsored deregulatory measures, which aimed at furthering the liberalization of the financial sector, and thus the governments promoted private interest in the city.⁵⁴
2. Policies aimed at freeing up the market have resulted with the emergence of new class divisions and the gap between the poorest and wealthiest has widened since the early 1970s. In metropolitan areas since then, where the free market economy policies take place more substantially, the high labor ability-income level sections and low labor ability-income level sections are increasing in number. On the

⁵² İlhan Tekeli, 1998, “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması”, 75 *Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, p. 20

⁵³ Ibid., p. 20

⁵⁴ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, p. 14

contrary, the in-between classes are to be dissolved relatively with the reorganization of labor markets.⁵⁵ Reflections of this new social climate on urban landscape meant sharper and more rigid patterns due to the drastic structural changes in political and economic domains on global scale.⁵⁶

3. Rapid urbanization process and insufficient supply of construction sites with planning codes increased the land values and resulted expensive housing environments held by the build-and-sell (*yap-sat*) entrepreneurs. These development types could no longer meet the increasing demands and a new housing presentation was put on Turkey's agenda. The replacement of build-and-sell (*yap-sat*) type of housing depended on limited production capacity, with large-scale mass-housing projects was realized both by public and private sectors.⁵⁷ This process required larger capital, organized demand, and the supply of larger tracts, the planning of development and the realization of infrastructure.⁵⁸ The state has promoted and accelerated this process by Mass Housing Law and novel credit mechanisms and created new housing development types with institutions, like Housing Development Administration, Turkish Real Estate and Credit Bank. Additionally cooperative unions and municipalities created mass-housing projects. However the mass housing that was exercised by the private sector has presented higher standards than the public sector for they became planned as self-contained and isolated settlements and offered a life style that transcended the qualities of residences produced individually.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2003, "Kaçış Adaları", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., p.57

⁵⁶ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, pp. 26-27

⁵⁷ İhsan Bilgin, 1996, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia in the Process of Modernization", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia A Historical Perspective*, ed. by Yıldız Sey, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 472-490

⁵⁸ İlhan Tekeli, 1998, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 1-24

⁵⁹ İhsan Bilgin, 1996, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia in the Process of Modernization", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia A Historical Perspective*, ed. by Yıldız Sey, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 472-490

4. Urbanization practices of Turkey before and after the 1980s reflect two distinct situations, “the speculative city of small capital” and “speculative city of large capital”, for Tekeli.⁶⁰ The priority was given to the industrial land as an investment area before the 1980s. The public sector mostly transferred its resources to industry, rather than into urban land. The private sector, on the other hand, has given its importance to the housing sector. Under these circumstances *yapsatçılık* and *gecekondu* became a dominant housing paradigm before the 1980s.⁶¹ Both housing forms were completely dependent on mobilizing and organizing small-scale capital in order to create the housing provision. According to Tekeli, they were informal networks, all improvised by the society itself in the absence of central authority.⁶² Build-and-sell (*yap-sat*) type housing provision had its saturation limit through the end of 1970s. Additionally with the transition to the free market economy in the 1980s, the climate gave rise to new investment areas, which made housing sector less profitable. The housing sector was unable to survive within the new economic milieu without any support and the governments could not afford the increasing crisis for two reasons. Firstly, it was affecting the whole economy, and secondly threatening the supply-demand balance as far as the housing stock and the shortage was concerned. The ruling governments then were forced to intervene the market, by creating a new financial system for the betterment of the environment. With the two consecutive laws that enacted in 1981 and 1984, the government established Mass Housing Fund and Mass Housing Administration. It brought forth the organization and the operation of large-scale investments to the housing sector and large capital owners began to see housing sector as a profitable area and invested in real estate. By these interventions the development strategy “the speculative city of small capital” was sharply replaced by the “speculative city of large capital”.⁶³

⁶⁰ İlhan Tekeli, 1991, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları: Ankara, p. 171

⁶¹ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara, pp. 28-34

⁶² İlhan Tekeli, 1991, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları*, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları: Ankara, p. 171

⁶³ Emre Gönlügür, 2000, *The New Urban Segregation: The Rise of Gated Enclaves in İstanbul*, Master Thesis, METU, Ankara., pp. 28-34

5. The period since 1970s, which marks the beginning of the first automobile production in Turkey, witnessed a widespread private car ownership pattern that enabled the high-income level groups to choose suburban areas. This tendency also overlapped with the state policy within the liberalization process, in which privatization stressed in every aspects of life. Consequently within this frame, emphasis was given largely to the highway investments in place of railway in the transportation infrastructure.⁶⁴

With these interrelated developments and governmental decisions, the special demands – the newly emerged upper middle class’ desire – to differentiate themselves spatially in the urban land, was supplied by private construction companies, which have a higher capital and organizational capacity, by the ease of governmental regulatory policies since the 1980s.

3.1.3 The Evolution of Gated Enclaves in Ankara

The new members of the “upper middle class” were in search of spatial betterments as required by their life styles, based on distinctive consumption patterns. For the upper middle class and the wealthy citizens who needed to share this particular lifestyle there were three spatial alternatives after the 1980s; first alternative was to settle in the historically prestigious old city centers and transform all these spaces according to their new life style patterns for making them more prestigious. This alternative was first exemplified particularly in İstanbul’s some of major’s districts such as Cihangir, Balat, Galata, and Kuzguncuk.⁶⁵

The second alternative was the development of condominiums that were located at the periphery of Turkey’s major cities. They were constructed on old squatter areas by the aid of large construction companies. The significant examples of these alternatives were soon exercised in Ankara; in particular, Koza and Küpe streets by MESA Company, 100. Yıl,

⁶⁴ İlhan Tekeli, 1998, “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması”, *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 1-24

⁶⁵ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2003, “ Kaçış Adaları”, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., p.57

Dikmen Vadisi, Portakal Çiçeği Vadisi districts are here some to mention. This alternative was rather preferred by the high-bureaucrats, upper-middle income officials, businessmen and the higher degree retirees who do not want to leave the city centers.⁶⁶

The third alternative was the new suburban developments targeted the members of the high-income groups of private sector who basically lean on private car ownership. All these examples were designed as housing units within their private gardens and with special services and amenities, surrounded by walls and fences in order to segregate themselves spatially and socially from the nearby surrounding areas, and be controlled by active security and surveillance mechanisms.⁶⁷ The primary examples of this particular housing development, mainly the gated enclaves came forward at the periphery of İstanbul and then in Ankara. In Ankara, they were mostly located along the southwest axis, especially in Beysukent, Çayyolu, and Ümitköy districts.

All these three alternatives signified a form of inner urban residential mobility for high and upper-middle classes and thus significant predicaments for the choice of new locations within the urban land since the last two decades. Along with these developments there happened to be three interrelated agents that affected the processes of new housing provisions. They can be classified as the municipality that is to allocate the provision, the household that is to demand such housing developments according to their privileged taste, and the contractor that is the supplier of them. The study, in this respect, reveals the dynamics of these intricate processes and the relationship among these tripartite agents that can be considered as quite specific to Ankara. At first, the restructuring processes of the housing provision within the urban land after the 1970s should be introduced. Then the specific conditions and such important motives of the upper-middle and the higher income group's residential mobility need to be exposed. Finally the housing provision in respect to the domain of presentation as well as representation as posed by the empowering contractors should be explained in detail. As far as the development of Ankara's gated enclaves is considered it is important for us to determine the underlying motives and the conditions of all these decentralization processes mainly alongside the Ankara-Eskişehir

⁶⁶ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2003, "Kaçış Adaları", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., p. 57

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 57

axis. In order to understand the specificity of the rise of this settlement typology in Ankara, in short, one has to briefly examine the city's spatial structure and its restructuring characteristics, namely the decentralization process since the 1970s.⁶⁸

Since its declaration as the capital city of the new republic Ankara has displayed a very rapid population increase. In the period of 1920-1950 the city's population has gone up to more than 100 times. Its increase rate was twice the rate of Turkey's overall urbanization for the same interval. The Jansen plan was prepared for Ankara in 1932 for 300 000 population on 2000 hectare and was to orient the city's development into the *Yenişehir-Kavaklıdere* axis in the south, the *Maltepe-Tandoğan* axis in the west and *Cebeci* in the east. The plan's primary principals were mostly exercised, and yet the increasing pressure of its population overtook the plan's original boundaries, by additional cooperatives like *Bahçelievler*. By capturing the essential functions of the capital city in itself, this small Anatolian town immediately became an attraction point for the multitudes deported from Turkey's relatively poor rural areas, as a result of the increasing agricultural mechanization and of the opportunities of urban life for further urban employments. The incoming poor at first settled on the physical threshold of the old town, *Ulus*' commercial node, soon named as "*Altındağ gecekondu mahallesi*". As the continuation of the incoming migration accelerated the incomers spilled over to Ankara's peripheral, and yet uncontrolled public land, by building expansive squatter neighborhoods. The additional rings of the peripheral squatter neighborhoods hurriedly encircled the city almost in all directions, at first locating themselves in the main highways, and then expanding towards the in-between vacant lands.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ For this investigation the study have benefited mostly from the *AFP Project* "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner city Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara" conducted by Tansı Şenyapılı in 2001. In this project residential mobility and decentralization process, in conformity with the 1990 development plan, along two western; İstanbul and Eskişehir axes has been conducted. To be able to determine the specific conditions of each axis's settlement progress, their socio-economic and demographic profiles and topographies have been determined by interviews with the households of the Batıkent, Eryaman, Konutkent, Ümitköy and Angora settlements. So this study very insightful for the case survey especially for verifying the demographic and socio-economic profile of the householders.

⁶⁹ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, pp. 3-16

In 1956 the population of Ankara reached up to 455 000 and the overall urban area expanded upon 3650 hectare. Such an unforeseen population growth led to a preparation of a new development plan (*Yücel-Uybadin plan*) and it was put into implementation in 1957. The plan, however, was not to decentralize the population as well as the density for some reason, and as a result such expectations were to be met by the local development plans and the Regional Storey Regulation (*Bölge Kat Nizamı*), by staying within the municipal boundaries. In 1970 the population of the city reached to 1.2 million covering almost 14 000 hectare and thus the rising urban density to the unforeseen levels as well as the overcrowding in the municipal boundaries created several problems including the congestion of urban traffic.⁷⁰

By the 1970s the urban core became very dense and congested. Along with these problems the relative development of Ankara's transportation infrastructures and the amount of private car ownership, on the other hand, enabled the inner city income groups to skip over the encircling squatter settlements to have their decentralized small settlements in the peripheries next to main highways. The provision of energy throughout the city network reinforced this process of decentralization. Therefore, the high-income groups began to settle in and around the most accessible and prestigious parts of Ankara's peripheral zones, building high purchase valued villas and other types of spatial enclaves. In short the peripheral land was now under a fierce competition by those higher income invaders second after the migrant population's squatter houses.⁷¹

This increasing density to an unwholesome level in the inner city, and the uncontrolled spillover of residences over the 1932 plan's original boundaries both by the aid of migrant poor and the high-income groups accordingly necessitated new forms of political measures for the metropolitan cities. Accordingly the Metropolitan Master Bureaus (MMB) were then established in Ankara, İzmir and İstanbul respectively under the regulatory boundaries of the Provincial Bank (*İller Bankası*) in 1975. These bureaus were established by the central state to prepare master plans for the cities and set the legal frameworks for municipal implementations. The macro-form of Ankara today still reflects some of the

⁷⁰ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project* pp. 3-16

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 3-16

basic principles of the 1990 plan prepared by Ankara MMB. Within this time period the urban population was estimated to go up from 1.2 million to 3.6 million in 1990. The primary development strategy for this increase was to decentralize the city mainly along the west (İstanbul highway) and the southwest (Eskişehir highway) axis of Ankara. According to the Ankara Master Plan Scheme Report: 1970-1990, the plan aimed at first controlling the density increase and second orientating the urban development towards these two alignments where the new settlements would have been located and through which the public sector would have been designed to adopt the leading role in their implementation, by creating new land stocks. The low income families who were not able to organize cooperatives, and who had no chance to have any access to formal credit channels could have also been settled in organized housing areas, expected to be developed by the forces of public. One other principle was to transfer the extensive squatter housing neighborhoods now adjacent to the existing city to new and cheap housing areas as well as to the Squatter Prevention Areas (*Gecekondu Önleme Bölgeleri*) while areas vacated by them have been expected to have been allocated to urban services.⁷²

With the intervention of further plans and of public initiatives, supported by different purposes these two western axes, along the Eskişehir and İstanbul Highways were opened up to a new decentralization process and finally ended up with two separate models for additional settlements. The middle-income groups had to be organized in cooperatives to be able to achieve better housing conditions and become property owners. These financially fragile cooperatives reached their aims slowly through the support of public finance. The greater Municipality of Ankara and the provincial administration, in conformity with the existing planning principles also began to expropriate large-scale areas to be reserved for the mass housing, with the aim of supporting the middle and low-income groups. For instance, the Batıkent and Eryaman settlements were developed through such large-scale interventions by the contribution of the public sector. Similarly, larger areas have also been expropriated and allocated for the residential use as the provision of squatter prevention areas was taken into serious consideration. It is also important to mention here that such developments were encouraged by the construction of industrial facilities like in Ostim.

⁷² Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, pp. 3-16

Additionally, the development of these areas was stimulated for the low and middle-income groups by the provision of metro services in and around them.⁷³

On the contrary to the Eryaman and Batıkent examples, the Eskişehir axis had a different development process. Opening of the Eskişehir axis for the residential development also came with the 1990 plan, which allowed decentralization of public agencies, all congested in Kızılay. Along with its new character as a result of the incoming public institutions and universities and its easy access to and from prestigious neighborhoods, like Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa and Kavaklıdere (including the increasing rate of the private car ownership) soon attracted the upper-middle and high-income groups in a speeding rate. However, failure to expropriate the land on time, which was successfully done in İstanbul axis, resulted large scale land speculation among the small landowners. This axis with the newly emerging speculative features, as a result, created a center of attention for the private development companies in place of public initiations. As a consequence a more dispersed, introverted, physically segregated luxurious villas and high-rise apartments immediately began to take place and thus the housing stocks were to be shaped separate initiatives, rather than forming compact, integrated urban tissues. This scattered housing structure reflected itself both on the layout of infrastructure and the road system. The Çayyolu district, the south of the Eskişehir axis was then opened to further developments in 1970 along with the construction of Ümitköy by MESA. The massive construction extended towards the Çayyolu village of which was expropriated by the mayor of the Greater Municipality of Ankara in order to apply the Batıkent model for a settlement of 10 000 houses.⁷⁴

To sum up so far, the two axes have been utilized for urban development projects in different scales. The development along the İstanbul road has been at massive scale, organized either by the state itself or the local authorities, while the development in the axis of Eskişehir highway has proceeded at partial basis, been executed by the private firms. Therefore the development of the latter case was obviously far more expensive and the target population was clearly the affluent population, the upper middle-income groups

⁷³ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, pp. 3-16

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 42-45

whereas the development in the former case has been more reasonable and affordable as it was targeted for the middle-income groups with the support of public finance. For an AFP Project, conducted by Tansı Şenyapılı, the economic profiles of the households of the two axes were listed and the motives of their choice of location were classified. The socio-economic profiles that are reflected on the survey show a significant discrepancy between the two developments. The key issue in making the socio-economic discrepancy is the occupational position of the households. The population settled on the İstanbul highway occupies clerical jobs as blue or white-collars, mostly in manufacturing and service sectors. On the other hand, the population settled along the Eskişehir highway includes technical professions as high-level bureaucrats or white-collars in specialized services and manufacturing sectors.⁷⁵ In terms of their demographic profile, the discrepancy is also due to the education levels. For the survey results the population settled along the Eskişehir highway shows a higher degree of university education, while on the İstanbul highway the ratio of university graduates is far below than the expected.⁷⁶

According to the master plan decisions in the 1970s Ankara was to be expanded towards the west with the aid of large public investments, and particularly on the direction of İstanbul highway in north. In addition to the expansion in the northwest axis, on which new housing developments flourished drastically with the help of Mass Housing Funds, aimed at middle and low-middle income groups like Batıkent, in the southwest, the Eskişehir highway, the new investments were also very common. On this direction houses that are targeted higher income levels began to develop by the mid-1980s where many of them were in fact built for speculative reasons. According to the recent surveys all these new development patterns have created a social mobility within the urban land.⁷⁷

Additionally, there were two interrelated developments in the 1980s, as generative reasons for a high level of residential-mobility among the high-income groups. First one is the spatial and social transformations of the prestigious inner-city districts like Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya and Kavaklıdere from a low density, one or two-storey villa layout to a high-rise

⁷⁵ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, pp. 3-16

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 35-41

⁷⁷ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2003, "Kaçış Adaları", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 58-59

apartment block layout. The social agents of this mobility, the members of the high-income level groups, who preferred to live in one or two story villas with garden, has initially settled around the low density streets of Gaziosmanpaşa, Çankaya and Kavaklıdere. These districts presented a low-density, high-income nature, and preserved well-kept qualities compared to the other parts of the city. In the 1980s, on the other hand, they were also exposed to the re-building processes in respect to Ankara's overall expansion. These villas were then quickly transformed by their owners into multi-storey apartment blocks within the mere possibilities of the planning-codes in order to gain an extra land value.⁷⁸

The second development that led these groups to mobilize was the transformation of the older squatter settlements around the wealthiest part of Ankara. With the implementation of *İslah İmar Planı* large-scale construction projects came to the scene for overall transformation, and as a result, within a year or so, they became a part of high-density housing settlements with insufficient environmental conditions. All these areas soon created a milieu of social mixture containing old squatter population within. The transformation of the prestigious urban areas and the resultant social mixture were some of the primary generators of the upper classes' mobility towards Ankara's peripheries.⁷⁹

After briefly explaining the decentralization processes of Ankara and the evolution of the prestigious enclaves, along Eskişehir highway, which are targeted to the upper and high-middle income population since 1970s, the study will now focus on the spatial and social patterns of these enclaves through their representational medium.

3.2 The Evaluation Criteria of Spatial Representations: The Prominence of an “Ideal/Distinct Life Style” within the Representational Medium of Gated Enclaves

The thesis' investigation is on special housing provisions; the gated enclaves appeared in an urban land as a reflection with reference to the socio economic transformations since the 1970s. Investigation will be conducted through their primary means of representation via the original brochures, pamphlets, and so on as one of their marketing tool. The examples

⁷⁸ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2003, “Kaçış Adaları”, *Arredamento Mimarlık*, July-August 2003, İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık A.Ş., pp. 59-61

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 59-61

selected are physically as well as socially segregated urban settlements and all target the privileged upper-middle and high-income groups. The aim of this study is then to clarify if their assertion of being “distinct” as stressed through their primary marketing means has in fact a relevancy in the realm of architecture. In other words, the study is to understand if such themes over the idea of “distinctness” can expose significant architectural and spatial elements; or if so, to what extent it is possible. However, we suggest that all these examples are far from being “distinct” when compared with similar peers and do not present any original positions in terms of their architectural and spatial qualities. It is believed that rather they present similar environmental qualities. It should also be added that as consumption objects, these housing provisions are presented to their prospective buyers within the mere atmosphere of consumer culture.

To support our argument ten gated enclaves have been selected, all located along the southwestern, namely the Eskişehir highway, and allocated by the 1970 Development Plan. Our selection area also includes some of the inner districts of Ankara such as Çankaya and Söğütözü. The selected survey areas, with their contractor firms, construction dates and locations classified according to building typologies they represent. (Table 3.2.1)

Table 3.2.1 Contractors, construction dates, locations and housing provisions of five gated enclaves for apartment block typology selected in Ankara

	CONTRACTOR FIRM	NAME OF THE SETTLEMENT	DATE	LOCATION	HOUSING PROVISIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT
APARTMENT BLOCK TYPOLOGY	TEPE	Bilkent III	1996	BİLKENT	6 types of 10 to 14 storey apartment blocks
	MESA	Yonca Evler I	2002	KONUTKENT	9 storey apartment blocks
	KOZLAR	Lobelya Konutları	2002	100. YIL	9 storey apartment blocks consisting 5 types of flat
	MESA	Yonca Evler II	2004	KONUTKENT	12 storey apartment blocks
	OFTAŞ	Alkazar Evleri	2004	ÇANKAYA	11 storey apartment blocks consisting 3 types of flats

Table 3.2.2 Contractors, construction dates, locations and housing provisions of five gated enclaves for apartment block and individual villa typology selected in Ankara

	CONTRACTOR FIRM	NAME OF THE SETTLEMENT	DATE	LOCATION	HOUSING PROVISIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT
APARTMENT BLOCK AND INDIVIDUAL VILLA TYPOLOGY	TEPE	Bilkent I	1993	BİLKENT	2 types of triplex villas and 4 types of 4 to 15 storey apartment blocks
	BARMEK	Angora Evleri	1996	BEYSUKENT	3 types of triplex villas, 1 type of row houses with 5 storey, one type of point block with 10 storey
	EMA	Ema Bilkent Konutları	2003	BİLKENT	2 types of triplex villas and 5 to 10 storey apartment blocks with duplex, studio types of flats
	EMA	Ema Havuzlu Konaklar	2004	ALACAATLI	1 type of one storey villas, 2 types of 3 storey villas
	BİRLİK	Beysupark	2004	BEYSUKENT	Duplex and triplex villas in the form of 5 storey row houses, 2types of individual villas, 2types of studios, 3 types of flats in the 18 storey apartment blocks

All the sub-concepts as the most important constituents of a “distinct life style”, in fact, delineate a social milieu that requires to be articulated through the elements of physical space. In other words, the very physicality, in this case, the proposed spatial formation has to be well defined with a series of catered and yet, self referential values, which are actually embedded within signs, symbols, and metaphors. Additionally, it is also observed that a special care seems to be given to these value systems so that the very spatial formation can now receive a secure welcome by its prospectus customers. As a result, it can be argued that what are opened to future consumption is not the environmental, spatial or architectural

qualities of the proposed settlement all alone, but rather its signified value systems, all revolves around a well constructed signs, symbols, and metaphors. Therefore, the study should compare first the very reflections of all these values involved because it is believed that they carefully define a social milieu, in which a particular architecture can find an ample room for further fabrications and such spatial elements can be utilized for sustaining the contemporary elements of consumer culture. Here, for the sake of our work, we emphasize both the environmental and architectural representations as well as those attached values by which a set of signs, symbols and metaphors are being used.

In doing so, the study is designed within a dual structure – two different phases. In the first phase it determines and focuses on some of the dominant common and/or uncommon elements for each case, all stressed within the commercial brochures of the selected housing provisions. The ads as given in each brochure can be regarded as a powerful means of representing the notion of “different” or “distinct way of life”. It has been observed that in each case, the idea that dwells on “a distinct way of life” either has similar accents or has shown subtle differences. Then the study focuses on such tactical ways in which these promoted aspect that is of “distinct way of life” are carefully handled and translated into spatial and architectural vocabularies. It is also observed that they are constructed either explicitly or implicitly and made publicly visible on the brochures, pamphlets, newspaper ads, etc. Such ways include certain themes and all these themes are reflected onto and/or objectified in the spatial and architectural qualities. It is very obvious that architecture and the needed architectural qualities are captured as an important mediator to legitimize the myth of “a distinct way of life”. Here architecture then becomes a mere representation in this game and the very dynamics of this game should be revealed. For the second phase, therefore, in light of the first phase’s findings the study is planned to evaluate all those architectural and spatial qualities they represent under well-designed common themes to expose how these thematic discourses are fabricated and to what extent idea of “a distinct way of life” is carefully achieved in those proposed environments. With the help of this process, we believe, the theme over “distinctness” stressed in representational media, can release information about their architecture and representation.

As part of the first phase to be able to list such significant themes within their representations the study is designed to verify the nature of “housing” in Turkey and focus on two major agents that are effective in residential mobility as explained in the section 3.1.3. It is important to mention here that the underlying motives behind the households as well as the contractors should be examined to understand how symbolic values are created, exploited and superimposed over the above housing artificially Tekeli in his seminal book, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda Ve Yazında Konut Sorunun Gelişimi*⁸⁰ classifies the function of housing as:

- a shelter
- a produced commodity
- a consumption object
- an investment object for speculation
- an insurance mechanism for individuals and families
- a mediator within the reproduction processes of social relations
- a cultural artifact within the production of urban settings
- a role within the reproduction of labor processes

As Ali Cengizkan mentions that to understand the development processes of housing one needs to examine some of the functional features and their evolutionary changes in Turkey.⁸¹ Our study, on the other hand, is to reveal the dynamics of the special housing provisions produced for the affluent groups of Turkish society since the 1990s. Consequently, according to the list given above the gated enclaves as both consumption objects and the representation of status can be discussed as a functional object of consumption, a mediator within the reproduction processes of social relations, and an investment object for further speculation. Surely, this list can be broadened in relation to the values that the gated enclaves represent. But before going into what gated enclaves represent and at what level such housing provisions could be positioned within episode of the consumer culture—in parallel to the era of flexible accumulation— we should briefly explain some of the important factors that gave rise to the residential mobility and the

⁸⁰ Tekeli İlhan, 1996, *Türkiye’de Yaşamda Ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, pp. 1-9

⁸¹ Ali Cengizkan, 2004, “Özgünlük ve Tekrarın Tekrarı: Türkiye’de Konutta Yeni Gelişmeler ve Yeni Barınma”, *Yeni Barınma*, Alman Kültür Merkezi: Ankara, pp.28-43

significant motives of the households as the sole generators of it. The residential mobility as an essential result of Ankara's spatial transformative development represents significant differences according to the various socio-economic groups.⁸² But that can be listed as:

- Housing and labor market conditions
- Distance from Central Business District
- Changing dwelling- space needs (marriage, birth, death, increase in the number of family member)
- Housing stock
- Housing quality and type (aging, subdivision, occupancy rates, number of single family dwelling units, number of rooms, bathrooms, cost, value)
- Interrelations between the social and housing patterns
- Family status (socio-economic status of the family, income education level)⁸³

W.A.V. Clark also cites reasons for moves as:

- Forced moves
- Voluntary moves
 - Adjustment
 1. housing (space, quality/design, cost, tenure change)
 2. neighborhood (quality, physical environment, social composition, public services)
 3. accessibility (workplace, shopping/school, family, friend)
 - induced
 1. employment (job change, retirement)
 2. lifecycle (household formation, change in marital status, in household size)⁸⁴

Since this study refers to the residential mobility of household belonging to the upper income group, the dominant factors and reasons come to the fore can be cited as; housing quality and type, interrelations between the social and housing patterns, family status and some voluntary moves, adjustments like housing and neighborhood. However for the reasons and motives of high-income level households' residential mobility in Ankara, we should also refer to an extensive work, conducted by Şenyapılı. In an interviews a set of questions were directed to the households to understand;

⁸² Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, pp. 1-4

⁸³ M. Cadwallader, 1992, *Migration and Residential Mobility: Macro and Micro Approaches*, Wisconsin, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, quoted from , T. Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, p. 2

⁸⁴ W.A.V. Clark, 1986, *Human Migration*, Scientific Geography Series, Sage Publications, quoted from, T. Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, p. 2

- demographic identity of the households members
- economic identity of the households
- spatial characteristics of present residential location and factors effective in residential choice⁸⁵

Since the first two entries have been shortly explained in the previous section, at this part we should be interested in some of the outcomes of the third entry to reveal some significant reasons of the residential mobility in Ankara after the 1970s. Şenyapılı's survey presents that the house ownership patterns demonstrates similar rates in both axes. However, there seems to be subtle differences for those who prefer to live in the Eskişehir axis.⁸⁶ The findings illustrates that, for instance, to be able to buy a house is not the dominant factor for them. According to this group, the prevailing reasons and factors for residential mobility can be listed as:

For Angora Housing Complex

- being displeased with the physical conditions and the social environment of the previous house
- material complaints about the previous houses
- present housing specification (size, level of comfort, provision of services etc.)
- environmental specifications of the present houses (quiet, serene, green, safe, playgrounds, parking spaces, clean air etc.)

For Konutkent and Ümitköy area

- opportunity to buy a house
- being displeased with the physical conditions and the social environment of the previous house
- material complaints about the previous houses
- present housing specification
- environmental specifications of the present houses⁸⁷

After explaining some of the inner motives of the household movement within the city, the study should discuss its primary interest or investigation area; the supplier leg of this tripartite relation, which is namely the contractor, and make clear the ways that these motives of residential mobility are reflected and transformed into the commodity value on

⁸⁵ Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001, "Transformation in Ownership Pattern in the Use of Inner City Housing Stock Vacated Due to Suburbanization: Case Study Ankara", *AFP Project*, p. 10

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 46-47

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 46-51

the representational media of these environments. But before elaborating the artificially constructed themes, which are actually symbolic values attributed to the fantasy world of ideal home as a quintessential dream, affixed to these environments we should mention the significance of symbolic values within the domain of consumer culture.

The consumption practices have redefined the realm of cultural goods through which they have lost their relation with monetary value and gained a symbolic significance. Such practices are linked to the class specific codes and meanings through styles and tastes, all made coded and public within the channels of consumption culture. However, the symbolic representation of style and taste as a distinctive element of consumption is depended upon a re-creation process that is far outside the realm of real economic and institutional bases, and that is strictly cut off from its real monetary value.⁸⁸ Ayşe Öncü discusses this shift of “meaning” in cultural goods:

It is possible to think of ‘globalization’ as the erosion of referential hierarchies from which cultural goods derive their meanings. As distinctions between high culture and low culture, the original and the reproduction, the ‘sacred’ and the ‘banal’ or the ‘vulgar’ become increasingly slippery the referential system from which cultural goods derive their meanings is blurred.⁸⁹

For Öncü, the process of re-creation is a realm of contemporary myth making by which the goods are now the embodiment of desires, dreams and emotions. Such mythical properties, which are objectified in goods, are generated in the lexicon of particular classes and subgroups and legitimized in contemporary global consumer culture. Needless to say, the contemporary advertising and audio-visual media are institutional means of these myth-making processes.⁹⁰

Within this frame the gated enclaves are also important part of this myth making processes, representing the myth of “ideal home” with its artificially constructed associations of comfort, status, distinctive way of life and middle class identity, as real as possible. Under

⁸⁸ Ayşe Öncü, 1997, “The Myth of ‘Ideal home Travels Across Cultural Borders To İstanbul ’”, A. Öncü and P. Weyland (eds.), *Space Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, p. 59

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 59

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 59

the consequences of global consumer culture a contemporary myth is now a part of dominant-hegemonic discourse, which is historically specific to a particular class, and it travels across the national boundaries seeking for its privilege and authority of universal truths.⁹¹ Therefore, for Öncü, “the ‘ideal home’ is a global myth in the sense of discursive construct which claims for itself the moral superiority and legitimacy of a timeless and placeless truth”⁹². Consequently the marketing strategies and formations of the gated enclaves as “ideal homes” in Turkey show a correspondence with the international advertisement sectors’ examples. Both discursive formations, narratives and the accompanying image formations, visual representation patterns through the construction of the mythical “ideal home” do differ neither from the global instances nor the local rivals.

In this respect, the study should introduce and then evaluate the dominant themes that are accentuated within the brochure of selected gated enclave samples and sort out the repetitive discursive and image formations as well as their different strategies within the construction of the “ideal home” as part of this myth making process. These environments are introduced to the popular medium with the themes that are qualifying or defining a sort of ‘new way of life’ through the concepts of style and taste. Class identity addressed, status oriented definitions of the theme “new life style” and sub-themes as the embodiments of it has redefined the habits, relations, beliefs, behaviours of this targeted specific class groups as a legitimate values and classifying the lives and practices of them. In other words, these so-called legitimate values are stressed in the brochures with the assertion of all necessary ingredients that are appropriate to the theme “new way of life”. This theme and the constituents of it that is embodied under sub-themes are reflected to the brochures with resembling pre-constructed discursive and complementary image formations.

In this respect the most significant element that dominates both discursive and image formation of all these brochures is the representation of this special type of housing provision as a complementary constituent of a totally new life style. In this way, the consumers are to be convinced that this special development in fact offers ‘a totally new

⁹¹ Ayşe Öncü, 1997, “The Myth of ‘Ideal home Travels Across Cultural Borders To İstanbul ’”, A. Öncü and P. Weyland (eds.), *Space Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, p. 59

⁹² Ibid., p. 60

life style', which is, of course, appropriate to them.⁹³ Such assertions of 'a new life style' are externalized under the striking slogans of each development as "Yeni Yaşam K lt r n z", "Yeni Yaşam Őehri", "Florida Yaşam Tarzı T rkiye'de", and they are mostly placed at the first pages, right under the construction company's emblem. Needles to say, they stress the idea that way transcends Turkey usual life styles, moderate and modest in nature. It is also claimed in these sloganist ads that they do not only sell houses; rather, a totally new life style is also on sale. The theme that calls for a 'new life style' is thoroughly conveyed within a well-written narration, and also captures additional values, all nurtured by the negative connotations of city life. Doubtlessly say, what is dramatically painted in these narrations as bad, filthy, dirty, crimefull, etc., is in fact self-referential and thoroughly constructed. As a result, the proposed environments are well defined with respect to their so-called "the other"; *the city nearby*. These additional values that are to claim what a city life should not, mostly verify their legitimization in respect to such new concepts as "security, isolation, homogeneity of the settlements as well as the facilities and services they provide, as quote Teresa Caldeira.⁹⁴ Now what is needed and ought to be is how these concepts as invariable ingredients of new lifestyle with aestheticized images represented that are used to describe an alternative city life and how these self referential values are translated into architectural and spatial qualities.

3.3 A Spatial Analysis of Gated Enclaves through the Original Representations

The samples, the chosen gated enclaves in our case, vary in many respects, but they show differences mainly according to their scales and premises; they are either in the form of a suburban complex that caters an additional space such as privatized public services along with the housing units, or in the form of a smaller neighborhood unit (*komŝuluk birimi*) composed of several housing elements. These diverse settlements may offer one strict type of housing unit with different sizes or they present a multiplicity of types with various sizes, which would vary from a 900 square-meters villa to a 130 square-meters apartment

⁹³ Abdi G zer,2001, "Bir K lt rel  atıŝma Alanı Olarak Konut," *Gazi Sanat Dergisi*, September 2001, p. 76

⁹⁴ Teresa Calderia, 1996, "Fortified Enclaves: New Urban Segregation", *Public Culture*, vol. 8, pp. 308-309

flat, with different configurations. Consequently, in order to evaluate their spatial characteristics the study necessitates further elements through which some additional sub-lists can be made accordingly. As a result, we need to propose two of these sub-lists that are primarily made in relation to the settlements' scale and premises; in terms of both the overall settling pattern and the additional services they cater.

The examples of the first evaluation list are primarily driven from the suburban areas, mainly located along the Eskişehir highway. They are not only physically segregated, but also socially isolated settlements as they show no response neither the city nor their immediate surroundings. Here, the man-made element that separates them from the rest of the "world" is not just the wall itself; apart from those architectural elements, including the gates, their locational choice seems to be the most important component for both segregation and isolation. They are specifically and consciously built not within the range of an easy reach from the city center, and the accessibility definitely needs the well-known patterns of private car ownership. Additionally, some of the public services and the maintenance of their environments are undertaken by private subcontractors and those companies run the amenities. On the other hand, it can be argued that the examples of this evaluation list are carefully selected from those of that are built on much larger properties compared to the second list. It can be added for clarification that these examples are planned on a regional level that is made out of several building islands (*yapı adası*). Within this list the housing units can vary from villas to row houses, including the high-rise point blocks in different configurations. Albeit the variations all these come to claim themselves as significantly "distinct" as they offer an alternative city that is based primarily on the premises of *country life*. Obviously, the idea of country life emphasizes one of the most significant issues: that is the needed relation between the housing units and their immediate environments. The relation calls for an on-going myth over a "distinct life style" and embodies the contours of country life by underlining how and to what extent such elements of country life is possible and how can be specialized.

It should be noted here that the examples of the second evaluation list is quite different from the preceding list in terms of their scale (the suggested built environment). In other words, they are in need of building islands, which are reserved by conjoining the individual

parcels. It is also important to clarify that many of these examples can be listed as the elements of Ankara's inner city proposals. However, some examples are also in the same development axis (Eskişehir highway) as observed through the first evaluation list. Either here or there, all these environments offer conventional apartment blocks at the end, and tent to place themselves on much larger properties, in comparison to the existing patterns of Ankara: the parcel-based urban fabric. Along with their spatial configurations they mostly promote themselves in a way that the idea of being an alternative city life within the city comes always first and foremost for they attempt to provide additional common spaces and services limited in number by the help of site planning strategies.

3.3.1 Being Alternative: Homogeneity, Isolation, Individuality and the 'Relation with Nature'

The most reiterated issue that is expressed almost in an identical phrase is that these settlements are in fact 'very close to what a city can provide for comfort and yet they are also far away from its turmoil'. This recurring theme is doubtlessly signifying an alternative city life with an assertion of proposing an exclusive environment through referring the wicked connotations of existing conditions of city center. What is so striking within these verbalizations is its attachment to natural beauty and quality as they are always embedded within their natural surroundings. The relation between the housing units and their natural environments with a narration of quiet, serene and airy atmosphere is often used as the counterpart of what a bad city is: all the pollutants such as air, noise, traffic pollution is reversibly utilized within which certain happiness and tranquility is now attached to environmental qualities. It is obvious here that the ads propose a different kind of environment and carefully claim themselves as discrete, separate, and original as they come to re-create a needed relation between the privileged individuals and the desired nature, as part of their myth of 'a distinct way of life'. Obviously the most important question here then becomes on how the social context of this relation with the nature is reformulated in these environments and how this context of nature and housing units are well connected to each other. Here, another important question is this: what is this definition of this social context and how is that social context can lean on "nature"? Therefore, the role of environmental design is also in question. In other words, the study

should focus on the discursive exercise of “nature” in making discrete settlements believed to be far different from the existing city fabric. Then discursive analysis about the relation of housing units with their immediate environments should be decoded through their commercial media.

The relation with nature could be externalized with two probable and yet different choices in terms of forming the natural context: The settlements could be either located right next to a particular natural context like in Angora Housing complex (as they are built nearby the Beytepe and Beysukent forests) or the settlements can create their own natural context by making artificial environments as if they are original like Ema Havuzlu Konaklar (built in the nowhere of Anatolian prairie). The environmental qualities of our examples in Ankara, reflecting the latter case are used to represent the importance of “community and communal space”, which are in fact privatized public spaces in nature, while the former is used mostly as natural barriers between the proposed settlement and the nearby surroundings in order to provide a kind of boundary. Thus the physical outcome of the idea over ‘relation with nature’ can be observed first in the general layout of the site plan and its environmental design, and then in its connection to housing units via their settling and orientation with respect to each other. The underlined attitude towards environment can now be regarded as an important tool to measure the above-mentioned similarities and dissimilarities in among those targeted environments.

The opening page of the brochure of ‘Ema Havuzlu Konakları’ has a striking slogan that reads as “this centuries’ culture of living” with very picturesque, water colored perspective, and depicts the needed “publicness” of this very private settlement. The scene stresses a sterile, airy, and lively atmosphere, rendering almost like a park environment with its artificial lake, greenery and natural life. The privileged individuals of this settlement keep their garden in order while wandering around its privatized public space in the foreground. The housing units are also carefully mingled in this artificially flourished environment in the background. The illustration strongly connotes a sense of community life as well as a sense of withdrawal from the cultural and as well as physical pollutants of the city. It also gives an idea that turning back to a controlled and yet artificially created nature is possible and it is an essential feature of a new culture of living. (Figure 3.3.1.1) This community life

is also externalized with the elements that of which are formed by the aid of privatized public spaces, artificial lakes, botanical gardens, tennis courts, sports areas, and running tracks. The final word reads: “and, the feature that is waiting for you within this splendid sphere.”⁹⁵ The slogan is definitely market strategy and the proposed settlement is an object to be marketed: There the idea of living in controlled nature as part of the yearning for the ‘garden city’ clearly images itself with this illustration.



Figure 3.3.1.1 Cover Page of Ema Havuzlu Konakları

⁹⁵ “ve bu görkemli dünyada sizi bekleyenler”

A similar attitude can be traced through the organization of the site plan and as well as the orientation and settling formation of the proposed housing units with respect to each other. The settlement consists of three different villas, called '*konak*' in their brochure, and they are settled on their own lots; individual parcels that are obtained by dividing the housing islands (*konut adaları*) into equal pieces. The boundaries of each parcel, which is depicted as if it includes a huge surrounding lawn on which the housing units are settled, are defined by walkways network, making an invisible superstructure within the settlement, and surrounded by trees. The issue of privacy of each housing unit with respect to each other seems to be the only determinant factor and it calls for positioning strategies on individual parcels that a significantly obvious distance is preserved and a visual contact is prevented through the elevated private terraces.

The housing units are planned in a way to provide an elevated terrace, private in nature, by projecting the living room at the sides, and positioning the rest of the housing at the rear, almost creating a concealed backyard. Walls in both sides also surround this enclosed terrace in order to enhance the sense of privacy and the housing unit is now privatized by an open space with a secretive swimming pool. By this way, the overall layout of the housing complex is organized to maintain its own micro-cosmos by stressing its privileged members' isolate position, and this very person's introverted and controlled semi-private space. As a result, the relation with nature, for the contracting firm, can now be achieved through this controlled semi-private open space of which the boundaries needed to be defined sharply. Therefore, the relation of each housing unit with its immediate environment, in this case the lawn as the representative of the most expected nature, is clearly limited as it creates its own domain where the relation with nature is artificially constructed. The settling pattern of housing units throughout the site, in which the repetition of '*konaks*' in three different configurations does not require any specific location or direction in reference to real environmental contexts, rather focus on not to exceed certain proximity for sure, reinforcing our argument on fabrication of nature. (Figure 3.3.1.2)



Figure 3.3.1.2 Representation of site plan and images depicting the relation of the ‘konak’ and its terrace with its immediate surrounding from the brochure and web-page (www.emainsaat.com) of Ema Havuzlu Konakları

What is significant within the site plan decisions and what is so important within this careful orientation of housing units with respect to each other and their immediate environment is the endless reduplication of this “so called ultimate relation” throughout the site. The targeted income group calls for a homogeneous collision and that homogeneity is carefully reflected upon the site plan. This spatially means that the site is composed of privately divided intermediary spaces by the aid of sharply defined individual parcels. This intermediacy, in fact, is not occupied or not employed to satisfy the specific function; the lawn, for instance, creates an artificial boundary and acts as a natural barrier in-between the housing units and the car-way or adjacent individual parcel. The suggested services

positioned within common privatized public space through leaving four building islands nearly in the middle of the settlement in a way that giving no significant responses and loose connections to the housing units. Finally, what is prominently exercised is the fragmentation of settlement into homogenized private intermediary spaces to provide a total control over the whole environment.



Figure 3.3.1.3 An aerial view from the brochure of Angora Housing Complex

The Angora Housing Complex is represented carefully to its prospective buyers with a slogan of “a dream came true...The Angora housing, another Ankara within Ankara.”⁹⁶ Under that slogan the myth that calls for “a return to nature” also reads in that brochure as “just 15 km far away from the city center, a city as if a dream. Neighboring to the forests of Beytepe and Beysukent, a unique city embracing the nature: Angora. Close to Ankara’s all comforts, but far away from its turmoil. It holds a purity of nature and a bread of civilization all together. Angora, not only with its splendid architecture and the interior, but also with its natural environment promises an excellent life.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ “bir hayal gerçek oldu...Angora Evleri, Ankara’da bir başka Ankara’

⁹⁷“Şehir merkezinden sadece 15 km. uzaklıkta, hayal gibi bir kent. Beysukent ve Beytepe ormanlarına komşu, doğayla kucak kucağa eşsiz bir kent: Angora. Ankara’nın tüm konforlarına yakın, ama karmaşasından uzakta. Onda doğanın saflığı ve uygarlığın nimetleri birarada. Angora

The primary motive in forming this exclusive environment discursively verbalizes itself with an idea that prioritizes the importance of an alternative city, featuring an environment that binds the very nature and urban civilization all together and that inevitably promotes some spatial features that are carefully and yet artificially fused into each other. The design principles of this “excellent” environment surely imitate the endless images of a utopian ‘garden city’⁹⁸ with its carefully located housing units on huge lawns as well as with their promoted proximity to each other. The help of some supplementary amenities such as tennis courts, swimming pools, running and walking tracks, etc has also stressed the idea over ‘relation with nature’. The site plan is made in a watchful reference to a given spatial hierarchy not only in the general layout, but also in making a significant housing typology (Figure 3.3.1.3). The central zone contains a privatized public space reserved for the entire settlement, and the main traffic circulation for empowering the central zone surrounds all 9 to 14 storey high-rise point blocks and four storey row houses. The high-rise point blocks are in fact located in a way to make the first ring around this central public space and consequently this ring is followed by a second ring of row houses, all placed along the main car way in order create a sense of street. The rest of the settlement is composed of individual villas, standing on private islands, and branched out from the central zone. In the given brochure, however, there is no direct reference to the idea of nature, and any description or depiction about the importance central public space, which seems to be the only common area for them; instead, the hidden agenda objectifies itself as the speculation primarily revolves around the relation between the housing units and their immediate surrounding.

The Angora Housing Complex offers two types of villas; one of them called as “prestige” and row housings, that it includes a variety of “garden duplex”, “roof duplex”, “mezzanine flat” as well as a “high rise point block” for its prospective income and taste groups. The villas verbalize themselves as “...due to their low storey settlements, villas satisfy the needs of a living environment to breath...with their gardens opened outside through the living

sadece evlerinin mimarisiyle ve iç tasarımıyla değil, çevresiyle de size mükemmel bir hayat vaat ediyor.”

⁹⁸ For a detailed reading for the underlying motives of “Garden City Movement” see; Leonardo Benevolo, 1971, *History of Modern Architecture*, trans. by H. J. Landry, The MIT Press: Massachusetts, pp. 342-367

room and the kitchen, they add another beauty to the Angora.⁹⁹ A similar discursive attachment is reiterated in their representation of the “prestige villas”, which is not built and consequently inhabited yet, that paves a similar mode: by the help of a computer image, an architectural collage depicts a general view and relation with its very immediate environment from the rear terrace of the “prestige villa”. It conveys a sense of ‘being prestigious’ as well as a sense of “natural environment”, attached to its architecture – villa. The depicted collage carefully articulates an image of happy nucleus family who enjoys their backyard (rear garden) as they experience it from the terrace. The terrace is levelled by the help of two steps from the ground level and extended through the alignment of the villa, which can also be accessed from its 71 square meters living room. The image does not give any reference about the limits of the garden represented; rather it is depicted as if it is in the form of a huge lawn, including several shrubs and flowers planted on it.

A row house that is located on each side of the main car way that linearly creates a sense of street contains of eight neighborhood units with two roof duplexes, four garden duplexes and two mezzanine flats with one entry. These units are pulled back for creating a sort of green belt in-between the housing units and the main traffic artery at the front as well as the secondary car way that is where the entry of each unit is located. The ground floor unit, which is at the first floor of the garden duplex, is connected to this green belt with two sheltered terraces accessed from both the living rooms at the front and the kitchen at the back. In fact, the created terraces are arranged in the form of two extensions projected from the mass, one storey in nature that is to make a sense of base-floor for the five-storey row house. The projected terraces are literally partitioned by two walls for four duplexes, of which the walls act as a common element, in order to meet the two symmetry axes. This very architectural element is in fact no coincidence, yet it is added as an important component to make itself as part of ongoing sloganist discourse: This common extension is verbalized with a sentence that goes as “these designed old neighborhoods are given as an opportunity to live in”.¹⁰⁰ By the aid of this, so called unique architectural configuration and its immediate surrounding that is believed to be so peculiar to the members of this privileged life all these experiences have now become a part of marketing means and

⁹⁹ “villalar, az katlı yerleşimlerinden dolayı yaşadığınız bölgenin nefes almasını sağlıyor, salon ve mutfaklarından dışarıya açılan bahçeleri ile tüm Angora’ya ayrı bir güzellik katıyor.

¹⁰⁰ “eski komşulukların yeniden yaşamasına, bu tasarımla birlikte çok büyük bir fırsat tanındı”

translated into the symbolic value within sentences. The ads continue as “in the row houses sunbathe in your garden terrace or on your wide balcony...get rid off your distress by your *şömine* (fireplace) or water your flower in your garden. The dream of your life is very close with Angora”.¹⁰¹ What is done at the end, however, seems to be typical and needs a final word: within these villas and the “garden duplexes” as made in row houses the idea that calls for a sense of ‘relation with nature’ is in fact minimized in a way that the term relation is reduced into a form of pseudo-connection either in the front or in the backyards. By proposing a terrace in between the housing and the lawn and by repeating this unique relation as an ultimate form the end-product does not offer any difference and give no reference to its specific location in relation to the proposed site. (Figure 3.3.1.4)



Figure 3.3.1.4 An image showing the settlement order of villa and row housing types throughout the site and their relation with their immediate surroundings from the brochure of Angora Housing complex and authors own archive.

In light of the above findings, it can be anticipated that what is exclusively dominant within the general layout is the repetition of the relation, in between the housing units and their close environments; it is whether in the form of villa, row house or point block, throughout the site the “relation to nature” in a similar fashion is always in the agenda. The housing

¹⁰¹“Sıraevlerde ister bahçe terasınızda güneşlenin, isterseniz geniş balkonunuzda. İster şöminenizin başında yorgunluk atın, ister bahçenizde çiçekleri sunarken. Hayalinizdeki yaşam, Angora ile ayağınızın ucunda”

units are placed on each building islands (*yapı adaları*) in a limited number to provide a certain distance in-between their very private spaces and the privatized public spaces of this particular environment. They are pulled back a little further both from the front and the backyard in order to create an individual space with numerous openings. Although such an attitude has no clear indication in terms of its spatial betterment the ads underlies it by giving a great importance to nature: The brochure goes as “...Angora Housing Complex is settled over 1 400 000 square meters area. On this area, which has capacity of 7 000 housing units to be built on, has been built 1929 housing units to create a sphere of life that suits on dreams¹⁰²”. Within the general layout of the housing units there seems to be an initial attempt to create street pattern; however, the exclusive sphere of life that suits our dream is solely employed in a way to create an individualized semi-private space in the form of a green belt, which functions as a controlled pseudo-nature that has nothing, but a repetition throughout the site.

Located just nearby to the Angora housing complex, Beysupark, on the other hand, covers 235.000 square meters and offers 560 units in the form of four different housing typologies to its prospective users. The settlement is represented with a slogan that goes as a “new city of life” and this newness is carefully stylized with the most pretentious theme: “all inclusive”. The brochure also proposes important sub-themes of “enclave, nature, peace, shopping, entertainment and sports”, all aestheticized within given images of which, in fact, come to signify such an idealized life. The single frames depicting the fragments of this alleged privileged society vary in nature. For instance, some depicts a happy nucleus family sitting in their kitchen in order to make the idea of “enclave” more representable, and the other goes with a couple, cycling in the midst of nowhere for the sub-theme of entertainment. In short, the myth of a new lifestyle seems to be well constructed around the images through which the each image serves for the unexpected cultural contours of an alternative city. Needless to say, themes or sub-themes are necessary elements of this new culturization for the distinct customers for catering their needs and desires. (Figure 3.3.1.5)

¹⁰² “... Angora Evleri, 1 400 000 m2 ‘lik bir alan üzerine kurulu. 7 000 konut yapılabilir,lecek büyüklüğe sahip bu alanda, sadece hayallere yakışır bir yaşam alanı yaratabilmek için 1 929 konut yapıldı.



Figure 3.3.1.5 Cover page of the pamphlet of Beysupark

With these entering images/themes for mythification processes the idea of the excellent ‘new city of life’ can now be as concrete as the actual environments: and yet, a few words are still needed to make the images more powerful: “with its panorama, architecture, landscape and with its social spaces, all designed specifically for you, Beysupark opens a new gate of an excellent life. Away from the distress of city, a life within the nature in an upright environment, an unproblematic park and an elite atmosphere. A place to be felt being special in all the domains of life”.¹⁰³ Obviously, what is listed here is nothing, but a mere stylization of constructed expectations.

¹⁰³ “Gerek panoraması, gerek mimarisi ve peyzajı, gerekse size özel tasarlanan kullanım alanlarıyla Beysupark size mükemmel bir yaşamın kapılarını aralıyor. Şehir stresinden uzak, nezih bir ortamda doğayla iç içe bir yaşam sorunsuz bir park, gülyüzlü insanlar, elit bir atmosfer. Yaşamın her alanında size özel olduğunu hissettirecek bir yer”.

As being one of the most important constituents of all ‘inclusive life’ the metaphors of nature are also embodied in the above mentioned fragments of life with self-referential images: For instance, an image of a gentleman sitting with a peaceful gesture in the middle of a green field and is described with a rigorous claim; “it is not only green, but the life here is lively with all aspects. Initiated with a claim of being the most greenery part of Ankara, in Beysupark the life is alive, green, natural, healthy, and colorful...”¹⁰⁴

By the help of these appealing and yet quite descriptive verbalizations, creating ‘panoramic views’ among other strategic marketing tools seems to be significant for it reflects the attitude over the idea of relation with nature and utilizes the issue of environment as a primary constituent of the settlement. In this respect, the site plan is made in the form of two separate zones. The first zone is the one of built environment that is designed in order to enhance Beysupark’s very isolated position in which housing units are well separated from the highway by additional sports, social-commercial facilities and the two high-rise apartment blocks, all extended alongside the settlement. The second zone, on the other hand, is thoroughly painted dark green in the brochure and called as green area. The second zone, in fact, characterizes the nature of the overall environment in the site plan. (Figure 3.3.1.6) However, no visual or verbal description about this green area is specifically given in this commercial advertisement. And yet, the word panorama is surely in the agenda. Most importantly, the relation with nature is rather exemplified within the panoramic gimmicks and materialized mostly through the descriptive verbalizations of each housing unit.

The built environment is composed in the configuration of parcel-islands (*ada-parcel*) all surrounded by the automobile network – traffic. One parcel-island out of seven in total is allocated to the above-mentioned sports and social-commercial centers, which, quite enclosed in design, are reserved particularly for the settlement’s prestigious customers. The other six parcel-islands are assigned for housing function in which each unit type whether individual villa or high rise point block or *yamaç ev* is placed in an order to create its loosely defined individual micro-nature and to preserve a certain proximity to each other for absolute privacy. The each unit is positioned with respect to the other where creating

¹⁰⁴ “Sadece yeşil değil, herşeyiyle canlı bir yaşamdır buradaki. Ankara’nın en yeşil şehir projesi olma iddiasıyla yola çıkan Beysupark’ta hayat canlı yeşil, doğal, sağlıklı rengarenk”

front and backyards in their individual spaces seem to be now possible. The idea on relation with nature is also constructed within each individual space. The issue of “nature” is best exemplified in the discursive description of two provisioned housing typologies that are individual villas and *yamaç evleri*.

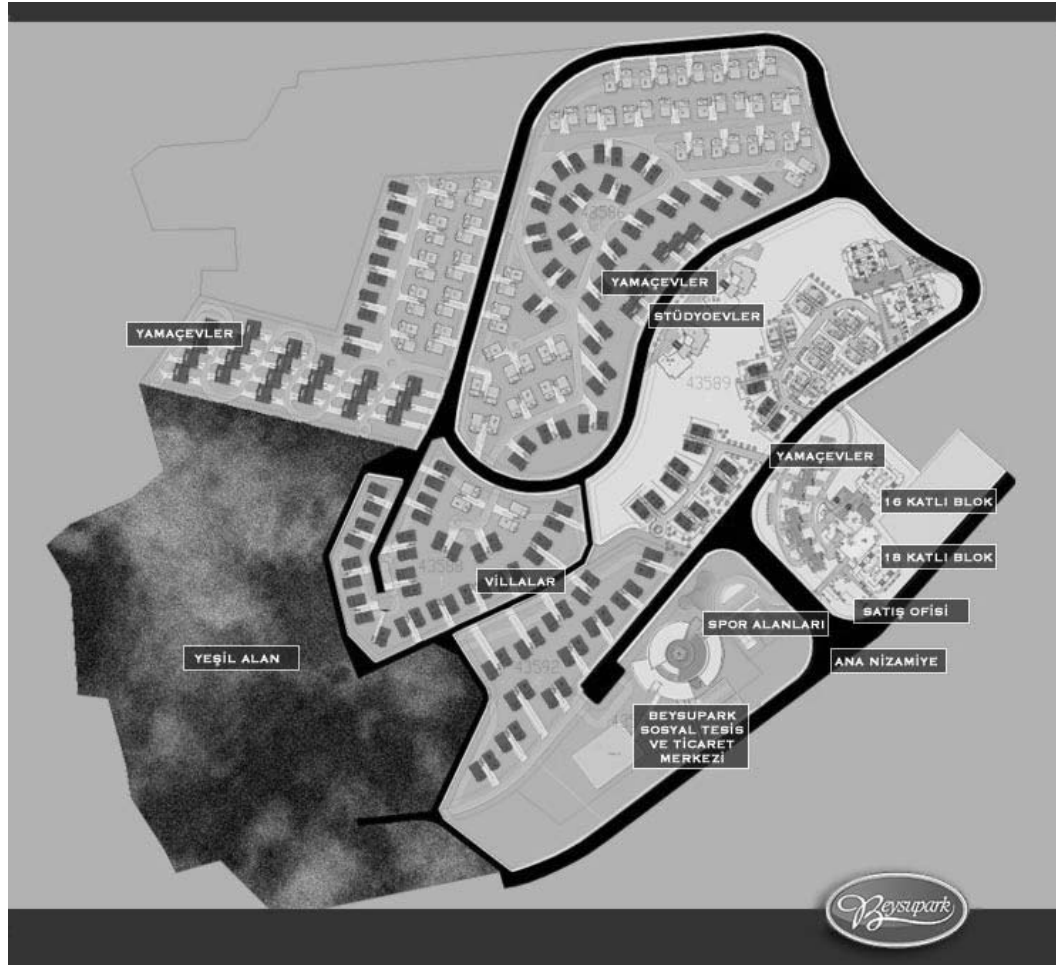


Figure 3.3.1.6 Site plan of Beysupark from the web-page www.beysupark.com

One of the distinctive qualities of individual villas is the promotion of access both to front and to backyards, private gardens, through adding different levels: To make that distinctiveness more plausible the ads reads as “...villas are differentiated from their mediocre counterparts as they have a feature of being accessed to separate gardens from the

basement and the ground floors”.¹⁰⁵ The villas are scattered throughout the site with their symmetrical counterparts, and yet separated by a common wall that is also to detach a car way extended through their private garages. There is no other significant intervention are meant to define their specific positions; and, the boundaries that are depicted as huge greeneries in the site plan watch over each other with a distance. Having an access to their private gardens from the terraces that propose no significant addition to villas’ architecture apparently seems to become powerfully sufficient enough to call the villas as distinctive, different and prestigious.



Figure 3.3.1.7 General views of yamaç evler at the front and high rise point block at the back and their immediate surrounding from the pamphlet of Beysupark

A similar tone is observed within the presentation of the *yamaç ev* typology. *Yamaç evler* is made out of a duplex villa on top of a triplex on an inclined topography. This housing is also represented as being unique in Ankara for it claims itself as “in the middle of nature a dream turned out to be real”. Both villas offer a garden on the ground floor; they are

¹⁰⁵ “...villalar bodrum katından ve zemin katından ayrı bahçelere çıkıyor olma özelliği ile emsallerinden ayrılmaktadır”

accessed through a terrace, almost in an identical size, and extended from their living rooms. The bearing walls surrounding the edge of the terraces are guaranteeing to re-establish the promoted relation between housing units and their private garden without regarding any locational references and encountering any obstacle throughout the site. (Figure 3.3.1.7)

The verbal and visual representations of the settlements are strongly signifying an ideal, privileged—on the other hand imaginary— individual or community and an alternative lifestyle that is appropriate to them. Additionally it is claimed that the needed qualities of this alternative lifestyle is met through provisioned spatial formation of the settlements that are asserted be formed contrarily to the existing fabric of the city center. The idea of an alternative lifestyle is made itself explicit mostly through the accentuations of the relation with nature beside additional amenity premises. As we exemplified via these cases this relation, either it is artificially created or proposed within a natural context is depicted through self-referential, aestheticized images over nature. The overall layouts of both the settlements and the housing units describe themselves within a visual or discursive representation as if they are in the middle of nature. It is explicit that the long-lasting idea about nature is a very good discursive tool to be used as one of the most necessary indicators of an alternative way of life. Without any doubt such an ideal life needs a narration that utilizes the themes of quietness, serenity, tranquility, airy atmosphere, and etc., and what are not desired most, are such themes of bad, filth, dirt, noise, etc.

However these settlements that are claimed to offer an alternative lifestyle are forming their environments through utilizing similar settling pattern and consequently proposing similar spatial formations with reference to their origin of promotion: the existing city fabric. Basically the site plans of selected settlements planned in a way to create individual parcels, which are attained through dividing the building islands into equal pieces. The housing units are positioned on to these fragmented parcels through being pulled back from border of the adjacent parcel and car way to allocate an individual backyard or frontyard. This very familiar settling formation in a looser pattern with reference to the parcel based planning of the city center could be explained partially trying to ensure the privacy for each individual housing unit. This attitude could be read as an attempt to translate the intended

social homogeneity into spatial configuration of the overall site and the settling order of the housing units to meet a controlled and yet homogeneous environmental quality.¹⁰⁶ It could be claimed that the overall formation of the settlement is attained through duplicating these fragmented parcels by the aid of dividing building islands in to nearly equal pieces, which are accommodating privatized individual sub-spaces along housing unit without relating any specificities of the settled location. Consequently within this frame the settlements' assertion of provisioning a distinct environment with reference to the existing fabric of city center is rather mythical and attempted to acquire its distinct, legitimate position through metaphoric associations of the nature depictions.

3.3.2 Expanding the Borders of Parcel: *Site*¹⁰⁷ Settlements

The second spatial formulation that has been developed within the continuation of the theme of "distinct life style" is smaller neighborhood settlements that are positioned on a building island that is derived through assembling several parcels. Their common premises can be read from the brochures as: "an alternative choice" due to offering not an entirely new city as an alternative but some additional amenities appended to the housing units, with an assertion of what a city center can not present. The examples of this formation could be located both on inner districts of the city and along the same development axis of preceding settlements.

¹⁰⁶ Christopherson argues the distinctive characters of contemporary cities "As social disintegration and increasing economic inequality have made the city more dangerous, designs in response to danger particularly those to secure property, have altered the spatial relationship between public and private, a relationship built around the sense of common ownership and control of the street." For further readings to elaborate this argument see: Susan Christopherson, 1994, "The Fortress City: Privatised Spaces, Consumer Citizenship", in Ash Amin (ed.), *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, Blackwell: Oxford, pp. 409-27.

¹⁰⁷ Ayşe Öncü defines the word as: "*Site* is the word currently used to designate such uniform clusters of high-rise, high density residential blocks, most of them organized as cooperatives, either by their developer firm or associations of employees, retirees and so on, and located on sites designated for mass housing development by the metropolitan government", Ayşe Öncü, 1997, *Ibid.*, p. 66



Figure 3.3.2.1 A General view of apartment blocks and their immediate surrounding from the pamphlet of Lobelya Housing

The Lobelya Housing establishment settles over 16 800 square meters and offers five identical apartment blocks, all in ten-story. Their basic slogan is no different than the previous ones as they go with “utterly different world within the nature”.¹⁰⁸ Its primary promotion here is to propose a life that calls for not the city, but something else intermingled within an untamed nature: “for people who want to live a life that belongs to the outside of city within a city.”¹⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that this settlement does not claim an alternative city, but rather propose a totally different life that does not belong to any city as it dwells around the theme of “natural life”. In the representative pamphlet this desire, longing for the ‘outside city life’ is described as; “12 500 square meters of Lobelya Housing over 16 800 square meters allocates parks and greenery areas for whom want to rest and breathe while wandering around and making sports without going far away from home”. The parks and the greeneries are attained within a simple strategy: they all ascend

¹⁰⁸ “doğayla iç içe, bambaşka bir dünya”

¹⁰⁹ “kent içinde kent dışını yaşamak isteyenler için”

as point block apartments and leave an ample room for the natural environment. However, these centrally privatized public spaces rather cater to their prospective, privileged customers much of facilities: swimming pools, basketball fields, walking tracks as well as an amphitheatre. The only natural greenery noticeable in the site is, in fact, what is left over from these services. (Figure 3.3.2.1)



Figure 3.3.2.2 Site plans and images depicting the general spatial formation of Yonca Evler I-II settlements

Similar spatial formations can be observed in the Yonca Evler I and the Yonca Evler II settlements, which are proposed by MESA in two stages. The MESA Construction Company generally verbalizes their housing settlements with a slogan that is of “MESA with its environment”¹¹⁰. Parallel narrations reveal themselves in their representations and the privileged life primarily revolves around the concepts of earthquake safety of the

¹¹⁰ Gülderen Taşçıoğlu, 2004, “MESA Konut Deneyimleri”, *Yeni Barınma*, Alman Kültür Merkezi: Ankara, pp.49

structural tunnel mold system, possessing all the necessary accessories of a modern way of life such as the greenery and catered services for leisure time activities. Both settlements offer identical high-rise pointed blocks and position themselves in a way to reproduce a familiar fabric within a larger urban lot as they preserve certain proximity to each other. In the Yonca Evler I there seems to be a certain consideration in defining a common area among the blocks; however, there is no significant reference for the Yonca Evler II settlement. The necessary accessories of a modern way of life replicate themselves by simply offering a playground, a kind of *pergola* structure and a basketball field located on the corner of the building island, unrelated with the rest of the environment. (Figure 3.3.2.2)

3.3.3 Housing as the Embodiment of ‘Life Style’

The study, up to now, explained certain themes to make clear how the metaphoric sub-themes are constructed and what those metaphors signify in surfacing such desired or needed qualities of an alternative city. Secondly, we also explained the theme “distinct life style”, accentuated within the brochures of the settlements, in order to reveal how these sub-themes are reflected or applied upon the environmental and site plan decisions. From now on, the study will answer some of the strategies in transforming our primary theme of “distinct life style” into the theme of “ideal home”. In other words, we will reveal on which values, that are, in fact, symbolic constructions and primarily bounded upon capitalist consumption, the theme of “distinct life style” is constructed. Here a secondary question comes out: how is it possible that the overall design and representation of any given housing unit externalizes and makes itself publicly legitimate. With respect to these questions our framework will explain three significant domains that are artificially labeled onto the housing units. We believe that all these domains can be read as the embodiment of “a distinct life style”. For this particular reading we will use not only our mere observations, but also decode some of the materials as they are carefully represented in our cases.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ For deciphering the elements of the embodiment of life style affixed upon the housing units, the study specifically benefited from Abdi Güzer’s essay; “Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut,” *Gazi Sanat Dergisi*, September 2001, pp.71-80.

3.3.3.1 Housing as an Identification of an Ideal Community, and the Expression of an Individual Identity

Almost, in all these selected examples the housing units and their built environments are represented with a powerful statement of “an alternative/distinct life style”. The theme that calls for “a distinct life” is constructed or indicated with popular, and yet self-referential images, projections that are labeled as the most crucial elements of housing complex. In this way, the notion of “ideal home” is now possible to be described within the cultural contours of an average, stylish life, instead of its architectural or spatial qualities. The sub-themes also delineate an ideal community and a kind of identity, both celebrated with the settlement itself. By doing so, it is believed that the consumer can now be easily convinced to receive a privileged position and have a social status, as s/he becomes a part of this very special environment. Here, the proposed environment’s architectural and/or spatial qualities are not even in question: and additionally, it is very difficult to claim at this point that all these examples as an indicator of status represent “distinctiveness” with reference to those codes that are outlined by the professional culture such as the structural honesty, innovative programme, the spatial or planimetric layout, the relation with the environment or the use of topography, etc.¹¹² Among many examples as listed above the representations of Bilkent III, Alkazar housing complexes and 4+1 flats of Beysupark constitute significant illustrations through which the issues of privileged individual, idealization of home, etc. can best represent themselves.

The theme of “a distinct life style” accentuates itself primarily around the notion of an alternative city that seems to be contrary to what the city centers have. As in the brochure of Bilkent III, the desired elements of what an alternative city should cater are constructed mainly around an exclusive environmental quality. Obviously, the necessary elements of this environment should include the most needed, atypical settlement patterns in answering some of the wicked experiences with which today’s cities are associated. Needless to say, many of these experiences are always sandwiched with carefully chosen discursive myths and their associative projections. What is strikingly noticeable among others is this

¹¹² Abdi Güzer, 2001, “Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut,” *Gazi Sanat Dergisi*, September 2001, pp.71-80

commercial that goes as “a new life is growing out for you”.¹¹³ Under that slogan the significant attitude towards the whole environment revolves not around any architectural or spatial definitions, but calls for a series of metaphors for its targeted community: The notions of newness, life and the act of natural growing are here emphasized with cautious care in order to label themselves as constituents of “style”. The hidden agenda also reveals itself with additional wordings as “in the definition of Bilkent III we are not aiming at foregrounding a housing technology with various high-quality materials, by simply displaying professional products or transmitting technical information... we are talking about living...”¹¹⁴ This attitude is strongly perceived all through its representation; now both the housing units and the environmental qualities are described cautiously with reference to not quite well-known images (for a different life style) for the average Turkish people. In an endless effort, a distinct life style is always in the agenda, discursively and not, and all goes with self-referential projections that are believed to represent what a “distinct life style” ought to be. (Figure 3.3.3.1.1)



Figure 3.3.3.1.1 Representations of the proposed settlement: the emulated life style images from the brochure of Bilkent III

¹¹³ “yeni bir yaşam sizin için filizleniyor”

¹¹⁴ “Bilkent III’ün tanıtımına teknik bilgiler aktararak yaklaşmayı, uzmanlık ürünlerini sergilemeyi, binlerce çeşit, yüksek kalitede malzemeyi sıralayarak konut teknolojisini öne çekmeyi amaç tutmuyoruz... Yaşamaktan söz ediyoruz...”

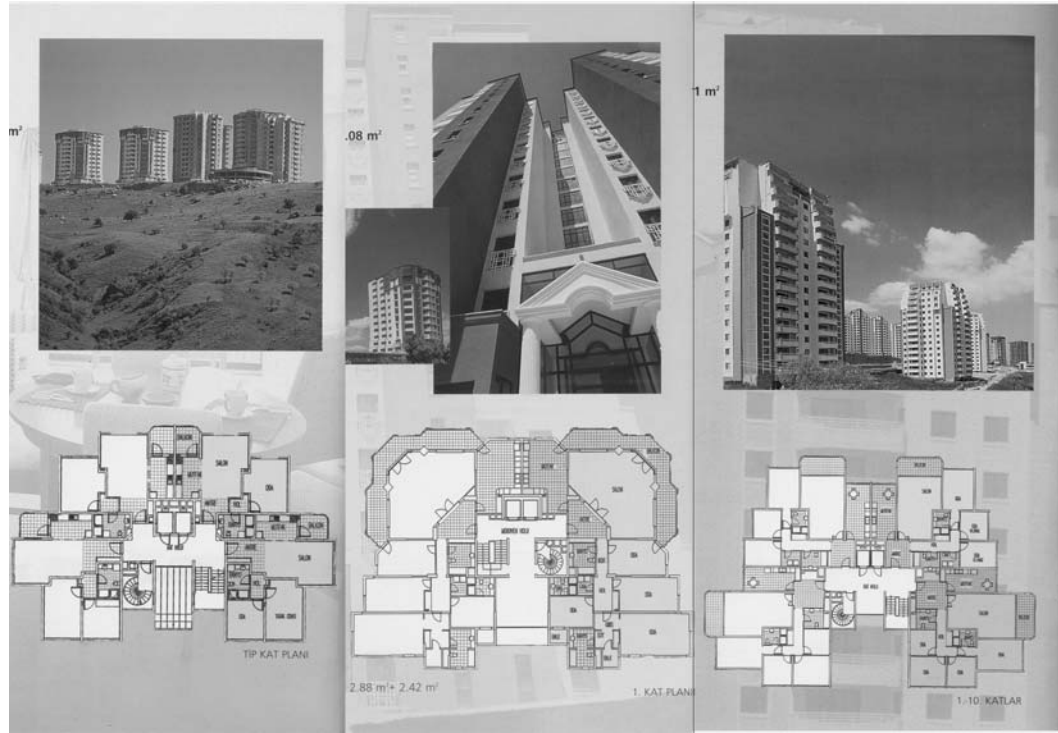


Figure 3.3.3.1.2 Plans and general images of different types of apartment blocks from brochure of Bilkent III settlement

However, each of 16 different housing units of which vary from 74 to 303 square meters is far from reflecting a peculiar, “distinct” position in terms of neither the programme, the plan layout, the spatial sequence nor the overall tectonic. The final image that represents the layout as well as the housing units rather repeats very familiar elements that of the city of Ankara’s urban fabric already possess; the replicating apartment typology. The settlement, in other words, offers high-rise apartment blocks in six different types that are arranged linearly and positioned to form a much flexible pattern in comparison to the present city fabric. In the circulating commercial brochure these six-apartment blocks are presented via a general view, accompanied with the plans of the proposed housing units and a list of materials for interiors, quite descriptive in nature. The plans seem to be very simple: the central core contains a common space whereas the elevators and stairs are located in the center and service spaces and corridors are placed in the middle. The living spaces are given a special importance as they are extended towards the outer surface. In terms of its programmatic sequence, however, the result is no difference; the entry hall that

presents a new life, expands the life's very dimensions in Çankaya".¹¹⁵ The dominant marketing attitude is no more difference; the pamphlet accompanied with an intriguing line that of "expands the borders of your home", is in fact to stress the new urban practices, relations, and such leisurely activities for those who are now regarded as the targeted individuals, affluent consumers and those who are believed to deserve a better life, a "distinct style", etc. (Figure 3.3.3.1.3)

Needles to say, the housing and its environs seem to have been identified with self-referential life style definitions that constantly symbolize an ideal individual. However, although the very practices and the additional qualities of the settlement reflect a kind of continuity with this, so called "elite" atmosphere the very architectural domain seems to be undervalued. Neither the repetitively known configuration of housing units nor their limited relation with the environment, which holds supplementary amenities, can exceeds the ordinary. Despite such failing spatial shortcomings, on the other hand, its architecture still captures an empoweringly mythic line as "the Alkazar Evleri is a center of life, which binds the aesthetic, comfort, quality and safety and gathers everything that nature and innovation could serve to human beings."¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the very depiction of the overall settlement reflects an average, mediocre spatial pattern in which housing units compose five high-rise apartment blocks and position themselves separately as if they need no integration at all. The zone reserved for social facilities includes two sport facilities as well as a mini, two-story building for again social activities. Seemingly all these amenities are positioned in an area without giving any consideration to others; sociality can only occur in left over spaces. (Figure 3.3.3.1.4) When it comes to such themes as nature, natural, etc., the problem seems to be much larger: What is called "a natural park" within the brochure is, in fact, mere residues of that are spatially left out by zone 1 and zone 2. In addition to this, the only definition about the housing units within overall pamphlet is accentuated around some catchy, and yet meaningless concepts such as "luxury", "aesthetic", "functional", "earthquake safety" and "constructional quality". What is proposed, on the other hand, is nothing but a mere duplication of "ordinary" apartment blocks. It is now much easier to

¹¹⁵ "Alkazar Evleri, Çankaya 'da Ankara'lılara yeni bir yaşam sunuyor, yaşamın boyutlarını genişletiyor."

¹¹⁶ "Alkazar evleri; estetik, konfor, kalite ve güvenli yapı özelliğini birleştiren, doğanın ve yaratıcılığın insana sunabileceği herşeyi biraraya getiren bir yaşam merkezidir."

claim that its overall plan layout, the programme, the spatiality, mass quality and its relation with the immediate environment etc. are all constituent elements of this mundane architecture that has been repeating itself for some time in the Turkish context. (Figure3.3.3.1.5)



Figure 3.3.3.1.4 Depiction of the overall environment from the web-page (www.alkazarevleri.com) and partial image of a model from the pamphlet of Alkazar Evleri

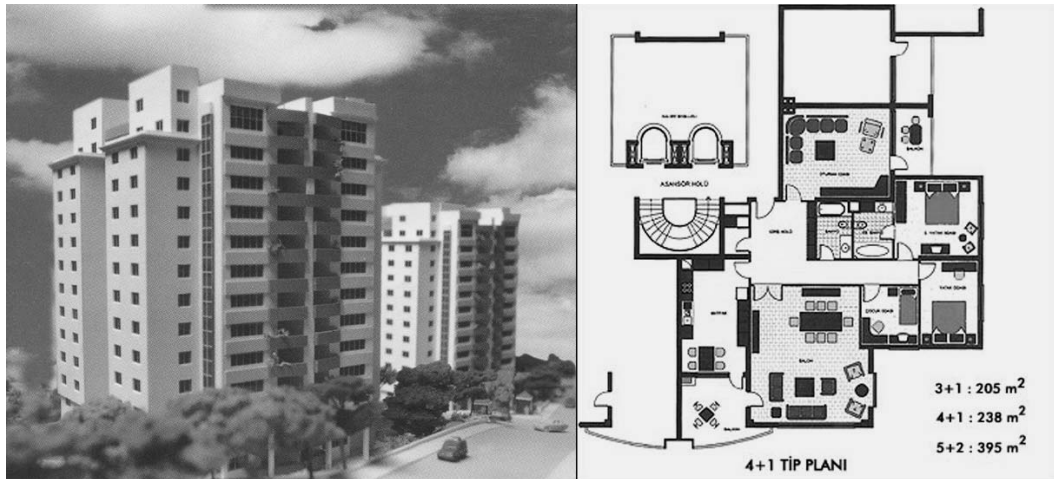


Figure 3.3.3.1.5 General view and typical plan of Apartment Block from the pamphlet of Alkazar Evleri

For making a strong association of housing units with the above discussed “life style”, another significant representation is the theme that dwells on the 4+1 flats of the high-rise pointed blocks. However, the marketing strategy of this anonymous apartment block’s

typical flat differs from other examples as it is leaned on more of discursive descriptions and such self-referential concepts, envisioning a “distinct life”. The each compartment of the proposed flats is forced to be associated with different keywords that are attained through some catchy words to promote the elements of “life”: the laces of life, the meaning of life, the life-mate, the wisdom of life, the joy of life, etc. (Figure 3.3.3.1.6) The keywords strategically position themselves right next to the related compartment’s decorated images with some metaphoric associations that increasingly stress a particular style: the ad goes as; “a peaceful life with your beloveds, away from distress and noise that defines an envied life style”.



Figure 3.3.3.1.6 Representation of 4+1 flats, from the pamphlet of Beysupark

What is on sale within this representation is evidently neither the depicted compartments’ intrinsic qualities nor their overall architectural or spatial features of the housing unit, but an envied “life style”, defined basically via stylized life patterns and their metaphorically quite loaded discursive descriptions. Within the pamphlet there is even no graphical representation of its planimetric layout or mass-articulation, but the several fragments of an envied “style” that is well articulated with respect to an idealized individual, nature, etc. The overarching theme that calls for an “all inclusive life” is again in the agenda. (See figure 3.3.1.5) Therefore, it might be suggested at this point that what is proposed for creating a domain of “distinct life” is no more than a mere re-production of an ordinary apartment flat in terms of its overall spatial configuration, program, and the applied

materials. Two alternatives, the suit and the usual types, suggest identical plans; for example, in suits, bedrooms and the living room are replaced in which the living room is now attached to parents' quarter. The flat offers three bedrooms; one belongs to parents with a separate bathroom and a balcony, as well as a living room, a bathroom, a laundry room, a salon and a kitchen with a shared balcony, all in 184 square meters. Needless to say, it is obvious that it is a very familiar layout and programmatic sequence and at the end, what we have is an orthodox apartment. Even the general mass and its elevation reflect a similar architecture within the limits of standard apartment blocks. (Figure 3.3.3.1.7) Finally, what is distinct and exclusive in this gimmicking environment seems to be to settling on the “exclusive” territory of the Beysupark.

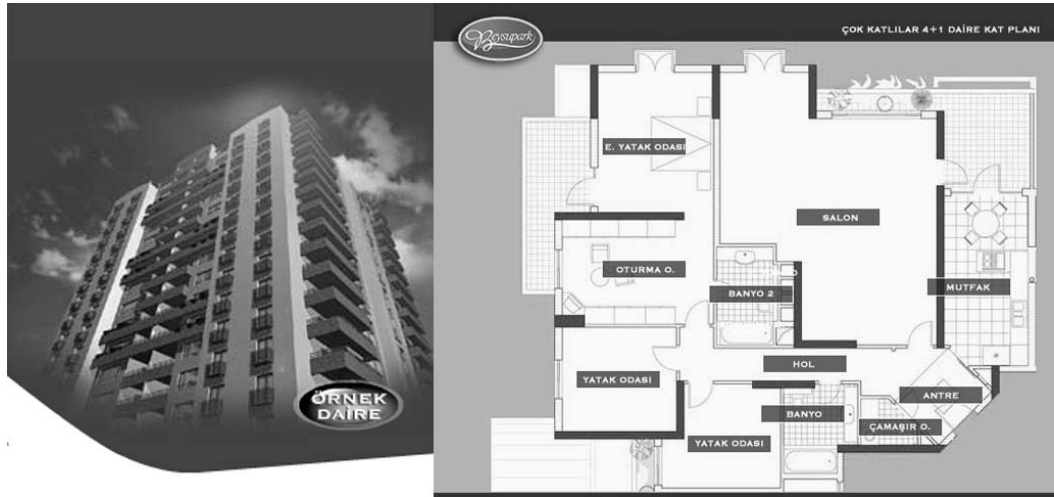


Figure 3.3.3.1.7 Plan and general mass of high-rise pointed block from the web page of Beysupark (www.beysupark.com)

3.3.3.2 Originality, Innovation and Brand-New Concepts

Another method for the legitimization of “a distinct life style” derives newer concepts and stresses some issues as “originality” and “innovation”. Both originality and innovation are assembled in order to enhance the most desired architecture of housing in a more explicit way. What is wanted here is, in fact, a verbal maneuver to make everything publicly visible and understood; after all, such implicit implications towards an envied life style need better images and narrations. Thereon, we should briefly discuss how these concepts of

“originality” or “innovation” are also utilized for further consumption as part of the proposed “life style” and should search after if such concepts have any response within architecture.

One of the housing suggested by the Beysupark, for instance, is *Yamaçevler* and it is represented with an assertive claim of being a “unique” design in Ankara. Here, the idea of “uniqueness” is constructed upon not the allegedly different configuration of its flats, but rather upon its users’ profile; the desired individual, the original life style in triplex and duplex villas and its relation with nature strategically position themselves within a descriptive narration. The commercial line reads in the pamphlet as: “a unique project in Ankara... when looked over by one side, it is just a five-story building with a very greenery garden in the front. When looked over by the other, it is a triplex villa. Namely it is both individual flats in the form of a duplex and a triplex as well as a little apartment with your neighbor. In the middle of a nature, a dream comes true.”¹¹⁷ (Figure 3.3.3.2.1) The pamphlet includes some fragments of decorations and interior images with a clear depiction of a nucleus-family. Whatever the materials are, in fact, the narration is self-explanatory and captures some of the myths of a unique house: “in *Yamaçevler* an understanding of home is redefined, the peace holds you till eternity”¹¹⁸. The additional elements of the ongoing lines also stress the flats’ spaciousness, comfort and functional ease as well as its exclusivity for the used constructional materials. The desired relation with nature is also inevitably in the agenda; it is anticipated that the triplex surrounds the nature for it includes a terrace and a garden.

¹¹⁷ “Ankara’da benzersiz bir proje... Bir taraftan baktığınızda önünde yemyeşil bahçesiyle 5 katlı bir bina. Yamacın diğer tarafından baktığınızda ise triplex bir villa. Yani hem dubleks ve tripleksten oluşan müstakil iki daire, hem de tek bir komşuyla küçük bir apartman. Doğanın ortasında gerçeğe dönüşen bir rüya”

¹¹⁸ “yamaçevler’le ev anlayışı yeniden tanımlanıyor. Huzur, sonsuza dek kucaklıyor sizleri”



Figure 3.3.3.2.1 Representation, plans and an image, depicting general look of *Yamaçevler* from the pamphlet and web-page of Beysupark (www.beysupark.com)

However the planimetric layouts, the program itself, the spatial sequence of multi-story flats, and their overall articulation (mass) in producing a unique, an original housing seem to be far from suggesting an exceptional architecture and the most expected spatial qualities. They rather reflect similar patterns akin to their counterparts in Ankara's residential districts. To give more details, the triplex and the duplex, placed on top of each other, offer spatially any exclusive relation and have such standard treatments as the provision of separate accesses by the aid of inclined topography. The *Yamaçevler* type, in fact, mainly re-produce a familiar fabric of row housing, by placing two individual villas on top of each other and repeating them horizontally with a common side wall. The duplexes, on the other hand, shares similar characteristics, and yet they receive light from one side for they are surrounded by bearing walls. The repetitive pattern of *Yamaçevler* throughout the site is also another reason of their being surrendered. The crucial design decisions, however, can easily be read within the proposed layout: it is anticipated that the service spaces like the circular elements and the bathrooms are placed in the back and the living units are positioned in the front in order to receive more light. This very familiar design attitude is also re-duplicated within the triplexes with subtle variances and an additional storey for solving some additional requirements is carefully introduced within the same structural and constructional limits, quite identical in nature. The only programmatic addition that differentiates these so-called “unique” housing units from any common apartment blocks is the room, called ‘daily’ on the second-story. The overall elevation and the mass-articulation of the building do not propose a “unique” solution, and they are rather reduced to some gimmicks as made in the kitchen, balcony and the side ‘V’ window projections. (Figure 3.3.3.2.1)

Some of the salient examples through which the very concept of “originality” and “innovation” is labeled to “home” and in which home is described as a private domain of “a distinct life style”, are the row houses and the point blocks, proposed by the Angora Housing Complex. Within the first pages of the brochure the row housing is represented with some definitions of an alternative life style and powerful slogans attributed to their proposals: they stress that what they promise could only be satisfied through special housings. The lines read as: “it is worth to live even only for its neighborhood and architecture... Identified with a peculiar nature of Ankara, and on the other hand, totally

differentiated with the delicate lines of its project, with its perfect architecture... here are the row houses!”¹¹⁹ The representation continues with some metaphors for its privileged interior spaces in the next pages of the brochures: “with its colors, lights and comfort, an always smiling and matchless atmosphere has been attained... your gallery space and saloon is far beyond your imaginations, utterly different, out of ordinary!”¹²⁰ And, the overall description concludes with the plans of three different housing that suggests of row houses as innovatively different. That goes as: “here is the plan of garden-duplexes within row house form... joyful, innovative and out of ordinary!” For the mezzanine type, the brochure also ads “different from the classic apartment flats, a brand-new understanding for architecture”. What is powerfully claimed in all these phrases primarily dwells on the word “innovation” that is believed to be well enough to offer a distinct housing and that it is also believed to propose an ultimate space and quality, befitting just right to its distinctiveness.

However, what is proposed here seems not an innovative spatialization; rather what we see is a mere replica of a well-known compact organization within the limits of ordinary programmatic solutions. The row house is composed of linearly arranged four gardens duplexes (on the ground and on the first floor), two mezzanine flats (on the second floor), and the two roof-duplexes (on the third and fourth floors). The “out of ordinary” garden-duplexes offer a salon, a kitchen, a working room and a small toilet within 100 square meters on the ground floor. Just to the left of an entry hall a small toilet and a staircase that leads to the upper floor are designed in a most compact way. From the salon and an enclosed kitchen there provided linear connections to the side and the back gardens through a terrace in the size of a 7 square meters that is separated from the adjacent pair by simple partitions. The staircase reaches to a narrow hall of 85 square meters on the second floor and leads to three bedrooms and a bathroom, and ends in a way to create a gallery space that overlooks to living room. The “so called brand-new” understanding of architecture, the mezzanine flat, on the other hand, projects over the two symmetrical garden duplexes and covers 190 square meters. The overall layout is designed in a way that the corridor and the bathroom are located in the middle and that the living space in the front to receive enough

¹¹⁹ “sadece komşuluğu ve mimarisi için bile yaşamaya değer...Ankara’nın kendine has çizgisiyle özdeşleşmiş, diğer yandan projesindeki ince çizgilerle tamamen farklılaştırılmış kusursuz bir mimari... işte sıraevler!”

¹²⁰ “renkleri ışığı ve konforuyla her zaman gülümseyen benzersiz atmosferler yakalandı...galeri boşluğunuz ve salonunuz hayalleriniz bile ötesinde, bambaşka sıradışı!”

light. The entry hall includes a salon, a kitchen and a common balcony, whereas the other side accommodates the bedrooms and a large living room. The roof-duplex, which is represented as “giving a lot more than the expectations of a home, a design that evokes admiration”¹²¹ covers a total of 250 square meters as in the mezzanine flat, including an additional penthouse and a terrace. The overall plan is made, by arranging the service spaces in the middle in order to make enough room for the staircase. On the penthouse a wider parent’s room and an additional room, named as “hobby”, is also suggested. The overall mass and *façade* articulation claims itself with an obscure line that goes as “a peculiar sense of Ankara” If what is intended is the imitation of traditional architecture, it is, in fact, no more than a simple gimmick, or a pastiche as it only provides fake bay windows all around. (Figure 3.3.3.2.2 and Figure 3.3.3.2.3)



Figure 3.3.3.2.2 Plans of garden duplex (two at the above), mezzanine flat (one at the left below) and roof duplex (two at the right below) from the brochure of Angora Housing Complex

¹²¹ “bir evden beklenenden çok daha fazlasını veren, hayranlık uyandırıcı bir tasarım...”



Figure 3.3.3.2.3 An image depicting the front and the back views of the row houses. (The author's archive)

The point blocks, on the other hand propose two types of flats; typical and roof-duplex ones within a high-rise architecture of which varies from 9 to 14-story. Discursively, the brochure explains the proposal with a slogan, which goes as “the moments of full happiness, peace and joy...” And it continues with a short narration, mainly stressing the vista and the material qualities of the flats, all metaphorically loaded. Finally, an intriguing phrase that is placed at the top of their descriptive page defines the pointed block as an ultimate means of “a new life style”: “very functional, wide and free...a sunlight that never lacks in your rooms and your salon, and a varying vista according to your choice...Pointed blocks, bringing a brand-new form and brand-new lifestyle to the understanding of apartment life, forerunner of a new generation life...”¹²² The new and peaceful life, mostly attributed to their panoramic vista and the interior architecture with some stylized, decorated images also continue in the inner pages.

Nonetheless, the point blocks are actually made out of repeating the principals of an ordinary apartments; arranging four identical flats around a vertical circulation shaft and a common apartment hall with minimum rooms to its users. The typical flat reflects rather an ordinary programmatic structure as it repeats the same “bedroom and a salon type” in a familiar hierarchy that occupies 150 square meters net area. The roof duplex also reflects an

¹²² “çok kullanışlı, çok geniş, çok özgür...odalarınızda ve salonunuzda hiç eksik olmayan bir günışığı ve cephenize göre değişen bir manzara...nokta bloklar, apartman anlayışına yepyeni bir form, yepyeni bir yaşam tarzı getiren yeni nesil bir yaşamın habercisi...”

alike-design layout, which is applied via the same program with an additional terrace for the sole purpose of creating an attic. (Figure 3.3.3.2.4)



Figure 3.3.3.2.4 Plans of typical flat (left one) and roof duplex (two at the right) of point block from the brochure of Angora Housing Complex

3.3.3.3 Authenticity and Disorientation of Meaning

Another dominant marketing strategy or the means of constructing the myth of “ideal home” as an ultimate and legitimate form of “a distinct life style” is the use of traditional or authentic elements of architecture (including the terminology). It is believed that such elements are peculiar to a specific order or history, and would be quite attractive for the new buyers: However, they rather call for an architecture, which is, in fact, a “pastiche” and transfer the proposal into a mere symbolic value, expecting to be associated with a “distinct way of life”. Among the selected examples some of them are very important for their design and advertisement strategies, in which the meaning of “authenticism” and its architectural elements that are supposed to belong to a specific order, are forcefully exposed to “pastiche”, as explained by Lucien Steil. Now the proposal is emptied out and transformed into a world of symbols that are to confer a kind of status. Steil explains the concept of “pastiche”, in which attention is rather paid to the impression it created instead

of its exact appearance, as a shifty, defective reproduction of previous model, deprived of its lively and determinant features.¹²³

The most prominent examples for the above argument are the three villas marketed by the ‘Ema Havuzlu Konakları’. In one of the most popular architectural magazine “Ema Havuzlu Konakları” is marketed with a very striking slogan as “excellent villas on prairie”, and it continues with a description, “the Ema Construction has built villas with individual swimming pools, containing all the necessary social means in the mere prairie of Anatolia. All the details have been thought in these villas of which Ankara’s businessman habitually prefers them. In these ‘konaks’, called as ‘Zümrüt’, ‘Yakut’ and ‘Safir’ you may enjoy the water and sun, just like in the Mediterranean and the Aegean” environments.¹²⁴ As understood from the settlement’s given name and its quite descriptive advertisement that it is purposely promoted to its potentially wealthy, affluent customers with a stress on a specific housing typology. The villa, both for its producers and users, in fact is implying a secreted place that in fact transcends the orthodoxy, the housing standards, and the ordinary life that it goes with it. The ongoing myth of ‘a new life style’ is now thoroughly constructed and carefully externalized in the form of a housing type, a ‘konak’ that is build on Ankara’s landscape. The proposed ‘konak’ as a housing typology is also stated in the ads that it far exceeds the usual standards of any ordinary villa as it is well-designed and coupled with several programmatic additions and spatial qualities: a living room that opens to an elevated terrace, a swimming pool, a private sauna as well as a fitness room are here some to mention. In other words, by creating its own domain with additional symbolic appendixes, and by having no significant equivalent to its counterparts typologically, the term ‘konak’ affixed to ‘housing’ is now constructed upon extraordinarily self-referential qualities. A ‘new way of life’ that translates a symbolic value and objectifies itself under the theme of ‘konak’, which can be appended to the mere categories of housing, now becomes a dominant marketing means for selling, buying, and more importantly for consuming.

¹²³ Lucien Steil, “On Imitation”, *Architectural Design*, vol. 56, no. 9/10, pp. 8-9 quoted from Ali Cengizkan, 2000 “Ahmet Berk Taklit ve Yenilik”, *XXI Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi*, no.4, October 2000, pp.48-53.

¹²⁴ “Ema İnşaat, İç Anadolu’nun bozkırında havuzlu, tüm sosyal olanaklara sahip villalar inşa etti. Özellikle Ankara’lı işadamlarının tercih ettiği villalarda herşey tüm ayrıntısına kadar düşünülmüş. Zümrüt, Yakut ve Safir adı verilen konaklarda tıpkı Akdeniz veya Ege’deki gibi suyun ve güneşin tadını çıkarabilirsiniz.” (Villa Dekorasyon, no.26, pp. 46-51)

The three types of '*konaks*' are all represented with different discursive images and slogans, addressing to different taste and social groups. However, with a common word known as '*konak*' as well as some extra amenities like an individual swimming pool and saunas they imply one straight story for their prospectus buyers: "you are different and deserve the *difference*". One of the types, 'Safir' for instance, should be discussed to further our discussion. With its 520 square meter net area, the villa represents itself in a different way: water colored perspective that depicts the general mass of housing as well as the huge lawn around which the houses are all scattered goes as with a strikingly rigorous slogan "antidote of life". (Figure 3.3.3.3.1) The ordinary city life with all negative associations (scary urban tales: crimes, pollution, etc) is expected to be transcended in 'Safir's amazing beauty, a beauty that limits itself to the outside world and relates the life with nature. Following it, there is more to come: the brochure reads "on the most splendid life sphere of '*konak*', which will reconcile you with the world and purify you from all the distress of life, awaits for you: Ema Havuzlu Konaklar, Safir. A lively synthesis filtered through the common language of Ottoman-Helen architecture that is peculiar to the very Mediterranean world" is as their origin of inspiration.¹²⁵ Using the doubled colonnade, all supporting the entrance eave, where eave cornice turns out to be a pediment element made out of plaster that signifying an entry and a small light-well that is illuminate the oval salon in a pastiche way, now seems to become sufficient to call their architecture '*konak*' and what they did is as Mediterranean as the original. More importantly, the synthesis of Ottoman-Helen architecture was thought, for the constructing firm, as an important element for creating a catchy architecture for those who seek not the purity and uniqueness but an amalgamation of everything as required by the consumer culture. Completing its discursive description for its "originally mythical life style" the brochure goes as "with all the details, which are specific to you and with its original style you will be purified from the toxicities of urban life". However the most assertive claim of being original is now forced into a mythical process.

¹²⁵ "Ankara'nın en görkemli yaşam alanında sizi dünyayla barıştıracak, hayatın tüm sıkıntılarından arındıracak bir konak bekliyor. Osmanlı-Helen mimarilerinin ortak paydasından süzülüp gelen Akdeniz'e özgü, canlı ıslıl ışıl bir sentez"

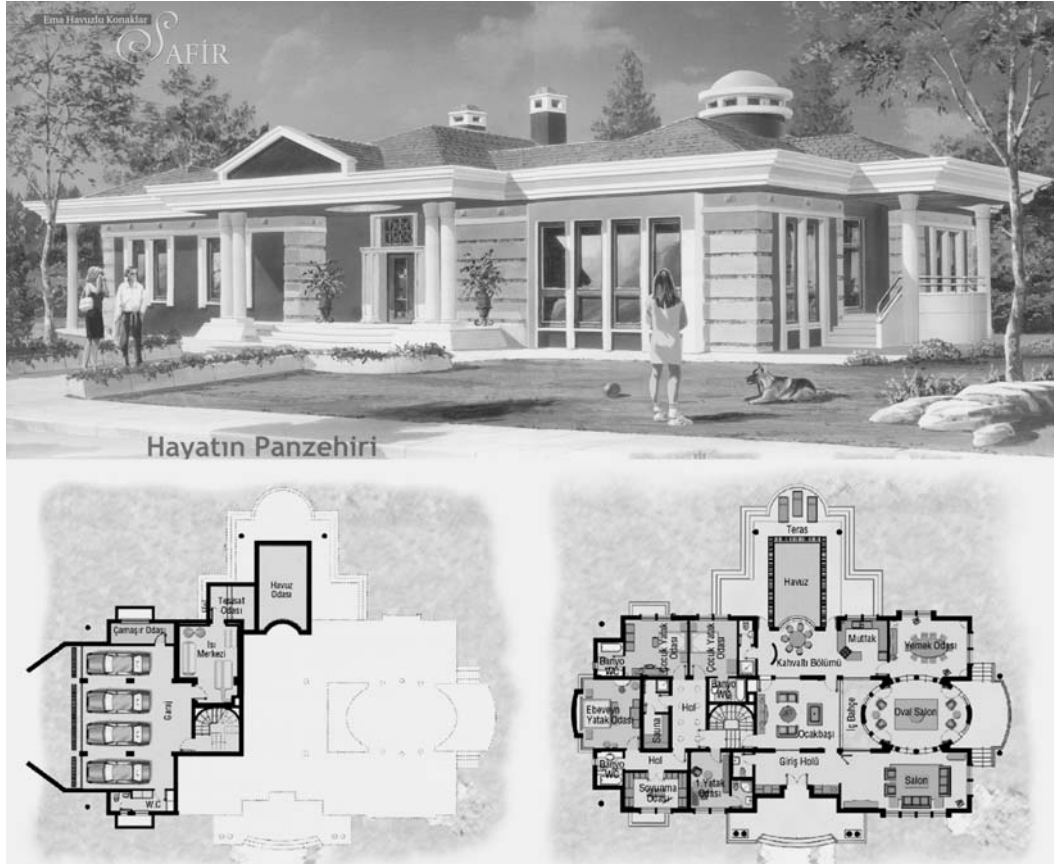


Figure 3.3.3.3.1 Representation and floor plans of ‘Safir’ type from the brochure of Ema Havuzlu Konaklar

Besides its iconographic power, its exaggerated programmatic additions and the magnitude, the planimetric layout of this housing does not offer a distinct solution and thus provide any possibility for an alternative housing in an individual parcel. Rather it is designed within 520 square meters net area in one-story except the basement that accommodates a heating center, a mechanical room and a garage with a capacity of four cars. It is composed of two separate zones that are symmetrically arranged with reference to an intermediary axis, which accommodates an entry hall, “*ocakbaşı*”, and a dining area that leads to a terrace with a swimming pool. To the left of this axis a separate zone positions itself in 112 square meters and includes four bedrooms with individual bathrooms. To the right, on the other hand, there comes a *salon*, an additional “oval” (carefully selected names are also used as a part of a marketing strategy), a kitchen and a lunchroom that are all separated partially by mini interior-gardens. (Figure 3.3.3.3.1)

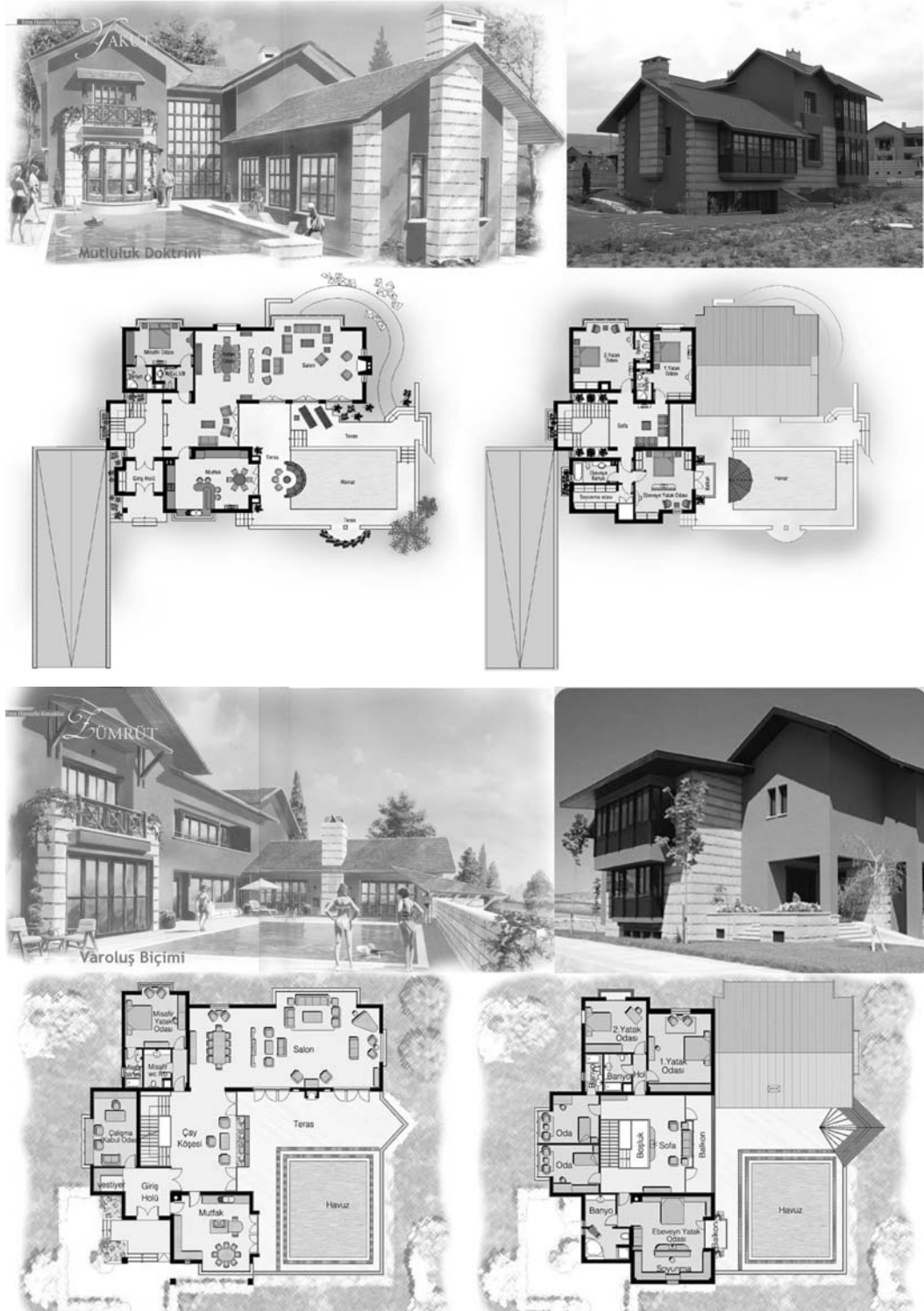


Figure 3.3.3.2 Representations, floor plans and general images of ‘Yakut (above) and ‘Zümrüt’ (below) types from the brochure and web-page (www.emainsaat.com) of Ema Havuzlu Konaklar

The other two types called as “Yakut” and “Zümrüt” *konaks* suggest similar spatial patterns in terms of both their planimetric layouts and the proposed final images. They, however, come in different sizes. For instance, “Yakut”, which covers a 660-square-meter net area over three levels, is to be advertised with a slogan that goes as “a doctrine of happiness” and it offers a perspective to depict a stylish scene of a terrace with the house in the background. The ad also reads “a new century’s culture of life awaits to be lived in – the Ema Havuzlu Konaklar, Yakut. It is designed for the families who want to live their dream house in a more modest scale”.¹²⁶ The other type named as “Zümrüt” also covers a 930-square-meter net area in a three-story configuration. It is described as “a from of existence...much more above the ordinary standards of any villa, a meeting point for the privileged people who want to breathe a fist class atmosphere: the Ema Havuzlu Konaklar – Zümrüt”.¹²⁷ What is strongly stressed via these representations is a definition of new practices as the indicators of an original life style. And seemingly, the “*konak*” is an ultimate externalization of such experiences and of “a distinct life style”. As the brochure repeatedly dictates “all your expectations from home...with its swimming pool that will serve you a peace of water throughout the year and with a terrace that will be a space for breakfasts, siestas, and garden parties, reaching your ideal home is very close.”¹²⁸

However what is new in both housing units is a form of isolation as well as a secret place where such private additions as a terrace and a swimming pool now seem to be possible. The houses are designed in a way to be oriented this front by positioning bedrooms, working room, wet spaces, and staircase to the rear and salon, kitchen and floor halls to the front.. Obviously, neither the planimetric layout nor the proposed program reflect a unique solution in terms of spatial quality and/or relation in-between the levels or settled topography. The ground floor accommodates a central hall, called as “*taşlık*” in Yakut and “tea corner” in Zümrüt, as well as a kitchen, a living room, a guest room, and an internal

¹²⁶ “Yeni yüzyılın yaşam kültürü, Ema Havuzlu Konaklar-Yakut’ta hayata geçeceği günleri sayıyor. Ema Havuzlu Konaklar-Yakut, düşlediği evi daha mütevazı ölçeklerde yaşamak isteyenler için tasarlandı.”

¹²⁷ “Varoluş biçimi...Alışılmış villa standartlarının kat kat üzerinde, first-class bir atmosferi solumak isteyen seçkinlerin buluşma noktası: Ema Havuzlu Konaklar-Zümrüt. Burada suyun ve güneşin doyumsuz tadını sevdiklerinizle birlikte doyusya çıkarırken terasınız, seçkin buluşmaların mekanı olacak. Çünkü siz bunu hakediyorsunuz.”

¹²⁸ “Bir evden tüm bekledikleriniz...Bütün bir yıl size suyun huzurunu sunacak havuzu, sabah kahvaltılarının, siestaların, beş çaylarının, garden –party’lerin mekanı terası ile hayalinizdeki eve kavuşmaya az kaldı”

staircase. The space where the staircase ends up is now called as “sofa” and leads to three bedrooms in Yakut and five bedrooms in Zümürüt. The garage and the auxiliary spaces like the laundry and mechanical rooms, the boilers and the maid’s quarter (solved in a most compact way) as well as the rooms for leisurely activities are placed on the basement. Despite all these additions, the overall architecture is still very conventional in terms of its *façade* articulation and its volumetric affect; for instance the roof is only to use a maximum attic space and its *façade* treatment is made out of artificial and gimmicky window bay projections. (Figure3.3.3.3.2)

The Ema Bilkent Housing that is located right next to the Bilkent III offers two types of individual villas and two types of apartment blocks, called as “residence”. The commercial brochure starts with a general descriptive narration and computer aided modeling of each housing under a slogan that reads “distinct choices for distinct tastes”. Among the proposals, B type villa calls for a special attention due to its intriguing design and its advertising strategy. Its representation begins with a sloganist assertion as “a special world for you with everything” and continues as “B types villas while reflecting a perfect harmony of comfort and aesthetic, carries the traces of traditional Turkish architecture at the same time... The B type villas offer a life to you that is far beyond the ordinary standards of any villa”.¹²⁹

The final image and the design principles of the proposed housing reflect the virtues of an individually created “distinct life” that transcends the standards of “ordinary villas” (that seems to be self-referential again; whose standards for what villa?). And yet, this time the villa is well constructed around the elements of traditional Turkish architecture, made by shifty and defective ways, and legitimized through its self-referential associations, all-metaphorical in nature: “perfect harmony of comfort and aesthetic”. In other words, the house claims a legitimate position for itself that is to confer a status by the help of an iconography used in an authentic architecture. The use of stone cladding all through the first floor, reinforced concrete projections with ordinary window openings, imitating the traditional bay windows, and fake wooden buttresses as if those are to support the roof eaves seem to be sufficient to label the house as “carrying the traces of traditional Turkish

¹²⁹ “B tipi villalar konfor ve estetiğin kusuruz uyumunu yansıtırken geleneksel Türk mimarisinden de izler taşıyor... B tipi villalar, size alışılmış villa standartlarının çok üzerinde bir yaşam teklif ediyor.”

architecture”. Although it is not mentioned and represented explicitly within the brochure, with the spatial organization of the layout and with those carefully selected names like “sofa” that are believed to be peculiar in traditional *Turkish House*, the issue of “originality” seems to be in their agenda. However, neither its contemporary program nor the proposed urban fabric in which the individual houses are scattered all around and duplicated on individual parcels, regardless of the immediate environment, seems to meet the so-long praised values of the traditional *Turkish House*. Rather the very consumed concept of *Turkishness*, with its deceitful use, is now translated into a symbolic world, a mere object of commodity, and it demands a satisfaction through consumption. The program also reflects similar attitudes as in its counterparts: mechanical rooms, a laundry room, a fitness room, a garage for two cars, and a lower saloon in the bedroom; a salon, a work-out room, and a kitchen all connected to the garden by pseudo-projections in the ground floor; and three bedrooms, a hobby room and a “sofa” in the first floor all within 730 square meters. (Figure 3.3.3.3.3)



Figure 3.3.3.3.3 Computer aided perspectives and floor plans of a B Type of Villa from the brochure and web-page (www.emainsaat.com) of Ema Bilkent Housing.

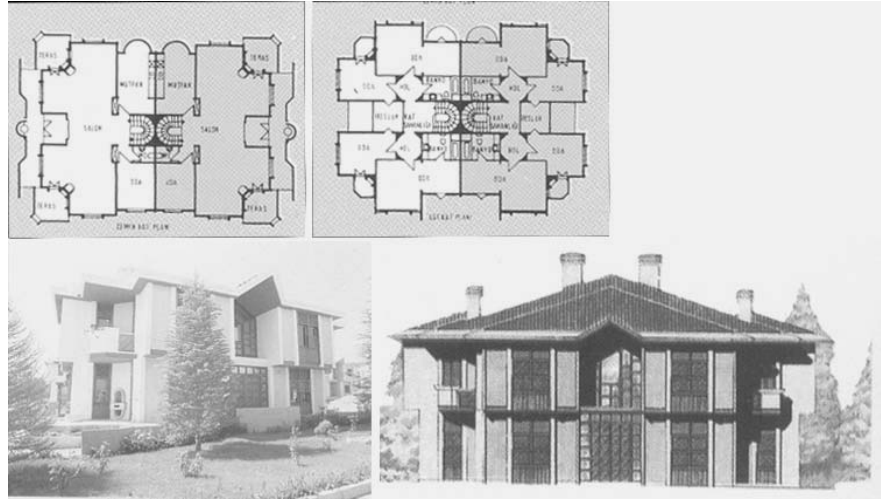


Figure 3.3.3.4 Floor plans, a general view and an elevation of Ladin type of detached villas from the brochure of Bilkent I settlement

A similar design and marketing strategy can be observed in the representation of Bilkent I. The Bilkent I, which is constructed as the first stage of following constructions in collaboration of the Emlak Bankası as financier and the Tepe Construction Company as contractor, offers two types of villas in row house typology (composed of duplex housings) and three types of high-rise blocks. They come with a motto of “bringing a brand-new dimension, a new breath to the concept of housing”¹³⁰. Among them the “Ladin Villas”, which are detached, twin houses as triplex, narrate a poetic line that reads “such a harmonious settlement with nature, as if it has a splendid eaves of pavilions in its Ottoman Roof form and beautiful bay windows of mansions in its window...”¹³¹ The verbal representation of it continues with some metaphors for a desired nature, and yet, its so called “legitimate” position is formulated via such authentic elements in a fragmented and deceitful way. In short, the idea of distinctness appears to be totally fabricated through fictitious architecture, which is, in fact, nothing but a mere symbolic articulation. Beside its iconographic assertiveness the plans also reflect familiar spatial patterns, in which the spaces are arranged symmetrically with respect to the central axis that functions as a core of the building and accommodates an internal staircase as well as the service spaces. In parallel to that the salon, the rooms and the kitchen are all placed in a way to surround this

¹³⁰ “Bilkent konutları...konut kavramına yepyeni bir boyut, yepyeni bir soluk getiriyor.”

¹³¹ “doğayla öyle uyumlu bir yerleşimi var ki... Osmanlı çatısında görkemli köşkerin saçakları var sanki. Penceresinde güzelim konakların cumbaları...”

central core in order to get enough light. The house also includes a salon, a kitchen and a bedroom with individual toilet on the ground floor; four bedrooms and two bathrooms (each arranged with respect to its symmetrical pairs and the two rooms) on the second floor; a garage and a technical space all in 350 square meters. (Figure 3.3.3.3.4)

Lobelya Houses are another significant examples through which the term “authenticity” comes to be exploited as an embodiment of an alternative way of life. It is designed as a high-rise pointed block. Primarily the settlement is promoted with respect to an envied life style and its mere images like a happy nucleus family enjoying their environment in the middle of nowhere or leisurely activities within a desired relation with nature, etc. Here we observe an architecture that works as a mediator between a “distinct life style” and its authentic spatialization. In this respect, the term authenticity used to describe the housing itself comes to the fore in a way that it is carefully mingled into the very representative narration of “distinctiveness”. The ad reads, “Accommodating 176 flats within five high rise blocks that are designed with authentic Turkish architecture, Lobelya houses propose an environment where kids could breathe clean air and play and make sports safely”.¹³² The notion of authenticity is now exercised through the attachment of subtle elements to an ordinary apartment block in order to claim its distinct position. Nevertheless, the planimetric layouts of the suggested five identical flats do not actually meet a distinct position as so far their well-known apartment flats and their planning principles that cover 130 to 170 square meters are carefully considered. (Figure 3.3.3.3.5)

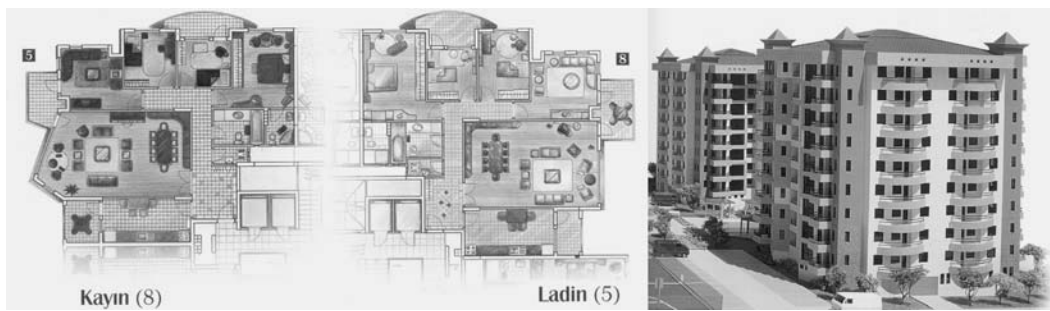


Figure 3.3.3.3.5 Floor plans of the two types of flats and a partial image of a model from the brochure of Lobelya Housings.

¹³² “ Özgün Türk Mimarisi ile tasarlanmış 5 adet çok katlı yapısında 176 daireye sahip Lobelya Konutları; öncelikle çocukların temiz hava soluyabileceği, güvenle oyun oynayıp, spor yapabilecekleri bir mekanda sunulmuştur”

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The space, as a basic outcome of architectural discipline, could be involved within consumption practices in two distinct ways. In one of them it is a part of social sign systems in which the consumption patterns turn to be mere commodities that are produced and then consumed within social practices. Furthermore, besides being consumption object the space has a potential to direct or organize the consumption activities more actively. Within this frame, contemporary housing as an object of an architectural production could be a domain both for the consumption activities and for the consumption itself – the study primarily focused on the former role of housing. Connected to this perspective, it is argued that the production, perception and consumption processes of contemporary housing are largely determined through the elements of consumer culture and the contemporary housing represents the reflections of dominant cultural forms and values, established primarily around the values of this specific realm. Here, it could be argued that the housing is a dominant form of architectural production, in which the characteristics and the values of the consumer culture are forcefully revealed even they seem to be contradictory to the very nature of architectural culture. In other words, they widely represent a conflicting antagonism between the premises of architectural profession and the consumer culture, and for that reason, housing becomes a multiple scene for continuities as well as discontinuities in-between different values. In addition to this, the consumption-oriented values are made themselves explicit as the legitimate and ultimate merits mostly within the representational media of housing.

To elaborate this “conceptual conflict” between the values of consumer and architectural cultures that signifies a sort of collision within the production, perception and consumption processes of housing, the study selected a new form of contemporary housing provision; the gated enclaves. The gated enclaves are newly emerged housing settlements that are

commonly located on larger properties, mostly at the peripheries or newly developing areas at the outskirts of today's cities. Within the face of rapid urban change, needing recent transformations and such radical changes in the production and consumption patterns since the 1970s, basically two social motives stimulate the rise of these housing settlements. Firstly they appear to form socially homogeneous residential areas as they redefine the relation between public and private. Secondly they are to create steady social communities and neighborhoods that are occupied by the members of similar income groups by means of exclusionary devices like walls, fences, and gates that surround them. In other words, they are segregated urban spatializations in order to create a form of "habitat" for the high-income level groups. Additionally, it could be argued that these newly emerged residential settlements are to assure the most expected values, constructed around the themes of privacy, exclusivity and prestige, by the aid of totally privatized and controlled community structures. The first examples of the gated enclaves in Turkey flourished after the 1980s especially at the periphery of İstanbul and then Ankara in order to satisfy the needed desires of the new members of the "upper middle class", who were in search of spatial betterments as required by their life styles that are based on distinctive consumption patterns. In Ankara, they mostly appeared along the southwest axis, especially in Beysukent, Çayyolu, and Ümitköy districts.

With reference to the before-mentioned functions of housing in Turkey, as listed by Tekeli¹³³, all these particular housings as well as the housing settlements represent that their production and accordingly consumption as a commodity, and their nature as an investment for speculation has a primary role in the entire process. Furthermore, it should be added at this point that their primary role is to fabricate anew function, which is the "symbolic value" that is also attached to transvalue its "exchange value" into "image value" as discussed by Cengizkan.¹³⁴ The transvalued exchange value of these housing settlements is described and determined primarily by self-referential value systems, which are constructed independently from the values of academic or professional architectural culture and externalized merely around an overarching theme of "a new/distinct lifestyle".

¹³³ Tekeli İlhan, 1996, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda Ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, pp. 1-9

¹³⁴ Ali Cengizkan, 2004, "Özgünlük ve Tekrarın Tekrarı: Türkiye'de Konutta Yeni Gelişmeler ve Yeni Barınma", *Yeni Barınma*, Alman Kültür Merkezi: Ankara, pp.28-43

Therefore, the study was designed to discuss the spatial reflections of the theme of “distinct life style” within the frame of consumer culture, which could be perceived as an extension of flexible accumulation. Featherstone, in this respect, mentions that three main perspectives are developed to identify the consumer culture. According to the followers of the first perspective it is premised upon the expansion of capitalist commodity production, which needed the accumulation of material culture in the form of consumer goods and sites. This perspective is basically leaned on an assumption that the commodity logic and instrumental rationality within the sphere of production that is appropriately a continuous expansion of capitalist accumulation is also noticeable in the side of mere consumption. In other words, it is related with the production of consumption in which a vast accumulation of goods has resulted in the triumph of exchange value, and in which all essential differences, qualities and the aspects of life are transformed into quantities in parallel to the instrumental calculation of goods in production. The second perspective is dealt with the modes of consumption in which the satisfaction is derived from particular goods and the way the goods are used as mere symbols. The focus here is given that the satisfaction and the status depend upon displaying and sustaining differences through the ways in which people use goods as communicators in order to mark their social bonds. The third perspective is to question the emotional aspects of human being by consumption by which people utilizes images, signs and symbolic goods that are used to summon up dreams, desires, fantasies for emotional fulfillments in narcissistically pleasing themselves.¹³⁵

Since the study initially deals with the strategies of fabricating “a distinct life style” through representational media of housing, our argument is established primarily around the first perspective; namely the production of consumption. For this theory the main problem should reveal the ways in which the dominant exchange value has managed to obliterate the memory of the original use value of the goods, and in which the commodities become free to take up a secondary or *ersatz* (artificial) use value. Baudrillard draws an argument to develop an alternative commodification theory in order to answer the question as of that “consumption entails active manipulation of signs. This becomes central to the late capitalist society where sign and commodity have come together to produce a

¹³⁵ Mike Featherstone, 1991, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 13-28

commodity sign. The autonomy of signifier, in other words, the manipulation of signs in media and advertisement are now able to float free from the surrounding objects and are available for use in a multiplicity of relations.”¹³⁶ This approach includes the role of signifier, or to quote Bourdieu, “new cultural intermediaries” employed in media, design, fashion and money as well as in intellectually developed information marketing and the dissemination of symbolic goods.¹³⁷ In parallel to this it should be added here that the study is not to examine the modes of consumption, nor to decode the different modes of life styles, habits, preferences etc. (consumers’ socio-economic or demographic profiles). Rather it is believed that the assertion of a distinct life style and its necessary elements are created self referentially and made public merely through the channels of a specific media – the settlements’ original pamphlets and brochures. Within them it is intended to be defined as a kind of modes, habits, preferences of a desired life with the overarching theme of “a distinct life style” that claims to be just appropriate to the targeted customers’ housings and their environments. Therefore, the study focused on their original commercial brochures and revealed the tactical ways by which a “distinct life style” is made public and the qualities of the housings and their environments through which this distinctness is accentuated and legitimized. In this respect, some of the represented values on housings, their environments, and such architectural qualities were put into speculative discussion through which such concepts as “distinctness” and “homogenization” were also in the agenda.

For further elaboration of the discussion on distinctness, the evaluation process of the selected examples was designed within a dual structure — two different phases. In the first phase, the study revealed the fabrication strategies of the theme of “a distinct life style”. As for the second phase, the study investigated how this idea of distinctness made public itself and satisfied the expectations through the proposed housings’ spatializations. Finally, we also answered how and to what extent architectural formations and their environments responded to the above claims as “distinctness” constituted a genuine position within the academic or professional architectural culture.

¹³⁶ Mike Featherstone, 1991, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, p. 15

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 19

The study utilized this dual structure under three subheadings in order to evaluate the spatial outcomes of the idea of distinctness. The two of them were designed to examine the accentuated environmental qualities of the settlements while the last one stressed some of the strategies of transforming the theme of “a distinct lifestyle” into the theme of “ideal home”. Within the representative brochures it is observed that the theme of “a distinct life style” is fabricated upon primarily proposing an alternative “ideal” city life. Its definitions are formulated with reference to the propagated problems of the existing city like congestion, noise, filth etc. The assertion of an alternative city life is basically objectified and tried to be satisfied with two diverse formulations: in terms of the settlements’ scales and premises.

The first formulation of an alternative city life is the suburban complexes that suggest a variety of housing units within different configurations along with catering additional, privatized social spaces and services in order to accommodate what a city center can offer. The examples of this group are planned on a regional level and located at Ankara’s new development axis: along the Eskişehir highway. Within the commercial representations of these settlements, the verbal and visual descriptions strongly signify an “ideal”, “privileged”, “distinct” individual and a community, and their distinctive habits, leisure time activities, behaviours, preferences etc. It is observed that the idea of an “alternative” city life as part of “a distinct life style” is primarily made public in relation to the idea of “desired nature” that is fabricated as a rival to today’s cities. Such an assertion, in fact, reveals itself mostly not within the overall environmental qualities, but within the needed relations between the housing units and their immediate surroundings. However, the housing units rather replicate a familiar urban tissue in a loose-pattern; a parcel based urban fabric. The units whether in the form of row housing or apartment blocks are always placed in a well-defined building plot and pulled back from the adjacent parcels and/or car ways in order to preserve certain proximity to each other. This attitude could be interpreted as a conscious preference of their architecture, in which the intended social homogeneity and the desired relation with the immediate environment can now be resolved. It was also observed that the overall patterns of the selected environments seem to be attained through the duplication of privatized individual sub-spaces along housing units, in which the same relation between the housing units and their immediate surroundings is re-established

regardless of their specific location. The examples of the second proposal are planned on building islands and they offer a limited number of housing units with additional common spaces and services. Compared to the suburban complexes they seem to be modest in scale, however, they also come with a premise that can be read as an “alternative choice” because they are either located within the prestigious districts of Ankara or along the same development axis as in the previous formulation. Within their representations the idea of an “alternative choice” reveals itself through similar lines with the preceding one; again they stress the importance of “nature”. However, what is clear about their propagated definition of “nature” is only the greenery that is left over spaces.

It has been observed that their claim over distinctiveness is formulated around two alternative city patterns. Therefore, in order to propose a solid interpretation of all these examples we are forced to make sub-themes that are to explain the nature of different city lives. It can be said that many of the examples utilize some of these themes quite often, and claim to be a self-sufficient city. The definition of “becoming alternative” primarily revolves around what the existing city has and what it cannot offer for the so-called privileged. At this point some of the spatial parameters can be listed as:

- From a parcel-based architecture to island-based settlement patterns has a priority, however, the formation of the relation between the housings and their immediate surroundings seems to be quite the same in nature as in the city;
- Duplication is inevitably the most used planning strategy for economic reasons: as a result, the homogenization of housing as well as the settlement is inescapable;
- Common spaces are believed to present what a city cannot offer, however, they are located in a way that they occupy mostly left-over spaces or become peripheral and provisioned privatized services revolves around the same promises;
- Most importantly, the architectural program still replicates what the apartment complexes in Turkey has continually re-produced for decades; their claim of being complete different spatially and thus stylistically falls quite short in fulfilling their basic premises.

For the final subheading of our spatial evaluation, the study listed some of the strategies with respect to “ideal home”. In other words, we have discussed some of the preceded values, which are reiterated and accentuated within the design and advertisement processes of “ideal home” as an ultimate form of an “ideal life style”. Within this frame, three dominant discourses have been observed:

The most common way of fabricating an “ideal home” is to represent it as a continuous definition of an ideal life style, in which housing units are associated with artificially created symbols of an envied way of life. In this way, the distinct position of an “ideal home” is attempted to be defined or legitimized not with reference to its intrinsic spatial or architectural qualities, but its metaphoric associations with discursive or visual descriptions of an ideal way of life like habits, preferences, leisure time activities of targeted individuals. Another significant method of constructing an “ideal home” as a domain of a distinct way of life is the utilization of such concepts as “innovation” and “brand new solutions” that are attributed to houses. Besides being part of a privileged environment of any given settlement, the housing units are more explicitly claimed to be acquired their distinct/legitimate positions through self-referential elements in forming unique or innovative designs. In a similar manner, another dominant advertising mean that is observed within the representations is the use of peculiar architectural elements or terminologies attributed to the housing units in order to define the proposed environment. However, neither the suggested environment nor its fictitiously proposed fragments are built appropriately to respond to the requirements of a particular terminology. Rather their meanings are emptied out forcefully, and they are exposed to “pastiche” as mere symbols of a distinct way of life. On the other hand, the housing units do not form distinct architectural and spatial configuration in terms of their plan layout, program, spatial sequence of spaces, articulations in the mass and elevations, an overall tectonic language, constructional materials, and their way of applications etc. It would be claimed that they all rather present a repeated pattern and could be categorized according to their spatial formations and programmatic additions. Moreover, it would also be argued at this point that the distinctness is sought and formulated not around the spatial quality of the overall planning, but primarily around a spatial quantity through similar programmatic additions that are articulated with well-known housing schemes.

In these commercials both the images and the discursive descriptions promise and connote a new home, they also define totally different, alternative lifestyles that certainly have symbolic values. It is believed at this point that as Öncü suggests, symbols are in fact mere myths that make the house both different and ideal: “a global myth such as our ideal home, whose meaning appears to be self evident and natural, connotes an ensemble of diverse

elements, the relationships among which have to be actively constructed by social agents—advertisers as well as designers”.¹³⁸ The legitimate distinct positions of these housing settlements as well as the units are formulated not around the values of architectural culture, but much around the values of the targeted prospective consumers. Following Öncü’s survey on recent developments in İstanbul, one can now suggest that in Ankara’s competitive economic and political environment, the upper-middle classes also actively pursue a variety of social and cultural strategies as well as practices to maintain their distinct position that is to define a different way of life. The motives of their status and consumption are now deployed through the forces of market.¹³⁹ The consumer choice is structured and made available through the advertisement industry and it was thoroughly believed that the end product itself is always “distinct”. This study, on the other hand, anticipates that such a theme of “distinctness” is thoroughly superficial and the difference is imaginary, mythical, and based upon the forces of consumer culture; however, the necessary cultural motors of this unceasing process are yet to be unrevealed.

¹³⁸ Ayşe Öncü, 1997, “The Myth of ‘Ideal home Travels Across Cultural Borders To İstanbul ’”, A. Öncü and P. Weyland (eds.), *Space Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, p. 70

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 70

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APPENDIX A



Figure A.1 Locations of ten gated enclaves selected in Ankara