THE PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION:
DİKMEN 5TH STAGE GECEKONDU NEIGHBORHOOD AND
PARK ORAN GATED COMMUNITY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

THE PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION: DİKMEN 5TH STAGE GECEKONDU NEIGHBORHOOD AND PARK ORAN GATED COMMUNITY

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The aim of this thesis is to understand if there is spatial segregation between Dikmen 5th stage gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community. If so, it will be examined how spatial segregation is observed following the use/ experience and perception of space of the inhabitants. This thesis will also trace if there are differences according to gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status in the use/ experience of two groups. Dikmen 5th stage gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community residents' perception and use of space will be analyzed in the light of theory of space of Lefebvre, specifically around his spatial triad and his conceptualization of abstract space. The results of this thesis denote the existence of spatial segregation, which reveals itself in the experience and perception of space of the residents, between the two mentioned neighborhoods.

Keywords: Gecekondu, Gated Communities, Spatial Segregation, Use and Perception of Space, Lefebvre

ÖZ

MEKANSAL AYRIŞMA ALGISI VE DENEYİMİ:
DİKMEN 5. ETAP GECEKONDU MAHALLESİ VE
PARK ORAN GÜVENLİKLİ SİTESİ

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Bu tezin amacı, Dikmen 5. Etap gecekondu mahallesi ile Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi arasında mekansal ayrışma olup olmadığını anlamaktır. Bu iki yerleşim yeri arasında mekansal ayrışma varsa, bu, yerleşim yerleri sakinlerinin mekan kullanımı ve mekan algısı üzerinden incelenecektir. Ayrıca, bu tez iki grubun mekan kullanımında toplumsal cinsiyet, etnisite, sosyo-ekonomik statü açısından farklılıkların olup olmadığı araştıracaktır. Bu çalışmada Dikmen 5.etap gecekondu mahallesi ve Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi sakinlerinin mekansal algısı ve mekan kullanımı, Lefebvre'nin mekan teorisi, özellikle onun mekansal üçlüsü ve soyut mekan kavramsallaştırması çerçevesinde analiz edilecektir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, söz konusu iki mahalle arasında – mahalle sakinlerinin mekan kullanımında ve algısında kendini gösteren-mekansal ayrışmanın olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gecekondu, Güvenlikli Site, Mekansal Ayrışma, Mekan Kullanımı ve Algısı, Lefebvre

To the Memory of My Dear Uncle Dr. Ergün Erkin Özmen

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made it possible for me to collect the data of this research. Lastly, I would like to thank the gatekeepers Hüseyin and Hülya for their help which made it easier to access the target group.

It should be kindly noted that I am the sole responsible for all the possible defects and failures which might be found in this study.

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DVP   Dikmen Valley Project

DVRtSM   Dikmen Valley Sheltering Movement

GAM   The Greater Ankara Municipality

GCs   Gated Communities

MHA   The Mass Housing Administration

MMA   Metropol Municipality of Ankara

SSM   Snowball Sampling Method

TOKİ   Toplu Konut İdaresi

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study, Dikmen 5th Stage gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community residents' perception and experience of space are sought to be analyzed around the issue of spatial segregation. Lefebvre's theory of space is suggested as a theoretical framework to analyze the issue of spatial segregation in relation to two different residential areas. There lies a basic curiosity, stemming from daily urban experience, behind this study. While I was walking around the city, I realized that there was something separating two places which are Park Oran and the close by gecekondu neighborhood from each other. Although there was no visible concrete wall dividing these two places, the socio-spatial distance between gecekondu houses and high- rise apartment blocks of the gated community were visible. After then, I could not stop asking what makes this distance between two residential areas which are physically close to each other. What is the 'thing' that constructs an "invisible wall" within space except economic aspects? Thus, I became eager to trace spatial segregation over Dikmen gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community which have physical proximity.

As mentioned above, this study focuses on two different neighborhoods in terms of their socio-economic and socio-spatial structure. One of them is a gecekondu neighborhood and the other is a gated community. Around Turkey in general and in Ankara specifically, there are many examples of gecekondu areas and gated residential areas. Considering that former is decreasing in current situation because of being subjected to urban renewal projects and latter is increasing dramatically as an outcome of ever-expanding housing sector in Turkey. The specificity related to these two residential areas examined in this study is their physical proximity. In other words, Dikmen 5th Stage gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community are selected intentionally regarding the physical juxtaposition between

these two places. The analysis will mainly focus on this specific feature of the cases, but also separate characteristics of each residential area will be discussed. Before mentioning the content of chapters, the concepts of gecekondu and gated community will be explained briefly.

The term gecekondu "which in Turkish literally means "built overnight", refers to temporary housing built in the city's periphery that serves as the shelter of the poor (mostly rural-to-urban migrants) in the moral economy of society" (Erman & Eken, 2003: 58). Erman & Eken add that "while some gecekondu settlements occupy the city's peripheries, some have ended up being close to the city center as the city has expanded, and even in some cases middle-class housing projects have grown up in their midst" (Ibid.). The case of Park Oran, which is a middle/ upper class housing project, supports this argument as being located close by the gecekondu neighborhood.

Wacquant points out that there are "special terms" to designate "those stigmatized neighbourhoods situated at the very bottom of the hierarchical system of places that compose the metropolis. Ghetto in the United States, banlieue in France, quarteri periferici (or degradati) in Italy, problemomrade in Sweden, favela in Brazil and villa miseria in Argentina". Regarding Wacquant's further explanation, gecekondu can be added to the list in the context of Turkey[1]. According to Wacquant,

> They are known, to outsiders and insiders alike, as the 'lawless zones', the 'problem estates', the no-go areas' or the 'wild districts' of the city, territories of deprivation and dereliction to be feared, fled from and shunned because they are - or such is their reputation, but in these matters perception contributes powerfully to fabricating reality - hotbeds of violence, vice and social dissolution…they are typically depicted from above and from afar in sombre and monochrome tones. And social life in them thus appears to be everywhere the same: barren, chaotic and brutish (2007: 1).

While gecekondu areas are mostly considered as 'spaces of urban poor', gated communities are mainly referred to enclosed residential areas designed for middle and/or upper classes. According to the definition of Blakely (2007: 475) gated communities "are residential areas with restricted access, such that spaces

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[1] This does not mean the term gecekondu completely corresponds to those terms. For the differences between gecekondu and ghetto, for example, see Tatlıdil, E. (1989). Kentleşme ve Gecekondu. Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları: İzmir.

normally considered public have been privatized. Physical barriers -walled or fenced perimeters- and gated or guarded entrances control access". Lemanski puts it; "gated communities inhabit spaces that are closely restricted, monitored, and controlled; they are reserved exclusively for residents and their appointed guests, with no access for uninvited outsiders" (2010: 289).

Gated communities have different names in different countries. In England, they are named "walled communities" or "enclosed neighborhoods", in Spanish speaking countries, they are "barrios cerrados", "fraccionamientos corrodes" or "urbanizaciones privadas". In Portugal, they become "condominios fechado" (Yakışan in Akalın, 2016: 930).

Dikmen 5th Stage gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community have different socio-spatial "properties" which will be discussed in below sections. The perception of people is important in terms of reproduction of "norms" and "properties" assigned to places. With this understanding, the residents' perception and use of space will be analyzed. As Lynch (1960: 3) puts it, "we must consider not just the city itself, but the city as being perceived by its inhabitants'.

Before arriving to the analysis of the inhabitants' perception and experience of space considering the issue of spatial segregation, first, research design, research questions, interview questions, the scope and aim of the study and the difficulties faced to enter the field will be explained in the methodology chapter.

In the next part, the gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community will be described regarding the specific features of each. The socio- demographic structure of each neighborhood will be identified separately. The description of Dikmen Valley, the historical development of Dikmen Valley Urban Project and the resistance against the project will be discussed as well.

In the following chapter, the development of gecekondu and gated community will be discussed in the context of Turkey. The concept of gated community and the emergence and development of gated community will be added to the discussion.

In the part of theoretical framework, the views of Simmel and Marx on space will be presented. After then, Lefebvre's theory of production of space will be discussed, particularly considering his unitary theory of space, his conceptualization of abstract space and its characteristics.

The following chapter will be included the literature review on spatial segregation.

In the next section the experiences and perception of space of two neighborhoods' residents will be analyzed regarding the role of ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status in the use of space. In the analysis of the perception of the residents, it will be looked at the views from the gecekondu neighborhood to the gated community as well as the views from the gated community to the gecekondu neighborhood.

In the next part, the issue of spatial segregation will be raised, and it will be taken into consideration in the light of conceptual framework of this study.

Finally, in the conclusion part, the findings will be briefly reconsidered.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Qualitative Research Design

As it was stated, this study is about the perception and use of space of people living in two different neighborhoods in Ankara, which are Dikmen Valley 5th Phase Gecekondu Neighborhoods and Park Oran Gated Community. In order to grasp the perceptions and use of space of urban dwellers qualitative research design was formed.

As Robson highlights, qualitative research designs are "flexible rather than fixed, and inductive rather than following a strict sequence or derived from an initial decision" (in Maxwell, 2013:2). Before explaining why qualitative strategy is chosen to conduct this study, the difference between flexible and fixed research design is tried to be expressed. While "a flexible design evolves during data collection", "a fixed design strategy calls for a tight pre-specification" before the collection of data…Also in a flexible design "data are typically non-numerical (usually in the form of words), hence this type is often referred to as a qualitative strategy". On the other hand, in a fixed one "data are almost always in the form of numbers; hence this type is commonly referred to as quantitative strategy"[2] (Robson, 2002: 87). According to Maxwell (2013: 13-14), "quantitative researchers tend to see the world in terms of variables; they view explanation as a demonstration that there is a statistical relationship between different variables". In contrast, qualitative researchers "tend to see the world in terms of people, situations, events, and the processes that connect these; explanation is based on an analysis of how some situations and events influence others" (Ibid.). Hence, as Maxwell argues, "the

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[2] However, as Robson (2002: 87) also notes that "flexible designs can include the collection of quantitative data. Fixed designs rarely include qualitative data (but could do)".

strengths of qualitative research derive significantly from this process orientation toward the world, and the inductive approach, focus on specific situations or people, and emphasis on descriptions rather than numbers…" (Ibid.). He also highlights the importance of "understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in. I am using "meaning" here in a broad sense, including cognition, affect, intentions, and anything else that can be encompassed in what qualitative researchers often refer to as the "participants' perspective." (Ibid.). Each of these features of qualitative research contributes to the decision of conducting qualitative research in this study. Here, the flexible nature of qualitative research is thought as convenient to understand how people perceive their urban practice at the neighborhood level. Since the qualitative research gives the opportunity to comprehend the perception of people by analyzing their views in detail.

In order to understand participants' perspective without missing their meaning about their daily urban practices, it is applied to the method of in-depth interview in the process of data collection. For this, it is carried out semi-structured interview which is a "type of interview widely used in flexible design" (Robson, 2002: 278). As it is common in this type of interview[3], the initial topic is identified, and the open-ended questions are developed. During the in-depth interviews, it is aimed to grasp the view of participants through the open-ended questions[4] which enable comprehensive understanding about the topic. Open-ended questions are also found useful for this research regarding some other advantages of them. Robson (2002) lists these advantages as follows; (1) Open ended questions are "flexible", (2) "they allow you to go into more depth or clear up any misunderstandings" ... (3) "encourage co-operation and rapport", (4) "allow you to make a truer assessment of what the respondent really believes", (5) "can produce unexpected or unanticipated answers" (p. 276).

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[3] Other types of Interview are structured and unstructured interviews. In the former, questions and order of the questions are pre-formulated. In the latter, general themes are planned but questions are not pre-determined.

[4] See Appendix B for the interview questions.

Interviewees were chosen among the residents of a Gecekondu Neighborhood and Park-Oran Gated Community. The population of the study was identified as residents of two selected neighborhoods. The sampling of the study was based on a purposeful sample, trying to reach out people living in Park Oran gated community and Dikmen 5th Phase gecekondu neighborhood.

The participants were reached through snowball sampling method (SSM). This method allows to get contact with next possible interviewee thanks to the reference of a previous interviewee. It is explained as:

> SSM, or chain-referral sampling, is a distinct method of convenience sampling which has been proven to be especially useful in conducting research in marginalized societies. This method is commonly used to locate, access and involve people from specific populations in cases where the researcher anticipates difficulties in creating a representative sample of the research population. It has been suggested that SSM is probably the most effective method to access hidden and/or hard to reach populations (Cohen & Arieli, 2011: 427).

In this study, snowball sampling method is used as the main method to find the participants for the interviews. Since, physical and social structure of neighborhoods limit the access to the field to conduct research[5]. This problem of access to the target population was overcome through the usage of SSM. Those who were interviewed acknowledged to participate the study because of previous participant. As Berg "claims that regarding SSM, a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population. This bond allows the researcher to access additional respondents by way of referral within the circle of acquaintance of the research" (in Cohen & Arieli, 2011: 427).

Hence, twenty-two persons were interviewed. While the residents of Gecekondu settlement constitute half of the interviewees, the other half of the participants are the residents of Park-Oran Houses. For the selection of sample, it was aimed to interview with adult women and men whose ages vary between eighteen and sixty-five. While the number of women participants were ten, men with whom interviewed were twelve.

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[5] The reasons of limited access to the Gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran Residences are stated in the part of *Difficulties to Enter the Field.*

Table 1 list the names, ages, occupation, marital status, number of households and type of tenure of interviewees residing in Park Oran Gated Community.

Table 2 list the names, ages, occupation, marital status, number of households and type of tenure of interviewees residing in Dikmen 5th Phase Gecekondu Neighborhood.

Table 1 - List of the Interviewees- Park Oran Gated Community Residents

*All names are pseudo

Name*	Age	Occupation	Marital Status	Number of Household	Type of Tenure
Enver	55	Geological Engineer	Married	3	Owner
Hakan	29	Civil Engineer	Married	3	Owner
Gülşah	49	Dentist	Single	1	Owner
Nesrin	52	Doctor	Married	3	Owner
Hüsnü	56	Financial Consultant	Married	3	Owner
Canan	47	Doctor	Single	1	Owner
Deniz	49	Teacher	Single	3	Owner
Bartu	38	Mechanical Engineer	Single	1	Owner
Ceyhun	36	Pharmacist	Separated	1	Owner
Orhan	55	Civil Engineer	Married	2	Owner
Ayşen	46	Teacher	Married	4	Owner

Table 2 - The List of the Interviewees- Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Neighborhood Residents

**All names are pseudo

Name**	Age	Occupation	Marital Status	Number of Household	Type of Tenure
Zümrüt	46	Unemployed	Married	2	Owner-occupier (with no title deed)
Haydar	44	Hairdresser	Married	5	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Sakine	60	Homemaker	Married	2	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Dilek	49	Cleaner	Married	5	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Hasan	48	Worker	Divorced	1	Tenant
Ali	39	Salesman	Married	4	Owner- occupier (with no title deed)
Nurdan	51	Cleaner	Married	4	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Cansu	36	Homemaker	Married	4	Owner- occupier (with no title deed)
Ayşegül	32	Company Employee	Married	4	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Kazım	55	Transporter	Married	2	Owner- occupier (with title deed)
Bahar	47	Homemaker	Married	5	Owner- occupier (with no title deed)

Selected participants were called before field visits and appointments were made after getting their approval for participation. The main content of the study was explained to participants, and the researcher identity was not concealed. After that, the field research was conducted. Interviews, conducted in ten days, were realized mainly in the neighborhoods. In Gecekondu neighborhood, interviewees were visited at their places. They were welcomed to their houses or to their garden. Those who

are the residents of Park-Oran Houses were mostly met in restaurants/bars/ cafés in a shopping mall named *Panora*. The shopping mall is located in the campus of Park-Oran Houses. This is why it becomes a preferred place by the interviewees as a meeting point. If not, either the work place of the participant or a random café/bar in Ankara was chosen to conduct interviews.

2.2. Research Questions

Before looking at the interview questions directed to participants, the main research questions will be re-elaborated. This study seeks to answer; (1) Is there a spatial segregation following the perception and experiences/ use of space of inhabitants of two neighborhoods? (2) If there is spatial segregation, how can we observe this in their daily experiences and usage of space (3) are there differences according to gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status?

Considering the physical proximity of the neighborhoods, it is tried to be understood how "same" space is approached by people living in two "different" socio-spatial environments. One of these environments is Gecekondu[6], and the other one is a luxury gated community[7]. Here, socio-spatial differences will be opened up to discussion over the cases of Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Settlement and Park Oran Gated Community. Although these two residential areas are closely located to each other, they appear as disjointed pieces of the "same" space. At first glance, the difference becomes visible considering the physical conditions of housing, infrastructure of the neighborhood, green areas etc. Beyond the differences in physical conditions, the socio-spatial differences will be discussed by applying the views of Park Oran residents and the gecekondu residents. In this regard, it is significant to understand how each neighborhoods' residents perceive these two neighborhoods. It is suggested that their definition of space and their everyday urban practices will shed light on tracing the socio-spatial differences.

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[6] It literally refers to "built in one night".

[7] It generally refers to enclosed residential areas of the middle class.

With this purpose the perception of residents will be analyzed in attempt to understand spatial differentiation. It is sought to find answers how they perceive urban space and whether/ how spatial differences reveal themselves at the neighborhood level in the perception of residents. In this regard, it is tried to be grasped how a socio-spatial boundary which appears as an "invisible wall" can be read at the perceptive level.

2.3. Interview Questions

Participants were asked questions under four subtitles. In the first part, the main demographic information was collected. Here, the education level, occupation and employment status of the participants were asked. The second part of the interview questionnaire was composed of questions related with the neighborhood. Firstly, it was learned how long the participant resides in the neighborhood, which parts of the city she/he lived before and how to decide to move to this neighborhood. After that, interviewees were asked to define the neighborhood in which they reside. Specifically, they were asked *who are living in this neighborhood?* Besides, in this part, there were questions related with the infrastructure and public space of the residential area, services of the municipality and relations among people and the problems and future of the neighborhood. Third part was about the everyday life, consumption and leisure time activities. It was tried to grasp the urban practices of residents of each neighborhood through their daily activities. Before closing with the last part, it was also asked the views of residents about the adjacent neighborhood. This time, they were asked to define the neighborhood which is next to them; *who are living in that neighborhood?* Besides, advantages and disadvantages of living in the "other" neighborhood were questioned together with opinions about the future of the close by neighborhood. In the last part, questions related with the future plans and about income were directed to the participants in case they were willing to answer. In the light of these questions, the perception of residents will be analyzed to understand spatial differentiation.

2.4. The Scope and Limitations of the Study

It is assumed that socio-economic factors lie behind spatial segregation between the two mentioned neighborhoods. However, economic analysis is not in the scope of this study. This does not mean that the importance of economic basis behind the separation processes in urban space is disregarded. On the contrary, it is believed that the separation and segregation processes in the urban space are inherent to the economic structure. It is recognizable that 'degraded' parts of the city are resided by economically disadvantageous group. Whereas those who are well-off 'prefer' to reside 'demanding' parts of the city. However, here, the goal of this study is not to reveal the broader economic structure based on class analysis.

Another limitation of this study is the specific consideration of socio-political process in Turkey in understanding how expanding housing sector for last one-two decades play role in the (re)production of urban space in Turkey. Although the developments at the global scale have reflection in the context of Turkey, such as neoliberal restructuring, global consumption patterns, it is believed that the specific socio-political features of Turkey should be taken into account. This may provide more comprehensive understanding about the implementation of neoliberal policies in related to the spatial organization of the country.

In this study, the analysis will be at the perceptive level. In this vein, the focus of the study will be the analysis of the gecekondu and the gated community residents' perception and use of space in understanding spatial segregation. Since, it is agreed that "people's experience of the city is not only or always determined by larger social or economic structure, but also fashioned by their individual perceptions, mental maps and spatial practices" (Michel de Certeau in Tonkiss, 2005: 113).

2.5. Field Research: Difficulties to Enter to the Field

Before conducting the field study, between March 14, 2019 March 24, 2019, the field was visited and observed many times. The location of the field is interesting in

terms of its enclosed structure. There are two main obstacles which do not enable easy access to the field. The first one is physical barriers/ boundaries such as gates and roads. The second obstacle includes the social aspect of being a "stranger" in the enclosed neighborhoods. Physical and social aspects which make it difficult to enter to the field will be discussed for the Gecekondu settlement and for Park-Oran Gated Community regarding their specific features.

The front facade of Park-Oran Houses looks at the main arterial road which is named Turan Güneş Boulevard. The tall buildings can be seen from the main street. One of the gates of the building complex is on this side while another one, which is opened to the Panora Shopping Mall, is on the back side of the main road. The Gecekondu settlement locates just behind the Park-Oran Houses. However, this area is hardly seen if one looks from the main street. From main road side, it is like a hidden residential place. Alongside that tall buildings conceal the small Gecekondu houses, the road connection does not provide easy access to the Gecekondu settlement over Turan Güneş Boulevard. The way to arrive to the Gecekondu neighborhood is to use the narrow by-road (/path).

Figure 1 - A view from Park Oran Houses and the Gecekondu Neighborhood.

Figure 2 - A view from the entrance to the gecekondu neighborhood

Figure 3 - A view from Park Oran Houses

Figure 4 - A view from Dikmen 5th Phase Gecekondu Neighborhood

In this regard, it can be said that Park-Oran Houses are physically easily accessible compared to Dikmen 5th Phase Gecekondu Settlement. Considering Park-Oran Houses, there is no difficulty to access the place regarding infrastructure. Here, big fences and the gates of the building complex become as a barrier to enter the place. The residential area is surrounded by cameras and gates are "guarded" by security staff. This enclosurement is not specific to the Park-Oran building complex. It is a common feature of luxury gated communities not only in Ankara but in general. Regarding this enclosed structure of Park Oran, one is not allowed to enter the place without invitation of one of the residents.

Therefore, physical difficulties to enter to the neighborhoods differ in accordance with each neighborhood's own spatial organization. In the Gecekondu neighborhood,

inadequate infrastructure makes difficult to access to the field. At first glance, it is not even apparent how to reach to the neighborhood. Instead of a proper road to the Gecekondu settlement, there is a path which is not stabilized. Besides, the entrance for the narrow path is not signed. This lack in the physical structure of the Gecekondu neighborhood is also be stated by the residents. They also add that it is not possible to arrive to the neighborhood by bus. They need to take off the bus at the beginning of the path and walk to their neighborhood. In the Park-Oran neighborhood, problems related with infrastructure and transportation are not seen. Here, the physical barrier which limits access to the field becomes a "security" concern. Those who are not residents of the building complex or who are not invited by the residents are not allowed to enter to the building complex. In both cases, physical conditions bring difficulties for entrance to the neighborhoods. The neighborhoods are enclosed both in the Gecekondu and in Park-Oran cases. In the former, the neighborhood becomes closed/ "isolated" because of unfavorable physical conditions. In the latter, the neighborhood becomes "sterilized" through physical security apparatus.

Besides above-mentioned physical difficulties to enter the field, researcher's position as a "stranger" in the field will be discussed in the context of social aspect of the issue. This issue of being an "outsider" both in the Gecekondu area and in the luxury gated community will be explained taking each neighborhood's specific characteristics into account.

The trust relationship between researcher and interviewees gains a vital role regarding specifically the purpose of this study. Here, the aim is to understand the perception and experiences of people. People would not express their thoughts and feelings without establishing trust relationship. However, the problem appears, here, how to establish the relationship based on trust as being a "strange other" in the neighborhood. Even it is hard to enter to the neighborhoods of Gecekondu and gated community. There is no recipe about how to establish trust relationship in the field. It is not tried to be described here. What is attempted to point out is the importance of a trust relationship in field research. It is believed that in this way, the problem of being a "stranger" in the field can be overcome. This was the case both for

Gecekondu Neighborhood and Park-Oran Gated Community. However, while I was trying to enter the field, being an "outsider" became a problem to conduct field research. Hence, here, this issue of being outsider is taken as being a social aspect of the difficulties faced in the field.

Social aspect of entering to the Gecekondu neighborhood and to the luxury gated community as a field researcher also needs to be considered together with social, political and historical characteristics of the places. In this vein, detailed look to the characteristics of the Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Neighborhood and Park Oran Gated Community will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS

3.1. Description of Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Neighborhood

3.1.1. Dikmen Valley

Dikmen Neighborhood is a part of Çankaya District, which is composed of several other neighborhoods constituting the central (and in demand part) of the city. Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Neighborhood is located on the edge of Dikmen Valley. As Türker- Devecigil (2005: 211-212) describes:

> Valley is located between two densely populated housing quarters, Çankaya and Dikmen, which are in Ankara's southern urban development zones. Çankaya is the most prestigious district of Ankara, where the presidential residence is located[8]. The area stretches south along the bottom of the valley for approximately 6km and has a width of 300 m. It starts almost from the city centre, Kızılay, and reaches the forested areas in the south.

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[8] Currently, Çankaya is a district where the *former* presidential residence is located.
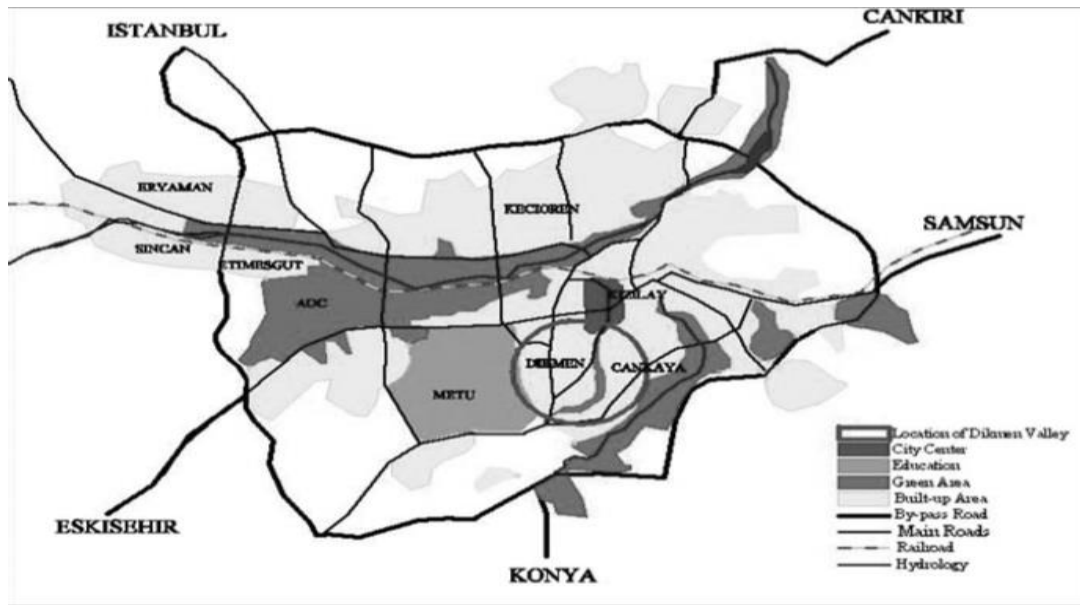
Figure 5 - The Location of Dikmen Valley, Ankara

Dikmen Valley is a central location in the city. As it is stated above, it sweeps from midst of the city to the south. Besides the length, the valley has been significant regarding its character providing air circulation. As Türker-Devecigil highlights "the valley has been designated as a natural conservation area in all urban development plans[9] because it is one of the most important air circulation corridors and the water basins of Ankara" (2005:212). Hence, before *Dikmen Valley Project* introduced in 1989, Dikmen Valley was planned as green area. Specifically, as it was seen In the Yucel-Uybadin Plan (1957), "the Dikmen valley was designated as a green belt between residential areas" (HABITAT, 1999). Also, in *Dikmen Stream Green Area Project*, which was announced by Ankara Greater Municipality in 1984, the plan for the valley was to create green area by demolishing gecekondu houses.

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[9] "Jansen Plan (1933), Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957), Ankara metropolitan Area Planning Bureau Plan (1982)" in Türker-Devecigil (2005: 228).

3.1.2. The Development of Gecekondu in Dikmen Valley

Dikmen Valley becomes a site for Gecekondu development together with the wave of immigration from rural to urban. As Türker-Devecigil (2005: 212) states that "the Gecekondu development process in the valley started after the 1960s and the number of gecekondu units reached 1,916 with nearly 10,000 inhabitants in 20 years (Metropol Imar, 1991)". Based on interviews and conversations in the field, I was informed that in 1970s, the leftist students took part in planning and constructing process of the neighborhood. The Gecekondu houses were built in the atmosphere of cooperation and solidarity among the residents. This political character of the neighborhood which is oriented towards leftist tradition presents itself later in the resistance against the renewal project of the valley. However, it should be noted that the leftist political climate of the neighborhood would not remain same in 1980s under the pressure of the military coup d'état of 1980[10].

In Gecekondu Literature in Turkey, Dikmen Valley is one of the most studied field. Since it is one of the big gecekondu settlement in Ankara and it is the first example of gecekondu transformation project leading strong gecekondu resistance.

Because of the central location of the Valley in the city, it contains also enormous rent for the capitalist economy. Therefore, Dikmen Valley has been a site for big urban renewal projects for years. It lasted for years and the final part of the project could not be completed yet. Since, at the same time, the Valley becomes a scene for resistance against the renewal project

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[10] For detailed look about the effect of military coup d'état of 1980 on the transformation of gecekondu neighborhoods, it is recommended the article "Kent Çeperindeki bir 'Devrimci' Mahalle: 1970'lerden 2000'lere Mahallenin Değişen Anlamı ve Mahalle Üzerinde Yaşanan Çatışmalar, Çekişmeler" written by Tahire Erman. Here, Erman (2010) discusses the social-political transformation of one of the Gecekondu neighborhood in Ankara in the period between 1970s and 2000s. Although the neighborhood which is studied in Erman's article is different than the neighborhood in this thesis study, the effect of military coup on the neighborhoods are similar. Also, two Gecekondu neighborhoods, Mamak and Dikmen share common socio-political characteristics.

3.1.3. Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project

Regarding Dikmen Valley Transformation Projects, the first attempt by the Greater Ankara Municipality (GAM) was the Dikmen Valley Green Area Project in 1984. The aim of the project was to demolish gecekondus and create a green zone and an urban park in the valley. However, "this project could not be implemented because of high expropriation costs and oppositions of the gecekondu settlers" (Türker-Devecigil, 2005: 212). In 1989, Dikmen Valley Project (DVP), which was a revised version of previous project, introduced by the Greater Ankara Municipality together with Çankaya District Municipality and Metropol Imar [11]. The project has a significant place in urban transformation projects in Turkey as being the first and the biggest example of urban transformation project in Turkey. "The DVP area covers approximately 290 hectares. It is 5 km long, located in the northeast part of the metropolitan area, and the north end of the valley is only 3 km away from the city center" (Uzun, 2005: 188). Uzun lists the goals of the project as follows:

> At the macro scale, the goal of the revised plan was to transform the valley into a recreation area serving the whole city while helping preserve the nature it enclosed. Another goal of the project was to create a commercial, cultural, and social urban node that would integrate with and serve the whole city. The project also addressed the housing problem of the squatters in the area with a relocation model based on self-financing and participation (2005:188).

Considering the design of the project, the valley is divided into five phases.

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[11] "The model of Dikmen Valley Project was to enable contracting/finance firms to undertake construction in a prestigious area by sharing the rent. This was a public–private participation model, in which a development corporation (Metropol A.S.) which had been formed under the Greater Ankara Municipality, took the role in coordinating the public and the private firms" (Dündar, 2001: 395).

Figure 6 - The Implamantation Zones of Dikmen Valley Project

The first phase started in 1989, after the approval of the project. During the construction process, meetings were organized between representatives of the project and gecekondu dwellers in order to build a consensus. When this phase was completed on the basis of negotiations between two groups, "404 new apartments were constructed for 1080 squatters living in approximately 550 squatter houses" (Dündar in Uzun, 2005). It can be said that this phase of the project was approved by gecekondu dwellers. In the second phase, the construction of apartment building continued by demolishing gecekondu houses. In the following period, new local government was formed as a result of local elections.

The change of the local government in 1994 was an important turning point for the DVP. As the previous and new mayors of the MMA[12] were from different political parties, revisions in the project were made. These revisions resulted in an increase in the construction of luxury residential units in the project area in order to maximize the profits from the project (Uzun, 2005: 189).

Additionally, Dündar (2001) points out, the aim of the revised project as "transformation of the gecekondu areas into prestige areas of high-rise apartment, luxury housing with a model to enable contracting/finance firms to undertake construction by sharing the rent" (p. 396). As Türker-Devecigil (2005) states: "in the first 13 years, only two-fifths of the project was completed, many modifications took place in project principles, and many legal disputes occurred between the stakeholders…The protection of the valley remained as a secondary target and lost its sensitivity in terms of seeking for a balance between environmental and economical dimensions" (pp. 213-224). Together with the revisions and modifications in the project, first objections started to rise among gecekondu dwellers. While oppositions of local people were going on, the end of the third phase of the project was announced by the mayor of at the time in 2009[13].

The 4th and 5th Phase of the project are still in progress. However, in the current situation, a few gecekondus remained in the 5th Stage. It is the last and unfinished part of the project. Many of the gecekondus have been demolished. Some others have been abandoned after the resistance lasted for years. According to the information obtained from *Right to Sheltering Bureau,* before the urban transformation project, there were 2.400 gecekondu units. Now, there are left 500 gecekondu houses. However, some of dwellers moved to the peripheries of the city. Some others have signed a contract with the Municipality. Therefore, there remain 291 gecekondu houses which resist.

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[12] Referring to Metropol Municipality of Ankara.

[13] https://www.haberler.com/dikmen-vadisi-3-etap-kentsel-donusum-projesi-haberi/, April 20, 2019

3.1.4. The Resistance against Dikmen Valley Project 5th Phase

Dikmen Valley Project (DVP) is a debatable urban renewal projects in terms of its plan and implementations, specifically the last phase of the project which has been introduced in 2006. Basically, what gecekondu dwellers demand is to improvement in the conditions of houses and staying in their neighborhood. However, this demand is in contradiction with the project holders because of the big rent in the area. In order to achieve highest economic interest, the project -which is revised and lost its departing point- would lead to displacement of current gecekondu population from the neighborhood. During the process, the people in the neighborhood have been subjected to strong pressure of the Municipality and to police intervention. In order to defend their *right to sheltering,* gecekondu dwellers have started to resist the project which means eviction for people in the neighborhood. This gecekondu resistance is organized around the Right to Sheltering Bureau formed in the neighborhood. Tarık Çalışkan who is one of the residents of the neighborhood and a member of Halkevleri[14] is considered by neighborhood residents as a leading figure in Dikmen Valley resistance. Hence, in the gecekondu resistance which becomes *Dikmen Valley Right to Sheltering Movement (DVRtSM)* gradually, Halkevleri played an active role. Tarık Çalışkan states the importance of the resistance for gecekondu people's right to sheltering. He says, "since we have no other place to go. We demand for one of our basic human rights which is right to sheltering. However, they say no! They say that If I give this right to you, then I need to give this right to Turkey. And we say yes, you will give our rights. This is why, if the Valley wins, the whole Turkey will win"![15]

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[14] Halkevleri is a leftist oriented organization working from diverse fields from education to sheltering. The organization has three periods as being the years between 1932-1951, 1963-1980 and the period starting from 1987. http://www.halkevleri.org.tr/hakkimizda, May 3, 2019.

[15] *"Direnmek zorundayız. Çünkü gidecek başka bir yerimiz yok. Biz, temel insani hakkımız olan barınma hakkımızı talep ediyoruz. Ama onlar, hayır diyorlar; size bu hakları verirsem, Türkiye'ye de vermem gerekir diyorlar. Biz ise evet haklarımızı vereceksiniz diyoruz. İşte bu yüzden Vadi kazanırsa, Türkiye kazanır, diyoruz".* (Tarık Çalışkan, personal communication, 14.03.2019).

3.1.5. Socio-Demographic Structure of the Gecekondu Neighborhood

There is no official data about the socio-demographic structure of gecekondu dwellers in the neighborhood. The information which I refer, here, will be based on the information collected during the field research through interviews and conversations with residents, the Bureau and with municipal representative (muhtar). Accordingly, the Alevi population is dense in the neighborhood. Kinship and origin of town/ village is important in decision making to move to the neighborhood. Most of the inhabitants of the neighborhood are from cities like Çorum, Sivas, Malatya. In terms of socio-economic aspect, gecekondu dwellers mainly represent urban poor. While some neighborhood residents are working as skilled or unskilled worker, some others are unemployed or are working temporary jobs. There are gender differences as well in terms of working. Women are either unemployed or working as *gündelikçi* (i.e. cleaner). Mainly, a household is composed of four/ five people including two/three children with parents. Additionally, close relatives, grandmother and/ or grandfather, live together with family members in some gecekondu houses. The physical conditions of the houses are mostly poor; lack of number of rooms (mostly with two rooms for the whole family), or problems of insulation and heating etc.

3.2. Description of Park Oran Gated Community

Park Oran Residences are within Çankaya District in Ankara. The area on which Park Oran Residences erected was inhabited by former members of parliament. The area was assigned to a private company (*Mesa Mesken, Aktürk Yapı ve Emlak Pazarlama)* by TOKI[16] through tendering. The firm started to build the housing complex in 2007. The distance between Park Oran Houses and the city center is approximately 10 km. It has become one of the popular residential areas in Ankara because of its central location. Park Oran is composed of 12 tall apartment buildings having thirty-one floors and 5 shorter buildings having seven floors. In total, there are 1832 dwelling in the gated community.

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[16] TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi) refers to *Housing Development Administration.*

Figure 7 - The Plan of Park Oran Hosuses. Source: https://3dkonut.com/park-oran-konutlari/projesi

This big residential area also includes a shopping mall which is called Panora. There is a direct gate from Park Oran to the shopping mall for the residents. The main gate of Panora which is on the other side of the building complex has no connection with the gated community. Besides the shopping mall, the building complex includes business offices, various sports facilities, and parking and green area. The Park Oran Houses have been advertised as the most prestigious residences of Ankara[17]. In this study, Park Oran will be conceptualized as a gated community regarding its spatial organization. "Gated communities are residential areas surrounded by fences/walls with entrances that are controlled by gates" (Blakely and Snyder; Low in Güzey 2014: 93). Park Oran is a well-suited example of how gated communities defined in the literature. As I discussed in the part of "difficulties to enter to the field", those

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[17] *Ankara'nın en prestijli yaşam alanı ParkOran'ın hemen yayında yer alan ve Başkentin ileri gelen firmalarını ağırlayan ParkOran Ofis'te, çalışma hayatı başladı...ParkOran, evlerin içinde kaliteyi yüksek standartlarda yaşatırken, çevresindeki sosyal alanlarında da yaşamı sizlere, sağlık, keyif ve eğlenceyle sunuyor. Çam ormanları, tertemiz bir hava; Oran'ın nitelikli konumu, seçkin bir yaşam alanı; evinizin manzarası, seyrine doyulmaz bir resimle ParkOran'da hayatı yeniden başlatıyor* retrieved from https://3dkonut.com/park-oran-konutlari/projesi, July 18, 2019

The business life has started in Park Oran Office which is located right next to Park Oran, the most prestigious living place of Ankara, and which hosts the leading firms of the capital city. While Park Oran has high-quality housing, it provides healthy and enjoyable life in its social environment. Pine forest providing a fresh air, qualified location of Oran, a privileged living space, landscaping of your house restart life in Park Oran in a spectacular way.

walls and gates constitute physical barrier for entering the field. Since those who are non-residents are not allowed to enter the residential area. In this vein, gated communities are "residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized. They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents". (Blakely & Snyder cited in Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005: 396). Gated communities are mainly discussed in respect of social segregation and division. On the other hand, concern for security is a debatable issue in the discussion of gated community. Those conceptualizations are also significant for the analysis of Park Oran Gated Community and they will be discussed in later parts. The development of gated communities in Turkey as well as in global context will be approached in detail in sections below.

3.2.1. Socio-Demographic Structure of Park Oran Gated Community

Before moving to the next part, here, it is also tried to be answered who are living in Park Oran based on interviews in the field. This question was directed to residents of Park Oran Houses. In general, they define themselves as belonging to the middle class. Regarding the occupational status, it was not confronted with gender differences among the residents. Both women and men who were interviewed have skilled jobs. As an example, there are doctors, business people, teachers, engineers etc. among the residents. Most of the interviewees are home owners in Park Oran. The maximum number of households is four together with spouses and their children under 18. In one flat, home owner lives together with close relatives like sister and/or mother. In some others, home owners live alone. Unlike, Dikmen case, kinship and origin of town/village are not applicable in the decision to reside Park Oran Houses. Here, the location, the facilities in the residential area, the sense of security and "high standards" of the buildings are stressed by residents as important factors in their preference.

CHAPTER 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GECEKONDU AND GATED COMMUNITY

4.1. The development of Gecekondu in Turkey

The development of gecekondu in Turkey is regarded as an outcome of migration from rural areas to the big cities in 1950s. The numbers of immigrants reached 1.5 million in the years between 1950 and 1960 (Batuman, 2013). "The urban population, which was 16.4 % in 1927 and had merely reached 18.5 % in 1950, jumped to 25.9 in 1960" (Keleş & Danielson, 1985 in Batuman, 2013: 579). Following this rapid increase in the urban population, especially in big cities, gecekondus started to emerge around the cities as a result of inadequate housing stock (Ibid). Şenyapılı puts it as those who arrived into urban areas gathered in the margins of the cities economically as well as physically. For her, rural was pushing but urban was not pulling (2004: 124). Ankara is one of those big cities where gecekondu development is seen densely. "Since Ankara had experienced a constant level of migration since the early days of Republic, it was the first to experience the gecekondu phenomenon" (Şenyapılı in Batuman, 2013: 579). In 1970s together with the "second-generation migration wave", there has been a transformation in the phenomenon of gecekondu. Gecekondu settlements, which were once built in outskirts of cities, became "valuable areas with increasing land prices" through the expansion of cities. Arrived to 1980, the proportion of squatters in the housing stock, which was 4% in 1950, raised to 21% (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005: 64). In the 1980s, "the 'apartmentalisation' of gecekondus became a widespread phenomenon. Thus, the once-owner-occupied/owner-built gecekondus were being replaced by high-rise apartment buildings in which the owner of the gecekondu land owned several apartments ('the undeserving rich Other')" (Erman, 2001: 987). Accordingly, while some gecekondu people experienced increasing deprivation, some others became "economically better-off

in a short period of time" (Ibid.). At the end of 1980s, gecekondu settlements became a site for urban transformation projects (Türker-Devecigil, 2014). Beside these ongoing changes and transformations in gecekondu areas, as Erman underlines that "the dominant view of gecekondus in society" changed as well and "a new concept, namely the varoşlu, emerged that suggested a tendency in the once-compliant gecekondu residents (gecekondulu) to become increasingly violent and opposing" (Erman cited in Erman and Eken, 2003: 58). Then, "coming into the 2000s, gecekondu development became a general unauthorized housing problem" (Türker-Devecigil, 2005: 214). In the early 2000s the concept of urban regeneration was introduced under the concept of urban transformation (Eğercioğlu, 2016). In this period, the state became directly involved in the transformation of urban periphery (Erman, 2016). "The Turkish Housing Development Administration (TOKI), which is directly connected to the prime ministry, forms partnerships with municipalities to carry out urban transformation projects in gecekondu and slum areas" (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Karaman, 2013 in Erman, 2016: 429). Through the *Urban Transformation Law (no. 6306)* which was announced in 2012, squatter area formations have attempted to be prevented (Eğercioğlu, 2016: 125).

4.2. The Definition and Development of Gated Communities in the Global Context

4.2.1. The Concept of Gated Community

The terms and definitions of gated communities (hereafter GCs) in related literature vary quite considerably. Terms such as "gated enclaves" (Grant, 2003), "fortified enclaves" (Caldeira, 2000), "enclosed neighbourhoods" (Landman, 2000) and 'fortress city' (Low, 1997) are used in different studies. In Blakely & Snyder's Fortress America, the first book written on GCs, the definition is made as follows:

> Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatised. They are security developments with

designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gates and fences, and they are found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from the richest neighbourhoods to the poorest (1997:11).

Although most of the literature considers GCs are mostly for middle- and upper-class (Caldeira, 2000; Roitman, 2005), Blakely & Snyder suggest that GCs can also be seen in poor neighborhoods. However, this is "highly contested since this social group could not afford living in neighbourhoods with certain services and infrastructure as commonly found in gated communities" (Roitman, 2010). In this respect, the widely accepted view is that GCs are walled and fenced residential areas with restricted access occupied mostly by wealthy people. Caldeira (1996: 407) puts it by suggesting such residential places "represent a new alternative for the urban life of …middle and upper classes". In her book, City of Walls, Caldeira further mentions social as well as physical characteristics of gated community which is defined as:

> A development of multiple residences, mostly high-rises, invariably walled and with security-controlled entrances, usually occupying a large area with landscaping, and including all sorts of amenities for collective use. In the last decade they have become the preferred residence for the rich … The enclaves tend to be socially homogeneous environments. People who choose to inhabit these spaces value living amongst selected people (considered to be of the same social group) and away from the undesired interactions, movement, heterogeneity, danger, and the unpredictability of open streets (2000: 243-258).

Being different than the explanation of Blakely and Snyder, Caldeira underlines social homogeneity of inhabitants of the gated residential areas. As Roitman (2010: 32) identifies "the social homogeneity of gated communities is achieved by their high land and housing prices, as well as maintenance fees that act as filters. This makes them socially homogeneous internally". In this vein, it becomes apparent why middle and upper class becomes main target group for GCs. In addition to socially homogeneous feature of GCs, Caldeira points out diverse amenities and services provided inside GCs so that they are advertised and promoted as "self-contained" places (Roitman, 2010). Caldeira adds the point of social exclusivity in her definition of gated community. Accordingly, all those 'unwanted' elements, such

as; certain social groups, possible threats coming from the 'outside world', interactions out of favor, are kept out.

According to Roitman, GCs are;

> Closed urban residential areas where public space has been legally privatized, restricting access. They include private property, individual houses and collectively used common private property, for example clubhouse and sports facilities. They have security devices such as walls, fences, gates, barriers, alarms, guards and CCTV cameras. By and large, the infrastructure and services are of a high quality. They are designed with the intention of providing security to their residents and prevent penetration by non-residents…Gated communities appear as homogeneous places…Most of their residents are upper- and middle-class families (2005: 113).

Roitman mentions similar characteristics of GCs to those of Blakely & Snyder and Caldeira. Regarding all these definitions and others (Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Blandy & Lister, 2005; Thuillier, 2005), it can be listed that general characteristics of GCs are (1) having physical boundaries/ security apparatus, such as; gates, walls, fences and CCTV cameras etc. (2) restricting access by non-residents, (3) being privatized spaces normally considered public, (4) inhabited by socially homogeneous group, mostly for middle and upper class, (5) providing various facilities and services. Although there exist various types of GCs[18] having different features in the literature, as Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004: 921) suggest "features that provide security, privacy, and control are central to many gated communities today".

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[18] For typology of gated communities of Blakely and Snyder, see Blakely E. J., Snyder M. G. (1997). Fortress America: Gating Communities in the United States. Brookings Institution Press: Washington, DC.
For other typologies see, also, Grant, J. and Mittelsteadt, l. (2004). Types of Gated Communities. Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 31: 6; Luymes, D. (1997), The Fortification of Suburbia: Investigating the Rise of Enclave Communities, Landscape and Urban Planning, 39. and Burke M. (2001) "The Pedestrian Behaviour of Residents in Gated Communities", paper presented at the Conference of Australia: Walking the Twenty-first Century, Perth, 20-22 February.

4.2.2. The Emergence and Development of Gated Communities around the World

The emergence of gated community goes back to late 1960s and 1970s (Blakely, 2007)[19]. The phenomenon of gated community first observed in United States (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Le Goix, 2005; Low, 1997, 2001, 2004; McKenzie, 1994, 2005) and started to spread other places such as Argentina (Roitman, 2005; Roitman & Phelps, 2011; Thuillier, 2005), Brazil (Caldeira, 1996, 2000; Coy, 2006), Bulgaria (Smigiel, 2014), Canada (Grant, 2006), Chile (Salcedo & Torres, 2004), China (Wu, 2006), Indonesia (Leisch, 2002), Mexico (Vilalta, 2011), New Zealand (Dupuis & Dixon, 2010), Portugal (Raposo, 2003), Saudi Arabia (Glasze and Alkhayyal, 2002), South Africa (Lemanski, 2006) and United Kingdom (Blandy, 2006; Blandy & Lister, 2005; Manzi & Bowers, 2005).

The reasons and motivations behind the development of gated communities (hereafter GCs) in these countries may change[20]. The remarkable ones are pursuit for security and privacy, fear of crime, search for social homogeneity and for status, and desire to have a new lifestyle. These are considered as among the subjective causes of the expansion of GCs. Besides the subjective causes, structural causes which are "globalization of economy" and "the withdrawal of the state from the provision of basic services" are highlighted (Roitman, 2010: 33). According to Sassen (1991) there appears "a massive increase in foreign and domestic investment in luxury commercial and residential construction" as an outcome of economic globalization which influences the real estate markets (in Roitman, 2010: 33). Besides, GCs are regarded as an example of "privatization of security" and "wealthy citizens' ability

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[19] Blakely notes early examples of GCs in the United States date to 1870s when private streets were built to insulate "rich" from "less fortunate masses". He adds later examples of "gated, fenced compounds emerged during the 20th century to serve the needs of the movie and auto aristocracies" (2007: 476). Besides Blakely puts the difference between early GCs and their contemporary forms which built in late 1960 and 1970s. According to him, the former were "uncommon places for uncommon people", the latter for wider population (Ibid.)

[20] For further explanation about the different aspects of the development of GCs in Latin America, Mediterranean coast of Western Europe (Spain and France), Saudi Arabia and South Africa, see Webster et al. (2002). The Global Spread of Gated Communities. Environment and Planning B, 29. pp. 315-320.

to produce their own private solutions" because of the withdrawal of the state from the provision of basic services (Ibid.: 34). Within this context, it should be noted that the role of neoliberal urbanism, "which finds its roots in the market-oriented restructuring of global economy" in the development of GCs is highly emphasized issue in the literature (Güzey, 2014: 94). As it is explained by Geniş "neo-liberal urbanism[21], which has accompanied neo-liberal economic restructuring, seeks to expand the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatise the provision of urban and social services, and increase the role of elites in shaping urban landscapes" (2007: 772). In this vein, most of the literature considers the development and expansion of GCs as outcomes of neoliberal restructuring of urban spaces. According to Brenner and Theodore (2002), "gated communities are themselves spaces of new urban governance under neo-liberalism[22]" (in Wu, 2006: 63). Likewise, Caldeira (2000) points out the development of fortified residential areas of Sao Paolo, Brazil is the product of economic restructuring during 1980s (in Ertuna, 2003). Acknowledging the importance of global neoliberal restructuring in emergence and mushrooming of GCs "in virtually every corner of the world" (Webster et al., 2002 in Wu, 2006: 47), possible differences and peculiarities of each case in terms of the implications of neoliberal policies need to be taken into account.

4.3. The Emergence and Development of Gated Communities in Turkey

Gated communities (GCs) started to emerge late 1980s and 1990s in Turkey and their development accelerated in 2000s. According to Kurtuluş, "the phenomenon of gated communities that indicates a new stage in the urbanization experience in Turkey has become the most popular and attractive housing form for the new urban middle and upper-middle classes" (2011: 52). The initial examples of GCs observed

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[21] For neoliberal urbanism see Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002) Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in Western Europe and North America. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

[22] The basic idea of neoliberalism is that "…open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development…This requires mobilization of a range of policies intended to extend market discipline, competition and commodification throughout all sectors of society" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002 cited in Güzey, 2014: 94).

in Istanbul and Ankara. Kemer Country which is the first gated community in İstanbul introduced the concept of gated living in Turkey (Geniş, 2007). Following the construction of Kemer country, the process has continued with Bilkent Houses and Angora Houses in Ankara (Barkul & Ayten, 2011).

Although the development of GCs is not restricted with the big cities like İstanbul and Ankara and spread to relatively small cities as well in the recent years, these two cities have important place in terms of size and density of GCs in Turkey. The literature mainly based on various examples of GCs in İstanbul (Akgün & Baycan, 2012; Bartu Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008; Baycan-Levent & Gülümser, 2007; Çekiç & Gezici, 2009; Geniş, 2007; Kurtuluş, 2011; Özkan & Kozaman, 2006; Tanülkü 2012, 2013, 2018) and Ankara (Barkul & Ayten, 2011; Güzey, 2014; Güzey & Özcan, 2010; Şanlı & Özdemir- Sönmez, 2016). The discussion of gated community in Turkey has similarities with the global context. As Tanulku (2012 :519) states that "as in the global literature, they [gated communities] are analysed within the context of the neo-liberal restructuring since the 1980s". In the case study of Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, GCs are approached as "spaces of neoliberalism" (2008: 10). Geniş (2007) argues neo-liberal policies of the state facilitates the emergence and spread of GCs in Turkey. Güzey (2014) also stresses the development of GCs in Turkey is associated with neoliberal policies. Likewise, this study pursues that the development of GCs in Turkey cannot be set apart from the broader context of neo-liberalism. The neo-liberal restructuring of economy starting in 1980s in Turkey brings the privatization process. One of the reflections of neo-liberal policies onto the urban space is the emergence of large housing sector [23] together with the involvement of private construction companies to the process. The state has been a supportive role to those private companies. The Mass Housing Administration, MHA (Toplu Konut İdaresi, TOKİ) which is tied to Ministry of Environment and Urban

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[23] Considering the expansion in housing market in Turkey starting from 1980s, Sönmez underlines "between the years 1980 and 1990 urban land became the most important source of profit through the construction of luxury housing, hotels and business centers (cited in Tanülkü, 2012: 523). It can be asserted that this situation did not stay limited with one decade. When it comes to 2000s, particularly to the period starting in 2002 and still ongoing, construction-based economy which provides rent over urban land is embraced as an "economic growth" model.

Planning[24] contributes to the process of privatization by forming partnerships with private construction companies, by involving in the construction and selling houses for profit, by taking over state urban land at no cost (Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008). As Geniş argues "the state enabled large capitalists' entry into the housing sector by establishing regulations for public finance to…large housing projects…Large tracts of public land in the periphery as well as in the centre of the city were privatised and subsequently sold or transferred to large developers" (2007: 778). The emergence of GCs in Turkey corresponds to the period of neo-liberal policies implemented at large. According to Güzey, "with the legal and regulatory support of the state, …housing developers race to provide gated communities" (2014: 94).

In such an environment, GCs appear as a site providing so-called "new lifestyle for the emerging elites of neoliberal urban restructuring" (Ibid.) In her leading study on GCs in Turkey, Öncü (1997) also highlights that GCs reflects the lifestyle of new wealth of neoliberalism. In the literature, one of the most stressed issue is that GCs reflects the individualized and privatized lifestyle of the middle/ upper classes. Güzey (2014) mentions GCs as "Lifestyle Communities" (p.96). Likewise, in Barkul & Ayten (2011) GCs are realized as lifestyle societies. Perouse & Danış (2005) identify what is marketed in GCs is a pre-defined 'lifestyle' in addition to house. In the study of Güzey & Özcan (2010), lifestyle, which is presented for higher income groups, appears as one of the primary reasons in the preference of living in gated community in Ankara. The mentioned lifestyle of GCs mostly refers to secular and Western lifestyle (Ayata 2002, Geniş 2007 in Tanülkü, 2013).

Other significant issues behind the gated community discussion in the literature are the fear of crime, security, feeling of safety (Güzey & Özcan, 2010), spatial segregation (Geniş, 2007; Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008), social status (Çekiç &Gezici, 2009; Kurtuluş, 2011) and social exclusion (Perouse & Danış, 2005; Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008). In the Turkish literature, different features of GCs, such as the emergence and development, the reasons behind the preference of GCS, demand/supply-side discussions (Güzey & Özcan, 2010), specific characteristics of

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[24] http://www.toki.gov.tr/, November 27, 2019.

GCs (Barkul & Ayten, 2011), actors in the development of GCs (Perouse & Danış, 2005), the role of neoliberal policies in the development of GCs (Bartu-Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008; Geniş, 2007; Güzey, 2014), the advantages and disadvantages (Akgün & Baycan, 2012) and various types of GCs (Baycan-Levent & Gülümser, 2007) are discussed in detail. However, there are only a few studies on the perception and experiences of residents of GCs (Lemanski, 2006; Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005; Salcedo & Torres, 2004; in global context and Süzer, 2016; Tanülkü 2013 in the context of Turkey). This study aims to contribute the literature by investigating both the perception and spatial experiences of Park Oran gated community residents and of people outside the gated community (residents of the gecekondu neighborhood) around the issue of spatial segregation.

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The main aim of this chapter is to explain theoretical perspective which guides this study. The main concepts of employed theoretical approach which is Lefebvre's theory on space will be discussed. Before looking at Lefebvre's comprehensive understanding of space, it will be briefly addressed how space is considered in Simmel and Marx. Since the former is considered as a pioneer who made early contribution to the theory of space, the latter has a significant influence on Lefebvre's conceptualization of production of space. Lastly, I will try to present how spatial segregation is approached in different perspectives in the literature.

This study tries to understand whether spatial segregation is observed between two neighborhoods, which are close to each other on the map. According to Barthes, "two neighborhoods might lie next to each other on the map…, but 'from the moment when they receive two different significations, they are radically separated in the image of the city' (cited in Tonkiss, 2005: 32). Here, it is traced whether these two neighborhoods become separated. If so, the spatial segregation between those two will be examined through the perceptions and use of space of residents in order to grasp "different significations" which are attributed to the space(s). It is believed that 'divisions of space are not simply physical facts but social products' (Tonkiss, 2005:31). With this understanding, here, I will consider the issue of spatial segregation by employing the treatment of space of Lefebvre.

The issue of space is vitally significant in the understanding of Lefebvre. He brings this theme to the centre in his inspiring book *The Production of Space*. In order to understand his conceptualization, his concepts will be applied throughout the chapter. Lefebvre's treatment of space differs from the classical views to the issue. In his understanding, space becomes a social product. Before looking at how Lefebvre

explains the issue, views of Georg Simmel and Karl Marx on space will be addressed. In this regard, it is thought that a comprehensive understanding can be achieved to locate Lefebvre's perspective in theoretical discussion.

It is not claimed that all studies on space will be presented here. As Crang and Thrift imply, this could not be possible regarding the enormous scope of the subject. They highlight that their intention in drawing out "some of the ways in which space figures in the strata of current philosophical and social theoretical writing" is not to be comprehensive (Crang and Thrift 2000: 3). As they acknowledge, that would be "an impossible task" (Ibid.). The studies on space are not restricted with studies in the discipline of sociology, but the issue of space has also an important place in various disciplines such as geography, philosophy, history etc. Besides, it transcends the boundaries of disciplines and becomes an interdisciplinary concern. Thus, such an endeavor seeking to give a comprehensive look into the studies on space would not be possible regarding the scope of this thesis study. What is tried to be investigated in this part are some key ideas of Simmel and Marx on space that influenced the further studies and contributed to importance of space in sociological analysis.

5.1. Simmel and Space

Here, I will seek to present Georg Simmel's thoughts on space. Simmel's approach to space is considered as early and important contribution to the theory of space. This is put by Zieleniec as follows: "Georg Simmel's 'The sociology of space' provides the opportunity to consider what may be called the first sociological account of the importance of space for social relations" (2007: 34). Also, for Frisby and Featherstone (1997: 11) "the study of social space as a crucial dimension of social interaction and also of cultural formations constitutes one of those projects in which it can be said that Simmel, in many respects, was a pioneer". In Simmel's consideration, it is important to understand space in order to understand interaction. According to Simmel:

> Space is a crucial and fundamental element in human experience because social activities and interactions are and must be spatially contextualised. That is, the form in which social interactions are experienced and manifest are operative in delimited, delineated and prescribed space. Space then is both a determining aspect of interactions, but which is also simultaneously socially constructed by such interactions (Zieleniec, 2007: 34-35).

Thus, he considers space in its reciprocal relationship with social interaction. It is pertinent to look at briefly Simmel's understanding of society to comprehend how he conceptualizes space in the context of social interaction. Unlike Durkheim, Simmel does not consider society as a whole, but gives emphasis on every and each interaction. In Simmel's consideration, society is "the sum of its social interactions, be they immediate or distanciated, transparent or opaque…" (Allen, 2000: 54). Thus, what needs to be inquired is everyday social interaction among people. Simmel puts it "society exists where a number of individuals (for one another, with one another or against one another) enter into interaction…In turn this interaction always takes place from drives which are terminus a quo (e.g. love, hunger, impulse to play, etc.) or terminus ad quem (acquisition, defense, nourishment, instruction)…" (cited in Elliot & Turner, 2012: 106). For Simmel, "interactional 'forces' between individuals" constitutes society, which is no longer a 'system of active forces' operating upon individuals as in the view of Durkheim. Therefore, society is experienced "in every single interaction which we engage" (Frisby, 1992: 11).

As mentioned before space is a crucial issue in understanding of social interactions. According to Simmel, "it was precisely the innumerable forms of social interaction which brought space to life and endowed it with meaning" (Allen, 2000: 54-5).

> Simmel's contribution to the social theory of space may be placed within his overall corpus of work in which the investigation of forms of social interaction, their basis and the processes of reciprocal interaction by which we come to be members of society, were the foundation of his analysis…For Simmel social interactions have a spatial dimension – even the fact that he defines his sociology as the study of forms of sociation or social interaction suggests a spatial dimension (Zieleniec, 2007:38).

What will be discussed here are "aspects of space" which are identified by Simmel in order to seek spatial dimension in social interaction. As Zieleniec puts it:

> The relevance of Simmel's 'aspects of space'…lies in his attempt to give some detailed consideration to the way in which space has a significance for

how and where and why particular social formations and interactions are possible and are framed and shaped by their spatiality. That is, Simmel's 'aspects of space' provide an early sociological analysis of space as an important element for the substantive analysis of social spaces (2007: 40).

In the Sociology of Space, Simmel identifies five *aspects of space as* 'exclusivity', 'boundaries', 'fixity', 'proximity and distance', and 'mobility'.

The first aspect which is spatial exclusivity implies the uniqueness of space. According to Simmel, "each portion of space has a kind of uniqueness…This uniqueness of space imparts itself then to the objects, in so far as they are presented as merely space-filling, and this becomes for praxis important for them to the highest degree, from which we tend precisely to emphasize and exploit the importance of space". (Simmel, 2009: 545-6). Considered that each *object* occupies a *different portion of space* provides a unique character to that space. This becomes as exclusivity of space. Werlen (1993) remarks that "Simmel's 'exclusivity of space' means that if an object is considered only from the point of view of its location on the earth's surface, and all its other characteristic dimensions are ignored, it is always unique: at any given time only one object can occupy a particular position" (p.168).

The second aspect of space which is particularly significant in Simmel's consideration on spatiality of interaction is *boundaries of space*. For Simmel (2009: 548) this "further quality of space that vitally affects to the patterns of social interaction is found in space dividing up for our practical use into portions that operate as units and…are surrounded by boundaries". Tonkiss (2005) directs a question that "how are boundaries made in space?" and states that "divisions of space are not simply physical facts but social products" (p.31). In Simmel's understanding, spatial boundaries are not only "formed and reproduced by social action", but also "impress themselves on ways of thinking" (Ibid). In Simmel's analysis of space, the boundary is considered beyond its physical aspect and considered at perceptive level as well. This points out that space is not taken for granted but it is socially constructed.

> The boundary in Simmel's analysis infers that space itself is not solely a physical or material fact, but instead a social construction that frames relationships between individuals and between groups. This social construction of space also acts by delimiting it to structure the spatial

relatedness of objects, features and social relations within it (its contents) and also the human interactions that can be manifest (forms of sociation) …Thus the social construction of space sets real and potential limits on that space and its contents. The boundary acts to structure the spatial and social relations that can occur between objects and human actions. This for Simmel is a fundamental point in the analysis of the importance of a space for social interactions (Zieleniec, 2007: 41-42).

The spatial boundaries include the discussion of "inside"/ "outside" or "us"/ "other". Both at the physical and notional level boundaries divide objects, places and people. "This boundedness of space thus represents a crucial aspect of Simmel's sociology: that of considerations of inside and outside… Without some means of sustaining 'us' there can be no way of excluding or identifying the 'other'" (Ibid., pp. 42-43). It can be claimed that "us" that is kept "inside" of the boundary requires an excluded "other" to realize itself. This interconnectedness of us/ them can be seen in the process of separation and connection as well. In the view of Simmel, the separation is not independent from the connection. Even, for him "the work of separating and connecting are part of the same process. To draw lines of separation in space makes no sense without the idea of connection" (Tonkiss, 2005: 31). Simmel puts the issue in "The Sociology of Space" as:

In designating two things as ' "separate", we have already related them to one another in our consciousness, we have emphasized these two things together against whatever lies between them…If we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning' (in Ibid.).

To conclude, it is important to stress Simmel's argument that the "boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially" (Simmel, 2009: 551).

The third aspect of space is conceptualized as *fixity of social forms in space*. This refers to "the degree to which social interactions may be localized in space" (Urry, 2001: 5). To put it another way, fixity indicates "the tension between the temporal transience of a particular event and the fact that any event does have to be grounded in a specific time and place" (Borden, 1997: 323).

The fourth aspect of space is proximity and distance. Here, what is considered is "the physical nearness or distance of persons who relate to each other in some way" (Simmel quoted in Werlen, 1993:170). As Werlen elaborates:

> Since objects and the bodies of agents cannot occupy the same spatial position at a given time, there is always a distance between them which can be characterized as nearness or distance in relation to a uniform spatial measurement. Simmel concentrates on the distance between agents, especially the way in which a social relationship between agents changes according to the geographical distance between them (Ibid).

According to Simmel, "fourth type of external circumstances, which translate themselves into the liveliness of sociological interactions, is offered by space through which the sensory proximity or distance between people who stand in some relationship or other to one another". (Simmel in Zieleniec, 2007: 44).

The last aspect of space is considered as mobility. The main premise of this aspect is "that agents and objects can change position. Apart from the unique position they occupy (which could, in theory, be a fixed one), agents and objects can also be distinguished by their physical 'mobility or immobility' " (Werlen, 1993: 169). Mobility can take various forms and meanings in different social contexts. "Whole groups can move their spatial determinants as in nomadic societies, but so also can individuals with particular functions (itinerant justices) or merely travellers (and here Simmel points to the temporary intimacy of interaction between travellers temporarily abstracted from their normal milieu)" (Frisby, 1992: 77). From another point of view:

> This mobility on the part of populations raises questions as to the inclusion or exclusion to 'common points of contact' whether for social, economic, cultural, educational or leisure purposes, are located near or far populations that may be dispersed on the outskirts of cities in peripheral housing schemes or who may live in rural areas, and for whom access to transport may make mobility difficult (Zieleniec, 2007:47)

Urry remarks that Simmel's analysis of these "five basic qualities of spatial forms found in those social interactions…turn an empty space into something meaningful" (2001:5).

5.2. Marx and Space

This part attempts to extricate spatial dimension in the understanding of Marx. In Marx, there is no explicit analysis of space. However, the notion of space can be traced through his analysis of capitalism as a specific mode of production. Soja (1985) argues that "space presented itself to Marx primarily as a physical context, the sum of the places of production, the territory of different markets, a crude friction of distance to be "annihilated" by increasingly unfettered capital" (p.104). According to Zieleniec:

> In Marx's analysis of the mode of production and in the social relations of capitalism, there are a number of concepts in which space and spatial relations are implicitly assumed if not explicitly given a detailed consideration. Thus, it is possible to identify space and spatial relations in Marx's analysis of capitalism through an emphasis on the role of space in a number of key areas that inform his overall critique of capitalism (2007: 4).

In the analysis of Marx, forces of production and the social relations of production constitute the economic structure of capitalist society. The forces of production include raw materials, land, labor, tools, machinery, knowledge, i.e., all necessary elements for production. Relations of production refer to the relationship between two classes which are bourgeoisie -as owner of forces of production- and proletariat -as having no ownership and control over forces of production-. According to Cohen, the role of space needs to be considered as a force of production. In his words:

> Space deserves membership in the set of productive forces. Ownership of space certainly confers a position in the economic structure. Even when a piece of space is contentless, its control may generate economic power, because it can be filled with something productive or because it may need to be traversed by producers…Thus on our account of the economic structure, space looks like being a productive force (Cohen, 1978: 51).

Zieleniec adds that:

> Thus space, its ownership, organisation, control and manipulation become a force in the organisation and operation of capitalism. That space can be conceived or perceived as owned has implications for who has the means, the power, to organise, structure and functionalise the actions and activities that can occur within specific delineated and delimited spaces. Thus, an initial analysis of Marx's critique and analysis of capitalism requires an acknowledgement of space as a fundamental force in and characteristic feature of the mode of production of society and also how it affects or has a

causal relationship to the social relations of that mode of production and of the society that is constituted by it (2007: 6).

Here, space is taken into account together with the understanding of the ownership and control of the forces of production. The role of space is innate, if not explicit regarding social relations of production. As Soja points out that;

> Marx recognized the opaqueness of spatiality, that it can hide under its objective appearances the fundamental social relations of production; and that he also approached, if not so directly, the basic problematic embedded in the social production of space, namely the interplay between social and spatial relations but also in a certain spatial contingency of social relations themselves. But this spatial contingency, especially within its inherited connotations of environmentalism, was reduced primarily to a form of fetishisation and false consciousness and never received from Marx an effective interpretation (1985: 104).

It can be argued that the spatiality of the social relations of production becomes more apparent in the analysis of division of labor which leads to separation of *industrial from agricultural* and of *town and country.*

> The division of labour inside a nation leads at first to the separation of industrial and commercial from agricultural labour, and hence to the separation of town and country and to the conflict of their interests. Its further development leads to the separation of commercial from industrial labour. At the same time through the division of labour inside these various branches there develop various divisions among the individuals co-operating in definite kinds of labour. The relative position of these individual groups is determined by the methods employed in agriculture, industry and commerce (patriarchalism, slavery, estates, classes). These same conditions are to be seen (given a more developed intercourse) in the relations of different nations to one another (Marx & Engels, 1998: 38).

As Marx identifies in the German Ideology, there have been different stages in the development of division of labor throughout the history. These are, chronologically, presented as tribal ownership, Ancient Communal City-States, feudalism, capitalism. Particularly, the division of labor of capitalism is analyzed in detail. "For Marx the historical development of the division of labour can be understood at a spatial level in that there is not only a concentration of populations forming larger tribes/nations/societies that both inhabit and control larger areas of land, but also an increasing concentration of populations in towns and cities" (Zieleniec, 2007: 15). In the analysis of labor division, the relation between town and country "so intrinsic

to capitalist spatiality…was treated primarily as a pure and direct reflection of the social division of labor" (Soja, 1985: 104). In Marx:

> Identification of the separation of town and country as a fundamental division of labour reflects an implicit awareness of space as a key element in understanding the development of capitalism… This separation of town and country creates a new spatial orientation for society, and which transforms not only social relations of production and reproduction but also its spatial organization (Zieleniec, 2007: 15).

The city becomes the "spatial form of capitalism" and it requires "to accommodate not only the rapid growth in population, but also its consolidation status as the locus for production, consumption as well as the social relations of production" (Ibid.: 15-27). This is why, "the spatial organisation of production and consumption requires mastery over space to ensure the most efficient organisation of production and consumption" (Ibid.).

5.3. Lefebvre and the Production of Space

In classical thinkers' conceptualization, space is only dealt with in an implicit way. Here, what will be presented is the understanding of Henri Lefebvre on space. In Lefebvre, "space needs to be understood in the context of the mode of production of a particular epoch" (Elden, 2004: 184). Particularly, he gives a detailed understanding of space of capitalist mode of production in his major work entitled *The Production of Space*. In doing this, Lefebvre applies to the Marxian concepts such as production, forces of production and relations of production in his analysis. Lefebvre's "thesis is that space must be considered alongside raw materials, instruments of production and labour power as belonging to the set of productive forces that are the basis for the capitalist mode of production" (Zienielec 2007: 68).

In the Production of Space, Lefebvre develops his theory of space on the basis of the argument that space is socially produced. For Lefebvre, "(social) space is a (social) product" (1991: 26). As Elden (2004) suggests both terms in the title which are production and space need to be examined critically. It is believed that the analysis of the concepts is crucial to understand the social production of space. In this regard,

first, the term of production will be elaborated regarding the "importance of Marx's understanding of production to Lefebvre's work" (Ibid.: 184). This significance is put by Zieleniec as follows:

> Lefebvre's use of the concept of production as applied to space is an extrapolation of Marx's concept to encompass all of human activity and historical development under capitalism...Lefebvre's understanding and use of the term production detailed in The Production of Space…explicitly reflects his indebtedness to Marx (2007: 62-68).

Besides, there is also a need to note that Lefebvre approaches to the term production as being different than Marx's understanding of economic production. According to Lefebvre:

> The term production acquires a more forceful and a wider significance, when interpreted according to Marx's early works (though still bearing Das Kapital in mind); production is not merely the making of products: the term signifies on the one hand 'spiritual' production, that is to say creations (including social time and space), and on the other material production or the making of things; it also signifies the self-production of a ' human being' in the process of historical self-development, which involves the production of social relations (1971: 30-31).

In Elden's words what Lefebvre means by production is that "production, then, is broader than the economic production of things (stressed by Marx) and includes the production of society, knowledge and institutions…Production in Lefebvre…needs to be grasped as both a material and mental process" (Elden, 2004: 184). In other words, In Lefebvre, the term production is considered beyond the classical Marxist understanding and it gains a broader meaning.

Hence, it can be arrived at the second term requiring to be discussed in detail. This highly important term is space itself which is produced. Lefebvre goes beyond the traditional Marxist consideration of space as well. "In the strict Marxist tradition social space would be considered part of superstructure, but for Lefebvre it enters into the forces of production, the division of labour, and has relations with property. Social space and space itself escape the base-structure-superstructure model" (Ibid.). In his view, space is not only a sphere in which production is realized. Together with Lefebvre, it is moved from the understanding of space in which production is

realized to the understanding of production of space itself. As Lefebvre puts it, "we have passed from the production of things in space ... to the production of space itself" (cited in Elden, 2004: 184). What envisages in Lefebvre's theory of production of space is not only the consideration of space as a product but also the strong emphasis on social relations. "Lefebvre's theory understands the production of space as emphasising the need to consider space as both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions" (Zieleniec, 2007: 60). As Lefebvre puts it "…any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)" (1991: 82–83). Lefebvre defines space, further:

> (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and /or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object...Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production) (1991: 73).

In Lefebvre, every society has its own space so that every society has its own "set of relations". It is the same for the modern capitalist society. "The importance of Lefebvre's conceptualization of the production of space is that it is presented as a critical analysis of the significance of space in modern capitalist society, that is, it is not to be separated from social relations" (Zieleniec, 2007: 68). As Urry also points out "Lefebvre is particularly concerned with the production of space under capitalism…There is succession from natural to absolute to abstract space, the effect being progressively to expel nature from the social. Abstract space is the high point of capitalist relations, leading to extraordinary "created spaces" " (2001: 11). Before looking at the abstract space in detail, it will be examined the dialectical understanding of space of Lefebvre. Zieleniec explains Lefebvre's dialectical view of space as follows:

> Lefebvre's approach was to apply the dialectical method to space. Dialectics is both a statement about what the world is, an ontology, as well as epistemology, a theory of knowledge, a critical study of validity, methods

and range, by which one organises the world for the purpose of study and presentation… Lefebvre's spatial dialectic involves the thesis that space is a material thing (defined, analysed and quantified according to its fixity, that is its geographical location as defined by Cartesian co-ordinates that locate an object in space). The antithesis is that space is a process involving social relations between people and between people and things in space. His synthesis is that capitalist space is produced; it is an object, a thing, whilst simultaneously a process, a means, a tool through which and in which, social relations, and therefore change, can occur (2007: 68-69).

Dialectics of space provide a comprehensive understanding of space. Accordingly, space is no longer considered as an empty entity which needs to be filled. Space is both a product and process of social relations as well as "a site of struggle". As Lefebvre argues that "space is not a neutral and passive geometry. Space is produced and reproduced and thus represents the site of struggle". (cited in Urry, 2001: 11). Then it may be argued that change becomes possible through struggle. For Lefebvre, it is crucial to 'change space' to 'change society'. At this point, it is significant to underline the political character assigned to space. "There is in Lefebvre's analysis the attempt to produce a theoretical analysis of space that has within it the potential for radical political action" (Zieleniec, 2007: 72). The idea that space is political, and it includes potential for struggle requires a detailed understanding about how space is produced under capitalist relations. To do this, it is necessary to go back to the concept of abstract space which is "the high point of capitalist relations" (Urry, 2001: 11) as well as "repressive economic and political space of the bourgeoisie" (Merrifield, 2000: 176). What follows will be the consideration of other related concepts including social space, homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchy of space and triadic elements in Lefebvre's theory of production of space.

Lefebvre considers space as being essential in the understanding of capitalism. As it may be understood in his words, "we now come to a basic and essential idea: capitalism is maintained by the conquest and integration of space. Space has long since ceased to be a passive geographical milieu or an empty geometrical one. It has become instrumental" (Lefebvre cited in Saunders, 1986: 108). Zieleniec states that "this instrumentality was evident in what Lefebvre saw as the development of capitalism as a system in which space itself came to be viewed as a scarce resource and was treated as a homogenous and quantifiable commodity, with an exchange

value to be traded, like any other commodity on the market" (2007: 67). That is, for Lefebvre,

> Space…is treated in such a way as to render it homogenous, its parts comparable, therefore exchangeable...The subordination of space to money and capital implies a quantification which extends from the monetary evaluation to the commercialisation of each plot of the entire space...Space now becomes one of the new 'scarcities', together with its resources, water, air and even light.' (Lefebvre quoted in Zieleniec, 2007: 67).

Hence, capitalism produces its own space by reflecting its own economic, political and ideological assumptions to the space. "Space, as Lefebvre makes clear, is also the product of ideological, economic, and political forces (the domain of power) that seek to delimit, regulate and control the activities that occur within and through it" (Zieleniec, 2007: 61). In the view of Lefebvre, abstract space which is considered as space of capitalism depends on exchange value. "Although space is not analyzed in Capital, certain concepts, such as exchange value and use value today apply to space" (Freiburg in Elden, 2004: 186). As Merrifield makes clear that "the whole space of capitalism would then represent the homogeneous economic space of exchange value" (1993: 521). Space like other commodities in capitalist system is attributed exchange value. Merrifield emphasizes the similarity between the concept of abstract labor of Marx and abstract space of Lefebvre. As he states that:

> this idea of "abstract" again has Marxian overtones: abstract space bears an uncanny resemblance to Marx's notion of abstract labor…Marx, remember, held that qualitatively different (concrete) labor activities got reduced to one quantitative (abstract) measure: money… At such a point, what was concrete, useful, and particular becomes abstract, money driven, and universal. Money becomes the common denominator of all concrete things, of every labor activity that creates commodities; Marx coined this kind of labor abstract labor…In no way does "abstract" imply a mental abstraction: abstract labor has very real social existence, just as exchange value does, just as interest rates and share prices do. Similarly, abstract space has real ontological status and gains objective expression in specific buildings, places, activities, and modes of market intercourse over and through space. Yet its underlying dynamic is conditioned by a logic that shows no real concern for qualitative difference. Its ultimate arbiter is value itself, whose universal measure (money) infuses abstract space (Merrifield, 2006: 111-2).

5.3.1. The Characteristics of Abstract Space

5.3.1.1. Homogeneity

In Lefebvre's theory of production of space, abstract space based on exchange value involves 'homogeneity', 'fragmentation' and 'hierarchy'. According to Lefebvre, homogeneity of space is "illusory". As he states that "the space that homogenizes has nothing homogenous about it" (Lefebvre, 1991: 308). The homogeneity of space is the aim of abstract space. In Lefebvre's words, "Abstract space is *not* homogeneous; it simply *has* homogeneity as its goal, its orientation, its 'lens'. And, indeed, it renders homogeneous. But in itself it is multiform" (Ibid.: 287). Then, it may be inferred that what is aimed in the capitalist production of space is this homogeneity of space. The differences which "resist" and "threaten" need to be erased by homogeneous space. Lefebvre calls this illusory notion of homogeneity as "instrumental homogeneity of space" and uses the analogy of "bulldozer"/ "tank" for homogeneous space. As Lefebvre puts it:

> We…know several things about abstract space. As a product of violence and war, it is political; instituted by state, it is institutional. On first inspection it appears homogeneous; and indeed, it serves those forces which make a tabula rasa of whatever stands in their way, of whatever threatens them- in short, of differences. These forces seem to grind down and crush everything before them, with space performing the function of plane, a bulldozer or a tank. The notion of the instrumental homogeneity of space, however, is illusory – though empirical descriptions of space reinforce the illusion- because it uncritically takes the instrumental as given (1991: 285)

5.3.1.2. Fragmentation

Fragmentation "is manifested in the breaking down of space into discrete units that can be privatized and traded as commodities" (Butler, 2012: 49). In Lefebvre, fragmentation of space leads to fetishism of space. Since it might be argued that dividing up the city into "isolated" parts brings the treatment of space as taken for granted. This "trap" which 'lies in exchange' conceals the social relationship inherent to the space. Lefebvre's thesis is seen as "a spatialized rendition of Marx's

conception of fetishism" (Merrifield 1993: 520; Zieleniec 2007: 69-70). In Lefebvre's consideration "the social relations necessary for the existence, that is the production of space are masked or hidden by the emphasis given to space as simply existing outwith the means and mode of capitalist production" (Zieleniec, 2007: 69). In Lefebvre, this is put:

> The ideologically dominant tendency divides space up into parts and parcels in accordance with the division of labour. It bases its image of the forces occupying space on the idea that space is a passive receptacle. Thus, instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it - relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production, so echoing the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces - we fall into the trap of treating space as space 'in itself', as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishise space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'things' in isolation, as 'things in themselves' (Lefebvre cited in Merrifield, 1993: 520)

5.3.1.3. Hierarchy

Following homogeneity and fragmentation, hierarchy comes as a third characteristics of abstract space. As Butler expresses (2012: 50) "the coalescence of forcibly homogenized and fragmented spaces reveals a third tendency of abstract space-towards the hierarchical ordering of space at the behest of economic, technological, administrative and political power". Space is hierarchized "from the lowliest places to the noblest" (Lefebvre, 1991: 282). It is aimed to have control over space through these characteristics of abstract space. As Lefebvre points out that "power aspires to control space in its entity, so it maintains it in a 'disjointed unity', as at once fragmentary and homogeneous: it divides and rules" (1991: 388). Here, the role of state power "in the construction of abstract space" becomes observable. "The state actively intervenes in the production of space and treats space as a political instrument through which social order can be maintained (Butler, 2012: 50). In Lefebvre's account, the political character of space is highly visible in the process of the production of space. Space becomes an *instrument* under the logic of capitalism

as well as space includes the struggle against homogenic and hierarchical order. It should be highlighted that "the space of (social) order is hidden in the order of space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 289).

> To be sure, Lefebvre is adamant that this overall process of space and place production is a deeply political event. Consequently, space internalizes conflictual and contradictory social forces and social conflict is thereby 'inscribed in place'. This conflict arises from the inextricable tension between the usage and appropriation of place for social purposes and the domination of place (and space) as a productive and commercial force through private ownership. Only class and social struggles, therefore, have the capacity to 'generate differences which are not intrinsic to economic growth' (Lefebvre, 1991a, 55). In the ideal world of capitalism, capital would be just a 'free-floating' flow liberated from any constraints of space and place. The whole space of capitalism would then represent the homogeneous economic space of exchange value. (Merrifield, 1993: 521).

In Lefebvre's understanding, what is aimed to be presented is the unity of space. In his view, the dualistic understanding of space needs to be overcame. According to Lefebvre, understanding of space was dominated by dualistic Cartesian thinking. The Cartesian viewpoint assumes a separation between the material (external) world and thinking (internal world), between *res extensa* and *res cogitans*, between the body and mind etc. Therefore, the leitmotiv of Cartesian conceptualization is duality (Merrifield, 1993). For Lefebvre, Descartes' view on space were contradictory. This is put by the following:

> On the one hand Cartesian space is reduced to a simple thought – a thought of quantity separated from a sensible quality. The experience of space is removed and replaced with the abstract, scientific quantification…On the other hand…space is a reality, outside of thought, the thought of cogito. Space is *res extensa*, which is entirely other than *res cogitans* (Elden: 2004: 187).

Besides Descartes' reductionist and contradictory view of space, Kant's understanding of space in which space and time are *a priori* categories is also criticized by Lefebvre. According to Kant "space…is something that people create in their perception. What is perceived by the senses becomes an "intuition" by being brought in consciousness into an order or form that is given the name space" (Low, 2016: 20). In the Production of Space, Lefebvre indicates that:

> With the advent of Cartesian logic…space had entered the realm of absolute. As Object opposed to Subject, as res extensa opposed to, and present to, res cogitans, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies…Then Kant revived, and revised, the old notion of the category. Kantian space, albeit relative, albeit a tool of knowledge, a means of classifying phenomena, was yet quite clearly separated (along with time) from the empirical sphere; it belonged to the a priori realm of consciousness (i.e. of the "subject") and partook of that realm's internal, ideal- and hence transcendental and essentially ungraspable structure (1991: 1-2).

As mentioned above, Lefebvre aims to present a unity of space which goes beyond the dichotomy between physical and mental space. For Merrifield (1993: 523), "Lefebvre's originality stems from the fact that he invoked the need for a 'unity theory'…between different 'fields' of space which had hitherto been apprehended separately in Western intellectual (Cartesian-Newtonian) practice". Those different dimensions of space which were separated in Cartesian thinking become reunited through unitary space theory of Lefebvre. Besides the reconciliation of physical (natural) and mental (ideological) space, Lefebvre includes the social aspect of space which was disregarded in the absolute conception of space into his theory of space. "Lefebvre strove for a unity theory of space, a rapprochement between physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space) and social space (the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias)" (Ibid.).

Hence, Lefebvre unites mental, physical and social space in understanding the production of space. In Lefebvre, *social space* is

> revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other...such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality...social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production (and within the relations of production). And these forces, as they develop, are not taking over a pre-existing, empty or neutral space, or a space determined solely by geography, climate, anthropology, or some other comparable consideration…A social space cannot be adequately accounted for either by nature (climate, site) or by its previous history...Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways…Such 'objects' are thus not only things but also relations (1991: 27-77)

According to Lefebvre, "social space…arises from practice the everyday lived experience that is externalized and materialized through action by all members of society, even the rulers" (Gottdiener, 1993: 131). Thus, social space is interactively used space of everyday life (Gottdiener et al., 2011). Lefebvre considers a conceptual 'the distinction' between social space and abstract space. According to him,

> Abstract space is constituted by the intersection of knowledge and power. It is the hierarchical space that is pertinent to those who wish to control social organization, such as political rulers, economic interests, and planners… Persons working from the model of abstract space continually try to reign in and control the social space of everyday life, with its constant changes, whereas social space always transcends conceived boundaries and regulated forms. Finally, both abstract and social space involve the triplicite: mental imaging, perceptions of built forms, and social practice (Gottdiener, 1993: 131).

In the Production of Space, Lefebvre introduces a "conceptual triad that expresses the complex interaction and dialectical unity between" mental, physical and social "levels of spatial relation" (Butler, 2012: 40). These three elements which are innate to the production of space consist of spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation. In the view of Lefebvre, "space is viewed in three ways, as perceived, conceived and live: l'espace perçu, conçu, vécu" (Elden, 2004: 190). In spatial term, Lefebvre's perceived-conceived-lived triad refers respectively to spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces.

5.3.2. The Conceptual Triad of Lefebvre

5.3.2.1. Spatial Practice

Spatial practice is identified as practice through which everyday life is produced and reproduced. It includes 'daily routine', 'the routes' and 'networks'. For Lefebvre (1991: 38), "spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction…The spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space". Lefebvre, also, suggests that spatial practices have close association with perceived space (Merrifield, 2006). Shields

elaborates this affinity between spatial practice and perceived space by underlying the "commonsense understanding" of space. As Shields states that:

> Spatial practice with all its contradictions in everyday life, space perceived (perçu) in the commonsensical mode…This 'commonsense' understanding characterises both taken-for granted everyday life (daily routines) and the logically rationalised urban (the milieu of routes and networks that we pass through on our way from home to work or play). We do not see that they are all linked together as part of an overarching arrangement, or spatialisation, complains Lefebvre. This commonsensical vision of space is limited to 'perceived space' and in fact ignores practice just as it ignores the qualitative meanings, the images and myths of places and regions. All this needs to become fully integrated into a 'total space', what Lefebvre refers to many times as lived space (1999: 160-162).

Besides, Lefebvre highlights that spatial practice holds 'continuity' and 'a certain cohesion'. However, as Lefebvre points out that "cohesiveness doesn't necessarily imply coherence" (Merrifield: 2006: 110).

5.3.2.2. Representations of Space

Representations of space refer to *conceived* space. It is conceptualized by professionals, planners, architects, urbanists and other constituents of scientific belt, "all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). It is considered as the dominant space of any society, "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to frontal relations" (Ibid.: 33).

As Merrifield states that "representation implies the world of abstraction what's in the head rather than the body" (2006: 109). This is put by Lefebvre as a "conceived space; usually ideology, power, and knowledge lurk within its representation" (Ibid.). Lefebvre points out that the system of space is not only spatial practice, "in the sense of its social construction", but "the representations of it" and" discourses about it", and "it is also equally its reflexive effects, promoting here, limiting there" (Shields, 1999: 154). Hence, regarding the production of space, representations of space have a "substantial role and specific influence. Their intervention occurs by way of construction – in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the

building of a particular structure, place or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture" (Lefebvre, 1991: 42). Through their interventions, then, representations of space, space of "capital, state, bourgeoisie" (Merrifield, 2006: 109), try to control over perceived and directly lived space.

5.3.2.3. Representational Space (Spaces of Representation)

In Lefebvre's view, this corresponds to lived space. It can be argued that space may be lived different than how space is conceived. This is closely related with everyday experiences of inhabitants and users rather than the conceptualization of space. As Merrifield (2006: 110) argues that spaces of representation are "felt more than thought". Lefebvre puts it as follows:

> Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an active kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations…Consequently it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic (1991: 42).

According to Lefebvre, representational spaces do not need to obey rules of *consistency* or *cohesiveness* (Ibid.). Indeed, they are so elusive that "thought and conception want to master it, need to appropriate and dominate it" (Merrifield, 2006: 110).

Each of these three elements which are interrelated are centrally important in understanding the production of space. Lefebvre stresses the dialectical relationship within the perceived-conceived-lived triplicity. He strongly emphasizes the existence of three, not two elements which transcends the conceptual dualisms, such as 'subject and object', 'res cogitans and res extensa' of Descartes, and 'the Ego and non-Ego' of the Kantians. What Lefebvre wishes is to "point up the dialectical relationship which exists within the triad of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived. A triad: that is, three elements and not two" (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

Lefebvre gives the example of the body in order to provide a better understanding for his 'spatial triad' or how he puts for "the three moments of social space" (1991). According to him, this is possible since "the relationship to space of a 'subject' who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship to his own body and vice versa" (Lefebvre, 1991: 40). In this sense, as Shields does, it needs to be asked "what is the spatial practice of the body?" (1999: 165). For Lefebvre, spatial practice presumes "the use of the body: the use of hands, members and sensory organs and the gestures of work as activity unrelated to work. This is the realm of the perceived (the practical basis of the perception of the outside world)" (1991: 40). If we direct the same question to 'representations of the body', it might be assumed as bodily knowledge. As Lefebvre states that "representations of the body…derive from accumulated scientific knowledge, disseminated with an admixture of ideology: from knowledge of anatomy, of physiology, of sickness and its cure, and of the body's relations with nature and its surroundings or 'milieu' " (Ibid). The body which is considered as 'lived experience', "as itself a space of representations, returns us to metaphors to evoke the symbolic and mythic" (Shields, 1999: 166). For Lefebvre, this is very complex part because of the intervention of 'culture' which becomes apparent here 'via symbolisms'. He supposes that "the 'heart' as *lived* is strangely different from the heart as *thought* and *perceived*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 40).

In Lefebvre, the social production of space is operated on these three elements. The relationship between perceived-conceived-lived levels are interconnected. However, "the problem under capitalism is, according to Lefebvre, that primacy is given to the conceived; all which renders insignificant the 'unconscious' level of lived experience. What is lived and perceived is subsumed under what is conceived. The social lived space is crushed by abstract conceived space" (Merrifield, 1993: 524). Abstract space reveals itself as homogeneous in appearance, which is its strength (Lefebvre, 1991). It tries to undermine the differences by rendering space homogeneous. "It denies the celebration of lived difference, of tradition, of *jouissance*, of sensual *differential* space" (Merrifield, 1993: 524). According to Lefebvre, abstract space is space in which the tendency of homogenization is tried to achieve through the way of repression. As Lefebvre presents that "abstract space is…repressive in essence and par excellence- but thanks to its versatility it is

repressive in a peculiarly artful way: its intrinsic repressiveness may be manifested alternately through reduction, through…localization, through the imposition of hierarchy and segregation" (1991: 318). Hence, abstract space includes the reduction of differences, fragmentation and hierarchy of spaces. This reveals itself as:

> The space of sovereignty, where constraints are implemented, and hence a fetishized space, reductive of differences; a space, secondly, that is fragmented, separating, disjunctive, a space that locates specificities, places or localities, both in order to control them and in order to make them negotiable; and a space, finally; that is hierarchical, ranging from the lowliest places to the noblest, from the tabooed to the sovereign (Lefebvre, 1991: 282).

Besides, Lefebvre presents 'the right to be different' and 'differential space' contrasting to the characteristics of abstract space. As Butler points out:

> Abstract space tends to undermine social differences…As an alternative, Lefebvre clearly envisages differential space as an orientation towards produced or maximal differences and their social expression…Accordingly, the right to the difference can be regarded as a means of countering both the fragmentation…and the homogenizing forces of abstract space" (2012: 155-6).

As opposed to the homogenization, differences can bring an alternative spatialization. According to Lefebvre,

> differences endure or arise on the margins of the homogenized realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities…What is different is, to begin with, what is excluded: the edges of the city, shanty towns…Sooner or later, however, the existing centre and the forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences, and they will succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted from their side. In the latter event, centrality and normality will be tested as to the limits of their power to integrate, to recuperate, or to destroy whatever has transgressed (1991: 373).

Thus, it can be argued that the different which is excluded has potential to change the existing hegemonic spatiality of capitalist system. In Lefebvre's account, "'Change life!' 'Change society!" These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space" (1991: 59). In this vein, the change of society will occur together with the change in the space. The struggle of the different is vital here. Against the homogenized, hierarchical character of the abstract space what is provided is the right to difference. Unless the users, inhabits of the space stay in

silence, but give the struggle to preserve and live their differences, a new space can be born. This new space, as Lefebvre called, is the differential space which contrasts abstract space, "the space of capitalism".

> Thus, despite- or rather because of- its negativity, abstract space carries within itself the seeds of a new kind of space. I shall call that new space 'differential space', because, inasmuch as abstract space tends towards homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities, a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences (Lefebvre 1991: 52-55).

In Lefebvre's social theory of space, the intention is not to develop a discourse on space. As noted, before, he treats space as a social product so that he makes a detailed analysis on how space is produced under capitalism. He describes both the characteristics of the dominated space and its production 'process' in an exhaustive way. In Lefebvre's account, capitalism does not create a new space with its 'intelligence'. What is tried to achieve is to use and reproduce the space in the direction of its own interest. However, it may be inferred that the space of capitalism is not the only and one space that maintains its own hegemony in every condition. Since this dominated space involves also the 'seeds' of a new space which is not in the tendency of homogeneity, but favors the differences; not fragmented and hierarchized, but equated. However, as Lefebvre also highlights that "sooner or later, however, the existing centre and the forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences, and they will succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted from their side" (1991: 373).

This can be read through the contradictory relationship between abstract space and social space in which spatial segregation becomes visible. The former is tried to dominate the latter. Gottdiener puts this,

> The essential spatial contradiction of society is the confrontation between abstract space, or the externalization of economic and political practices originating with the capitalist class and state, and social space or the space of use values produced by complex interaction off all classes in the pursuit of everyday life…In modern society, abstract space- a homogeneous, fragmented, hierarchical space- has come to dominate social space, or the integrated space of the social communion, and the very productive potential of the latter has itself been attenuated. Consequently, social space has lost its

organic unity in the cities of modern societies- it has become pulverized into ghettos. As Lefebvre notes, "Those of elites, of the bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of the immigrant workers, etc., these ghettos are not juxtaposed, they are hierarchical, spatially representing the economic and social hierarchy, dominant and subordinated sectors" (quoted in Martins, 1982: 182). The hegemony of the capitalist class is renewed through this spatial segregation and through the effects of "the normalizing force" of state intervention in space (Gottdiener, 1994: 127).

The intention for the following section is to grasp how spatial segregation is approached in the literature.

5.4. Spatial Segregation in the Literature

Spatial segregation has been one of most studied issues in the field of urban studies. In Massey and Denton (1998), spatial segregation is defined as "the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment" (cited in Sykora, 2009: 419). Segregation is considered as "a spatial phenomenon when people living in one place are not connected to people living in other places. In other words, when 'place' is a category along which divisions emerge…segregation then is sociospatial" (Van Eijk, 2010: 3). From Gottdiener's perspective, "spatial segregation place poverty out of sight of the new inner-city elites" (Butler & Mussawir, 2017: 58) so that, as Gottdiener argues, the vast majority of the population has been liberated "from the responsibility for the less advantaged" (1994: 272). Herbert Gans brings the explanation on spatial segregation by regarding the issue of exclusion. In his account, "it [spatial segregation] has been used to denote a direct act of exclusion, a result of separation, a result of concentration, acts of selfisolation, and so on" (cited in Ruiz -Tagle, 2014: 25). Similarly, Andersen underlines the exclusion in understanding socio-spatial segregation. For him:

> Segregation takes place as an interaction between social and spatial differentiation and leads to a concentration of poor and excluded people…in certain parts of the city. This concentration leads to…changes in quality of the neighborhoods and to an exclusion of places as possible living areas. This exclusion of places then adds to spatial differentiation in the city and increases segregation (Andersen, 2012: 155).

According to Marcuse, "segregation is the process by which a population group is forced, i.e. involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area" (2001: 3).

There are plenty of definitions and understandings of segregation approaching segregation in/ through different context. In the early twentieth century, the major study in this field was done by Chicago School including scholars like Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick McKenzie. They raise concern over the link between spatial segregation and social differences in urban space.

> In the work of the Chicago School, lines of social difference could be mapped around functional divisions in space. Modern cities were distinguished not only by the size and concentration of their populations, but their patterns of differentiation. Cities, that is, produce and reproduce difference in ways which are marked in space (Tonkiss, 2005: 32).

Chicago School approaches segregation as a 'normal' and 'natural' phenomenon which comes through the growth in urbanization. Accordingly, "segregation is said to be a mere incident of urban growth, locational changes and urban metabolism; a condition that the city inevitably produces in a context of competitive cooperation, and as normal elements of city life" (Burgess, Park in Ruiz -Tagle, 2014: 14. Segregation "offers a place and a role to groups in the total organization of the city, establishing moral distances in the 'mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate' " (Ibid.)

Considered overall, the main criticism directed towards Chicago School has been their "naturalized understanding of segregation" as "territorial segregation" which "takes space as a surrogate for social distance" (Netto et al., 2015: 1084). In opposition to Chicago School's natural understanding of segregation, Marxist and urban political economy influence the understanding of segregation based on the view that "segregation is structurally determined by the capitalist social and economic structure" (Ruiz -Tagle, 2014: 16).

In the literature, the issues of "difference" and "encounter" are discussed in the context of spatial segregation. As Valentine (2014: 75) states that "difference is a hallmark of cities". If the cities are concentration of people coming from different socio-economic background, then how those differences are treated in the urban

context. According to some approaches, encounters of different people are realized on the basis of integration and respect. However, for some others, encounters involve exclusion as well. The different 'other' are not always welcomed 'respectively' but what might matter is the conflict, exclusion and stigmatization. For Valentine,

> After a decade or more in which the city was characterized as site of crime, conflict and withdrawal (e.g. Davis, 1990; Mitchell, 2003; Smith, 1996; Valentine 1989) the city of the twenty-first century is being re-imagined as a site of connection. Iris Marion Young was one of the first commenters to celebrate the city as a site of difference. She described city life as 'a being together of strangers' (Young, 1990: 240). More recently Doreen Massey (2005: 181) has referred to our 'throwntogetherness' with others in the city; Laurier and Philio (2006:193) describe the city as 'the place, above all, of living with others'; while Sennett (2001) argues that: [a] city is a place where people can…enter into the experiences and interests of unfamiliar lives…to develop a richer, more complex sense of themselves (2014: 77).

Thus, in the literature, one of the prominent views is that everyday urban encounters celebrate the differences. Valentine evaluates much of the writing about cosmopolitanism and new urban citizenship as having a "positive focus" on everyday social encounters. From that perspective, "the contact with 'others' necessarily translates into respect for difference" (Valentine, 2014: 78). However, this approach is criticized by Valentine as being 'naïve'. In her understanding,

> Encounters never take place in a space free from history, material conditions and power. The danger is that contemporary discourses about cosmopolitanism and new urban citizenship, by celebrating the potential of everyday encounters to produce social transformations, potentially allow the knotty issue of inequalities to slip out of the debate" (Ibid.: 89).

Unlike the approaches considering that encounters celebrate differences, Netto et al. see that encounters potentially include the spatial segregation. Even they consider encounters as among the "key features of segregation" (Netto et al., 2005: 1084). They argue that "we see spatial segregation as a way to engender social distance. Space separates… Our cities…seem efficient machines for engendering distance between different" (Ibid.).

As it is seen in the view of Netto et al., encounters do not always embrace the differences, but they underline the "segregative potential of encounter" as well as integrative. Hence, they acknowledge that "if we are to understand the integrative/segregative potential of encounter, we must turn to the fabric of daily

actions beyond segregated areas, to discuss more nuanced spatialities of segregation (Netto et al., 2005: 1088). In their analysis, it is presented that socially different actors have different urban experience. Under unequal socio-spatial conditions, differences may lead the 'invisibility of the other' which may bring the "emergence of different social worlds within the same city. The systematic disjunction of encounters turns social difference into social segregation" (Ibid.: 1100).

In Linton Freeman's view, segregation is identified "as the restriction on the presence of the other in our performances". For him, segregation does not refer to limitations on interaction; however, it refers to "restrictions on access to some physical pace" (cited in Netto et al., 2005: 1087). In Freeman's words, "all restrictions on interaction…are forms of segregation- in social space" (Ibid.). As Netto et al. (2005) state that Freeman's definition of segregation has common points with Brun and Chauviré's thoughts on segregation. In the view of latter, segregation is seen as "a deliberate procedure that aims at preventing certain types of contacts, especially among socially different actors" (Brun and Chauviré in Netto et al., 2005: 1087).

5.4.1. Gated Communities and Spatial Segregation

Gated communities are taken into consideration together with spatial segregation in various studies in global context (Caldeira, 2000; Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005; Lemanski, 2006; Roitman; 2006) and the context of Turkey, (Erkip, 2010; Kurtuluş, 201; Özkan-Töre and Kozaman-Som, 2009). Roitman asserts that many studies emphasize on the close relation between gated communities and the issue of urban segregation. However, "in many cases this theoretical assumption is not validated by empirical data" (2006: 112). In her paper, 'Who Segregates Whom? The Analysis of a Gated Community in Mendoza, Argentina', she supports that idea by conducting a case study. She carries interviews with three different groups including the residents of a gated community, neighbors outside the gated community and policy makers, developers etc. She analyzes how two groups separated by the walls of the gated

community perceive each other. There appear some similarities between Roitman's study and this study in terms of the design and the findings. Her study includes perceptions of gated community residents as well as the residents outside the community, as this study does as well. In both, spatial segregation is analyzed following the perception (in addition to the perception, the experiences are followed as well in the case of this study) of inhabitants. Also living in gated community becomes as not only an issue of security but also an issue of prestige and status in both cases. In each case, the boundaries of the gated community contribute the limited knowledge of the 'other'. This is coherent with what Low presents: "gated communities can create a symbolic barrier between residents and non-residents by emphasising social differences between the two groups. 'The other' – considered as the one who lives in the surrounding area – might be underestimated or thought of as potentially dangerous" (Low, 2003). This is thing which is observed among most of the residents of the gated community in this study. In Roitman's case, "the feeling of being different or even the enemy is always present in the two sides' discourses" (2006: 127).

5.4.2. Spatial Segregation: Gated Communities and Outside Neighborhood

The qualitative design of this study denotes resemblance with the studies of Lemanski (2006), Salcedo and Torres (2004) in terms of considering gated community and poor neighborhood outside the gated community together. Besides, inquiry on perception of gated community by other people is common in this study and the study of Manzi and Smith Bowers (2005). These are among a few studies which take the gated community into consideration together with the outside neighborhood. In other words, they include both inside and the outside of gated community into the analysis.

The study of Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008: 9) approach spatial segregation through two different residential areas, which are considered as "so-called "spaces of decay" and "privileged spaces". One of them is a product of gecekondu

transformation project and the other is a gated community. They describe both neighborhoods as a 'spaces of neoliberalism' and consider spatial segregation in relation to neoliberal policies. According to them, "socio-economic and political processes of neoliberalism have paved the way for the social and spatial segregation of the emerging groups of poverty and wealth in urban spaces" (Ibid.).

These studies which have more or less similar context with this study are notable in order to locate this study in the literature. This study contributes to the literature by analyzing experiences and perceptions of both the gecekondu neighborhood and the gated community residents in understanding of spatial segregation.

CHAPTER 6

THE EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION OF SPACE

In this section the empirical data collected during the fieldwork will be analyzed in the light of theoretical issues mentioned in the previous sections. Firstly, the experiences and uses of space of residents will be discussed regarding the differences between two groups. The findings will be gathered under three sub-titles which look at the role of (1) ethnicity, (2) gender and (3) socio-economic status & lifestyle. Secondly, perceptions of the two neighborhoods' residents will be mentioned. The look from the gecekondu neighborhood to the gated community and vice versa will be included, according to the interviews. Finally, issue of spatial segregation will be raised on the basis of residents' experiences and perceptions.

6.1. Experiences and Use of Space

Here the aim is to understand the experiences and use of space of inhabitants of two neighborhoods and whether there are differences in terms of ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status. The interviews reveal that prominent issues of each neighborhood differ. There appear significant differences in the use and perception of space of residents. The categories of ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status & lifestyle have different roles in the experiences and use of space. Following their experiences and also perceptions below, the final aim is to arrive at answer to the main research question of this study whether there is a spatial segregation.

6.1.1. The Role of Ethnicity and the Use of Space

The significance of ethnicity is observed in the case of gecekondu. The ethnic identity of the gecekondu residents, which is Alevism (Alevilik) becomes an important category not because of residents' strong emphasis on their ethnicity. However, it can be seen through their explanations stressing on the vital importance of the solidarity among their Alevi community. As it is seen in their narratives, solidarity means a way to cope with daily problems -by supporting each other to fulfil their needs and keeping intimate neighborhood relationships. A resident of the gecekondu neighborhood expresses:

> There was solidarity in the past. The burden of life was not seemed that heavy because people were handling it together. People were coming together and helping one who needs in solidarity. People were even sharing their bread with whom in need[1]. (Cansu, 36, Homemaker)

Not only to handle daily problems, but also to have a sense of security, solidarity is given priority by inhabitants. To put another way, they feel themselves secure thanks to the solidarity among them. This is expressed by Haydar (44, Hairdresser), one of the residents of the gecekondu neighborhood as follows:

> Friendship, neighborhood was so good before. We did not lock the door here. We were able to keep our belongings out. We were together[2].

Among the neighbors, feeling of safety is expressed mostly through the sense of community. Thrust building is realized over their close relations and unity. The emphasis on "unlocked doors" in the neighborhood signifies the feeling of safety of thrust based relations in their community. Another resident expresses similar views about the neighborhood in which they have lived in close community ties. He states his content with the neighborhood till now when there are strong ties among all neighbors (Kazım, 55, transporter) [25]. Sakine (60, Hommaker) [26] has similar

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[25] "Önceden iyiydi buralar. Kardeş gibi geçiniyok hep bir arada. Komşuluklarımız çok iyiydi".

In the past, here was so good. Everyone is like siblings. Our neighborhood was so good.

[26] "Önceden biz birlikken, buralar çok güzeldi".

expression about the issue. Bahar (47, Homemaker), resident of the gecekondu neighborhood, expresses the situation in the neighborhood in the days of solidarity wisthfully in the following way:

> In the past there was friendship, there was solidarity here [in the neighborhood]. Our neighborhood relationships were good. There was no fighting in our neighborhood in the past. We were supporting each other, and we had no problem among us. We miss those days[3].

Bahar and all other inhabitants of the neighborhood underline that they 'miss' the past of the neighborhood. As they narrate, the neighborhood loses its characteristics when local residents referring to Alevi population start to leave the neighborhood. Then feeling of security is replaced by insecurity while content with the neighborhood is replaced by discontent and frustration. This is illustrated by the following:

> But now, everyone is scattered. This place is not a safe anymore because everyone left here[4]. (Haydar, 44, Hairdresser, resident of the gecekondu neighborhood)

The feeling of insecurity, which becomes after local residents' leaving from the neighborhood, is expressed by another gecekondu dwellers as follows:

> I do not feel safe in the neighborhood anymore. My daughter comes to home earlier than me from the high school. I always afraid. I call her two or three times a day and ask whether she comes home and locks the door. I say her call me or your father if anything happens. I mean, we always live with this fear. We struggled here, continued and protect it but as if we protect the struggle all this time for Syrians. Now Syrians are bothering us. We cannot put anything in front of the door. There happens theft. I mean we afraid, there are various kind of people here. We do not know what will happen. We do not know what we are going to face. If God allows, I plan to move next summer[5]. (Dilek, 49, Cleaner)

As it is mentioned, the problems arise in the lack of strong community ties which is the main source of solidarity. Hence, the emphasis on discontentedness considering the current situation in the neighborhood become common among the residents.

Dilek (49, Cleaner) mentions her discontent with the neigborhood by adding that:

When we were in solidarity, this place was beautiful.

> I was glad to live in the neighborhood, but I am not glad any more. Actually, it is not the same neighborhood as it was in the past. The neighborhood was so beautiful. We were not living alone at that times. There was solidarity among us[6].

Kazım (55, transporter) expresses his discontent with the neighborhood regarding the role of urban renewal project, which has been planned to carry out in the gecekondu neighborhood. According to him, the reason why people -who are able to afford living in other place- start to leave the neighborhood, which leads to dissolvement, is the urban renewal project.

> Now, I am not happy with the neighborhood anymore. Urban transformation project appeared. People who have money left the neighborhood but other people having no money stayed here. Neighborhood is almost dissolved[7].

Kazım implies that neighborhood dissolves due to the fact that people are not stand all together anymore. Accordingly, those who are in a better situation in economic terms leave their neighbors behind. The link between dissolvement of the neighborhood and not being in solidarity is revealed by the inhabitants clearly. They emphasize that rather than the urban renewal project itself, breakdown of solidarity which is the main source of resisting against the project brings almost demolishment of the neighborhood.

For Bahar (47, Homemaker),

> They want to build high apartments here. They want to displace us. We struggled to protect our houses. They raided and sent the mafia here. In the past there was friendship, there was solidarity. But now, everyone scattered…I do not know what is going to happen[8].

Sakine (60, Homemaker) states that:

> It has been more than 25 years since I moved here. I was glad to live here. But it gets hard when you are alone. Some people moved to Mamak, some moved to Etimesgut. What would happen if they didn't leave?... We were subjected to the attack of mafia. They all frightened us with gun. We suffered a lot. When we were united, this place was beautiful. I don't know what will happen. The neighborhood will be demolished. I will move to Mamak, too[9].

Zümrüt (46, homemaker) agrees that their neighborhood will be demolished soon.

I have been living here since 1993. Even if I want to be hopeful about future, I think the neighborhood will be demolished soon. Since there is no resistance at all. Everyone left the neighborhood one by one. There are a few local people now. If I had the chance, I would move, too. I would like to move to Dikmen[10].

Dilek (49, Cleaner) explains that

It could not be possible to resist here for 10 years without having solidarity...The number of police who came to attack us was 5.000. We resisted against 5.000 policemen. We did not want to leave. We did not give up. Since we were aware that our struggle is vital. When we lost the solidarity among us, our neighborhood has started to dissolved. We lost our old neigborhood once our struggle became weakened. Now, it is unclear what will happen to the neighborhood. This is why, we have to plan to move Mamak. Maybe, the neighborhood will be demolished, but I believe that our struggle will survive in memories of next generations. Since I have experienced the struggle as well as my little daughter has experienced it and she will narrate what is lived here to her children[11].

What is common in the expressions of the gecekondu inhabitatants is the significance of struggle and resistance in defending their neighborhood. Moreover, the resistance against the project becomes a matter of survival for the gecekondu neighborhood. In this vein, the case of gecekondu neighborhood has characteristics in common with what Lefebvre presents that:

Differences endure or arise on the margins of the homogenized realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities…What is different is, to begin with, what is excluded: the edges of the city, shanty towns…Sooner or later, however, the existing centre and forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences, and they will succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted from their side. In the latter event, centrality and normality will be tested as to limits of their power to integrate, to recuperate, or to destroy whatever has transgressed (1991: 373).

For gecekondu dwellers, the struggle against the urban renewal project which has been given for years is a vital part of their spatial practices in order to preserve the 'differences' of the neighborhood. Otherwise, it seems inevitable that "the lived experience is crushed, vanquished by what is 'conceived of' " (Lefebvre, 1991: 51). This can be seen in the responses of the gecekondu dwellers. They consider that the demolishment of the neighborhood is inevitable as the resistance of the project becomes weak.

Haydar (44, Hairdresser), resident of the gecekondu neighborhood, is agree with his neighbors about the relationship between the strength of resistance and the future of the neighborhood. He adds -as Dilek (49, Cleaner) does above- how they are subjected to the forces of the state while they are resisting against the project. He also draws attention to the change in the neighborhood when struggle against the urban renewal project has become weak.

> There was a struggle in the neighborhood. We knew our enemy. It was the state forces. When they had attacked to the neighborhood, we stood against the panzer. We were beaten with truncheon. What we need to do was certain; resisting. Almost all-night students came here to act with solidarity. I mean, here was the best place where people's rights were defended. It was an incredible place. There was a magnificent defense system here if you omit the last few years. Solidarity among people was very important. But then, everything started to change. People started to condone everything not to lose their houses. Money got involved, and everything changed. Struggle has also ended. Now, I do not know what happens. There is no communication here. There is nothing here anymore. Everyone stands back to their own place[12].

Hasan (44, Hairdresser) describes the forces of state as their enemy because they attack to their neighborhood and demolish it. Dilek (49, Cleaner) argues that they resist against the attack of police to defend the neighborhood. This brings us the issue of intervention of state forces into space, as Lefebvre presents. In his account, the intervention of state into space is considered toghether with the conceptualization of fragmentation and homogenization of space. Lefebvre regards that homogeneity and fragmentation as two characteristics of space stand together despite their "formal irreconcilability" (Lefebvre, 1991). Following the perspective of Lefebvre, political power- state will be included into discussion to grasp how fragmentation and homogeneity of space held together. In his account, the aim of state is to maintain space fragmented as well as homogeneous in order to control it. According to Lefebvre, "only an act can hold – and hold together – such fragments in a homogenous totality. Only action can prevent dispersion, like a fist clenched around sand" (1991: 320). For Lefebvre, this is "the action of political power which creates fragmentation and so controls it – which creates it, indeed, in order to control it" (Ibid: 321). As the aim of "state-political power" is to control space, it tries to maintain space as fragmentary and homogeneous: "it divides and rules" (Ibid.: 388). Lefebvre points out that state- political power is everywhere. In some places, it is

'diffuse' while in others it is 'concentrated' The presence of state becomes apparent in the gecekondu neighborhood through its repressive forces used against the struggle of gecekondu people. It may be said that presence of state is more 'concentrated' in the gecekondu neighborhood.

Regarding all, at the current situation, the inhabitants of gecekondu express their frustration because of losing the solidarity among them. For them, this leads to the end of resistance in the neighborhood. What is expected -in the near future- is the demolishment of the neighborhood by the repressive forces of state. This is put by the residents in a similar way.

Cansu (36, Homemaker) states that:

> The future of the neighborhood is uncertain. There is no information about what will happen. I do not think that they will leave here to us[13].

For Ayşegül (32, Company Employee):

> This neighborhood will probably be demolished soon. We have no information about what will happen. They say this place will be demolished and be like Park Vadi Houses down there. We will be here until they demolish it. Most people left the neighborhood because of this valley project. If they demolish this place, we will move, too. We will move to Mamak[14].

According to Ali (39, Salesman):

> Sooner or later, construction will come here, it is inevitable. This year or next year… The project what they planned will be realized. Since, the real owner of this area will come here. The real owners are not the people who reside for years. The real owners are people having high social status, not us. There is no government that sees us as owners anyway. There is no government that sees you as a citizen, as a society, or as an individual. There is no government here that recognizes you anyway[15].

The dwellers of gecekondu emphasize the importance of struggle in order to maintain their everyday life in the neighborhood. Since they are exposed to displacement in case urban renewal project is realized. Thus, for them, struggle against the urban renewal project becomes the only way to be able to preserve their sheltering in the neighborhood. Here, the common focus is the significance of solidarity. They believe that they can handle problems through solidarity. The

gecekondu dwellers underline that they missed their "old" neighborhood. In their description, they previously had strong neighborhood relationship and they were supporting each other. As it is pointed out by Ayata and Ayata (1993) "gecekondu settlements are places where sharing and support is the rule" (in Erman, 1997: 100). It is seen that this is the case for the Dikmen gecekondu neighborhood as well. According to the gecekondu residents, they did not have a security concern before. However, they consider that the neighborhood is not safe anymore. Since local residents left the neighborhood and "other" people moved into the neighborhood. For most of the gecekondu residents, 'security' becomes a concern in their daily life in the neighborhood because of 'new comers' to the neighborhood. This leads to inner-neighborhood exclusion towards the new comers in the gecekondu neighborhood. Additionally, some of them states that they do not feel secure because of the repressive attitude of the state which plan to realize the last part of urban renewal project of Dikmen Valley. Here, exclusionary practices of state towards gecekondu dwellers becomes visible. Regarding the current situation of the neighborhood, gecekondu dwellers agree that their neighborhood lost its peaceful athmosphere and its spirit based on solidarity and intimate social relations.

6.1.2. The Role of Gender and the Use of Space

The role of gender in the use and experiences of space becomes more visible in the gated community than the gecekondu neighborhood. There appears no remarkable difference between women and men regarding the use of space in the gecekondu case of this study. However, in the gated community the role of gender reveals itself in the concern of security and in the overemphasis on sport facilities inside the gated community. While the former is expressed mostly by women, the latter becomes significant among men. Although the search for security is one of the most important factors in the preference of neighborhood, the significance of security provided by the gated community is more strongly expressed by women rather than men. Here, it is seen that the use of public space is limited among female residents of Park Oran because of feeling of insecurity outside the

neighborhood. They prefer to meet with their friends at Panora shopping mall. They have a walk inside the secure atmosphere of the gated community, not outside the gates referring chaos and danger. A female resident of Park Oran puts it in the following way:

> In addition, you have a chance to walk around. Even if I am alone in the area of the building complex, I like to walk around. However, it is impossible to have a walk outside Park Oran. I cannot walk freely on the street. You are exposed to verbal harassment on the street, but it is impossible in the building complex. Since there are a lot of foreigners such as ambassadors and other embassy members etc.[16]. (Nesrin, 52, Doctor)

Another woman mentions her feeling of safety thanks to living in a gated community:

> I can stay alone for days and I do not scare. In this regard, it is a peaceful place. Nowadays, you could not stay at many places for days. They are not really safe. Our building complex is safe, there is no life security outside[17]. (Deniz, 49, High School Teacher)

Gülşah (49, Dentist) also stresses on how she feels secure inside the gated community:

> I feel safe here in Park Oran. There is a private security. We have the same security company with Panora. They are working organised. Police cars patrol around here because of the shopping mall[18].

Deniz (49, High School Teacher) states her pleasure about Park Oran's secure environment:

> I am glad of Park Oran. First of all, it is a safe place. No one bothers another, it does not have a neighborhood culture. There is no neighborhood pressure. No one wonders who comes to house or where one works etc. I feel safe here. I am very comfortable about this. You can have a walk in the building complex even it is 03.00 am. It is surveilled 24/7. The security staff enters garages and floors all the time. It is nice to live in a building complex which means security. I do not feel myself troubled. I feel so free when I enter the area of my house[19].

As it can be inferred from this statement, gated community is seen as fulfilling the search for "privacy and anonymity 'behind the gates' " (Erkip, 2010: 97).

The search for security becomes a determinant in terms of preference to live in a gated community. Nesrin (52, Doctor) expresses her preference for living in Park Oran gated community:

> It is a safe place. My daughter can go to shopping mall. She can hang out with her friends anytime she wants. There is no problem about that. As a woman I can come and go to home alone anytime[20].

Gülşah (49, Dentist, resident of Park Oran) prefers to live in a gated community instead of a detached house because of security concern as being a woman, who lives alone.

> If I found a place which is similar here but has no traffic, I may consider moving. But I prefer a building complex again. I won't consider an individual place because I live alone[21].

In other respects, male residents of Park Oran give emphasis on vital importance of having sport facilities in the neighborhood. It is seen that the masculin identity is built over sport, which is mostly seen as a tool to have stereotyping "masculin body". Besides sport, physical, such as high-rise buildings, physical proximity of house-office- sport center and social caharacteristics, like social athmosphere of the community of Park Oran are underlined issues among men. This is illustrated by the following:

> For me, Park Oran is one of the most lively place in Ankara. I mean lively not lively like Bahçeli (Bahçelievler), more comfortable, upright and lively. I don't know whether it is the right phrase, though. Not much crowded, not like Kızılay or Bahçeli . I love this place. I like high-rise buildings very much. I like high rise apartments more than single-flat houses. You have shopping mall close by; Panora. I think it is the most beautiful shopping mall in Ankara. You are close to it as well as you live in a high-rise apartment. What more could I want, it is such a great environmnet. My gym is also inside the building, so I don't waste time for going nowhere. My gym, home, my office, all in the same place. I never stuck in traffic, never. My office is in Park Oran. I go out from office, go to gym and then in two minutes I'm at home. I meet with my friends at Panora in my leisure time. I don't prefer cafés outside Panora. I prefer Panora. Such an ease![22] Hakan (29, Civil Engineer)

Bartu (38, Mechanical Engineer) appeciates green area and specifically the sport complex within the gated community. Beyond the appreciation, he identifies the sport center as his priority.

The building complex is successful in terms of its green area. Landscaping of Park Oran was done professionally. I find the environment beautiful. Building complex has sports facilities. This is a priceless opportunity for me. I can do an activity that I like without wasting time in traffic. My house looks to the gym side. I don't think to move anywhere. This is a very important criteria for me, so my priority is having a gym in front of my house, as I said. I am very faithful, doing in with love. I don't want to make my life harder. By going some other places etc. There are also some other reasons. Other sport centers are crowded. They are not like here, only the building complex residents use the sport complex. So for most of the people it may not be important, but it is very important for me[23].

Unlike women, male residents do not consider the issue of security as gender-related. In other words, men do not mention feeling of safety by relating their gender. On the other hand, women takes the concern of security pointing out the difficiulties of being women. They consider that living in gated community is safe. However, they states fear of crime outside the gated community.

6.1.3. The Role of Socio-Economic Status & Lifestyle and the Use of Space

The socio-economic differences between the gecekondu neighborhood and the gated community residents become dramatically visible regarding the rents and prices of houses, income distribution of inhabitants, their consumption patterns and leisure time activities. Besides, the use of public transportation and the use of public/ or private services, such as school, health and the services provided by the municipality differ in each neighborhood.

The rents and prices of houses were not directly asked neither to the residents of the gated community nor to the gecekondu dwellers. However, the gated community dwellers imply how costs are high to afford living in Park Oran. On the other hand, the gecekondu residents who are mostly characterized 'urban poor' state that they can only afford living in gecekondu.

The remarkable difference between the gecekondu and the gated community residents in terms of their socio- economic background becomes evident in statements of the residents. While most of the gecekondu dwellers mention

monthly income of their household as minimum wage, the monthly income of household starts from about 15.000- 20.000 Turkish Liras for the residents of Park Oran, who give answer to the question of monthly income[27]. While the gecekondu residents point out that they are in financial difficulties, Park Oran inhabitants state that they can fulfil their needs without any difficulty. The further answers of interviewees regarding their economic situation put the difference between two groups clearly:

> Our [economic] situation is very extreme. It is far beyond these [the category of monthly income, which is stated as 1.000-3000; 3.001- 5.000; 5.001+ in the form of interview]. Well; I am in such a situation that I have access whatever I want. I am able to live very comfortably in the standards of Turkey. I do not know how to describe this[24]. (Enver, 55, Geological Engineer, resident of Park Oran)

On the contrary, a resident of the gecekondu neighborhood expresses:

> I do not consider my situation economically well. We try to sustain ourselves as much as we can do. Well, our household is composed of four people. Our household income per month is under 3.000 Turkish Liras. We hardly earn our livelihood by cutting down expenses on food, education and clothing. We cut down expenses on all for a living[25]. (Zümrüt, 46, Homemaker)

Similarly, another gecekondu dweller mentions they need to cut down on expenses in order to meet their basic needs.

> Our household's monthly income is minimum wage, between 1.000- 3.000 Turkish Liras. Our expenses are too much, my husband's transportation expense to work, my daughter's school expenses, food, electricity and other expenses…My daughter is studying at a state school, but for us it is expensive as if she is at a private school. On the other hand, one gram of minced meat is 40 Turkish Liras, one-kilogram tomato is 3.5-4 Turkish Liras. We cannot consume olive oil etc., already[26]. (Cansu, 36, Homemaker)

Sakine (60, Homemaker), a resident of the gecekondu neighborhood expresses her concern about how to afford living in Mamak, if they move from their neighborhood [in case the implementation of urban renewal project] while they have already financial hardship:

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[27] Some of them did not want to express their monthly income, but they stated their economic condition as good as they can sustain their life.

Our monthly income is minimum wage. All the salary of your Uncle Mustafa [Sakine's husband] is being spent for the bank credit which is received to buy a house. The other money [which is the rental income of the new house] is being spent for the needs like medicine etc. There is nothing left to us. This is how we live. Living here [the neighborhood] is more comfortable in terms of not paying for rent. There are difficulties but at least we have no expense for the rent. We were living with the rental income of the new house, but there is no tenant for three months. We bought that house with the bank credit, which have ten years installment. If we move there, I do not know how we afford living. There are a lot of expenditures there like gas, janitor expenses etc. I do not know. We are worried. Nobody left here, nothing is clear what will happen. If nobody had left, I wouldn't have moved. My son did not marry. He has a girlfriend, they are together for nine years. We want to marry them but there is no money. We are in a hard situation. I hope the God helps us[27].

In other respects, a resident of Park Oran declares his monthly income as follows:

I am a free lancer. Therefore, I cannot say a certain amount. I do not have a stable income. However, it is roughly around 60-70.000 Turkish Liras[28]. (Hüsnü, 56, Financial Consultant)

Considering all, as it is expected, the consumption patterns and leisure time activities of two groups differ. While the consumption habits of Park Oran residents exemplify conspicuous consumption, the gecekondu residents try to meet their basic needs.

We generally meet our needs from Kızılay. It is better for us since it is cheaper. We need to consider our budget, just like everyone else[29]. (Haydar, 44, Hairdresser)

A resident of Park Oran, however, mentions:

I go shopping at Panora. I do the grocery shopping at Panora because I care the brand and quality of a food. I use Panora for buying clothes as well. I like dressing. I think I dress well. I never buy an imitation product. I like the style of Network also Burberry, Beymen. I do shopping abroad, too. In fact, I have a very huge clothes cabinet. I think its value is equal to a price of a house[30]. (Deniz, 49, Highschool Teacher)

Besides, leisure time activities of the residents vary from person to person. However, what becomes notable is the difference between the gecekondu dwellers and the gated community residents. The former make emphasis on spending time in the neighborhood with neighbors not to lead any further expense, while the latter have activities based on consumption. In other respects, the use of public transportation is common for the gecekondu residents. Except one, they do not have their own car. However, the use of public transportation is very rare among the residents of Park

Oran. Only one resident mentions she sometimes use public transportation. The others do not use it at all. They all have their own car, and most of them have more than one car. Regarding services of the municipality, most of the gecekondu dwellers complain due to lack of services, such as ineadaquate infrastructure, lack of public transportation to the neighborhood, the problem of garbage in/around the neighborhood etc. The residents of Park Oran, however, have no concern about the services of the municipality considering their neighborhood. Since the services, such as cleaning, removing garbage outside the gated community etc are already given by a private company. Likewise, most of the residents of Park Oran are not that interested in having public school, health care center (sağlık ocağı) around the neighborhood. However, for the gecekondu residents, having no close by health care center. A resident of the gecekondu neighborhood (Cansu, 36, homemaker) states that there is a close by public school where her daughter studies, but the quality of education is low. As she argues further, the number of students are quite low because people residing in Oran do not send their children to this close by public school. This is why the school may subject to the risk of closing down. In her words:

> The children of Oran residents do not attend to this school. The number of the school is quite low. As I know, the school will be closed down if there is no enrolment to the next year. The level of education is not good. The teachers are qualified, but parents do not take care of their children[31].

As interviews denotes, the use of space differs in accordance with the socio-economic status of residents. The concerns of each neighborhoods' residents vary quite considerably. In Park Oran, the socio-economic status and lifestyle go together with being pleased with living in a gated community. Living in the gated community represents a certain lifestyle which is crystallized around social homogeneity regarding the socio-economic background of inhabitants. This exemplifies what Tanülkü suggests about the search for a lifestyle and the search for a community in a gated community. As she states, "the search for a lifestyle goes together with the search for a community: which is achieved through the homogeneity of residents in terms of class…background." (Tanülkü, 2012: 519)

In addition, the residents of Park Oran are happy to achieve all amenities from sport center to shopping mall. Socio-economic background of the residents plays significant role in terms of having accessibility to these facilities.

For Ceyhun (36, Pharmacist), besides other "opportunities", the most attractive thing about Park Oran is living close to Panora shopping mall.

> I'm happy to be so close to Panora. I love Panora. I feel so peaceful there. Park Oran has a very good green area, actually.. Park Oran is the biggest one in Ankara. As I heard that there is no such a place even in Istanbul. But we don't have an open pool. It is good to be close to the gym. I like Panora the most. No clodhopper characters. No one looks at you since you have a necklace like that. I feel comfortable here. Panora becomes just like my family, which is the reason for being resided at Park Oran. I have good relationships[32].

Deniz (49, High School Teacher) points out that:

> I am happy to live in a building complex; all the opportunities are in the same place which is also safe. I do not like pit places, I like high places. I reside at 29th floor. You see the forest out of the window. When I came to here to see the house, I was charmed. It has a gorgeous view which is very charming. So, when you see here, you think that 'My God, I must own this flat'. I came to my house on March and I fell in love with it and I said it must be mine. That clouds and lights… Fantastic… There are also fountains on the pool etc. The apartment has 30 floor and I live in one floor below the top floor. Houses on the top floor are duplex, which are wonderful. You can take a shower while you are enjoying the forest view[33].

The explanations of Deniz reminds the fetishism of space argued by Lefebvre. As he points out, social relationships which are latent in spaces are concealed through the fetishism of space. Rather than paying attention to the production of space, we treat space as taken for granted or, as Lefebvre puts, space 'in itself,' space as such. Thus, space is fetishized by falling into trap of considering 'things in themselves'. As Lefebvre adds further this trap lays in exchange. The expression of Park Oran resident denotes what Lefebvre explains. She mentions how she cannot wait to own the flat which is 'spectacular'. For her, it is a thing that must be owned at any price. It is considered as an issue of privilege far beyond sheltering. Not only the flat itself, but also the surroundings, the forest view which the flat has, the building complex itself become fetishized, just like "fetishism of commodities" at any kind. Space becomes a thing out there without regarding 'social relations inherent to it'.

She continues,

> I can do sport in the building complex. I do shopping at Panora…Also, here is a building complex in which you can find anything what you want. For example, once, a bat entered to home. I was scared, I could not recognize which animal it is. I called the security immediately. They came quickly and took out the animal. Or let's say water installations are broken in the middle of the night, they come to repair within 2 minutes. In this respect, I glad to live in here. EBuilding complex has no shortcomings[34].

Nesrin (52, Doctor) emphasizes that living in a gated community refers to "comfortableness".

> I am glad to live in the building complex. Detached house is nice, but it has so many responsibilities. You feel isolated if you live alone in a house like that. I do not want such a life. It is more comfortable when you live in a building complex…Sport centre is very nice. People can feel relaxed and socialize there... I do not consider moving out. I love the view of my house, especially the view from the kitchen. I love enjoying the scenery while I am drinking a cup of coffee there. I see directly the view of METU forest, Lake Eymir, and Lake Mogan[35].

In Hüsnü's (56, Financial Consultant) view, people search for places like Park Oran. He explains that he is very pleased to live in such a gated community full of "opportunities".

> I am very glad of building complex. It has gained value. The rents are high around here. I mean, Park Oran is a demanded place. Why? It is possible to say that people want to live in places like that. People demand residential areas including greean areas, security and shopping malls like Panora which is very important. For me it is very important. Just think about it, I do not have to arrive here by my car. I park the car in front of my house. I walk through building complex and enter to Panora. This place have cinema, shopping, food, and sport centre. Anything you can imagine is gathered here. This is kind of a center. So, naturally this place is in demand. I left my detached house in Mesa-Koru area and moved here. I mean it was a villa but I left and came here. Here is a center of attraction. And it keeps being in this way[36].

Here, it is pertinent to point out Lefebvre's conceptualization of abstract space which is based on exchange value. Instead of the use value of space, space of capitalism represents the space of exchange value. As it is explained before, the thing which is concrete and useful becomes abstract and money driven. This does not mean that abstract space totally loses its ontological status, it preserves it in the use of buildings, places etc. However, instead of the concern of qualitative difference, the

value of space is determined by the common denominator, which is money. As Lefebvre denotes, under capitalism, space is treated as "a homogeneous and quantifiable commodity, with an exchange value to be traded, like any other commodity on the market" (Zieleniec, 2007: 67). Hüsnü's view reflects how space is considered on the basis of exchange value. He is glad since the value of house has increased. The place where the building complex becomes an attractive center which contributes the exchange value of his flat.

Gülşah (49, Dentist) states that she is please to find a place to live which meets her expectation.

> I discovered this area while I was having a walk. I bought the house after I heard the project. This place was the most suitable option for my purpose. That is my style, my purposes are settled. I prefer a house which receives sunlight, has a sport complex, and security. I had enough money, so I preferred this place. Sport complex is so good. I love it. Being close to shopping mall, not having to drive etc. are very attractive[37].

As Özkan & Kozaman identify:

> Gated communities have common characteristics like security (walls, restricted gates, security guards/systems); social activities (like playing fields, pools, sports centers, walking/biking paths…etc); daily needs (shopping, baby caring, laundry); an attractive landscape with green areas and more that the non-residents cannot benefit. While these amenities abate the necessity to go "out", no doubt that they bruise the social and spatial interaction in between the enclave and the others (2009: 4).

This is also applicable to the case of Park Oran gated community. The residents of Park Oran are pleased that the gated community provides all opportunities within its boundary. This corresponds to the notion of gated communities as "self-sufficient small towns" (Bali in Tanülkü, 2012: 520).

Thus, considering Park Oran gated community, it may be claimed that the tendency of homogeneity of abstract space reflects itself in the standardized life style of the actual 'users' of space. This may exemplify what Lefebvre suggests that "the producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted into, or justified by, their representational space" (1991: 44). Here, residents' practices of space are not contradictory to the

conceptualization of space. As discussed before, Lefebvre presents the aim of abstract space is the homogeneity of space. It reduces the differences and imposes its own conceptualization to space. Accordingly some are included to space, some others are excluded. Abstract space "serves those forces...of whatever stands in their way, of whatever threatens them-in, short of differences" (Lefebvre, 1991: 285). The tendency of homogenizaion reveals itself through the way of reppression. Indeed, abstract space is repressive 'in essence', and its repressiveness may be manifested intrinsicly through reduction, through the imposition of segregation (Lefebvre, 1991). Besides, trend towards homogeneity may, also, be seen in the manipulation of 'inhabitants' of space who are passively imposed what is conceived. Lefebvre points out this manipulation while he is revealing another feature of abstract space, the space in which middle class reside. As he presents that:

> Abstract space has many other characteristics also. It is here that desire and needs are uncoupled, then crudely cobbed back together. And this is the space where the middle classes have taken up residence and expanded...Not that this space 'expresses' them in any sense; it is simply the space assigned them by the grand plan: these classes find what they seek – namely, a mirror of their 'reality, tranquillizing ideas, and the image of a social world in which they have their own specially labelled, guaranteed place. The truth is, however, that is this space manipulates them, along with their unclear aspirations and their all-too-clear needs (Lefebvre, 1991: 309).

In this vein, it may be claimed that this manipulation can be seen in Park Oran residents', defining themselves as middle-class, attributions to space. Thus, the tendency of homogenization of abstract space can be seen in Park Oran residents' everyday use of the space and in their positive comments for the 'opportunities' that the gated community 'provide' for the *users*. From Lefebvre's perspective, it might be asserted that they are the *beneficiaries of space.* However, those who are outside the gates and fences of Park Oran Houses are *excluded from space.* In this sense, it is presented that living in such an enclosed gated community including various opportunities from shopping mall to green area is a privilige. The residents' use and experiences of space reflect this assumption. In this vein, it is notable to consider what Lefevbre denotes that "the producers of space always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experienced whatever is imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted into, or justified by, their representational space" (1991:44).

Unlike the gecekondu neighborhood, the control of space becomes more subtle in Park Oran. Rather than repression and prohibition, it is seen behind the representations of space. There, space is subdivided in spaces of work (offices), spaces for leisure (shopping mall, sport center etc.) and spaces of privacy (houses), spaces of public (common green area). The residents passively *consume* what is provided to them in which the fragmented and homogeneous space. As Lefebvre points out, "the social control of space weighs heavy indeed upon all those consumers who fail to reject the familiarity of everyday life" (Lefebvre, 1991:233). The social control, here, is not established in a repressive way. However, it may be claimed that the consent of the users is obtained by "diverting the attention and interest of the 'users' elsewhere" (Ibid.: 51). Thus, it can be stated that the control of space is legitimized. Here, "the illusory clarity of space is in the last analysis the illusory clarity of a power that may be glimpsed in the reality that it governs, but which at the same time uses reality as veil" (Lefebvre, 1991: 320-321).

Coming back to facilities provided by the gated community, security is, also, considered one of 'opportunities' which is paid for. In Park Oran security is an issue of status was well. The residents are live in a "secure" environment surrounded by cameras and guards because they are able to 'afford' it.

According to Orhan (55, Civil Engineer),

> For me, it is very important to live such a secure place. It is under surveillance for 24 hours. Besides, it has a nice green area. I am glad to live here. People residing in Park Oran are economically well situated so that they have access to these opportunities[38].

Here, what becomes significant is that security issue is considered together with possibility of 'access'. As Güzey & Özcan state -by giving referance to Davis[28]- that "security is in fact more than it includes in its general meaning, it becomes a positional good defined by income access to protective services...Security as a prestige symbol...not only related to the risk of crime but also to the high value ascribed to privacy, quiet and an absence of social contact, as signs of status" (2010: 366).

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[28] See Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002; Le Goix, 2005; Atkinson & Flint 2004; Shamir 2005 in Güzey & Özcan, 2010.

Hüsnü (56, Financial Consultant) notes that being 'isolated' in Park Oran gated community

feels secure and comfortable.

> I feel better in an isolated area in Park Oran. This is a big building site. I'm driving up here by my car. My parking area is reserved. I'm not taking anyone's parking space. I'm not trying to get anyone's park area. My place is reserved. I park my car, I get on the elevator and go home. If I want to see green, if the weather is nice, if I want to walk, I can do it in there. There's water. It's pretty nice place. I was the financial consultant for Park Oran when it was built. I know this building site well. I am satisfied with the general location of the site[39].

The statement of the residents of Park Oran reminds Simmel's concept of fixity which is one of the aspects of space. As the residents' words denote that parking his car at a certain spot is an important issue for him. Considering Simmel's fixity, it becomes apparent that this "particular event" -parking the car, in this case- has to be grounded in a particular place.

Ayşen (46, Teacher) mentions

> It is good to reside in a secure environment. Knowing that children are safe inside the building complex feels relieved. We have already preferred this place as it is safe[40].

As it is seen in Park Oran residents' strong emphasis on security, "gated communities reflect the upper middle classes' wish for order and security in a period characterized by chaos and disorder especially in large cities" (Tanülkü, 2012: 518). What is specifically common in the views of the resident's is that they feel secure in their enclosed residential area; however, they do not consider safe the outside world behind the 'gates'. For some of them the gecekondu neighborhood near to their residences is seen as "dangerous". For some others, the other parts of Ankara are crowded and out of order. This is why, most of them prefer to live in the gated community.

6.2. Perception of Space

Here, it will be analyzed how residents of Park Oran and the gecekondu settlement perceive both their neighborhood and the "other" neighborhood. It will be looked at whether and how concerns of the residents of each neighborhood differ.

6.2.1. From the Gecekondu Neighborhood to Park Oran Gated Community

The gecekondu neighborhood's residents describe the residents of Park Oran as 'wealthy people'. What becomes significant is the limited access of the gecekondu neighborhoods to Park Oran Houses, because of the perceptive borders which gecekondu dwellers have, rather than the physical boundaries of Park Oran Houses.

Sakine (60, Homemaker), a gecekondu dweller describes who reside in Park Oran Houses as follows:

> They are all rich there. The rich people live there. We don't have any relatives, any friends there. That place is not suitable for us. We neither reside nor go there. We can not have a cup of tea there because it is expensive. Once we went there and tour to feel relieved. That place is good of course, once you have power and money. It is close to market, close to bus, close to everything. It is not like here, it is hard to go anywhere when you are sick. But that place is on the main street. They are rich, we are not in a good economic condition[41].

As it is in the view of Sakine (60, Homemaker), other residents of the gecekondu neighborhood define residents of Park Oran Houses as wealthy people. For Cansu[29] (36, Homemaker), their income level is much higher than themselves. In Nurdan's[30] (51, Cleaner at Çankaya Municipality) view, those who live in Park Oran are

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[29] "First of all, those who are living there [in Park Oran] have much higher income level than us".
Bir defa orada oturan insanlar bize göre gelir düzeyi çok yüksek olan insanlar.

[30] "As I know, it is inhabited by members of parliament, military officers, rich people".
Benim bildiğim kadarıyla milletvekilleri, subaylar, zenginler oturuyor.

members of parliament, military officers and rich people. Ali[31] (39, Salesman) states that people having high standard of life reside there. He expresses that "think that one cup of tea is 5-10 liras; rent of the houses is in dollars. For us, atmosphere changes there!" According to Hasan [32] (48, worker at Çankaya Municipality), compared to economic level of people living in Park Oran, it is not possible for him to reside there. Besides, it is common that they rarely go over to Park Oran, specifically to Panora a close by shopping mall.

Ayşegül (32, Company Employee) metions,

> The wealthy people live [in Park Oran] , value of apartments are already too high.. I have never been there. We went to Panora only once when our aunt came last summer. We went to Panora all together to walk around, not to do shopping. Only our aunt did shopping at Panora. We generally go to Nata Vega at Mamak, for kids. For ourselves, we go to Kızılay[42].

Here, it should be noted that Simmel's notion of sensory proximity and distance matches the concern of the resident of the gecekondu neighborhood. In the resident's notion as well as her use of space, Park Oran which is physically nearby becomes distant while Kızılay and Mamak which are farther places are considered closer.

Cansu (36, Homemaker) states that she goes to Oran only to use public transportation on the main road.

> We go to Oran side only to use public transportation. It is not possible to visit [Oran] for other reasons except from that[43].

Ali (39, Salesman) underlines that he goes to Panora only because his daughter wants to play in the playground there.

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[31] "The wealthy people having high standards of life are residing [in Park Oran]. Think that one cup of tea is 5-10 Turkish Liras, the rent is on the basis of dollar. Considering this, only people who have high standards of life can afford to live there. For us, it [Park Oran] is a place where the atmosphere changes".
Zenginler, yaşam tarzları üst seviyede olan insanlar oturuyor. Düşün ki bi çay 5-10 lira, bir kira dolar bazında. Yani ancak yaşam tarzları üst seviyede olan insanlar oturabilir. Orası bizim için atmosferin değiştiği yer.

[32] "They [the residents of Park Oran] are economically in a good situation. When we compare ourselves with them, we cannot afford to live there".
Ekonomik açıdan tabi iyi durumdalar. Şimdi şöyle bir baktığın zaman, kendini kıyasladığın zaman sen oturamazsın.

> We go to Panora sometimes due to my daughter's love for playgrounds. I
> give her right. She wants. But we can't go frequently. We only look there,
> see the lightings[44].

Haydar (44, Hairdresser) is the only one who goes to Panora sides almost every
evening. Since he goes to pick up his wife and daughter from work. His wife is
working as a cleaner in One Tower which is an individual building tower including a
shopping mall nearby Panora. His daughter is working as a in Panora in store. Thus,
he expresses that he must go there. In his words,

> I have always things to do at Panora side. My wife works at OneTower, my daughter
> works at Panora. I have to go there almost every evening to pick them up. I always
> go since I have to do. Do I do shopping there frequently? No. Only when there is a
> discount or something like that; if I have money, I buy one or two clothes. But
> shopping bags of people are full there... Only people who have money can go there.
> If a person goes there without money, she/he loses her/his mind at the end of the
> day[45].

Considering all, the main issue not to move to Park Oran surroundings is monetary
concerns for the residences of the gecekondu neighborhood. As mentioned above
most people from Dikmen Gecekondu Neighborhood consider that they cannot
"reach" Park Oran Houses and the shopping mall located within the campus of
building-complex. It is unreachable not because of physical distance – two
residential areas are located very close to each other. For them, it is because of their
economically disadvantaged position. In this sense, it may be claimed that they
create a notional border between their neighborhood and the "other". This can be
seen in description of the gated community, population of Park Oran Houses and in
their lack of neighborhood relations with the mentioned gated community.

6.2.2. From Park Oran Gated Community to the Gecekondu Neighborhood

For people living in Park Oran, gecekondu neighborhood is a place only in their
apartments view. They define the population of gecekondu neigborhood as
economically deprived. It can be argued that the lower economic status of
gecekondu dwellers is seen problematic by the residents of Park Oran in terms of
living near by. Some of them puts this into words by saying that they would not

prefer to live close to a 'degraded' gecekondu neighborhood. Although some others do not explicitly express this, it can be inferred from their description of gecekondu neighborhoods' population considered as economically disadvantaged and "dangerous".

Hüsnü (56, Financial Consultant), the resident of Park Oran Houses expresses that he is uncomfortable with living near by a gecekondu neighborhood.

> Well..As I am living in such a place, I don't, naturally, want a gecekondu place near by. For sure, I want it to be developed. I expect a more developed area[46].

This reflects the argument that "the middle and upper-middle classes…want to distance themselves from the urban poor and its reflections on the urban public spaces". (Kurtuluş, 2011: 52). Another Park Oran resident's view support this idea as well. Deniz (49, High School Teacher) from Park Oran Houses considers gecekondu neighborhood which is seen her apartment's window as 'unaesthetic'.

> I see that place when I look down from window. It doesn't look good, aesthetically, amongst luxury buildings. Kids are barefoot. They fire wood and grass. It is not aesthetic. Kids are strange, they swear. There are still a 'culture of begging'. This culture goes up with Syrians. I actually feel sorry for them. They knock the doors of apartments and get in. Harassment and sticking are normal for them. They may be poor but they could have a better attitude to life. However, parents, who are their role model, are also like that[47].

In this view, it is seen that class- based problems are reduced to the problem of aesthetization. Besides, the stigmatization and criminalization of urban poor follows the exclusionary attitude of Park Oran resident.

Hakan (29, Civil Engineer) as a resident of Park Oran Houses comments that there may be a problem for living nearby a gecekondu settlement for other residents of Park Oran. He stresses that having a gecekondu view from his apartment is not a problem for him. Although he has got a "tolerated" viewpoint, he emphasizes the feeling of insecurity stemming from the existence of gecekondus close by:

> The view is alright for me but it might be a problem for most of people living here. I can understand them as well. They have quite luxury houses and there is such a gecekondu view just below. Sense of insecurity arises in any case. It is also hard thing for those people. They see this building

> complex, but they have no financial capability to afford living here. They unavoidably desire to live here. They may be moved to some other place, suitable for their incomes. So, they could have a better place to live. Also, if people having similar economic backround live together, it would be better. It is really hard when you put yourself in their place. Here [at Park Oran], residents of Park Oran are able to do all they want. However, the gecekondu people have nothing[48].

In addition to above mentioned concerns, the search for social homogeneity reveals itself in the view of the resident. He thinks that living in a socially homogeneous environment is better for both middle-upper class people and lower class people. Then, as he implies, there would be no fear of crime among economically advantaged group, nor the feeling of inferiority among urban poor. This reminds Lefebvre's notion of the instrumental homogeneity of space, which is illusory. As he states, this illusion is reinforced by the empirical descriptions of space. Since, which is instrumental is taken as given. As it seen in the description of the interviewee, it is uncritically considered that space should be homogeneous by classifying space; as space of rich vs. space of poverty.

Ceyhun (36, Pharmacist) who is a resident of Park Oran Houses defines gecekondu neigborhood, through which he 'likes' to look, as a place in which is 'full of disease'.

> I like looking there. I feel sorry for women and children. They don't deserve to live there. I was in heavy debt for 10 years and got out of the hole. These people are at zero point. They can start from the beginning. Why would you stay there? Minimum wage is 2.000 Turkish Liras, their wives can work as well. The rents of apartments are 400 Turkish Liras in Etimesgut. Take your children and go. Why would you stay in this place full of disease! I only feel sorry for women and children[49].

Nesrin (52, Park Oran, Doctor) from Park Oran expresses that she has no communication, no contact with anyone from "other side" and she has no neighborhood relationship with "there"[33]. Canan (47, Park Oran, Doctor) also has a distance with the gecekondu settlement[34]. Enver (55, Park Oran, Geological

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[33] "I have no communication, no contact with anyone from "other side". I have had no neighborhood relationship with 'there'".
Bir iletişimim, bir tanıdığım, görüştüğüm kimse yok diğer tarafta. Orayla komşuluk ilişkim hiç olmadı.

[34] "I have not been there. Only once I passed there not to be caught in a traffic jam. However, the road was unstabilized".

Engineer) strongly emphasizes that he has no neighborhood relation with gecekondu neighborhood at all[35]. Bartu (38, Park Oran, Mechanical Engineer) finds normal to have disconnected relationship with those living in gecekondus[36]. Hakan stresses that it is not possible to have contact and neighborhood relationship with the gecekondu neighborhood[37]. Here, socio-economic differences may play a significant role in the lack of ties among people residing in Park-Oran and the gecekondu neighborhood, the boundary between two residential areas - which becomes visible with gates, walls and roads- may be considered as physical reflections of social disconnection As Blakely and Snyder suggest that "gated communities have created a new housing option for some of us, but they have also created a new societal dilemma for all of us. The purpose of gates and walls is to limit social contact and reduced social contact may weaken the ties that form the social contract" (cited in Roitman and Phelps, 2011: 3491). From the viewpoint of Park Oran residents, gecekondu residents have poor economic conditions and living under those conditions is assumed unfavorable.

According to Hüsnü (56, Financial Consultant):

> Those people who have low socio-economic status live in gecekondu neigborhood. I think that their income levels are low. As the name implies, it is gecekondu. We did not build gecekondus because we respect to law and order. I see their living conditons while I am driving by. They live in a traditional way in the center of Ankara. They grow vegetables there. It might be a classical desire of some urbanites. However, for sure, I do not have such a desire as having such a socio-economic background. For me,

Oraya hiç gitmedim. Oradan geçtim bir kere. Trafiği bypass ederim diye. Ama yol çok kötüydü. Üstelik toprak yol bir tarafı.

[35] "No, no. I certainly do not have neighborhood relationship [with the gecekondu neighborhood]".

Yok yok, komşuluk ilişkim kesinlikle yok.

[36] "I have no friends there. It is normal not to have any relationship with the gecekondu neighborhood".
Oradan arkadaşım yok. İlişkilerin kopuk olması gayet normal. Teknik anlamda hiçbir bağ yok.

[37] "It is not possible to have any relationship with the gecekondu neighborhood. We have no communication at all".
Mahalleyle bir ilişkimiz olması mümkün değil çünkü…Ee yok ya, mahalleyle bi iletişimimiz yok.

they [gecekondu dwellers] desire to live in a better place by dealing with the contractors[50].

In the statement of Hüsnü, gecekondu people are accused of being unrespectful to the law because of building illegal gecekondus. For him, they seek to live in physically well conditioned houses.

Hakan (29, Civil Engineer) mentions,

> They might have economic problems. More precisely, they definitely have economic problems. Since it is obvious. You see in which conditions they live while you are driving by. Children are in poor condition. Their dirty clothes, their facial expression denote their economic problems. Parents never look after their children. Children are at streets all day long. They grow up like street children; it is the fact[51].

According to Enver (55, Geological Engineer), the biggest problem that gecekondus have is their poor physical conditions. Also, they may have other various problems as socio-economic condition of people living there are low.

> Well, gecekondus are problematic due to their poor physical conditions - some of them might have better conditions. If you have a big family, there may not be enough room for everyone. Thus, a room may be shared by family members. The biggest problem of gecekondus is their poor physical conditions. There may not be enough space for children to play due to infrastructural inadequency. There is no place to have fun for children except the garden of their houses,. Your feet always in the mud, though. There are also various problems stemming from low socio-economic conditions; such as not being comfortable in the neighboorhood and not having chance to wear as you want. Women are more likely to suffer from this. Those are overall problems however the biggest issues, for gecekondus, are not having good physical conditions, inadequate infrastructure and not having proper living spaces[52].

Canan (47, Doctor) remarks the negative sides of gecekondu neighborhood in terms of its physical conditions as well.

> Their houses were worn-out. Their roads were bad. I don't know how they overcome the winter. There is no favorable point regarding physical conditions. When you look from their point of view, it is affordable for them[53].

Ceyhun (36, Pharmacist) assets,

> It [gecekondu neighboorhood] can not have any pro! You are poor, maybe a car stopped and you are given money. It is arguable if you see it as a pro[54].

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Hüsnü (56, Financial Consultant) mentions that he does not feel safe because of the existence of gecekondu neighborhood close by. This view reflects what Geniş (2007) points out that "spatial proximity to lower social classes might seem threatening" (p.777).

> Sometimes I use there to bypass traffic. I don't use everyday though. I don't usually go out because I know the traffic, but if I have to, and I'm late, then I use it. So, I use it about every 15 days. Gecekondu area bothers me. Because I don't feel safe passing by this area. So, I don't think it's a safe area. I don't know, I don't have such an experience, I don't have such a thing, but when I look at the socio-economic situation of the people there, I can understand from the cars. Renault 12s, Tofaş cars, I don't know, look at there. When I confront these people in traffic, I feel that we are living in such different worlds from each other. We are respectful in traffic, I'm the one who gives way to the other people in traffic. Those people drive very close me and get angry at me when I look at them. So, I think it's not safe. So maybe it would work in this sense if they solve the problem here. This is the way how I feel[55].

Although Hakan (29, Civil Engineer) previously states that the presence of gecekondu neighborhood close to his residential area is not problem for him, he has negative comments - which includes exclusion as well - about feeling of safety considering gecekondu neighborhood.

> I have not encountered a bad situation [about the gecekondu areas]. As far as I remember no such thing happened. But the economic situation of the [gecekondu area] is obvious That's why there's a problem of trust. Frankly, putting my car close to that side makes me nervous and restless. The problem is; there are too many Kurds from the east. Recently an incident happened. There was shouting and gunfire. They shooted at one's car. We've never heard of it. Normally I would hear it if I look through the window, but I didn't, it was at night[56].

As Low (2003: 9) states "desire for safety, security, community, and "niceness" as well as wanting to live near people like themselves because of a fear of "others" and of crime, is…expressed by most residents living in gated communities". As it is seen in the expressions of inhabitants, this is valid for the residents of Park Oran gated community as well.

Hüsnü (56, Financial Consultant) expresses his exclusionary views towards people living in the gecekondu neighborhood. He highlights that they are totally different - as if they are from different worlds. In his statement, the separation between us/ them

becomes clear. Another exclusionary approach towards gecekondu residents can be seen in Deniz's (49, High School Teacher) statement. According to her,

> [In the gecekondu neighborhood] Women and men are uneducated. It is understood from their lifestyle and the way how they call their children. My brother's house is on the other side of the valley. I am hearing from there. Children swear at each other. These are children who work until late hours and smoke at young ages. I do not know if they drink either, but they smoke. They have bad habits. They belong to neither rural nor urban areas. They somehow survived until this time and continue their lives. Male-dominated mentality rules. I understand through the attitude of men that women are beaten. It is an underdeveloped community and they do not belong to anywhere. They are the typical representatives of a transition community. They fight very tough once they start to fight. It's really a crowded and tough fight between them. He once asked a lady in the apartment for the child's ball [gecekondu resident], said that you took the child's ball and swore very ugly. I can't say it, but I've witnessed something like this. The kid wants the escaping ball, the other kid from the gecekondu area swears. The fights between them are very tough, my brother says he locks the door since he fears. Anyway, the kids on this side don't dare to mess with them. No, I didn't get there. I'm scared. When people have nothing to lose, they act braver and more dominant. I never been there, I'm afraid to cross their side.
>
> I don't think they are coming from there to [Park Oran]. I won't accept them. I need to trust people. Their life style, their view of life are important. There are people who come here to clean, and take children and dogs to walk, but they do not live in the valley.
>
> For example, women who come from Yenimahalle come to take dogs to walk. They are careful about choosing people to work, they do not let everyone to work here. I don't think it's from the valley, I don't think that there anyone coming from valley. I do not know where and how they meet their lives. I do not accept them. I need to trust people. The ones who come to clean at my place do not live in gecekondu areas, they live in normal apartment building in Dikmen, not in gecekondu areas[57].

As the interviews reveal, Deniz and other residents of Park Oran have no interaction with the gecekondu neighborhood. As it is mentioned before spatial boundaries are social products rather than being only physical facts. As Simmel suggests boundaries of space have a vital role in affecting the patterns of social interaction. Here practical use of space is surrounded by boundaries. This is also seen the use and experiences of space of each neighborhoods' residents. Their use of space is mostly delimited, i.e., mostly exercised within the boundaries of their own neighborhood. As it is observed among the residents of each neighborhood, there is almost no social interaction between two groups. For most of them, it is common not to go to the 'other' neighborhood. Some of the gecekondu residents rarely use Panora shopping

mall but not for the purpose of shopping. Park Oran residents do not use the 'space of other' at all. Only some of them use the road on the side of gecekondus when traffic is dense on the main road. The division between spaces reflects itself in the thoughts of the inhabitants. This illustrates the idea of Simmel pointing out that "spatial boundaries impress themselves on ways of thinking". Park Oran residents almost always perceive the other in moral and cultural terms. Unlike the gecekondu residents, Park Oran residents tend to moralize class difference. This is illustrated by other residents as follows:

Orhan (55, Civil Engineer) considers that Dikmen gecekondu neighborhood is not as problematic as Çinçin, but he still feels discomfortable.

> The social structure of that gecekondu neighborhood is not as problematic as Çinçin. Nevertheless, it feels uncomfortable.You never know what happens. People living in gecekondu are immodarate, uneducated[58].

For Nesrin (52, Doctor),

> I guess those living in gecekondus migrated from the southeastern part of Turkey. These people mostly cannot read or write Turkish. They have no regular job. They have many children and live in one or two-room small houses. I have never seen but these places are so close to our houses. Their children damage to our gardens and they jump over our garden fences. I am warning them and telling them about how dangerous it is since fences areas with razor. They set fire nearby which takes place at most times. Setting fire is such a big problem which I believe still exists. They collect all grass and then they burn it very close to the building. Children are coming and playing with the fire which can harm people and environment. Parents are not well educated enough to teach children about these issues[59].

Regarding all, it can be arrive Lefebvre's conceptualization that space is not only spatial practice in the sense of its social construction", but "the representations of it" and" discourses about it", and "it is also equally its reflexive effects, promoting here, limiting there" (Shields, 1999: 154).

Hakan (29, Civil Engineer) expressses that they do not act like an "urbanite", but they maintain their life as if they are living in rural.

> They set the fire down our house. It has a view with Panora and there is a large area next to the place as well as gecekondus are located there. Well as I said they set the fire and burn their garbage in this area. They also start to hold their wedding ceremonies at different times which are started in the

summer time. Well if there are any wedding ceremonies left anyway since most of the people got married already. They do not care if there if there might be any sick persons or little children who can be affected by the noise at all. They even continue to disturb people on Sundays with playing drums at their wedding ceremonies. So they do not hold the habit of living according to the rules of city life. They still continue their village life habits. They need to learn to respect other people and to live in common places. In rural areas life is simple, people mostly wake up and go to bed almost at around same times. But rules run differently in urban life. People might be engaged with their own things at different times. For example, someone might feel tired because of a long work day, she/he might want to sleep. Therefore, you should respect people[60].

Similarly, Enver (55, Geological Engineer) expresses that:

To illustrate, in that area [gecekondu area], there are still these old-style weddings. So, it does not matter if you have any sick persons at your household. Therefore, old habits still exist. You can witness both the rural and urban life also the gecekondu life in there; however, you also come across apartments, diplomatic residence buildings… Everything is mingled with one another[61].

In the view of Park Oran residents, gecekondu people do not fulfil the "requirements" of living in a city. On the contrary, they maintain their "rural life" in the centre of the city. As Ayata (1988) and Öncü (1997) denotes that "living in an apartment in the central parts of the city was emblematic of a middleclass status, a modern and urban lifestyle, whereas living in a gecekondu was deemed as the symbol of a peasant way of life, backwardness and a lower-class disposition" (in Geniş, 2007: 775). It is observed that space is ascribed different 'properties' and different 'status'. This has reflections on the use and perception of space of people. Some places become more attractive and some places are avoided. This brings us to Lefebvre's notion of hierarchal character of space. As Lefebvre (1991: 282) states, particular places are assigned 'special status' "by arranging them in the hierarchy, and stipulate exclusion (for some) and integration (for others)". In the cases of this study, constructed hierarchy between places discloses itself in the perception of two neighborhoods' residents. On the one hand, it is seen that hierarchy of space reveals itself in Park Oran residents' exclusionary view towards people living in the gecekondu neighborhood. On the other hand, in the view of the gecekondu residents, Park Oran is considered as superior, inaccessible and as a place which is not for gecekondu people.

6.3. Spatial Segregation: Gated Community vs. Gecekondu

The experiences and perception of inhabitants of two neighborhoods reveals the spatial segregation between the gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran gated community. Spatial segregation is defined "as the relative residential separation of population categories from each other" (Güzey & Özcan, 2010: 366). In this sense, spatial segregation becomes visible in Park Oran and the gecekondu neighborhood. In the former what comes into sight first is tall buildings which are enclosed by gates and fences. It is provided as a luxury residential area for the *middle class*. In the latter, physically unimproved gecekondu houses come in view. The neighborhood – as it is case for other gecekondu neighborhoods- is inhibited by economically disadvantaged people. Although these two residential areas have physical proximity, it seems that they are disjointed. Park Oran and Gecekondu dwellers' opinions about each other's neighborhoods reflect the spatial segregation between two residential areas. In Park Oran residents' account, most of the time, the "distance" between their residential place and the gecekondu settlement reveals itself in exclusionary attitude towards people living in the gecekondus. In Gecekondu dwellers' view, notional boundary between Park Oran and their neighborhood appears. According to their view, Park Oran is close to their neighborhood, but they are not able to reach there because of their low socio-economic status. They mostly emphasize that they cannot afford residing such a place so that Park Oran Houses are considered as a place for wealthy people, not for themselves.

In this vein, it may be seen that socio-economic inequalities between the residents of Park Oran and Gecekondu neighborhood lie behind the spatial segregation. However, those inequalities which are embodied spatially should not be seen as natural and taken as granted. They do not exist in themselves. There is a need to understand the issue in a broader sense. Thus, it may be claimed that spatial segregation cannot be considered independent from the production of space under capitalism. As Lefebvre shows us, "capitalism and neo-capitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies as well as the power of money and that of state" (1991 :53). Under the logic of capitalism, abstraction of space which is an illusory part of social

space reduces what is perceived and lived into what is conceived. The abstract space realizes itself by imposing its characteristics into space.

It can be argued that spatial segregation reveals itself in the hierarchization which is one the characters of abstract space, as presented by Lefebvre. As he suggests that this hierarchy ranges "from the lowliest to the noblest, from the tabooed to the sovereign" (1991:282). In his consideration, abstract space arranges places, which are attributed certain status, in a hierarchical order. Also "any relationship to things in space implies a relationship to space itself (things in space dissimulate the properties of space as such; any space infused with value by a symbol is also a reduced – and homogenized – space)" (Lefebvre, 1991: 288).

Here, it can be considered that Park Oran gated community has an assigned status as a place of *luxury life style*. In other respects, the gecekondu neighborhood appears as a place of *poverty*. While those people who are economically advantaged are integrated to the gated community, those who are economically disadvantaged are excluded. As Lefebvre suggests that "there are beneficiaries of space, just as there are excluded from it, those 'deprived of space'; this fact is ascribed to the 'properties' of space, to its 'norms', although in reality something is very different is at work" (1991: 289). In this case, it can be argued that people living in Park Oran are 'beneficiaries of space' whereas people living in the gecekondu neighborhood become 'deprived of space' – space which is assigned only to the use of residents' of the gated community. In the hierarchical arrangement of places, there appears a tremendous gap between two residential areas. Accordingly, [pre]defined 'properties' and 'norms' of spaces differs from each other. Thus, it can be argued that space is ascribed as "secure" vs "insecure", "decent" vs "indecent" as well as noble vs. miserable through the hierarchization. This is seen how residents of Park Oran and the gecekondu settlement use and experience space as well as perceive both their neighborhood and the "other" neighborhood Considering two neighborhoods, there appears not only physical boundaries such as walls, gates, roads but also notional boundary, reflecting itself in the practices of inclusion/exclusion, both as a basis and as an outcome of spatial segregation.

According to Güzey (2014: 105), gated communities is a "form of spatial segregation for the new elite class". This is evident in Park Oran case as well. In the views of residents of Park Oran, gecekondu neighborhood appears as a place out there. As it is seen in their evaluations, 'unhealthy' and 'unaesthetic' view of gecekondu neighborhood from their well-conditioned resident is not favorable- or at least may not be favorable for other residents. For some others, on the contrary, it is considered as "normal" and unproblematic. However, it may be argued that spatial segregation still reveals itself behind their "approval". Since, for them, gecekondu neighborhood is just standing out there as a place which is never or hardly touched, as well. This can be understood in their lack of neighborhood relations.

As mentioned before, Lefebvre stresses, differences are tried to be eliminated under the production of capitalist space. As it is happened in the case of gecekondu neighborhood. It can be argued that the aim of urban renewal project which is planned to be realized in the gecekondu neighborhood is to create a homogeneous space by vanishing the differences of the neighborhood. Besides, it may be claimed that Park Oran project appears as a realization of abstract space's tendency of homogeneity. Hence, it may be argued what is conceived becomes apparent in the gated community.

However, as Lefebvre suggests that perceived-conceived-lived realms are 'interconnected', "so that the 'subject', the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to another" (1991: 40). Although conceived space tries to dominate over perceived and lived, this may not completely actualize. The actual users may experience space as different than what is conceptualized. This may prevent designation of representations of space in its 'pure' form.

Hence, space which is intended to be homogeneous may not be as homogeneous as it is planned. Considering what Lefebvre (1991) highlights, homogeneity is the goal of abstract space. It reveals itself as homogenous in appearance, which is its strength. Then, it might be argued that ruptures may arise within that space which is expected to be homogenous and what is lived [re]presents itself there. The same space may not be experienced or lived in the same way. The boundaries -if not

physical, but perceptive- may be formed in space which is supposed to be homogeneous, as well. The case of Park Oran which is projected as space for a middle class -in this sense, which seems homogeneous- includes differences as well. Different meanings and codes are assigned to space and its use. What becomes visible in the views of the residents' is the construction of a new boundary between "themselves", who use space appropriately, and "other" residents, who use space as inappropriately, ungracefully and disrespectful. Those "others" in Park Oran gated community are residents who take off their shoes in front of the door, who store their dry foods in the common area of the apartment, who use sauna like a Turkish bath (hamam). In short, they are described as people who maintain rural habits in the luxury residential area. In this vein, it is seen that perception and use of space differs in the same residential area, so that this brings exclusion of residents using space out of its "norms".

Regarding the gecekondu neighborhood, the issue of homogeneity appears in a different way. The Gecekondu area, at first, is below in hierarchical order of space. Also, it is not compatible with the tendency of homogenization of abstract space. In other respects, the gecekondu area, which is considered as "other", is seen as homogeneous in itself as being 'space of poverty'. However, the construction of boundary is also seen within the gecekondu neighborhood. Here, it is between "local" residents of the neighborhood and "new comers". The use and perception of space differ here as well. In the view of gecekondu dwellers, "new comers", who are Syrian refugees, lead to pollution in the neighborhood, steal from local people in the neighborhood. Most of the gecekondu dwellers express that they are afraid of leaving their houses in case new comers occupy. Considering the exclusionary view of gecekondu dwellers towards new comers, it can be said that new comers are "others" in the gecekondu neighborhood.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study addresses two adjacent neighborhoods in Ankara, which are Dikmen 5th Stage Gecekondu Neighborhood and Park Oran Gated Community. While the former is one of the examples of gecekondu settlements, in which urban poor are concentrated, in Turkey. The latter is one of ever-expanding luxury gated communities, inhabited by middle-upper class, in predominantly big cities of Turkey. The physical proximity between these two neighborhoods, resided by two different socio- economic groups of people, has been regarded in selecting the case of the study.

In this study, it is aimed to answer following research questions: (1) Is there a spatial segregation following the perceptions and experiences/ uses of inhabitants of two neighborhoods? (2) If there is spatial segregation, how can we observe this in their daily life experiences and usage of space? (3) Are there differences according to gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status?

With this purpose, a qualitative research, based on in-depth interviews, was conducted between March 14 and March 24, 2019 in the above mentioned neighborhoods. The flexible nature of qualitative research was considered pertinent to grasp participants' perspective without missing their meaning about their daily experiences/ uses of space and perceptions of space. It was carried out semi-structured interviews, a widely used type of interview method in qualitative research design, in the process of data collection. The interviews were conducted with eleven people from each neighborhood, twenty-two interviewees in total. The participants were reached through snowball sampling method (SSM), allowing to find the next possible interviewee based on the reference of a previous interviewee. The problem of access to the target population -the residents of the two enclosed neighborhoods-

was overcome through the usage of SSM. Those who were interviewed acknowledged to participate the research thanks to the previous participant.

In this study, the focus is on the perceptive level. This study aims to contribute to the literature by analyzing experiences and perceptions of both the gecekondu neighborhood and the gated community residents in understanding spatial segregation. The political economic analysis is not in the scope of this study. During the field research, I originally had intended to interview women residents of the gecekondu neighborhood working as cleaner (gündelikçi) in Park Oran Houses in order to trace the contact between the two neighborhoods' residents over a job-related experience. However, women working as cleaners in Park Oran did not want to participate to the study. For further studies, it could be valuable to look at such different contacts between the residents of different neighborhoods.

The theoretical framework of this study is based on Lefebvre's theory of production of space. Specifically, it is applied to Lefebvre's conceptualization of homogeneity and hierarchy of abstract space, conceived-perceived-lived triplicity of space, and differential space. In Lefebvre, homogeneity and hierarchy together with fragmentation are characteristics of abstract space. As he describes, homogeneity is, indeed, the goal, the orientation of abstract space. It renders homogeneous the control over space. With the same aim, space is hierarchized by assigning different status to it. In Lefebvre's understanding, space is considered in three ways, as perceived, conceived and live. In spatial term, Lefebvre's perceived-conceived-lived triad refers respectively to spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces. Spatial practices through which everyday life is (re)produced involve daily routine, routes and networks. Representations of space refers to conceived space which is conceptualized by professionals, planners, architects and urbanists etc. Representational space corresponds to lived space, which is closely related with everyday experiences of inhabitants and users rather than the conceptualization of space. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre develops his theory of space on the basis of the argument that space is socially produced. Lefebvre brings the understanding of production of space itself, instead of the classical Marxist understanding of space in which production is realized. Particularly, Lefebvre

presents a detailed analysis of the production of space under capitalism. In his conceptualization, the social production of space is operated on these above mentioned three elements. As Lefebvre points out abstract conceived space crushes social lived space. The abstract space tries to undermine differences as it is seen in its tendency towards homogeneity. Lefebvre presents the concept of differential space which contrasts to the characteristics of abstract space. As Lefebvre envisages differences have potential to bring an alternative spatialization. In his definition, differential space is a newer space than abstract space, which is the space of capitalism.

The analysis of the data -which will be mentioned below- is based mainly on these briefly explained concepts and views of Lefebvre. Since it is believed that Lefebvre's conceptualization of space is vital in understanding spatial segregation. He explains the production of capitalist space which creates and is fed by the hierarchical order of space. As Lefebvre presents, a new space is not produced by the intelligence of space. What capitalism aims is to use and reproduce space for its own interest. In Lefebvre's account, space is tried to be homogenized by vanishing differences, space breaks down into discrete units, and space assigns a certain status in order to gain control over space. Lefebvre strongly highlights the interconnection between his triadic elements. While perceived-conceived-lived space is interconnected in a dialectical relationship, the conceived one is given to 'primacy' under capitalism. In this study, what I did not try to present which neighborhood -the gecekondu or Park Oran- corresponds which conceptual space of Lefebvre. This would be contradictory with the understanding of Lefebvre. This study tries to reveal how spatial segregation is inherent to the production of space under capitalism.

While Lefebvre's theory of space constitutes the theoretical framework of this study, some views of Simmel on space are included to the analysis. Specifically, boundary, fixity, proximity and distance aspects of space, which are identified in *The Sociology of Space*, are applied in understanding of use and perception of space of the residents. In Simmel's understanding of space, spatial boundaries are not considered as simply physical facts but as social products. As Simmel suggests they impress themselves on ways of thinking. This is observed in the perceptions of the residents

of each neighborhood. The spatial boundary between the gecekondu neighborhood and Park Oran goes beyond its physical aspect and reveals itself in the perceptions of the residents about each other, as it is seen below. Simmel's inclusion of "inside"/ "outside" or "us"/ "other" in the discussion of spatial boundaries is another important point for this study. According to him, there can be no way of identifying the "other" without sustaining "us". As the field research was conducted in two-neighborhoods inhabited by different socio-economic groups of people, this notion of Simmel reveals itself in the perceptions of each group. In their view, the residents of the adjacent neighborhood become as different 'others', contrasting the group 'inside' the boundary. Simmel's other two aspects of space, fixity, proximity and distance of space are included into the discussion as well. In Simmel, fixity simply refers to the localization of any event in a specific place. As it is discussed in the experiences/ use of space part of this study, one of Park Oran residents will and appreciation of parking his car in a reserved place inside the building complex match with Simmel's notion of fixity. Simmel states sensory proximity and distance between people, which is offered by space. This notion highlights the distance between objects and agents, which is characterized as nearness or distance, as they cannot occupy the same spatial position at a certain time. This aspect of space becomes visible, especially, in the experiences/ uses of the residents of the gecekondu neighborhood. As they do not have a market or grocery in the neighborhood, they have to leave their neighborhood for shopping. Although the nearest market is located within the shopping mall, which is Panora, inside the Park Oran building complex, they do not prefer to do shopping there. Almost all of the gecekondu residents prefer to do their shopping respectively in distant locations, such as Kızılay and Mamak districts of Ankara. Since, prices are cheaper in these locations compared to Oran. While they define their adjacent neighborhood, which is Park Oran as distant, not 'accessible', they consider some locations which are physically farther as closer to themselves. Here, it becomes visible that places beyond their physical nearness/ remoteness may gain sensory proximity/ distance as well.

Based on the findings, the existence of spatial segregation between the gecekondu neighborhood and the gated community is observed following the uses and perceptions of space of the residents. Regarding the residents' uses/ experiences of

space in understanding spatial segregation, it is found that residents of each neighborhood delimit the use of space with their neighborhood. They do not visit each other's neighborhood. Only some of the gecekondu residents, sometimes, visit Panora shopping mall for, mainly, walking around, not shopping. Some of the residents of Park Oran use the road on the side of gecekondu neighborhood only when traffic is dense on the main road. Spatial practices of each neighborhood's residents are, mostly, within the boundaries of their own neighborhood. Hence there appears no relationship among the people between the neighborhoods at all.

As it is stated before, it is questioned whether there are differences between the use of space of the gecekondu neighborhood inhabitants and those of the gated community in terms of ethnicity, gender and socio- economic status. These variables are considered significant because of different social structures of the two neighborhoods. While the gecekondu neighborhood is, mostly, inhabited by Alevi population, the inhabitants of Park Oran gated community are, mainly, people having Sunni-secular identity. While women are, mostly, homemaker/ or unemployed in the gecekondu neighborhood, there appears no difference in terms of employment status between women and men in Park Oran. In terms of socio-economic status, the residents of the gecekondu neighborhood represent urban poor, whereas the residents of Park Oran belong to middle-upper class. Considering findings, there appear differences in the use of space of inhabitants regarding ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status. The role of ethnicity in use of space becomes explicit in the gecekondu neighborhood. It is seen that ethnic identity of the gecekondu residents provide a basis for their practices of solidarity. The solidarity among the gecekondu dwellers is a substantial part of their daily practices. This reveals itself as a way of handling their problems or resisting against the urban renewal project, which is planned to be realized in the neighborhood. In Park Oran gated community, ethnicity has no apparent role in residents' use of space.

In other respects, the role of gender is different in the gated community than the gecekondu neighborhood. In the gecekondu neighborhood, as I mentioned earlier, most of women are homemakers, men are, mostly, employed as unskilled workers. However, a significant difference between women and men are not observed in the

gecekondu neighborhood in terms of the use of space -at least such a difference is not observable in the use of public space. In the gated community, employment status is not a relevant category as both women and men have skilled jobs. In Park Oran, gender differences in the use of space goes together with security concerns and an emphasis on sport facilities. For women residents of Park Oran, living in the gated community corresponds to their search for security. While they feel safe within the boundaries of Park Oran, they do not feel secure out of the gates. Their spatial practices evolved around security concerns. To illustrate, having a walk within the gated community is preferred instead of outside Park Oran. For men, the sport facility provided by the gated community becomes significant in the preference of Park Oran. It is highly stressed how vital it is - to be close to such a sport complex.

In addition to ethnicity and gender, socio-economic status plays an important role in residents' use of space. It comes into the view in different ways regarding the gecekondu and Park Oran residents' experiences of space. While low socio-economic status of the gecekondu neighborhoods restrict the use of space, the inhabitants of the gated community, having high socio-economic status, form their spatial practices without having economic concerns.

Besides the use of space, spatial segregation reveals itself in residents' perception of space as well. It is looked at how the perceptions' space differs regarding the view from the gecekondu neighborhood to Park Oran and vice versa. This becomes visible in how gecekondu and Park Oran residents perceive each other's neighborhood. In the perception of the gecekondu dwellers, Park Oran is an 'unreachable' place which is only for wealthy people, not for themselves. For most of the inhabitants of the gated community, the gecekondu neighborhood is a 'space of poverty', 'space of decay' which is unhealthy, unaesthetic and dangerous. In this regard, Park Oran and the gecekondu residents' opinions about each other's neighborhood reflect spatial segregation between these two residential areas. Moreover, the perception of people breeds spatial segregation. As the perceptions of each neighborhoods' residents reflect, there are not only physical boundaries, like gates orm fences between the two neighborhoods but also there are perceived boundaries, as Simmel presents.

Among the results what becomes, specifically, prominent is how the issue of security is approached in the two neighborhoods. While in the gecekondu neighborhood the feeling of security is provided due to close community ties, the residents of Park Oran feel safe because of living in a gated community. On the one hand, the basis of security in the gecekondu neighborhood is the solidarity based on community ties. However, physical apparatuses, such as cameras, gates, guards etc. become the basis of security in the gated community.

Another significant point is the formation of further boundaries within each neighborhood. In addition to the spatial boundary between Park Oran gated community and the gecekondu neighborhood, it is seen that new social boundaries are constructed within each residential area. These reflect themselves in the exclusionary view of the residents towards different "others". The residents of the gecekondu neighborhood becomes "others" in the view of Park Oran residents as well as there appears a social division among both the residents of Park Oran and the gecekondu neighborhood. Regarding the views of Park Oran residents, the construction of a new boundary is seen between "themselves", who use space appropriately, and "other" residents, who use space as inappropriately, ungracefully and disrespectful. To illustrate, those "others" inside Park Oran gated community are defined as residents who maintain rural habits in the luxury residential area; like people who take off their shoes in front of the door, who store their dry foods in the common area of the apartment, and who use the sauna like a Turkish bath (hamam). In other respects, the construction of boundary is also seen within the gecekondu neighborhood between 'local' residents of the neighborhood and 'new comers', who are Syrian refugees. In the view of gecekondu dwellers, those 'new comers' lead to pollution in the neighborhood, steal from local people in the neighborhood, may occupy the local gecekondu dwellers' houses. In the gecekondu neighborhood what becomes visible is the exclusionary attitude of local people to the new comers. Considering the exclusionary view of gecekondu dwellers towards new comers, new comers become "others" in the gecekondu neighborhood. Regarding all, it is seen that perception and use of space differs in the same residential area, so that this brings exclusion of residents using space out of its 'norms'.

To conclude, as mentioned before, spatial segregation is approached through two neighborhoods' residents the perception and experience of space. It is considered that spatial segregation does not refer to natural division between spaces. From the perspective of Lefebvre's production of space, it is taken into consideration together with the production of space under capitalism. The residents' perception of space is analyzed around the characteristics of abstract space. The tendency of homogeneity of abstract space reveals itself in the place preference of gated community residents. The differences of the gecekondu settlement are tried to be absorbed by abstract space. The hierarchy of space denotes itself in the spatial segregation between the two residential areas which can be assigned different 'status' and 'properties. This also reflects itself in the perception of the residents of each neighborhood. The gated community can be characterized with a "luxury life style", the gecekondu neighborhood with a so called "peasant way of life". The spatial boundary between places is seen inherent to the characteristics of abstract space. Abstract space imposes its conceptualization to space. It tries to render space homogeneous, fragmented and hierarchical. Actual users of space may passively experience what is conceived as in the case of Park Oran. In the gecekondu case, the importance of struggle to maintain the differences is observable. Otherwise, as Lefebvre underlines, differences will be absorbed by the tendencies of homogeneity. The views of residents support this idea. Since the residents underline that the eventually expected urban renewal of their neighborhood is considered to be a result of losing the strength of their resistance. Regarding all, this study reveals that the process of spatial segregation is not independent of the production of space under capitalism.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE /

ETİK ONAY FORMU

Sayı: 28620816 / 99

06 MART 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Helga Rittersberger TILIÇ

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Ergül Eftal ÖZMEN'in **"Mahalle Sakinlerinin Algısı Üzerinden Mekansal Ayrışmayı Anlamak: Dikmen 5. Etap Gecekondu Bölgesi ve Park Oran Konutları Ankara Örneği"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **090-ODTÜ-2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR (4,)
Üye

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Görüşme Formu

Temel Demografik Bilgiler

Biraz kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz? Kendinizden bahseder misiniz?

Yaş:

Doğum Yeri:

Evli: Bekar:

Eğitim Durumu: İlkokul: Lise: Üniversite: Master/ Üzeri:

Meslek:

Mahalle:

Kaç yıldır bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz?

Kendi eviniz mi, kira mı?

Çocuk Sayısı:

Hane Sayısı:

Aylık Gelir: 1.000-3.000:   3.000-5.000:   5.000 + :

Hane Geliri: 1.000-3.000:   3.000-5.000:   5.000 + :

Ekonomik açıdan ailenizi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? (yoksul, orta halli, iyi, zengin)

Eğitim

Eğitim hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz?

Nereden mezunsunuz?

Sosyal ortam (arkadaşlık…)

Okul dışı aktiviteler

(Varsa) Çocuğun eğitim durumu? (Gittiği okul, okul yeri, okul dışı aktiviteleri…)

Evlilik

Eşinizle nasıl, nerede tanıştınız? Evlilik kararını nasıl aldınız?

Eşinizin eğitim durumu nedir?

Eşinizin mesleği nedir?

Eşiniz boş zamanlarında ne gibi aktivitelerde bulunur?

Evlilik öncesi yaşadığınız yer?

Evlendikten sonra yaşamaya başladığınız yer? O yeri seçme nedeni?

Çalışma Hayatı

Çalışma hayatınızdan bahseder misiniz?

-İşin özellikleri, gereklilikleri

-İş yeri

-İş yerindeki pozisyonu

-Bir önceki iş ve iş yeri

İşiniz için ne gibi özelliklere sahip olunması gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz?

Günlük Hayat- Tüketim-Eğlence

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor, biraz bahseder misiniz?

Nerelere gidiyorsunuz?

Boş zamanlarınızda neler yaparsınız?

-park, cemevi, belediye merkezleri…

-sinema, tiyatro

Spor yapar mısınız? Ne sıklıkla? (Yalnız, arkadaşlarla birlikte…)

Sağlık hizmetlerini nereden alırsınız? (Özel hastane, devlet hastanesi, sağlık ocağı…)

Kitap okumayı sever misiniz? Ne tür kitaplar okursunuz?

Takip ettiğiniz gazete/dergi var mıdır?

Televizyon izlemeyi sever misiniz? Hangi programları tercih edersiniz?

Müzik dinlemeyi sever misiniz? Ne tür müzik dinlemeyi tercih edersiniz?

Arkadaşlarınızla günlük sohbetler düzenler misiniz? Ne sıklıkla? Nerelerde buluşursunuz?

Nereden alış-veriş yaparsınız?

-nelere dikkat edersiniz?

-marka tercihiniz var mıdır?

Tatilinizi nerede geçirirsiniz? Kimlerle tatile çıkarsınız?

-yazlık, otel…

-yurtdışı

Mekan (Mahalle)

Ne kadar zamandır şuan bulunduğunuz mahallede oturuyorsunuz?

Daha önce nerede oturuyordunuz?

Burayı tercih etmenizin nedeni/ nedenleri nelerdir?

Burayı size tavsiye eden birileri oldu mu?

Aileden, yakın arkadaşlarınızdan burada oturanlar var mı?

Bulunduğunuz yeri nasıl tanımlarsınız? Burada kimler oturuyor? (sosyo-ekonomik durumları)

Bulunduğunuz yerden memnun musunuz?

-komşuluk ilişkileri

-güvenlik

-hizmetler

Belediye hizmetlerinden memnun musunuz?

(Varsa) Bu bölgede eksik bulduğunuz şeyler neler?

Bulunduğunuz yerin günlük sıkıntıları, problemleri nelerdir?

Bu mahallenin geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Taşınmayı düşünüyor musunuz? Evetse neden?

Mekansal Kullanım

Ankara'yı bir şehir olarak nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

-avantajları, başlıca sorunları

Günlük hayatınızda genellikle şehrin hangi bölgelerini kullanıyorsunuz?

-alış-veriş, eğlence, iş…

Gitmekten kaçındığınız bölgeler var mı? Neden?

Şehir içinde toplu taşıma araçları kullanıyor musunuz?

Yan taraftaki mahalle (Gecekondu mahallesi/ Oran evleri) hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Yandaki mahalleye gidiyor musunuz?

-ne sıklıkla (her gün, ayda/ yılda bir…)

-ne amaçla

-ulaşım (özel araç, otobüs, dolmuş…)

Sizce yandaki mahallede kimler oturuyor? Nasıl tarif edersiniz?

Sizce orada yaşamanın olumlu tarafları/ sıkıntıları nelerdir?

Yan taraftaki mahallenin geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Gelecek Planları

Gelecek planlarınız nelerdir? Gelecekte nerede yaşamak istersiniz?

Çocuklarınızın gelecekte nerede yaşamasını istersiniz?

C. THE RESPONSES OF PARTICIPANTS / KATILIMCI YANITLARI

[1] [Mahallede] Eskiden birlik beraberlik vardı, insanlar zorlukları tek başlarına omuzlamadıkları için hafif geliyordu. İnsanlar toplanıp kimin yardıma ihtiyacı varsa dayanışma içinde hallediyorlardı. Onun ekmeği mi yok; senin varsa birini (ihtiyacı olana) bırakıyordun.

[2] Arkadaşlık, komşuluk çok iyiydi eskiden. Biz burada kapılarımızı kilitlemiyorduk hiç bir şekilde. Her şeyimiz dışarıdaydı, birlikteydik.

[3] Burada dostluk vardı, dayanışma vardı. Eskiden komşuluk vardı, bizim mahallemizde kavga olmazdı. Hep birbirimizi destekledik, hiçbir sorunumuz yoktu. Özlem duyuyoruz o günlere.

[4] Herkes dağıldığı, kimse kalmadığı için artık güvenli de değil burası.

[5] Artık mahallede güvende hissetmiyorum. Kızım eve benden önce geliyor liseden. Hep korkuyorum… Günde üç kere dört kere arıyorum; geldin mi kapıyı kitledin mi, bişey olursa beni ara babanı ara diye...Yani hep bu korkuyla yaşıyoruz. Biz burda mücadele verdik ama bu mücadeleyi o kadar devam ettirdik koruduk burayı, biz sanki suriyeliler için korumuşuz bu mücadeleyi bu zamana kadar. Şu anda da suriyeliler bize eziyet ediyor kapıda bişey bırakamıyoruz, ayakabı bile bırakılmıyor dışarda. Hırsızlık olayı oluyor. Yani korkuyosun, çeşit çeşit insan geçiyor buradan. Ne olacağını bilemiyosun. Yani neyle karşılaşacağını bilmiyosun. Eğer allah kısmet ederse önümüzdeki yaz taşınmayı düşünüyorum.

[6] [Mahalleden] Şu anda memnun değilim. Önceden menundum. Önceden buralar o kadar güzeldi ki...Ama şu anda memnun değilim yani. Aslında geçmişle aynı mahalle değil...O zamanlar tek başına yaşamıyorduk.

[7] Şimdi memnun değilim [mahalleden]. Kentsel dönüşüm projesi çıktı. Parası olan çekti gitti, parası olmayan burada kaldı. Mahalle artık dağıldı sayılır.

[8] Bizi buradan çıkarıp yüksek binalar dikmek istiyorlar. Biz mücadele verdik evlerimizden ayrılmamak için. Baskın yaptılar, mafyayı gönderdiler üstümüze. Burada dostluk vardı, dayanışma vardı. Ama herkes bir yana gitti...Nasıl olacak bilmiyorum.

[9] Ben burada oturalı 25 seneyi geçti. Ben buradan memnundum valla. Memnundum da kimse olmayınca zor oluyor. Kimisi Mamak'a kimisi Etimesgut'a gitti. Ne olurdu hiç gitmeseler... Burada mafya saldırdı bize. Hepimizi silahla korkuttular. Yani biz burda çok çektik. Önceden biz birlikken, buralar çok güzeldi. Şimdi ne olacak ben de bilmiyorum. Mahalle yıkılacak sonunda. Ben de Mamak tarafına gideğim.

[10] 1993'ten beri burada oturuyorum. Geleceğe ümitle bakmak istesem de bence mahalle yıkılacak yakında. Çünkü mahallede bir direniş kalmadı. Herkes yavaş yavaş terketti mahalleyi. Mahallenin yerli sakinleri pek kalmadı şuanda...İmkanım olsa ben de taşınmayı düşünürüm. Dikmen'e taşınmak isterdim.

[11] Dayanışma olmasaydı burada on yıl mücadele edilir miydi? ...Saldırılar oldu bize tabii ki. Beş bin polis geldi buraya, beş bin polise karşı çıktık. Gitmek istemedik, direndik. Yaşamsal bir şey çünkü mücadelemiz. Biliyorduk. Aramızdaki dayanışmayı kaybettikçe mahalle dağılmaya başladı. Mücadelemiz zayıflayınca eski mahallemizi de kaybettik. Mecbur taşınmayı düşünüyorum artık, yarın bi gün buranın ne olacağı belli değil. Mamak'a gitmeyi düşünüyoruz. Mahalle yıkılacak belki ama o mücadele kalacak sonraki kuşakların anılarında biliyorum, bunu benim en küçük kızım da yaşadı. Ben yaşadım benim çocuğum da yaşadı o anlatacak kendi çocuğuna.

[12] Mahallede mücadele vardı. Düşmanımız belliydi. Devlet güçleriydi. Mahalleye saldırdıklarında panzerin önünde durduk, cop da yedik. Yapacağımız şey belliydi; direnmek... Hemen her gece öğrenci arkadaşlar destek vermek için burada bulunuyordu. Yani halkın haklarının savunulduğu en güzel yerdi burası. İnanılmaz güzel bir yerdi. Belki şu son bir kaç seneyi çıkarsanız muhteşem bir savunma sistemi vardı burada. İnsanların birlikteliği çok önemliydi. Ama sonra herşey değişti. İnsanlar evlerini kaybetmemek için herşeye göz yummaya başladılar. Para işin içine girdi, herşey farklılaştı. Mücadele de bitti. Artık ne olur, ne olacak ben de bilmiyorum. İletişim yok artık burada. Zaten artık hiçbir şey yok burada. Herkes kendi bölgesine, bahçesine kapandı.

[13] Mahallenin geleceği çok belirsiz. Ne olacağı hakkında bilgi yok. Burayı -kaba bir tabir kullanacağım- bize yedireceklerini düşünmüyorum.

[14] Büyük bir ihtimal burası yıkılacak zaten. Bizim ne olacağıyla ilgili pek bilgimiz yok. Yıkılıp, aşağıdaki Park Vadi Evleri gibi olacak diyorlar ama bilemiyoruz. Yıkılmadığı sürece birşey yok, oturacağız. Bu vadi projesi olayın dan dolayı buradakilerin çoğu gitti. Yıkarlarsa biz de taşınırız.

[15] Buraya er ya da geç inşaat girecek, kaçınılmaz. Ama bu sene ama öbür sene... Buraya bi şekilde uyguladıkları (planladıkları) proje neyse o bir şekilde gerçekleşecek. Çünkü buranın gerçek sahipleri bir şekilde gelecekler. Bizler değiliz ama onlar. Senelerdir oturan kitle değil yani gerçek sahipleri. Üst düzey insanlar. Biz değiliz ki zaten bizi o sıfatla gören bi hükümet kanadı yok. Seni burada vatandaş, seni burada toplum, seni burada birey olarak gören, seni tanıyan bir hükümet yok yani.

[16] Bir de etrafta yürüme imkanı çok fazla. Site içinde tek olsam da çıkıp yürümeyi seviyorum. Sabahları yürüyen çok var öyle. Ama dışarıda yürümek mümkün değil. Sokakta ben bi eşofman giyeyim de yürüyeyim, mümkün değil. Mutlaka sözlü tacize maruz kalınıyor. Sitede böyle bişey mümkün değil zaten bir sürü yabancı var, elçilik mensubu…

[17] Hani tek başıma günlerce kalabilirim korkmam. O bakımdan mutlu huzurlu. Bi çok yerde kalamazsın günümüzde. Gerçekten güvenli değil. Site güvenli bizim, dışarıda can güvenliği yok ki.

[18] Burada [Park Oran'da] güvenli hissediyorum. Özel güvenlik var. Panora'nın güvenliğiyle aynı güvenlik var bizde de zaten, organize çalışıyorlar. Alışveriş merkezleri olduğu için polis araçları ring yapıyor genelde bizim oralarda.

[19] [Park Oran'dan] Memnunum. Bir kere güvenli bir yer, kimse kimseyi rahatsız etmiyor, çok fazla mahalle kültürü yok. Mahalle baskısı yok. Diğer semtlerde olduğu gibi kim girdi kim çıktı, kim nerede iş yapıyor yok. Kendini güvende hissediyorum. Kesinlikle o konuda çok rahatım. Saat gecenin üçünde bile çıkıp yürüyüş yapabilirsin sitede….Sürekli, 24 saat gözetlenen bir site.Garajlara, katlara giriyor geziyor güvenlik. Oturulan yerin site olması güzel. Site demek güvenlik demek. Kendimi sıkıntıda hissetmiyorum. Sitenin alanına girdiğim anda kendimi direk özgür hissediyorum.

[20] Güvenli bir yer. Kızım alışveriş merkezine gidip gezebilir. Arkadaşlarıyla istediği saatte gidip gelebilir. Hiç bir problem olmuyor o konuda. Bir bayan olarak tek başıma istediğim saatte girip çıkabiliyorum evime.

[21] Buraya benzer ama trafiği olmayan daha güzel bir yer bulursam taşınmayı düşünebilirim. Ama yine site düşünürüm. Yani yalnız yaşadığım için çok bireysel bir yer düşünmem.

[22] Bana göre buranın en canlı yerlerinden bir tanesi burası. Canlıdan kastım böyle Bahçeli [Bahçelievler] gibi canlı değil de, daha rahat, nezih ve canlı. Bilmiyorum

doğru kelime bu mu ama. Çok fazla kalabalık değil, mesela Kızılay veya Bahçeli gibi kalabalık değil. Seviyorum burayı. Yani yüksek bina olması benim çok hoşuma gidiyor, müstakildense, daha çok seviyorum yüksek binayı. Dibinde alışverişmerkezi var; Panora. Bana göre Ankara'nın en güzel alışveriş merkezi. Hem ona yakınsın, hem yüksek bir binadasın. Daha ne isteyim işte ne güzel bir ortam. Sporum da binanın içinde hiç bir yere gitmek için zaman harcamıyorum yani. Sporum, evim, ofisim hepsi aynı yerde. Trafiğe hiç kalmıyorum, hiçbir zaman. Park Oran'da ofis. Ofisten çıkıyorum, spor yapıyorum, spordan sonra 2 dakikada evimdeyim. Boş zamanlarımda arkadaşlarımla, Panora'da buluşuyorum. Panora'nın dışındaki caféleri kullanmıyorum, Panora'yı kullanıyorum. Çok büyük rahatlık ya!

[23] [Site] Yeşil alan açısından başarılı. Sitenin peyzajı profesyonel olarak yapılmış. Çevre çalışmasını güzel buluyorum. [Sitenin] Spor olanakları var. Bu benim için paha biçilmez bir olanak. Keyif aldığım bir faaaliyeti ulaşıma zaman kaybetmeden yapabiliyorum. Benim evim spor salonu tarafına bakıyor.Buradan taşınmayı düşünmüyorum. Benim için çok önemli kriter yani birinci önceliğim, dediğim gibi evimin önünde bir spor salonu olması. Çok büyük bağlılığım. Severek yapıyorum. Onun için hayatımı da zorlaştırmak istemiyorum. Başka bir yere gidip yol vs. Başka etkenler de var. Başka yerler kalabalık da olur. Burada öyle olmaz, site sakinleri kullanıyor. Yani çoğu kişi için önemli değildir de bu benim için çok önemlidir.

[24] Bizim durumumuz çok ekstrem bir durum. Bunların da çok üstünde [mülakat formunda 1.000-3000; 3.001- 5.000; 5.001+ olarak belirtilen aylık gelir kategorisinin]. Yani şuanda istediğim her şeyi elde edebilecek durumdayım. Öyle söyleyeyim…Şuan Türkiye standartlarında çok rahat yaşayabileceğim bir durumdayım. Bunun adı nasıl konur bilmiyorum.

[25] Hiç güzel değil [ekonomik durumumuz]. Karınca kararınca bence. Herşeyden kısıtlı mesela. Şimdi 4 kişinin harcadığı giderler 3 milyarın altında. Ama biz napıyoruzz, eğitimden kısıyoruz, giyimden kısıyoruz, yiyecekten kısıyoruz. Her şeyden kısıyoruz, yaşamak için.

[26] Bizim aylık hane gelirimiz 1.000-3.000 lira arasında; asgari ücret. Harcamalarımız çok fazla; eşimin yol parası oluyor, kızımın okul masrafları, mutfak masrafları, elektrik, diğer giderlerimiz derken…Kızım devlet okulunda okuyor ama bize göre kolejde okuyor gibi paralı…Diğer taraftan, bir kilo kıyma 40 milyon yani, bir kilo domates 3.5-4 lira. Biz zeytinyağı vs. zaten kullanamıyoruz.

[27] Bizim aylık gelir valla asgari ücret. Mustafa Amca'nın [Sakine'nin eşi]maaşı krediye gidiyor; ev için kredi çektik, oraya gidiyor. Öbür para da [satın alınan evin kira geliri] oluyor ilaç parası şey parası. Bize hiç birşey kalmıyor. İşte öyle geçinip gidiyoruz. İşte kira yok, odun parası yok. Burda rahat geçiniyoruz yine. Zor durumlar var ama hiç değilse kiramız yok işte; aldığımız evin kira parasıyla

geçiniyorduk. Üç aydır da boş ev kira yok birşey yok.. On senelik krediyle aldık orayı. Daha çok [ödemesi var]. Biz de şimdi oraya taşınırsak. bilmem oraya nasıl gideceğiz, nasıl geçineceğiz; doğal gazı, kapıcı parası şu bu parası. Bilmiyorum, düşünüp duruyoruz. Burada da kimse kalmadı, ne olacağı belli değil. Kimse gitmeseydi ben de gitmezdim buradan.Çocuk evlenmedi bekar, yaşı geldi geçiyor. Bir kız arkadaşı var sekiz sene bitti dokuz senedir konuşuyorlar. Biz de diyoruz ki adını koyalım, ama para yok pul yok. İki arada bir derede kalmışız, allah yardımcımız olsun.

28 Ben serbest çalışıyorum. Dolayısıyla gelirim şu diyemem, sabit bi gelirim yok ama kabaca söylemek gerekirse 60-70 bin civarı diye not edebilirsiniz.

29 Biz genelde Kızılay civarında falan karşılıyoruz ihtiyaçlarımızı. Ne kadar ucuz olursa, bizim için o kadar iyi oluyor. Çünkü gelir düzeyimize göre hareket ediyoruz.

30 Alışverişimi Panora'dan yaparım. Market alışverişini Panora içindeki marketten-sağlıklı olmasına dikkat ediyorum... Giyecek alış-verişi için de Panora'yı kullanırım - kalite ve markaya dikkat ederim. Giyinmeyi seviyorum. İyi giyindiğimi düşünüyorum. Taklit asla almam. Network'un tarzını seviyorum. Burberry, Beymen...Yurtdışından da alış veriş yapıyorum Alışveriş konusunda hatta anormal büyük bir dolabım var. Satsanız bir evi alabilirsiniz.

31 Oran tarafında oturanların çocukları]bu okula] gelmiyor. Okulun öğrencisi çok az hatta seneye kayıt olmazsa kapatılacak diye biliyorum. Eğitim kalitesi iyi değil.Yani öğretmenlerimiz iyi ama veliler sorumsuz. İlgilenen aile profili yok burada.

32 Panora dibimde olduğu için memnunum. Panora'yı seviyorum, huzur buluyorum orada. Park Oran'ın yeşil alanı da gayet güzel. Park Oran büyüklük olarak Ankara'da bir tane. Hatta İstanbul'da da yokmuş. Ama bizim açık havuzumuz yok. Spor kompleksinin yakın olması iyi. En çok Panora'yı seviyorum. Kıro kıro tipler yok. Bakanlar yok böyle bir kolye taktım diye. Rahat hissediyorum burada. Panora ailem gibi oldu, Park Oran'da oturma sebebim. İlişkilerim iyi.

33 Sitede oturduğum için mutluyum, bütün olanaklar güvenlikli bir ortamda birarada. Çukur yerleri sevmiyorum, yüksek yerleri sevmiyorum. Ben 29. katta oturuyorum. Karşıda ormanı görüyorsunuz. Buraya bakmaya geldiğimde, içeri girince büyülendim. Allahım bu [daire] benim olsun diyorsun, başka hiç bir şeye bakmıyorsun. Öyle nefis bir manzara ki…Girer girmez büyüleniyosun. Ben evime Mart ayında gelmiştim. Görür görmez aşık oldum, bu ev benim olmalı dedim. O ışıklar o bulutlar… Kararmış bilmem nolmuş. Şahane, havuzlarda fıskiyeler vs. 30 katlı ev, ben en üstün bir altında oturuyorum. Onlar da [30. kat] dublex, müthiş evler.

Nasıl diyeyim size, banyonuzda hiç perde kullanmadan ormana bakarak banyonuzu yapabilirsiniz.

34 Site içinde sporumu yapabiliyorum...Alışverişim Panora'dan yapıyorum. Ayrıca, istediğin anda hemen hemen her şeye ulaşabileceğin bi site. Mesela bi keresinde gece evime yarasa girdi. Korktum, tanıyamadım da hayvanı. Hemen güvenliği aradım. Hemen geldiler aldılar çıkardılar. Veya diyelim ki gecenin bi saatinde suyum bozuldu, hemen anında 2 dakikada geliyolar. Eksik bulduğum bişey yok o açıdan memnunum.

35 Sitede yaşamaktan memnunum. Müstakil ev iyi hoş da sorumluluğu çok fazla. Bir başınıza bir ev olursa daha izole kalırsınız. Ben öyle bir hayat istemiyorum. Eğer sitedeysen daha rahat… Spor tesisleri çok güzel, insanlar stres atıp rahatlayıp kaynaşabiliyorlar...Taşınmayı düşünmüyorum yani ben özellikle evin manzarasını çok seviyoum. Özellikle mutfağın mazarasını. Kahvemi alıp oradan dışarıyı seyretmek çok hoşuma gidiyor. Direk Odtü Ormanı'nı, Eymiri, Moganı görüyorum.

36 [Siteden] Çok memnunum. Çok değerlendi. Kiralar falan çok yüksek burada. Yani talep gören bi yer onu söylemek istiyorum. Neden? İşte buradan şöyle bi sonuç çıkartmak mümkün demek ki insanlar böyle yerleşim alanları istiyolar. Yani içinde yeşilliği olan, güvenliği olan, yanında Panorası olan – Panora'nın çok etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorum. Benim için mesela çok etkisi var, tabi. Çünkü düşünsenize ben arabamla buraya gelmek zorunda değilim. Araba evimin önünde duruyor. Ben yürüyorum, sitenin içinden buraya giriyorum. Sinema burada, alış-veriş burada, yemek burada, spor burada. Hemen hemen aklınıza gelebilecek herşey var burada. Burası bi merkez yani. Öyle olduğu için tabi ki doğal olarak talep görüyor burası. Düşünsenize yani ben Mesa Koru'daki bağımsız evimi bıraktım geldim buraya. Yani orası bir villaydı. Orayı bıraktım ve buraya geldim. Bi çekim merkezi burası. Hala da öyle olmaya devam ediyor.

37 Bu bölgeyi be yürüyüşlerde keşfettim. Bu projeyi duyunca evi aldım. Amacıma en yakın yer burasıydı açıkça. Benim tarzım odur, amaçlarım bellidir. Ev güneş alsın, spor kompleksi olsun, güvenlikli olsun isterim. Param da vardı o yüzden burayı tercih ettim. Bu spor kompleksi çok güzel açıkçası. Onu çok seviyorum. Alışveriş merkezine yakın olması, hiç bir şekilde araç kullanmak zorunda kalmamanız vs. çok cazip.

38 Bir kere buranın güvenli olması benim için çok önemli. 24 saat korunaklı , gözetlenen bir site. Bahçesi, peyzajı güzel. Burada yaşamaktan memnunum. Burada oturanlar ekonomisi düzgün olan insanlar. Bu imkanlara erişimi olabilen insanlar.

[39] Ben kendimi Park Oran'ın içerisinde izole bir alanda daha iyi hissediyorum. Koca bir site bu. Arabamla buranın altına kadar giriyorum. Park yerim belli. Kimsenin park yerini almıyorum. Yer kapmak için uğraşmıyorum. Yerim belli. Arabamı koyuyorum, asansöre binip evime çıkıyorum. Yeşillik istiyorsam, hava güzelse, yürümek istiyorsam iniyorum sitemin içerisine. Su var bilmem ne var. Gayet hoş bir mekan. Ben Park Oran'ın da mali müşaviriydim yapılırken. Onun için iyi biliyorum sitenin içini. Sitenin genel konumundan mennunum.

[40] Güvenlikli ve korunaklı bir yerde oturmak güzel. Çoçukların dışarı çıktığında site içinde güvende olduklarını bilmek beni rahatlatıyor. Burası güvenli ve nezih bir yer olduğu için tercih ettik zaten.

[41] Orası hep zengin…Hep zenginler oturuyor orada. Orada bir akrabamız, bir tanıdığımız yok. Bize göre değil orası. Ne oturur ne gideriz oraya. Bir çay bile içemeyiz orada çünkü pahalı. Bir kere gittik, gezdik içimiz açılır diye. Tabi ki güzel bir yer orası, gücün yetse kuvvetin yetse. Markete yakın, otobüse yakın, herşeye yakın. Burası öyle değil, hasta bir yere gidemezsin. Ama orası ana cadde, herşey yakın ama burda öyle birşey yok. Onlar zengin, bizim maddi durumumuz iyi değil.

[42] Orada maddi durumu iyi olan, zengin insanlar oturuyor, zaten orda evlerin değerleri de çok yüksek… Oralara yani ben hiç gitmedim. Bir kere işte sadece geçen yaz, teyze geldi. Teyzemizle Panora'ya gittik hep birlikte. O da yani gezmek. O alışveriş yapmak için gitti. Biz genelde hani Nata Vega'ya gidiyoruz, Mamak'taki, çocuk için. Kendimiz için de işte Kızılay'a gidiyoruz.

[43] Oran tarafına sadece ulaşım için gideriz. Onun dışında başka türlü uğramamız mümkün değil.

[44] Panora'ya sadece kızımın oyun parkı sevdasından dolayı gideriz bazen. Ona da hak veriyorum. Çocuk istiyor. Ama sık gidemiyoruz tabi. Sadece işte buradan bakıyorsun, ışıklandırmalarını görüyorsun.

[45] Panora tarafında sürekli işim oluyor. Eşim OneTower'da çalışıyor, kızım Panora'da çalışıyor. Hemen hemen her akşam gitmek zorundayım onları almak için. Gidip de çok mu alışveriş yapıyorum, yok. İndirim oluyor, bilmem ne oluyor, alabilecek param varsa gidiyorum bir tane iki tane elbise alıp geliyorsunuz. Ama orada herkesin çantaları dolu...Parası olan gidiyor oraya. Zaten parasız insan oraya gitse, sadece akşama aklını yiyip döner.

[46] E yani ben şöyle bi yerde yaşayan biri olarak burnumun dibinde böyle gecekondu istemiyorum çok doğal olarak. Tabi ki isterim ki gelişmiş olmasını. Daha gelişmiş bir alan olmasını beklerim.

[47] Pencereden baktığımda aşağıdan görünüyor o taraf. Şık binalar arasında güzel görünmüyor estetik olarak. Çocukların ayağı çıplak. Ot, odun yakıyorlar. Estetik durmuyor. Çocuklar değişik, küfür ediyorlar. Dilencilik kültürü hala var. Suriyelilerle birlikte daha da çoğaldı bu kültür. Üzülüyorum aslında onlara. Diğer apartmanların kapısını çalıp giriyorlar. Taciz etme, yapışma normal onlar için. Yoksul olabilirler ama hayata bakışları kaliteli olabilir. Ama anne-baba öyle, model.

[48] Görüntünün benim için bir sıkıntısı yok ama burada yaşayan çoğu insan için olabilir. Onları da anlayabiliyorum. Adamın burda gayet lüks bir evi var ama arka tarafta böyle bir gecekondu görüntüsü var. Güvensizlik illa ki oluyor yani ne yapabilir! O insanlar için de zor bi şey, şimdi adamın elinde imkanı yok görüyor burayı ister istemez bi canı çeker tabi adamın...Onları başka yerlere taşıyabilirler aslında. Onların gelir seviyesine uygun bir yer olabilir. Hem daha iyi bir yeri olur. Hem de aynı gelir seviyesindeki insanlar bir arada olursa daha iyi olur. Şimdi adam burda hakkaten bozulur yani düşünsenize; burada [Park Oran'da] adam istediği her şeyi yapıyor, orada adamın yiyecek ekmeği yok yani...

[49] Oraya bakmayı seviyorum. Baktığımda kadınlara ve çocuklara üzülüyorum. Orada yaşamayı haketmiyolar. Ben de 10 yıl içinde çok borca girdim ordan çıkabildim. Bu insanlar 0 noktasında. Bu noktadan başlayabilirler. Niye orada kalasın ki. Bi asgari ücret 2.000, eşin de çalışır. Etimesguta bakıyorum kiralar 400 TL. al çocuğunu git. Niye o hastalık yuvasında kalıyorsun ki! Kadınlar ve çocuklar için üzülüyorum sadece.

[50] Yani sosyo-ekonomik yapısı son derece yani nasıl söyleyim düşük seviyede olan insanlar oturuyor gecekonduda. Gelir düzeyinin düşük olduğunu düşünüyorum. Gecekondu işte adı üzerinde gecekondu…Biz, kanunlara, nizama saygılı insanlar olarak gidip gecekondu yapmadık…Oradan geçerken görüyorum ben şöyle; Ankara'nın ortasında böyle bir yerde toprakta yaşıyorlar. Yani orda domates, biber yetiştiriyor. Bazı şehirlilerin klasik özlem duyduğu bir hikaye. Ama ben böyle bir sosyo-ekonomik yapıda bir insan olarak böyle bişeye özlem duyar mıyım hayır tabi ki yani. Bence onlar müteahhitler gelse, şurayı alsa da bizler de güzel bir evde otursak diyorlardır, böyle bakıyorlardır bence.

[51] Daha çok geçim sıkıntısı çekiyor olabilirler. Daha çok olabilir dediğim, kesin çekiyorlardır çünkü yani her şey ortada. Yani geçerken insanların hallerinden görüyorsunuz yani, insanların üzerlerindeki kıyafetlerden, kirden, suratındaki o halden, çocukların o durumundan. Anne baba zaten hiç ilgilenmiyor o çocuklarla kesinlikle, çocuklar akşama kadar dışarda. Ya sokakta büyüyorlar, sokak çocuğu gibi büyüyorlar, baktığın zaman işin aslı bu.

[52] Tabi [gecekondular] sağlıksız yapılar oldukları için –iyi durumda olanları da olabilir- sıkıntılı. Çok çocuklu bir aileyseniz herkese yeter durumda odaları olmayabilir. Dolayısıyla bir oda birden fazla kişi tarafından paylaşılıyor olabilir. Fiziksel koşullarının zorluğu gecekonduların en büyük sıkıntısı. Altyapı sıkıntıları nedeniyle çocukların oynayabileceği alanlar çok fazla olmayabilir. Bahçesi dışında, çocukların eğlenebilecekleri başka bir alan yok. Ayaklarınız çamura bulanıyor bir kere. Tabi sosyo-ekonomik durumu düşük olduğu için farklı sıkıntıları da olabiliyor buraların. İnsanların daha rahat hareket edememesi. Daha rahat giyinememesi gibi, bunu belki kadınlar daha ağır yaşıyor olabilir. Bunlar genelde temel sorunları ama en büyükleri fiziksel koşulların yetersizliği, altyapının eksikliği ve yaşam alanlarının çok elverişli olmaması.

[53] Evleri yıpranmıştı. Yolları kötüydü. Kışı nasıl geçiriyorlar bilmiyorum. Fiziki şartlar açısından hiç olumlu yönü yok. Onların açısından baktığınız zaman bütçelerine göre bir şey bulmuş oluyorlar.

[54] Oranın [gecekondu mahallesinin] olumlu yanı olamaz! Garibansındır, bir araba durur sana para verir belki o da olumlu yan mıdır, tartışılır.

[55] Bazen trafiği bypass etmek için kullanıyorum orayı. Hergün kullanmıyorum. Trafiği bildiğim için genellikle çıkmıyorum o saatlerde ama çıkmak zorunda kalırsam ve de gecikmişşem o zaman burayı kullanıyorum. Aşağı yukarı 15 günde bir kullanıyorum yani. Beni rahatsız ediyor gecekondu bölgesi. Çünkü ordan geçerken ben kendimi güvenli hissetmiyorum. Yani güvenli bir alan olduğunu düşünmüyorum o bölgenin. Bilmiyorum, böyle bi deneyimim yok, böyle bişeyim yok ama ordaki insanların sosyo-ekonomik durumuna baktığım zaman mesela kullanılan arabalardan anlıyosunuz, Renault 12ler, Tofaşlar bilmem neler, bak oraya. Bu insanlarla trafikte karşı karşıya geldiğim zaman o kadar bir farklı dünyalardayız ki. Biz trafikte saygılı, ben yolun kenarına çekip yol veren insan. O ordan burnumun dibine kadar gelen, ben bakınca da ters ters niye bakıyosun diye kızan böyle insanlar. Dolayısıyla yani güvenli olmadığını düşünüyorum. O yüzden buranın çözülmesi belki bu anlamda da işe yarar, bilmiyorum. Öyle hissediyorum.

[56] Benim karşılaştığım kötü bir durum olmadı [gecekondu mahallesi ile ilgili]. Yani hatırladığım kadarıyla olmadı öyle bir şey. Ama civarın [gecekondu bölgesinin] ekonomik durumu ortada. Bu yüzden güven sorunu oluyor ister istemez. Açıkçası, arabamı o tarafa yakın yere koymak beni tedirgin, huzursuz eder yani. Sıkıntı şu; orada doğudan gelmiş Kürtler çok fazla. Geçen bir olay olmuş. Bağrış çağrış, bir de silah sesleri falan gelmiş. Bir tane adamın arabasına sıkmışlar yani. Biz hiç duymadık. Normalde duyarım camdan çıksam falan ama duymadım, gece olmuş.

[57] Özellikle kadınlar, erkekler eğitimsiz [gecekondu mahallesinde]. Yaşam tarzlarından çocuklarını çağırma şekillerinden anlaşılıyor. Vadinin diğer tarafında kardeşimin evi var, oradan duyuyorum. Çocukların ağzı çok küfürbaz. Geç saatlere kadar çalışan, küçük yaşta sigara içen çocuklar, içkilerini bilmiyorum ama sigara içiyorlar. Kötü alışkanlıkları var. Ne köye ne kente aitler, hasbel kader bu zamana gelmiş ve hayatlarını sürdürüyorlar. Erkeklerin tavrından, kadınların ezildiği, dövüldüğünü düşünüyorum. Erkek egemen bir zihniyet. Geri bir toplum, hiçbir yere ait değiller tam geçiş toplumunun temsilcileri. Kavgaları çok sert geçiyor, kavga çıktığı zaman. Gerçekten aralarında kalabalık ve zorlu bir mücadele oluyor, kavgalarında. Bir keresinde apartman dairesindeki bir hanımefendiden çocuğun topunu istiyor [gecekondu sakini], ver çocuğun topunu almışın diyor ve çok çirkin bir şekilde küfür ediyor. Ağzıma alamam bunu ama böyle bir şeye şahit oldum. Kaçan topunu istiyor çocuk, varoştan diğer çocuk ise seni bilmem ne yaparım diyor. Kendi aralarındaki kavgalar ise çok sert oluyor, kardeşim korkudan kapıyı kilitliyorum diyor. Zaten bu taraftaki çocuklar onlara pek bulaşmaya cesaret etmiyorlar.

Yok [oraya] geçmedim. Korkuyorum. İnsanların kaybedeceği bir şey olmayınca daha cesur ve daha baskın davranırlar ya onun gibi. Ben onların içine hiç gitmedim, korkuyorum geçmeye.

Bilmiyorum. Oradan gelen olduğunu sanmıyorum [Park Oran'a]. Ben almam mesela. Güvenmem gerek insanlara. Tarzı, hayata bakışı önemli.. Buraya temizliğe, çocuk ve köpek gezdirmeye gelenler var ama vadide oturmuyorlar. Mesela köpek gezdirmeye gelen kadın Yenimahalleden geliyor. Çalıştıracak insanların da eline yüzüne bakıyorlar, herkesi aldıklarını düşünmüyorum. Sanmıyorum vadiden gelen olduğunu, onlar hayatını nerde, nasıl karşılıyor bilemiyorum. Mesela ben almam yani. Güvenmem gerekiyor yani insanlara.Bana temizliğe gelen ise varoşlarda oturmuyor, Dikmen'de normal bir apartmanda oturuyor, varoşlarda değil.

[58] Oranın yapısı bir Çinçin kadar problemli değil ama mutlaka tedirgin oluyor insan. Ne olacağını bilemezsin. Ölçüsüz, eğitimsiz insanlar orada yaşayanlar.

[59] [Gecekondu'da oturanlar] Genelde bence güneydoğudan göç etmiş, doğru dürüst türkçe okuma yazmayı bilmeyen, düzenli işi olmayan, çok çocuklu, küçük bir ortamda yaşayan insanlar. Belki de bir iki odalıdır evleri gidip görmedim ama çok yakınımızda. Hep çocukları bizim bahçeye dalıp zarar veriyo, bahçe kapısının üstünden atlıyo. Diyorum tehlikeli bak yapmayın bir yerinize batar. İşte ateş yakıyolar etrafta. Onu her zaman yapıyorlardı, ateş yakma işi çok büyük bi problem hala da vardır eminim. Yazın topluyorlar işte bütün otları binanın dibinde ateş yakıyorlar. Çocuklar da gelip onula oynuyor ama etrafa zarar verebilir, yangın çıkarabilir. Bunu anlayacak düzeyde ne anne babalar var ne de çocuklar bu konuda eğitiliyor.

[60] Ya şimdi şöyle aşağıda ateş yakıyolar, şimdi bizim evin baktığı yer, Panoraya doğru bakıyor ama önünde yaklaşık büyük bir alan var, gecekondular var orada hemen bitişik zaten. İşte ne bileyim hani ateş yakıyolar, çöplerini yakıyorlar. Değişik değişik zamanlarda düğün yapıyorlar. Yazları başlarlar şimdi düğünlere. Tabi eğer kızları kaldıysa artık verecek ya da oğulları varsa evlendirecek. Yani evde çocuk var mı, hasta var mı düşünmüyorlar. Pazar günü adam davul zurna çalıyor. Yani şeyler, o tarz şeyleri yok yani. Hala köy ortamında gibi yaşıyor yani. Şehirde yaşıyor gibi davranmıyorlar. Kentli olmak nedir şöyle; etrafındaki insanlara daha saygılı olman lazım ya bence. Sonuçta artık topluca yaşadığın bir tek senin olmadığın yerde yaşıyosun yani. Köydeki insanların zaten rutini bellidir, düşündüğün zaman. Fazla yapacağı hani akşam yattığı saat bellidir, sabah kalktığı saat bellidir ama burda herkesin baktığın zaman birsürü derdi var yani. Hani bir gün nebileyim işi geç biter, yorgun olur, uyumak ister. İnsanların içinde öyle yaparsan rahatsız edersin milleti yani başkalarına biraz daha saygılı olmak bence.

[61] Mesela o bölgede [gecekondu bölgesi] halen açıktan işte o eski tip düğünler yapılıyor. Sabahlara kadar davulların çalındığı vs. nin olduğu. Yani senin hastan vs. var yok hiç önemli değil. Dolayısıyla eski tip şeyler yaşanıyor. Halen orada siz gittiğinizde bütün şeyi görebilirsiniz; köy yaşamını, işte o şehir varoşunu, gecekondulaşmayı ama dibinde aynı şekilde apartman yaşamını, karşıda diplomatik siteyi, yabancı elçiliklerin residanslarını… Her şey iç içe geçmiş durumda.
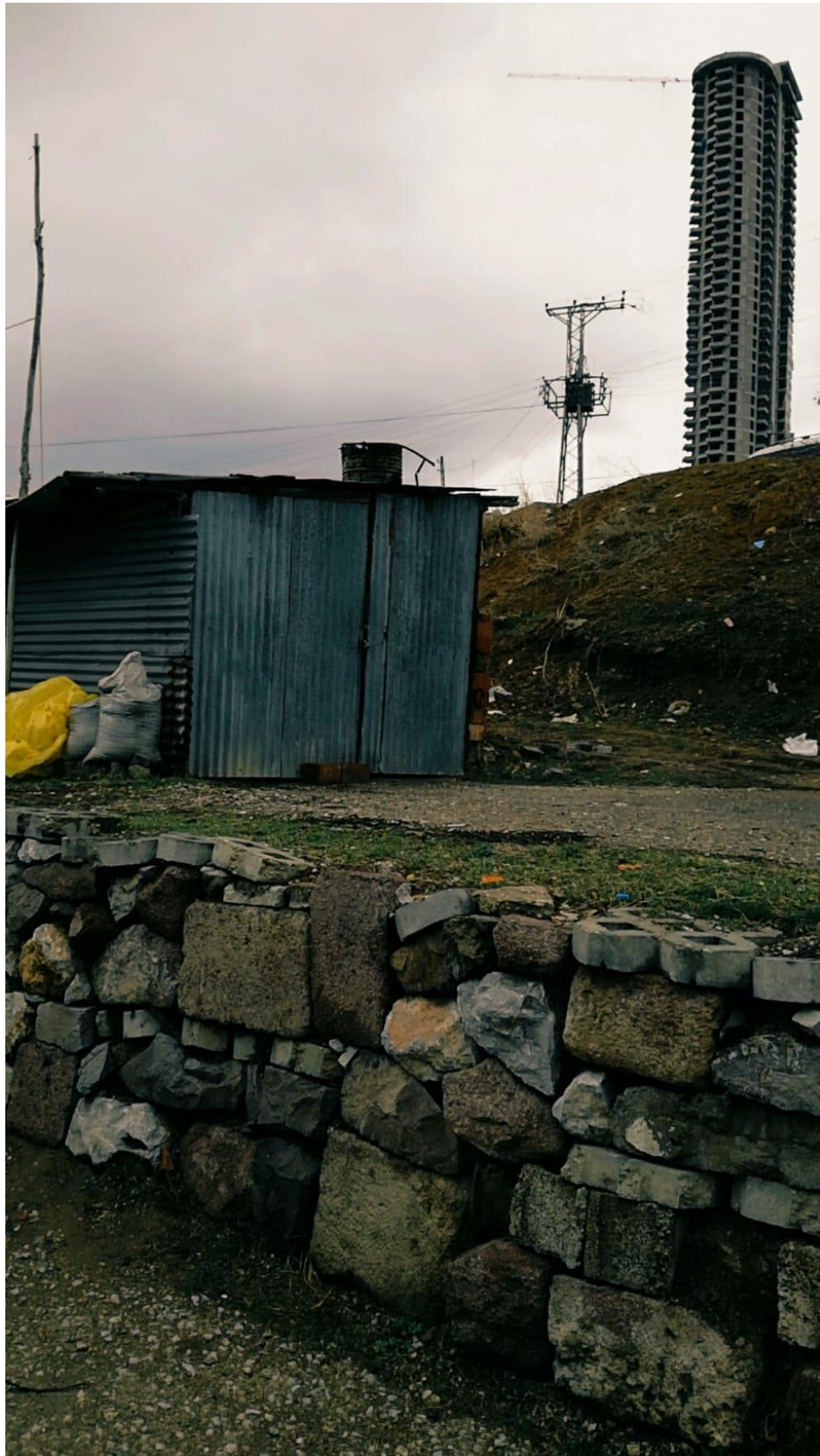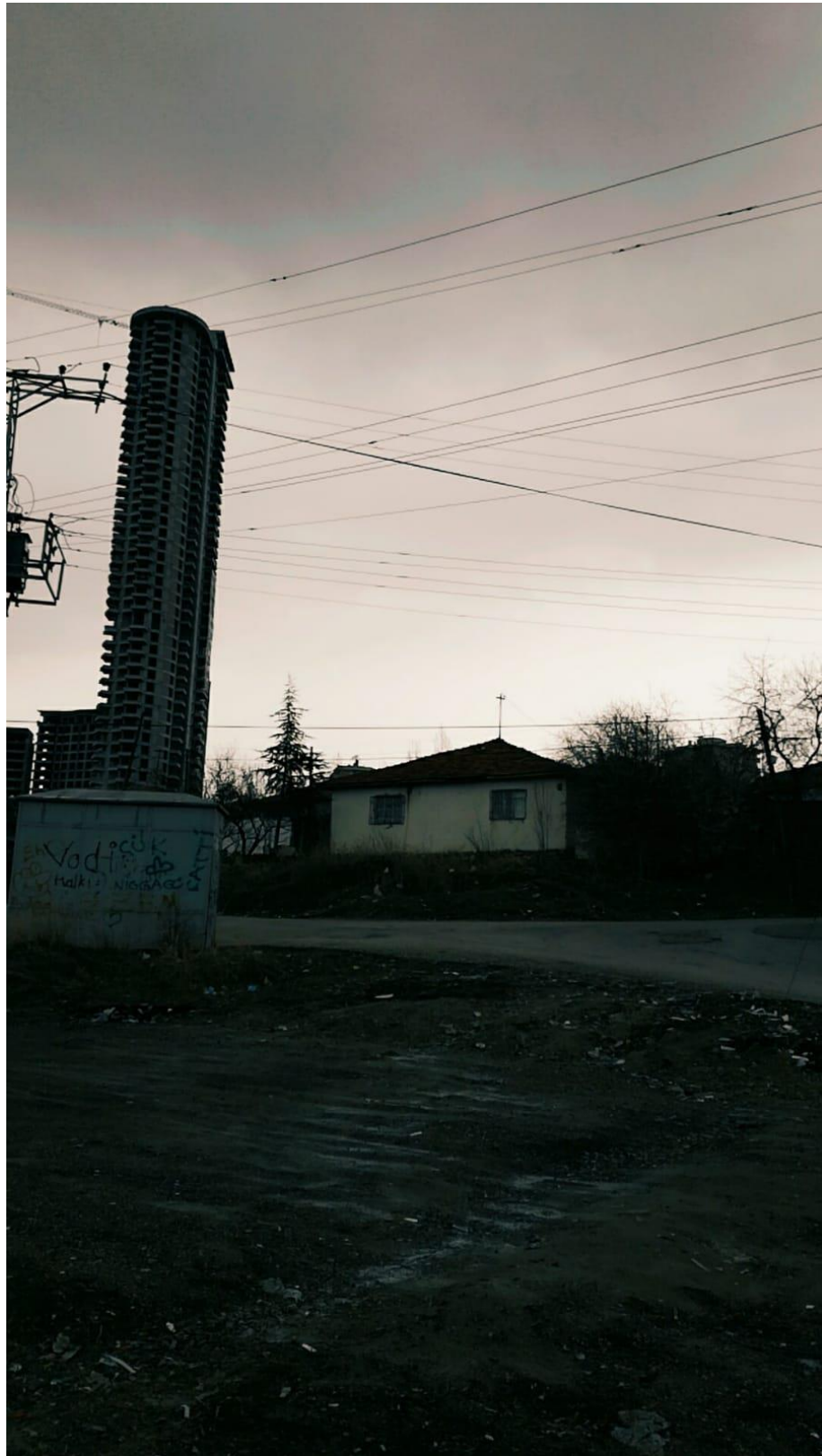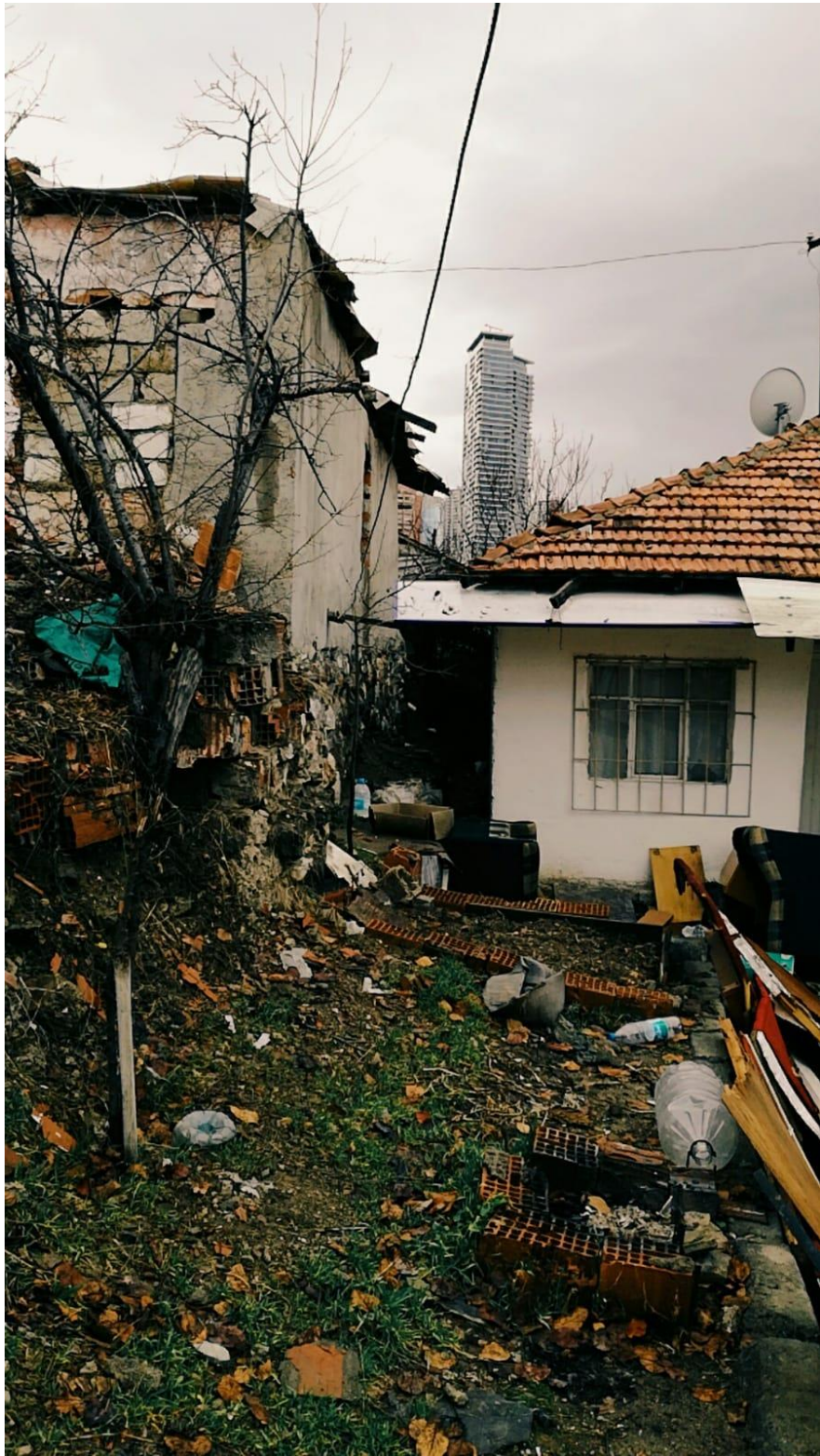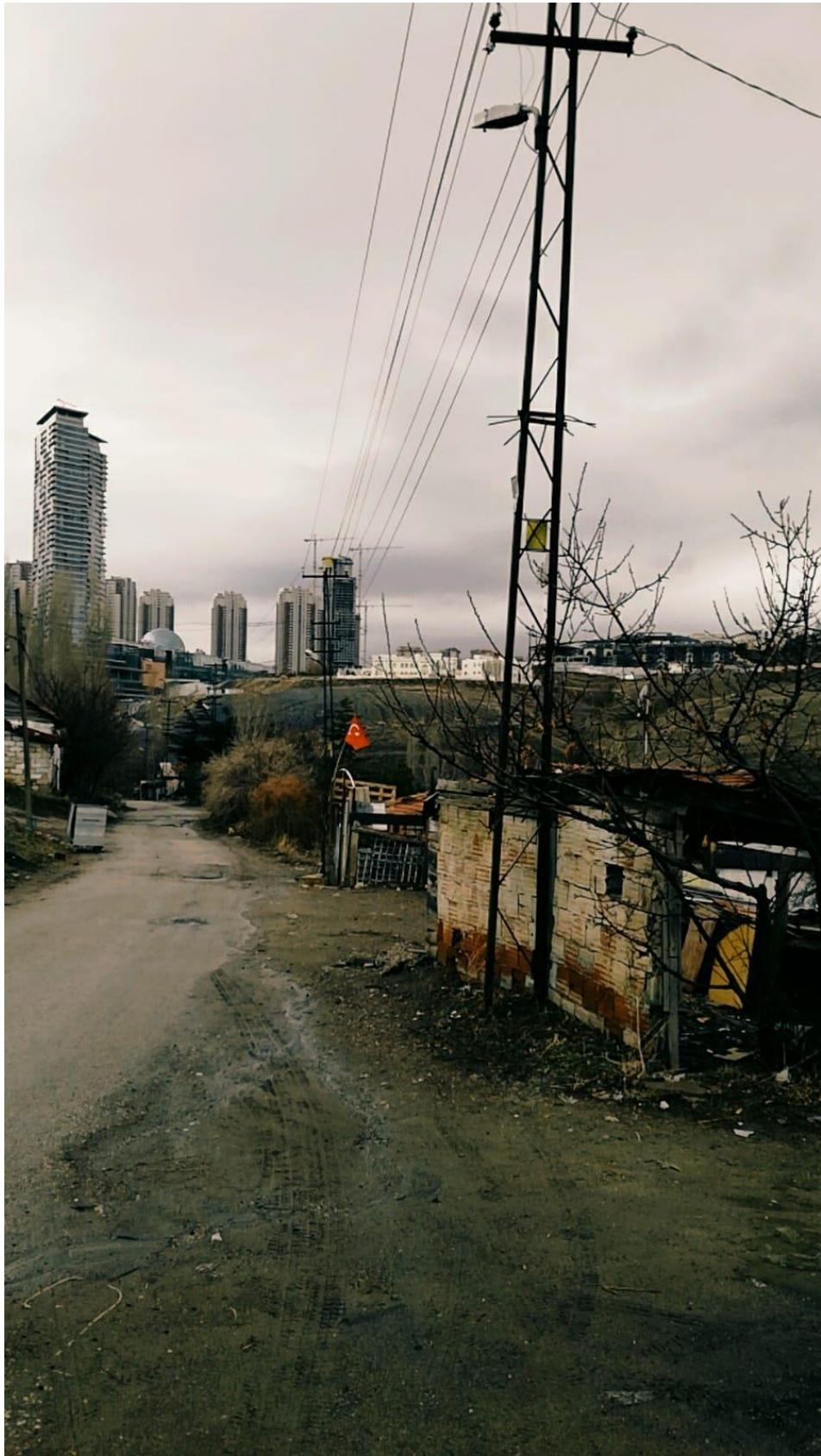
D. FIELD PHOTOGRAPHS / SAHA FOTOĞRAFLAR

* the field photographs are from personal archive

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Mekansal ayrışma ne yeni ne de sadece Türkiye'ye özgü bir olgudur. Mekansal ayrışma, neo-liberal politikaların ve küresel tüketim alışkanlıklarının kentlerdeki yansımasıyla birlikte hem dünya genelinde hem de Türkiye özelinde git gide derinleşen bir mesele halini almıştır. Bu çalışmada mekansal ayrışma, farklı sosyo-ekonomik grupların kentin farklı yerleşim alanlarında birbirinden ayrı ve kopuk yaşayışı olarak ele alınmıştır. Kent mekanı farklılıkların bir arada bulunduğu, farklı grupların bir arada yaşadığı bir ortam olmaktan uzaklaşmış, sınıflandırılmış ve ayrıştırılmıştır. Mekana, 'nezih mekan', 'kaçınılması gereken mekan', 'yoksulluğun mekanı' veya 'gösterişli mekan' gibi farklı farklı özellikler ve dereceler atfedilmiştir. Mekana farklı anlamlar yüklenmiş ve mekan bir statü sembolü haline gelmiştir. Mekanlar arasındaki sınırlar belirginleşmiş ve sözde uzak durulması gereken yerlerin altı çizilmiştir. Kent yoksullarının mekan kullanımı sosyo-ekonomik temelli sebepler nedeniyle 'zorunlu' olarak belirli sınırlar içine sıkışırken, orta-üst sınıfın mekansal pratiği gönüllü olarak yine belirli "özelliklere" sahip alanlarla sınırlı kalmıştır. Bu çalışmanın, sahasını da oluşturan bir gecekondu mahallesi ve lüks güvenlikli site bunun örneğini somut bir şekilde ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmanın da gösterdiği gibi gecekondu mahallesi kaçınılan, güvensiz bulunan bir mekan olarak ortaya çıkarken, güvenlikli site ayrıcalıklı ve seçkin bir yaşam tarzının sunulduğu bir mekan olarak öne sürülmektedir. Gecekondu mahallesi, güvenlikli site sakinlerinin manzarasında istenmeyen veya hoş karşılanmayan, kaçınılan bir mekan iken; güvenlikli site, gecekondu sakinlerinin bakışında, fiziksel yakınlığına karşıt "ulaşılamayan" bir mekandır. Gecekondu sakinlerine göre güvenlikli site zengin insanlar içindir, kendileri için değil.

Bu iki farklı mahallede yaşayan sakinlerin mekansal kullanımı farklı kaygılarla ancak ortaklaşan bir sonuç olarak yaşadıkları mekanların sınırları içindedir. Bu çalışmanın sahasını oluşturan söz konusu mahalleler Ankara'nın Çankaya ilçesinde

bulunan, birbirine komşu ancak birbirinden kopuk olan Dikmen 5.etap gecekondu mahallesi ve Park Oran güvenlikli sitesidir.

Bu çalışmanın başlangıç evresinde, bu iki mahalle arasındaki fiziksel farklılıklar gözlemlenmiştir. İki mahallenin fiziksel yakınlığı bu farklılıkları belirgin bir şekilde görünür kılmaktadır. İki yerleşim alanın farklılığı kendini, buralardaki konutların fiziki yapısında belli etmektedir. Ancak söz konusu mahalleler arasında -bu çalışmanın merak konusu olan- bir mekansal ayrışmanın olup olmadığını anlamak amacıyla kalitatif bir çalışma yürütülmüştür. Bu çalışma açık uçlu mülakatlara dayanmaktadır. Gecekondu mahallesinden onbir, Park Oran Konutları'ndan onbir kişi olmak üzere, toplamda yirmi-iki mahalle sakini ile mülakat yapılmıştır. Katılımcılara, önceki katılımcının referensı ile bir sonrakine ulaşmayı sağlayan kartopu yöntemi ile ulaşılmıştır. Bu yöntem, söz konusu hedef gruba ulaşma güçlüğünü aşmada yardımcı olmuştur. Görüşmeler, Dikmen 5. Etap gecekondu mahallesinde, görüşmecilerin evlerinde gerçekleştirilirken; Park Oran güvenlikli sitesinde, genellikle, site içerisinde yer alan Panora alış-veriş merkezinde bulunan cafélerde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bir kaç görüşme ise Park Oran sakinlerinin iş yerlerinde, ofislerinde veya herhangi bir *café*de yapılmıştır. Mülakat soruları dört alt başlık atında katılımcılara yöneltilmiştir. Birinci kısımda, temel demografik bilgiler toplanmıştır. Burada, katılımcıların eğitim seviyeleri, meslekleri, yaptıkları işler öğrenilmiştir. İkinci kısım, katılımcıların kendi mahalleleri ile ilgili sorulardan oluşmaktadır; bu mahallede kaç yıldır ikamet ettikleri, bu mahalleyi tercih etme sebepleri, burada kimlerin yaşadığı, mahallenin altyapısı, buradaki belediye hizmetleri ve mahallenin geleceği gibi sorular sorulmuştur. Üçüncü kısımda gündelik hayat, tüketim ve boş zaman aktiviteleri ile ilgili sorular yer almaktadır. Bu kısımda mahalle sakinlerinin, günlük aktiviteleri üzerinden kent pratiklerini anlamak amaçlanmıştır. Katılımcıların gelecek planlarının ve gelir düzeylerinin sorulduğu kapanıştan önceki dördüncü ve son kısımda ise; katılımcılara komşu mahalle hakkında sorular doğrultulmuştur; orada kimlerin yaşadığı, orada yaşamanın olumlu/ olumsuz tarafları ve komşu mahallenin geleceğini nasıl değerlendirdikleri gibi.. Bahsedilen mülakat soruları ile aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına yanıt aramak için veri toplanması hedeflenmiştir:

(1) Dikmen 5. Etap gecekondu mahallesi ve Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi arasında mekansal ayrışma var mıdır?

(2) Mekansal ayrışma var ise, bunu mahalle sakinlerinin mekan kullanımı ve algısı üzerinden nasıl gözlemlenir?

(3) Mahalle sakinlerinin günlük deneyimleri ve mekan kullanımlarında, toplumsal cinsiyet, etnisite ve sosyo-ekonomik statu açısından farklılıklar var mıdır?

Bu tezde saha çalışması iki farklı mahallede yürütüldüğünden her bir mahallenin spesifik özellikleri detaylı bir kavrayışa sahip olmak adına ayrı ayrı ele alınmıştır. Bu amaçla, tezin kalitatif araştırma yönteminin detaylarını içeren methodoloji kısmını, Dikmen 5.etap gecekondu mahallesinin ve Park Oran güvenlikli sitesinin detaylı tarifini ele alan üçüncü kısmı takip etmektedir. Dikmen 5. etap gecekondu mahallesi Dikmen Vadisi'nde konumlanmaktadır. Dikmen Vadisi'nin kentte merkezi bir konumu vardır. Dikmen Vadisi kentin farklı gelişim planlanlarında yeşil alan olarak yer alsa da köyden kente göç dalgaları ile bir gecekondu yerleşim alanı haline gelmiştir. Ve Vadi Türkiye'de gecekondu çalışmaları literatüründe en çok çalışılan alanlardan biri olmuştur. Dikmen Vadisi Ankara'daki en büyük gecekondu yerleşimlerinden biri olmasının yanı sıra ilk gecekondu dönüşüm projesinin planlandığı yer olması sebebiyle de dikkat çekicidir. Vadinin kentteki merkezi konumu da göz önüne alındığında kapitalist ekonomi için büyük bir rant alanı olduğu ve büyük kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin uygulandığı ve/veya planlandığı bir yer olduğu görülür. Vadi için planlanan ilk kentsel dönüşüm projesi girişimi 1984 yılında Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafındandır. Söz konusu projenin amacı gecekonduların yıkımı ile birlikte vadide yeşil alan oluşturmaktır. Ancak proje maliyeti ve gecekondu sakinlerinin itirazı nedeniyle uygulanamaz (Türker-Devecigil, 2005)[1]. Projenin revize edilmiş hali, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Çankaya Belediyesi ve Metropol Imar tarafından 1989 yılında duyurulur. Bu proje, Türkiye'deki ilk ve en büyük kentsel dönüşüm projesi olması nedeniyle önemli bir yere sahiptir. Projenin tasarımına göre Vadi beş etaba ayrılır. Birinci etap, projenin

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[1] Tanülkü, B. (2012). Gated Communities: "From Self Sufficient Towns" to "Active Urban Agents". Geoforum, 43, 518-528.

onayını takiben 1989 yılında başlar. Bu etap proje temsilcileri ve gecekondu sakinleri arasında varılan anlaşmalarla tamamlanır. Projenin bu etabının gecekondu sakinleri tarafından kabul gördüğü söylenebilir. İkinci etapta, gecekonduların yıkılarak yerine apartmanların inşa edilmesi devam eder. Bu süreçte yerel seçimlerle birlikte 1994'te yerel yönetimde değişikliğe ve projede de revizyona gidilir. Böylece proje karını maksimize etmek adına proje alanında lüks konutların inşasında artış görülür (Uzun, 2005)[2]. Projenin amacı gecekondu alanlarının prestijli ve lüks konut alanlarına dönüşümü haline gelir (Dündar, 2001)[3]. Projedeki değişiklikler ve düzenlemelerle birlikte gecekondu sakinleri arasında itirazlar yükselmeye başlar. İtirazlar devam ederken, dönemin belediye başkanı tarfından projenin üçüncü etabı 2009 yılında duyurulur. Projenin dördüncü ve beşinci etabı halen süregelse de güncel durumda projenin son ve tamamlanmamış kısmı olan beşinci etap üzerinde birkaç gecekondu kalmış bulunmakta. Bu etaptaki gecekonduların çoğunun da yıkılmış olup, kalanlardan bazılarının yıllar süren direnişin ardından terkedildiği görülmüştür. Dikmen Vadisi Projesi (DVP), özellikle projenin son revizyonu, planı ve uygulanışı bakımından tartışmalara yol açmıştır. Gecekonduluların talepleri evlerin fiziksel koşullarındaki iyileştirmeyle birlikte yerlerinde kalmak iken projede gidilen revizyon mahallelilerin yerinden edilmesi durumuna yol açmıştır. Böylece, yukarıda belirtildiği üzere, Vadi büyük bir direnişin de alanı olmuştur. Bu anlamda buradaki direniş, bu çalışmanın bulgularında da görüleceği üzere, mahallelilerin gündelik yaşamının bir parçası olmuştur. Mahallenin sosyo-demografik yapısı ile ilgili resmi bir veriye ulaşılamamış olup, saha çalışması sırasında muhtardan edinilen bilgi edinilmiştir. Buna göre, mahallede Alevi nüfusun yoğun olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Mülakatlarda da ortaya çıktığı üzere, mahalleye taşınma tercihinde akrabalık ve hemşehrilik önemli rol oynamaktadır. Gecekondu sakinlerinin çoğunluğu Çorum, Sivas, Malatya'dan göç eden Alevi bireylerden oluşturmaktadır. Sosyo-ekonomik açıdan, gecekondu sakinleri kent yoksullarını temsil etmektedir. Gecekondu

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[2] Uzun, N. (2005). Residential Transformation of Squatter Settlements: Urban Redevelopment Projects in Ankara. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment. 20 (2), 183-199.

[3] Dündar, Ö. (2001). Models for Urban Transformation. Informal Housing Ankara. Cities. 18:36. pp. 391- 401.

sakinlerinden bazıları vasıflı veya vasıfsız işçi olarak çalışırken, diğerlerinin işsiz olduğu veya geçici işlerde çalıştığı görülmektedir. Hane halkı genellikle iki/ üç çocuk ve ebeveynler olmak üzere dört/beş kişiden oluşmakta. Buna ek olarak, bazı gecekondu evlerinde yakın akrabalar, büyükanne ve/veya büyükbaba aile üyeleri ile birlikte yaşamaktadır. Evlerin fiziksel durumlarının, genellikle, oda sayısı, yalıtım, ısıtma vb. açısından yetersiz olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi Çankaya bölgesinde yer alan eski milletvekili lojmanlarının bulunduğu alana inşa edilmiştir. Sitenin inşası TOKİ tarafından özel bir şirkete devredilmiştir ve yapımına 2007 yılında başlanmıştır. Park Oran Evleri'nin şehir merkezine uzaklığı yaklaşık 10 km. dir. Bu merkezi lokasyonu nedeniyle Ankara'nın en popüler yerleşim yerlerinden biri olmuştur. Park Oran sitesi otuzbir katlı oniki adet binadan veyedi katlı beş adet binadan oluşmaktadır. Söz konusu güvenlikli sitede toplamda 1832 konut bulunmaktadır. Park Oran sakinleri sosyo-ekonomik statü açısından ort-üst sınıfı temsil etmektedir. Park Oran sakinlerinin vasıflı işlerde çalıştığı görülmektedir. Meslek grupları arasında, doktor, diş hekimi, öğretmen mühendis vs. bulunmaktadır. Görüşme yapılan Park Oran sakinlerin hepsi ev sahibidir. Hane halkı maksimum üç kişiden, anne-baba ve 18 yaşın altındaki çocuk- oluşmaktadır. Dairelerden birinde ev sahibi anne ve kardeşi ile birlikte yaşamaktadır, bazılarında ise ev sahibi yalnız ikamet etmektedir. Dikmen örneğinin aksine, akrabalık/ hemşehrilik yerleşim alanı tercihinde etkili değildir. Park Oran sakinlerinin, burada yaşama tercihlerinde ön plana çıkan noktalar; güvenlik, sitenin lokasyonu, sitenin sunduğu olanaklar, konutların yüksek standartlara sahip olmasıdır.

Sosyo-ekonomik faktörlerin iki mahalle arasındaki mekansal ayrışmanın ardında yatan sebeplerden başlıcası olduğu düşünülmekle birlikte, geniş anlamda ekonomik bir analiz bu çalışmanın kapsamı dışındadır. Bu, mekansal ayrışma sürecinin ardındaki ekonomik temelin öneminin gözardı edildiği anlamını çıkarmamalıdır. Aksine, kent mekanındaki ayrılma ve ayrışma sürecinin geniş bir ekonomik yapıya içkin olduğu düşünülmektedir. Ekonomik olarak dezavantajlı grupların, kentin sözüm ona "çöküntü" alanlarında toplandığı; varlıklı grupların ise kentin "gözde" kısımlarını "tercih ettiği" farkadebilen bir durumdur. Ancak, bu çalışma, sınıf temelli

analize dayanan geniş çapta bir ekonomik incelemeyi amaçlamamaktadır. Buradaki analiz daha çok algısal düzeyde yapılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmanın odağı mekansal ayrışmayı anlamada gecekondu ve güvenlikli site sakinlerinin mekan algısının ve kullanımının analizini yapmak olacaktır. Kentlilerin mekan kullanımı/ deneyiminin her zaman ve yalnızca geniş sosyo-ekonomik yapılar tarafından belirlenmediği, kendi kişsel algıları, zihinsel haritaları ve mekan pratikleri etrafında da şekillenebildiği (Michel de Certeau in Tonkiss, 2005)[4] görüşü göz önünde bulundurulmaktadır.

Tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturan beşinci bölüme geçmeden önce, Türkiye'deki gecekondu ve güvenlikli site gelişiminin tarihsel süreci dördüncü bölümde tartışılmıştır. Türkiye'de gecekondulaşma süreci 1950'lere dayanırken, köyden kente göç ve yeni kent yoksullarını oluşturan göçmenlerin kentin çeperlerine veya sonradan kentin merkezinde kalan bölgelerine yerleşmeleri gecekondulaşmanın birincil sebebi olmuştur. Zamanla gecekondu oranı getirilen yasalarla ve uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ile düşüşe geçmiştir. Ancak, Ankara gibi Türkiye'nin özellikle büyük kentlerinde gecekondu mahalleleri geçmişe kıyasla azalsa da varlığını sürdürmektedir. Türkiye'de güvenlikli site gelişimi ise daha yakın tarihe, 1990'lara gelindiğinde gelişim göstermiştir. Türkiye'deki ilk güvenlikli site İstanbul'da inşa edilen ve Türkiye'ye güvenlikli site konseptini getiren Kemer Country'dir (Geniş, 2007)[5]. Ankara'da ise Angora Evleri ilk güvenlikli site örneğidir. Bu yeni yerleşim modeli özellikle 2000'lerde büyük bir artış göstermiş, güvenlikli siteler sadece büyük kentlerde değil farklı ölçekteki kentlerde de yaygınlaşmaya başlamıştır. Bazı güvenlikli site örnekleri alt gelir grubu için de planlansa da güvenlikli siteler için asıl hedef grup, global kontekste de olduğu gibi, orta/ orta-üst sınıf olarak belirlenir. Bu kısımda güvenlikli site tanımı ve gelişimi, ayrca, küresel kontekst bağlamında incelenmiş, dünyada güvenlik sitelerin ortaya çıkışının izi sürülmüştür. Bu Türkiye'deki oluşumundan daha eskiye; 1960'ların

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[4] Tonkiss, F. (2005). Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms. Polity Press.

[5] Geniş, Ş. (2007). Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in İstanbul. Urban Studies, 44 (4), 771–798.

sonu, 1970'lere dayanır. Dünyada güvenlikli sitelerin ilk örnekleri Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde görülür, daha sonra ise İngiltere, İspanya gibi bazı Avrupa ülkelerinden Arjantin, Şili, Meksika, Suudi Arabistan ve Yeni Zelandaya kadar dünyanın hemen her yerine yayılır. Literatürdeki tanımlara dayanarak, güvenlikli sitelerin genel özellikleri şöyle sıralanabilir: (1) kapı, duvar, çit, güvenlik kameraları gibi fiziksel sınırlarla/ aygıtlarla çevrelenmesi (2) site sakini olmayanların sınırlı erişimi, (3) özelleştirilmiş bir kamusal alan olması, (4) sakinlerinin sosyo-ekonomik açıdan homojen bir grup, çoğunlukla orta-üst sınıf olması, (5) spor merkezi, alışveriş merkezi, temizlik hizmetleri gibi çeşitli imkanlar ve hizmetler sunması.

Çalışmanın bu kısmını, yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, kavramsal çerçeveyi ortaya koyan beşinci bölüm takip eder. Henri Lefebvre'nin mekan teorisi bu çalışmanın ana kavramsal çerçevesini oluşturur. Bu kısımda Lefebvre'nin mekan teorisinin ana kavramları tartışılır. Lefebvre'nin Mekanın Üretimi adlı kitabında altını çizdiği en önemli noktalardan biri (sosyal) mekanın (sosyal) bir ürün olduğudur (Lefebvre, 1991)[6]. Bunu ve ilgili kavramları tartışmaya açmadan önce Georg Simmel'in ve Karl Marx'ın mekan üzerine görüşleri kısaca incelenir. Simmel ve Marx'ın tartışmaya dahil edilmesinin nedeni; ilkinin mekan teorisine yaptığı erken dönem katkılar nedeniyle bu anlanda öncü teorisyenlerden kabul edilmesi, sonrakinin ise Lefebvre'nin mekanın üretimi kavramsallaştırmasında önemli bir etkisinin olmasıdır. Simmel toplumu bir bütün olarak ele alıp incelemek yerine, her toplumsal etkileşimin incelenmesi gerekliliğine vurgu yapar çünkü ona göre bir toplum etkileşimlerin toplamıdır (Allen, 2005)[7]. Mekan, Simmel'in toplumsal etkileşim kavramsallaştırmasında önemli bir yer tutar. Simmel'in kavrayışında, sosyal aktiviteler ve etkileşimler mekansal bağlam içinde gerçekleştiğinden; mekan, insanların deneyiminde önemli bir unsurudur. Marx'ın kavramsallaştırmasında ise açıkça bir mekan analizi görülmez. Marx'ta mekan nosyonun izi onun kapitalizm eleştirisinde sürülebilir. Lefebvre mekanın üretimi teaorisinde Marx'ın kavramsal

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[6] Lefebvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishing.

[7] Allen, J. (2000). On George Simmel: Proximity, Distance and Movement in Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) Thinking Space. Routledge: London & New York.

setine sıklıkla başvurur. Lefebvre'nin Mekanın Üretimindeki iki kavramın -mekan ve üretim- incelemensi gerekiliği ortaya çıkar (Elden, 2004)[8] ve bu kısımda bunlar Marx'ın üretim analizi ile bağdaştırılarak tartışılır. Lefebvre, Marx'ın vurguladığından farklı olarak, şeylerin mekan içindeki üretimi yerine mekanın kendisinin üretimini ortaya koyar. Lefebvre, yukarıda daha önce söz edilen, Mekanın Üretimi adlı eserinde, özellikle, kapitalist mekanın üretiminin detaylı bir analizini sunar. Buna göre, kapitalizmin mekanı kendini soyut mekan olarak ortaya koyar. Soyut mekan farklılıkları ortadan kaldırmaya çalışan, homojenleştirme, eğilimi olan mekandır. Böylece, homojenleştirme soyut mekanın bir özelliği olarak karşımıza çıkar. Soyut mekanın diğer özellikleri ise parçalılık ve hiyerarşikliktir. Bunlardan ilki, mekanın bölmelere/ bölümlere ayrılması anlamına gelirken, ikinci mekanlar arasındaki derecelendirmeye karşılık gelir. Lefebvre'nin belirttiği üzere, mekan; farklı özellikler atfedilerek soylu yerlerden alçak yerlere sınıflandırılmıştır. Kapitalizmin mekanı bu üç karakteristiği aracılığıyla mekan üzerinde kontrolü sağlamayı amaçlar. Bu çalışmada özellikle homojenlik ve hiyerarşiklik kavramları üzerinde durulmuştur. Burada, bir başka önemli kavram ise Lefebvre'nin mekansal üçlüsü olmuştur. Lefebvre'nin kavramsallaştırılmasında mekan algılanan-tasarlanan-yaşanan mekan üçlüsü olarak düşünülmüştür. Mekansal anlamda, bunlar sırasıyla, mekansal pratik, mekan temsili ve temsil mekanlarına karşılık gelir. Mekansal pratik; günlük yaşamın üretildiği ve yeniden üretildiği günlük rutinleri, rotaları ve ağları içerir. Mekan temsili; profesyoneller, şehir planlamacılar, mimarlar vb. tarafından tasarlanan mekandır. Temsil mekanları ise düşünülen/tasarlanandan çok hissedilendir (Merrifield, 2006)[9]. Bu, mekan tasarımından ziyade mekan kullanıcılarının, sakinlerin günlük deneyimleri ile yakından ilgili olup yaşanan mekanı karşılar. Mekanın Üretimi'nde Lefebvre, mekanın toplumsal olarak üretildiği argumanını ortaya koyar. Lefebvre, mekanın içinde şeylerin üretiminden bahseden klasik Marxist anlayışın yerine, mekanın kendisinin üretimi anlayışını getirir. Özellikle mekanın kapitalizm atındaki üretiminin detaylı analizini yapar. Lefebvre'nin kavramsallaştırmasında, mekanın tolumsal üretimi bu üç element üzerinde

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[8] Elden, S. (2004). Understanding Henri Lefebvre. Continuum: London & New York.

[9] Merrifield, Andy. (2006). Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction. Routledge: London & New York.

işletilmektedir. Kapitalizm mekanı kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda üretir. Kapitalizmin mekanında, tasarlanan mekan yaşanan mekan üzerinde baskın çıkmaktadır. Soyut mekan, homojenleştirme eğiliminde görüldüğü gibi, farklılıkları yok etmeye çalışmaktadır. Soyut mekanın sözü edilen özelliklerine karşın, Lefebvre diferensiyal mekan kavramını getirir. Lefebvre'nin işaret ettiği gibi, farklılıklar alternatif bir mekansallığın potansiyelini taşır. Kendi tanımında ise diferensiyal mekan, kapitalizmin mekanı olan soyut mekandan farklı, yeni bir mekan olarak ortaya konulur.

Çalışmanın altıncı ve sonuç kısmından bir önceki bölümünde, sahadan elde edilen verilerin analizi temel olarak Lefebvre'nin yukarıda kısaca açıklanan kavram ve görüşleri üzerinde durularak yapılmıştır. Lefebvre'nin mekan anlayışının mekansal ayrışmayı anlamada önemli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Lefebvre'nin Mekanın Üretimi'nde altını çizdiği gibi, kapitalizm kendi zekasıyla yeni bir mekan üretmez. Kapitalizmin amaçladığı şey mekanın, kendi çıkarı doğrultusunda yeniden üretilmesidir. Lefebvre'nin anlayışına göre, mekan -kapitalizm altında- farklılıkların yok edilmesiyle homojenleştirilmeye çalışılır, parçalara bölünür ve belirli statüler yüklenerek hiyerarşikleştirilir ve böylece mekanın kontrolü sağlamak hedeflenir. Lefebre, mekansal üçlüsünün birbiri arasındaki bağlantısına sıklıkla vurgu yapmaktadır. Algılanan-tasarlanan- yaşanan mekan diyalektik bir ilişki içinde olmasına karşın kapitalizm altında tasarlanan mekan daha baskın çıkmaktadır. Bu çalışmada araştırılan hangi mahallenin -gecekondu mahallesi ve Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi- Lefebvre'nin hangi kavramsal mekanına karşılık geldiği değildir. Böyle bir araştırmanın söz konusu olması, Lefebvre'nin mekan anlaşı ile çelişkili olurdu. Bu çalışma, mekansal ayrışmanın kapitalist mekan üretimine içkin olduğunu göstermeye çalışır.

Araştırma sonuçlarının gösterdiği gibi, mekansal ayrışma, Dikmen 5. etap gecekondu mahallesi ile Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi arasında, bu iki mahalle sakinlerinin mekan kullanımında ve algısında gözlemlenmiştir. Mahalle sakinlerinin, mekan kullanımı ve deneyimi göz önüne alındığında, her iki mahallenin sakinlerinin de mekan kullanımlarının genelde kendi mahalleleri ile sınırlı olduğu, birbirlerinin mahallelerinde bulunmadıkları ya da sadece bazılarının sınırlı durumlarda nadiren

bulundukları görülür. görülür. Sadece bazı gecekondu sakini Panora alışveriş mağazasının alış-veriş için değil etrafta gezinmek amaçlı ziyaret eder. Park Oran sakinlerinden bazıları ise ana caddede trafiğin yoğu olduğu vakitlerde gecekondu mahallesi tarafındaki arka yolu kullanır. Her iki mahalle sakinlerinin mekansal pratikleri de, çoğunlukla, kendi mahallelerinin sınırları içindedir. Böylece buralarda yaşayan insanlar arasında hemen hemen hiç ilişki bulunmamaktadır.

Etnisitenin mekan kullanımındaki rolü gecekondu mahallesinde belirgindir. Gecekondu sakinlerinin etnik kimliği -Alevi kimliği- dayanışma pratikleri açısından temel oluşturmaktadır. Gecekondu sakinlerinin arasındaki dayanışma günlük pratiklerinin önemli bir parçasıdır. Gecekondulular arasındaki dayanışma, kendini günlük problemler ile baş etme yolu olarak ya da karşı karşıya kaldıkları kentsel dönüşüm projesine karşı direnişte kendini gösterir. Etnisitenin mekan kullanımındaki rolü, çoğunlukla Sünni-seküler kimliğe sahip Park Oran sakinleri arasında belirgin değildir.

Diğer açıdan, toplumsal cinsiyetin mekan kullanımındaki rolünün gecekondu mahallesi ve Park Oran sitesinde farklılaştığı görülür. Gecekondu mahallesinde mekan kullanımı açısından kadınlar ve erkekler arasında belirgin bir fark görülmezken; Park Oran'da bu fark kendini güvenlik kaygısı ve sitedeki spor olanakları üzerindeki aşırı vurgulamada açığa vurur. Park Oran sitesinin çoğu kadın sakini için, sitede yaşamak güvenli bir ortamda yaşamak anlamına gelmektedir. Onlar için, Park Oran sitesinin sınırları içinde yaşamak güvenli bulunurken, site dışında yaşamak güvenli değildir. Park Oran sitesinin kadın sakinlerinin mekansal pratiği güvenlik kaygısı etrafında şekillenmektedir. Örneğin, sitenin dışında değil, sitenin içinde yürüyüş yapmayı tercih etmektedirler. Park Oran sitesinin çoğu erkek sakini açısından sitenin spor olanakları konut tercihlerinde belirleyici olmaktadır. Bunun yanında, Park Oran sitesindeki gibi bir spor merkezine erişimin önemi sıklıkla vurgulanmaktadır.

Etnisite ve toplumsal cinsiyete ek olarak, sosyo-ekonomik statü mahalle sakinlerinin mekan kullanımında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu durum, gecekondu ve Park Oran sakinlerinin mekan kullanımına ve deneyimine farklı şekillerde yanımaktadır. Gecekondu sakinlerinin mekan kullanımı düşük sosyo-ekonomik statüleri nedeniyle

kısıtlanırken; sosyo-ekonomik statüsü yüksek güvenlikli site sakinlerinin mekansal pratikleri, ekonomik kaygıları olmaksızın şekillenmektedir.

Mekansal ayrışma, mekan kullanımın yanı sıra mahalle sakinlerinin mekansal algıları üzerinde de kendini göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada, gecekondu mahallesinden Park Oran sitesine ve Park Oran sitesinden gecekondu mahallesine bakışta, mekansal algının nasıl değiştiği ayrıca incelemektedir. Bu farklılık, her iki mahalle sakininin birbirlerinin mahallesi hakkındaki görüşlerinde açığa çıkmaktadır. Gecekonduluların algısında, Park Oran sadece zengin insanların yaşabileceği kendilerinin 'ulaşamayacağı' bir yerdir. Çoğu güvenlikli site sakini için ise gecekondu 'estetik' bir görünümden uzak, sağlıksız ve tehlikeli olan bir 'çöküntü' mekanı, yoksulluğun mekanıdır. Bu bağlamda, gecekondu ve Park sakinlerinin birbirlerinin mahalleleri hakkındaki görüşleri bu iki yerleşim yeri arasında mekansal ayrışmayı gözler önüne sermektedir. Bunun ötesinde, insanların algısı iki mekan arasındaki sınırı beslemektedir. Her iki mahalle sakininin birbirlerinin mahalleleri hakkındaki düşüncelerinin yansıttığı gibi, iki mahalle arasında sadece kapılar, duvarlar gibi fiziksel sınırlar değil, Simmel'in işaret ettiği gibi, algısal sınırlar da mevcuttur.

Yukarıda değinildiği gibi, çalışmanın başında yöneltilen araştırma soruları cevaplanmıştır. Soruların yanıtlarının yanında, çalışmanın bulguları arasında söz konusu iki mahallede, güvenlik meselesine mahalle sakinlerince nasıl yaklaşıldığı yer almıştır. Gecekondu mahallesi sakinleri arasında, güvenlik hissi yakın topluluk bağları üzerinden sağlanırken; Park Oran sakinleri sitede yaşadıkları için kendilerini güvende hissetmektedirler. Bir yandan, gecekondu mahallesinde, güçlü topluluk bağlarına dayanan dayanışma, güvenlik hissinin temelini oluştururken; diğer yandan güvenlik hissi Park Oran sitesinde, kameralar, kapılar vb. gibi fiziksel aygıtlara dayanır.

Bu çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu bir başka sonuç ise her iki mahallede de farklı toplumsal sınırların oluştuğudur. Park Oran güvenlikli sitesi ve gecekondu mahallesi arasındaki mekansal sınıra ek olarak, her iki mahallenin kendi içinde de yeni sınırların inşası görülür. Bu sınırlar kendilerini, görüşme yapılan mahalle sakinlerinin görüşlerinde kendinden farklı olanın ötekileştirilmesinde gösterir. Gecekondu sakinleri Park Oran sakinlerinin gözünde 'öteki' iken; her iki

mahallenin kendi içinde de 'öteki' yaratılmıştır. Bu, gecekondu mahallesinde yeni gelenler yani çoğunlukla Suriyeliler iken; Park Oran'da mekanı 'uygunsuz' kullanan yeni zenginlerdir. Gecekondu sakinleri, Suriyelilerin mahalleye gelişiyle güvende hissetmediklerini, hırsızlık vakalarının arttığını, evlerinin onlar tarafından işgal edileceği endişesini dile getirir; Park Oran sakinleri ise ayakkabıları kapının önünde çıkarmak gibi kırsal alışkanlıkların kentin merkezindeki lüks site içinde sürdürülmesinden yakınmaktadır. Her iki mahallede de bahsedilen gruplar dışlanır, mekan içinde yeni sınırlar çizilir.

Sonuç olarak, daha önce belirtildiği gibi, bu çalışmada mekansal ayrışma sözü edilen iki mahallenin sakinlerinin mekan kullanımı ve algısı üzerinden incelenmiştir. Burada, mekansal ayrışmanın mekanlar arası doğal bir ayrıma karşılık gelmediği vurgulanmaktadır. Lefebvre'nin mekanın üretimi teorisi çerçevesinde, mekanın kapitalizm altındaki üretimi göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Mahalle sakinlerinin mekan kullanımı ve algısı kapitalizmin mekanı olan soyut mekanın özellikleri etrafında analiz edilmiştir. Soyut mekanın homojenleştirme eğilimi, Park Oran sakinlerinin mekan tercihinde kendini açığa vurmaktadır. Gecekondu yerleşimindeki farklılıklar ise yine soyut mekanın homojenleştirme eğilimi tarafından silinmeye çalışılmaktadır. Mekanın hiyerarşisi, farklı özellikler ve statüler atfedilen iki farklı mekan arasındaki mekansal ayrışmada kendini göstermektedir. Bu, ayrıca, mahalle sakinlerinin mekan algısına da yansımaktadır. Park Oran'da yaşamak lüks bir hayat tarzı olarak sunulurken, gecekondu yaşamı kente ait olmayan kırsal bir yaşam şekli olarak belirtilir. Bu çalışmada, yerler arasındaki mekansal sınırların soyut mekanın özelliklerine içkin olduğu düşünülmektedir. Soyut mekan kendi kurgusunu mekan üzerine dayatır ve mekanı homojen, parçalı ve hiyerarşik kılmaya çalışır. Mekanın esas kullanıcıları, Park Oran örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, tasarlanmış olanı pasif bir şekilde deneyimleyebilmektedir. Gecekondu örneğinde de olduğu gibi mücadelenin farklılıkların korunmasındaki önemi açığa çıkmaktadır. Aksi halde, Lefebvre'nin işaret ettiği gibi farklılıkların soyut mekanın homojenleştirme eğilimi tarafından absorbe edilmesi kaçınılmazdır. Mahalle sakinlerinin görüşleri bunu desteklemektedir. Mahalle sakinleri mücadele ve direnişlerinin gücünü yitirdikleri için kentsel dönüşüm projesinin mahallede uygulanmasının beklendiğini vurgulamaktadırlar. Bütün bunlar göz önüne alındığında, bu çalışma mekansal

ayrışmanın, kapitalist mekanın üretiminin kendisinden bağımsız olmadığını ortaya koyar.

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