THE WALLS OF THE CITY

The case of Gated Communities in Istanbul

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BASAK IDIL SEKER

ABSTRACT

Istanbul is witnessing a big transformation of its spatial structure under the neoliberal policies. Clusters, where wealth and poverty are concentrated, are becoming the new normal of Istanbul's urban landscape: on the one side, gated communities for the rich, on the other side mass housing projects for the poor. Polarization in the society is increasing as the walls are rising. Isolated and homogeneous lives are bringing along alienation and separation in everyday life. This thesis draws attention to the importance of critical thinking on space. It is evident that today, space is occupied by capitalism, which controls the society by creating homogeneous, sterile and fragmented spaces in the city. Disregarding the heterogeneity of the cities puts one of their most powerful and significant aspects into a risk: being a space for differences that can meet, interact and ask collectively for radical changes. In doing so, the state gains power over everyday life of the citizens who lose their individual control and sense of community and become more alienated. Therefore, it is significant to analyze these two forms of settlement that become increasingly dominant in cities. Although they seem to represent two opposite cases, they are actually produced through the same policies and strategies. In both options, individuals are expected to live in their own isolated worlds, in the ways that the system requires. The result, is a society that is afraid of the others and of differences, and that does not know anymore what a real city life is.

Key words: production of space, spatial segregation, neoliberal policies, gated communities, mass housing

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Today we can all see that there is extreme wealth and poverty concentrated in different parts of the cities. Segregation through space is increasing and leading to polarizations in the society ever day more. Alienation from each other and everyday life is becoming increasingly evident. As the walls rise in the cities, spaces of the poor and the rich are more distinguishable than ever. Today cities seem fragmented and divided. Homogeneity becomes dominant in the cities. According to Lefebvre, one of the most significant features of cities which is space, that enables unexpected encounters and the interactions between different social groups, is disappearing.

The aim of this study is to question what the reasons of this sharp division and polarization are, increasing every day more in the cities. Who is responsible of these transformations in cities? Why do people choose to enclose themselves and live in a secured place with those who share the same lifestyles with them? What are the factors that influence their choices?

Space has undergone different processes and transformations throughout the history. The understanding of space, which is directly related to economic, social, cultural and political conditions, has been interpreted in different ways in different periods. In the last decades, there is an increasing consensus that neoliberalism reshapes the landscape of the cities while arranging the

society according to the rules of global financial structure. Due to the global trends, similar shifts in the urban culture, consumption habits and lifestyles have been observed in the world. However, not every citizen has been affected in the same way from this process. On the contrary, socio-economic inequalities within society have increased. The gap between the poor and the rich formed the urban atmosphere in the cities. Privatization of the public space, emergence of guarded shopping malls, business districts appear as the examples of the segregation by neoliberalism. Gated communities, on the other hand, are maybe the most visible example that causes polarization and segregation.

Gated communities began to first appear in the US in the 1970's, and they were on the agenda of urban studies in the early 1990s. Blake and Snyder (1997), who have published the first book focusing only on gated communities, defined them as "residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces and services are privatized." In spite of it was firstly developed in the US, today it became a global phenomenon, which can be seen in most of the countries in the world. While the first reason for its emergence was security, over time, the aim of buying status and privileged lifestyle, has become one of the predominant reasons. Walls, gates, security guards have become the indication of "elitism".

Istanbul, as the biggest metropolis of Turkey and one of the biggest in the world, has always been affected by the economic and political changes happening in the world. Due to Istanbul's size, history and location, Turkish state has assigned it the main role in its vision of cultural and economic transformation. The 1980s, when Turkey had met with global policies, it has also been the precursor of radical changes. These changes brought along not only social, economic, political and cultural, but also spatial changes. Just like the other examples in the world, the new spaces of urban wealth and poverty were being simultaneously produced in the neoliberalization process. Gated communities have emerged as a result of the "new mid-class", that appeared after the 1990s (Bali, 1999). Contrary to most of the other gated communities in the world, which were marketed with the discourse of fear, gated communities in Istanbul were marketed with prestige discourses. Their numbers increased rapidly in a short time and spread mostly in the periphery of Istanbul where its natural resources exist. Today, as the main driving force of the housing market, they are threatening the city in terms of both social and natural sustainability.

In fact, the foundation of these new places of wealth and poverty is based on the immigration wave occurred in the 1950s due to the rapid urbanization. Because of the lack of housing provision and weak urban planning policies, immigrants had to find their own solutions by building illegal slums called as gecekondu mostly on public land. The destiny of gecekondus has always been shaped according to the interest of the state and the main actors in the housing market. Sometimes they were pardoned with amnesty law, when the politicians needed their votes, or it was easier to ignore rather than finding a solution; sometimes they were considered as an urban threat and wanted to be demolished. Sometimes they were pardoned by the amnesty law when the politicians needed the votes of gecekondu dwellers, or when it was easier to ignore them rather than finding a solution; sometimes they were considered as an urban threat and they were deemed to be demolished.

The Mass Housing Administration of Turkey (TOKI) was established in 1984 in order to regulate the housing sector, prevent further gecekondu construction and find solutions to housing shortages for low and middle income groups. Despite the large amount of housing production at the beginning, TOKI became ineffective due to the loss of some of its financial resources over time. However, this situation has changed with the Justice and Development Party (AKP) that came into power in 2002. In parallel to its new agenda for the redevelopment of urban areas and adopting neoliberal policies, TOKI has been restructured and strengthened, given many privileges and authorizations, became the most powerful actor in the housing sector. Today, TOKI carries out mass housing projects for low and middle income groups, urban transformation/ renewal projects and luxury housing projects for high income groups with revenue sharing model, especially in big cities. TOKI, giving more importance to the quantity than quality in it projects and aiming to produce the highest amount possible in the shortest time, is exposed to many criticisms because of its projects' standardized, high-rise blocks and unqualified common areas.

Gecekondu neighborhoods and historical centers in Istanbul, began to become more valuable for the local and central governments, and the investors, as the city extremely expands. They started to demolish the gecekondus under the title of "urban transformation" and relocated the urban poor to the mass housing projects of TOKI in the periphery of Istanbul. These processes have increased the polarization and exclusion in society even more. Two main kinds of space started to form the urban space of the city: the mass housing projects trying to make the urban poor "invisible", and gated communities, in which the rich want to isolate themselves from the others.

In this research, I wanted to examine these two emerging spaces as a result of neoliberalism, shaping the urban landscape of Istanbul. Because Istanbul is going through irreversible changes. Its urban space is being contaminated by the consumption and

recreation areas that are constantly monitored by strict security measures, as well as the new residential areas hidden behind the walls. I believe if we want to change something, we should search, read and analyze. By analyzing these two contrary spaces, created by the same processes, I also want to draw attention to the similarities they share.

Before focusing on the main theme, I wanted to grasp better the conception of space, how it was produced and which transformations it has been through, and how the economic and political strategies affected the space. Therefore, the first chapter is dedicated to the understanding and production of space. The second chapter continues with the critique of the everyday life in the light of Lefebvre's studies, how the way individuals live started to be shaped by the bureaucracy, their consumption patterns have changed, and people began to be alienated. Later, the chapter discusses about the disappearance of the differences in everyday life, and the appearance of the spatial exclusion and more homogenized patterns on space, as well as the emergence of the divisions in the city and the different parts of the city that are concentrated with extreme wealth and poverty. The general literature and history about gated communities, and their main features and types are analyzed in chapter three. After having the general idea about the phenomenon of gated communities in the world, the fourth chapter makes a deeper investigation about urbanism and housing in the context of Turkey, and how the process of the emergence of gated communities in Turkey is. The chapter starts with the urbanization dynamics and the development of housing provisions in Turkey and continues with the examination of TOKI throughout history. Eventually, it discusses the emergence of neoliberal policies in Turkey and gated communities correspondingly.

As it was mentioned above, the analysis of the transformation of Istanbul's urban landscape is the main aim of the study. Before the analysis of the emergence of gated communities in Istanbul, there is a need to understand the changing urban form and the transformation of its periphery throughout its history. Gecekondus as one of the most significant factors shaping the periphery of Istanbul and the formation of suburbanization, that will be the ground of gated communities, are analyzed in detail. Besides the examination of the reason of the emerging gated communities and their features and types, the mass housing projects for the poor- and middle-income groups in Istanbul is questioned.

The main questions of the study are the following:

Can we consider mass housing projects of the low income groups as the involuntary gated communities of the poor?

And, in spite of the fact that gated communities of the poor and of the rich seem in contrast, are there actually similarities? And,

if yes, what do these imply?

In order to attempt answering these questions, I analyzed several case studies. The analysis is reported in chapter 6. Because of the fact that fieldwork cannot be done today's conditions, the existing sources were used in the analysis of the case studies. Sources were selected mostly from published books and research papers. Interviews with the residents that were gathered from the articles and publications, were used to enrich the analyses. The visuals and graphs were produced by the help of the information provided on research studies and on internet sources, such as the web sites of the projects, news and the advertisements. In order to address the topic from different perspectives, importance was given on selecting case studies in different contexts and characteristics. The six case studies, representing both the gated communities of the rich and mass housing projects targeting the poor, differ in scale, construction period and type of developers. For each case study, facilities provided for the residents, characteristics of public life and relations between the residents, security conditions and the form of administration are discussed.

01
THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

The question 'what is space?' is replaced by the question 'how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualizations of space?'

David Harvey

1.1
UNDERSTANDING
THE CONCEPT OF SPACE

Our current wider social conceptions of space as the example of absolute space demonstrated since Newton. Still, there cannot be found any resemblance between contemporary social conceptions of space and the n-dimensional, abstract spaces of mathematics. Today social space is very different than scientific space: while social space is related with social activity and events, scientific space on the contrary, is abstracted entirely from such activity. The conceptual ground for the emergence of a separate social space can be most evidently found in Newton's separation of relative from absolute space. With the absolute space of Newton, the world of geographical, biological and physical events could be evaluated as the natural base of physical space. Social space, instead, could be evaluated as a relative space existing within absolute space.

The evolution of second nature out of first nature is the main reason of the bifurcation of social and physical space. It was a must for society to be separated from nature before social space could be separated totally from physical space. In this absolute physical space, which was associated with the natural space of first nature, physical and natural space cannot be distinguished. But the concept of social space has been further abstracted from any reference to natural space.

The conception of social space was not clearly expressed till the

end of the 19th century. Emile Durkheim is usually known as the founder of the term social space which, he claimed, was unlike and separate from "real" (physical) space. In this case, just like mathematical space which represents the abstract field of natural events, social space is humanly constructed abstract field of societal events. Even if an object or relationship might be real, considering them as marks in social space does not mean anything about their location in natural or physical space.

Recently, geography has had to face with the contradiction between social and physical space and the separation of natural space from physical space. The relationship between natural and social space became more problematic as the geographers tried harder to identify socially relative and socially determined motifs and processes of economic location. Thus, the dualism of space and society has become an increasingly severe focal point.

In the 1960s, urban revolts led to greater interest in the improvement and form of urban social space and a series of critiques on the treatments of urban society. There were many aspects to these critiques, but particularly, two of them take the attention in the current context. They both situated the criticism in the project of improving post-positivist geographic theory and both criticized the dualism of space and society. First, it is the "humanist geography" that is the most responsible for introducing the concept of social space into the geographic literature. In "humanist geography", the significance of subjective methods of knowing was proposed and the object of the investigation has been turned into "social space", not physical or objective space. The second one which raised the question of space and society was the radical political tradition.

This tradition took advantage of the political movements that were dominant in the late 1960s, later it started to take various Marxist inspired theoretical traditions as its base. Denying the objectivity of the geographical space was not the main concern here, but rather defining it as at the same time objective differently by different societies and the resulting geographical patterns reflect the traces of the society that uses and organizes this space. It is not only related with the interaction of space and society, but also related with a particular historical logic leading the historical dialectic of space and society.

In order to take a step forward from statement to demonstration, Neil Smith (2008) suggests that we need to change our understanding of space. He adds: "The notion that space and society "interact" or that spatial patterns "reflect" social structure is not just crude and mechanical in its construction, but also prohibits further insights concerning geographical space; at root this is because this view of the relation between space and society remains tied to the absolute conception of space." There can be

reflection or interaction between two things only if they are identified at first as separate. Even if it is taken the first step, it is not easy to get rid of all the conceptual inheritances. Therefore, the concept of the "production of space" aims to provide a means of taking the further step and showing the unity of space and society rather than simply asserting them.

With "the production of space", geographical space is considered as a social product, additionally, the relativity of space becomes no longer a philosophical concern but a product of social and historical study. Space is not anymore, an "accident of matter", but it is a straight result of material production.

RELATION IN SPACE AND HISTORY

Ancient civilizations did not separate place and society. No abstract space could be observed beyond place. Place and society were united as a whole. This explanation refers to Robert Sack's (1980) "primitive" conception of space. These civilizations occupied natural space which was literally a result of natural processes, forms and activities. Place is considered from the point of social relations which were not developed beyond the natural condition.

Due to the emergence of social economies depending on commodity exchange, a second nature and a break in the unity of place and nature arose. This pointed out the root of the increasingly abstract conception of space employed in physical science. Abstraction is the distinguishing feature of Sack's conception of "civilized" space. According to him, "this conception of space is not tied to immediate place but implies the possibility of abstracting from immediate place, and of the conceiving of spatial extension beyond immediate experience." Thus, space starts to establish an independent conceptual existence as a result of the break in the conceptual fusion of space and society. But the development of a second nature does not cause only a conceptual improvement, but also the improvement of a space that is socially produced outside of natural space.

With the rise of a second nature, the conceptual differentiation of space and society rises. This may cause the rules of society to be aspatial and abstract from spatial considerations for the first time. If productive human activity continues to be dependent on land as agricultural production, the separation of social production of space from natural space is limited. However, the division of labor between agricultural and industrial activity frees some productive work from spatial restraints and this division manifests itself in the spatial separation of town and country. And even if towns are spatially stable, the social activities occur within them and the rules that organize these social activities are

not spatially stable at all. Because they can be extended from one town to another, or take place in different historical eras, social activities can be operated under different social rules. A contradiction appears at this point. Neil Smith (2008) reveals it: "In order to lay down permanent spatial roots, that is to achieve a fixed territorial definition, early societies must develop to the point where they can begin to emancipate themselves from space."

This contradiction becomes even more evident with the rise of the state. According to Engels (1986), there are two characteristics that determined the earliest states. On one hand, they "created a public force which was now no longer simply identical with the whole body of the armed people." In this way, the state emerged as a direct reaction to class discriminations and slavery, abuse of women and private property. Its role was to adjudicate the resultant conflicts to the good of the ruling class while introducing itself as "above" society. On the other hand, "for the first time the state divided the people for public purposes, not by groups of kinship, but by common place of residence. . . . In contrast to the old gentile organization, the state is distinguished firstly by the grouping of its members on a territorial basis." "This organization of the citizen of the state according to domicile is common to all states. . . . Only domicile was now decisive, not membership of a kinship group. Not the people, but the territory was now divided: the inhabitants became a mere political appendage of the territory."

At the point, the state symbolizes the climax of actual social abstraction from nature. It is the most contemporary part of second nature, but clearly territorial in jurisdiction. Even if this essential description of the state may appear to represent a consolidation of the tie between geographical space and society at first glance, in reality the reverse, is true. It can easily be said that particular societies have been more attached than ever before to certain spaces through the state institutions. However, the state can legitimize and identify its power over society only by way of abstract principles of social relations such as democracy, moral right, liberty and so on. Such social principles are easily mobile. Therefore, the state and the society to which it belongs, become more spatially rooted than before and more mobile at the same time. The state is able to expand into new regions or narrow itself down; or it can even completely relocate. "The first intimations of a spaceless conception of society, an abstract spaceless second nature (social space), becomes possible with the explicit spatial definition of the state" adds Neil Smith (2008).

Space becomes an increasingly bottomless base to societal development. With the growth of second nature and with the improvement of the technological, economic and social tools for such expansion, small city states expand and domineer larger

territories. Finally, the city state gives place to the regional state such as the barony, the kingdom and more lately to the nation state. As Sack (1980) marks it, "coordination of economic functions was achieved by shifting the basic fusion of society and place to the larger geographic scale of the absolute state and then to the modern nation state." The whole geographical space in the world is separated as a part of the operation of societal expansion. Territorial separation and the making the world market universal are carried out as a singular process. Geographical expansion and societal expansion are synonymous, and geography lies at the headmost point of human progress. But on the other hand, the space synchronically becomes increasingly irrelevant to social relation. With the development and expansion of the political, cultural, economic and technological relations, the institutional structure for managing these relations becomes complicated and increasingly fails to keep any spatial definition. However, the more society liberates itself from space, the more space can be turned into a commodity.

RELATION IN SPACE AND CAPITAL

There is a common misunderstanding that the analysis of capitalism of Marx is not spatial. In his work, Capital, he was dealing firstly with value: "its measurement by labor time, the origin of surplus value , the accumulation of value in the form of capital". Marx goes back to the field of "use-values" regularly in order to progress with the analysis of capital. Definition of use-value for him was: "the geometrical, chemical [and] other natural properties of a commodity make it a use-value"(ibid).

From the previous debate on the conception of space and the relationship between matter and space, it would be logical to start by involving the spatial characteristics of a commodity between these natural characteristics and accordingly as part of a commodity's use-value. And indeed, where Marx refers to space tends to be where he re-incorporates use value in his arguments into the analysis. Marx is clear about seeing spatial characteristics as an integral part of use-value (Harvey, 1982).

If it is assumed that the spatial relationships is an aspect of use-values, then the apparent step from the production of nature to the production of space can be made. As Harvey (1982) demonstrated, "for value to become the universal form of abstract labor, as indeed it strives to do in the capitalist mode of production, different concrete labor processes in different places must be brought together in the market." "Spatial integration—the linking of commodity production in different locations through exchange" becomes a strict necessity for capital."

Something else important shows up if we go back to the con-

ceptions of absolute and relative space and analyze them in the context of this assertion. Our understanding of space is essentially absolute to the extent that we are interested in the concrete labor process. The particularity of labor expresses the particularity of its spatial qualities. But on the other hand, the situation with abstract labor is different. Realizing abstract labor as value indicates a spatially integrated system of money relations, commodity exchange, credit possibilities, as well as the mobility of labor. This requires the creation of certain transport and communication networks between individual places of production and asks for ability to design the space both in relative and absolute terms.

"We know already from Marx that the historical development of capitalism entails the progressive universalization of value as the form of abstract labor" says Neil Smith (2008). It is not just the production of geographical space through the construction of transportation networks, that is involved; but also, the gradual integration and transformation of absolute spaces into relative space; absolute spaces become the resources for the production of relative space. Moreover, when it is historically seen in this way, it is obvious that the social determinants of the relativity of geographical space are not Einstein, nor philosophy and physics, but the real process of capital accumulation.

Natural Act, Merve Özaslan

The art collection created by Merve Özaslan, consists of surreal collages. Her work questions today's relation between the environment and humankind. It aims to remind us to stop, and question it in this continuously changing and modernizing world.
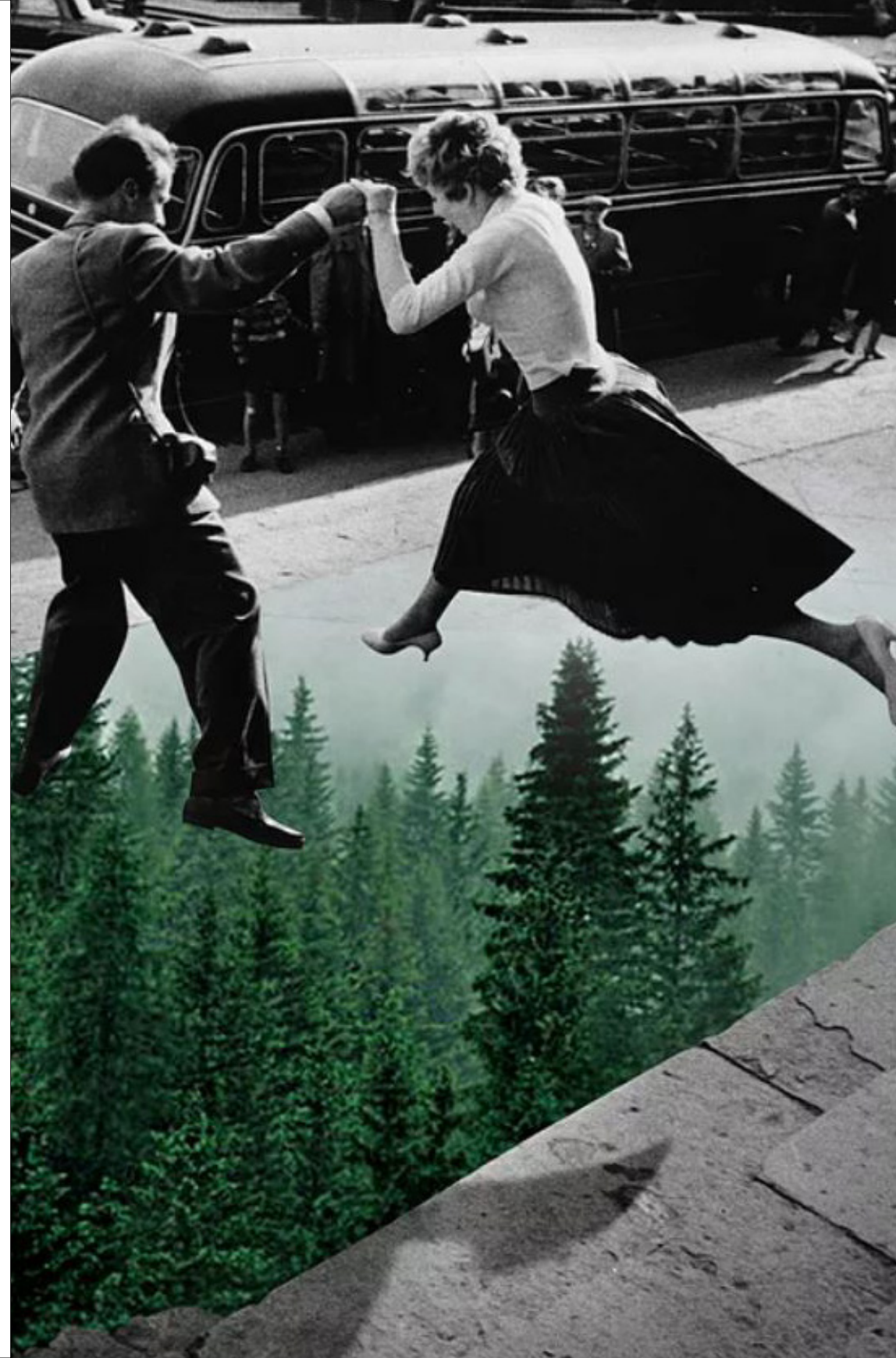
Capitalist production has unified space, which is no more bound by exterior societies. ... The accumulation of mass produced commodities for the abstract space of the market, just as it has smashed all regional and legal barriers, and all corporative restrictions of the Middle Ages that maintained the quality of artisanal production, has also destroyed the autonomy and quality of places. The power of homogenization is the heavy artillery that brought down all Chinese Walls.

Guy Debord

1.2
UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF SPACE

Neil Smith (2008) states that "capitalism inherits as a condition of its successful development a market for its goods which is organized at the world scale." But capitalism must endeavor to make the mode of production equally universal. The need for economic expansion causes both social and spatial expansion of the sphere of wage labor. Wage labor is becoming more and more universal. The universality of the relationship between wage and labor under capitalism liberates not just the working class but also capital from any bond with absolute space. Social relationships and institutions are emancipated from any absolute space that is inherited, in other words "natural space", by the universalization of wage labor and its value. But this liberation from natural space just increases the need for creating relative spaces. Transportation costs and time dedicated to transport must be minimized as a consequence of the universalization of value. The importance of the relative distance between places of production and consumption and of the tools needed to defeat this distance, increases proportionally with the accumulation of capital and the proliferation of commodities, credits and communications to be transported. Similarly, with the growth of the productive powers, the scale of the scope of the production process enhances and it becomes increasingly necessary for an increasing number of workers to be spatially concentrated close to the workplace.

In this way, the trip to work is kept at minimum and thus, it is possible to keep wages lower. As Smith (2008) suggests, "capital can affect a social emancipation from natural space only to the extent that it involves itself in the simultaneous production of relative space." Thus, Lefebvre states that there is no longer "production in space", but there is "production of space" as a result of the development of the productive powers and the direct interference of knowledge in material production

It was argued above, that "capitalist development was a continual transformation of natural space —inherited absolute space—into produced relative space." At the beginning of capitalism, societal expansion was geographical at the same time. Such expansion was accomplished by way of geographical expansion: "towns expanded into urban centers, pre-capitalist states expanded into modern nation states, and the nation states expanded where they could into colonial empires. However, by the end of nineteenth century, the economic and social expansion were no longer achieved mainly through geographical expansion. According to J. Scott-Keltie (1893), the absolute expansion of nation states and of their colonies came to an end with the final partitioning of Africa in the 1880s. In 1916, Lenin summarizes the outcomes of German geographer Alexander Supan:

> *the characteristic feature of the period under review is the final partition of the globe —final, not in the sense that a repartition is impossible; on the contrary, repartitions are possible and inevitable—but in the sense that the colonial policy of the capitalist countries has completed the seizure of the unoccupied territories on our planet. For the first time the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only redivision is possible, i.e., territories can only pass from one "owner" to another, instead of passing as ownerless territory to an "owner.*

The last century has experienced an unprecedented level of production of space by the capitalist development. Yet, this has not been achieved by absolute expansion in a certain space, but by the creation of separated absolute spaces in the bigger context of relative space. As Lefebvre argues that "an epochal shift has occurred within capitalism: production no longer occurs merely in space; instead, space is itself now being produced in and through the process of capitalist development" (Lefebvre et al., 2009).

Capitalism and neo-capitalism have created an abstract space reflecting the business world, besides the politics of the state and the power of the money. In this abstract space, which is based on large bank networks, businesses and large centers of production, the spatial intervention of airports, highways and information networks can be seen.

According to Marxist approach, space enters into the modernized capitalist mode of production as a whole and it is used to generate surplus value. Thus, space has become a political tool of principal importance for the state. The state utilizes space in a way that it guarantees its control of places, rigid hierarchy, the separation of the parts, and the homogeneity of all. "It is thus an administratively controlled and even a policed space." says Lefebvre; and "the hierarchy of spaces corresponds to that of social classes, and if there exist ghettos for all classes, those of the working class are merely more isolated than those of the others" (Lefebvre et al., 2009).

The space that is produced by the state should be called "political" because of its particular characteristics and aims. The social relations are provided by the state with an adjusted spatial support; it fights with the pre-existing economic space that it happens upon: historical towns, commercialized pieces of space which are sold in "lots". The state is apt to renew not just the social relationships that are found in the nature of industrial production, but also the relationships of domination intrinsic in the hierarchy of places and groups. In the chaos of relationships between groups, individuals and classes, there is a tendency of the state to dictate its own rationality that has space as its privileged tool.

Lefebvre's analysis on western countries exposes, firstly, "the demands of capitalism and neo-capitalism, of developers and investment banks." Secondly, that "state intervention does not just occur episodically or at specific points but incessantly, by means of diverse organizations and institutions devoted to the management and production of space" (Lefebvre et al., 2009). The goal here is to make space seem homogeneous, organized according to identical and repetitive rationality that allows the state to announce its existence, control and surveillance in the most deserted angles. A collusion, sometimes a clash is involved in the relationship between "private" interests and the activities of "public" forces, that causes the paradox of a space which is both homogeneous and fragmented. Being homogeneous and fractured at the same time can be confusing, but on one side, it is homogeneous because everything inside of it is equalized, interchangeable, exchangeable; because that space is bought and sold; and exchange can only happen between components that are equal. On the other side, it is fractured because it is treated in the form of parcels and lots and sold in this ground. These features of capitalist space take shape both in the world of commodity, where everything is equal; and in the world of the state, where everything is under control. The space of state control, which is at the same time a space of exchange, defines the ongo-

ing mode of production. The state, through its control, is apt to emphasize the homogeneous aspect of space, which is divided by exchange.

If the main function of the state-political space is to regulate flows, to coordinate the blind powers of growth and to dictate its law on the chaos of "local" and "private" interests, it also has another contrary function which is not less important: its role in keeping fragmented spaces together and maintaining their various functions. The dominant space has two remarkable characteristics: it dictates itself on those who threaten to destroy the conditions of social life, and it bans the violations which tend to create a different space. The act of the state is not only restricted to the management of the "social" and "private" life of the "citizens" by governmental and institutional means. The progress occurs more indirectly, but not less effectively by taking advantage of this privileged tool "space".

"The capitalist mode of production produces its own space; in doing so, space is transformed, and this is the advent of the state mode of production." Lefebvre explains. Along the process, space takes simultaneously part in:
- The productive powers
- The relationships of production and of property,
- Ideology and the tools of the political force,
- The production of surplus value, such as investments in urbanization or in the tourism industry; the implementation of surplus value such as the organization of urban consumption; distribution of surplus value such as banks with real estate specializations, ground rents and speculation.

After a specific point, as capital investment enlarges, the state becomes responsible of guaranteeing the provisions for the reproduction of the relations of sovereignty. The space is strategically organized by the modern state in order to:
- Breaking down oppositions by rearranging groups of people into ghettos,
- Making places hierarchical on the base of power relations,
- Controlling the whole system.

In this way, the space which guarantees this reproduction can be described by these characteristics:
- Homogeneous: it is the same everywhere, indicates the interchangeability of places and organizes the places for everyday life. Interchangeability looks identical and repetitive.
- Fractured: "abstract space", by being included in a practical use such as construction activities which occur within and through "parcels", it can become concrete.
- Hierarchized: places are organized unevenly with respect to the centers. Peripheries are more impoverished compared to the centers of authority because of the state actions, but still more firmly controlled.

Lefebvre discusses in his study:

> *Social space became a collection of ghettos: those of the elite, 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. (Shields, 1999).*

And Saunders (1981) supported this argument that the impact of the gradual expansion of the capitalist production of space is to intensify the executive center while generating environment dependant colonies: "around the centres there are nothing but subjugated, exploited and dependent spaces: new colonial space." These "colonizing spaces" of social control contains the courthouse, prison, classroom, railway station, hospital, market, religious place, even the private home; basically, every place utilized in daily life. They extend to a wider scale in geopolitical adjustments, in the drawing of governmental boundaries and the politics that emerge over the allocation of land and the position of public buildings. The resultant real and imaginary geographies, the spaces of colonial occupation together with the operation that produce them, contextualize exclusion, enclosure, domination and disciplinary control (Soja, 2010).

In the current condition of a dominant capitalism which targets to consume entire non-capitalist relationships of production, the city is made the preferred place for the actualization of surplus value in way of consumption, by the enlargement of capitalist relationships beyond the work places to each moment and area of everyday life. Lefebvre asserts that the expansion of capitalism cannot be accomplished in industrial facilities or simply by reproducing the possible labour force through consumption; it necessitates the occupation and management of the complete of social space. This involves:
- The alienation of whole non-capitalist activities and spaces,
- The organization of public and private consumption through advertisement and state bureaucracy,
- The expansion of capitalist relationships into non-productive, cultural fields of leisure.

As Martins (1982) sums up:

> *Together these processes created a new relation between space and social relations. Space was no longer the mere territorialisation of social relations nor an instrument for their organization. Space as a whole became both a product and an instrument for the reproduction of the relations of production.*

FREE
UP COFFEE & DOUGHNUTS
OR THE UNEMPLOYED

ALBERT
HORAN
BAILIFF

PARKING 25¢

Natural Act, Merve Özaslan

Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics. It has always been political and strategic. There is an ideology of space. Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product.

Henri Lefebvre

1.3
LEFEBVRE'S SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE

The concept of the "production of space" is not something new. But with Manuel Castells' words (1979) "Henri Lefebvre has been the most consistent, most imaginative, and most explicit proponent of the "production of space". As far as I am aware, it was Lefebvre who coined the phrase "the production of space". Lefebvre's focus is less on the production process, more on the reproduction of social relations of production which, he says, "constitutes the central and hidden process" of capitalist society, and this process is inherently spatial. The reproduction of social relations of production occurs not only in the factory or even in a society as a whole, according to Lefebvre, "but in a space as a whole"; "space as a whole has become the place where reproduction of the relations of production is located." Lefebvre's most impressive contribution, among intellectual disciplines, has been his research on the social construction and traditions of space. He gradually expanded his concept of "everyday life" into initially the rural life of the peasants, later into suburbs, and eventually to argue about the geography of social relations. By comparing cultural landscapes as well as arguing the discrimination and desperation of class landscapes such as upper-class territories and gendered "consumption areas", regarding to the lands of tenant farmers and the ghettos of the poor; Lefebvre generates space more material and more liable to public discussion and to im-

mediate action. As Kristin Ross (1995) states, Lefebvre led the twentieth-century

re-emergence of a new image of society in a city — and thus the beginning of a whole new as thematics of inside and outside, of inclusion in, and exclusion from, a positive-ly-valued modernity. Cities possess a center and banlieues, and citizens, those on the interior, deciding who among the insiders should be expelled and whether or not to open their doors to those on the outside.

Lefebvre's spatial research has two stages. The first one handles with what he called "the urban". The second one, on the other hand, handles with social space and what he called "the global". Describing the core of "urbanity" as the simultaneity of various detached social interactions gathered in a "centrality", he studied the effect of social relations in change and economic determinants under capitalism over the quality of participation and access in the urban environment.

Instead of starting a discussion on a specific theory of social space, Lefebvre preferred to analyze the fights upon the sense of space and evaluated how inter-regional relationships were given cultural sense. In this process, he tried to build the existence of a "lived" spatialization inside the dominant "logico-epistemological" theories of space declared by geography, philosophy and urban planning and the comportment of everyday that neglected the spatial all together. Therefore, a big part of "Production of Space" is dedicated to fostering a radical phenomenology of space as human based to initiate a critique of the rejection of the "rights to space" of the individual and society beneath the abstract spatialisation materialized in capitalism and the structures of the technocratic knowledge of the state.

With the concept of the "production of space", it is aimed to provide a way to take the further step and enable people to prove instead of simply assert the solidarity of space and society. The "production of space" integrates the space and human practice at the degree of the conception of space "itself". As Neil Smith (2008) adds, "the relativity of space becomes not a philosophical issue but a product of social and historical practice; likewise, the unity of geographical space is a social rather than philosophical result. While the emphasis here is on the direct physical production of space, the production of space also implies the production of the meaning, concepts, and consciousness of space which are inseparably linked to its physical production."

From the beginning of 1960s, Lefebvre was demanded as a critic on the changing social realities of the new suburbs and satellite cities of the main European capitals. According to Lefebvre, the

city was an "oeuvre", similar to an art work, and this was hardly hidden by the commodification of its spaces through property lines into "lots". "The alienated life-spaces of detached suburban houses only barely masked the possibilities for community involvement and dis-alienation."

In Lefebvre's production of space, the analysis is based on the spatial character of society and political action. Places are not only produced by naming, they are also related to each other in a set of "historical modes of production of space". In addition, they are intertwined with economic and political processes as each place establishes the identity of every local activities and excludes other activities. Daily habits, the traditions of discussion and interaction, they all occur in space, turning their spatial features into a critical subject for "Utopian thought" and any effort to change society. These banal adjustments are based on the unevenness of local cultures, from the repetitive habits of daily life to the cultural monuments and symbols of the state. A piecemeal analysis such as splitting geography from sociology or politics, was not the one that was required, but rather an extensive research of this "spatial dialectic" of activities, identities and forms connected with any place.

The study of Lefebvre is very significant, because he moves beyond former philosophical discussions related with the nature of space and beyond geography, planning and architecture, which saw things and humans only "in" space, in order to offer a consistent theory of the development of different spatial systems during various historical periods. These "spatializations" do not only refer to physical adjustments of things, but also refer to spatial patterns of social acts and habits, along with historical concepts of space and the world. They add a socio-spatial imaginary and perspective that declares itself in each intuition of people. This system of space can work at any scale. In the most personal sense, people, by thinking of themselves in spatial terms, they imagine themselves as an ego held in an objectified body. This spatialisation can be sampled by the adjustments of objects, teams of work, landscapes and architecture. Likewise, opinions about territories, media illustrations of cities and impressions of "good neighborhoods" are other characteristics of this space that is inevitably produced by every society.

Lefebvre embraced the Marx and Engels' argument that it was essential to destroy the dialectics of the city and the countryside. They said, "The greatest material and intellectual division of labor is the separation of the city and the countryside" (Marx and Engels, 1965).

The city was the center of intellectual development and management by requirement given the increasing population, given the prosperity created by urban commerce and given the epidemics

and contagions that needed the management, development and implementation of modes of quarantine and regulation. All these made city-based governments advantageous over the others found in the rural hinterlands. Financial, ideological and administrative control spread from cities, to regiment the countryside. Thanks to some theorists such as Ferdinand Tönnies and some writers, novelists such as Thomas Hardy and Gustave Flaubert, in the 19th century, the rural was "romanticized" as a place of "tradition" and "well-being". Still, the problems caused by the inequalities of capitalism could not be solved by the idea of a "return to the countryside". Likewise, the 1960s suburbs' quest for semi-rural lots and houses could not be a solution to alienation. And continuation of construction of increasingly remote suburbs towards ethnic and class-specific types of families has made the separation of "ethnic others" and minority groups into slums and ghettos worse.

Lefebvre claims that the city gave rise to the first bourgeois and proletarians: the first merchant-capitalists and workers. But at the same time, it is the urban situation which makes the interdependence of material of people on each other most evident. Thus, it is both the place where capitalism develops and the situation that can inspire a sincere acceptance of people's mutual interest. Lefebvre (1991) asks:

> "What exactly is the mode of existence of social relationships? The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself. Failing this, these relations would remain in the realm of 'pure' abstraction— that is to say, in the realm of representations and hence of ideology: the realm of verbalism, verbiage and empty words."

A large part of the Lefebvre's Production of Space deals with the topics related with the non-discursive and discursive aspects of space. "Do the spaces formed by practice-social activity have meaning?" "What sort of semiotic analysis should be applied?" "Can the space be occupied by a social group and be treated as a message?" "How could we read it?" "Ought we to look upon architectural or urbanistic work as a type of mass medium?" "May a social space viably be conceived of as a language or discourse?" Lefebvre argues that, against the impulse to theorize space in terms of its own logic and codes, what is required is an approach that tries to understand the dialectical interaction between spatial adjustments and social organization itself. Big part of his work is preoccupied with identifying the role of this "spatialisation" in

contemporary capitalism.

"Space is both produced and productive" (Lefebvre): it is something that progresses throughout history instead of being created independently from a society. Social action always occurs in space and a group of spatial adjustments are assumed to be discussed over political debates. Lefebvre introduces "social space" as hiding the strategies that underpin modern capitalism, and "more subversively, that a theory of the production of space that makes those strategies visible, that renders the contours is en clair, is capable of underwriting a politics of resistance that must be a politics of space".

While Lefebvre was searching for explanations to this production of space, one of the questions was "how can spatialisation be both a product and a productive medium in which other products are created and in which exchanges take place?" He suggests that the multiple dualisms of his study of space can best be accommodated in the concept of commodity production of Marx. Nevertheless, space, differently from other commodities or products, has both a material truth and a modal feature which allows it to limit other commodities and their social relationships. It constantly reproduces the social relationships of its production. "It is, therefore, simultaneously material object or product, the medium of social relations, and the reproducer of material objects and social relations" (Gottdiener, 1985).

THREE-PART DIALECTICS

Another question that Lefebvre asked was "How can one conceptualize in one unitary social theory of space the various levels of space (the physical, the mental and, most importantly, the cultural aspects of social spatialization), which are specified and analyzed one by one in the various professional discourses about space?" His proposal, a threefold dialectic within spatialisation, consists of:

1) Spatial practice: it is the space, which is perceived with its entire contradictions in everyday life.
2) Representation of space: it can be considered as discourses on space; spatial and planning professions, the discursive analysis systems and specialist knowledges which conceive of space.
3) Spaces of representation: it can be best reflected as the discourse of space; it is the fully "lived" space that arises as "moments of presence".

There is a relationship between every element of this three-part dialectic with the other two; and together they form "space".

SPATIAL PRACTICE   is the production and reproduction of particular places and spatial "ensembles" suitable for the social

formation. It would contain urban morphology, building typology and the development of zones and regions for certain aims; such as green areas for recreation, cemeteries, monuments, test areas for weapons, etc. "Space" is produced dialectically as "human space" through everyday practice. As Lefebvre suggests, "it is our legacy to create our own spatiality, and the ability and freedom to do so is the prime index of quality of social life."

Lefebvre tries to quickly sketch the approach in which spatialisation is only the void between objects and as a result, worthless, neutral and not a matter of struggle. This understanding of "commonsense" represents both everyday life, in other words daily routine, and the rationalized urban, i.e. the pathways and networks that we use on our way to home or work. Lefebvre criticizes the fact that we do not realize that they are all connected to each other as an inclusive arrangement or spatialisation. According to him, this "commmonsensical" perception of space is restricted to "perceived space" and actually disregards the qualitative meanings, myths and images of places and regions, as well as practice.

Lefebvre attempts to reveal the daily importance of spatialisation which is a complete and flawless series of practices and arrangements with its planned suburbs or cities linked by agreed roads, despite its divisions and inconsistencies. The reason he presents his debate of "perceived" is partially connected to the hypothesis in which the visual is fundamental to understanding the development of this side of spatialisation in neo-capitalist Europe. Axial perspective codes are embedded in cities, into the daily actions of people from the point of distance judgements. The emphasis on perspectivism makes the impression that "spatial practice" is described just in a visual way by "perception" without any practice.

REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE defined by Lefevre, are the ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual descriptions of space linked to production relations. These are the abstracted theories and philosophies, such as the science of planning, geography and cartography, as well as geographical information systems. When it is addressed alone, today, this "level" of the dialectic includes an abstract display of "lived" experience in space that is reduced to quantitative motions along vectors in between x-y coordinates. These several dissertations are connected to the relations of production and the system they dictate. Most importantly, these "representations" take place in the center of the forms of knowledge and the assertion of reality generated in the social sciences, and this is based on the capitalist state's rational / professional power structure. Lefebvre makes a clear statement: "conceptualized space, the space of scientists. . .tech-

There are two ways of organizing social space. The first aims at a single, predetermined objective. It is authoritarian, rational, and reductive. It corresponds to the desire to control events and people on the part of those whose task it is to conceive, organize, and produce. . .

The other way of making social space . . . is a living process which imparts only key centers of activity in a clear spatial configuration and with an intensity of form and meaning that favors (and expresses) what we believe essential: living relationships and activities that spring from diversity, unexpected initiatives, and above all, that something in social man that leads to the creation of community.

Lucien Kroll

nocratic subdividers and social engineers. . . all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived."

SPACES OF REPRESENTATION are "discourses of space" in terms of the social imagination of this aspect of the triad, generally forming presuppositions that configure problem definitions and hence, affect the types of solutions that are considered to be possible and accessible. It is at the center of fully "lived" space. It is a necessary challenge for realization of ourselves as "total persons". Unification of this will be necessary in order to obtain a "total space" commitment and attendance from the three-part dialectic. Lefebvre (1991) explains this,
space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'. This is the dominated space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, representational spaces may be said to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.
Referring to the Nietzschean model of the "total person", here he is concerned with the "fully lived", preconscious and genuine particles of spatiality which enliven people and give meaning to all lives and spatialisations.
Lefebvre points out the example of the human body. "What is the spatial practice of the body?" "Considered overall, social practice presupposes the use of the body: the use of the hands, members and sensory organs and the gestures of work as of activity unrelated to work. This is the realm of the perceived (the practical basis for the perception of the outside world)" answers Lefebvre to the question of "spatial practice". "As for representations of the body, they derive from accumulated scientific knowledge, disseminated with an admixture of ideology." From Hippocrates' first medical axioms to the anatomical studies of Renaissance artists, to the theories of allergens, antibodies and vaccine, remind themselves as a long tradition.
However, as a space of representations itself, the body that was considered as "lived experience", brings us back to metaphors to recall the symbolic and mythic. For example, "The heart as lived is strangely different from the heart as thought and perceived. Here we are in the realm of desire and mythification. Right-handedness as a norm, the attachment of moral values to different parts of the body—from wrists, ankles, to genitalia is one example of the colonization of the lived and the use of the body as a space of representations against itself."
"The understanding of space cannot reduce the lived to the conceived, nor the body to a geometric or optical abstraction. On the contrary, this understanding must begin with the lived and

the body, that is, from a space occupied by an organic, living and thinking being" summarizes Lefebvre, and he adds "There is a history of space. The lived gives rise to spaces of representation, imagined, beginning with the body and symbolized by it. The conceived, the distant, gives rise to representations of space, established from objective, practical and scientific elements." (Lefebvre et al., 2009)

LEFEBVRE'S HISTORY OF SPACE

As it was mentioned above, spatialisation is a part of a history. Establishing the idea that social space is "produced", Lefebvre historicizes it by returning to a cliché, narrow, Eurocentric model of historical development. Firstly, he puts a history of spatialisation in relation with Marx's history of modes of production, secondly, he finds an essentialized spatialisation for every mode of production by dividing this into periods.
According to Shields (1999), this second action converts his history into an easier to remember, but anti-dialectical set of periods, he argues that time is the final order system of space and calls the attention from everyday life struggles to great themes in the economy and political framework. Previous spatialisations continue in every period, however, this approach initiates a set of formalistic discussions about whether the classification system is correct.

ABSOLUTE SPACE

History of Lefebvre starts with the "absolute space" of nature that creates the "archetypal space". "Upon this 'first nature' of 'pure space' is constructed an overlying social space that emerges out of the measurements and paths of tribal practice: frontiers, liminal zones and temporary camps. The notion of 'wilderness' is itself a representation of space" (1991). Lefebvre begins to work on a complicated analysis of the human body as also thus a "social body". Absolute space, by its very nature, depends on the everyday foraging of primitive hunting groups and the oldest farm villages. In these primitive societies, space was visualized through an anthropomorphism that shaped the mental representation of space, the discourses on space. Thus, physiological and mental 'frontiers' (the separation of the natural and the supernatural) are reproduced in the village and in its surrounding environment (Lefebvre).

The rise of "sacred space", above the most ancient degree of absolute space, is pointed by the building of the early city states. Sacred space is at the same time political. Deleuze and Guattari (1983) mention about the first "territorialisation" of the environment: its classification as "territory"; and the land and the people symbolically uniting in the body of the tyrant. "The absolute space of the primitive village and semi-nomadic tribe is transformed into the space of the sacred city, whose forms are organized around the theme of identification and imitation" (Lefebvre, 1991). This spatialisation, by distancing itself from the predominant existence of nature in the previous composition, builds a human-nature separation suppressing the powers of unknown nature by way of the first social technologies of arranged religion. The surrounding rural area is organized and ruled by these political cities. Absolute space is not destroyed, only suppressed and displaced. After this point starts the production of the spatializations of the classic police which becomes relative between the city-state's "civilized" public space and the "barbarian" space further.

HISTORICAL SPACE

The ground for third phase of Lefebvre, "historical space", is formed by the primitive accumulation which is the division of reproduction as labour and production from survival. Lefebvre separates the spatialisation of the Greek city-states and the spatialisation of the Roman city empire. Below the Romans, an increasing precedence of patriarchy and empire over subterranean forces occurs. Lefebvre sees the Christian Middle Ages as the rebirth of these "cryptic" or subterranean powers. The application of symbolism such as vertical lines, icon, in the medieval religious architecture set up a link between territorial feudal system and its sacred origin. Lefebvre drew attention to a formation of new open or public space in this symbolic space. "Public spaces and urban design lead to the increasing objectification of Renaissance perspective, and finally the reification of capital itself" says Lefebvre in his book The Right to the City.
The human scale of Renaissance point outs for Lefebvre the passage from a sacred to a secular social order. He discusses that the main configuration of the Renaissance is the city, in which the dominance of the visual and the superiority of the façade, the perspectival approach, and the rebirth of Vitruvian architectural types go together. "In this perspectival space the dominant strategy of abstract space proper emerges: a three-fold primacy

of geometry, of the visual, and of the phallic as the approved mode of expression (through an 'empty' and neutralized space) of power and the state" says Lefebvre. This history is at the same time the history of the spatial expansion of capitalism. Hence, the medieval city is drawn as a commercial city depending on the rise and expansion of exchange, increasingly consolidated and centralized in the marketplace. In the early fourteenth century, with the appearance of the first premises of development of industry and urbanization, the increase of the new industrial cities is observed. The gradual proletarianization of a growing ratio of the population and the demolition of feudal social relations will lead to a social structuring based on the "need to work".

ABSTRACT SPACE

According to Lefebvre, in the frame of capitalism, the emergence of abstract space in artistic expression takes place with Picasso, as well as the modern architects such as Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier and its distinguishing characteristic is simultaneous homogeneity and fragmentation. Lefebvre pictures Haussmann as the pioneer of this spatial practice where the city space is come apart, fragmented and separated to form a new integrity, order and homogeneity. "This new spatialization is dominated by a fundamentally visual logic, which transforms (1) solids into images and simulations, (2) 'dwelling' into 'habitat' (housing), and (3) finally reduces space to the object of 'planification' (planning and 'urbanism')."

CONTRADICTORY SPACE

Space becomes increasingly fragmented under capitalism. It is the contradictory procedure of centralization / peripheralization illustrated in planning as Haussmann causes an ongoing urbanization of society. The growing centralization of force within the city, in the words of Martins (1982) "centralization of decision making power which extends its arms over all social space" happens. The "urban" is divided into isolated and hierarchized social ghettos. The city morphology is re-sketched physically, in a set of suburban expansions. With Lefebvre's explanations in his book Marxist Thinking and the City:

> Cities are transformed into a collection of ghettos where individuals are at once 'socialized', integrated, submitted to artificial pressures and constraints and separated, isolated, disintegrated. A contradiction which is translated into anguish, frustration and revolt.
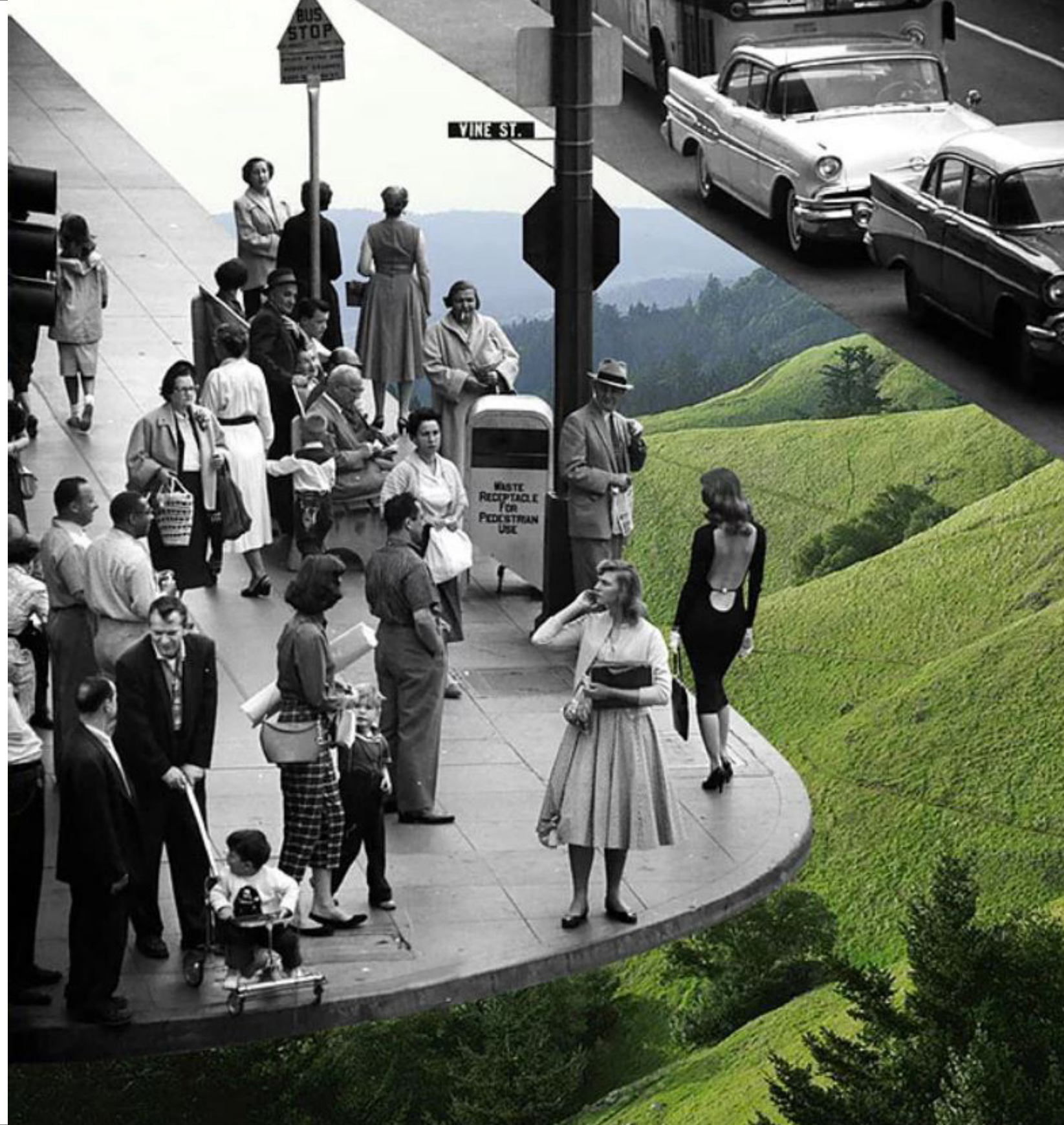
Natural Act,
by Merve Özaslan

02

THE CRISIS IN THE CITY

Everyday life is so precious because it is so fragile; we must live it to the full, inhabit it as fully sensual beings, as total men and women, commandeering our own very finite destiny, before it is too late.

Henri Lefebvre

2.1

LEFEBVRE AND THE CRITIQUE OF URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE

Lefebvre had gone beyond the agenda of Marxism, which was mainly aimed at capturing the state apparatus and at the centralized planning of production through the collective power of the working class. Lefebvre, on the contrary, accepted the everyday as the defining category that relates economics to experiences of individual life. While the economy had played an encompassing role under capitalism for a long time, the everyday was obtaining the same meaning. The stated aim of his project was, most importantly, a "revalorization of subjectivity" and the search for spaces which permit the autonomy and creativity. Lefebvre presented inhabiting (habiter) as a destructive category , a domain that is fundamental to all, but increasingly inadequate for its users as the social space is integrated straight into capital valuation processes.

Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life not only focused on the field of reproduction, but also took into account the processes by which society is produced as a whole. In this way, his study contained a critique of political economy, but at the same time surpassed the latter. To the extent that the critique of everyday life demonstrates in which way people live, it simultaneously enunciates an accusation against the actions from which the everyday arises and exposes the arbitrariness of the dominant system.

In Lefebvre's opinion, a threefold movement causes the re-

production of modern everyday life. Firstly, societalization is achieved via "totalization of society". Secondly, an "extreme individualization" accompanies this process, which finally drives to a "particularization". The "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption" is based on the fragmentation of social practice and the social contexts:

> *What are the shared features of these realms that have been separated from one another through an inexorable analytical praxis? In the realm of work, it is passivity, the unavoidable acceptance of decisions made elsewhere; in the realm of private life, there are the many forces which manufacture the consumer through the manufacture of objects; in the realm of leisure, it is the transformation of the "world" into images and spectacles. In short, everywhere one finds passivity, non-participation.*
>
> (Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*,Volume II)

And third, people are atomized into isolated consumers by the capitalist societies. The functional city, which has been struggling with the banality and homogeneity, has faced an alienation process that is no longer limited to the area of work, but increasingly takes over everyday life.

In 1947, Lefebvre wrote that everyday life was being colonized for more and more. The question was by what exactly it was colonized. It was colonized by the commodity, by a "modern postwar capitalism" which had gone on to alienate and exploit work, moreover, had started to catch the possibility of invading life in general, into leisure, free time, nonworking life and vacation time. As a matter of fact, as a system, it was ready to develop with consumerism, seduce through advertising and new media, interfere by means of state bureaucracies and planning institutions, and trap people with billboards at every corner and publications.

In 1958, Lefebvre re-evaluated the condition after ten years. The capitalist consumerist war and the cold war tightened their pincers more and more. From one side, everyday life was bureaucratized, planned and impoverished by the state socialism and it was turned into a huge factory oriented towards productive growth; from the other side, state capitalism cheated everyday life and supported monopolistic enterprises to mass production of commodities and lifestyles, passions and dreams.

Lefebvre states that changing life, creating a fresh society can be described only "concretely on the level of everyday life, as a system of changes in what can be called lived experience." However, lived experience was transforming in developed capitalist countries, too; fast cars and smart suburban homes were under the fire of forces that intended to expand business and market, producing durable consumer goods and convenience food, processed lifestyles and customized heavens.

In this way, everyday life obtained a dialectic and uncertain character. On one side, it is a realm that is progressively colonized by the commodity and therefore covered in all sorts of fetishism, mystification and alienation. On the other side, paradoxically, for meaningful social transformation, everyday life is a primary and only arena – "an inevitable starting point for the realization of the possible" says Lefebvre (1971). Just as global capitalism does not mean anything without many everyday lives, real people's lives in real space and time, no one can go beyond the everyday life that fully interiorizes global capitalism.

Lefebvre says that "workers no longer feel at home even when they are not working; they are no longer themselves at home, given that work and home, production and reproduction—the totality of daily life—have been subsumed, colonized, and invaded by exchange value." Workers refund their hard-won money as consumers, as only money holders, for leisure. In the meanwhile, private life evolves into an area in which fashion, advertising, movie and pop stars, charming soap operas are tempted to spend at a price. The whole boundaries between political, economic and private life are dissolving in the postwar capitalism which is constantly expanding. "Estranged labor" of Marx is generalized into an "estranged life". Commodities and money, tools and multimedia prevail at home or at work, in the public or private domain.

In the 1960s, Lefebvre has stated that in France and somewhere else, neo-capitalist leaders had realized the fact that there was more of a problem than the value of the colonies and a switch of strategy; new horizons were opened, such as the organization of domestic trade and the investments in national regions. Lefebvre assumes the clear result was that "all areas outside the centers of political decision making and economic concentration of capital were considered as semi-colonies and exploited as such; these included the suburbs of cities, the countryside, zones of agricultural production and all outlying districts inhabited, needless to say, by employees, technicians and manual laborers; thus, the state of the proletarian became generalized, leading to a blurring of class distinctions and ideological 'values.' " (Lefebvre, 1971). Several bureaucracies, companies and technocracies "rationally" exploited, planned, reassembled, scheduled and observed work and private life and leisure.

After the second World War, the economy was developing, in spite of internal crises, it was taking over both internal and external nature, converting social life into economic life, assets into requirements and consumer impulses into subconscious desires. White-collar administrators, bureaucrats and technocrats started to be in control and record work and family and social life with paradigms of "order" and "efficiency".

For the neoliberal restructuring of everyday life, the "urban level" performs a principal role. It is crucial to emphasize the basic aspects of the Fordist system's spatial strategies in order to comprehend the relationship between "urban" and neoliberalism. The functional distinction of work, dwelling and leisure, as the spatial equality to the main elements of Fordist societalization processes, became the primary local conception of space. It caused an accelerated suburbanization and an increasing "rationalization" of everyday life.

Fordist societalization created gaps in social space. Whereas the expansion of the wage relationship operated as a mode of social integration, the decrease in labor time and more giving benefits of vacation encouraged free subjectivity.

Improved economic security, prolonged socialization inside of the family and the expansion of cultural activities, at least for some social profiles, guided to new, more self-determined way of living. A new "culture of stimulation" which is filled with commodities and diversions, and directed to pleasure, hedonism and self-realization.

The conception of space has begun to change in the 1980s and has gone under an increasing pressure. The corrosion of "relatively homogeneous" political and social spaces completely changed existing socio-spatial patterns. The Fordist model of development showed a long-run inclination to spatial concentration and to a relative union of politics, economy and ideology on a national scale; but on the other hand, relations that are influenced by globally organized capital valuation processes began to be independent from spatial fixity.

Two sort of neoliberal structuring can be analyzed following Neil Brenner's ideas. On one side, there are cities which confront an increasing economic pressure. In between these, there are "speculative movements of finance and real-estate capital, flexible location strategies of multinational corporations, and increased competitive pressures between metropolitan regions." Most of the urban authorities seek to alleviate increasing economic insecurity by assembling all possible sources and starting campaigns of city marketing to take attention of investment and jobs. On the other side, neoliberal concepts are directly linked to the development strategies of municipalities. The marketing of urban space is becoming more and more significant for local government policy while moving away from the aim of the public supply of social infrastructure. "Cities become laboratories for institutional innovation and political-ideological projects." This indicates particular territorial strategies. The growing commercialization of core cities for tourists and high-income groups gives hope to municipal actors. On abandoned spaces of central city, new high density spaces which combine accommodation, work,

shopping and amusement are produced. While this form of city building attracts the local planning policy, meanwhile, municipal governments give up on their former responsibility of looking after the city as a whole. The competition between intensified inner-city areas emerges as a neoliberal strategy that causes a hierarchization of urban space by valorizing specific fragments. In this way, a "policy of privileged places" can be mentioned.
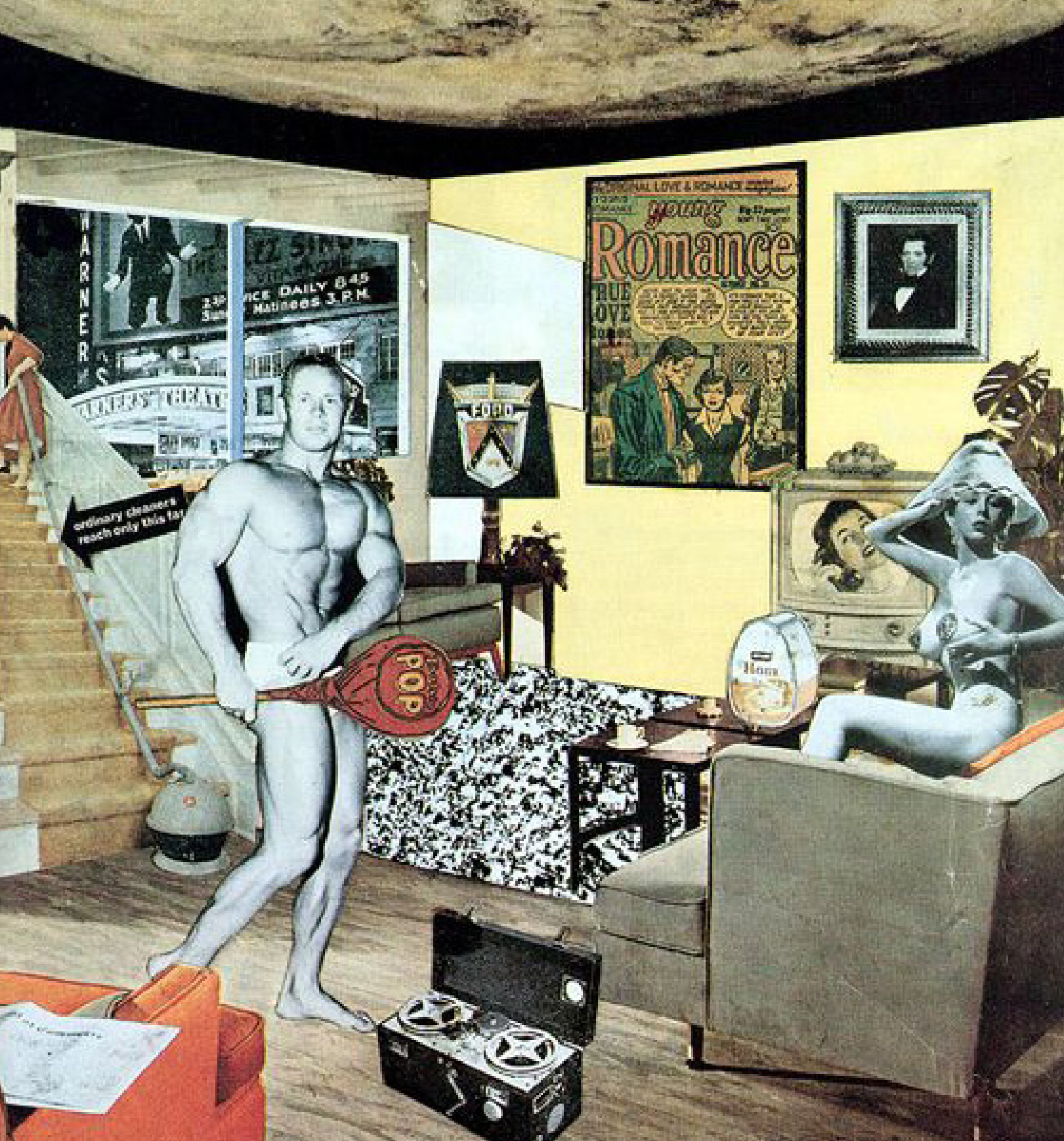
Just what is it that makes today's homes so different, so appealing? (1956), Richard Hamilton

Richard Hamilton's artwork criticizes the conditions of modern life and consumerism, illustrates the fantasy of an ideal scenario that everybody dreams about.

Everyday life is the very realm over which we should have control, yet it is experienced as mundane and dull in its ubiquity. On the escape from the fragmentation and mediocrity of our own experience, we run blindly towards the promises of wholeness, fulfilment, and unity implicit in the world of the abundant commodity. And it is in the hopelessness of this scramble that the disjunction between the possibilities of life and the impoverished realities of survival are most keenly felt; it is here that the revolution becomes a living and immediate possibility.

Henri Lefebvre

2.2

ALIENATION AND THE BANALITY

As Rob Shields (1999) pointed out, "Lefebvre's interest in the everyday was originally a critique of philosophical responses to the perceived banality of post-First World War life." Europeans noticed a loss of signification and a growth in repetition in their lives among social classes. Lefebvre began to study on his socio-logical investigations of this "banality", in other words "everyday-ness"; while he developed his analyses on "alienation".

As a consequence of his critics on everyday life along with capitalism, Lefebvre is one of the most important theorists of "modernity". He examined the setting and manifested that the new forms of alienation, the imperialism and the technological improvements, a "new social reality", had been born in the twentieth century, the age of "modernity". Lefebvre showed "modernity" as a tool for critical classification for social theory and described the condition of "being in modernity" as a social state of consumer capitalism that operates on a planetary scale and is supported by "complex systems of mystification, spectacle, and national and international government".

According to Lefebvre, modernization has changed rapidly the patterns and habits of daily life and emphasized the disappearance of individual control and perception of society along with the attainment of a materialistic way of living. Government was ruling the society more and more closely, capitalism had spread

by colonialism over the world and the bourgeoisie had steadily held the wealth. Criticizing everyday life is to start theorizing the complaining of "life is boring". According to him, the daily expressions of people such as "we go on autopilot", "we are not really thinking" or "we are doing nothing", show a sensed distance in between body and consciousness. This "distancing" and estrangement means a sneaky form of "alienation" which is often "mystified". It is not just the self-alienation, but it is also the alienation of mind from body.

Kristin Ross remarks that while France moved to an era of fast modernization after the Second World War, "Lefebvre progressively receded his initial concept of 'everyday life' into a range of spatial and urban categories." France transformed from being a community of peasants with the value of self-sufficiency to being a community of urban commuters whose dreams became a house in the suburbs and the latest devices and as a result, Lefebvre planned "the emergence of a new image of society as a city – and thus the beginning of a whole new thematics of inside and outside, of inclusion in, and exclusion from, a positively valued modernity." Lefebvre observed with great interest the removing of peasant farmers into monotonous suburbs, as new cities were built in the rural fields of France. His category of alienation is a key to understanding the twisting way of modern culture.

Marx and Engels (1965) had described three types of alienation: people might be alienated from their job and activities; because of extreme competitiveness they could be alienated from each other; or they could misunderstand what made them human and be alienated from their own essence. Lefebvre positioned these all-encompassing types of alienation not only in the work space, but in all parts of life. "Estranged from our activities, ourselves, and from each other, we still barely experience our lives, moving in a daze from obligation to obligation, programmed activity to programmed activity." Even worse, Lefebvre drew attention to the fact that people were assured that it was the "good life" which they were living.

"Alienation" of Lefebvre is a spatial concept which refers to "displacement" and "distance". For him, feeling of estrangement was more materialistic than the psychological: being "outside of themselves." He described it as the "single yet dual movement of objectification and externalization – or realization and de-realization" in his The Critique of Everyday Life. To sum up, it can be said that the standard explanation reveals three types of alienation, but Lefebvre discovers four:

1 - the alienation of the worker who is treated like an object;
2 - the alienation and annihilation of the creative and self-fulfilling aspect of labour itself, which is divided into repetitive and meaningless assembly-line tasks;

3 - the alienation of people from their own 'human needs' for self-actualization through creative work; and
4 - the alienation of people from their bodies and 'natural needs'.

Capitalism symbolizes a perfect system of alienation which encompasses all features of life. As Lefebvre says, alienation is the distancing of subjects from the world, from themselves and from others around them. The concept of "everyday life" permitted Lefebvre to concentrate on the circumstances of life under the effect of advanced capitalism such as alienation, privatization, consumption and boring homogeneity. Hence, the structuring of everyday life took place through temporal rhythms and spatial routines. Catherine Régulier and Lefebvre, discusses that changes in time were as important as the changes in spatiality. The nature's cyclical time and the rhythmic "lived time" of the body were replaced with a linear time that depends on the works schedules and the demands of production, by capitalist societies. The discipline and control over populations were provided by this linear time.

Capitalist societies have replaced the cyclical time of nature and the rhythmic "lived time" of the body with a linear time based on production demands and programs of work or wrong cycles of commodities.

Another aspect of everyday life for Lefebvre is that it is a collection of activities and things which are "repetitive" and "banal". Lefebvre highlights the absence of authenticity and the pervasive dominance of daily life through alienation that changes daily life from a series of self-realization and creative experiences into the repetitive and boring "everyday" (Shields, 1999).

Guy Debord, who was one of the members of Lefebvre's Groupes de recherche sur la vie quotidienne, carried out a project to criticize the "banality" of everyday life. However, by claiming that everyday life was "colonized", that its alienation was not inherent, but it was resulted from everyday social organization, he went even further. As Gregory supported, the rhetoric of "colonization" is a significant factor in Lefebvre's whole perception of the development of the contemporary capitalism, not only in its globalized dimension, but also in its diffusion into everyday life, dreams and images:

Everyday life replaced the colonies. Unable to maintain the old imperialism…and having decided to bid on the internal market, capitalist leaders treated the everyday as they had treated colonial territories.

(cited in Gregory, 1994)

Lefebvre sees this change as "an inverse shock wave" where-by "decolonization acts upon the industrialized...the centres of decision-making.... Paradoxically, neo-capitalist exploitation has come to include internal colonization. The double exploitation of producer and consumer carries the colonial experience into the midst of the erstwhile colonizing people." Lefebvre noticed that "the population in the metropolis is regrouped into ghettos (suburbs, foreigners, factories, students), and the new cities are to some extent reminiscent of colonial cities".

For him, the fact that everyday life is permeated by the state-like proves that the state itself is the center of hegemony. Thus, critique of the state of Lefebvre as a potential hegemonic form turns back to his critique of everyday life. In the late 1970s, it was obvious for Lefebvre that the role of the state-like in the creation of everyday life was spatial (Lefebvre, 1992).

The critique of alienation and fetishism of commodity were re-formulated in an analysis of fragmentation, division, and natu-ralization in the new "sectors" of postwar capitalism such as lei-sure, TV and radio, popular literature and advertising. As long as everyday life is filled with the repetitive, routinized and familiar daily activities which constitute the everyday life in all areas of life is key to the reproduction of capitalism. The everyday be-comes a "seat of power", the "very soil on which the great archi-tecture of politics and society rise up" (Lefebvre, 2003).

In the Production of Space (1991), Lefebvre relates the problem of hegemony with the production of space. Hegemony involves the use of bourgeois influence over knowledge and culture, thoughts and institutions that are mediated by political leaders, intellectuals, policies and experts. Most of all, he highlights the significance of the production of space to analyze hegemony.

The dominant form of space which is produced under capitalism is abstract, says Lefebvre. It is formed by the "relentless forms of repetition, homogenizing abstraction, and alienating separation of the commodity, the state, technocratic knowledge, and patri-archy (phallocentrism)".

Nighthawks (1942), Edward Hopper

Edward Hopper's masterpiece represents the paradox of the alienation in urban life. The painting is a critique of the modern world with the symbols of human isolation and urban emptiness.

People can only imagine themselves in empty homogeneous time; they do not live in it. Empty homogene-ous time is the utopian time of capital. It linearly connects past, present and future, creating the possibility for all of those historicist imaginings of identity, nationhood, progress, and so on that Anderson, along with others, have made familiar to us. But empty homogeneous time is not located anywhere in real space – it is utopian. The real space of modern life consists of heterotopia.

Partha Chatterjee

2.3

DIFFERENCES AND THE CITY

As it was mentioned before, the homogenization of the production of space occurs through separation. City centers are undermined by neo-capitalist urbanism which distributes urban life to isolated parcels. These parcelized social spaces, planned in modernist trend, separated by property divisions, transportation paths, and borders of social and functional segregation, show various forms of minimal difference.

Similar to the "diversity between villas in a suburb filled with villas" and the paternalistic "family cell", minimally different space "dissociates everyday life, peripheralizes the working class, imposes much of the weight onto women", and "banishes new immigrants to neocolonial shantytowns and the worst public housing tracts (Lefebvre, 1991). The planners, developers and architects' urbanist practices that set up neo-capitalist "dreamscapes" override the goals related with spaces of postwar everyday spaces by decreasing them to "industrial, neo-colonial and patriarchal space".

Lefebvre draws attention to the differentiation between minimal and maximal difference. Maximal difference, in contrast to minimal, signifies a "shattering of a system" (Laclau and Mouffe, 2014). It refers to "festive, creative, affective, unalienated, fully lived forms of plurality and individuality" which presume rich social relationships freed from forms of "indifference" such as "in-

dividualism, pluralism, imitation, conformism, naturalized particularism". Maximal difference conflicts with the "alienations of private property, the state-like, decorporealized knowledge, linguistic abstraction, phallocentrism, and neo-colonialism." The sources of the maximal difference can be seen both in the gaps of everyday life and in the middle of upheavals.

Differences occur in many dimensions, from class, race and ethnicity to gender, age and sexuality; and because they multiply and cross in different, complex and fluid ways, they do not happen as a homogeneous space or existence. Differences both construct city life and spaces themselves and are constructed in them. On the one hand, they form spatially, economically and socially sometimes causing inequality, polarization, segregation and fragmentation; on the other hand, they constitute places of power, resistance and the praise of identity. Difference occurs in all spatial relationships, but the uniqueness of the city is that differences are concentrated by its density of lived spaces and people, by the juxtaposition of various activities and land uses and by its intensities of interaction and interconnections (Massey et al.,1999).

Differences are not simply recorded on cultural, social, or economic level, they are also symbolically formed with groups inscribing spaces and zones with certain meanings and discursive studies that might or might not be visible to outsiders. This is the reason why no clear-cut boundaries can be observed or no simple divisions between different groups can be easily mapped on to spaces of city.

Over the last two decades of the 20th century, there has been a major change in the way that social and spatial divisions in cities are designed with the change from the concept of division to the notion of difference (Bridge and Watson, 2000). During the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the influence of Marxist thought indicated that the analysis of economic instead of social divisions was the focus. Cities where there is a great gap between the workers and the owners of the means of production were examined as operating for the interests of capital.

Although considered as secondary to class in most of the city analyses, especially in the West, the cases in which racial separations occurred in cities was also a significant line of work. While Williams, Rex and Moore (1967) studied the separations within the housing sector in terms of class in Birmingham, William Julius Wilson (1990) analyzed the causes, results and ghettoization in the United States.

It was a branch of urban analysis which could be positioned predominantly in the Marxist approach was one which mapped social and economic separations on to cities in a rather simple and dualist fashion. This paradigm was based on labor-market divi-

sions and created the concept of the "dual city or the "divided city". This has pointed out to the increasing social-spatial polarization in a lot of cities where the rich have become richer and the poor poorer, and the middle class has narrowed. In this discourse, which continues a long tradition of urban research that analyzed inequality and steps of ghettoization and exclusion in the city, social polarization was assumed as an unavoidable effect of global capitalist restructuring that appeared like an unequal process in which cities and regions are affected, and the people who live in them, welcoming some groups and localities, while spatially excluding the others and pushing them to the edges. According to Gibson (1998), the "economism" of this course could not succeed in recognizing the heterogeneity of differences and, as Bridge and Watson (2000) support, the different access which people have to networks and sources from within a seemingly homogeneous community. Others have observed globalization move towards larger homogeneity in which everywhere becomes the same and differences are resolved as information and finance move at ever greater speed around the world.

However, there are broad examples of strong polarizing trends in cities which can be in the patterns of the settlements of the urban populations.

The great cultural changes that have taken place as a consequence of the movement of big mass of migrants from one side of the world to another, especially into cities, have been one of the most important effects of globalization on cities. As Sassen (2012) indicates, the economic sphere and the infrastructure required for global cities, which were based on specific functions, such as the big office blocks, commercial centers, and central business districts, have been the focus for most of the analysis of global cities. But according to Sassen, there is also another issue which is very important, but has been less visible. It is the "story of the analytical border regions, lives and spaces of transnational communities living in cities whose work serving the infrastructure of globalization is as important as the more visible signs of institutional power."

Global cities are resulted from processes that fragment space so that it can no longer be referred to global cities as complete cities, but rather, what exists is pieces of cities which are highly globalized and pieces which are juxtaposed, completely cut out. This increasing processes of valorization and devalorization of spaces move together and it is becoming increasingly extreme in many places. This caused the reconstruction of cities with the increasing conflict between different segments of the population, which is in general highly spatial.

Bridge and Watson (2000) adds, "it is clear then that the notion of simply polarized or dichotomized social/spatial divisions in cit-

ies does not take us far enough. Cities have always been, and will always be, places of heterogeneity." This is especially clear in the transforming social configuration of households in the city. Nearly the last thirty years of the 20th century have been the witness of the fall of the traditional nuclear family and an increasing variety and fragmentation of households. Thus, this "cultural turn" has made the significance of economic descriptions of social/spatial divisions unstable and highlighted the methods in which differences are built across a series of symbolic and cultural territories. The new "cultural geographies" map the approaches in which different spaces in the city have different attachments and meanings for different groups.

The city intensifies the diversity. Its spaces are written with the culture of the dominant corporate as well as many other cultures and identities. Based on Foucault's idea (1977) that power is native in all social relationships that operate as a capillary network throughout the realm of the social and is intricately linked to modes of resistance, thus all city spaces are filled with power. Different marginalities such as gender, race or other types of exclusion are not just a matter of particular needs or lifestyle, but they are nested in relations of power. According to Marcuse's view (1995), patterns are hidden under the chaos and the fragmentation of cities. Therefore, he advises that instead of thinking from the point of divisions, it is helpful to think from the point of "quartered cities" or "five-parted ones" in which "the parts are intricately linked, walled in, and walled out, hierarchical in power, material or imagined, and dependent on outside social forces." Mike Davis, in City of Quartz, came up with the currently most used idea of the "fortress city", by analyzing the system of power in Los Angeles by means of privatization and control mechanisms.

Another role in creating social/spatial divisions in cities, belongs to symbolic and psychical attachments to space. David Sibley (1995) analyzes the more symbolic features of spatial division and exclusion in which people are marginalized as a result of being feared and generated as "other". Powerful groups "purify and dominate space to create fear of minorities and ultimately exclude them from having a voice."

To sum up, it can be said that the creation of differences and identities in cities take place in various and complex ways in various spaces of the city; and alternately produce different city spaces and new borders and boundaries.

The Soft-City, Hariton Pushwagner, 1969

The Soft-City dystopia imagined by Hariton Pushwagner is a sharp criticism of modern uniformity, particularly explicit in its architectural aspects.
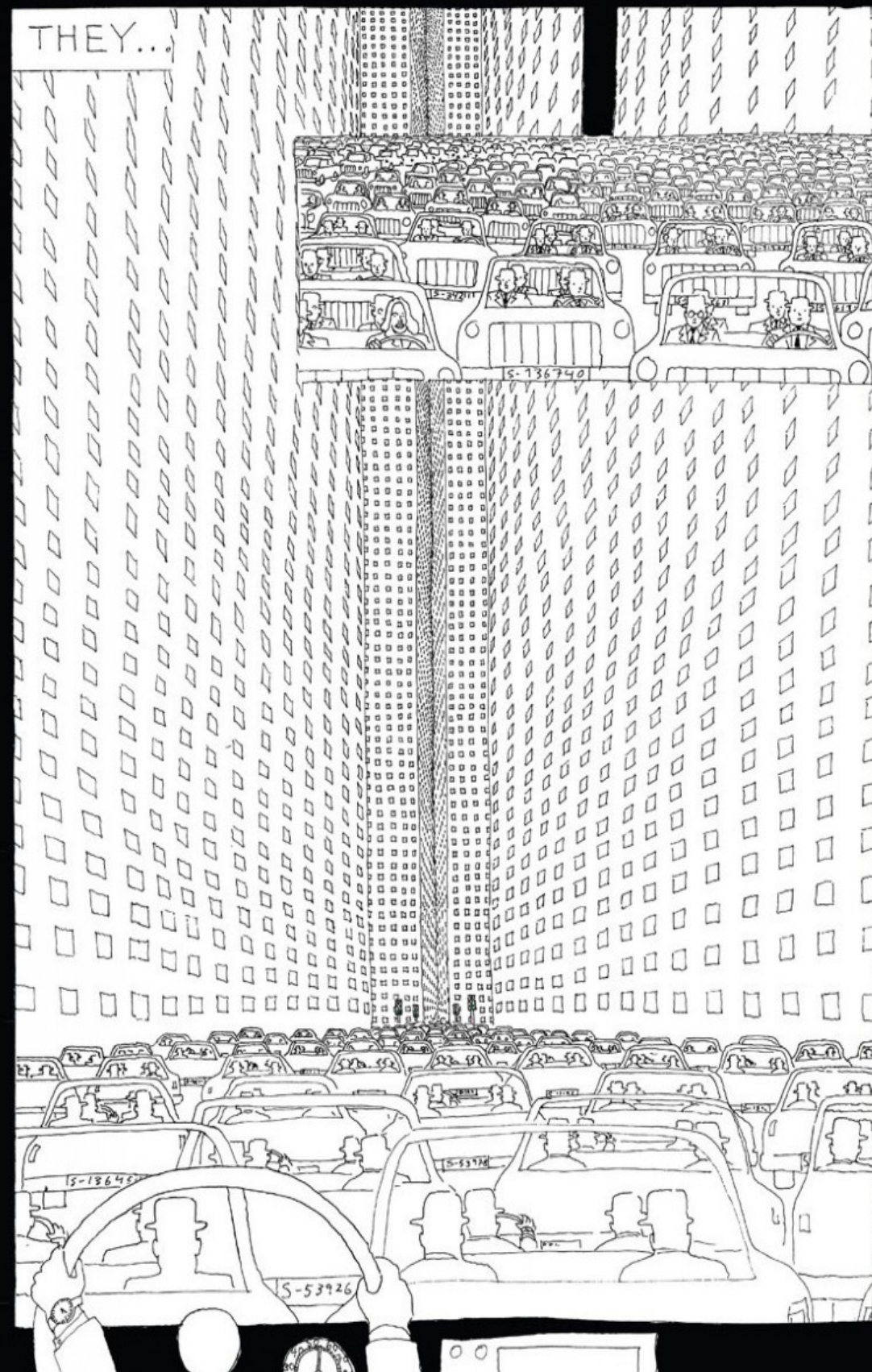
Formal boundaries are gone between town and country, between centre and periphery, between suburbs and city centres, between the domain of automobiles and the domain of people . . . And yet everything ("public facilities," blocks of flats", "environments of living") is separated, assigned in isolated fashion to unconnected "sites" and "tracts"; the spaces themselves are specialized just as operations are in the social and technical division of labour.

Henri Lefebvre

2.4

FRAGMENTED CITIES

It can be seen everywhere, in any city in the world, today, that there is extreme wealth and poverty, each one being concentrated in one or more parts of the city. The wealthy areas look quite well isolated from the city surrounding them, sometimes in high-rise buildings and sometimes in suburban type. The poor areas, on the other part, look marginalized, disconnected from the economic and social life of the city surrounding them. As Peter Marcuse discusses, "the concentration is voluntary for the rich, involuntary for the poor." And other parts exist, that are neither rich nor poor, in between them, differences can be observed, "not only of richness, but perhaps also of housing style, of culture, of street pattern, of public spaces." Business areas also differ a lot; factories can be easily distinguished from office towers, and their locations differ accordingly. Similarly, recreational areas are consumed by different groups of people for different intentions. Even if all these divisions of the city seem most of the time, pretty normal and common to most of the people, it cannot be denied that there are some disturbing aspects, too (Marcuse, 2000). Instead of being in transition to development, poor areas give the impression of getting poorer, and they seem to be disproportionately occupied by members of minority groups. They are increasingly accepted as unsafe places to go or to be in. Business districts increasingly seem to be enclosing themselves, permission

and ID are required even to enter. Public spaces such as parks, streets and squares seem to provide less and less chance for people to interact with other people who are unlike themselves and to mix while expressing themselves in a public arena. Marcuse (2000) argues that today, cities look fragmented, partitioned and "painfully" pulled apart.

The questions of why, how and by whom are the starting point of most of the discussions about urban policy in the world today. Much of that debate includes the relation between these divisions and the impacts of globalization on urban structure. First of all, cities have always been divided. The peculiarity of today's divided cities is not the fact that they are partitioned; rather it is the aspect and source of their division. Some divisions derive from economic functionality, from culture, and some indicate and strengthen relations of power.

Today, zoning is approved legal representation of such divisions. For example, division through economic function is a generally accepted required division within a city. Zoning should be made by function. Other forms of division, however, such as race, class, ethnicity and lifestyle appear a lot more problematic. "Walled or gated communities, for instance, are growing feature of urban settlement patterns throughout the world and reflect separation along each of these lines." (Blakely and Synder, 1997). Only the ones who live within them or their welcomed and reported guests, are permitted to enter; in general, private security is supplied to implement limitations not just on access, but also on activities inside.

But the ground of division between these parts of the contemporary city, class, race, ethnicity and lifestyle, are totally different from each other and have very different effects on the city. However, for the understanding of the division of cities, two aspects are primary: income and power. Income, because most of the land allocation to different users is done in the market where those with lower incomes and power are located, because most of the land allocation is not determined only by the market. The restructuring of cities has caused a raised real estate profitability, from which the already rich take advantage disproportionately. Nowadays, every private high-rise building has its own security and elsewhere, enclaves of the rich are protected by the walls from intrusion. "The new architecture of shopping malls, skywalks and policed pedestrian malls is a striking physical mirror of the social separation" says Marcuse (2000).

A tendency to dismantle the city and split the citizens, one from another, is seen today. New metropolitan areas challenge the idea of the city: these are vast areas of intermittent urbanization, in some parts fragmented, in others scattered, without clear boundaries, with scarce physical and symbolic resources

which indicate the domain of poor public spaces and depend on powerful dynamics of privatization. Marcuse discusses that "these metropolitan regions are characterized by social segregation, large-scale functional specialization and gentrified (class-based) or museumized city centres, converted into theme parks or stratified by consumption level." This "non-place", is also the representation and reproduction of a society which is both heterogeneous and "ghettoized" and misses coherence. Only a certain minority can reach the promises of the urban revolution, specifically the development of individual autonomy. The diversity of jobs, habitation, leisure, culture, education, etc. necessitated a comparatively high income and information, likewise an efficient right to access to information technology networks and mobility. However, the majority of the society is poorer because of precarious jobs and cultural exclusion.

The structuring of this new urban society is not in large social groups similar to those in industrial society. It is a fragmented, individualized society that is divided between those who fear losing their income, mediocre privileges and weak security and those living in unstable conditions in terms of both their work and rights. It is a society which is in need of a welfare state, but that is exactly what does not exist or is insufficient for those who need it the most.

In the vicious circle of marginalization, those who live in the periphery of urban areas or in neighborhoods that are disintegrated and far from facilities or, in close quarters are also excluded.

The "separate residential cities" have been analyzed in the work of Peter Marcuse.

The gentrified city is the space for the professionals, technicians, managers, yuppies and college professors. The residential areas in which they live are preferred for environmental or social facilities, for their silence or hustle, their history or fashion. Their needs are all served by gentrified working-class neighborhood, old middle-class neighborhoods and with modern and well-furnished apartments. Being close to the work is important for the locations chosen due to long and unstable work planning and the availability of services.

The suburban city of the traditional family, is seeked out by better-paid workers, the "lower middle class" or blue and white-collar workers. In here, stability, security and the comfortable realm of consumption can be found. "The home as symbol of self, exclusion of those of lower status, physical security against intrusion, political conservatism, comfort and escape from the work-a-day world are characteristic."

The tenement city is for lower-paid workers who earn the minimum wage, mostly with irregular employment, little social assistance, little job security. Their neighborhoods used to be called

slums. When their inhabitants were seen as disobedient and undisciplined, they became the victims of slum "clearance" and "up-grading" efforts. Today they are facing the displacement or abandonment, service cuts, worsening of public structures and political disregard. When their quarters were requested for "high uses", they were relocated, by "urban renewal" or by "gentrification".

The abandoned city is for the excluded, the very poor, the unemployed and the homeless. A collapsing infrastructure, worsening housing, the domination of impersonal external forces, racial and ethnic discrimination are the realities of everyday.

To sum up, during the 1970s and 1980s, "urban values" are adopted by increasingly more classes. According to Porter and Shaw (2009), it was the start of the history of "rediscovery of the city", it was sometimes called as the "urban renaissance". The rediscovery of the city and the dynamics of globalization are closely intertwined. As Sassen (1994) discussed, there are two important points. Firstly, the role of centrality as a key to control of global economy and command functions. Secondly, metropolitan centers have become privileged for the new urban elite who are shaped within the framework of the neoliberal development model. Additionally, metropolitan centers are becoming top-quality consumer products, and metropolitan cities can even survive thanks to their ability to consume and to be consumed.

The term "new metropolitan mainstream" was evolved in order to be able to analyze a wide variety of phenomena that occurred in various cities around the world. Ideas about how to trigger the urban growth have influenced local governments and city councils around the world. Promoting a prestigious mix of venues for leisure and recreation, an elite quality of life, cultural possibilities and services for luxury consumption has become part of the standard policies implemented today. "Standard metropolitan architecture" is becoming the new fuel of globalization adds Roy (2010).

Urbanization not only leads to the disintegration of the historical forms of the city and to urban sprawl, but also encourages the establishment of new centralities. Centrality is always ambiguous in this context, because on one side, it provides possibilities for unexpected encounter, on the other side, it is as well open to economic exploitation. Another process follows this instability: the commodification of urban life.

Not all the dimensions and contents of the commodification of the city have been understood yet. This process does not only involve buying or selling parcels of land or dividing it into regions that are specific to certain sections of the population. Here, more generally, the exploitation of urban space is involved. The entire space is sold along with the inhabitants and the social resources

and economic outcomes that are produced by them. Urban life itself is subjected to an economic valorization process and transformed through it. Such processes have already stood out in the control and occupation of the public space by private individuals and organizations. Shopping centers, entertainment centers, private railway and metro stations are semi-public spaces that are managed in the direction of private interests. In this process, city residents and the visitors are reduced to mere "extras" in the "great urban spectacle".

There is the issue of the economic control and the political control. This aspect of control is crucial both in the privatization of the public space and in the creation of a wide variety of specially controlled spaces such as gated, isolated areas and secure housing estates. Access to the city arena, all the opportunities and venues offered by it are kept under control; this access is also exploited economically. For this reason, some sections of the society are successful in allocating some urban spaces to them while restricting the access of others.

The social potential of urban space comes from the ability to establish relationships and mutual interaction between the various sections of society. However, access to urban resources is increasingly taken under control and owned by the elites of global metropolises. This situation not only restricts access to urban space, but also limits the social productivity of it. Urban space loses its most important feature in this process: unexpected, unplanned encounter and interaction opportunities.

As cities are divided into specialized public spaces and gated residential areas, where rich and poor neighborhoods are separated by invisible walls, access to urban facilities and infrastructures previously accessible to everyone is restricted, wider coalitions are formed to resist this dispossession and exclusion.

Social Inequality, As Seen From The Sky (2018), Johnny Miller
Johannesburg, South Africa

"Disrepancies in how people live are sometimes hard to see from the ground. The beauty of being able to fly is to see things from a new perspective - to see things as they really are. Looking straight down from a height of several hundred meters, incredible scenes of inequality emerge."

photographer Johnny Miller

03

THE NEW WALLS OF THE CITY

INTRODUCTION

Gated communities have begun to occupy an important place in contemporary debates on the production of urban spaces in the 1990s (McKenzie, 1994; Blake and Synder, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Low, 2003). The global expansion of this phenomenon which most generally reflects the desire of the middle and upper classes for greater segregation and is seen as an arrangement of privatization of local government, has been analyzed from different viewpoints over the past decade.

According to McKenzie (2005), gated communities can be viewed as an arising aspect in the landscape of the neo-liberal city. A city which is commonly distinguished by the descending importance of public housing and public spaces; and the emerging of "entrepreneurial privatized landscapes" of mega projects, redevelopment of city center, gentrification and other types of uneven development (Hackworth, 2007). However, gated communities are not a uniform phenomenon. While they demonstrate growing social polarization at the macro level, at the micro level, they occur as a result of different reasons and reflect a variety of conditions. Therefore, recent studies have showed the urgency to take into account local-oriented explanations as well as historical conditions, socio-spatial contexts and local planning (Glasze, 2006).

As stated by Hackworth (2007), neo-liberal urban governance is resulted from an "institutionally regulated disciplining of localities", mainly by "gatekeepers" for corporate and municipal debt markets. Neo-liberal governance has also been related with the decreasing role of hierarchical administrative-territorial structures and increasing importance on horizontal networks of governance (Razin et al., 2007). Private-public partnerships, that are debated to be related with exclusionary types of development, are key to these horizontal networks, alongside non-profit organizations (Davies, 2003).

As a result, dynamic interactions and partnerships of various stakeholders have received increasing attention. Estranged from deterministic forms of development, these have been explained by several scholars through urban regimes, urban entrepreneurialism and institutional methods, considering that human agency is capable of reshaping and reproducing space.

The increase in demand of privately ruled residential, industrial and commercial spaces is one of the most remarkable characteristics of recent urbanization. In the last two decades of the 20th century, gates and guards emerged during a period of high economic growth. A new type of urban habitat has been formed by landowners, developers, investors and consumers. A growing mass market has appeared in whole neighborhoods that include homes, infrastructure, services and micro urban governance. According to Glazse, Frantz and Webster (2002), "gates and guards are just one part of a bigger package. Its significance lies not so much in the physical impact of gated developments, though this may pose challenges to urban designers, but in their underlying sociology, politics, and economics. In short, they challenge the spatial, organizational, and institutional order that has shaped modern cities."

Before I built a wall, I'd ask to know what I was walling in or walling out, and to whom I was like to give offense.

Robert Frost

3.1

DEFINING THE GATED COMMUNITY

As social scientists examined their development in many cities, gated communities became an important object of study; now they can be viewed as a part of the urban landscape in most cities over the world. The term "gated community" is strongly related with the development of American cities and became part of the debates on urban spaces in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. As Low (2001) argues, at the beginning, gated communities served the benefits of wealthier retirees in the United States in the 1970s and the 1980s, but their function enlarged and spread very quickly to other social groups within American society, as well as other countries. The wide academic production on the topic has gone in parallel with the elaboration of different definitions of the phenomenon.

Gated communities have reopened the issue of the community to debate in a number of ways: how will gated communities affect the inhabitants and the wider society, if they will be able to compensate for face-to-face neighborhood interactions that the city no longer provides, if there will be changes in class encounters or feelings of being part of a wider community.

Strong opinions criticizing or defending the emergence of gated communities have dominated the debate. On one side, critics consider them as a threat to public space (Atkinson et al, 2004; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Davis, 1992; McKenzie, 1994), on the

other side, defenders highlight that they are efficient in providing services which the state and the service cannot (Webster, 2001). But the common view is that gated communities produce more interaction inside of the gates and less inter-neighborhood interaction; as a result, less participation of inhabitants in the public space. In other words, gated communities cause both residential and social segregation.

As said, several definitions are used to conceptualize the phenomenon of gated communities can be seen. Even if some characteristics are specific to context, it is beneficial to have a common perception of what they are and analyze their main characteristics.

Blakely and Snyder (1997) presented one of the most comprehensive reviews of existing gated communities and introduced the most repeatedly argued typology of the phenomenon. In their book Fortress America, the first published book focusing only on gated communities, Blakely and Snyder explain:

> *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. 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 neighborhoods to the poorest.*

According to Roitman (2010), this is a broad description of gated communities, as it considers not only new settlements that are built with gates, but also old neighborhoods that have been closed as a result of growing urban insecurity. This is why these researchers see "gating-up" as a social phenomenon which involves the whole society, not only wealthy families. Blakely and Snyder even go further by accepting the possibility of detecting gated communities targeting poor inhabitants.

A more comprehensive explanation of gated communities, recognized as "closed condominiums" in Brazil, is given in City of Walls by Caldeira (2000):

> *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.

While discussing the similarities of these communities to those of Blakely and Snyder, Caldeira adds other features to the social homogeneity of the inhabitants, such as the availability of services and facilities for the use of inhabitants and the autonomy that these places could rule since they could be "self-contained". The social homogeneity of gated communities is obtained, by their high prices of land and housing, along with maintenance fees. They become socially homogeneous internally, with different gated communities addressing different social groups concerning religion, ethnicity, class, interest and values. According to Caldeira, in order to satisfy the demands of the inhabitants, high quality and a big diversity of services and facilities are provided inside gated communities in Brazil. She adds,

> *In addition to being distant, secluded, and secure, closed condominiums are supposed to be self-contained worlds. Residents should be provided with almost everythingthey need so that they can avoid public life in the city.*

This theory of "self-contained worlds" starts an argument regarding two issues (Roitman, 2010): Firstly, "to what extent can gated communities really be isolated from society or from the services provided by the city?". Secondly, "to what extent can their residents self-segregate from other social groups or the society as a whole as a consequence of living in a self-contained world?"

Some scholars argue that for gated communities, it is not possible to be totally detached from society. Amin and Graham (1999) agree on this position,

> *no physically bounded community can ever completely withdraw from the city which surrounds it. No place – even a high-security prison – is ever relationally isolated completely from its surroundings. The relational ties and connections that gated communities have with the fest of the city that surrounds them merely change.*

In addition, Svampa (2004) claims that gated communities are not isolated, but linked with different types of services, schools and consumption and recreation places. According to her (2001),

> *the peculiarity of gated communities is that they assume a configuration that affirms, from the beginning, social segmentation (from a differentiated and restrictive access), reinforced later by the multiplying effects of the spatialization of social relations.*

Therefore, it is important to consider social exclusivity and segmentation in the analysis of gated communities.

Another definition involving the voluntary side of living in a gated community, refers to the choice of families taken voluntarily to live in this type of neighborhood. Roitman (2008) emphasizes the importance of this definition to ask questions such as: "Did residents take a conscious and free decision by choosing this type of settlement? Could they have chosen differently?"

Fishman (1982) and Harvey (2000) evaluate gated communities from another perspective. They see gated communities as a sort of return to Modernist planning, to the utopias developed at the beginning of the 20th century when some architects believed that their projects could create an order in the "chaos of industrialization and urbanization". The fortified enclaves apply some tools of architectural design and tools of modernist city planning in order to achieve the goals of isolation, distancing and selection. Caldeira (1996) states that a remarkably similar impact of both modernist urban planning and fortified enclaves is that they both attack to the streets as a sort and concept of public space. In the modernist city, "streets appear as continuous voids and buildings as sculptural figures". Modernist planning seeks and achieves to erase the representational distinction between public and private by breaking down the old order of the urban.

The spread of gated communities have been influenced by various factors of two main kinds: structural and subjective causes, which are different, but interrelated.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS

Structural factors refer to two main ambits. The first is associated with globalization of the economy which causes increasing urban social inequalities, the progress of social polarization and a growth in foreign investments. The second, more specific one, relates to the withdrawal of the state from provision of basic services that resulted in an increase in urban violence and the privatization of security (Roitman, 2010).

As Sassen (1991) argues, the economic globalization affects the real estate market and creates "a massive increase in foreign and domestic investment in luxury commercial and residential construction." In the situation of real estate activity, Sassen (1994) marked "the retreat of many real estate developers from the low- and medium-income housing market who are attracted to the rapidly expanding housing demand by the new highly paid professionals and the possibility for vast over-pricing of this housing supply". Residential areas with high quality facilities and infrastructure are demanded by this social group, and therefore, gated communities attract this high-income group.

Foreign investments lead to the spread of foreign tendencies. Seen as a common aspect of the urban landscape in the USA, gated communities have become a usual element in other cities as this urban model is exported by developers. Janoschka and Glasze (2003) describe gated communities as "the diffusion of a successful real estate product" and add "in developing countries, gated communities are part of the image of the international and modern elite and are commercialized as part of this global culture." In addition, the spread of gated communities reveal the huge impact that developers and investors can apply on planning and the significant role of the media in promoting this lifestyle (Caldeira, 2000).

As shown in the literature, gated communities emerge to be a spatial response to globalization processes for specific social groups. This concerns the second structural factor, which addresses the growth of urban violence and privatization of security. Government functions in many countries have been cut down as a result of economic restructuring and the implementation of neo-liberal policies. Large population groups have been deprived of public services such as health, housing, education, employment and security because of the decline in the supply of these fundamental services. According to Dammert (2001), the withdrawal of the state from the provision of security has caused a rise in violence in several cities, as well as the privatization of security as a response, such as fences, alarms, guards and gated communities.

For the understanding of the "forting-up" phenomenon, these two structural reasons for the global spread of gated communities are essential. Still, it is crucial to note that not all urban dwellers choose to live in a gated community, which points out that subjective reasons are related, too.

SUBJECTIVE FACTORS

Subjective factors that contribute to explain the spread of gated communities refer to desires, interests, perspectives and opportunities of individuals. Five primary subjective causes can be found in the literature.

Fear of crime. It is the principal urging force behind the increase of gated communities according to the literature. Fear of crime comprises the response of an individual to a growth in urban crime. As it was discussed above, it is linked with the withdrawal of the state from provision of security. If citizens do not feel safe and think that the state cannot provide security, those who can afford, prefer to move to more secure places such as gated communities.

Seek for a better lifestyle. It is not only related with the security, but also with better living conditions. The advertisements in the real estate market present gated communities as places in which it is possible to find large houses and plots close to the nature and at the same, access to social facilities.

Need for a sense of community. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997), "community includes a sense of mutual responsibility, significant interaction, a cooperative spirit". In the literature of gated community, debate on "community" and "sense of community" has taken an important attention and it also brings on the question of whether a "decline of community" has led to the rise of gated communities. They occur in the literature as places in which a sense of community is encouraged in the context of a decline of community in city life.

Seek for social homogeneity. Low (2000) studied what happens when certain parts of a city suffer because of a change in social composition to become mixed neighborhoods. According to Low, "many interviewees mentioned the changes in the social composition of the surrounding areas of their formerly open neighborhoods as a primary motivation for moving to gated communities". Arizaga (2005) explains that the social homogeneity and the closure of the gated community are fundamental to offer a place which provides protection against an ever-changing world. In gated communities, social homogeneity is maintained mainly on socio-economic level. Yet, ethnicity and religion also have an important role in specifying the features of particular gated communities. For example, Jewish citizens were banned in some "prestigious" gated communities in Argentina; and consequently, gated communities built only for Jewish people have appeared.

Aim for higher social status and social differentiation. Blakely and Snyder (1997) argue that some people choose to live in such neighborhoods because they propose social prestige along with other "benefits": they "provide the cachet of exclusive living". According to Caldeira (2000), walls and security tools do not just mean physical elements, but they also offer status and differentiation. She defines it as the "aesthetics of security", discussing that "the more ostensibly secure and enclosed the property, the higher its status".

Illustration by Briget Beorse

Gates position and remind bodies of their rightful place, delineating identities and neighborhood limits, and discouraging movement.

Zaire Zenit Dinzey-Flores

3.2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Even though, the "modern gated communities emerged as part of the international trend towards the suburbanization of cities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Quintal & Thompson, 2007), enclosed or gated communities cannot be considered as a new phenomenon in the history. Gated communities have been tracked back to the initial permanent structures constructed by humans. The fortified enclave has always been seen as a common aspect of urban development for centuries. Fear, shelter, safety, security, fights and survival have been fundamental concerns in human existence and became key point in the creation of walls and fortification of settlements.

Barnett (1986) indicates that ancient walled towns were built to protect residents and their estate; and walls were needed for the demands of protection. Walls were not used only to protect against stealing or demolition; but also, to control exit and entry. Ancient Roman tradition was followed by Medieval town walls and they provided safety against enemies. The seriousness of the danger was reflected by the strength of the walls. During peaceful times, the growth of the suburbs outside deteriorated the walls. According to Morris (1994), the most significant function of medieval gates in peaceful times could be considered as controlling access to the city to collect taxes and regulate trade. Mumford (1961) says that the town seemed like an island be-

cause of the medieval wall, and wall carried profound symbolic value, not only military service; but it represented the "wall of custom" which connected classes and "kept them in their place". Additionally, he emphasized the psychological importance of the wall, creating a sense of unity and safety when the gates are locked at sunset.

"System of walls, spatial segregation, and class division are also deeply ingrained in Europe as a means for wealthy people to protect themselves from the local population" (Low, 2003). In the sixteenth century, from 1450 to 1600, an increase in poverty was recorded by a decline in real wages and a rise in the percentage of people who were too poor to be taxed. As a result of the polarization between rich and poor, restrictions on poor people and vagabonds were applied, partly due to the fear of social disorder as well as the risk of infectious diseases. Therefore, it became more important to enforce spatial segregation.

The rise of the bourgeoise merchant and industrialist classes in Western Europe in the 17th and 19th centuries was accompanied by the development of a new stage of enclave development. Around London, aristocrats who owned land started to subdivide large properties into sale or rental property to accommodate bourgeoise sub-urban growth, while maintaining ownership of streets and infrastructure (Atkins, 1993). These site subdivisions, containing famous examples such as Belgravia within the Grosvenor Estate and Bloomsburg within the Bedford Estate, were "usually adapted to the network of urban street and included perimeter walls and guarded gates to prevent the public use of privately maintained roads, and to preserve peace and quiet" (Ibid).

In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published his book Garden Cities of Tomorrow" and proposed the "idea of a proprietary community, funded by private investment capital and managed by a 19th century version of a community association." (Glazse et al., 2002). According to Glazse, Frantz and Webster (2002), "the context into which the innovation was floated a century ago gave rise to the unpredictable result of a hundred years of building publicly planned and funded new towns throughout the world".

Le Goix and Webster (2008) argue that in the U.S., the spread of gated communities is rooted in the country's long-term ideology of suburban development. One of the first domains of influence is the "romantic suburban utopias" and "utopian-influenced projects". Haskell's Llewellyn Park is considered as the first modern gated community, constructed in the U.S., that has consistently run a gatehouse and a private police force and "introduced private governance of shared amenities based on deed restrictive covenants that protected the stability and homogeneity of the neighborhood" (Jackson, 1985). New York's Tuxedo Park, as an

Bedford Square, London
Photograph by Joas Souza

Tuxedo Park, NY
source: https://www.rocklandnyhomes.com/tag/rocklandnyhomes/

example of resort, developed in 1886 as a retreat for hunting and fishing (Hayden, 2003). Another example for an early resort was Sea Gate in Brooklyn, which was built with private police force in 1899. It consists of single-family houses including its own private beach areas and two parks. St Louis's private streets were designed by the architect and real estate developer Julius Pitman between 1867 and 1905. The model was borrowed from the British estate subdivisions to produce private residential enclaves for the elite. As McKenzie (1994) added, "owners were obliged to pay assessments for maintenance of the common grounds, including the private streets, etc. and pay for their own snow removal, tree trimming and street maintenance". "Exclusive lifestyle developments" became prevalent in the early 1960s and 1970s, planned as mass consumption real estate developments which are funded by large companies that are attracted by possible profits and supported by the Government by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (ibid). The first places where middle-class Americans chose to live behind the gates were planned retirement communities such as Leisure World which were established in the 1960s. After, gates expanded to resort and country club developments, and eventually to suburban developments (Low, 2003). The construction of gated communities around golf links offering leisure, prestige and exclusivity was accelerated by the real estate speculation in the 1980s. Since then, gates have become common everywhere.

Today, gated communities are increasing quickly in Latin America, China, New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, post-apartheid South Africa, the Philippines, Germany, France, the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the tourist locations along the Spanish coast and the Côte d'Azur (Low, 2003). However, gated communities present different cultural meanings and offer different intentions in each context.

Seagate, Brooklyn, NY
source: https://www.facebook.com/SeaGateAssociationInformation/

St louis West Entrance, Portland Place, the US
Photograph by Georg Stark, 1909, Missouri History Museum

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.

Blakely and Snyder

3.3

TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Blakely and Snyder (1997) defined three primary categories of gated communities in the U.S.: "lifestyle", "prestige" and "security-zone" communities.

In lifestyle communities, leisure activities based on recreational facilities, common amenities and services is the focus point. They may contain retirement resorts, golf communities or suburban new towns. Hillier and McManus (1994) argue that the developers of these kind of projects aim to commodify community. Their hope is to attract inhabitants who are in search of identity, security and a shared lifestyle with other residents. They try to generate a sense of community by common interests and activities. Buyers like the idea of sharing interests with their neighborhoods, but at the same time they enjoy the privacy provided by the gates.

There can also be found some examples aiming to detach the life from the reality even more and stop the connection with the surrounding city through the creation of "virtual theme parks". According to Hook and Vrdoljak (2002), "In many ways, the retreat into luxury is the best escape from the threat of crime, and the home-within-the-hotel qualities of the security-park become a defense against confronting the social in equalities of the current post-apartheid dispensation." Hotel-like facilities such as adjacent golf-courses, tennis courts swimming pools, restaurants,

bars and playgrounds have a key role in the development of gated communities.

Another aspect that developers have expected to appeal the customers with is pastoral designs and symbolisms. The dream of "eco-sensitive" architectural styles and reminiscent names are seen as strong tools of a large potential market (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002). Likewise, they are portrayed as "rustic" escapes, leaving the city and its surroundings more easily. Visualizing an idyllic rural lifestyle is achieved with constant reference to nature, especially in names that mix connotations such as "forest", "river", "wood" or "valley" with the recreational promise of a "club", "resort" or an "estate".

Prestige communities, in contrast, do not often offer common facilities or recreational amenities like in lifestyle communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). They hope to serve as symbols of distinction, wealth and status, to preserve an image, investments and value of housing. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997), "they present a controlled aesthetic and image and possess ostentatious entrances in addition to roving patrols to add an aura of exclusivity". Prestige communities showed up in the late 19th century, mainly for industry leaders and celebrities.

In security zone communities, public streets are closed off to nonresidents. The motive is mostly the fear of crime and outsiders who disturb the neighborhoods. Even though developers carry out security in the other type of gated communities, in security zone communities, the inhabitants themselves can lobby for and take part in building barriers. They may as well ask local authorities to block streets or enclose neighborhoods to stop outsiders accessing. Here, not the developers, but inhabitants build the gates to provide safety and preserve their identity in the neighborhood.

The reason for constructing and being resident in gated communities is based on the assumption that if a space in unregulated and uncontrolled, this space is considered as dangerous. According to Ekblom (1995), the necessity to fortify against increasing levels of crime and threats to individual safety has led to the creation of a "fortress society" while gates reduce the fear of random crime. The industry of security has become a security status-symbols which made gated communities even more desirable. Therefore, a new "security aesthetic" has emerged with the production of not only new technologies of security, but also new technologies of image and style (Bremner, 2000). This is the reason why gated communities function also as a strong economic sign of wealth. Davis (1992) sees security,

as a prestige symbol – and sometimes as the decisive borderline between the merely well-off and the 'truly rich'

– 'security' has less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation, in residential, work, consumption and travel environments, from 'unsavory' groups and individuals, even crowds in general.

Aalbers (2003), on the other hand, proposed a different classification of typologies for European countries: elite lifestyle communities, recreational communities and urban security zones.

First, the elite lifestyle communities can be divided in "golf communities" in which "elite" can live with a particular lifestyle, "country estates" which require an economic capital for an exclusive environment and fortified or "castle-like" buildings. Elite communities are more common in Southern Europe than in Northern Europe. Recreational communities, secondly, originally targeted only the middle and working class, but today they contain all classes. The people themselves, the government or architects usually design the houses. These areas are designed for temporary habitation purposes, but most of them are inhabited all year round. Lastly, in urban security zones, passageways are closed, and neighborhood patrols are set up. Aalbers (2003) states that local government is under pressure to take physical measures to stop crime, to set rules for effective garbage disposal and to reduce the traffic on the streets.

In the literature, there are not many studies aimed at systematizing the morphological and physical features of gated communities. Blakely and Snyder (1997) called attention to four factors which enable features to be defined.

FUNCTION OF ENCLOSURE

Even if walls and gates could look alike across cultures, they have different functions such as economic, social, physical and symbolic. Residents may be kept inside, or nonresidents may be kept outside by gates. Moreover, the function of enclosure might change over time, and inevitably, the way how people use space and navigate is affected by an enclosure. Foucault (1977) argues that gates manifest the act of power and discipline over space. "In the first instance, discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space."

According to Bible and Hsieh (2001), protecting "property values" is one of the crucial functions of gating for "prestige developments". Gates are built in order to captivate wealthy buyers and increase sales by the developer. Buyers see the function of the gates as a "long-term investment". Additionally, gates and walls offer a visual separation. Privacy clearly has an important charm for the wealthiest in contemporary cities and justifies the common use of visual barriers.

Another very important function of gates is that they are defensive. Throughout the history, all over the world, people have benefitted from walls and fences for protection. Walls do not protect inhabitants only from crime or violence, but also from natural elements such as flood, sand and dangerous predators. In other conditions, walls can be used to control subjects such as foreign workers or feared minorities. This type of enforced enclosure has taken place in many cities in the history.

SECURITY FEATURES

Greenberg and Rohe (1984) showed that communities that are well defined by boundaries and are less permeable by the networks of road had lower crime percentages than the neighborhoods with an open street system. This convinces residents that borders of a community are important and gates are safer. However, walls can be strengthened by social barriers. Only people who have enough wealth can become the part of the community in exclusive gated projects. "The wall presents a significant psychological device to define who is or is not a member of the club, and to discipline those who may wish to cross the boundary"(Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004).

AMENITIES AND FACILITIES

While enclaves can have a few facilities, they can also form complete towns. There are full-service communities providing malls, schools, recreational areas, police and industry. The level of interaction with the outside world may be affected by the availability of amenities and facilities inside the enclave; and thus, it has important significances for social integration. As a community becomes more independent, the need of inhabitants to go out decreases. More availability of facilities inside the enclave can both reflect and create more social distance between the gated community and the community outside.

TYPE OF RESIDENTS

Those who choose to live in a gated community are usually the ones with economical privilege, sometimes ethnically or age segregated (Maharidge, 1994). In some contexts, it can be found segregation by ideology, ethnicity or religion. For example, in Indonesia some members of the ethnic Chinese community are forming clusters in gated communities (Leisch, 2003); or in the USA, most of the ones who live in gated public housing projects are usually renters and Hispanic who have less choices in the housing market (Sanchez and Lang, 2002). Some gated commu-

nities mainly address immigrants or expatriates and are not integrated with the local context.

Age-restricted gated projects instead, are particularly popular with wealthy seniors. Community gets older as they age. New services and facilities, thus may be needed to provide their changing needs. The character of the enclave and its effect on the surrounding neighborhood are affected by the abilities and needs of the inhabitants.

Grant (2002) argues that while in contemporary planning dogma promoting mixed use and diversity is a common theme, mixing rarely happens in gated projects.

FEATURES OF GATED COMMUNITIES AROUND THE WORLD

As it was mentioned before, gated communities may differ in different local contexts. Jürgen and Gnad (2002) say after their research in South Africa, for the safety of individuals living areas with high amount of safety measures, have started to be built in the suburbs since the end of the 1980s. They argued that these "security villages" were an unavoidable result of institutionalized racism. In the survey they have made in Johannesburg, they have observed that the traditional dream of South African families for a big home of their own has been turned into the dream of living in "town houses, cluster housing, and sectional title flats with shared use of swimming pools or tennis courts."

After their analysis in Saudi Arabia, Glasze and Alkhayyal (2002) have discovered that a new trend, "extended-family compounds", has emerged during the 1980s to offer families a sense of privacy and identity. Many families began to construct compounds of several villas on large parcels of land. These complexes consist of two or more architecturally identical houses that are surrounded by a single wall; however, each residential unit has its own separate entrance for privacy of each family. Common areas often include a garden, a swimming pool and a playground. These new villas and common amenities can be viewed as a "revival" of some socio-spatial arrangements in the old city, where extended families mostly shared a common courtyard. In Lebanon, on the other hand, according to Glasze and Alkhayyal (2002), the emergence of gated communities can be defined as a result of a weak public sector. The private sector filled the gap that was created by the failure of public regulation and provision, with "enclaves of comfort, amenities and welfare-small-scale solutions". "The mostly wealthy clientele finds an environment in which to realize a lifestyle which follows images of Western globalized models" (ibid). Additionally, large master-planned enclave developments for providing houses to the large community of expatriate workers, can be found in Saudi Arabia.

Al-Rabwa is a "stylish" and "all-comprehensive compound consists of exclusive villas, located in Al Sheikh Zayed district in Lebanon. The built area in Al-Rabwa does not exceed 9% of the total area of more than two million square meters, with the rest being green spaces, facilities, roads and playgrounds. The idea to build Al-Rabwa arouse out of the urgent need to "move away from the city and expand"; in a place where you can "feel peaceful" and "enjoy the untouched grass". The compound includes all services and facilities such as a school, a golf club, a shopping mall and a mosque. Additionally, medical services and 24-hour security are also provided.

In Latin America, gated communities are mainly planned by the project developers as a whole and designed with advanced security measures (Coy and Pöhler,2002). They represent a particularly dynamic real estate product which has a high return of capital. According to Coy and Pöhler, public control has far less concern than private interests. Gated communities, thus can be defined as "new extraterritorial spaces". Especially in recent years, large "edge-city-like" projects have appeared in suburban areas. The success of these enclaves can be mainly explained by the fear of crime. They are the response to social conflict and violence found in the everyday life of the cities. But at the same time, they express the increasingly differing lifestyles of urban society which is influenced by globalization. "With gated communities, new islands of wealth emerge in the ocean of poverty, which characterize the increasingly fragmented structure of the Latin American city" (ibid).

In Sao Paolo, Brazil, developments for the elite began to become important in the late 1970s. A few developers started constructing "something" similar to "American new towns" or "edge cities", which is suburban areas combining residences with office spaces commercial centers (Caldeira, 2000). One of the most famous of these developments is Alphaville located in a new area of middle- and upper-class settlements. The project began in the 1970s and was built on an area of 26 square kilometers. Currently, Alphaville consists of 33 gated residential areas, each surrounded by 3.5 meter high walls and accessible only by one controlled entrance, along with the business area. Security is one of the most important issues in Alphaville. Each residential area, office or commercial center has its own security for maintenance of internal order and in addition, there is a common security that is responsible of the order of the public spaces.

In certain gated communities in the Philippines, for instance, "gating out" is not just related with fear of "the other" (Evans, 2019). The gates can be representative of the wealth and the status of the residents. Indang Village is one of these, which is unique in that it is a British-Filipino gated community, principally

Winchester Hills, Johannesburg
Photograph by Marie Thomas-Meilhan

Al-Rabwa, Lebanon
source: http://www.al-rabwa.com/index.html

designed for Filipino expats who have lived and worked in the UK. The community's aim is to meet "the dreams and needs of British Filipinos and British Expatriates who have become accustomed to the comforts of British style living" according to its website. In its design approach, the British theme which contains British landscaped gardens, post boxes, road signs and bus stops, can be observed. These symbol are expected to evoke a "British identity" in the imaginations of the people who live in there.

In Europe, instead, there are relatively few private residential neighborhoods. However, a rise in such housing is noticeable in some countries. Beginning in the 1980s, protected residential complexes emerged on the Mediterranean coast of Western Europe such as Spain and France, proposing exclusive "second homes" as well as "all-year" dwellings (Glazse et. al 2002). During the 1990s, suburban gated settlements were increasing in Madrid and Lisbon. Webster (2001) instead, identifies three types of complex in Britain: upgraded social housing projects converted by gates, concierges and innovative local government agencies; condominium-style developments in the city center; and small gated suburban developments with no more than 300 houses.

Bow Quarter is a gated community located in the East London, England. From the mid-19th century to almost till the end of the 20th century, the Bow Quarter was the site of the famous match factory. The factory was eventually closed in 1979. The factory was redeveloped in 1988, in one of the first urban renewal projects of east London. The project consists of 19 town houses and 714 apartments spread across seven separate buildings. Most of the apartments are in former factory and office buildings. Only the "Park Buildings" were added in the mid-1990s, after the renovation of the factory building had been finished. The Bow Quarter is located in one of London's largest communal gardens with a secured environment.

Central and Eastern Europe also have their share of gated communities, even though the concentration differs among different countries (Hirt, 2012). While the phenomenon of gating has spread after the fall pf the Berlin wall, it is not completely new, since gated types of housing were popular in the Communist era (Stoyanov and Frantz, 2006). However, it is considered that gated communities of today's post-socialist countries are qualitatively different form the ones which existed during Communism because of its spread to middle- and upper income households and its popularization. The case of Poland is especially interesting as the capital itself is home to more than 400 gated communities (Gadecki, 2012), and other cities all over the country experience the emergence of gated communities as well.

Alphaville, Sao Paulo
Photograph by Gabo Morales

Bow Quarter, London
source: https://www.unicopropertygroup.com/property/fairfield-road-bow-e3/

. . . all the aforementioned ways of preventing real or illusionary threats to the body and possessions do not assuage the sense of danger and do not suppress the fear of strangers; on the contrary, they are the most visible proof of the reality of the threat and justify the fear generated when confronted with the "stranger." The more elaborate the locks, padlocks and chains we install by day, the more terrifying the nightmares of break-ins and lootings that haunt us by night. It becomes even more difficult for us to communicate with those behind the door and to open this door.

Zygmunt Bauman

3.4
CRITICAL THINKING ON GATED COMMUNITIES

Massey (1999) applies the concept of "purified communities" by Sennett to gated communities. The concept refers to processes in which people set up walls around themselves, excluding those who are different from them. Thus, the "principle of difference" is strongly refused in favor of publicity of a "culture of sameness" (ibid). When people build walls around themselves, a sense of community is created regarding how others are expected to behave. Massey (1999) explains it as,

> *if an enclosed community imagines itself to be respectable, civilized, law-abiding, middle-class, and the like, then this is precisely because it imagines that many of those on the outside are not these things. In this way, the insulated community establishes a sense of itself from that which it is not.*

Marcuse (1995) argues that walls or partitions demonstrate social relations that are shaped by the functioning of the city. Blakely and Snyder (1997) add that, "gates send a powerful signal of exclusion to those that are unwelcome". This is as well a sign of an exclusive difference and privilege to ones who live or welcome in these exclusive enclaves. Nevertheless, enclaves are not just a reaction to social difference and fear, they actually cause and intensify segregation and polarization depend on excluding difference and strengthening fear. Fears linked with the unknown

mass of "other" are increased by separating oneself from those who are "different", hence, social divisions are widened and tolerance for diversity becomes more and more rare. Residents are likely to be socially similar and they have limited interaction with the outside of the walls (Caldeira, 2000), thus, it implies a homogeneous lifestyle with almost no contact with the "difference". Rodgers (2004) explains that spatial separation, thus, is intertwined with social exclusion.

The most typical explanation of residential differentiation or segregation underlines the socio-spatial exclusion between social groups (Schnell & Yoav, 2001). In this sense, segregation defines spatial differences between groups of individuals whose social and demographic aspects often overlap. Musterd and Ostendorf (1998) describe the relationship between segregation and social polarization as a process started by economic restructuring and globalization in developed industrial countries, that has caused to growing social polarization "that is, a growth in both the bottom end and the top end of the socio-economic distribution, for example an increase in the proportion of households with low skills or low income (many of whom are immigrants) and at the same time an increase in the pro-portion of people who are highly skilled or the number of households with high incomes".

After all, it can be said that gated communities that promise to protect their residents from crime and fears of loss of property values, loss of status and exclusivity make wealthy residents imagine that they can leave the disobedient, dangerous areas of the cities behind (Caldeira, 2000).

Where urban identity is increasingly shaped by urban consumption areas such as recreational areas, art, theatre and theme parks, it is the wealth and income that are available for the elite, which leads to increasingly polarized cities. Even if the elites and middle classes have possibility to enjoy these services, it does not mean that they are the only representative of urban lifestyle. On the contrary, city embraces many different lifestyles. These different styles are accompanied by increasing inequalities of income and wealth between the cities and their citizens. As Latham (2003) says, the elite exclude themselves from the "undesirables", "deviants" and the "poor" by building gated communities, shopping malls and other structures that are protected by the new technologies.

The "enclaves" are not connected either to public streets or to the buildings and institutions around. The relationship they build with the remaining of the city and the public life is a relationship of "avoidance" (Caldeira, 1996). Therefore, the elite no longer use the public streets as "spaces of sociability", they nowadays want to prevent social street life from entering their "enclaves". According to Caldeira (1996), private enclaves and the segrega-

tion they produce reject many of the basic elements that formed the "modern experience" of public life: "primacy of streets and their openness; free circulation of crowds and vehicles; impersonal and anonymous encounters of the pedestrian; unprogrammed public enjoyment and congregation in streets and squares; and the presence of people from different social backgrounds strolling and gazing at those passing by, looking at store windows, shopping, and sitting in cafes, joining political demonstrations or using spaces especially designed for the entertainment of the masses such as promenades, parks, stadiums, exhibitions."

On the other hand, Dinzey-Flores (2013) discusses the topic from another perspective: "the concentration of class and racial privilege in suburbs, fortressed enclaves, securitized buildings, and private islands takes place alongside the spatial concentration of poverty in ghettos, favelas, and barrios." Residential gates for the wealthy have also raised gates for the poor, for example in "favelas" in Brazil, in South African towns, peripheral urban settlements for migrants in China and in some public housing projects in the United States. Built environment categorizes and segregates people, both physically and symbolically separating communities from each other. It is decided whether one is kept inside or left outside by one's class, race and gender. In both types of gated communities, movement in and out is restricted by controlled access points. Yet, the experiences in gated communities of the rich and the poor are completely different (ibid).

As an example,   Extensión Alhambra, that seems like an American suburb, was designed as a special community for middle and upper-middle income families in Ponce, Puerto Rico. It was open to everybody when it was built at the beginning of 1970s. But in 1993, residents have benefitted from the law of 1987, which allowed communities to build gates for safety reasons. In a very close location to Extensión Alhambra, on the other hand, there is a different type of gated community called Dr. Manuel de la Pila, with twenty low-rise residential buildings and 906 units in total, constitutes the largest public housing project in the city. When Dr. Pila was first built, it was open to all like Extensión Alhambra. But in 1994, two years later than the management of public housing developments had been taken by a private company, the developments were "rescued" or "occupied" by national guards and police which led the arrestment of the residents, as well as the establishment of fences and police outposts.

Thanks to the "privileged" gates of Extensión Alhambra, residents can find themselves in a secure and idyllic community, with newly privatized street and sidewalks which are limited to authorized community members who can choose who is allowed inside or not (Dinzey-Flores, 2013). In the poor community of Dr. Pila, instead, movements of the residents are controlled by the

government and the private guards. Thus, while the gates of Extensión Alhambra allow its wealthy residents to apply more political and social influence on their "territory", behind the gates of Dr. Pila, power of residents are reduced. "In privileged communities, gates lock undesirables out; in poor communities, they lock them in" (ibid). But no matter what, gates are built to serve the benefits of the upper classes in both cases.

Another interesting case takes place in China. While gated villages in China have been the symbols of wealth; places with villa-style homes that rich can afford, along with private schools, swimming pools and facilities. But now China establishes gated communities for low-income groups which are usually consisted of migrant workers from the countryside. "The newly erected fences and nighttime curfews are designed to hold in the residents, and the criminality that supposedly emanates from these communities" says MacKinnon (2010). 16 villages around Beijing are being locked down at night at 11 p.m. until 6 a.m. the next morning and the residents are sealed in. It is a program called "sealed management" by local authorities that say the goal is to have a better management of millions of migrant workers who have moved to Beijing to search for a job and usually ended up living in poor, dirty and increasingly growing villages. Another goal is to control the increasing crime which is commonly accused of the flow of migrant workers in Beijing.

It shows that gates divide adjacent neighborhoods, make class distinctions, limit social distances and section identities. As Dinzey-Flores (2013) says, "gates position and remind specific bodies of their rightful place, delineating identities and neighborhood limits and discouraging movement. They also remind people that public housing is dangerous.

Security policies have become a popular way of dispelling feelings of insecurity all over the world. Security guards and cameras, metal detectors, and gates in residential and public areas categorize and divide city dwellers.

Community gates indicate and recreate profound social inequalities. For the wealthy, the public is becoming more privatized; and for the poor, the private area is becoming more subject to public control. Social activities for both are limited to the family unit and to intimate and private spaces. Those who can afford this, live alone; however, those with less opportunities are subject to observation, control and surveillance in the places they inhabit. "This bunker mentality diminishes the spontaneity of public life" (Dinzey-Flores, 2013).

Residencial Dr. Pila, Ponce, Puerto Rico
source: https://commons.wikimedia.org

Daxing District, Beijing
source:https://www.theglobeandmail.com/ news

Social Inequality, As Seen From The Sky (2018), Johnny Miller
Johannesburg, South Africa

04

THE CASE OF TURKEY

. . . they were the "peasants in the city" and constituted a subculture . . . they were transforming everyday life in the city, making the city their own. Yet, in the eyes of the "real" Istanbulites, they always remained the "other."

Birsen Gökçe

4.1
URBANIZATION DYNAMICS

The beginning of the urbanization process in Turkey can be traced back to the early 19th century. Parallel to the increasing relationships with the West and the beginning of the capitalist process, both an increase in urban population and the transformations on the structure of the cities started to occur. Indeed, the insufficiency of the traditional structure of the city administration and the establishment of municipalities in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century are the results of these changes (Tekeli, 1982).

After the War of Independence, when the replacement of Turkish Republic with the Ottoman Empire happened in 1923, this process has continued albeit with some changes. The new Republic rejected a foreign-dependent economy and its spatial organization. As a result, the capital has been relocated in Ankara and a railway program that would integrate its domestic market has been implemented. According to Tekeli (1982), parallel to this, a "national bourgeoise" and its "Western" culture and way of life were aimed to be created. In the creation of this "culture", municipalities and urban planning have been given some significant duties by the "Municipality Law" enacted in 1930. According to this law, municipality has been defined as a legal authority that is responsible of regulating and meeting the common and civil needs of the town and its people. Some of these duties were to

Table 1: The proportion and growth of urban - rural population

Years	Urban population	%	Rural population	%
1927	3 305 879	24,2	10 342 391	75,8
1935	3 802 642	23,5	12 355 376	76,5
1940	4 346 249	24,4	13 474 701	75,6
1945	4 687 102	24,9	14 103 072	75,1
1950	5 244 337	25,0	15 702 851	75,0
1955	6 927 343	28,8	17 137 420	71,2
1960	8 859 731	31,9	18 895 089	68,1
1965	10 805 817	34,4	20 585 604	65,6
1970	13 691 101	38,5	21 914 075	61,5
1975	16 869 068	41,8	23 478 651	58,2
1980	19 645 007	43,9	25 091 950	56,1
1985	26 865 757	53,0	23 798 701	47,0
1990	33 326 351	59,0	23 146 684	41,0
2000	44 006 274	65,0	23 797 653	35,0

Table 2: Annual growth rate of total and urban population in Turkey (1927-2000)

Periods	Total population growth ‰	Urban population growth ‰
1927-1935	21,1	17,5
1935-1940	19,6	26,7
1940-1945	11,0	15,1
1945-1950	21,7	22,5
1950-1955	27,7	55,6
1955-1960	28,5	49,2
1960-1965	24,6	39,7
1965-1970	25,2	47,3
1970-1975	25,0	41,7
1975-1980	20,6	30,5
1980-1985	24,8	62,6
1985-1990	21,7	43,1
1990-2000	18,3	26,8

issue a building license, to arrange the streets and squares of the city in accordance with a plan, to set up squares and marketplaces, to construct structures such as piers and bridges in the zone of the municipality.

This urbanization process, which lasted from the beginning of the 19th century till the end of the Second World War, was quite slow. The main feature of the pre-1950s is that there was no strong urbanization movement throughout the country. For this reason, urbanization could be controlled and was not considered as a problem.

After the Second World War, in the period between 1950-1980, urbanization started to be seen as a social problem with the increase in the rate of urbanization by around 6 percentage and a change in its character accordingly. The urban population also increased significantly with the rapid urbanization process. While the share of the urban population in the country's population was at a very low level of 25% in 1950, this ratio reached 31.9% in 1960 and 43.9% in 1980 (Table 1). The fact that the urban population ratio, which increased from 24% to only 25% in the period from 1927 to 1950, reached the level of 29% in 1955 and 32% in 1960 clearly shows the acceleration gained by urbanization after 1950. At the beginning of the 1950s, while 75% of the country's population used to live in rural areas in Turkey, the relocation decision

of this large mass has been significantly affected by the changes occurring in the agricultural sector. In this period, the country's economy, which was limited to domestic markets before the Second World War, initiated the process of foreign expansion, especially with an emphasis on agricultural mechanization. While a rapid modernization was achieved in agriculture on the one hand, important steps were taken to develop a highway-dominated transport system rather than a railway-dominated (Tekeli, 1998).

In addition to these changes in the agricultural field, the death rate has decreased as a result of the application of medical technology and extensive public health programs. Thus, a period of high population growth began to be experienced. The rapid population growth in rural areas, the effect of mechanization and the imbalances in land distribution were the main factors that pushed the rural population to the cities after 1950 (Peker, 1999).

Urbanization, which has accelerated since 1950, had continued in the 1960-1970 period. The urban population, which was 8,859,731 in 1960, increased to 13,691,101 in 1970 with an increase of 43,5 per thousand. The urban population growth, which was 52.4 per thousand in the 1950-1960 period, declined to 39.7 per thousand in the first half of the 1960-1970 period, and increased to 47.3 per thousand in the 1965-1970 period (Table 2). Labor migration to European countries, especially to Germany, caused the decline

in urban population growth in the period 1960-1970, by creating another option for the rural population.

The years between 1970-1980 was the period when the rate of urbanization in Turkey has decreased to the lowest level after 1950. The urban population, which increased by 52,4 per thousand in the 1950-1960 period and 43,5 per thousand in the 1960-1970 period, decreased to 36,1 per thousand between the years 1970-1980. Despite this decline in the population growth rate, the urban population, which continued to increase in absolute terms, reached 19,645,007 in 1980 (Table 1). The decrease in the rate of development, and the economic problems experienced with the recession of the investments, were the reasons for the remarkable decline in the rate of urbanization during 1970-1980.

The economic level and administrative organization were not ready to solve the problems caused by the rapid urbanization. Another serious issue, "housing problem", has therefore emerged as a result of this period. The strategy that Turkey has followed for the housing problem will be discussed in detail in later sections. In the early years of the search for solutions to the problems of the urbanization, there was a tendency to see urbanization as a "preventable displacement", in this period people believed that the displacement of peasant from rural to the city could be stopped (Tekeli, 1982). However, the immigration rapidly continued and newcomers began to build illegal settlements because of the lack of housing provision. These people "who did not belong to the city" were considered as a problem. Thus, preventing these people from moving to the city and; not ignoring and demolition of the illegal settlements were the solutions for those who examined urbanization in this way. However, since they did not try to grasp the social reasons of the transformation that caused the phenomenon of urbanization and the motives of the immigrants; they could not propose effective solutions and the urbanization and the construction of slums, hence, continued to grow.

The continuous growth of the urbanization phenomenon has proved the inadequacy of the conceptualizations of the early years. Thus, scholars tried to leave the superficial descriptions behind and carefully understand the reasons of the urbanization. This is how the famous description "the urban was appealing, while the rural was pushing" appeared as a result of these new attempts. The debate over time, "is it the rural pushing too much or the city is more appealing?" became (Tekeli, 1982). According to the scholars, finding out the answer would determine the measures to be taken. No matter which argument was accepted, the solution ended up in taking measures in the rural. Both sides agreed that the solution to reduce the number of people coming to the city would be increasing the number of social services in the rural area with the measures to be taken in the rural produc-

tion system. This solution, as well, could not be efficient in solving the problem.

While the number of people coming to the city continued to increase, they started to play an active role in the political process with their votes. The question was not anymore whether they come or not; they had already come to the city and settled. The question became what would happen to those who came.

With this question, the new perspectives seeing the problem as the cultural difference of those who come to the city, started to appear. Those who have always lived in the city stigmatized the new comers as "peasants in the city" and saw them as a threat to urban life. According to them, their privilege should have been preserved. This theory of cultural difference reduced the solution of urbanization and migration into a matter of "time" that is needed for peasants to adapt to urban life. It was thought that in time, they would learn about the urban culture and they would cease to be a problem. Their slums, thus, were no longer an issue of order, but an issue of cultural difference that would disappear by itself by time. However, over time, this duality in cultural structure continued to exist. Thus, it began to be accepted that the duality is not a cultural problem, but a structural one. The duality in urban areas, started to be perceived as a consequence of the development process of the country. Tekeli states that in a country trying to develop with an imported technology within the market mechanism, a "modern segment" has been formed in rural and urban areas during the development process. This segment has the organized and capital-intensive jobs. But the growth rate of this modern segment was not enough for providing job opportunities to the entire labor supply in the cities or villages, which caused the emergence of a "marginal segment". This marginal segment, on the contrary, shows a growth that cannot evolve over time.

On the other hand, urbanization movements that emerged until 1980, continued after 1980 as well. As a matter of fact, the urban population in Turkey, which was 1,645,007 in 1980, recorded a high increase of 54.5 per thousand and exceeded thirty three million in 1990 (Table 1). When the urban population growth, which was 62.6 per thousand in 1980-1985 period, decreased to 43.1 per thousand in the 1985-1990 period and to 26.8 per thousand between 1990 and 2000 (Table 2). Despite the decrease in the growth of the rate of the urban population, population exceeded forty four million in 2000 and its share in the population increased to 65% (Table 1).

Above, the understanding of urbanization phenomenon in Turkey and how it was evolved by time is given in general terms. Urbanization process that Turkey has been through, urban policies and housing practices will be examined in the next sections in a more detailed way.

Currently, the low income group's access to housing is an important problem, and government policies remain inadequate in this direction. In Turkey, it is not the lower-middle income groups' actual need of housing that shapes the housing market, but the demand and preferences of the high-income groups.

Leyla Alkan

4.2

URBAN PLANNING AND HOUSING PRACTICES

It can be said that the general principles and features of today's urban management were determined by the developments between the years 1930-1935. The fact that the financial sector was not developed enough to meet the financing needs of the state at that time, and the high costs of loans from commercial banks made it necessary to establish a bank that would mobilize public resources in the 1930s (Serter, 2015). The first sign of the establishment of the Bank of Municipalities can be found in the Municipality Law enacted in 1930. Following this, the main aim of the bank, which was established in 1933, was to provide the finance needed by the local governments. In the same days, all municipalities were obliged to prepare zoning plans in accordance with the Municipality Law. On the other hand, with the Law of Municipal Zoning Committees enacted in 1935, municipalities were provided a platform that they can use as a legal basis while performing their duties. In addition, with the law enacted for the architecture and engineering profession, building construction in the cities was left solely to the professionals with diplomas. According to Tekeli, when the Municipality Law, Bank of Municipalities and the Law of Municipal Zoning Committees of the 1930s are interpreted as a whole, it is seen that local administrations were charged with a wide range of rights of duties. However, a consistent and a sufficient income could not be provided and

the important breakthroughs that could be made with the rights granted to the municipalities were largely left under the control of the central administration through financing. The central administration has a strong authorization of approval in planning and technical issues, as well as tutelage over the municipal administration.

Before the Second World War, the aim of Turkish Republic was to form a suitable city for the "national bourgeoisie" way of living that intended to be created for the urban population. Despite the limited financial and labor resources, important steps were taken in the construction of urban infrastructure and ensuring services provided by the municipality are not disrupted. After Second World War, on the other hand, Turkey has faced an urbanization it had never been seen. The cities experienced the problems of rapid growth due to the lack of infrastructure. According to Tekeli, what needs to be done in such a situation is the financial strengthening of local governments in a way that they can solve the problems caused by rapid urbanization, and formation of new organizations.

Some significant arrangements were taken place in this period in order to improve the conditions. First one was the establishment of Iller Bank in 1945 with the Law No. 4759. With the law, which was enacted in a period when the phenomenon of rapid urbanization was not yet perceived by the society, an institution was established to provide technical services and financing to municipalities in planning and infrastructure projects by merging the Municipalities Bank and Municipal Development Committees (Tekeli, 2009). The second arrangement was the Law on Municipal Revenues, enacted in 1948. Although this law increased the revenues of the municipalities to a certain extent, it was very insufficient against the resource requirements of the transformation. The third was the establishment of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects in 1959 with the Law No. 6235. The enactment of the Zoning Law No. 6875 in 1956 was the fourth arrangement. According to Tekeli (2009), this law is actually the law of the new planning approach that has begun to develop in the world. It also reflects the search for an answer to the zoning problems of growing cities by carrying planning beyond the municipal boundaries to adjacent areas.

These developments, however, did not make any significant changes in the structure of urban administration, neither in its opportunities.

Making new arrangements for the placement of newcomers means making new investments to a large extent and shifting the investments to be used for the development of production to the area of the placement arrangements. However, both political and economic situation in Turkey was not enough to carry out these investments. This condition explains why radical transformations have not been made in the local level.

Despite having a very large geographical size, political and administrative structures of Turkey have remained fairly central in the most part of its modern history. "The system of centralized polity based on a unitary state and statist policy making processes characterize Turkey's tradition of statehood says Ertugal (2010). As a result of the central government, two levels shape the regional public administration of Turkey: central and local. Ertugal (2010) states that a regional level of public administration has not been established for fear that the larger geographic area of a region may include a dominant ethnic group that endangers the unity and security of the nation. The local level consists of eighty one provinces ruled by a dual-structure. On the one hand, there are provincial administrations headed by centrally designated governors who also manage directly elected local assemblies. On the other hand, there are directly selected (metropolitan) municipalities, whose sizes and numbers differ from province to province base on population size.

In the two-level system of Turkey, because local level was incapable of finding solutions to the problems of rapid urbanization and immigration, the search for solutions , thus, was transferred from local administrations to the central administration. Because as it was mentioned before, municipalities were given many duties and rights with the Municipality Law in the 1930s. The formation caused by the transfer of authorization from local administration to the central, took place in between 1958 and 1963 in Turkey. The establishment of Ministry of Development and Housing in 1958, the initiation of regional planning studies and finally the institutionalization of state planning are the examples to this process. In practice, they could not find a solution to the problem of urbanization, instead, they caused local administrations to become powerless against central administration.

The impoverishment of the local government and the increase in central control has its meaning in terms of the capitalization process in Turkey (Tekeli, 1982). In this way, the funds that the country can spend on the urban infrastructure and urbanization process can be kept to a minimum and can only be shifted to the critical areas foreseen by those who supervise this process. Moreover, accepting the existence of slums, an important stored labor is created, as well as cheapening the reproduction of labor by accepting the low living conditions of this group.

As it was mentioned before, the population growth rate and urbanization rate has remained low during the period from the establishment of Turkish Republic until the Second World War. Under these conditions, individual house-building system was sufficient to meet the housing needs of the society. In this period, Tekeli (1983) says that the only intervention made by the state to the housing supply was to rearrange the individual house-building system in a modernist approach.

The new arranged individual house-building system can be described as the process of those who want to own a house, buy a plot and obtain a permission from the municipality for the implementation of the project prepared by the relevant technical worker; after the permission, they build the house by subcontractors or small producers and finally start living after getting a residence permit from the municipality. This system could not provide sufficient housing supply for the increasing demand as a result of rapid urbanization. One of these reasons is that the organizer of this process is the owner of the property who will do construction only once, although he receives professional support. The other, more important, during the post-war period of rapid urbanization, in a system that could not supply adequate zoning, the urban middle classes lost the opportunity to build housing by paying the price of a parcel of land due to the rapid increase in urban land prices.

Two new forms of housing supply developed after the Second World War . These are the illegally developed gecekondu (slum) settlements and another form of improvised housing production called as "build and sell" (Enlil,2011). Groups that migrated from rural areas to cities without regular employment, with low and fluctuating family income and who could not fulfill the bureaucratic procedures of the house construction, have begun to build gecekondus, at the beginning mostly on the public lands close to the labor market. The lack of formal and institutionalized welfare mechanisms in Turkey could not produce adequate housing options for the new comers. For those in the lowest income, low-middle income and even the middle income, residing in a gecekondu represented the only option since rural migration started (Leitmann and Baharaoglu, 1996). The importance of gecekondu dwellers as voters enabled them to be legalized with the amnesties issued on different dates since 1948. In these amnesties, gecekondus that were built in certain areas for a certain period of time were given. With the Gecekondu Law enacted in 1966, on the other hand, it was accepted that these groups could be subject to different zoning rules.

It was observed that the housing conditions along with the in-frastructure have improved in gecekondu neighborhoods whose condition in the city was guaranteed with the law or amnesties. According to Tekeli (1983), gecekondu was no longer just a shelter for the poor segment of the society but has become an investment tool. An attempt to solve the problems caused by rapid urbanization and the inadequacy of housing supply was allowing the construction of apartment blocks and flat ownership possible. A system that can bring together those who want to own a house and a legal regulation that allows an apartment block to be built on a plot, with each floor owned separately, were needed. Correspondingly, two systems have emerged: a small entrepreneurship called as "build and sell" and housing cooperatives.

"Build and sell" included a unique alliance between urban land owners and small capital owners or contractors without any capital other than their capacity of organizing, acting as intermediaries between the landowner and potential buyers (Enlil, 2011). Since the landowners did not have the means to initiate a costly construction of a larger building; and the entrepreneurs were without enough capital to purchase urban land and construct a building on I, landowners and the entrepreneurs came to an agreement in which they put their limited resources together. The landowner would get a certain number of flats and the entrepreneur would get the rest depending on the agreement.

In the meanwhile, the Condominium Law, first enacted in 1958 and amended in 1965, gave rise to the construction of new apartment blocks. Enlil (2011) states that "the traditional urban fabric, with many wooden houses and mansions, was largely torn down to make way for much denser neighborhoods composed of concrete and steel reinforced apartment buildings, which were deemed to be modern and more convenient to live in."

Housing cooperatives, developed as an alternative to the build and sell has gained a certain importance since the Social Insurance Institution funds were allowed to be used only for the cooperatives after the 1960s. Ten percent of housing built in Turkey during this period were financed through these funds. Housing cooperatives were encouraged to answer the housing demand of middle and lower-middle income families.

None of the housing supplies, whether from build and sell or from housing cooperatives, could improve the quality of life and produce qualified environments (Tekeli, 1983). Mass housing construction as a strategy was first proposed in the Second Five-Year Plan in 1967. Although the state is the most important institution that can realize an initiative of this scale, it was the private sector and local administrations that started it.

Building density increased in the 1970s, middle-high income developments were spreading, while low-income settlements continued to grow in and at the periphery of the center. The urban

Building History through a Photograph, 2013
News by Serkan Ocak

The photo represents the history of irregular urbanization of Turkey: a *gece-kondu* built in the 1950s, a apartment block which was transformed from a single-storey *gecekondu* by its owner over time, the apartment block of the middle-class families, residential tower that has become the new trend, and a demolition site without control.

land market has become the main sector of the urban economy, benefitting all social and economic groups (Öncü, 1988).

By enacting mass housing laws, this process could only be legalized in the early 1980s. After the Mass Housing Law enacted in 1984, financial support was provided with the Mass Housing Fund, which was developed independently of the national budget, and the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) was developed with the objective of participating in housing production.

After the attempt to adopt the process of mass housing in Turkey in the second half of the 1970s, the character of gecekondu process as well has changed. Multi-storey apartment blocks began to be built in gecekondu areas in those years. Some of these are apartment blocks developed by slum owners themselves over time and the others are the ones built and sold by small entrepreneurs. The "general pardon for unauthorized constructions", issued in 1984, gave legal titles to squatters built on public land without permits. Unlike the previous ones, it has gone beyond being an amnesty to provide security for gecekondu owners, it has become a project of transforming gecekondus and giving gecekondu owners a share of urban rent. Such a change in the character of the gecekondu amnesty brought with it the pardon for the illegal buildings constructed in the zoned areas of the cities. The meaning of the zoning arrangement, therefore, has been completely lost (Tekeli, 1983).

When the housing production is evaluated from the quantitative point of view, it can be seen that together with the illegal construction, there is enough number of houses compared with the needs. Tekeli (1983) adds that the numbers do not only meet the needs of population growth, but also the demands of the population's speculative investment-oriented behaviour. However, because the housing supply is not distributed in accordance with the ability of different groups to pay and there are not variety of ways to meet the demand for housing; it can be said that the housing problem in Turkey is not quantitative, but qualitative.

One of the most striking point about the housing problem in Turkey's conditions is the lack of equality in opportunity in access to housing for different income groups (Alkan and Uğurlar, 2015). While it is possible to observe a continuous and direct relationship between income and home ownership in the countries with developed financial systems, such a relationship is not observed in Turkey. Homeownership is mostly under the influence of the dynamics such as ownership of land, money or properties inherited from parents; rather than having a regular income. Thus, if there is no property or money inherited from previous generation family members, it becomes very difficult to own a house for lower income groups.

According to Alkan and Uğurlar (2015), another issue that needs

to be discussed is the regulations needed to be made in the tenancy sector. When the history of housing policy is examined, it is seen that the main objective is to support homeownership. Although there are studies regarding the production of social rental housing during the period 1960s and 1970s when the social welfare policies were effective, it can be said that the supply of social rental housing was very limited and almost negligible. After 1980s, with the effect of neoliberal policies, the limited amount of social rental housing supply has been run short. The housing problem of the lower income group, therefore, who cannot afford to buy a house and have no choice other than renting, has gradually increased.

While it is possible to observe a part of the society that can easily change their houses and can access to any housing at any time of their lives, there is another part of the society that cannot own housing as the "basic shelter" (ibid). In this scenario, it is the main goal of the market to reach the demands of the rich group of the society by providing different housing typologies with a variety of features. It increases the competition between different projects and causes different solutions for rent to occur in different areas of the city. While the increasing level of urban rent causes a rise in housing prices, it reduces the possibility of the poor part of the society to acquire a house.

Increasing housing prices and urban rent in different areas lead to a spatial segregation within the whole city. Some areas become "popular" for housing projects and attract high-cost developments; consequently, housing prices continuously increase in these areas. For the other areas, the situation can be the opposite. The individuals are grouped with those who have similar economic conditions in the city. While certain neighborhoods in Turkey, especially in big cities, emerge as areas where high income groups live, other neighborhoods with lower housing prices are preferred by lower income groups.

The Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) carries over . . . gigantic 'projects' all over Turkey with an unrivalled budget and builds mass housings on the outskirts of cities. With their depressing environments and tasteless building quality, the high-rise mass housing units are reminiscent of similar areas in western world that are the subject of rehabilitation projects now or demolished altogether.

Tansel Korkmaz & Eda Ünlü Yücesoy

4.3
THE IMPACT OF TOKI ON THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

The establishment of TOKI (Mass Housing Administration of Turkey), shortly mentioned above, needs to be analyzed more deeply in order to understand the production of space that happened in Turkey, especially after 2000s.

The early 2000s can be considered as a "threshold", where radical and economic changes took place in Turkey (Deneç, 2014). After coming to power in 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) adopted a strategy of creating new resources by privatizing public assets. Accordingly, the large land stock of the state and valuable real estate properties are marketed intensively to the private sector (Kuyucu, 2009). Another reflection of this strategy is urban transformation projects that are radically changing the economic, social and physical structures of cities. These transformation projects will be analyzed in the following sections.

Keyder (2011) says that, as a result of the neoliberal policies adopted by the city administrations in recent years, the interests of private capital over urban space have gained an overwhelming weight against public interest. To do this, TOKI has been restructured and has become the most powerful agent in the remaking of real-estate markets and the construction sector to handle the crisis, which took place in 2001 and today considered as the biggest economic crisis in the history of Turkey (Pierini 2013). TOKI was given enormous privileges and authorizations. Today, TOKI

alone, has both financial and political power to shape the housing sector in Turkey (Keyder, 2011).

TOKI was established as a non-profit organization in 1984, within a concern over housing problem. Regulating the housing sector, preventing further gecekondu constructions and finding solutions to the housing shortages of low and middle income groups were the main establishment purposes.

The Autonomous Mass Housing Fund, which was established with the Mass Housing Law No. 2985 in 1984, was the primary financing source of TOKI. The policy of the administration in its early years was to revive housing production by supporting co-operatives through loaning. However, by the rise in the interest rates, the policy of loaning was interrupted at the end of 1980s.

TOKI remained active from the 1990s until the 2001 economic crisis when TOKI suffered two major blows. One of these was the cancellation of the Mass Housing Fund and the bankruptcy of "Emlak Bank", which was a public bank specialized in real estate. The removal of these foundations which played a critical role in providing state-led housing loans to the lower-middle income group, caused TOKI's financial resources to be severely restricted and to become almost dysfunctional.

At the beginning of the 2000s, from the financial perspective, Turkey was in a deep economic crisis (Ökte, 2010). From the physical perspective, on the other hand, it had a low quality building stock, as revealed by the 1999 Marmara earthquake. 7.6 moment magnitude earthquake which caused the deaths of nearly eighteen thousand people, is one of the most important events which deeply influenced the recent history of Turkey. More than one hundred thousand buildings had been destroyed, and approximately six hundred thousand people had been left homeless. In such a framework, the conditions for taking radical steps in housing production were favorable for the AKP, which came to power in 2002. The concept of urban transformation has thus entered in the local administrative literature. With the intensification of discussions around the earthquake threat, urban transformation was introduced as an obligation and an unavoidable process (Yılmaz, 2013).

"The Emergency Action Plan for Housing and Urban Development" was passed on January 2003, setting a five-year objective of construction of 250.000 housing units through renovation, transformation and production of qualified housing (TOKI). According to Kuyucu (2010), one of the most important points of these decisions is that the government changed its policy of involvement in the process by supporting small/ medium scale actors of the housing market with loans and funds. Within the framework of the Emergency Action Plan, the government aimed to eliminate informal actors by directly intervening in the hous-

ing market, to prevent the production of slums and to create a housing market targeted to the lower-middle income groups and produced by the state. In this direction, TOKI's legal, administrative and financial capacities were significantly increased and it became the strongest real estate developer in the country. TOKI has gained autonomy in implementation and decision-making mechanisms by being directly affiliated to the Prime Ministry and possessing a legal infrastructure that allows it to make any kind of intervention on large urban areas.

TOKI acquired more power with the Law No. 5162, "Expropriation and Making Development Plan in Gecekondu Transformation Applications", which was enacted in 2004. TOKI has extended its authority to realize urban renewal projects with the Law No. 5366 on "Protection and Renewal of Damaged Historical and Cultural Property and their Usage to Keep Them Alive", enacted in 2005. Under this law, municipalities and TOKI are authorized to realize urban renewal projects in historical or ecological areas. Additionally, the preservation authority for Historical Peninsula of Istanbul has been transferred from the UNESCO World Heritage to Preservation Committee of Istanbul. According to Yılmaz (2013), this law works almost as a "guideline" for understanding how to demolish and reconstruct buildings in protected zones, how to send the residents inhabiting in these areas to the social housing projects in the peripheries of the city through TOKI. Finally, with Law No. 6306 on the "Transformation of Areas Under Catastrophe Risk", issued in 2012, the destruction and reconstruction of not only urban areas but also all other areas from forests to military which are declared to be "under catastrophe risk" is at stake.

With the transfer of the stocks of public institutions such as Building Land Office and Emlak Bank which were closed, TOKI gained significant land stock. Ünal (2011) adds that with its powers, TOKI is able to:

- Form partnership with private construction companies and involve in the construction and selling processes of houses for profit
- Prepare zoning plans in public urban areas under the name of "urban renewal" and "urban transformation"
- Take over the state urban land at no cost with the approval of the prime ministry
- Have the authority to include private properties in their projects through expropriation when necessary.

After all the amendments and regulations to empower TOKI, the institution became the main decision maker in the housing system and the actor of the market.

There are two different financial models applied by TOKI in the project production process. The first model is the "bidding meth-

od" adopted for the construction of social housing for the lower income group. In this model, TOKI takeovers the public land without charge and bids its housing projects in possession on a lump sum price method. When the construction is completed, TOKI supervises the placement of beneficiaries to the residences through long-term and low-interest indebtment. Inhabitants of low-income housing are generally low-income citizens living in gecekondus and displaced by urban transformation projects.

The second financial model is the "revenue sharing" in which TOKI makes a joint project with a partner from the private sector on the land that TOKI acquired free of charge, sells it to private individuals and shares its revenue. The contractor is determined by the biddings arranged by TOKI. The revenue sharing model is applied especially in big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara due to the high land value. Production of the project and the construction process is carried out and financed by the contractor firm, TOKI does not get involved in these processes (Ünal, 2011).

Mass housing project for low and middle-income groups built by TOKI
Photograph by Paul Short, 2014

High-income group housing project built by TOKI with revenue sharing model
source: http://www.emlakkonut.com.tr/tr-TR/projeler

Beginning in the 1950s, Istanbul itself has been the largest mega project of Turkey.

Mücella Yapıcı

4.4

NEOLIBERAL POLICIES AND EMERGENCE OF GATED COMMUNITIES

In the 1970s, when neoliberal policies began to be effective in the urban space, significant changes took place in urban practices and capitalism aiming at the accumulation of capital, started to use urbanization as a tool for the continuity of capital (Harvey, 2012). In order to absorb the surplus of the capital produced in order to sustain the existence of capitalism, and to find solutions to the problem of unemployment, urban investments, especially real estate, have been accepted as the leading sector which have increased rapidly.

In the world, as well in Turkey, in the post-1980 period when started the implementation of neoliberal policies, changes in corporate restructuring about urbanization, financial support of TOKI to the housing sector, authorization of municipality administrations to develop zoning plans, the development of the transportation infrastructure and increase in the automobile usage, caused changes in the housing supply and housing provision techniques. With the neoliberal policies that affected urban practices as well, the intervention of the state in the housing sector decreased, and the private sector and market economy stood out in housing production (Özdemir Sarı, 2015).

Another consequence on the shift of the balance from government to the private sector was the inequality in income distribu-

tion. According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2005), the passive role of the government in the economy adversely affected low income groups and also ended efforts to reconcile different groups and reduce the social tension between them. Society has entered a process of polarization at an unprecedented level. The increasing gap between the rich and the poor began a differentiation with clear boundaries at the spatial level during the 1990s.

After the 2000s, the public sector in Turkey, has begun to play an important role in the production of housing and built environment; it has made urbanization and housing activities the main policies of the country and has considered production of housing and built environment as a power that reduces the unemployment and ensures economic stability. With the mobilization of the housing production and urban transformation, which has become the state policy, new housing constructions has been supported in the empty lands, as well as in the built-up areas, gecekondu neighborhoods and in the preserved historical sites (Sarı Özdemir, 2015).

Urban development and planning in Turkey has not been developed according to the needs and demands of different user groups, but to the capital-oriented, large urban projects targeted by neoliberal policies (Penbecioğlu, 2016). With the state's reduction of the restraints on land supply and urban development, as well as the housing loans and the support of the media, capital owners went towards housing investments. Housing has become the main tool of the economy rather than being considered as a need. Today the meaning of housing is valued in terms of prestigious areas with shopping malls, health, cultural and educational facilities, which is isolated from the city and surrounded by a luxurious life style, rather than being considered as a shelter. Wealthy households are no longer buying a "house" or "shelter"; but they are buying a new "way of life" and "social status and identity" (Kılıç and Ayataç, 2015). The media and the housing sector support the housing typology which deepens social segregation with its clear physical boundaries and similar social classes living in, and eliminates the concept of public use (Bauman,2013). Media aim to direct surplus accumulation to the housing by presenting the house as a safe, luxurious and privileged life, a prestige area and natural living environment to the audience.

City life has become a commodity that appeals the high income group. While it is argued that everything can be bought and sold, including land, nature, labor, culture, identity and even social relations, it is aimed to obtain rent even from the things that are not produced as a commodity tool. In other words, with neoliberalism, the boundary of commodification is expanded; and even labor, land, nature and money become tools of commodities (Harvey, 2012). Avcı goes further and says that fake urban spaces are created by the imitation of urban images with historical and cultural memory, and architecture and culture are used as commodities in marketing the urban space.

Initially perceived as a new dimension of the suburbanization of the modern capitalist city, gated communities, when they drew attention as closed and administratively autonomous clusters in the privatized land, it was realized that these settlements were a new phenomenon different from the typical middle-class suburbs of modern cities. Closed to the public eyes of the city, independent from the city administration and based on a kind of common private ownership, these new clusters point to a radical transformation in terms of modern urban planning, city management and urban class relationships (Kurtuluş, 2005).

New elite settlements against the middle class settlements that lost its significance began to be created and became widespread after the Second World War. In the expansion years of Fordist capitalism, the suburbs, which were the spatial expression of a desired lifestyle for the middle classes, were, in Fishman's words, a "bourgeois utopia" (1987). However, the significant changes in the income distribution against lower and middle classes with the changing economic policies since the 1970s, led traditional middle class cities to not being considered as "elite places". The "new bourgeoisie", on the other hand, has begun to move into the enclosed settlements which are presented as the living space of the new elite.

Similar to the examples in the world, enclosed settlements have started to proliferate in Turkey. The real boom took place in the late 1990s. Those were the years when the rising middle and upper-middle classes began to integrate with the global new consumption culture and their lifestyles changed (Aksoy and Robins, 1994; Öncü, 1999). Incoming of world-famous decoration magazines to the broadcasting life of Turkey, multinational advertising and promotion companies entering to the real estate market with Turkish partners, increasing number of architecture and interior design firms and the rising construction material imports were the indicators of this change. Although enclosed settlements emerged for the "new elites", they quickly began to be followed by other classes. They turned rapidly into a desired residential typology for the middle classes and constructions at lower costs were appeared.

During the 2000s, "gated communities", that had become a global phenomenon facing the social scientists and urban planners, was shaping the new form of the metropolitan areas of Turkey and bringing along the spatial rearrangement of the social relations (Kurtuluş, 2005). Neoliberal economic policies and changing development strategies in Turkey, promotes the production of export-oriented industries and the foreign investments. With-

in this framework, radical zoning implementations, legitimized by the discourse of attracting foreign capital, are paved with radical legal reforms and metropolitan areas are rapidly opened up to the construction of large-scale urban investment projects.

On the other hand, high urban rents in the city centers cause lower-middle and middle classes living in these areas to evacuate their neighborhoods. Old gecekondu areas, which have started to turn into middle class settlements with low-cost "apartmenti-zation", are faced with the demand of the classes who have to leave the city center (Yönder, 1987, 1988; Şenyapılı, 1995; Ender, 1996; Buğra, 2000). City centers, instead, are transforming with large-scale capital investments. Legal regulations that facilitate this transformation process also lead to broad speculative move-ments in urban land. Additionally, along with the new legal reg-ulations, not only the uninhabited lands are opened up for con-struction, but also forests, water retention areas and coasts.

Gated communities as one of the new symbol of global con-sumption culture, are ideal settlements that can be an indicator of their material and cultural capital for the rising classes of the city (Kurtuluş, 2005). In other words, the urban elite, who can in-crease their tangible capital thanks to new economic policies, try to complement their cultural capital with the global consumption symbols of their class.

Gated communities have emerged primarily in Istanbul and An-kara in the late 1980s. Approximately 10 years after the first ex-amples, there are nearly 200 gated communities of various sizes and costs that were completed or under construction only in Is-tanbul and Ankara in the early 2000s (Adres, 2000-2003). In the same years, this trend not only spread to other cities where there was a certain capital accumulation, but also began to replace the "cooperative summer houses" of the 1970s with "gated summer developments" with large capital investments (Seymen and Koç, 1996). The vast lands around the popular holiday towns of the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts were zoned for construction by the new legal regulations, and the construction of luxury sum-mer houses began.

The phenomenon of enclosed settlements, which became the most popular and desired type of residential for middle and up-per-middle classes, points to a new stage.

Blocks built by TOKI and the existing pattern, Istanbul
Photograph by Emrah Altınok

05

ISTANBUL AS TURKEY'S "WORLD-CITY" PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

Especially the post-1980s period includes the years when globalization and neoliberal economic policies have marked the production and labor organizations and regulation mechanisms in the world, geospatial scales and hierarchies in the world were restructured and cities were shaped within these scales and division of labor.

Thanks to the new communication tools, the importance of the borders have decreased; consequently, cities and regions started to have more intense economic and social relations with other areas, as well as evolving under the influence of external dynamics (Kurtuluş, 2005). In this period, the transformations in the geographical scale of production and in the hierarchy between cities, concepts of global city/ world city, new production processes and emerging industrial centers, new income areas in cities, new centers created by the global economy, the emergence of new classes and the segregation shaped by the spatial preferences of these classes, and thus, the redistribution of urban rent and the examination of the winners and losers in the society, are new research topics today.

Istanbul has an important place in these studies, as one of the cities where the transformations that emerged during this period, were more intense. The transformation period of neoliberal social and economic policies coincides with the period of Istanbul's enormous urbanization and its transition to mega-projects. In the years following the 1980s, it is seen that the planning principles were eroded, and the space was reorganized with the series of projects. The spatialization style, which is the manifestation of the effort to create new attraction centers for investors in metropolitan cities with singular projects, replacing the holistic planning approaches, has gained a new content in the 2000s and brought a process of change (Öztürk, 2017).

After 2000 a new era began in which urban change was clearly perceived in Istanbul and all the segments of the society were affected by this process. Although the vision of a "global city" for Istanbul is preserved, new discourses have been developed and the city has been exposed to much more radical interventions than in previous years (Kurtuluş, 2005). The government of AKP, that is very successful in taking advantages from the opportunities created by historical events, has used the reality of inevitable earthquake for Istanbul, which suffered great destructions in 1999, as a basis to legitimize all interventions in the city. Therefore, the vision of "global city" that has been preserved for years

for Istanbul, was replaced with the discourses towards the construction of a city that is "aware of the earthquake reality". Under the roof of the discourse established with the risk of earthquake, the transformation of private living spaces through expropriation was added to the privatization of public spaces, which was applied in previous periods. Even though some opposition to these transformations began to appear, it was suppressed by the earthquake threat.

According to Kurtuluş (2005), the main issue was that the government wants to get the maximum benefit from urban rent and protect its political position. The mega-projects planned to be built on the periphery of Istanbul, especially on ecological areas, were presented to the public during the election campaigns. "The superstructure of Istanbul would be redesigned within the scope of these projects which conflict with the concept of earthquake sensitive city that has been used as a tool until today"(ibid). In addition, when the recent history of Istanbul is analyzed, it can be said that the current process is not independent from the past.

Since the Ottoman period, Istanbul has been the most important city in terms of economic activities and social dynamics. It was the centre of rising industrial capital during the nationalist developmental period after the Second World War, and it experienced a large domestic migration. Istanbul rapidly began to spread outwards, especially through the expansion of gecekondu settlements near the new factories on the edges of the city. However, a new phase has started in the city with the adoption of neoliberal strategies since the mid-1980s. The growth of the peripheral gecekondu settlements have continued, but in the meanwhile, globalized commercial spaces and upper-class residential areas have begun to emerge in the city outskirts. Therefore, inequalities of income, wealth and power, expressed by spatial segregations, deepened in the country's largest metropolis (Keyder, 2005).

Istanbul has always been always been a world city. The capital of two successive Empires, Byzantine and Ottoman, Istanbul was a glorious imperial city from the fourth century to the early twentieth century. As a locus of cultural diversity, one of the merits of its urban culture was in its imperial way of cultivating modes of co-existence between different "worlds". Today, once more, it takes its place in the forefront of the global scene. Yet, as a global city, it has become an arena of excruciating inequalities and intransigent divisions.

Tansel Korkmaz & Eda Ünlü Yücesoy

5.1
THE CHANGING URBAN FORM OF ISTANBUL

THE ERA BETWEEN 1800-1950

There is a long history of policies aimed at enhancing the links between Istanbul and the dynamic industries, companies and cities that have been the source of the growth of global industry since the industrial revolution (Enlil, 2011). In the mid-nineteenth century, socio-political, economic and cultural transformations were encouraged by the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, a series of reforms were proposed in order to modernize the state and society.

The Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement in 1838, in which the Ottoman markets were integrated with the growing economies of the industrializing West, was a milestone in a series of agreements took place with various European nations. European traders obtained some privileges with these agreements and Istanbul has turned into an important attraction node in European trade networks. Correspondingly, the volume of foreign commerce increased, and "embryonic modern industries" began to be formed in Istanbul (Enlil, 2011). Important impacts of these reforms and the economic transformation can be as well seen on the cultural system. The proliferation of Western lifestyles has led to new consumption patterns and the rise of new institutions and companies that reflect these "global" influences (Çelik, 1986).

But in the second decade of the twentieth century, the situation changed strikingly. The new era has begun with the devastating collapse of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey thanks to the victory of Ataturk in 1923. Istanbul lost its former status as capital, as well as its former importance as an international trade center with the announcement of Ankara as the administrative center of the new state (Tekeli, 1992).

Revitalization of Istanbul's economy was an urgent need, yet priority was given in the construction agenda of the early years of the Republic on the rebuilding of Anatolian cities badly affected by the war, building a new capital city in Ankara, and developing connections in the country by building bridges and railways. The global Great Depression further reduced demand for the industries and the workers of Istanbul. But still, because of the new Republic's goal targeting the inner parts of the country, Istanbul could not benefit from these etatist policies (Tekeli, 1992).

Henri Prost, the French planner, was invited to develop a master plan for Istanbul's redevelopment. The approved 1939 plan foresaw a compact city and prioritized the vehicular traffic. He explained his approach as:

> *This City lives with an incredible activity. To realize the main axes of circulation without harming the commercial and industrial development, without stopping the construction of new settlements is an imperious economic and social necessity; however, to conserve and protect the incomparable landscape, dominated by glorious edifices, is another necessity as imperious as the former.*

Beginning of the 1950s, the planning context and challenge in Istanbul had become entirely different from what Prost perceived (Tekeli, 1992). The problem became the matter of managing an explosion of uncontrollable population and decreasing the city's dependence on technically illegal forms of housing and industry. Gecekondus started to be built in Istanbul from the mid-1940s and they became the primary housing source in the 1950s.

THE ERA BETWEEN 1950-1980

The institutionalization of import substitution industrialization from the early 1960s followed a short import boom in the early 1950s. It caused a burst of industrial growth, growing working-class employment, and increased migration from rural to urban. Simultaneously, the migration of the rural population from the rural areas began with the loss of employment opportunities in the rural areas of Anatolia as a result of the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture in the 1950s.

Istanbul was one of the most important centers of attraction for the displaced masses seeking job opportunities and better living conditions and became a "city of hope" for millions (Enlil, 2011). While they formed the basis of Istanbul's economic life, they also defined the particular cultural landscape of the city. With the rapid economic and population growth and the new transportation technologies, from the mid-twentieth century, urban sprawl ignoring the natural thresholds happened. Unplanned industrial developments occurred along the E-5 corridor, which is parallel to the coastline of Marmara Sea. Illegal settlements beyond any planning regulation of the urban poor and the working classes soon followed these industrial areas (Kaptan, 1988). Agricultural land surrounding Istanbul was faced with the pressures of the development.

Because no significant housing was provided by the public or private sector, the migrants had to find their own solutions by building illegal settlements mostly on public land. The limited number of public housing policies that existed were primarily targeting the needs of middle and upper-middle income groups.

Although some gecekondu settlements were destroyed occasionally by the authorities, the increase of local governments and the benefits coming from votes has led the squatter population to be re-evaluated as a support. Some amnesties, therefore, were issued to legalize the gecekondus, by granting their owners some type of property rights from time to time. Amnesties caused many home owners to start transforming their "modest" homes into more "substantial" apartment buildings (Enlil et al., 1998). Thus, the gecekondu areas were gradually "commercialized" in time, and a market controlled by "squatter lords" began to appear. Additionally, "split deed ownership", a new form of land production for residential development, was invented. With this method, agricultural land in the periphery of Istanbul were divided into small deeds and sold to newcomers.

Between 1950 and 1980, "all sectors of society rushed to build and gain something out of rising land values" said Enlil (2011). Istanbul has reached far beyond its previous borders. On the one hand, inner-city neighborhoods became more intense after being renewed without taking into account the historical urban fabric. Outer city areas, on the other hand, expanded at the expense of water basins, forests, agricultural lands.

THE ERA POST 1980s

Turkey has experienced a military coup in 1980. After the rule of military between 1980 and 1983, a number of measures supported deregulation and weakening of the state's role in order to

mobilize a free-market economy.

Three policy innovations concerning metropolitan areas was adapted by the government. First, with new legal provisions, metropolitan governments were allowed to increase their revenues by imposing new taxes and/or increasing existing ones. Thus, for cities to invest in large-scale infrastructure projects, new financial incentives were created. Second, with establishment of the Mass Housing Fund and of the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI), state funding were provided for mass housing projects (Keyder and Öncü, 1994).

Since the 1980s, national policies aimed Istanbul to become the central point of a neoliberal approach that intends to integrate the Turkish economy with global markets. Firstly, some changes began to be seen in the economic base of the city. Between 1980s and 1990, a significant transition from manufacturing to finance and services(Aksoy, 1996).

It was clear that these economic transformations also accelerated the visible transformation of urban space and made Istanbul the "showcase" of the country. Improving the city's image and branding Istanbul in international markets for business conference traffic, international organizations and tourism were part of the policy plan. The planning approval for luxury hotels, high-level office buildings and new transport nodes, thus, were encouraged. The "Act on the Promotion of Tourism", enacted in 1982, allowing the central government to proclaim certain strategic locations as "Tourism Centers", was a significant planning tool. This allowed the construction of high-rise office buildings and luxurious hotels in Istanbul (Ekinci, 1993).

Most of the urban renewal projects that had a crucial impact on this transformation were commenced between 1984-1989. The expansion of Tarlabaşı Boulevard by clearing the nineteenth-century inner-city housing, constructing wide avenues on the coastline of Marmara and the "cleansing" of industry from the shores of the Golden Horn which had been the center of import substituting industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s (Enlil, 2011).

The return to widespread neoliberal policies in the 1980s gradually had a major impact on the retail trade. The stores of the large-scale companies have replaced the small-scale traditional retailers. Shopping malls and hypermarkets started to emerge all over the city. Especially in the 2000s, international fast-food chains began to be more visible in Turkey's market. Similar trends can also be observed in other industries such as fashion. As these examples show, the economy of Istanbul is "now firmly linked to the developed economies of Europe and the rest of the world" (Tokatlı and Boyacı, 1999).

In 1980, a quite simple socio-spatial geography still dominated Istanbul. A thin zone of upper-class and upper-middle class res-

idential housing tracked the coastlines of the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus. The second zone of middle income housing grew between the first zone and the new E-5 highway. The third one developed particularly fast, beyond the E-5, containing mostly gecekondus and split-deed housing of lower-income rural migrants. After the 1980s, this pattern started to change considerably with the emergence of new socio-spatial formations and divided the city into disconnected sections (Enlil, 2005). The population continued to rise form 4.7 million in 1987, to 7.3 million in 1990, and to 10 million in 2000. Therefore, urban land has gradually become scarce and the production of housing visibly reduced. At the same time, with the neoliberal policies high-income social groups became more powerful. The Mass Housing Act, enacted in 1981, was amended by the government and was launched in anticipation of capitalizing on the new markets for privately owned housing. This was followed by a huge increase in housing production, 100.000 units were built in Istanbul by TOKI between 1984 and 1999. It caused the rapid growth of the target lands, especially along the main highways. The projects generally consisted of high-rise, very similar apartment blocks. The new model was in contrast to the "build and sell" model which had supported "piecemeal development" by small constructors on a "lot" basis (Bilgin, 1998). In the new model, on the contrary, housing was transforming into a profitable investment area for large capital. The transformation has also occurred in the social geography of Istanbul's neighborhoods. More socially homogenous housing environments have been created by the mass housing projects, as the middle-income groups, as well as gecekondu inhabitants leave their older neighborhoods and move to the mass housing projects. As middle-income groups and gecekondu dwellers leave their old neighborhoods and move on to mass housing projects, more socially homogeneous housing environments have been created.

Historical development map of Istanbul

	Byzantine Era
	Ottoman Empire 15 - 18 c.
	Ottoman Empire end of 19 c. - Turkish Republic 1950
	Turkish Republic 1950 - 1970
	Turkish Republic 1970 - 2000
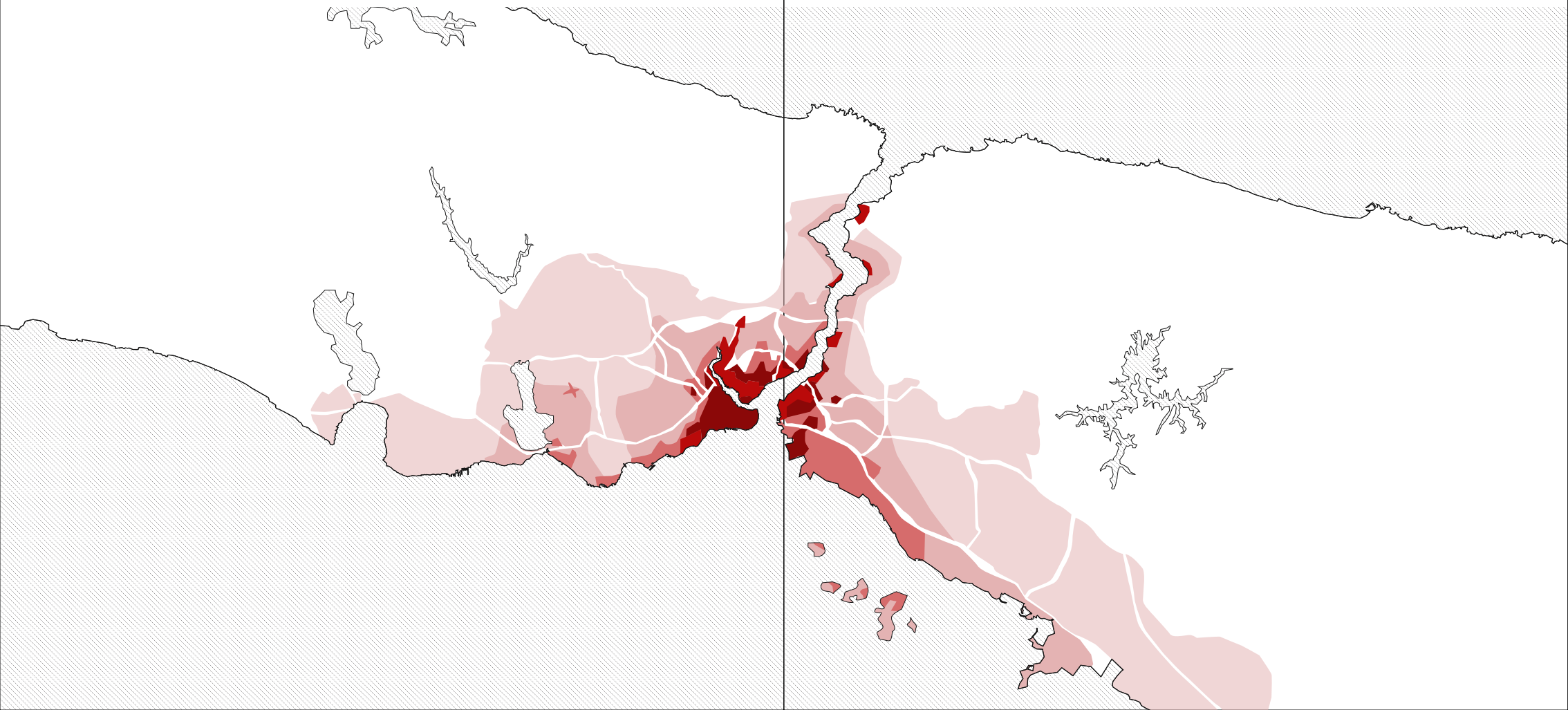
Tarlabaşı Urban Transformation Project
Photograph by Xavier Schwebel

Apart from the legal aspect, massive demolitions and evictions are justified by improvement and beautification of the city, removal of centres of crime and health hazards, and more intensive and lucrative use of land in strategic locations.

Mike Davis

5.2

TRANSFORMATION OF ISTANBUL'S PERIPHERY

THE REMOVAL OF GECEKONDUS

Istanbul has been in process of "cleansing" from gecekondus for the last twenty years (Aslan and Erman, 2004). They have been rapidly replaced by the shopping malls, high-rise towers and business centers. Slum clearance from the city both causes a radical change in the silhouette of Istanbul and an increase in the mobility of the classes in the urban area. While the number of towers increase in Istanbul, gecekondus lose their land and their migrant dwellers either move out from their neighborhoods to the peripheries or out of the city. Aslan and Erman (2004) sums up the situation: "as the gecekondus disappear in Istanbul, the social composition of the city also changes, diminishing its diversity in terms of class and culture".

Starting from 1940s, mechanization of agriculture caused large numbers of peasants to leave their villages and move to big cities where industry was emerging, especially to Istanbul. After rural migrants began to build their gecekondus near industrial areas, the urban lower-income classes, who were not able to afford houses in the market, followed them as well. Soon gecekondus were described as a serious "urban problem" by the authorities. In parallel with the efforts to find a solution to the "housing problem" in Istanbul, it was proposed to demolish some of the gece-

kondus. However, this proposal was related with those constructed on private land. It was announced in a newspaper that thirty gecekondus constructed on private land had been demolished and the construction of new ones would not be allowed, however, in those constructed on public land, dwellings would be sold to their owners (Hürriyet, August 21, 1948). "We can interpret this as the state sending an implicit message to the gecekondu population that if they built their houses on public land, they had to be patient and wait until they were legalized" say Aslan and Erman (2004).

Additionally, a "gecekondu sector" along with a new group of "gecekondu merchants", who would occupy land to sale or build houses to sell, had emerged. Therefore, "gecekondu owners" and "gecekondu builders" formed two different groups.

By the 1950s, the criticism against the mayor increased in parallel with the number of gecekondus which had reach 8.500 in Istanbul by 1951. In 1953, gecekondu problem, for the first time, was not described only as a "housing problem". The policy of gecekondu was set up on the cheap land provision for those who are in need of housing. Two laws were enacted, Law No. 6188 in 1953 and Law No. 7367 in 1959, which allowed public land to be transferred to municipalities to be sold to housing cooperatives and individuals on cheap credit. When this policy failed to resolve the problem, the government changed its way for solution: demolishing the ones built private land and legalizing the ones built on public land. 1950s were the years when the government struggled to solve the problems and could not be successful.

In the beginning of the 1960s, almost 40% of the dwellings in Istanbul were gecekondus, and 45% of the population inhabited in gecekondus. With the military intervention happened on May 27, 1960, the gecekondu construction was banned. Even though the military leaders were determined to stop the increase in the number of gecekondus, they kept growing. In 1962, after the military fell down, the need for adopting a more serious approach was placed on the new agenda of the civil government. Consequently, the Gecekondu Act (Law No. 775) was passed in 1966. Three interrelated objectives were explained in the law to solve the problem of gecekondu: those which are in good condition and constructed in agreeable locations would be improved; those which are in problematic locations would be destroyed; and additional gecekondu construction would be avoided. Later on, some gecekondu areas were provided with municipal services and became municipal districts (Tuna, 1977).

Nevertheless, the "gecekonduzation" of Istanbul could not be prohibited by the Gecekondu Act, and the number of gecekondus in Istanbul had reached 120.000 in 1968 (Aslan and Erman, 2014). While gecekondus were taking over the city and increas-
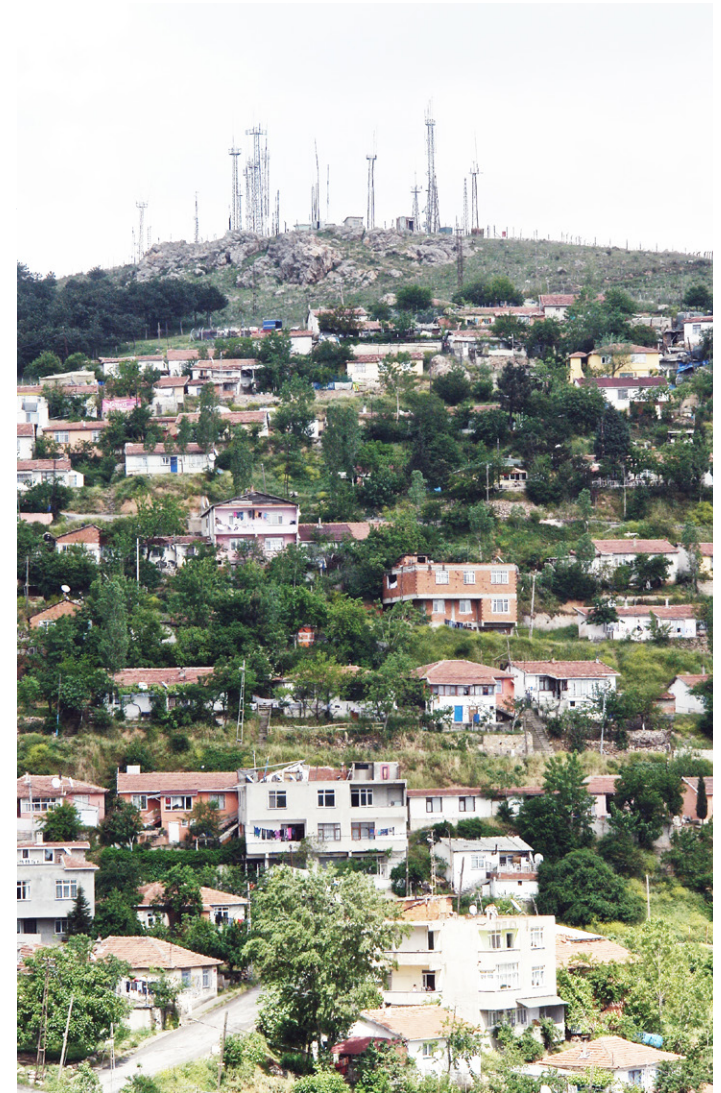
Gecekondu neighborhood in Gülsuyu, Istanbul
source: https://commons.wikimedia.org

ing rapidly, the increasing number of men and women in "traditional dress" (typically inhabitants of gecekondus), whose presence was felt in the public spaces of the city, also drew attention. As a result, gecekondu population started to be blamed by the "established" population of Istanbul and new tensions and social conflicts appeared. Gökçe (1976) explains it, "With their community-oriented lives and their continuing relationship with their villages, they were the "peasants in the city" and constitute a subculture.

In the 1970s, gecekondus developed and grew even faster. By 1972, the number of gecekondus had reached 195.000 in Istanbul (İBB, 2003). The gecekondu issue were politicized by the political parties and the phenomenon of gecekondu had been a primary topic for the politics for a long time. Political party leaders made promises to the gecekondu residents in their favor. On the other hand, the situation of gecekondus were discussed by the radical political groups, too. Gecekondu neighborhoods became the sites of opposition for the leftist movement. According to Aslan and Erman (2004) "This was not only because of the fact that gecekondus housed the poor, but more importantly because of leftist criticism of gecekondus as a commodity in the capitalist market". Thus, new features were brought into the gecekondu phenomenon in the 1970s. Firstly, gecekondu began to play a key role in the political struggle. Secondly, "gecekonduzation" set up itself as a main urbanization tool. And thirdly, "space-based" political struggles rose in the gecekondu context.

Istanbul, like the whole country, was ruled by the military in the early 1980s. The 1980 coup adopted the same approach of the 1960 coup and tried to end the increase of gecekondus. However, the military mayor of Istanbul declared that the houses built after June 2, 1981 will be demolished and their number will not exceed fifty (Milliyet 29, 1983). Gecekondus built before 1981 were legalized with the amnesty issued in 1983 and the new constructions were banned.

Amnesty for gecekondu dwellings in 1983 was one of the most important political decisions in the entire gecekondu history. While closing the spaces in the city for more gecekondu construction, existing gecekondus were aimed to be transformed and brought into the commercial housing market. By this, the state was giving up on its duty to provide housing for the poor. Gecekondus would be legalized on the term that the owners paid "land use" money. With the new revisions in the law, the "land use" money would be removed, and in areas where master plans had not yet been made, "temporary title deeds" would be issued to gecekondu owners, to be changed by the real title deeds after the application of the master plans of the area (Cumhuriyet newspaper,January 23, 1984).

Because of these new regulations, Istanbul turned into a "city-wide construction site", and gecekondu land were filled with the new apartment buildings (Aslan and Erman, 2004). The survival of the gecekondus was seriously threatened by the interest of the upper classes in building their own gated community on the urban periphery. Gecekondus started to disappear from Istanbul's periphery as the construction of apartment blocks and luxury housing projects replaced them. TOKI took over the construction of these transformations in partnership with the municipal governments.

A radical change in the approach of authorities to gecekondus was experienced in the 1990s. Central and local administrations built a new language in their discourses on gecekondus, that were "illegal" and "ugly", and their inhabitants were "criminals" and "terrorists" (Erman, 2001). In the political campaigns, mayors began to commit to "clearance" Istanbul from gecekondus. This was in complete conflict with the promises of "bringing services to gecekondu neighborhoods" in previous years.

The AKP government aimed the mass destruction of the gecekondus to solve the "gecekondu problem". With this intention, the municipal authorities have been made more powerful; and they have been given the authority to implement renewal projects in "derelict" and "obsolescent" areas, as well as TOKI. This meant the gecekondus and the old buildings in the city center could be demolished (Ünsal and Kuyucu 2010).

Aslan and Erman (2004) say that even if the clearance process of gecekondus is introduced as a positive progress, the collective memory is being destroyed. This intervention in gecekondus not only creates a homogeneous aesthetic for the city by replacing them with "modern" buildings, but also damages the social fabric. "Istanbul is no longer a city of the poor, of workers, or of rural migrants." They are sent away from the city to prevent them from spoiling the image of Istanbul as "global city" envisaged by the governing "elites". The population of the city is becoming more homogenous as the demolition of the gecekondus and as their inhabitants are relocated by force to TOKI's "modern" public housing blocks.

THE EVOLUTION OF SUBURBANIZATION IN ISTANBUL

Planned suburbs emerged in Istanbul's expanding metropolitan periphery as a new settlement pattern. This was a new phenomenon in Turkey's urbanization experience (Kurtuluş, 2005). Suburbs, whose core was formed in pre-industrial cities and became widespread settlements with the industrial city, took part in the modern urbanization literature as a form of spatial differentiation created by the middle class. Today, all over the world, when it comes to suburbs, the first thing that comes to mind is the settlements established outside the central areas of the city for the middle classes.

Since the 1980s, the phenomenon of suburbanization in advanced industrial societies has gained new dimensions. One of these dimensions is the transformations caused by the tendency of the middle classes, who can adapt to new economic policies, to leave their suburbs and return to the central areas of the city. Another dimension is the new suburbs built in an enclosed way to exclude the lower classes of the society and are produced for the upper-middle and upper classes.

The suburbanization emerged in Turkey in 1980s, is the synthesis of these two forms of suburbanization developed in advanced industrial societies. Two types of suburbs that emerged in two different periods of the capitalist urbanization period, are taking place simultaneously in Turkey: on the one hand, mass housing projects supported by public resources to create planned residential zones suitable for the housing demand of the traditional middle classes; on the other hand, suburb projects that are similar to the examples in the world, isolated from the city and that will bring status to the "rising" class (Kurtuluş, 2005).

Since the mid-1980s, the suburbs began to be produced with large capital investments in Turkey's metropolitan area and with the changing housing demand of the middle and upper-middle classes, became widespread and a part of the new form of metropolitan periphery in the 1990s.

As in the pre-industrial cities of Europe, in traditional Istanbul, there are second residences where the upper and upper-middle classes of the city stay in certain seasons. In the case of England, the process of transformation of second residences into permanent ones, which took place at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, started to be seen in Istanbul from the second half of the 19th century. In this period, not only upper classes that can accumulate capital, but also the labor force capable of working in these business lines increase their income and depending on the changing income situation, they experience class divisions and spatially segregate. In the process of commercial capital accumulation in the 19th century, a mid-

dle class emerges even though weakly, and moved from their old settlements which are based on ethnic and religious to new settlements (Tekeli, 1994).

After the Second World War, however, the policies adopted by Turkey depending on the world's new economic division of labor and accumulation of capital, and the structural disintegration that began in agriculture, led to the division of labor in agriculture and mass migration. For the state-funded urban industries which have not yet overcome their vulnerability, this immigrant population has begun rapidly to be absorbed as a low-cost labor force.

Developments that started the process of Istanbul's metropolitan growth, contain all the elements that would reveal spatial differentiation. This differentiation is embodied primarily by the gecekonduzation that emerged due to the relationship between labor force and capital accumulation of this period: capital needed labor force and as a result, big immigration flows from rural to urban have been observed. In this relationship, economic policies that put public resources at the service of capital, have a determining role. Immigrants, by "occupying" the Republic of Turkey treasure which was inherited from the large treasure lands of the Ottoman, has opened to settlement with their own produce low-cost gecekondu. It was the result of these economic policies that immigrants were not prevented from building gecekondus. This unique spatial differentiation was initially seen as a partial and temporary settlement. However, it has turned into a settled spatial phenomenon in a short time without encountering an effective obstacle due to the lowering of the labor cost and thus, providing cheap labor to the industry (Kurtuluş, 2005).

Gecekonduzation can be evaluated as a sort of suburbanization only with the perspective that finds connection between spatial differentiation and capitalist production processes. From the 1950s to the end of the 1970s, the metropolitan area of Istanbul was shaped by industries of different scales, scattering from the center to the periphery, and large gecekondu rings located around these industries. Therefore, gecekonduzation arose as a spatial differentiation and unplanned suburbanization which was created by the import substitution production structure growing thanks to the labor force provided by the rural migration in Turkey.

On the other hand, the middle classes that expanded with the increase of division of labor and specialization in the metropolitan growth process of Istanbul, began to transform their old summer houses into permanent ones. With the facilities provided by the old railway and sea transportation, the old summer houses provided the middle classes working in the service sector in the central business areas to escape from the rents rising in the center.

As the summer houses were becoming permanent houses, the spaces between the center and the old summer houses, such as fields, vegetable gardens and farm lands, began to be opened to settlement in a short time. The transformation of old summer houses connected to the city center by train on the Anatolian and European sides into regular residential areas for middle classes constitutes another dimension of the suburbanization that is unique to Istanbul. Over time, the empty lands in between were opened to settlement through parceling and the highway connection that developed in parallel with the railways, combined the old summer houses with the city, creating a holistic middle class settlement.

In addition to the suburbanization patterns formed by the gecekondus in the metropolitan form of Istanbul, the emergence of new suburbs differentiated in form and content points to the concretization of a new era in production relations and sharing. During the period of import substitution, planned suburbs that represent consumption, divided according to capital accumulation, education, occupational specialization and income level, have emerged as well as the gecekondus of the labor sector representing production. The emergence of these new settlements, based on the classical experience of suburbanization in the world, is explained by the housing and lifestyle demands of the middle classes carrying the global consumption culture or new professionals emerging in the globalization process (Aksoy&Robins, 1994; Öncü, 1999). However, it is not possible to explain this process only with the symbols of the changing housing and lifestyle demands of the middle class and the global consumption culture. Just as in the 19th century in England or after the war in the United States, a planned built environment, and a middle-class lifestyle and culture with new consumption patterns were established as well in Turkey, after the 1980s.

Bahçeşehir. The first suburbanization formation in Istanbul
source: https://www.emlakrotasi.com.tr

Informally developed areas in Istanbul

Built-up area

Informally developed areas
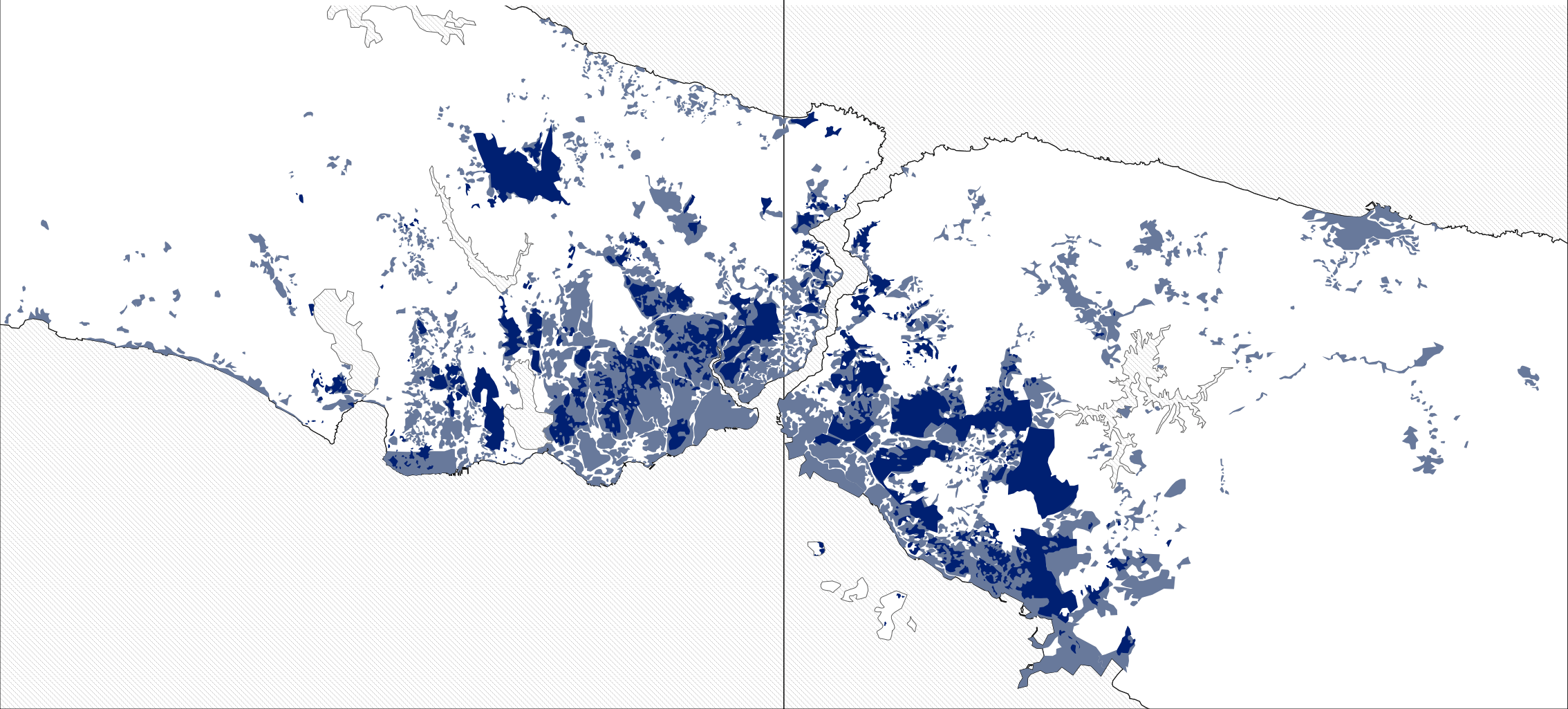
Transformation of the periphery?
Photograph by Emrah Altınok

[for Istanbul] We have lots of valuable lands at our disposal. They have some problems. We will polish them, display them on the counter and thus sell them.

Erdoğan Bayraktar,
former chairman of TOKI

5.3

GATED COMMUNITIES IN ISTANBUL

Gated communities began to develop in Istanbul following economic and political changes in the 1980s. Öncü (1997), in her article, which is one of the first studies in this field, explains enclosed settlements as the escape of middle and upper classes from the city center with the desire to be part of the global consumption culture. Her approach makes an important contribution in terms of showing the relationship between the international expansion of Turkish economy and the proliferation of the "single family house ideal". According to Öncü (1997), middle classes whose economic and cultural conditions started to erode, with the effects of neoliberalization in the 1980s are trying to protect and increase their symbolic capital with new housing choices.

Bali (1999), on the other hand, associates the emergence of gated communities with a new type of "rich". He called this "new mid-class" as "the new distinguished" which showed up after the 1990s. This "newly-rich" is consisted of the service sector workers produced by the global economy. Wealth became a feature to be displayed through the way of consumption for the new mid-class of the 1990s. Social status and identity of this class is represented by the commodities.

According to Bali (2002), a house has always been the best way to display individual's status and identity. Therefore, large-scale real estate investment developers have produced the projects

by taking this fact and the needs of the new social class into account. The concept of "luxury housing" appeared to satisfy the changing demand of the new mid-class. With these housing settlements, they could have been spatially differentiated from the others. "This is the why luxury housing settlements are the gated communities for the new mid-class" (Çınar, et al., 2006). Due to their search for a lifestyle in line with their newly acquired wealth, businessmen developing with new economic policies, high-income senior executives of big companies in the financial sector, new "stars" of the entertainment and media sector prefer to live in these new luxury residences far from the city center.

Another factor that contributes to the rapid spread of gated communities; has been the strong anti-urban discourse that represented the city center as a dangerous, unlivable and unimprovable place. The same discourse is observed in the advertisements of these settlements which mentions about the noise pollution and the traffic in the city center, threats to property and life safety such as earthquake risk, kidnappers or robbers. What is surprising is that some governmental institutions have adopted the same discourse (Perouse and Danış, 2005).

The most effective actors in the emergence process of gated communities have been investors or developers, who choose land, develop close relationships with local governments, determines advertisement strategies for promotion and marketing. Especially in the establishment of this settlement model in Istanbul, supply mechanisms rather than demand have been more determinant and the architectural, physical and even social content of the offered "product" has been designed by the investors.

One of the keywords used in the promotion and marketing of these communities is "difference". The most concrete aspect that makes physical difference is the construction of walls. For those who live in gated communities, the physical barriers built between the inside and the outside is the way to leave the city center behind, realize the "neat and sterile" life they aim for, and more importantly, to protect themselves from the dangers outside (Perouse and Danış, 2005). These walls are accompanied by high-tech cameras and private security guards. In addition to being a symbolic separation tool against the city center, physical barriers built for security reasons are also a method of protecting the "rich", especially from the closest "neighbors", that are the gecekondus around. The difference between the landscape planning, garden care and other services, within the communities, that are provided at the highest quality, and the external environment, that is neglected because of the limited resources of the surrounding municipalities, is striking. Another difference that developers pay attention to is that the location of these settlements is close to natural beauties unlike the city center. This

feature plays an important role in increasing the value of the project. When there is no possibility to build close to natural beauties, it is observed that artificially produced landscapes such as a giant lake or a small forest are used to attract buyers.

As stated by the developer companies, the "world views" of those who live in the gated communities cause them to be differentiated from the others. This "cultural privilege" is reinforced by cultural facilities such as exhibition halls, performance halls and theatres in the settlements, as well as art activities organized by the communities. Almost all gated communities in Istanbul organize various cultural events throughout the year depending on the size of their population and the income levels of their residents. Another remarkable point about cultural segregation is the importance given to children in gated communities. Emphasis on the safety, well-being and education of children is one of the common aspects of the advertisements made for gated communities. Developers often give children the main role in the advertisements and claim that they could grow in the best conditions only in their developments. Educational institutions have a particular importance in child-centered life. The fact that the residents do not want to send their children at the age of kindergarten or elementary school too far for educational purposes, and they start looking for schools close to their settlements cause private schools to move closer to these settlements (Kurtuluş, 2005).

One of the features of the new lifestyle that is aimed to be established in gated communities is that the life is presented in absolute contrast with the "chaos" of Istanbul, which becomes "unbearable". In the discourse of "so close yet so far", it is emphasized that while being away from the negativities of the city center because enclosed settlements provide an isolated environment, they have all the advantages of urban life thanks to the rich social and infrastructural facilities provided in them. Another very important feature that distinguishes gated communities from other type of housing projects is that the services such as security, garbage, maintenance of common areas, technical support and social facilities are provided by private companies. These settlements form nearly independent "mini-municipalities" of their own and separate themselves from the local municipality since they can finance their own services. However, because almost all the urban needs are met, is clearly seen that the interaction of the residents with the "others", and urban life slowly disappears (Çınar et al., 2006).

Gated communities firstly emerged in both inside and outside of the city, close to business areas. Later, they spread all over the city. Four types of gated communities can be seen in Istanbul: vertical gated developments/ gated towers, horizontal gated de-

velopments/ gated villa towns, horizontal gated developments/ gated apartment blocks and mixed type gated developments/ gated towns (Akgün and Baycan, 2012).

VERTICAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS/ GATED TOWERS

They were the first and distinguishing type of gated communities, that has developed in Istanbul for professional "urban elites" from the finance and media sectors since the 1990s. Since the land costs a lot and the plots are not wide enough to build extended gated communities, gated towers have been developed as a solution to this problem. They are the examples of mixed-use developments, usually combined with a shopping mall or office blocks.

These developments can also be described as "hotel houses" due to the services supplied in. A wide range of services, from cleaning to spa centers, from child care to health facilities are available in such towers. All facilities in the building, such as security, gardening, collection of garbage cans, are provided by private governance. Along with these elementary services, other services such as gym, social centers, educational activities and health centers can be provided to improve the resident's social life. Nevertheless, the most essential provided service is security that is the major feature of a gated community. The security systems of gated towers are differentiated from the other gated communities. In the absence of a solid wall surrounding the entire plot, they can be partially accessible to the public. The access to the building and to the units, however, is only allowed with the permission of the inhabitants and the security level is high. Private governance providing the services in the building, allows these communities to be "self-sufficient".

HORIZONTAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS/ GATED VILLA TOWNS

These are the best known type of gated communities that consist of detached or attached single unit residences with a private garden designed for upper or upper-middle income families often with children. Gated villa towns are mainly set up as alternative residential areas because the demands of diminishing traffic, protecting from criminals, creating playgrounds. While they take advantage of their horizontality to establish a more "people-friendly" community, they revive "lost" social values with international patterns mainly brought from America and realize the "ideal" city of the inhabitants.

Their characteristics are subjected commonly on their location. Few families can be accommodated if gated villa towns are in the inner city, whereas the suburban settlements can house many

Zorlu Center, Istanbul, vertical gated development
Photograph by Thomas Mayer

Uskumru Arıköy Villaları, Istanbul, gated villa town
source: https://www.google.com/maps

families. The services and the self-sufficiency of these towns are also affected by the differences arising from the location. The social center or the settlement's common area is a must for these developments, but the suburban gated villa towns may have other facilities such as shopping center, a restaurant, a café or a cinema can be seen as they are far from the city. Some public services such as security, gardening, collection of garbage cans are provided within the gated villa towns, but the services such as health and education does not always exist. The most tempting services offered in these towns are specific sports like golf or riding etc. A membership system is applied in these facilities and is barely accessible by the non-residents. The security level is high, provided by walls, as well as a single guarded entrance.

HORIZONTAL GATED DEVELOPMENTS/ GATED APARTMENT BLOCKS

They are the oldest examples of wholly gated communities in Istanbul, sharing the similar trend with the gated villa towns, since they are the alternative of gated villa towns, for middle income families. Although the services in the gated apartment blocks can vary significantly according to the profile of their customer, they are the most "modest" type in terms of the services in the literature of gated communities in Istanbul. There are no specialized services offered rather except for common space that can be used by the residents to gather. Even though all public services are provided privately by administrators, the health facilities or other entertainment services are not found in these settlements. Security, as a mandatory service of gated communities, is supplied by 24-hour CCTV cameras. However, a high quality technology does not exist like in other communities.
They cannot be defined as "self-sufficient" developments and they are built by mass housing developers. The developers generally act as contractors and because gated apartment blocks are more affordable, they do not spend most of their finances on marketing. Affordability of these blocks is what makes developers successful (Akgün and Baycan, 2012).

MIXED TYPE GATED DEVELOPMENTS/ GATED TOWNS

These developments consist of a combination of two or three other types of gated communities. Gated towns are relatively a new town or independent "satellite city" with different facilities and features catering to different income levels. Due to the numbers of units ranging from 130 to 2000 and the concept of gated towns, it is a must to be located in the periphery of the city. According to Akgün and Baycan (2012), developers insist on

Emek Sitesi, Istanbul, gated apartment blocks
source: http://wikimapia.org

Başakşehir, Istanbul, mixed type gated development
Photograph by Xavier Schwebel

developing a new suburban or satellite city by adding a foreign word, often English, meaning "town", "country" or "city" to the name of the gated town. Moreover, developers try to bring the population by presenting high quality and diverse services, taking into account the "concepts" of gated towns as the principal marketing strategy.

CHANGING PATTERNS AND MASSIFICATION OF GATED COMMUNITIES

The literature, which started to become widespread in Istanbul in the early 1990s, generally refers to enclosed settlements created for the new elites of the city. In this literature, the limited target group of the first examples of gated communities is constituted of the new-mid class together with the bourgeoisie (Geniş, 2007). As Perouse and Danış (2005), pointed out that, while the initial target group was limited to a small part of the society, over time the construction companies tended to provide gated communities also for the lower income groups, in order to increase their market scope.

Today Istanbul is going through a period in which gated communities are not only proliferating and targeting the urban bourgeoisie and the new mid-classes, but also the wider segments of the middle class (Aydın, 2012). These "new generation" gated communities consist mostly of multi-storey apartment blocks with residential sizes ranging from studios to four-room flats, in which security services and social facilities are provided as in the luxury examples of the 1990s. Developers often benefit from the discourse on "saving the middle class from paying rent and making them homeowners", while including the wider groups of the middle class such as mid-level professional, government employees, wage laborers, to the growing target audience.

Despite its growing larger target audience, all of the "prestige" indicators of the early examples such as high walls, security systems, social spaces and sports facilities are present in the recently built gated communities, too (Aydın, 2012). These indicators, that mean a particular lifestyle for the privileged classes of the city, are introduced as a condition of living a "safe" and "happy" life in a "city like" Istanbul. It is also possible to find examples marking that enclosed settlements are designed as the "ideal" housing type of the "public", "middle class" or "Turkish family" in the discourses of the media and project developers. According to the developers, these settlements do not only offer quality homes that cannot be found in middle-class neighborhoods in the city center, but also they "save" people from paying rent. Monthly mortgage payments that "cheaper than rent" are encouraged in the media and the middle class is encouraged to be-

come homeowners.

In the studies on the first examples of gated communities, Öncü (1997) says that the sale of a lifestyle together with a residence is important in emphasizing the cultural and social differences that the upper-middle classes need to constantly reproduce. Today, it is possible to say that this "prestigious" image and "stylish" life has become massive with the expansion of the target audience of gated communities.

Both differences and similarities can be seen between the early examples of gated communities and those which have become massive in terms of the lifestyle presented. For example, spending the time left after work in a peaceful and comfortable environment is one of the promises of the early examples marketed to the urban elite with a stressful and busy work life. Amenities such as swimming pool and green area have been emphasized to offer a recreation opportunity "so close yet so far" to very busy professionals (Perouse and Danış, 2005). Today, however, "escaping from the burden of stressful urban life" is no longer exclusive to the new mid-classes living in luxury enclosed estates. Regardless of the price category, all gated communities emphasize that they aim to offer a peaceful and relaxing environment to their residents.

Öncü (1997) states that Western, secular and modern values that appeal to the upper classes, were one of the main characteristics of these communities. This groups finds the masses "intolerable" because of their "uncivilized" behaviour, local dresses, "sloppy" looks and noises (Geniş, 2007). Although, the term "masses" used to be mostly referred to immigrants without social and cultural capital, the new Islamic middle classes with economic capital but rejecting Westernized lifestyles were also at the center of this criticism. More recently, though, in gated communities appealing to an expanded middle class audience, the protection of secular and Western values does not appear to be a fundamental issue anymore. On the contrary, today, more and more gated communities are designed taking into account the priorities of Islamic lifestyles (Aydın, 2012).

Researchers point out that early examples of gated communities reinforced the social status of the urban elite by providing physical segregation and isolation from the rest of the city (Perouse and Danış, 2005). The urban elite chose to express the social distance from the rest through physical distance. According to Bali (2002), the urban elite's revitalization of neighborhood culture with people who look alike was only through distancing themselves from the crowd and chaos of Istanbul. In today's middle classes, moving from the city center means something completely different. It means getting rid of old and dark apartment blocks in unplanned neighborhoods and moving to buildings built ac-

cording to earthquake regulations with landscape planning.

Although the crime rates in Istanbul in the 1990s were not as high as in other world metropolises, the discourse of security is principal in marketing gated communities. Researchers working on early examples of gated communities also emphasize that it is more about status concerns than security problems what attracted the new middle class (Geniş, 2007; Kurtuluş, 2005; Perouse and Danış, 2005). On the other hand, Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008) remark that fear and security concern in the city is now a dominant factor for those who live in luxury enclosed settlements. While the discourse of fear is increasing in the city, security measures have become indispensable elements for new gated communities.

Considering that today a large part of the middle class is addressed with the security discourse of the previous luxury estates, the concept of "public" would be threatened even more due to the process of rapid privatization of the urban space as a result of the production of new gated communities. Thus, a model was adopted where the privileged classes were not protected from the rest of the city, but the concept of protection spread to the whole city. This recalls the idea that Low's surveillance mechanisms offer customized facilities in places such as the shopping mall or enclosed settlements only to a particular part of public. While the public space is privatized, walled or delimited, it can only be used by certain members rather than citizens (Low, 2003). To sum up, it can be said that due to the limited number of potential customers of luxury gated communities, developers have begun to market this new "home ideal" to lower groups in order to continue their activities (Perouse and Danış, 2005). Thus, lower quality and more affordable settlements have started to rise around the most luxurious projects. Today, the dream of enclosed and secure housing projects is adopted by the lower classes, and the trend of closure started to be observed in housing cooperatives or mass housing projects, as well.

Gated community in Başakşehir, Istanbul
Photograph by Xavier Schwebel

Gated communities in Istanbul

Horizontal Gated Developments, Villa Towns
Horizontal Gated Developments, Villa Towns
Vertical Gated Developments, Apartment Blocks
Vertical Gated Developments, Apartment Blocks
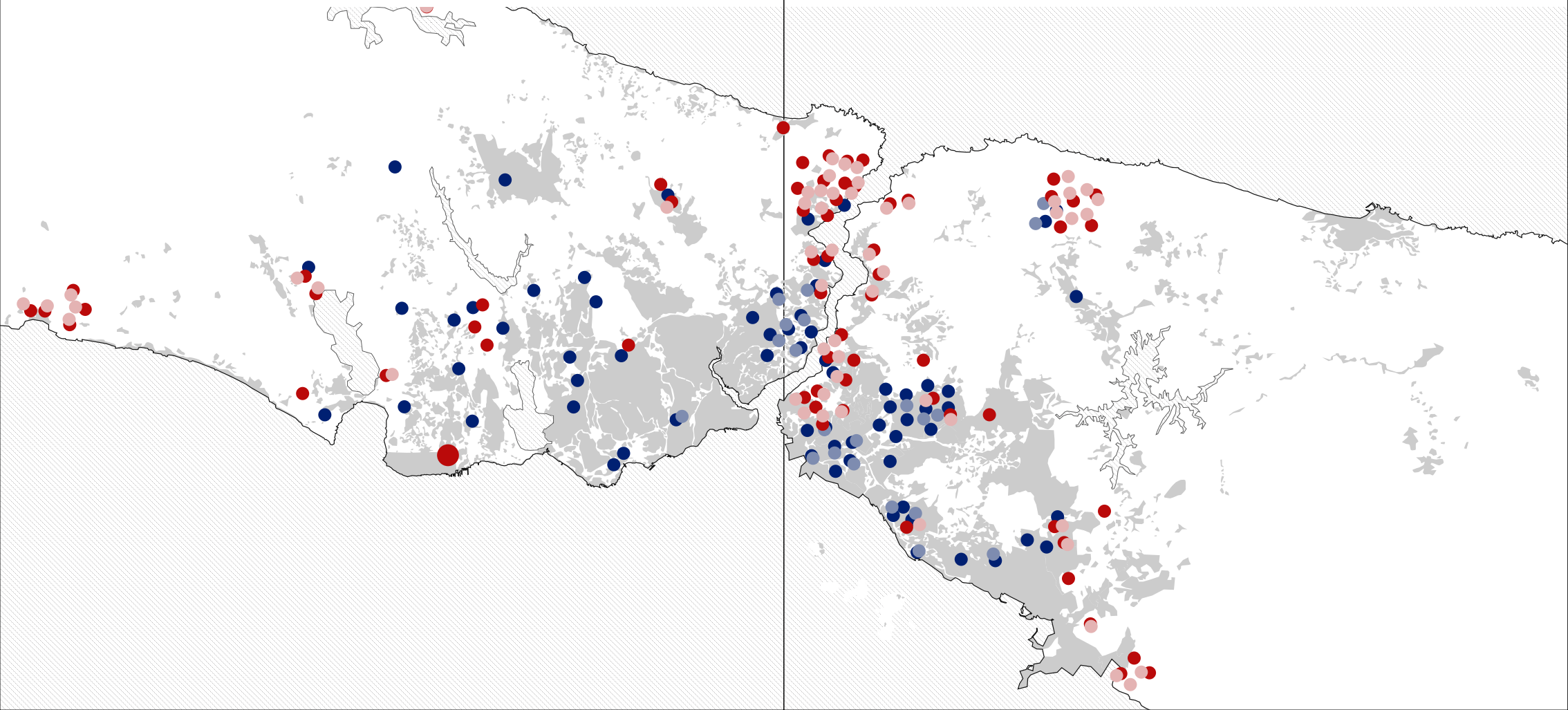
5.4

MASS HOUSING AS GATED COMMUNITIES FOR THE POOR?

On the one hand, gated communities in which high-income groups live and that are closed to the public, are becoming widespread, on the other hand, social housing projects with standardized architecture and low construction quality, that are introverted and distant from the social life, are produced by the Mass Housing Administration of Turkey (TOKI).

It was mentioned in previous chapters that through the establishment of TOKI in 1984, the state had the opportunity to directly intervene in the housing market. The biggest founding purpose of TOKI was to solve the housing and urban planning problems caused by the rapid population growth and urbanization and to meet the housing needs of the poor. The Mass Housing Law No. 2487, was aimed to meet the housing demand by mass housing production rather than individual construction. Although a fall in the activity and function of TOKI was observed over time, many mass housing construction projects were realized until the period of AKP.

With the AKP coming into power, TOKI has been reinforced with new regulations and laws, and has become the most powerful actor in the housing sector. TOKI, therefore, left its mark in the years 2000s. In the case of Istanbul, today almost all of the "mega-projects" that are proposed by the government are im-

plemented through TOKI. TOKI's focus on prestigious projects that are attempted to be implemented in cities with "global city" discourses, the fact that it mediates the uncontrolled growth of cities by ignoring the ecological thresholds of the cities with the mass housing projects it develops, and the fact that its transformation projects further increase the negative conditions of the poor, cause this institution's main function in the housing sector to be questioned (Altınok, 2016). With the impact of the investments of mega projects and the enclosed mass housing projects, Istanbul's city space is constantly fragmenting, and social relations and classes are constantly diverging.

In the early 2000s, a series of projects referred to as "urban transformation projects" emerged under the title of "mega projects", and a stricter urban restructuring model was adopted with the implementation of these projects. Some of these urban transformation projects called "Gecekondu Transformation Projects", are the demolition of illegal settlements and the relocation of inhabitants to mass housing projects (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008).

Populism, which tolerates gecekondus, has finally come to an end (Baysal, 2013). While the construction of new gecekondus was prevented, it was aimed to demolish the existing ones and open the lands emptied from the gecekondus to investors or to mega projects under the name of "urban transformation". The informal housing market was brought under the state control through TOKI. It was aimed to integrate the low income groups and the urban poor, who are placed in TOKI mass housing projects with monthly installments, into the formal housing market (ibid).

Along with the urban transformation, mass housing projects were therefore accepted as the solution of "irregular urbanization" in Istanbul. At the beginning of the twentieth century, mass housing projects implemented in Turkey show similarities with the examples implemented abroad. These similarities have started to be seen in Turkey mainly as the result of architectural imports both in typological terms, such as apartment blocks, row houses and stylistic such as Modernism, Cubism, etc., as well as in terms of production organizations and financing models. After 2000s, on the other hand, this import was limited only to the typology of gated communities and enclosed settlements. The concept mass housing emerged in the mid-19th century in Europe as a result of the reflection of industrialization movements to architecture. After the first and second World War, this system was used in order to find a solution to the acute housing shortages. Turkey also began to adopt this housing typology in the 20th century. However, Turkey did not follow the main purpose of them: while the aim of the these housing developments in the period of their emergence in abroad was to produce an environment and a social solidarity system for their residents that they could benefit

for lifetime, in Turkey their character has changed, and the sole purpose has become to sell properties from profitable ways to the consumers (Bilgin, 1998a).

The most important factor that distinguishes mass housing from other housing practices is that this system has a strong social image arising from its character of integrator or discriminator of all social classes (Gür, 2000). This integration/ discrimination can be between equivalent classes that display homogenous characteristics in economic and social terms, as well as between classes with different economic and social characteristics. Hence, it can be said that the importance of the mass housing typology generally depends on the social and economic image that it creates; and architecture and urban planning practices have always embodied the social goals of the social strata through mass housing projects.

Bilgin (1998) explains that with the mass housing production, buildings began to be built as blocks or even settlements rather than one by one. Growth in scale meant being more free and depending less on the existing zoned areas. Although the possibility of a fresh start seemed like a big opportunity at the beginning, later it became the source of deep problems. The problem of the absence of a context to be taken as a reference, was not only limited to the lack of a physical benchmark, the absence of a given structuring in the environment that could be the starting point. In the "traditional" architecture, different practices such as building materials, construction processes and techniques, spatial constructions and the arrangement of the space, behaviors, habits of living and perception have formed a holistic housing culture over time. The lack of this "housing culture" has also been the part of the context problem in mass housing projects.

The main problem in the context of the physical-spatial characteristics of Mass Housing Projects developed by TOKI in the 2000s, is the mass production based on a single typology and high density. In the settlements where the point-block typology with four apartments in each floor, is used predominantly, there is also a single plan type for each apartment size, a single façade language determined on the basis of settlements in all blocks, says Bilgin (1998a). Features such as monotony, monofunctionality, lack of identity, disproportionality, undefined open spaces stand out in the settlements produced with the understanding of TOKI.

In the recent urban literature, "urban segregation" has been discussed within the framework of prestige gated communities. These settlements appear as enclosed luxury housing projects with private security, isolated by walls from the external world, and mostly inhabited by upper and upper-middle class members (Erkilet, 2013). However, the retreat of the middle and upper

classes to enclosed settlements is only one of the factors of urban segregation and this tendency is realized only by the individuals' own desires and will. Another phenomenon, the tendency to push the poor or various ethnic groups to mass housing projects outside of the city, on the other hand, differs remarkably from the previous one. Because the choice to live in an isolated community does not happen directly and exclusively by the will and desire of the individuals.

The most known construction method for mass housing production, big amount of high density, multi-storey apartment blocks in the periphery of the city, can transform these projects into single-class, introverted and gated communities. Urban segregation and enclosed housing developments have left the neighborhood, which is a sociocultural unity, dysfunctional; and by turning the street into a semi-private space and reducing the permeability of the space, prevented the formation, proliferation and circulation of urban cultures (Taşçı, 2012).

As the gecekondu neighborhoods, that were the places of rural immigrants and the urban poor in the city until recently, were eliminated by neoliberal urbanization practices, "dystopian" TOKI houses take their places says Erman (2016). According to her, today's "stigmatized", "problematic" residential areas are not gecekondus that are rapidly disappearing, but the mass housing developments of TOKI, which are presented as "modern" and "adequate infrastructure and equipped".

After the analysis of mass housing projects, a question arises: are the mass housing projects of TOKI another type of gated communities for the poor and the excluded?

In order to have a deeper understanding of the subject with existing examples and to provoke critical thinking on the spatial arrangement of the city, different case studies from Istanbul will be examined in the next chapter.

Control by dominating agents may be seen as complete, but there is always the possibility of subversion. We cannot understand the role of space in the reproduction of social relations without recognizing that the relatively powerless still have enough power to carve out spaces of control in respect of their day-to-day lives.

David Sibley

Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) Projects in Istanbul

TOKI Upper Class

TOKI Social Housing

TOKI Urban Renewal
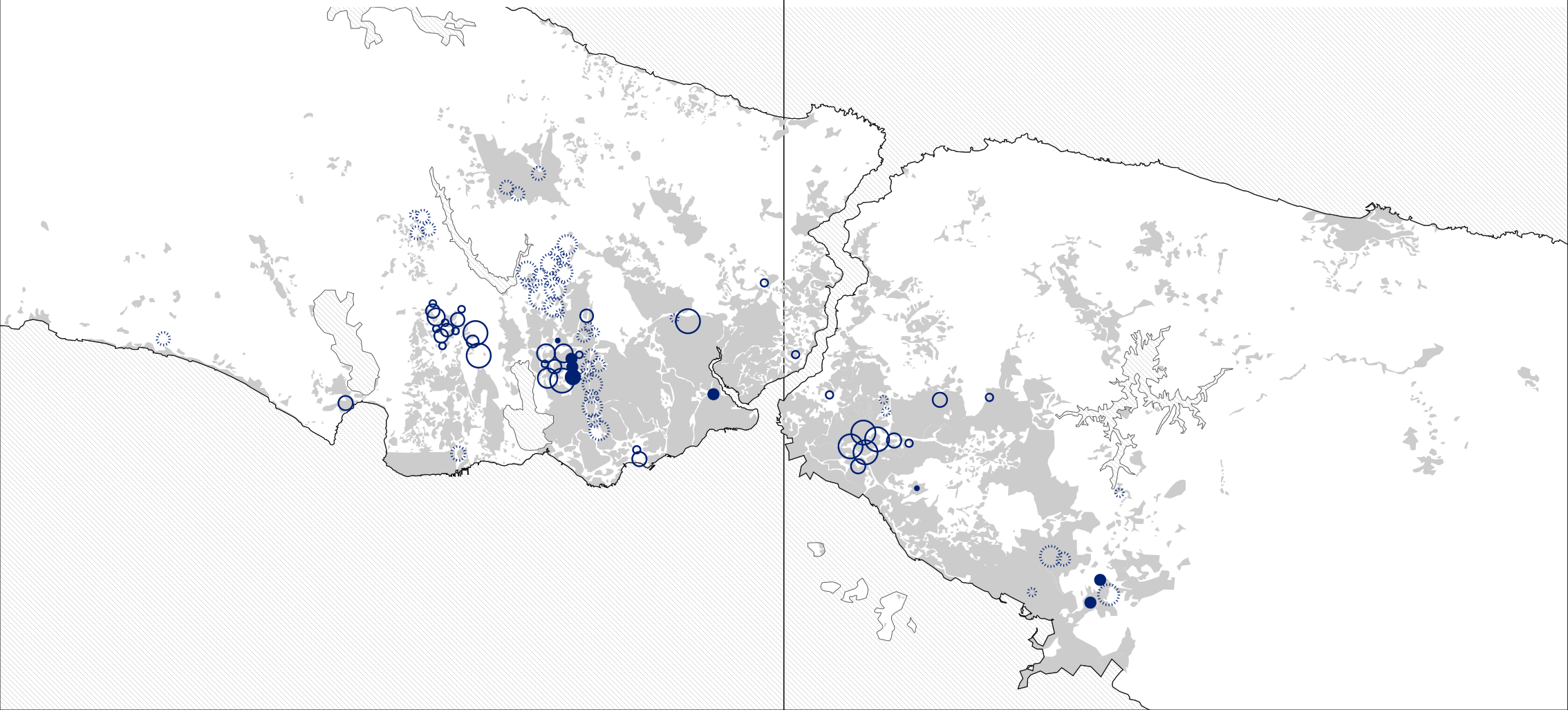
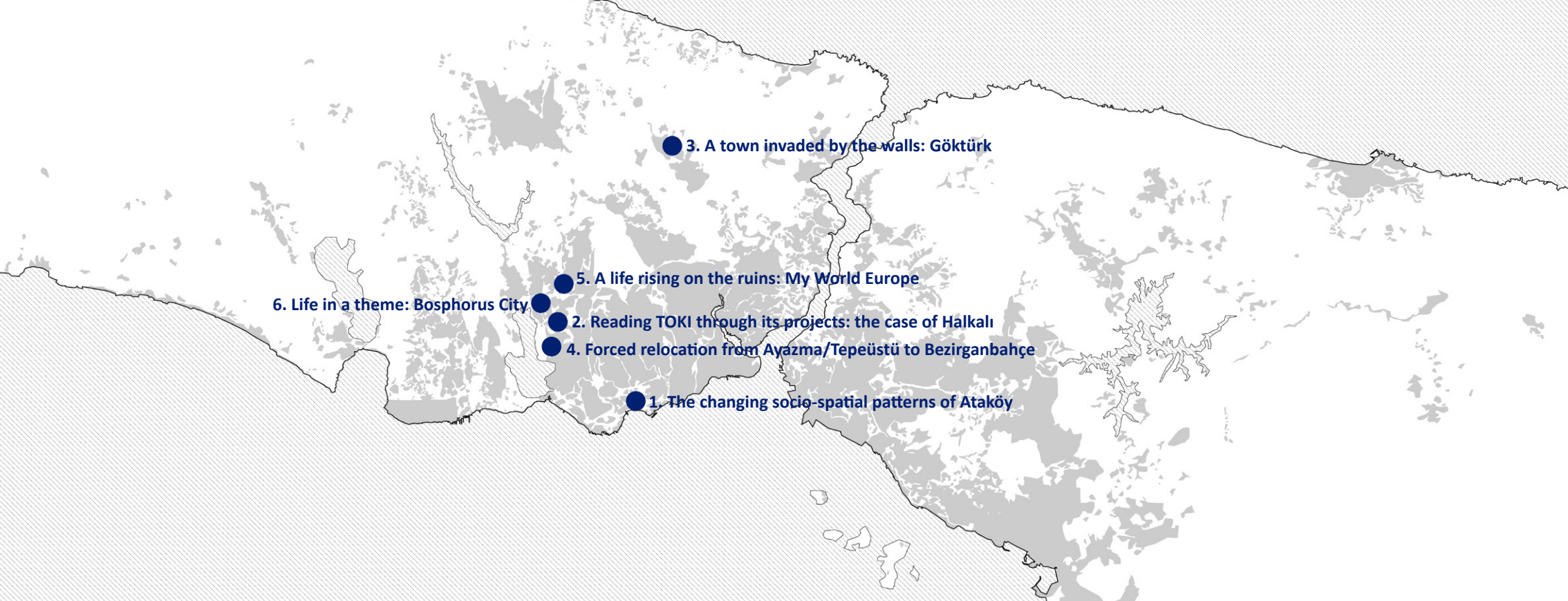The space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude.

Marc Auge

The bus station. Başakşehir, Istanbul
Photograph by Xavier Schwebel

06

LIVING ON THE EDGES: CASE STUDIES

3. A town invaded by the walls: Göktürk

5. A life rising on the ruins: My World Europe

6. Life in a theme: Bosphorus City

2. Reading TOKI through its projects: the case of Halkalı

4. Forced relocation from Ayazma/Tepeüstü to Bezirganbahçe

1. The changing socio-spatial patterns of Ataköy

INTRODUCTION

As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, Istanbul's urban landscape has undergone a large transformation by neoliberal policies. The polarization and segregation between the poor and the rich can be read through space every day more. People become more alienated to each other. The location of each group is determined by borders and walls. The enclaves of poverty and wealth are, in fact, the products of same socio-political and economic policies and strategies. The new groups and forms of rich and poor grow and multiply interdependently. The concentration areas of wealth and the poverty is the new urban space of Istanbul.

In order to analyze more closely and through a critical thinking these emerging spaces, these new residential socio-spatial arrangements in Istanbul, case study investigation was carried out. Six cases were selected, each with different characteristics, and, particularly, representing both the gated communities of the rich and mass housing projects targeting the poor, that represent the two opposites of the population, on the edges of the city. The selected cases, built in different periods and in different scales, such as size of one housing development or size of a large area containing several housing developments, are examined. Besides this, it is also given importance to show different cases built by different developers.

Because of the current conditions due to the covid-19 pandemic, the fieldwork in the analysis of the case studies could not be carried out in presence. Different existing sources, mostly books and research papers were used for the information. Interviews with the residents of the selected projects, published in research papers and articles also supported the study. The drawings and the visuals were produced by the help of the information provided on research studies and on internet sources such as the web sites and publicity of the projects and Google Maps. In the case of Istanbul, emphasis is placed on understanding its different dimensions.

The cases are grouped in two and they are ordered chronologically. The first group contain large housing development areas that are still in progress. The second group, on the other hand consists of a single, completed housing project.

The first study of Ataköy demonstrates a general overview to the changing lifestyles and residential choices of people over time from a mass housing project. The emergence of the tendency of "gating" is observed during the stages, built in different periods. It is also a significant example in terms of showing the changes in the housing production goals of TOKI over time.

In the second case study, housing projects of the poor and the rich, both produced by the Mass Housing Administration of Turkey (TOKI) are evaluated. The selected area, Halkalı, is one the biggest construction sites of TOKI, dedicated to mass housing projects. In this study, interviews made with the several architects are included.

On the other hand, Göktürk, a former village, is now under the occupation gated communities. It became the construction site of the private developers. Calling the developers attention due to its natural beauties and the construction of the highway connected to the city center, Göktürk, has become the new zone of the gated communities of families who want to escape from the "chaos" of Istanbul. With the increasing numbers of gated communities day by day, today Göktürk can be called as a gated town. Wealthy families with the similar consumption patterns and lifestyles live a segregated life by their own choices away from the city. The study is enriched by the interviews made with the residents.

In contrary, on the other side of Istanbul, in Ayazma and Tepeüstü districts, two gecekondu neighborhoods of the poor, have been demolished, and the inhabitants were relocated to a mass housing project of TOKI in Bezirganbahçe. Inhabitants located on high-rise apartment blocks surrounded by walls, were sentenced to a "secured" life against their will. Following this, the high-income housing project, which was built on the demolition area of Ayazma, is analyzed. Apart from some luxury facilities such as swimming pools, restaurants and sport facilities such as golf, it is seen that life offered to residents is not much different from Bezirganbahçe: high-rise apartment blocks and common spaces that are far from human scale, and the spatial arrangement that does not enable the establishment of neighborhood relations.

In the last study, in order to draw attention to one of the latest trends in gated communities, the case of Bosphorus City is chosen as the third study. Gated communities, where historical and cultural artifacts are imitated, have begun to be used as a new marketing tool. Although it was designed with the discourse "A second Bosphorus in Istanbul", it represents a development that is lack of diversity and independent from the city, consists of homogeneous groups in terms of income and lifestyle.

Nowadays, it is difficult to find a housing project which is not built behind the gate and surrounded by the walls in Istanbul.

It is important to be aware of the causes and the consequences of this new spatial arrangement. Voluntarily or involuntarily, living in isolation, behind the walls, causes irreversible changes in both social and spatial organization of the city. With these case studies, it is aimed people to question the new spatiality, which becomes usual every day more, with a different perspective.

In this chapter, the six case studies will be analyzed in Ataköy, Halkalı, Göktürk, Bezirganbahçe, My World Europe and Bosphorus City order. For each case study, size of the development, type of the developer, facilities provided for the residents, features of public life and relations between the residents, security conditions and administration form are deepened.

Location of Ataköy

1
THE CHANGING SOCIO-SPATIAL PATTERNS OF ATAKOY

Atakoy is an unusual neighborhood in Istanbul. It was built in six stages as a mass housing project from the end of the 1950s to the early 2000s. It is an interesting example for representing changes in Turkey's modern architecture approach and the evolution of the understanding of "housing". The slight changes that occurred over time in the first five stages, ended with the emergence of a completely different type of development in the sixth stage.

In line with the trend of establishing new cities with mass housing construction that emerged after 1945s, Emlak Kredi Bank, a public bank specialized in real estate that operated till 2001, developed Ataköy Mass Housing Project. The planning for the housing project was obtained through a competition held in 1955. The area is 10 kilometers away from the city center by train. Moreover, two roads on the south and north sides of the district were planned to be used as two main transportation arteries to connect Ataköy to the center of Istanbul. The area was planned as be ten neighborhoods with beaches, touristic and social facilities, educational areas, sports facilities, markets and green areas on the coast, but the number of neighborhoods was increased to 11 with a partial change on the plan in 1987. The train station was placed in the 5th quarter, which is the center of the whole neighborhoods.

The construction of the 1st neighborhood, which covers an area

of approximately 20 ha, was completed between 1957 and 1962. Designed for high-income group, the 1st quarter is one of the first modern architecture examples in Turkey. Consists of 52 blocks, there are a total of 662 apartments. The fact that it consists of very large flats with high prices, caused the demand to be low.

The 2nd neighborhood that began to be built in 1959 and completed in 1964, consists of 852 flats in 39 blocks situated on 18 ha area. As a result of more affordable houses with smaller areas, 2nd neighborhood drew more attention.

After the first construction stage, housing in the 3rd and 4th neighborhoods are in the form of rows of blocks with smaller sizes, designed in accordance with the need for social housing, unlike the 1st neighborhood. The construction started in 1963 and was completed in 1974. Since these neighborhoods are located on a wide area, by designing a large park, it was aimed to increase the interaction between people.

The 5th neighborhood covers an area of 35 ha, is the central neighborhood of the site and contains 2993 residences. The construction began in 1976, was interrupted in the following years due to the negative political and economic effects that occurred before the 1980 military coup, and after waiting for several years, it was completed in 1983.
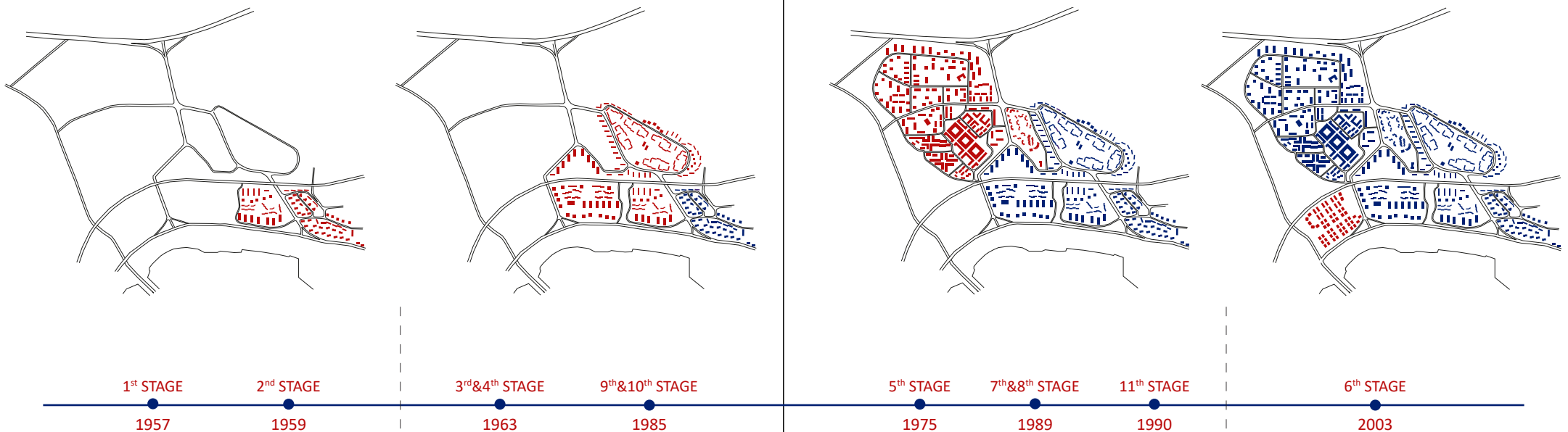
Instead of the 6th neighborhood, the construction continued

with the 9th and 10th neighborhoods in between 1985 and 1988, and it was foreseen that the 6th neighborhood would be built as a more prestigious neighborhood close to the see (Aktulga, 2016). In this period, modern architecture began to lose its effect gradually and opposing ideas emerged. Therefore, a disconnection between the houses and social areas has been observed. The choice of high-rise blocks, has led to the creation of deserted and unsafe environments on the streets. The number of people walking on the streets has also decreased due to the loss of human scale in the project.

The construction of the 7th and 8th neighborhoods, consist of 4348 houses, lasted in the years 1989 and 1991. The emergence of the concept of "gated community" can be observed in the neighborhoods in this period. Access to some blocks is provided by security control. The construction of the 11th neighborhood, on the other hand, started in 1990, and was completed together with the 7th and 8th.

In 2001, with the liquidation of Emlak Bank, the land reserved for the 6th neighborhood, the entire coastline and some other lands were transferred to TOKI (Aktulga, 2016). During this period, it is seen that the development of gated communities in Ataköy began as in various areas in Istanbul. 6th neighborhood was built as a TOKI revue sharing project. 6th neighborhood, with its new

Evolution of different stages in Ataköy over years

1st STAGE	2nd STAGE		3rd&4th STAGE	9th&10th STAGE
1957	1959		1963	1985

5th STAGE	7th&8th STAGE	11th STAGE		6th STAGE
1975	1989	1990		2003

name "Ataköy Konakları", began to be built in 2003 and was completed in 2007.

The houses of the 6th neighborhood, which are designed more luxurious with the developing technology, appeal to the high income groups. The concept of neighborhood with public spaces open to everyone as in other sites does not exist here. On the contrary, it is well isolated from outside and protected with high level of security. While green areas limit the environment in other settlements, high walls were demarcated in Ataköy Konakları. It is an example of a 21st century gated community in which human relations are restricted and the concept of neighborhood has been reduced.

The project is located on an area of 214 acres, consist of 58, five and six-storey blocks. There are 950 apartments in total. Access to the site is from a single secured gate. There is as well an auto recognition system at the entrance of the site. Non-residents have to pass from the security who asks the approval of the resident.

A social center, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, playgrounds, walking paths and a sports hall take place within the project. Garden arrangement is cared a lot in the housing estate along with a unit within the estate that provides service for landscaping. Right next to the area, there is a shopping center. A social center with a restaurant and a cafe, fitness, a spa center with sauna and Turkish bath serves a "prestigious" life to its residents inside of the project.

Ataköy Konakları shows how TOKI's approach to housing production in the early years, has changed over time. In the 50-year period between the first stage and the 6th stage, there have been many changes in the way of people thinking and social life. User requests have differentiated, and the requested standards have risen with developing technology. In the 1950s, projects were built without the need for secured estates and without limiting the space, after 50 years, high walls and security elements became indispensable.
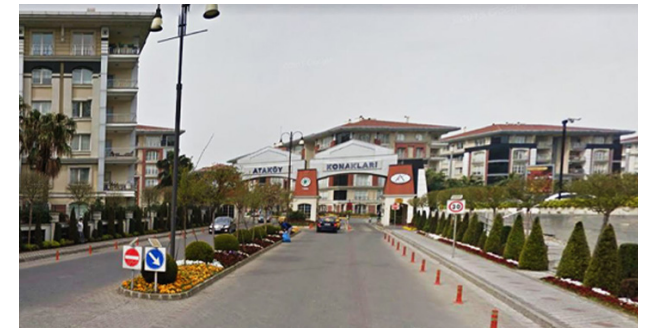

1st stage with free ground and access to public

beginning of privatization, 3rd stage with fences

increase in enclosure, 7th stage with a secured gate

6th stage (last built) with a gate and security as a symbol of prestige

Location of Avrupa Konutları 3 and Atakent, Halkalı

2
READING TOKI THROUGH ITS PROJECTS: THE CASE OF HALKALI

The first development of Halkalı- Atakent neighborhood, connected to Küçükçekmece Municipality in Istanbul, dates back to 1979. The region was declared as a mass housing area with the decision of the Prime Ministry in the same year. In 1984, the area was proposed to Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) by Emlak Bank, and the preparation of implementary development plans started.

By producing dwellings within the scope of social housing in Halkalı and keeping housing prices low, it was aimed that the middle-low income group will become a home owner in a short time. The first settlement, consist of three stages, began in 1990 and was completed in 2001. While the first stage is situated on an area of 730.000 square meters, 520.000 square meters for the second stage and 788.000 square meters for the third stage. In addition to residential areas, education, urban service area, cultural and commercial areas, parking lots and roads were also planned. Halkalı Mass Housing project, under the state guarantee, aimed at making many people homeowner in a short time, is Turkey's largest public housing project (Haksal, 1995). Avoiding the use of cost-increasing materials and methods, the main target has been the production of maximum number of affordable houses in the shortest time possible.

The development process that started in the area with the construction of TEM highway in 1988, continued with the production of the mass housing project, caused many industrial plants began

to emerge along the highway and the rapid increase in the population of the area. Halkalı, undergone a transformation process thanks to the mass housing projects for the middle-low income groups in the 1990s, gained value over time and increasingly became the center of the housing projects for high-income groups. Halkalı, undergone a transformation process due to the mass housing projects for middle-low income groups, gained more value over time and became the center of attention for high-income groups. TOKI began to play a key role in housing projects for high-income classes with the revenue sharing model.

Avrupa Konutları Atakent 3 is one of the projects built by the TOKI revenue sharing model. Artaş İnşaat, the contractor company, has been producing residential projects for TOKI since 2007. The company has produced 6300 houses, including the first and second stages of Avrupa Konutları. The contruction of Atakent 3 started in January 2011 and the turnkey was made in a very short period 18 months. The project, located on an area of 200.000 square meters, consists of 24 multi-storey apartment buildings, 2300 flats, 165 acres of open space, indoor and outdoor pools, ponds, walking paths, indoor parking, shopping mall, hotel, social center and sports facilities.

"We could build four Eiffel Towers with the iron we would use. With the concrete we would use, we could have built the tallest skyscraper in the world...But we are building Avrupa Konutları Atakent 3 with all these materials. Because we are working hard to provide everybody a life in European standards. We are in Atakent for the 3rd time with a giant project of 2300 residences."

(advertisement of Avrupa Konutları)

Deneç (2013) draws attention to the discourse in the advertisement of the project and points out that it is in parallel with the discourse of TOKI, which emphasized only quantity. Bayraktar (2011), the former president of TOKI, claims that the project was designed "in a style of a five-star hotel, a prestigious club or in the concept of the highest quality projects in the world's most advanced countries".

In this definition, we see that there is no mention of any qualitative feature that an architectural project should have. Instead, the project is intended to be marketed, by giving references that evoke luxurious and privileged life.
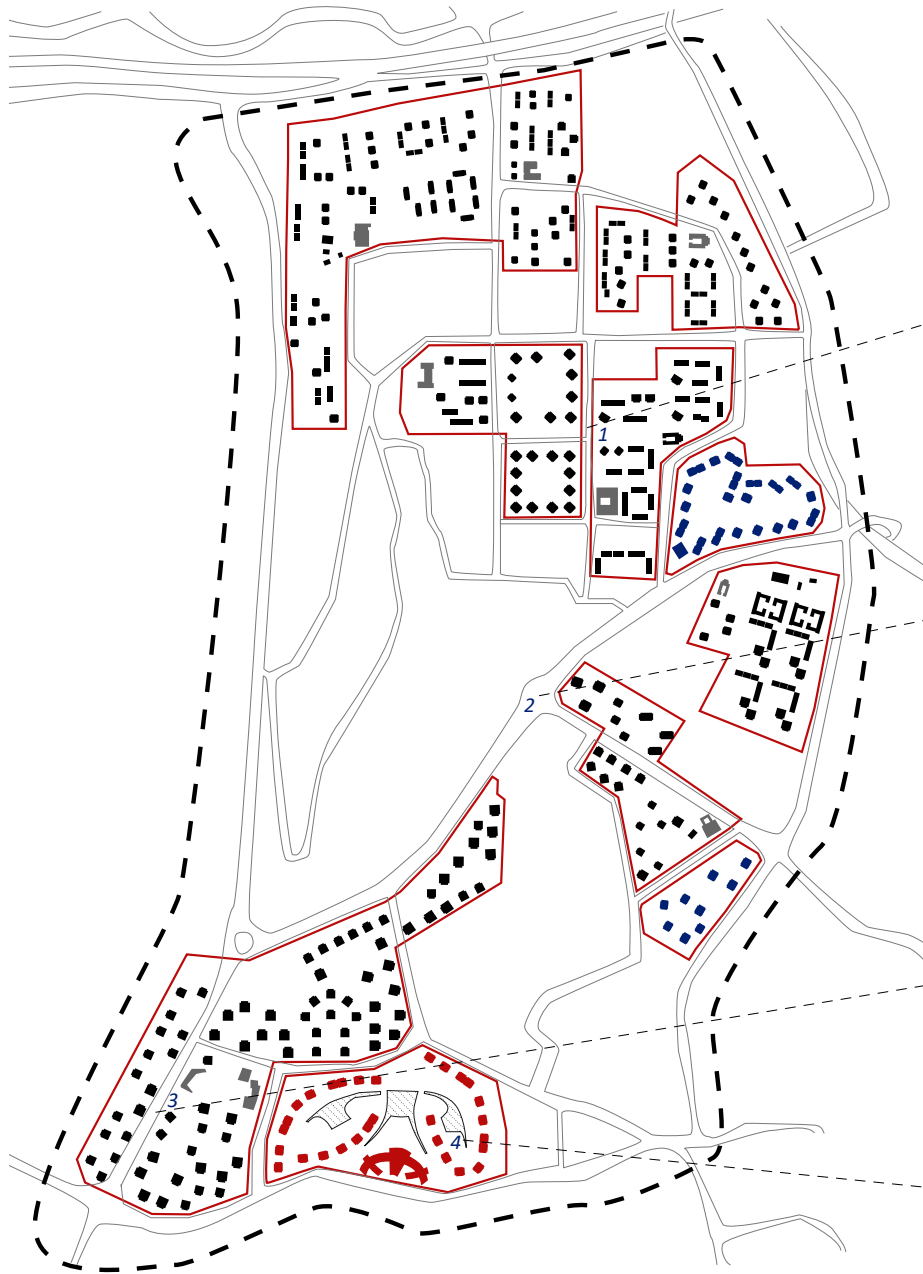
"In fact, completing the landscaping of 165 decares and the construction of 2300 apartments, in an area of 200.000 square meters in a short period of 18 months, gives an idea about the qualitative values of the project" says Eriş, the architect of the contractor company, in an interview. According to her, the differences that distinguish the project from other mass housing projects are the layout plan, the positioning of the blocks, landscaping and the materials used in the interior spaces. At this point, the distinction between "luxury housing" and "social housing" is reduced to the difference in materials and social reinforcement.

In such a short construction period, limited construction techniques and zoning rules, and in such a profit-oriented agenda, there is no place for architectural thought, research and experimentation. The reflections of these production mechanisms in the urban space of Istanbul, especially in the areas like Halkalı where TOKI projects are dominant, appear as ceaseless, identical apartment blocks. Tunnel formwork system is one of the main factors that allows fast production, but by causing the spatial and architectural monotony.

TOKI determines the program of the projects in general terms during the preparation of the tender specifications. There is no room for creativity and design, especially in the production of social housing; the plans selected from previous projects, are reproduced over and over again. The same situation is seen as well in the revenue sharing model. The number of the apartments, the height of the buildings etc. are determined by TOKI in advance. In the case of social facilities, on the other hand, the aim is to provide the similar services with competitor companies, and at the same time be as cost-efficient as possible. During the interviews held with the architects, Kurt expressed the company's concept of design as "the project should look beautiful, the residents should be comfortable, it should be a little bit different from other housing developments". For instance, one of the interviewees said that the floor covering material used in Atakent 1 was ceramic five years ago; however, he added that the material used in Atakent 3, which is a higher level project, was granite (Deneç, 2013). The interviewee shows that the "quality" difference between different group projects, emerges from the material difference. The interviewee points out that the "quality" difference between lower and upper class projects stems from the difference in material selection.

Another discourse that TOKI frequently used as a "quality" standard, is the "healthy buildings", which substitutes the earthquake resistant buildings. This discourse, which is constantly repeated by all the employees of TOKI, has become one of the most important arguments for mass housing construction and urban transformation projects. As understood from the interviews, the discourse of "healthy buildings", which frequently used to affirm mass housing production, is in fact based only on earthquake resistance, static and some technical parameters (Deneç, 2013). Only meeting this criterion is deemed sufficient to turn mass housing into livable, good quality urban spaces. For the "luxury" residences, on the other hand, the criterion of "health" is supported by the criterion of "comfort" and the choice of "luxury" materials. In both cases, architectural and spatial qualities are not in the discussion.

1

2

3

4

1st, 2nd, 3rd picture: TOKI mass housing project for middle-low income

Avrupa Konutları Atakent 3, high income group project built by TOKI
revenue sharing model

■ Mass housing projects for middle-low income

■ High-income housing built by TOKI revenue sharing model

■ Avrupa Konutları Atakent 3

Projects developed by TOKI in Atakent-Halkalı

Location of .Göktürk

3
A TOWN INVADED BY THE WALLS: GÖKTÜRK

Göktürk was a relatively unimportant village till the early 1990s, located in the northwestern periphery of Istanbul, comprised of rich water sources and dense forests. The significance of the village has been changed by the construction of roads connecting Göktürk with Maslak, the new financial and commercial center of Istanbul in the 1990s (Öktem, 2005). With the upgrading of Göktürk's administrative status from village to a higher one, the land development was allowed. The discovery of Göktürk by real estate developers, triggered a rapid growth and a building boom in the area. However, it is not the rapid increase in population that makes this place particularly important, but the characteristics and the structure of the population and the space.

Covering an area of 25 square kilometers, the former Göktürk village, today looks like an island surrounded by isolated residential areas. Kemer Country as the oldest and leading gated community example in Istanbul was built in 1989. The developer, Kemer Group, explained their aim with the construction of Kemer Country as offering a new country lifestyle to high-income residents of Istanbul metropolitan area. The next project was realized in 1997, followed by two others in 1999. The real construction boom in the area, began in the 2000s. This is how Göktürk became the "shining star" of Istanbul's real estate sector.

Göktürk is home to families with very similar structures, who like

to shop in the same places, go to the same restaurants, spend their free time with similar activities, choose the same schools for their children. Most of the residents in Göktürk live in houses with gardens, managed with the assistance of gardeners, helpers, and drivers. These houses are located in residential complexes whose boundaries can be clearly defined by physical indicators, often walls. Other aspects that strengthen this physical separation is the strict surveillance through controls at the gates and the security staff in the complexes, supported by high-tech security tools. All the elements used for the physical and spatial separation, are combined well in order to strictly limit and regulate the relation of these complexes with the outside.

Today Göktürk cannot be described only by the concept of a gated community with its increasing schools, hospitals, shops, restaurants, gyms and cinemas. It can be rather defined as a "gated town", although there are no real walls surrounding the development entirely.

During the interviews held in Göktürk, the participants stated that they go to the city (central areas of Istanbul) less often after they started to live in Göktürk (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). Doctor visits or shopping are the most common reasons to go to the city. They also added that they started not to feel the need of going to the restaurants in the city, thanks to the increasing number of restaurants and cafes in Göktürk. According to Candan and Kolluoğu, the inhabitants of gated communities in Göktürk, "seem to be clueless about parts of Istanbul other than the few middle- or upper-middle class neighborhoods. They can hardly name neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city".

The inhabitants of Göktürk has no or very few contact with other social groups. Their only communication with the working class is through the services they take from the security staff, waiters, nannies, gardeners, deliveryman and drivers. The knowledge about the other lower classes is "filtered" in the media and "draped" in fear and tension (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). A 45-year-old dietician exemplifies, "I had no personal experience of assault or attack. But we constantly read these kind of things in the papers and watch them on the television. One must be afraid". The same interviewee describes her experience in the city as follows:

When I go to the city I look forward to the moment that I come back home, and I try to return as quickly as possible. Perhaps I have forgotten how to walk on the streets, but it feels like everybody is coming onto me. All people seem like potentially threatening when I am in the city, particularly when I am not that familiar with the neighborhood.

Still, "they do not feel completely secure either in the shopping malls or even in Göktürk outside their homes and compounds" say Candan and Kolluoğlu. Almost all of the interviewees told stories about assaults around the supermarkets and shops, whose sources were quite uncertain. Most highlighted the poverty and ethnic origin of the inhabitants, citing the Göktürk village as a potential source of crime and danger. During the interviews it was noticed that daily life was structured around the children, their needs and activities. Most of the families decided to move to Göktürk to provide their children a safe and comfortable environment. According to the observations made, life structured around children and family causes an increasing "isolation" and "insularity". Their social bonds and relations with their neighbors and friends are weakening together with their relations to the city. Here, children grow up isolated and disconnected from the real city life. This cause them to not to be able to develop an identity and sense of belonging within the city. It can be seen the alienation of children to the real city life in the interview of a 51-year-old housewife, telling her daughter's reaction to the city:

[Here] it is the same cars, same houses, same streets. And it is a very isolated life, out of touch with Turkey. I feel sad for my younger daughter. She was very young when she came here. I sense that for instance when I take her to the Grand Bazaar she does not enjoy it at all. She wants to go home immediately; she cannot stand that ugliness and mess.

However, there is another important dimension of this "gated town". In Göktürk, an expanding privatization of local governance is seen. This process happens in parallel to the trend of privatization and "gating" across Istanbul. Privatization here comprises both the privatization of the provision of public services and the restriction of access to public resources. Each gated community in Göktürk hires a private management company to organize the necessary services for its inhabitants such as security and maintenance. From a local municipal perspective, on the other hand, the development of private gated communities can be advantageous in terms of providing the infrastructure for construction and maintenance costs. The inhabitants of Göktürk have almost no relationship with the local municipality.

Street views from Göktürk

Gated communities of Göktürk

Legend:

First settlement in Göktürk

Gated communities

Borders of the gated communities
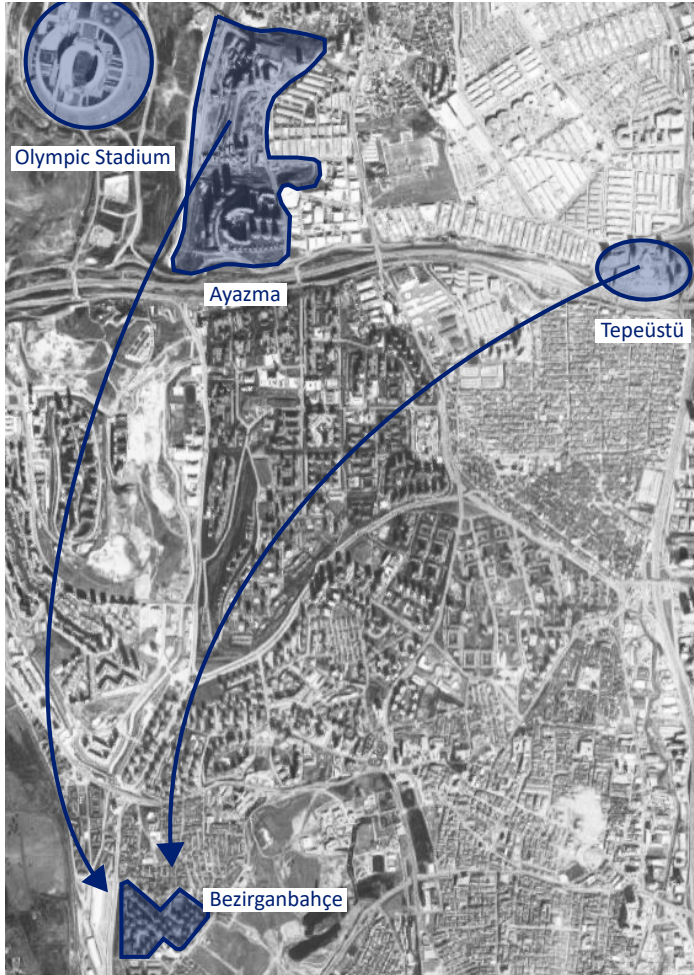
Relocation of Ayazma-Tepeüstü to Bezirganbahçe

4
FORCED RELOCATION FROM AYAZMA/ TEPEÜSTÜ TO BEZIRGANBAHÇE

Ayazma and Tepeustu districts are located on main transportation axes, in the western side of Istanbul, in the Küçükçekmece Municipal area, which was once in the periphery but with the expansion of Istanbul it is currently considered as center. In the 1990s, these areas have been affected by immigration from the east part of Turkey. Migrants consisted of Kurdish people who chose to leave their homes because of security concerns such as being faced by government pressure, burning of their villages and terror attacks, and moved to Istanbul to make a new start (Durmaz, 2016). They chose Ayazma-Tepeustu districts due to their proximity to factories and their cheaper land as opposed to the central areas. Thus, with the immigration movements in the area, illegal settlements began to emerge.

Küçükçekmece's proximity to the airport of that time (which does not exist today), natural assets, Ikıtelli industrial zone, and Ataturk Olympic Stadium, and its potential to host future international events such as the Olympic Games, called developers' attention. In 2004, Ayazma and Tepeustu were designated as "urban clearance" areas, after they were defined as areas of "social and physical decay" by Küçükçekmece municipality. It means that these urban areas need "complete demolition and to be replaced with new ones and the users of these spaces should be displaced or

replaced" (Turgut and Ceylan, 2006). The area was taken into urban transformation in 2004 by TOKI, Küçükçekmece municipality and the Istanbul metropolitan municipality to be regenerated for "prestigious" projects (Baysal, 2013). After the tripartite protocol was signed, the transformation project has begun to be implemented, and the project supervisors began to establish a one-to-one dialogue with the residents to decide the value of their property and the ownership rights (Turgut and Ceylan, 2010). The transformation project affected 1856 dwellings and 10,675 inhabitants in total. In the relocation process, since they are gecekondu areas with complex ownership status, different procedures were applied for groups with and without title deeds. First, for the landowners, the deed of consent was issued within the framework set by TOKI and the municipality, that offered 90 square meters housing for each 250 square meters land. Second, for those who did not have the title deeds, that is the majority of the inhabitants, the real estate value of the house was computed, and this cost of the value was later considered as down payment for their new houses in Bezirganbahçe Mass Housing Project constructed by TOKI.

Ayazma started to be demolished in parts starting from 2006. By February 2007, it had been completely evacuated. On the other hand, urban transformation in Ayazma-Tepeüstü was realized by means of building luxurious gated communities with some commercial activities for high-income people.

Ayazma-Tepeustu is known as the first and the largest urban transformation project realized in Istanbul. It is unique as the first project to relocate the entire inhabitants of a neighborhood to another site.

Bezirganbahçe Mass Housing Project built by TOKI was completed in 2006. The project is situated on 130,000 square meters, consists of 55 blocks, 12 storey with 48 apartments each. Besides the apartment blocks, green areas, basketball and football courts, playground, a medical center, a small shopping center and a school exist in the project site. The project was surrounded by walls and a security guard is positioned at the entrance.

The life at Bezirganbahçe is totally different from the one in gecekondu neighborhoods of Ayazma and Tepeüstü. While in their old neighborhoods people used to live in single or two storey houses with gardens, here they live in confined spaces in high-storey apartment buildings in Bezirganbahçe. Ayazma and Tepeüstü families, are typically large, with at least five children. Bezirganbahçe apartments, however, cannot meet the needs of these large families with their 90 square meters areas. Living in confined and small spaces with little access to the outside for these families who are accustomed to having neighborhood culture and hosting their guests in their homes or gardens, weakens their neighborly re-

lations as well. "In contrast to Ayazma, where a step outside welcomes residents with a green, spacious world, living in the blocks aggravates feelings of confinement. For women especially, most of whom do not speak Turkish, leaving the home has become a problem. They are afraid of getting lost among the blocks" says Baysal (2013) who made research and interviewed with people in the site. Dissatisfaction of the daily life in Bezirganbahçe blocks can be understood in the interview with Emine (quoted in Baysal, 2013), who is resident in one of the apartments:

> the low quality of the construction, small sizes of the rooms despite the large size of households, decline of face to face communication in the apartment life and the lack of access/ use of green space/garden are the main reasons of our dissatisfaction come up in my mind.

Some of the systems that helped the inhabitants to survive in Ayazma and Tepeüstü have disappeared in Bezirganbahçe. For instance, while they used to survive by growing crops in the gardens of their former houses, in their new settlements, landscaping has replaced their gardens. "We had our gardens there", says a 55-year-old woman during the interviews, "we would grow our own products, we had our fruits in the garden. We would not starve there. Here we are stuck in our apartments."

Ayazma-Tepeüstü population used to work with low wages and no social security rights at the factories close to their houses. Still, unemployment was barely an issue as there was always another factory within walking distance to find a job. Living in Bezirganbahçe, which is almost 2 hours walking distant from the industrial zone and does not have an adequate public transportation system, costs a lot to the inhabitants to look for a job. For those who are still employed, on the other hand, transportation costs take a significant amount of their budgets. As a result, most of the Ayazma-Tepeüstü population are unemployed and in debt (Baysal, 2013). New burdens, such as payments of monthly installments, bills and maintenance fee of the apartment blocks, created even harder conditions for the population of Ayazma and Tepeüstü who were already living under the poverty line and managing to survive thanks to the solidarity in their former neighborhoods.

Regulations concerning the public space use, are very restrictive in Bezirganbahçe. A private company is responsible for the management of the residential complex. The company is in charge of collecting the monthly maintenance fees, providing social services such as green spaces and playgrounds, and managing the maintenance of the complex. According to Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008), the regulation of the use of public space in the settlement also increases the sense of "captivity" defined by the inhabitants. Excessive emphasis has been placed on the implementation of a new lifestyle, as exemplified by detailed signs hung at the en-

trance of each apartment building, explaining "ways of living in an apartment building". There are various rules prohibiting their inhabitants from stepping on the lawn, sitting and gathering in front of the buildings. Especially women are affected, since they were used to gather with their neighbors in front of their former houses and in their gardens. When social gatherings to be held in the gardens of the apartment buildings are permitted; these activities are monitored and organized to ensure that no harm would happen on the landscape design. As a result of these regulations and implementations, it can be interpreted that the project administration not only assumes that the new inhabitants of Bezirganbahçe are not familiar with the rules and norms of modern urban life, but also adopts a condescending attitude. "The project administration assumes absolute command over the knowledge of what is modern and urban and is imparting this knowledge. All this, inevitably, connotes the civilizing project" (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008).

In addition to the limitations of the management, Bezirganbahçe is located in a neighborhood where a large share of inhabitants are known as the supporters of an ultra-nationalist party. Given the ethnic composition of the current population in Bezirganbahçe, the tension between Kurdish and Turkish is evident. Baysal (2013) claims that, Bezirganbahçe Mass Housing, with its isolated environment, presents new forms of poverty and social exclusion, as well as the growing ethnic tension and violence.

Section of Bezirganbahçe

View of the way to the site

Side view

Main entrance of Bezirganbahçe
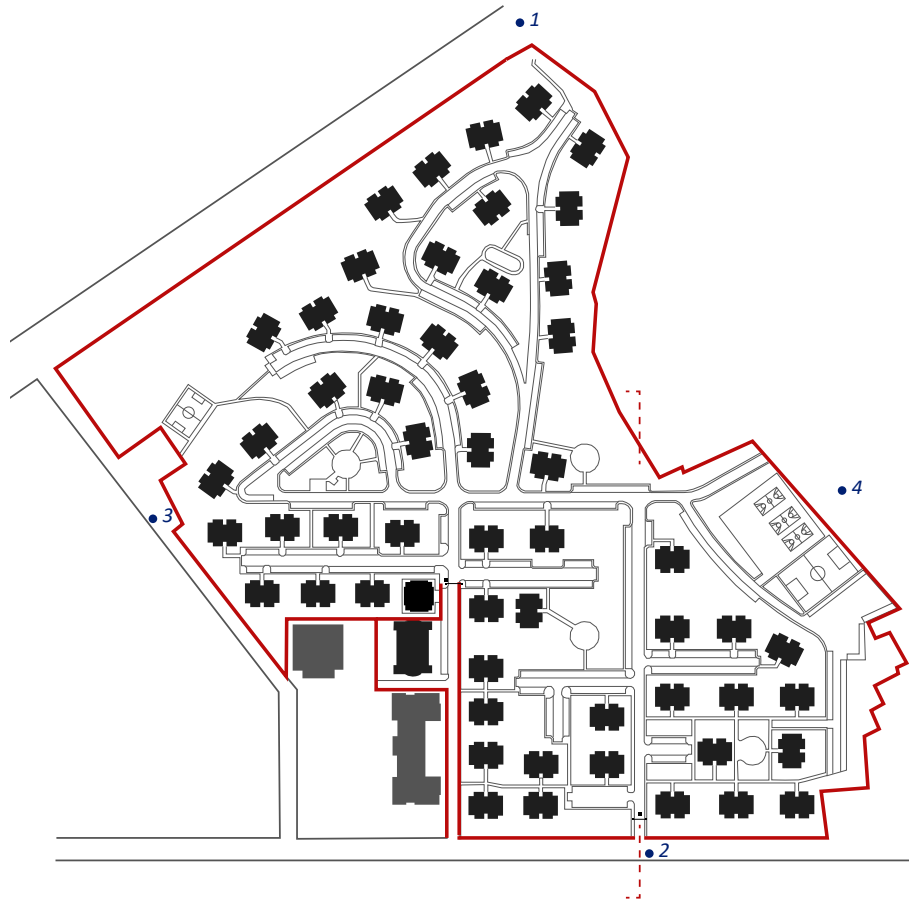
Aerial view

—— Walls of the site

Site plan of Bezirganbahçe

Location of My World Europe

5

A LIFE RISING ON THE RUINS: MY WORLD EUROPE

"I am Ali Ağaoğlu. This is Istanbul Ayazma. Here, we are establishing a new center of life with 3100 residences. 87% of the project will be green areas. There will even be a golf course in it. I have always wondered if there could be a garden in an apartment on the tenth floor. I designed it, there will be. Because in this country, everyone deserves to live in a beautiful, high quality house with a pool. In this new project, anyone who pays 10 thousand Turkish lira down payment will become a homeowner."

While saying that "everyone deserves to live in a beautiful, high-quality house", it is ironic that the immigrants who were evicted from Ayazma, today live in Bezirganbahçe Mass Housing in low standard conditions. Because once, at the exact location of Ağaoğlu My World, realized in partnership with TOKI, used to live Ayazma population that were relocated to Bezirganbahçe Mass Housing project, in better conditions.

The project, which faces TEM highway and has a metro connection, is located on an area of 200,000 square meters, close to Ataturk Olympic Stadium. The construction started in September 2010, and the residences were delivered to their owners in June 2013. The project consists of 3060 flats located in 17 blocks divided into three groups: Pool Residence, Arena Residence and Golf Residence.

Pool Residences contains 2, 3 and 4 bedroom flats in 6 blocks of

32 floors, located around a large outdoor pool. All the flats within the Pool Residences have their own terrace gardens.

Arena Residences, on the other hand, consists of 1402 flats in 6 blocks positioned around a square, with 3 adjacent blocks on one side and other 3 adjacent blocks in other side. The storey height of the blocks varies between 17 and 25, and there are 1 and 2 bedroom apartment types on normal floors, while there are 3 bedroom flats with private terraces on the upper floor. It is claimed that the "arena" gives the blocks its name, would become the vital point of the project. 47 shops located around a decorative pool on a large square, "will both form the center of the social life of the project and meet all the shopping needs of the residents with services such as cafes, restaurants, markets, coiffeur and pharmacy." The flats on the ground floor also have the opportunity to own their own gardens in Arena Residences. In the overall project, football, basketball, volleyball and tennis courts, as well as an indoor sports hall and kindergarten are located.

The third part of the project, Golf Residences, consists of 890 flats in total 5 blocks, with 2, 3 and 4 bedroom apartment typologies, located adjacent to a short tour golf course. In this section, a golf club, two separate outdoor pools, and open sports fields are found. All apartments in Golf Residences have large floor gardens.
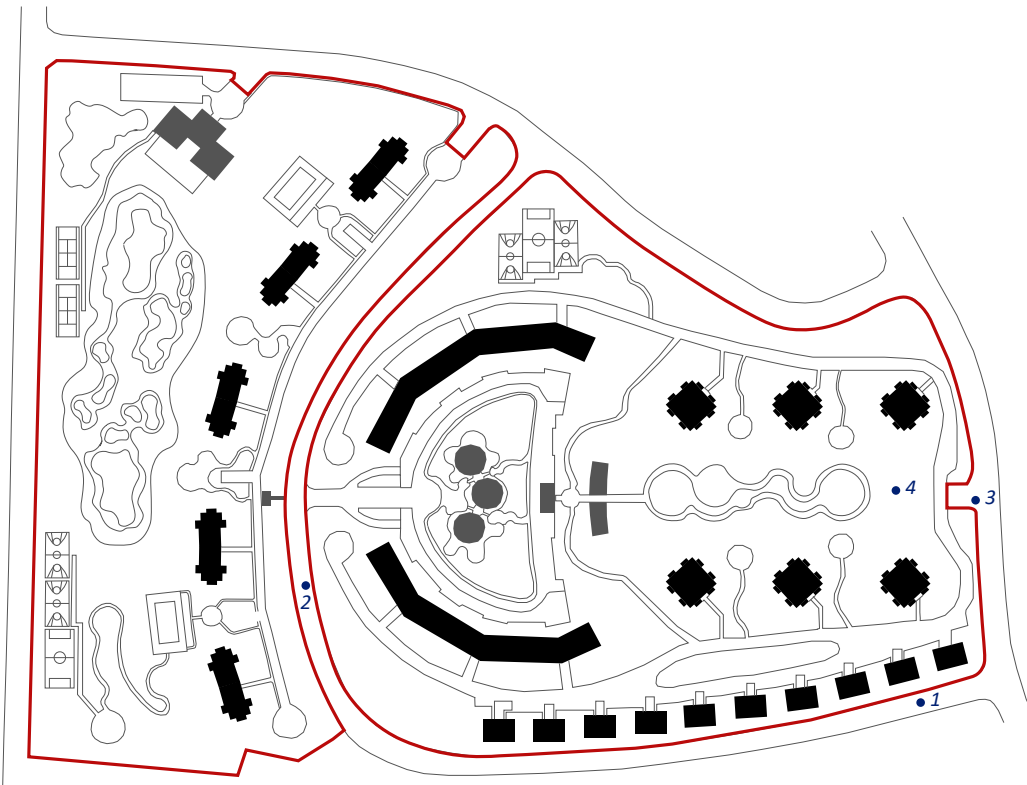
Additionally, there are a total of 20 villas, including 10 twins in My World Europe. These 4 bedroom type villas, which have a gross area of 230 square meters, reaching to 286 square meters with their gardens.

Another vital characteristic, as seen in the other gated communities, is having an advanced security system. The project consists of three private security controlled entrances for each residential group, and a security camera system recording 24 hours on the whole site. It is run by a professional site management with 142 staff member assigned to public relations, accounting, technical, cleaning, security and landscape maintenance. The rules to be followed on the site, such as the restriction of renovations on Sundays, registration of pets, prohibition of barbecue in common areas and prohibition of hanging things on the façade, are described in detail by the management and shared with the residents.

In short, site management acts as a "private government" and through the services and facilities provided in the project, the relationship between the residents and the external space becomes every day weaker.

Section of My World Europe

View of the way to the site

View from the street between two parts of the project

Entrance of the arena and pool residences

Pool view from the site

Walls of the site

Site plan of My World Europe

Location of Bosphorus City

6
LIFE IN A THEME: BOSPHORUS CITY

The number of gated communities which emerged in the 1990s, exceeded 500 in ten years, and this situation required construction companies to develop new marketing strategies by shaping their projects with different themes (Yardımcı, 2016). The first project, realized by reconstructing the features of an existing city or architecture, is the "Bosphorus City" housing project in Istanbul, which was initiated in 2005 and where architectural works along the Bosphorus are imitated. According to Yalçıntan (2012), such projects can be regarded as an innovation developed by the construction sector, which is thought to be badly affected by the economic crises in the 2000s, in response to the possible fragility in housing demand.

Situated on an area of 246,000 square meters, Bosphorus City is located in Küçükcekmece-Halkalı region. The project, whose construction began in 2008, was delivered to the homeowners in 2011. Yardımcı (2016) asserts that the developers of Bosphorus City have "possibly" foreseen all the risks that the real sphere Bosphorus exposed to in the future due to the rapid construction and transformation, and thus proposed a topological twin of it to replace with the destroyed one in 2005. In the center of Bosphorus City, there is a 720 meters long water channel, which is linked with a swimming pool at the end. As stated in the sales catalog, this channel represents the Bosphorus, "a wonder of nature, the

pearl of the city" that people have been passionately attached to for centuries.

Combining this "unique beauty" with a "privileged life", the given project consists of many different sections that are named after the districts of Istanbul. The "precious" mansions named Beylerbeyi, Çubuklu, Rumeli, Anadolu Hisarı, Yeniköy, Vaniköy and Boğaziçi are lined up side by side with a "cut and paste" approach, independent from historical, social, cultural and political meanings. In addition to these, there are many other housing options such as Yeditepe Towers, Saraybahçe and Erguvan Houses or Gölkule Residences, namely evoking the history and geography of Istanbul, in different sizes and different price ranges. Once again, two pedestrian bridges are located on the channel in the center, as the reminiscent of the real Bosphorus.

In the advertisement of the project, the most important aspect in the design is explained as its recreational areas where "water" and "green are intertwined, providing rich outdoor use. "The green texture accompanying the water was not randomly designed as residual spaces between residential buildings, but as a qualified open space that provides new meeting and gathering places for residents." Therefore, "the values of the daily urban life of Istanbul are preserved by the opportunities of socialization in open spaces". However, the urban life created in the project is not a real one. First of all, there is no heterogeneity of the city, everything is meant to be "perfect" and "homogeneous", differences are not welcomed. Second, it is a strictly protected space which is designed like a theatre stage, in which you forget about the real Istanbul and how a city life should be. This is better understood in an interview made with a middle-age woman resident of Bosphorus City: "There are so many opportunities and so many options to have fun and spend quality time. We have no reason to go to the city center. We always enjoy being here".

The existence of low-rise mansions by the water "required" an increase in the building density on the west and east sides of the site, accordingly, 12/13-storey "terrace houses" along the boundaries of the building lot, 16/13-storey arch-shaped blocks with roof gardens, and 20/14-storey towers with roof gardens, were designed. Moreover, blocks of three and four were combined to make a single mass in order to get larger green areas between the buildings by increasing the distance between them. While there are 80 different types of housing, project consists of 2800 apartments in total.

As in other prestigious gated communities, this type of lifestyle costs a lot. However, the issue of economic resources required to live on such a site is not limited only to the purchasing stage. Payments to the companies that have taken over the site management for the provision of services such as security, parking,

landscape maintenance would continue on a permanent basis. "Additional" services such as indoor pool and sports facilities, on the other hand, are mostly subjected to extra charges.

"Economic capital" creates a "natural" separation between those who can and cannot settle in these gated communities (Yardımcı, 2016). However, the aim is not only to bring people with similar economic conditions together, but also those with similar lifestyles. For instance, when Sinpaş GYO, the developer company, began to sell the apartments in Bosphorus City, its former customers and senior employees in contracted companies were firstly informed and invited to acquire an apartment.

Besides its luxury apartments, outdoor and indoor pools, basket courts, tennis courts, beach volley and mini golf areas, yoga and pilates studios, fitness centers, walking and cycling paths, health center with a Turkish bath and a sauna, cafes, restaurants, shops and markets promise a "privileged" and "comfortable" lifestyle. The private security system, which is active 24 hours a day, security cabins at the three entrances of the settlement, and the security cameras placed everywhere, aim to keep its residents feeling always safe. The site, which is managed by a professional team, has a "life guide" that explains in detail all the rules, services and facilities, how to use public spaces, and features of the project.

"We believe that we will protect the brand and value of Bosphorus City, establish a sense of common life, and create a peaceful and safe environment by complying with the regulations in this guide prepared to ensure the comfort and safety of our valuable citizens" (Site management, 2019).

Pictures in order: 1. Kanlıca, 2. Bosphorus Bridge, 3.Mansions on Bosphorus, 4. Mosque of Ortaköy
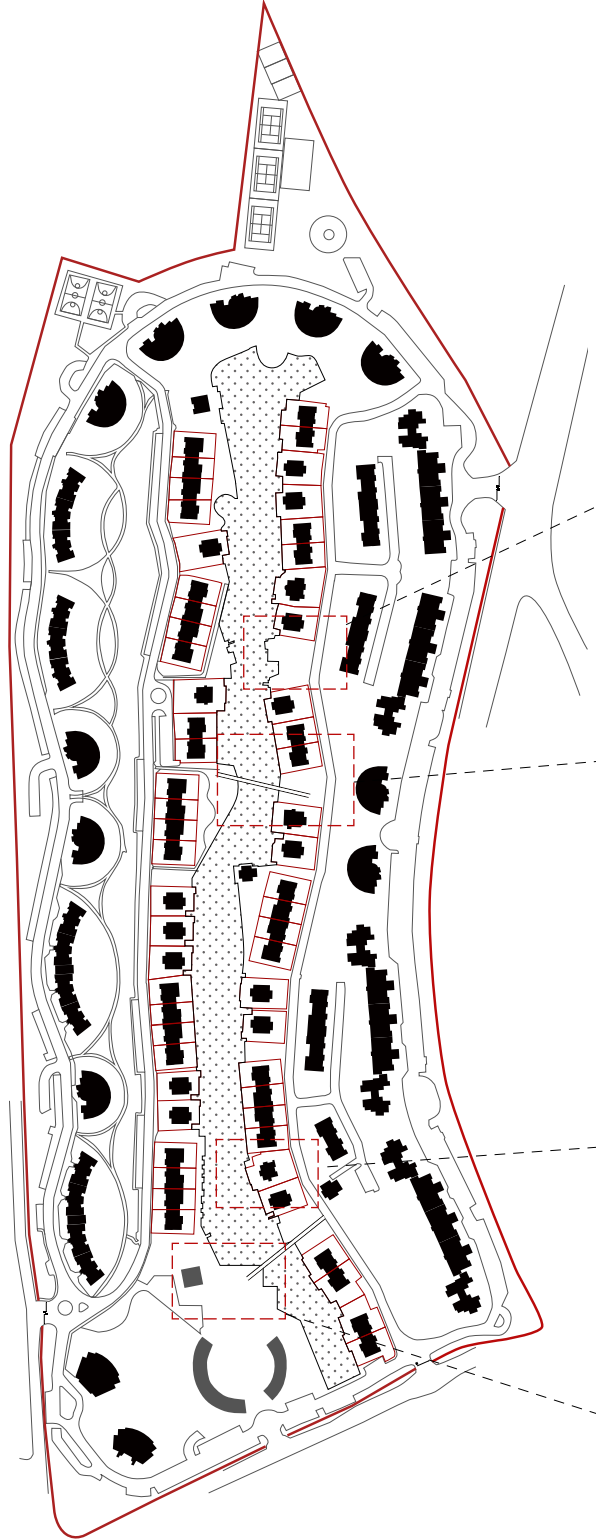
Site plan of Bosphorus City ——— Walls of the site

Pictures from Bosphorus City   *Pictures from real Bosphorus*

COMMENTS ON THE CASE STUDIES

Contrary to the concept of anthropological space, which is associated with the idea of a certain culture in time and space, as Auge discusses, the analyzed cases do not establish relations in the place they are located. They have repetitive features that can be applied in different places, and they can be easily moved to another location or interchanged with another place. They are increasingly detached from the outside world with strict security systems and walls. Tendency to enclosure have become the main aspect, whether in the housing developments of the rich or of the low and middle income groups. This trend, which started through gated communities of the rich, today is also dominant in middle income mass housing projects.

The change in the preferences and lifestyles of the society can be followed through the case of Ataköy. The aim was to create a modern and affordable housing for the middle-low income groups. Emphasis has been placed on establishing fluid and transitional green and common areas between the buildings. However, in parallel to the emergence of other gated communities in Istanbul, and the rising discourse of fear, the need for physical barriers has increased: each stage became more enclosed and secured. Eventually, in the sixth stage, the project has evolved into a gated community for the rich. Another significant point is witnessing the changing objectives and structure of TOKI. While the establishment purpose of TOKI was production of affordable housing for the low and middle-income groups, today its main target is high-income groups.

However, the question what makes the difference between middle-low income projects and high income projects, is debatable. TOKI's main concern is quantity rather than quality. It aims to produce as many houses as possible in the shortest time possible. Therefore, in both project types, tunnel formwork system is applied in order to have results quick and in large numbers. As a result, the same dwelling types are reproduced in all housing projects of TOKI, regardless of variables such as context, financing model or user profile. In Halkalı, as one of the biggest construction sites of TOKI, both projects for middle-low income groups and high-income groups can be observed in the same area. High-rise apartment blocks with standard floor plans and large openings between the blocks is the typology that was abandoned in the 1960s in Europe. Today it is being produced with large quantities in Turkey says Kurt (cited in Deneç, 2013). It is seen that the series of settlements produced with an understanding that is far

from forming any spatial pattern and is devoid of producing and urban culture or an area, that becomes the part of the city.

Another residential area that does not aim to create any link with the city is Göktürk. While it was a small village in the periphery of Istanbul, due to the development of the high-way, connecting Göktürk to the city center, and its proximity to the natural resources, it has become the "town" of gated communities. Despite the difference in developer type and construction type, life in Göktürk is not so different from the others: isolation and introversion behind the walls. However, it should be added that the lives that they live inside these estates, the opportunities that they are able to enjoy, are completely different. The rich are able to move around, to drive by car, to travel in Turkey and abroad, to have big flats with a lot of comforts and devices, and so on and so forth. For the poor, this confinement may have way more severe consequences in terms of the limitations of opportunities they are exposed to and resources they can enjoy.

The seriousness of the situation is evident from the interviews with residents. Fear of the "other" and city life is growing within gated communities. They are not only closed to the outside, but also start to act like a private government. Impoverishment of the public realm is increasing in parallel with the weakening of the local government.

So far, large areas transformed under the neoliberal policies and strategies were analyzed. Another important source that these strategies benefit from is the projects carried out under the name of "urban transformation / renewal". One of the main factors enabling and legitimizing these projects is the discourse that marks the areas where the urban poor live as "dangerous", ground for illegal activities, and areas of "social decay" or "social ill" (Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). Ayazma and Tepeüstü are one of these neighborhoods which was stigmatized, and after, undergone an urban transformation by TOKI. The inhabitants were relocated to the mass housing project in Bezirganbahçe. In contrary to their life in solidarity in single-storey houses with garden in their former neighborhoods, the new housing estate built by TOKI provided them an isolated life in the high-rise apartment blocks with claustrophobic flats in Bezirganbahçe. Their strong neighborly relations have also suffered because of lack of communication in their new way of living. Despite it is a low income housing project, Bezirganbahçe is secured by the private security and surrounded by walls and managed by the private administration. The increasing pressure of the private administration on the inhabitants is evident. Inhabitants are imposed to live in a certain way that is determined by the administration.

"When the developer Agaoglu's luxurious housing project My World Europe was erected on the site, the issue would all togeth-

er be resolved" says Baysal (2013). Right after the demolition and forced eviction in Ayazma, a high-income group project began to be built in partnership with TOKI and a private developer, Agao-glu. My World Europe shows the final outcome behind the urban transformation projects. On the one side, the poor living in exclusion in Bezirganbahçe, on the other side, the rich living in another kind of exclusion in My World Europe, behind the walls in the similar spatial arrangement of Bezirganbahçe: a model of living by being separated, is presented.

In the last case, a trend, which has recently emerged, is analyzed: gated communities developed with a theme or as the imitation of existing parts of the cities or architectural works. "When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning" says Baudrillard. Recently, while historical and cultural values are not properly protected imitations of these original values are presented in the projects such as Bosphorus City. While it may seem to refer to a "real" place in Istanbul, it is the exact opposite of what the enclosed development offers to the people: a life completely free from the diversity and chaos that actually mark urban life. As in other cases, those who live in homogeneous environments with same socio-economic groups, become increasingly alienated from urban life and "others", and afraid of leaving their environments.

In each case, privatization of public land and the loss of sense of public is evident. Private administration controls and organizes the living space of the inhabitants. Each segregated compound becomes more independent and self-enclosed. All of them, enclaves of the poor or the rich, gated communities or mass housing projects, they are built under the same implementations and strategies. The society is intended to be disciplined and controlled through space. Certain way of living is imposed on people. In any of these projects, there is no human at the center.

The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. ...The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is... one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

David Harvey

CONCLUSION

In order to grasp how today's space has changed, neoliberal policies and the globalization process must be well analyzed. While capitalism reflects its system to the space through construction in the cities, urban planning and architecture have been one of the main tools in the spread of capitalism and neoliberal policies. Dwelling, has no more been a "need" since the suburbanization trends, but the main object of the economy. People no longer buy a "shelter", but a "status" and a new "life style", in which all kinds of needs are met, isolated from the city, where same social and economic groups live together.

As Henri Lefebvre stated, the city is not merely a physical space, but also a "social product" where human relations and daily life are produced. While the capitalist system reproduced the space; the new fragments of cities produced are not build on, drawn on, embedded in, pre-existing social, cultural, economic structures, but rather independently developed. As a result, the bond that the individual established between the common culture and space developed throughout history began to weaken. "Place" has lost its characteristic as the determinant in society. As the place ceased to be the determinant, spaces shaped in different social, cultural and historical processes became "independent". Augé (1997) defines these spaces without any social, cultural and historical relation that enable the society to establish a common

bond with space, as "non-places". Therefore, isolated and secured gated communities, emerged as a reflection of the capital-oriented housing sector in the cities, are produced as "non-places".

As Turkey's biggest "mega-project", Istanbul, displays all the new characteristics of space changed by globalization. Particularly real estate investments, shopping malls, office towers, luxury hotels and urban transformation projects constitute the new venues of Istanbul. Mass Housing Administration of Turkey (TOKI), on the other hand, backed up by all the political and economic power, manages this process alone. The resulting gap between the urban poor and the rich is also concretized in the space by the projects realized by TOKI. With its vast budget and absolute authorization, on the one hand, TOKI builds mass housing projects in the urban periphery, and on the other hand, it develops gated communities for high-income groups by revenue sharing model. As it can be understood from the case study of Halkalı, the only difference between high-income projects and "social housing" in terms of architecture is the quality of materials and social facilities. Consequently, a series of stereotypical settlements devoid of human scale and isolated from the external world form the new silhouette of the city.

"The uncanny of urban life" and "the increase in the crime rate in the city" have always been the discourses that we are exposed to in our daily lives. The discourse of fear is constantly repeated by the media and those who develop gated communities. In this way, it is desired to keep the interest of upper classes alive. The urban poor and their gecekondus also get their share of this discourse. The poor, who are presented as a "threat" to urban life, are driven away from the city center by demolishing their gecekondu settlements under the name of "urban transformation" and are forced to live in mass housing projects. These settlements can be considered as the "gated community" of the poor. The latter have been exposed to further pressure as the administration of the settlements, intervenes into their daily lives and tries to regulate them. For those who used to live in a neighborhood culture and to survive thanks to the solidarity, like in Bezirganbahçe, living in high-rise buildings with tiny apartments, which have a weak relationship with their environment, develops into a painful experience. Instead of the demolished gecekondu areas, on the other hand, gated communities are built for the rich by means of TOKI. In both models, however, certain lifestyles are imposed on people through spaces.

Ataköy is a significant example in terms of showing how effective the discourse of fear in guiding relationships and preferences of a society. In different stages produced over the years, we see that the members of the society are alienated from each other, the need for self-closure has increased and consequently, the

concepts of neighborhood and sense of community have disappeared. The fact that the public spaces in the first stages have been replaced by secured and enclosed settlements in time, indicates that the need for security and surveillance has increased in parallel with global trends.

Nowadays, along with the standardization of gated communities, the usage of elements such as nature, history, architectural work, as part of a city in order to increase the demand, is observed. Fake lives are tried to be marketed through advertisements such as "where all dreams come true", "privileged center of life, intertwined with nature", "life in European standards". Historical and real urban life, on the contrary, with its whole diversity and movement, is turned into a scary and chaotic object that should be avoided. In the case of Bosphorus City, we see that the architectural work and cultural values, forming the memory of the city, are offered as a commodity to high-income groups.

"You can take a walk along the Bosphorus, watch the view from the bridge, and live a privileged and safe life in one of the Istanbul palaces."

The case of Göktürk as well can be exemplified as a "non-place". Göktürk with its residents with similar economic and social structure, expensive restaurants and cafes, design shops, private schools and hospitals, as an enclosed "town", has no identity or history. The emergence of such settlements, the increase in the privatization of public land, the weakening of the concept of public space, the desire of people to share the space only with similar ones and the fear of the different pose a great threat to urban life. Whether it is a mass housing or a prestigious gated community, the main aim is for all members of the society to become a part of a consumerist society. In the system where property ownership is encouraged, those with low income are made dependent on the economic and political system through indebtment. In addition, the common consumption areas offered in mass housing projects aim to adapt the poor to the new consumerist lifestyle.

Today, living sterilized lives behind the gates became the new normal. As the city breaks into pieces and the distinction between the poor and the rich is displayed over space, heterogeneity, which is the most valuable feature of a city as Lefebvre states, disappears. Correspondingly, people are further diverging from each other and common values are lost. Those who think that they live in luxury residences, on the other hand, actually turn into lonely individuals who have no idea about a city. As we hide behind the walls and isolate ourselves from those who do not share the same lifestyle as us, we become more and more alienated from both city life and each other. As we become alienated and segregated, we are more easily controlled and ruled. As long as we live in voluntary or involuntary exclusion, we lose our right to the city.

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