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TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY GATED COMMUNITIES
IN ISTANBUL

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 17 May 2017

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Abstract in English

The idea of gated communities was coined in the USA in 1970s and was a result of the post-modern period and suburbanization. During modernization, cities had gone through social, cultural, political, and economical revisions. Consequently, business and residential areas in the city continued to evolve and create new forms. Following this period gated communities offered new understanding of life, security, relations, and status. Subsequently, the phenomenon has rapidly spread all around the world after the 1980s.

Istanbul was introduced to the idea of gated communities in 1980s as a result of globalization by following a new vision of a Global City. Being the historical, cultural, and economic center of Turkey, Istanbul holds a great value in terms of social and economical investments. Following the international neoliberal economic trends, Istanbul has attracted many investors and a large labor force. Consequently, the rising demand of housing and business areas invigorated the real estate market in Istanbul, and gated communities were seen as a modern way of housing. As a result, a variety of gated communities were built in Istanbul to meet this new demand.

In this research, the social and cultural reasons for living in the gated communities and their impacts towards its residents were studied. The research was aimed to analyze the collective behaviors of the residents, and to review how the residents had changed their behaviors and perceptions towards the inside and outside community after they started to live in gated communities. Through field study, these arguments were discussed from the users point of view via surveys and interviews. Briefly, the personal experience and changed behavior of the residents are studied along with general characteristics and features of gated communities in Istanbul.

The research consists of three parts: the origins and main features of the gated communities; the formation process of the gated communities and their typologies in Istanbul, and the factors that caused this process were discussed along side with gated communities' city scaled effects; and the behavioral and perception changes of the residents due living in the gated community were debated with the interviews made in the field study.

Keywords:

Gated community; residential experience; collective behavior, Istanbul

Abstrakt v českém jazyce:

Idea uzavřených rezidenčních objektů (*gated communities*) má svůj původ v USA v 70. letech 20. století. Zrodila se jako výraz postmoderní společnosti a důsledek suburbanizace. Města prošla řadou proměn v sociálním, kulturním politickém a ekonomickém směru, přičemž nových forem nabývaly také obchodní a rezidenční čtvrti. *Gated communities* nabízely nové pojetí života, pocit bezpečnosti, příslib mezilidských vztahů a společenské prestiže. V 80. letech 20. století se *gated communities* rychle šířily po celém světě.

V témže období se začaly objevovat také v Istanbulu, a to v kontextu globalizace, neolibérálních ekonomických trendů, a tzv. *brandingu* Istanbulu, resp. vytváření jeho nového obrazu, jakožto „globálního města“. Příliv nové pracovní síly, velký zájem investorů a celkové oživení trhu s nemovitostmi stimulovalo ve městě výstavbu nejrůznějších typů *gated communities*, chápaných jako moderní, „up-to-date“ forma bydlení.

Tato studie se zabývá sociálními a kulturními motivacemi k životu v *gated communities*, a zároveň zpětným účinkem tohoto typu bydlení na jejich obyvatele. Výzkum se proto zaměřil na studium kolektivního chování obyvatel a zejména otázku, jak se proměnilo jejich chování, ale také jejich vnímání nejen vnitřního světa *gated community* i světa vnějšího poté, co začali v *gated community* žít. To vše je zkoumáno v rámci případové studie z pohledu samotných uživatelů, a to zejména na základě dotazníkového šetření a rozhovorů provedených v *Evimiz Beylikdüzü*, zvoleného příkladu *gated community* v Istanbulu.

Diplomová práce se skládá ze tří částí. První část přibližuje zrod a hlavní aspekty uzavřených rezidenčních objektů. Druhá část se podrobněji zabývá formováním a typologií *gated communities* v Istanbulu, a dále faktory, jež vedly k rozšíření tohoto typu bydlení v Istanbulu, jakož i dopadem tohoto procesu na město jako takové. Třetí část je případovou studií, jež rozebírá změny v chování a vnímání obyvatel konkrétní istanbulské *gated community*. Jako primární zdroje zde posloužily především dotazníky a rozhovory provedené v rámci terénního výzkumu.

Klíčová slova:

Gated community; zkušenost obyvatel; kolektivní chování; Istanbul

Önsöz

Korunaklı Site (Gated Communities, GC) fikri 1970'lerde ABD'de banliyöleşme ve post-modern akımın sonucu olarak ortaya çıktı. Modernleşme periyodu süresince şehirler birçok sosyal, kültürel, siyasi ve ekonomik dönüşüme uğradı. Sonuç olarak, kentlerdeki iş ve yerleşim alanları gelişmeye ve yeni formlar yaratmaya devam etti. Bu dönemi takiben, korunaklı siteler hayat tarzı, güvenlik, ilişkiler ve statü konusunda yeni anlayışlar önerdi ve 1980'lerden itibaren korunaklı siteler formu tüm dünyaya hızla yayıldı.

Korunaklı siteler formu, İstanbul'da, 1980'lerden sonra küreselleşmenin ve küresel şehir vizyonunun bir sonucu olarak oluştu. Türkiye'nin tarihi, kültürel ve ekonomik merkezi olan İstanbul, sosyal ve ekonomik yatırımlar açısından önemli bir konumda bulunmasının da katkısıyla, globalleşme sürecini takiben, uluslararası neoliberal ekonomik reformlar sonucunda birçok yatırımın ve işgücünün merkezi haline geldi. Sonuç olarak, konut ve ticaret alanlarının artan talebi, İstanbul'daki gayrimenkul piyasasını yeni arayışlara sürükledi. Korunaklı sitelerin modern bir yaşam biçimi olarak topluma sunulmasıyla bu yeni talebi karşılamak için İstanbul'da çeşitli korunaklı siteler inşa edildi.

Bu araştırmada, korunaklı sitelerde yaşamaya neden olan sosyal ve kültürel sebepler incelenmiş ve bu tarz konutların, korunaklı site sakinleri üzerindeki etkileri sorgulanmıştır. Araştırmanın amacı, site sakinlerinin kolektif alışkanlıklarını analiz etmek ve onların korunaklı sitede yaşamaya başladıktan sonra toplumsal davranışlarıyla birlikte değişen iç ve dış algılarını sorgulamaktır. Yapılan saha araştırması ile bu argümanlar, anket ve raporaj yoluyla kullanıcıların bakış açısından ortaya konmuştur. Kısacası, kapalı site sakinlerinin kişisel tecrübeleri ve değişen davranışları, İstanbul'daki kapalı sitelerin genel özellikleri ve örnek uygulamalarıyla birlikte incelenmiştir.

Araştırma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde, korunaklı sitelerin kökeni ve ana özellikleri; ikinci bölümde, korunaklı sitelerin İstanbul'daki oluşum süreci, tipolojileri ve bu sürece neden olan faktörler ile birlikte korunaklı sitelerin şehir ve insan ölçekli etkileri incelenirken, son bölümde korunaklı site sakinlerinin davranışsal ve algısal değişiklikleri, saha araştırmasıyla yapılan çalışmalar aracılığıyla tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Korunaklı siteler; korunaklı sitede sosyal yaşam deneyimleri; İstanbul

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1.Introduction

Urbanization covers various phenomena such as the rise of the city, housing, private, and public space, and space transformation. One of the most important phenomenon of urbanization is, undoubtedly, housing. Definition and forms of housing have transformed through time and consequently, expectations towards housing and its surroundings (environment) have changed considerably. The other major term under the urbanization process is the city. City and its urban periphery are multi-layered living organisms with distinctive cultural, economic, and historical backgrounds. Cities have unique structures and particles, like any other system, but in a larger scale. In creation of these structures the most effective factors are culture, religion, economy, and history. The power of these factors and their effects on the cities changed in time, and all of them transform the city in genuine ways. The city as a whole and its particular elements are highly interlinked dimensions that are mutually constitutive of each other.

This research deals with one of the most significant phenomena of transforming cities in the 21st century, gated communities in the context of Istanbul. Seemingly universal, translatable model of housing such as gated communities (GC) has shaped the specific local context of Istanbul and conversely, the GCs (as particles of Istanbul) in turn affect the transformation of the city both physically and socially. Although the physical transformation of Istanbul is important, this research aims to draw more attention to the changes in the social environment. Following this logic, in the theoretical chapter, definitions and the main features of GCs are highlighted through literature review with its origin examples from the United States of America. In the second part of the theoretical chapter, GC phenomenon in Istanbul and its urban periphery are argued deeply with selected studies from Turkey, and this chapter demonstrates, how the general features of GCs were applied in Istanbul, and how the GCs became the major element of the transformation of Istanbul. The main aim of this research is to reveal behavioral and perceptual changes of the residents with the impact of GCs. Therefore, how does this new form of living change the way of life is questioned in the final chapter. The surveys and interviews carried out during fieldwork have examined the impact of GCs towards its residents, and consequently towards the social environment of Istanbul.

The structure of thesis is shown in the Figure 1 and 2 below:

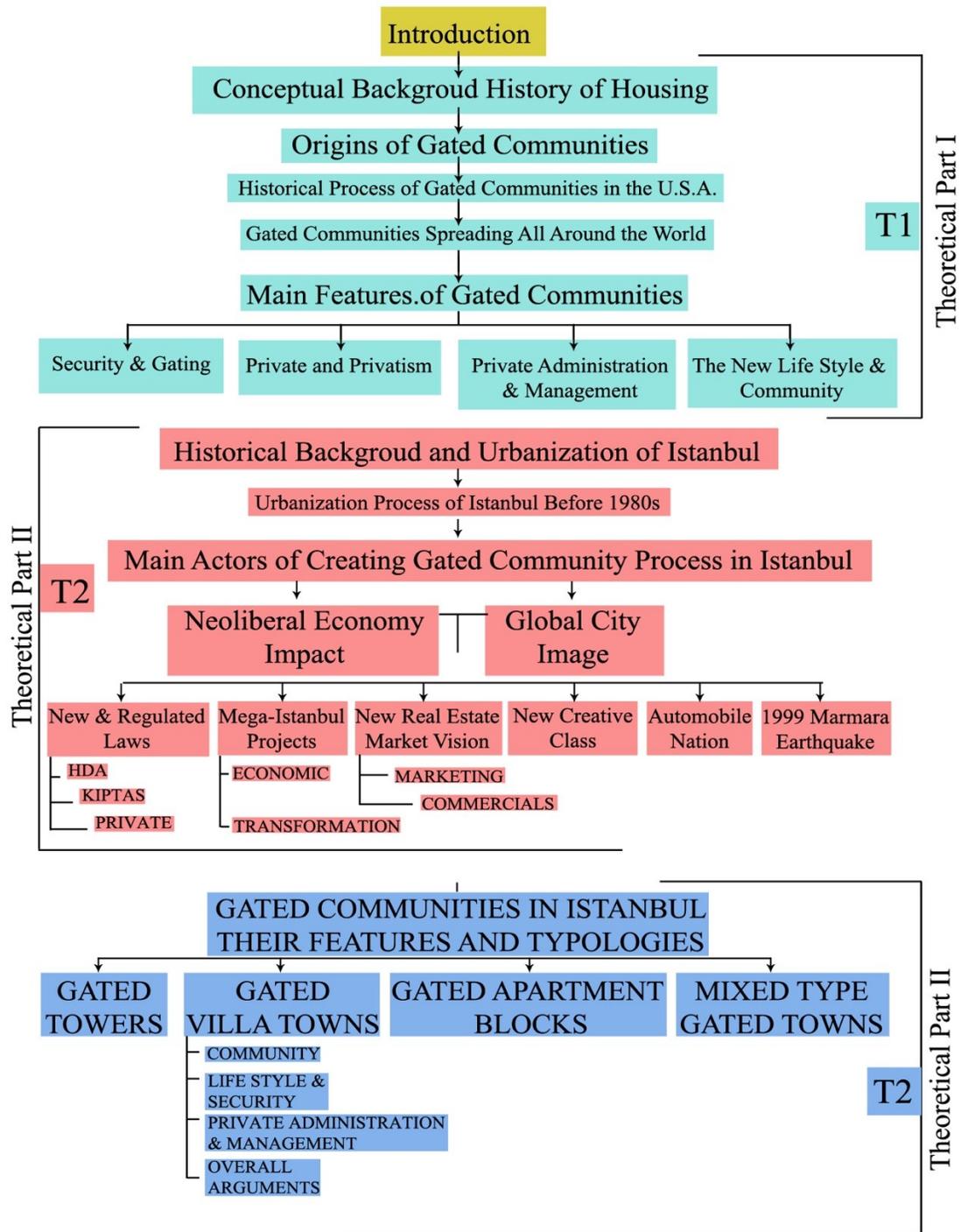


Figure 1: Theoretical Parts Structure.

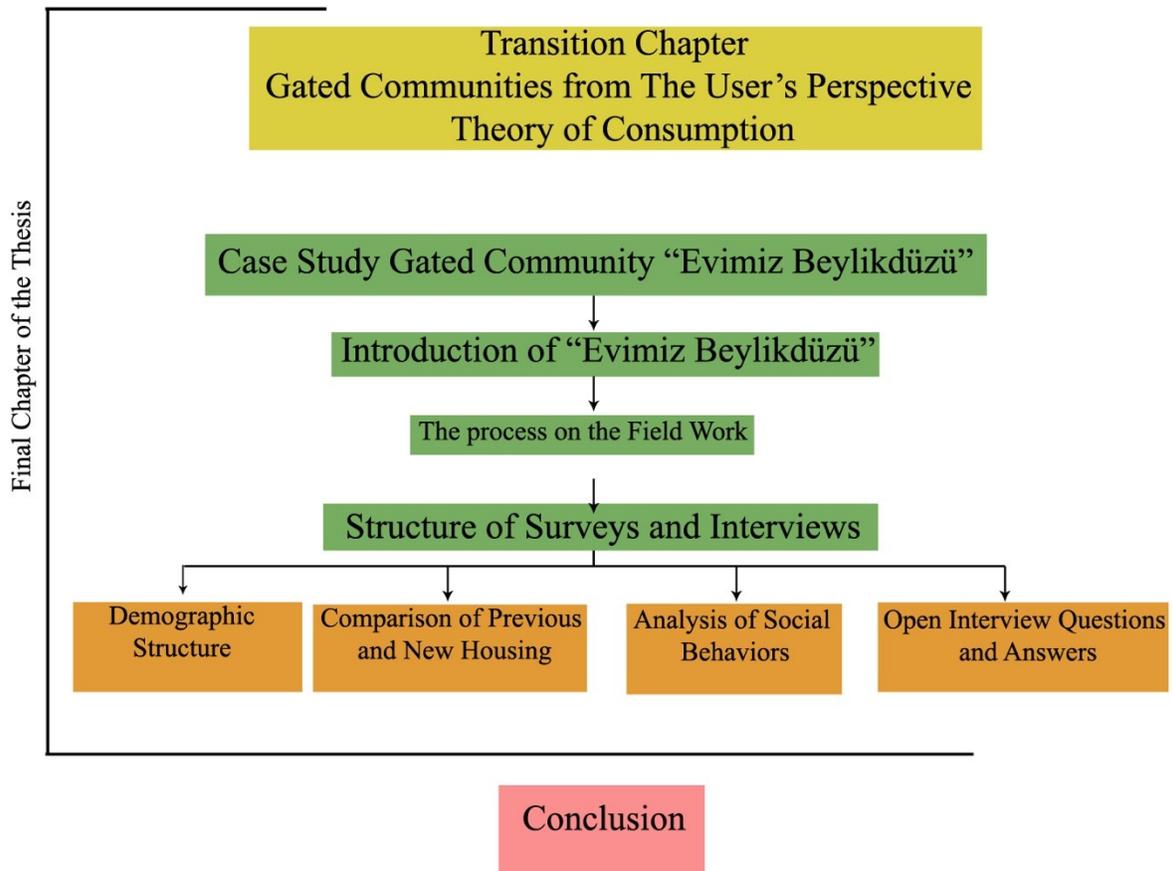


Figure 2: Analytical Parts Structure.

1.1. Conceptual Historical Background

“Housing is not only a problem of capacity; it is also a social phenomenon”

The origin of housing was related to protection and shelter, and today housing and its relation to the city is one of the key elements of the urbanization process. Even though, the formation of houses has changed over time, with protection and shelter continuing to be fundamental elements. Conceptual background and history of housing have wider context than the city phenomenon, as houses did not only emerge inside of the cities. However, the housing processes are interrelated with the cities and their periphery were the key elements that shaped the urban history.

When examining the creation of modern cities, it is important to understand the significance of industrialism. The Industrial Revolution and advances of transportation technologies (railway and underground solutions such as tram, metro and automobiles) have reconstructed the image of the city, and became driving forces of the creation of modern cities. In terms of economy, in the western world (England, Germany, and France) between the 1820s and 1870s the Industrial Revolution started to influence every aspect of life (Lucas-Robert, 2002). Furthermore, contribution of Agricultural Revolution in England supported the need of raw materials, subsequently, mass production increased and capitalism flourished (Lucas-Robert, 2002). Consequently, these changes drew more people into the cities with the hopes of finding better opportunities for living, resulting in the creation of a working class in the social hierarchy; economic and cultural-based polarization also became reflected in housing (Hall, 1988). Leading western cities such as London, Paris, and Berlin social classes started to develop settlements in different locations of the city and became increasingly separated from each other (Hall, 1988).

Ebenezer Howard’s idea in “Garden City” can be considered the first large-scaled organized attempt to solve social and economic problems of the London slums (Hall, 1988). Howard wanted to create a garden city within the close territory of London in order to take the pressure of the growing population of the working class out of the city, and to give the lower class a better condition of living (Hall, 1988). This approach was unique in many ways as Howard was imagining the bigger picture; he tried to understand this problem from many dimensions (lack of housing, poor physical conditions of the slums, distortion of the social structure in the slums, changing norms and morality codes) (Hall, 1988). The impacts of Howard’s ideas have also changed the perception of the city, and gave new terms to literature (centralization and

decentralization), and have also led to reinterpretation of known terms such as scale, circulation, and density in the following years.

Ideas about urban planning and creation of modern cities have reached wider perspectives with the impact of modernism in architecture. In this context, the legacy of Swiss architect Le Corbusier could not be ignored due to his extraordinary understandings of the urbanization processes. The most crucial idea presented by Le Corbusier was the mass production of housing; In the plans of Paris, Le Corbusier designed housing estates as apartment blocks as he thought that the mass construction process was fit for such designs (Hall, 1988). He imagined these housing blocks as part of a perfectly functioned machine and were meant to serve as “protective cells” for the people who were participated in this organized system (Hall, 1988). Ironically, this plan was never implemented in Paris, yet the vision of Le Corbusier was applied in the other parts of the world (Russia, Brazil, Turkey, Germany, etc.). Le Corbusier and Ebenezer Howard were both criticized for misunderstanding the problem of housing and the community issues but their ideas had success in terms of pointing out the problem, which was fundamentally social (Hall, 1988).

Mass construction of housing blocks in the modern period of architecture was considered a solution for the lack of housing issue. Furthermore, one could also have observed that mass production was also influential for industrial design. This demonstrated that the idea of mass production becoming more dominant over other disciplines. Consequently, the charm of solving the lack of housing problem rapidly with the help of mass construction resulted in ignoring the social dimensions of the problem. In the following years the most recognizable example “Pruitt–Igoe” exposed the vital importance of social aspect of housing with demolished apartment blocks in the U.S. city of St. Louis, Missouri, between 1972 and 1976, due to social disorder, poverty and crime (Ramroth-William, 2007).

2. Origins of Gated Communities

The process of housing throughout history was important for better understanding of the origins of gated communities (GC). Since GCs could be referred to as products of the post-modernization period, they were influenced by the ideas of previous ideologies before them such as mass housing and modern period of architecture (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003). Another reason to include Conceptual Historical Background into the research was the fact that the ideologies of GCs were shaping the social and physical structure of its territory (Özkan and Kozaman, 2006; Geniş, 2007). The idea of GCs emerged in 1970s in the United States of America and has a multilayered historical background (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). This background is highly interrelated with social, cultural and economical phenomena.

“Over the history of the United States of America, GCs has evolved significantly. Although they initially served as means of protection for colonists against indigenous-people groups, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these fortified residential communities developed into areas that provided prestige, privacy, and protection for wealthy inhabitants. Modern GCs became common through the prevalence of gated retirement communities, country clubs, and resorts. Today's residential GCs have different faces, both houses and apartment complexes, and people living in these communities are more diverse than those of the past” (Vesselinov, 2008, p. 538).

The definition of GCs has been reframed by different scholars throughout history. For example, Blakeley and Snyder (1997) defined the origin idea of GCs as being a communal walled and fenced residential space. Low (2003) argued that borders of the GCs could be defined by walls, fences, or even natural barriers to create restricted access. Burke (2001) formulated the definition of GCs around security, which can transform depending on the location and expressed that GCs have built in security zones to reduce the social problems of a certain territory. McKenzie (1994) underlined another main feature of the GCs which was private administration. According to McKenzie (1994), these enclaves labeled themselves as privatopia, and Gooblar (2002) added that this form of strict relations was raising social polarization in the society. According to Caldeira (1996) this aspect was pointing out the changing definitions of public and private space.

Vesselinov (2008) argued that GCs emerged as privatized areas for people able to afford them. GCs offered private housing with recreational areas and facilities within secured gates. This form

of living gave the possibility for owners and renters to live with people from similar income levels and to perform their social activities and interests in the same secured gated area. Since the idea was to create a homogenous community, the definition of GCs was often defined as gated enclaves (Grant, 2005), or enclosed neighborhoods (Landman, 2000c). Many scholars described GCs as modern kingdom or feudal cities of the middle ages (Luymes, 1997). Each definition points out an important feature about GCs such as gating, security, community, administration, and etcetera. In order to discuss the phenomenon more effectively, main features and ideologies of GCs can be summarized and structured under four subgroups as listed below: : Security and Gating (walls, fences, gated, and watched limited access); Private and Privatism “*Privatopia*” (community and enclaves inside of the gates, changing definitions of public and private space); Private Administration and Management (administration and economic relations within the GCs) and; the New Life Style and Community (question of race, segregation and homogeneity of the community inside the gates) (Blakeley and Snyder, 1997).

2.1. Rise of Gated Communities in the United States of America

In the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s, GCs were rare in the United States of America with early cases of GCs were people looking for a shared community with those who have similar norms in life (McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997). GCs in USA first started in the form of retirement homes in states such as Arizona, California, Florida and Texas due to the good weather experienced year around (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Additionally, there were social factors that triggered gating process such as race, segregation, and social inequity (Low, 2003). In the subsequent years, between 1970s to 1980s, GCs have continued to be built using the retirement home typology (Vesselinov, 2008). In the early 1980s, changing economical and political norms increased the problem of income and social inequality (Low, 2003). Therefore, Low (2003) argued that these dynamic revisions in a growing society embittered the social problems between different races. In addition, Byers (2003) indicated that due to these problems in society, people who could afford to live in GCs considered this option as a salvation. The possibility of living in relative security led to residents isolating themselves through living in a GC and escaping the problems of society. It can be stated that pioneer GCs were more suitable for affluent individuals in early cases (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). Low (2003) expressed GCs as a new form of housing in the early 1970s demonstrated, firstly, economic inequality, and then it reflected on social inequality. These

factors mentioned above had an impact on pioneer GCs being defined as affluent enclaves. In the 1980s, there was a large immigration to USA from Latin-American countries triggering further security and the race issues (Low, 2003; Vesselinov, 2008). The influx of immigrants led to GCs becoming a mainstream housing option as developers were focused on the lower and middle class, and immigrants moving into the GCs (Vesselinov, 2008).

“Evidence from our prior research confirms the fact that GCs are no longer only for the affluent social groups: 38% of residents of owner GCs in the South and West belong to the middle class and 37% belong to the upper class” (Vesselinov, 2008, p. 540).

The mainstream rise of GCs created new norms and problems with it such as social polarization and imitation of class, and typology of housing units of GCs shifted from a single-family detached house to high-density buildings (Aydın Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). Atkinson and Blandy (2005) argued that GCs becoming common phenomenon in the middle class increased ghettoization as GCs based on ethnicity started to appear. Consequently, GCs became separated spaces with a new social ecology within the city (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). Furthermore, Byers (2003) pointed out that GCs reaching the middle and lower class had a crucial impact on the changes of traditional norms by the effect of globalization. Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu (2015) stated that contemporary GCs could be defined as a global form of housing since the 1980s, when neoliberal economic policies gave possibility for spatial transformation of cities. GCs were supported by both private and governmental investors due to pursuit of security, lifestyle or fear of crime (Aydın Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). Thus, Aydın -Yönet (2011) finalized the conceptualization of contemporary GCs with the phrase that “gated communities are products of globalized world” (Figure 3).

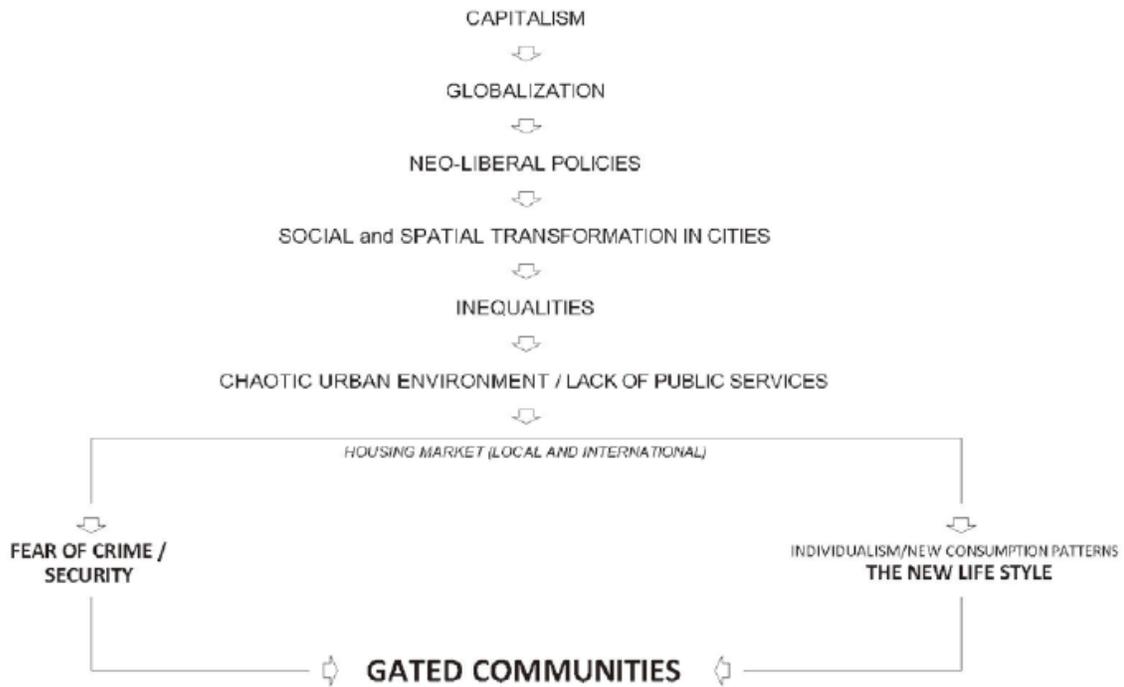


Figure 3: Emergence of gated communities (Aydın-Yönet, 2015, p. 2)

2.2. Gated Communities Spreading World Wide

The first wave of the gating period could be observed between the 1970s to the 1980s in the United States of America (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). According to Blakely and Snyder, (1997), one in fifty of all the housing developments in the USA were GCs meaning that in, 1995 4 million, in 1997 8 million, and in 1998 16 million Americans were living in GCs. Low (2008) highlighted that in 2007 that in 3 million dwellings, 20 thousand were GCs. These numbers indicate the rapid growth of GCs in the USA, which also pointed out that people commonly preferred to live in a private property (McKenzie, 1994; Caldeira, 1996; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Gooblar, 2002; Low, 2003), Despite the different features, GCs have continued to grow in USA, and subsequently spread to South America, Europe, and other parts of the world (Blandy, *et al.*, 2003). With the impact of media, marketing, and the pursuit of security, lifestyle, and community, GCs spread and started to reshape urban surroundings, worldwide (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Webster, *et al.*, 2002; Grant, 2005; McGoey, 2003).

The main concepts of the GCs defined according to function, location, culture, and etcetera. For example, in USA GCs were suitable for the elites and higher class (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). However, they emerged in Latin American countries as summer resorts (Coy and Pöhler, 2002). In Europe, GCs emerged in outskirts of the big cities (London, Amsterdam) for seasonal use; on the other hand, in Asia and Africa they were built as a solution for the central problems of a city such as crime and security (Glasze and Alkhayyal, 2002; Landman and Schönsteich, 2002). Consequently, in the modern globalized world one can observe different variations of the same phenomenon.

2.3. Security and Gating

The gate is highly emblematic of GCs as the gate is the essential aspect of the concept. The process of gating is also the most significant attribute of GCs as it separates them from other properties. Blandy and Lister (2005) explained the GC concept by focusing on defining gated and community. According to Blandy and Lister (2005), gated defined the physical form of the space, while community is defined as a specially organized society. The definition of gated was expanded to divided areas conducted to the changes in the public and private spaces (Hook and Vrdoljack, 2002), and community was redefined so that people were classified as insiders or outsiders (Atkins, 1993). When looking back to the history of housing, it can be observed that gating process was interrelated with security throughout the history: Troy and Greek Cities, in the antiquity, many great capitals, such as Istanbul, Paris, Vienna, and Rome in the Medieval Ages (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Luymes (1997) gave the example of walled areas in medieval times that represented a type of security for the monarchy and their feudal aristocracy. Historically, walls were physical barriers between enemies of the city or the country and its residents. However, today walls are a segregating factor between people of the same society and separate the public from the private.

A sense of security can be interpreted in both a positive and negative way. A negative reinforcement is the fear of crime, death, robbery, and etcetera forcing people to want to live in more secure areas or properties. A positive reinforcement for a sense of security is the desire to live in healthier, cleaner, and a proper environment (Aydın-Yönet, 2009, 2015). In Setha Low's book "*Behind the Gates: Life, Security, Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*" (2003), contrasting examples of the GC security from varying perspectives is presented. Low provides personal examples regarding separation in GCs. One example is the loss of a childhood friend

moving to a GC and Low not being able to visit due to living outside of the GC (Low, 2003). A second example Low presents is about her sibling living in a GC in San Antonio, Texas; Low recounts her sibling experiencing panic as Low set off an alarm when opening a gate (Low, 2003). In this case, Low (2003) questioned why an alarm was necessary in the GC, and more importantly, Low underlined that the GC has changed the character and mindset of her sibling, whom Low defined as “used to be adventurous.” Another example presented by Low (2003) was an interview between Low and a mother living in a GC with her family. In the interview the mother describes a situation that occurred while waiting at a traffic light with her daughter, when she and her daughter were waiting for a green light, a truck of laborers came next to them, and this situation scared her daughter (Low, 2003). The mother explained that her daughter wanted to move to the backseat because she was afraid that laborers would steal her; the mother also added that laborer’s appearance was the “back bone of country”, and that was the reason that her daughter got scared (Low, 2003). This example stresses how living behind gates affected a child’s perspective as she could not see these types of people living in her environment.

2.4. Private and Privatism

Public and private are two widely ranged phenomena and have always been interrelated to each other. These two phenomena could be experienced in everyday life and they remind the public of the boundaries between public and private space. Bailey (2002) defined public and private as “...public is what the private is not”. However, it is argued that these frontiers between the public and private space are blurred, and the overlapping areas needed more complex and socially structured explanations (Benn and Gaus 1983; Weintraub 1997; Kumar and Makarova, 2008). Through these definitions it can be noticed the tendency to define these phenomena as a part of space occurred as space is a useful term for clustering and overlapping. A clear definition of space between public and private was not clear leading to new definitions such as semi-public and semi-private being created (Hirt, 2012). In that sense, semi private and semi public areas were keeping balance between public and private when the definition was changing one to another (Hirt, 2012). According to Habermans (1989), the rise of the private phenomenon and individuality occurred in the Enlightenment and modernity period. In the western world, the public was represented as the state and the private was represented by the individual (Habermans, 1989). This led to a reduced power of state (Hirt, 2012), that was mediated by the globalization process and a neoliberal

economy in the western world (Hirt, 2012). This period resulted in weakening of the social equality guaranteed by the state (Hirt, 2012). After reviewing background of the public and private, one can argue that GCs are a product of the private phenomenon. It can be highlighted that the process of GC formation is parallel to the private phenomenon and individualism process as Habermans (1989) described. Judd and Swanstrom (1997) explained the spreading of private neighborhoods in the United States of America as a culture of privatism, and underlined the liberal urban development as a reflection of individualist concept of democracy. Consequently, the idea of freedom and individualism took over the idea of solidarity (Judd and Swanstrom, 1997). With the impact of GCs, the change in definition of public and private space appeared and new terms emerged, such as public access and private access, and some spaces traditionally rendered public were transformed to the private such as parks, pools, or roads in the GCs (Caldeira, 1996; Gooblar, 2002). According to Blandy and Lister (2005), GCs were created on the idea of a special society in a spatially limited, private area. Lynch (1981) stated that impacts of the public and private space in the urbanization have always been an important factor. The separation of public and private space led to defining private communities within the GCs (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003). Pioneer GCs were retirement homes and were advertised commercially with the idea of a homogeneous community. GCs were marketed as a utopic, homogeneous community with the possibility to live with similar minded people and this marketing strategy supported individuality and privatism during the evolving process of GCs (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). According to Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu (2009), transformation of the public spaces was a result of increased socio-economic stratification and dissolution of the local diversity. However, this led to critiques of GCs for encouraging social segregation and social inequality (Geniş, 2007).

2.5. Private Administration and Management

The administration and managements of GCs is linked with the perspective of privatism. Administration under a private management can results in issues regarding public-private space, homogeneous-heterogenic community, and economical variations of the owners and renters. Evan McKenzie (2005) describes this situation as following:

“Privately governed residential enclaves, known as common interest housing developments (CIDs), many of them gated and walled, are the predominant form of new housing in America’s fastest growing cities and suburbs. Over the last 25 years, this massive privatization

of local government functions has changed the appearance and organizational structure of American urban areas. This trend is not a passing fashion but an institutional transformation reflecting the ideological shift toward Privatism characteristic of the neoliberal consensus. Specially, the CID revolution is driven by three main forces. Developers pursue higher density in order to maintain profits despite rising land cost, local governments seek growth and increased tax revenues with minimal public expenditure. Many middle and upper-class home buyers, fearful of crime and disenchanted with government, are in search of a privatized utopia offering security, a homogeneous population, and managerial private government” (McKenzie, 2005, p. 1).

McKenzie provides a highly comprehensive explanation and frames what is the private administration phenomenon. The increasing numbers of GCs in USA led to an increased trend in private administration, and these private administrations offer services such as collection of garbage, community maintenance, parks and streets repair, security and guarding the gates, and general services (McKenzie, 2005). McKenzie (2005) states that these private administrations are known as homeowner associations and act like private governments. According to McKenzie (2003), the homeowner associations (HOAs) was the result of privatism and neoliberal economy, and HOAs created new norms or taboos in GCs but simultaneously a GC is a community and community comes with rules and administration. Private administrations are fast acting and taking immediate measures in comparison to public management making private administration preferred for private properties by an HOA (Foldvary, 1994). Municipally, HOAs reduced pressure on cities for maintenance requirements and increased the quality of the facilities (Foldvary, 1994; McKenzie, 1994; Webster, 2002; Grant, 2005).

2.6. The New Lifestyle and Community

Developing an image of a new lifestyle with a higher quality living standard was very important for marketing GCs and promoted the global spread of GCs. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997), lifestyle communities have introduced gates to their residents guaranteeing the separation of activities and facilities with the physical barrier, and lifestyle communities have been referred to as the fastest growing form and symbol of distinction and prestige. Burke (2001) defined another type of GCs as secure resort communities in the American, British and Australian context. Burke (2001) highlighted that these secure resort communities offer one or more lifestyle features such as a lake, lagoon or golf course, and are surrounded by parks and gardens to represent a resort style

of living and these features have been used to market GCs to the affluent and to create a sense of community between the people that could afford to live there. Marketing revolved around selling a lifestyle image and led buyers to believe their GC would guarantee fame, privacy, privilege, and provide proof of belonging to a community (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). As GCs became mainstream and started to serve for the middle class, companies changed their marketing strategies, however the main idea of a better and secure way of living remained the same. To adequately market to the middle class, companies formulated a new design according to the economical level of the consumer with the form of properties and type of facilities available changed. Consumers were not deterred and continued moving into GCs as they still represented a better life and perhaps an upgrade to a higher class of society, and this scenario could be seen more frequently in the developing countries such as Turkey (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009).

While GCs advocated for a better quality of living, they were often criticized for demonstrating inequality in society (Geniş, 2007). Those who live outside of GCs could be segregated as they do not live in the same community. In Howarth's (2002) research "*Identity in Whose Eyes? The Role of Representations in Identity Construction*", stated that a persons' living area and territory had crucial impact on those persons' personal and collective identity. In her study, Howarth found that most kids living in Brixton, United Kingdom, known as a place with high level of crime and drug issues, did not want to acknowledge they were from Brixton when interviewed (2002). With this knowledge in mind, one can have better understanding of the impact of GCs towards the social structure.

3. Historical Background and Urbanization in Istanbul:

“Unofficial Capital Istanbul”

Istanbul (also known as Byzantium or Constantinople) is a city with long historical and cultural tradition, and served as the capital for many empires such as the Roman Empire between 395 and 1204, the Latin between 1204 and 1261, Byzantine Empire between 1291 and 1453, and the Ottoman Empire between 1453 and 1924 (Çelik, 1993). Additionally, Istanbul became a Capital of Islam after the passage of the Caliphate to the Ottoman state (Masters and Ágoston, 2009). Being the shelter for different historical and cultural backgrounds, the silhouette of Istanbul has changed drastically through history. After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, a new republic was founded in Ankara, Turkey in 1923, and Istanbul lost the capital city status. The new republic established in the central ground of Anatolia and Ankara is geographically situated in the center of Turkey. Istanbul, on the other hand, is situated between Europe and Asia, in western Turkey. After the establishment of the new republic, all the political, economic, and cultural processes have been administrated from Ankara (Göktürk, *et al.*, 2010). This change of status has moved the acceleration of development from Istanbul to Ankara, and subsequently the central parts of Turkey but because of its legacy, culture and geopolitical location Istanbul has maintained its importance (Turan, 2010) (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Location Istanbul (Source: Sturts-Dossick et al., 2012, p. 8).

3.1. Urbanization Process of Istanbul before the 1980s

A large part of the population consisting mainly of middle class citizens, was living the in historical peninsula (Old Town) of Istanbul, before the declaration of the Republic of Turkey (Berköz, 2008) (Figure 5). Higher classes were situated around Boğaziçi and Beyoğlu (neighborhoods in Old Town), and single houses on the shores of the Marmara Sea (Berköz, 2008).



Figure 5: Urbanization Process of Istanbul, modified (see NYU Stern Urbanization Project).



Figure 6: Urbanization Process of Istanbul, modified (see NYU Stern Urbanization Project).

The large-scale changes started post World War II into the 1950s in Turkey and Istanbul (Berköz, 2008). A large migrant labor force migrated to Istanbul transformed the city to the largest industrial center of Turkey (Turan, 2010). Consequently, residential planning was shaped under the growing pressure of industrialization in the city (Geniş, 2007; Tekeli, 1991). Urban sprawl occurred in a radius of 30 kilometers from the center between the 1950s and 1960s, and in this period Eminönü, Fatih and Şişli (central located municipalities in the European side of Istanbul) were one of the most densely populated municipalities in Istanbul (Berköz, 2008) (Figure 6). Berköz (1991) states that between 1956 to 1960, large-scale demolitions occurred with the purpose of creating wide traffic axis from the European to the Asian side in Istanbul. Consequently, the first squatter houses, in Turkish language known as *gecekondu* emerged around these motorways (Berköz, 1991). During this time the lower classes were living in areas close to their work, while the higher classes were living far from the industrial areas in the city outskirts (Aysu, 1984). There were two main kinds of housing forms in the residential area, squatter *gecekondu* and apartment blocks; this dual structure created visible contrast on the silhouette of Istanbul (Aysu, 1984). Apartment blocks, preferred by middle class, were constructed under legal registration and mainly in the central areas of Istanbul, while the squatters *gecekondus* were built illegally, mostly in the industrial zones of Istanbul, and sheltered the lower class (Geniş, 2007). Apartment blocks were built as large multi-stored buildings and the squatters were built as a single housing unit in the most basic tradition (Aysu, 1984) (Figures 7 and 8). According to Işık and Güvenç (1996), even though this dual form occurred in the urban periphery, compared to the other advanced cities, Istanbul was softly segregated up until the 1980s.

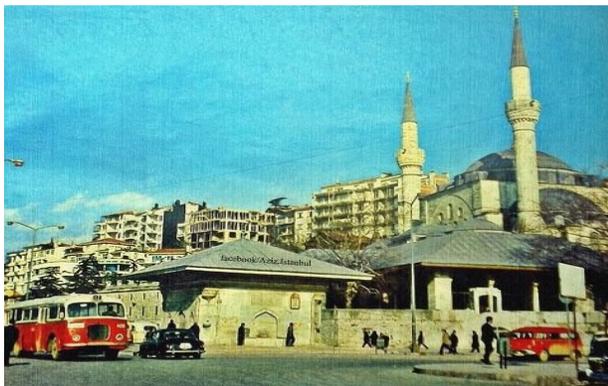


Figure 7: Üsküdar Square 1960



Figure 8: Cerrahpaşa Gecekondus 1960

Between the 1960s to the 1970s, population growth continued, with the highest density in the central zones and lower in the outskirts and, Beyoğlu and Eminönü had the highest population density during this period (Aysu, 1984). Urbanization was further split with the European side having high level and high density buildings and the Asian side was with garden houses (Suher, 1963). The squatter movement reached its peak amount between during this time and squatters sheltered various people from the lower class (Berköz, 2008).



Figure 9: Geographic Representation of Istanbul, (Ekümenopolis, 2011)

The urban sprawl has continued to grow in the area with a radius of 45 kilometers from the center between 1970s and 1980s with the pace of development on the Asian side being greater than the European side (Berköz, 2008). In terms of population, 28% of the population was located in the Asian side and 72% in the European side contrasting the development pace (Berköz, 2008).



Figure 10: 1st and 2nd Bridges of Istanbul, (Ekümenopolis, 2011)

The ownership of private automobiles increased by 150% between 1970 to 1975 (Berköz, 2008). This way of transportation in the city was supported by the construction of the first bridge named *Boğaziçi Köprüsü* in 1973 between Europe and Asia (Berköz, 2008). Increased transportation and the *Boğaziçi Köprüsü* caused two critical developments in urbanization of the city (Berköz, 2008) (Figure 10). The first development occurred on the Asian side parallel to Marmara Sea, where a new axis of urban sprawl started to develop creating a high density of population between Kadıköy and Kartal, the second development took the urban movement to the Northern part of Istanbul in both the European and Asian sides (Berköz, 2008) (Figures 11 and 12).



Figure 11: Urbanization Process of Istanbul, modified (see NYU Stern Urbanization Project).



Figure 12: Urbanization Process of Istanbul, modified (see NYU Stern Urbanization Project).

4. Main Actors of Gated Community Process in Istanbul

In the 1980's, Istanbul began to experience drastic change in its urbanization. Geopolitical location, historical background, and industrial background were significant reasons for Istanbul to be the leading actor of Turkey in terms of urbanization.

“Istanbul, as the largest city in Turkey and one of the great heritage cities of the world, has experienced rapid transformations in the last three decades. During the latest economic reconstructing processes these transformations occurred the interaction of politics, culture and economics, influenced and legitimized by the global city discourse. The central government and local authorities have also proposed various urban projects in an effort to make Istanbul a global city. With these projects, Istanbul's urban identities have been transformed radically and the city has been developing with intense heterogeneity, especially its urban housing sector. The debate at the end of the 1990s reached to a point that Istanbul was include in the 21st century debate of desirable cities or cities that count in the global economy debate such as New York, London or Paris” (H. Turgut *et al.*, 2010, p. 5).

According to Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008), after the neoliberal economic reform, upgrade of the local governments by new laws triggered the change of visions in the real estate market and subsequently allowed major investments and mega projects in Istanbul. Following the international real estate market trends, GCs emerged in Istanbul in the 1980s as a new way of living under the influence of social, economical, and political reforms (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser *et al.*)

4.1. Changing Patterns “Neoliberal Economy of Istanbul”

A free market economy was first introduced to Turkey by Turgut Özal, the 8th president of the Republic of Turkey' after the 1980s (Tevfik, 1992). Consequently, Turkish economy started to allow liberal competition leading to an increased import and export margin, and pushing Turkish economic growth (Tevfik, 1992) (Figures 13 and 14). Through these economical revisions, Istanbul started to be defined as the capital of economy in Turkey (Turan, 2010).

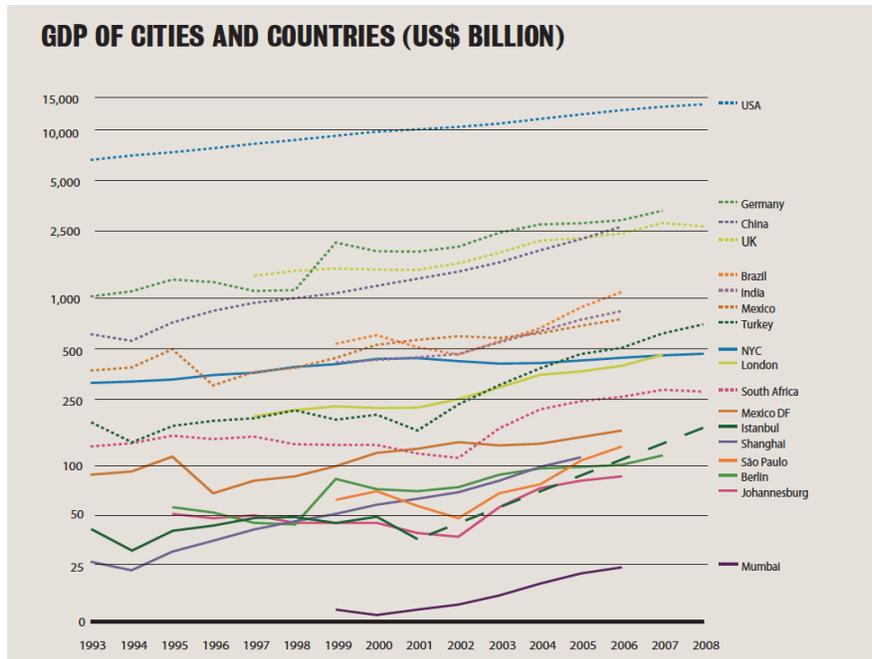


Figure 13: GDP of Cities and Countries (Burdett, 2009, p. 5).

The liberalization process of Istanbul started radical financial and administrative changes with the enactment of the 1984 Municipality Law. The 1984 law had a structured two-tier system defining a greater municipality and the district municipality (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, TBMM, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1984). This newly structured system led to new financial resources for local governments, and put the agencies that used to be regulated by central ministries such as water supply, sewerage authority under the direct control of metropolitan mayor (TBMM, 1984). These changes entitled the local governments as a market facilitator and allowed for the privatization process of municipal services, and the implementation of 1984 law allowed for the beginning of the first urban renewal projects in Istanbul (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008).

The second wave of neoliberal changes in Turkey emerged in the 2000s, after the Justice and Development Party (*Adelet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, *AKP*) won the majority vote of 34% in the 2002 election allowing AKP to take over the greater municipality and other various districts in Istanbul (YSK, *Yüksek Seçim Kurulu*, Supreme Electoral Council, 2002). Two new laws in 2004 and 2005 gave the mayor more power in urban development. Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008) summarized the main changes brought by the laws (2004, 2005) as follows: broadening the physical space under the control and jurisdiction of the greater municipality; increasing control and coordination of district municipalities; making it easier for greater municipalities to establish,

and/or create partnerships and collaborate with private companies; and outlining the first legal framework for urban transformation by giving municipalities the authority to designate, plan and implement urban transformation areas and projects. These laws allowed the emergence of Housing Development Administration (HDA, *Toplu Konut İdaresi*, TOKI) of Turkey, which was the one of biggest actors for the transformation process of Istanbul after the 2000s (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008).

The introduction of private capital into the Turkish economy after the 1980s changed the mechanism of various systems and the economy expanded and allowed powerful investments into the service sector (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). The effect of foreign capital in Turkey was critical as the government wanted to attract a wide range of investments. However, the domestic investments also gained acceleration after the liberalization of economy, and the new image and vision had been created under the title of “Global City of Istanbul “(Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015) (Figure 14). The neoliberal economy and Global City vision were principle in creating many elements such as foreign investments, a new real estate market vision, political regulations, mega-construction projects, and a multicultural class in Istanbul (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015).

	FDI INTO TURKEY 2004–2008 (MILLIONS US\$)	TURKEY FDI OUTFLOWS 1980–2009 (MILLIONS US\$)	INTERNATIONAL FIRMS OPERATING IN TURKEY IN 2007
European Union (27)	44,245	8,679	10,720
Germany	2,992	665	3,125
The Netherlands	13,043	4,266	1,419
United Kingdom	2,957	536	1,831
France	3,633	105	-
Italy	1,191	120	-
Other EU Countries	20,429	2,986	4,345
Other European Countries (Excluding EU)	2,401	1,016	1,691
Africa	111	426	309
USA	6,048	702	834
Canada	242	2	120
Central-South America and Caribbean	595	17	105
Near and Middle Eastern Countries	6,381	3,826	3,072
Azerbaijan	-	3,420	453
Iraq	-	7	511
Iran	-	162	910
Gulf Arabian Countries	5,722	56	-
China	-	26	300
South Korea	-	-	134
Japan	-	-	-
Other Asian Countries	1,058	867	796

Figure 14: Foreign direct investment and international firms in Turkey (Burdett, 2009, p. 5).

4.2. Creation of Global City Image of Istanbul

This chapter highlighted the impact of the new vision on Istanbul's urban transformation. The quote below pointed out the significant advantages of the Istanbul on the way to become Global City.

“Istanbul’s ambition to be seen as a ‘world class’ city in the league of Shanghai, Tokyo, London, is understandable. Istanbul sits both literally and culturally at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Asia, and was an epicenter of global commerce in centuries past... The rapidly growing student, artist and migrant populations lend the city and aura of youthful innovative energy. Through prudent banking policies and fiscal practices, Turkey has largely avoided the European meltdown, keeping employment growth strong that in turn fosters political stability” (Carrie Sturts Dossick *et al.*, 2012, p. 36).

Liberalization of the Turkish economy and the creation of Global City vision have changed the structure and demands of the housing and real estate market of Istanbul. Depending on the globalized vision, “there has been a spectacular increase in the number of hotels, shopping malls and office building in the city since 1980s” (Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008, p. 16). According to the Association of the Tourist Hotelkeepers and Hotel Managers (TUROB), the bedroom capacity of five-star hotels in Istanbul was 2,000 in the 1980s, and increased to 7,000 in the 1990s, and to 11,000 in the 2000s. According to *TUIK*'s (Turkish Statistical Institute, *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*) (2015) report, construction of the first shopping mall in Istanbul started in the 1990s and by 2000 there were 10 different shopping malls. From 2000 to 2008, an additional 47 shopping malls were constructed, and by the summer of 2008, there were 57 shopping malls in Istanbul accounting for 2 million square meter floor space. In Turkey’s 2013-2015 Shopping Mall Report, there are 299 shopping malls in Turkey and 114 are located in Istanbul. This dynamic rise had its parallel in office buildings, Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu, (2008) stated that the office floor space in Istanbul has increased from 276,858 square meters in 1997, to 1,676,268 square meters in 2005, more than a six-fold increase in eight years. Keleş (2008) stated that the global city ambition filled Istanbul with five-star hotels, skyscrapers, big business, and trade centers (Figure 15). These investments into the city also towards the housing sector (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu 2015).



Figure 15: Istanbul *Levent* CBD (2015).

Increasing numbers of residents and expanding urban sprawl were a nested process with population increase in Istanbul. In terms of economical approaches, Istanbul shifted its main focus from industry to the service sector (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). Consequently, marketing, accounting and management, telecommunication, banking and finance, insurance, and many other business sectors emerged, and the creation of several central business districts occurred (Keyder, 2006). Mainly, the migration from business opportunities and investments towards the housing sector triggered the increase of population in Istanbul (Keyder, 1999). According to TÜİK, Istanbul's population was 2,772,708 with an annual increase rate of 1.17% in the 1980s. By the 1990s the population was 6,629,431 with an annual increase rate of 3.90% and by 2000 the population surged to 8,803,468 with an annual increase rate of 2.88%. The current population of Istanbul is 14,657,434 (TÜİK, 2016). Berköz (2010) demonstrated the crucial data between 1990 to 2000, when population density has increased by 73.2% in Istanbul (Figures 16, 17, and 18).

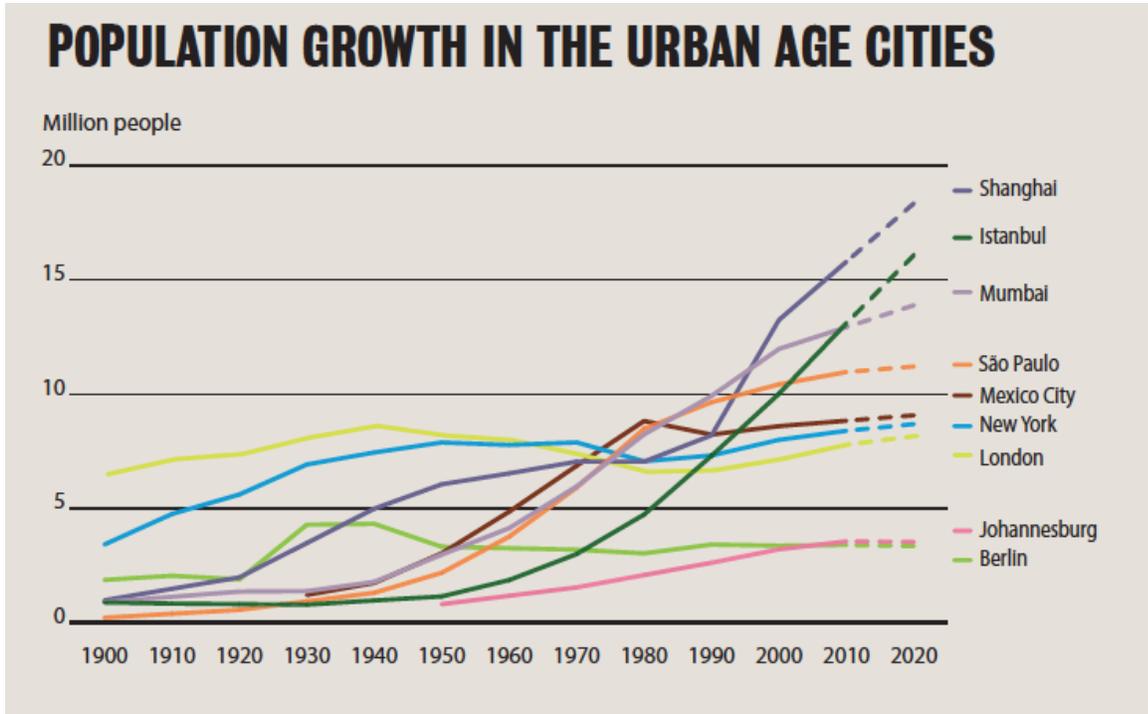
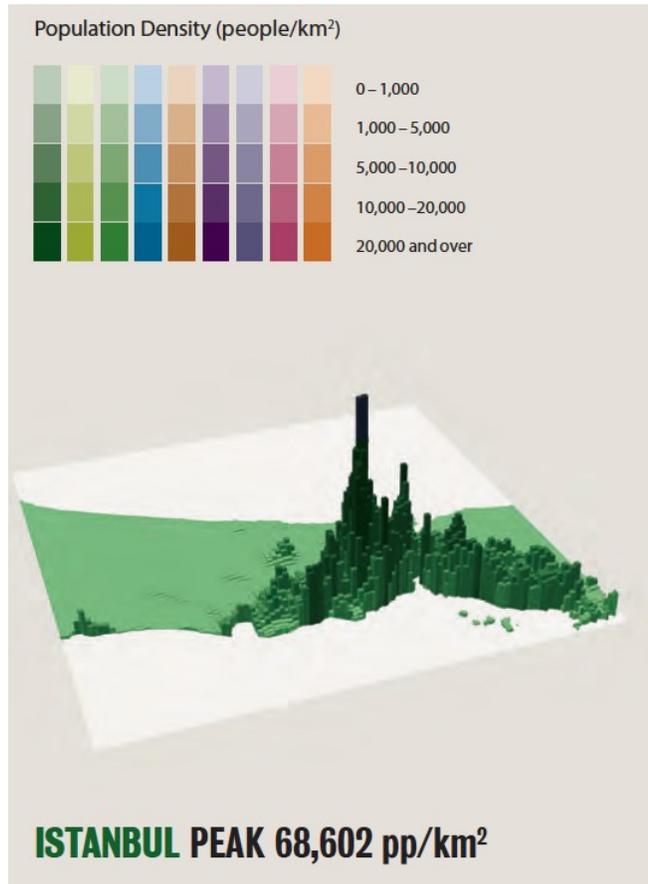


Figure 16: Population Growth in the Urban Age Cities (Burdett, 2009, p. 19).

TOP 10 EMERGING EUROPEAN CITIES

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Budapest	Hungary
2	Warsaw	Poland
3	Moscow	Russia
4	Istanbul	Turkey
5	Sofia	Bulgaria
6	Bucharest	Romania
7	St. Petersburg	Russia
8	Ankara	Turkey
9	Kiev	Ukraine
10	Yekaterinburg	Russia

Figure 17 and 18: Top Ten Emerging European Cities, and Population Density of Istanbul (Burdett, 2009, p. 6, 29).



With the changes occurring in Istanbul, it is possible to draw comparison between the rise of GCs in Istanbul to those of USA. GCs offer security, a privileged lifestyle, a prestigious and healthy environment, and a comfort zone isolated from the city. The consumption-centered life triggered firstly the urban elites of Istanbul to pursue the modern wonderland and this process was followed by the construction of the first GCs in Istanbul (Geniş, 2007). However, it was not only the search for elite life but the rising phenomena such as individualism, privacy, public to private transformation, and increasing automobile usage were also effective in the process.

4.3. Effects of New and Regulated Laws on the Process of Urbanization: Rise of Housing Development Administration of Turkey and Foundation of Urban Renewal Projects

Since the 1980's, many regulations were created by the state to create and maintain a Global City image in Istanbul with many of the regulations allowing for a mass transformation process. According to Geniş (2007) the laws that passed in the early 1980s, created an environment for government to take an important role in the real estate market via Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA) that created legal and financial grounds for the construction of mega projects. The state gave access of the housing sector to large investments groups by establishing regulations, and in the central areas large tracks of lands were privatized and sold to banks or entrepreneurs (Keleş, 2008). Control and zoning of masters plans were organized by state and private sector collaboration. Both public and private urban infrastructures such as roads, bridges, and highways were started to be built and the city evolved around these axes (Keleş, 2008). For example, the creation of several Central Business Districts (CBD) on the European side such as Maslak, Levent, Mecidiyeköy were directly related to the main motorway axis established by new bridges in Istanbul (Berköz, 2008). As a result, these investments towards the central parts of Istanbul became the foundation of high-rise luxury residents, or Gated Towers (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015).

While the development of gated towers was taking place in central Istanbul, different formations were emerging in the urban periphery and outskirts (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). The most powerful driving force for this movement was the HDA that represented the state in the housing and real estate market (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008).

“In 2004, all the duties and authority of the Urban Land Office were transferred to HDA. Based on this legal arrangement, 64.5 million square meters of land passed onto HDA’s immovable portfolio. This law will integrate the process of land development and housing production and will facilitate providing efficiency in the aforementioned housing and urbanization implementations”. (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008, p. 5).

According to Gokmen and Özsoy (2008), the HDA supported the transformation by giving loans to cooperatives and municipalities, and followed the main aspects: housing production on HDA’s lands for low and middle income groups; land provision / production; urban transformations projects (squatter transformation) and social housing fund raising projects. The HDA has applied several different approaches for varying types of constructions. First, when constructing urban transformation projects, the HDA aimed to reconstruct illegally occupied lands (squatters) and to transform the lower class into a new upcoming middle class (Pulat-Gökmen and özsoy, 2008). In order to do that, certain areas were identified as squatter regions and planned to be transformed including their public places such as schools, recreation areas, shopping centers, and etcetera (Pulat-Gökmen and özsoy, 2008). The second approach applied by the HAD was using revenue sharing to target high income families and acted as a collaboration of the private investors on HDA-owned land (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008). Furthermore, the HDA announced a public tender for a project where private contractors participated with their offers; this approach allowed for a major part of housing units to be sold in the early stage of the investment process. As a result, this collected revenue became a strong foundation for the project start-up (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008). With the implementation of these models, the HDA’s housing margin expanded from 0.6% between 1984 to 2002, to 6.4% in 2003, and up to 24.7% in 2004 (*Yapı Endüstri Merkezi*, Building Industry Center, YEM, 2006). The HDA provided loans for approximately 1.2 million housing units by the end of the 2004 (HDA, TOKİ, 2004) Finally, the HDA built 116, 223 housing units in 154 construction sites in Istanbul and completed 64, 994 housing units by the end of 2011, and as of 2016 there is 193 HDA projects in Istanbul (HDA).

After the 1980s municipalities could also become an actor in the real estate and housing market following the new regulations. While the state was represented and unified under the HDA, the Greater Istanbul Municipality established the *KIPTAS* construction firm in 1987 to produce dwellings (Pulat Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008). It could be observed that *KIPTAS*’s mission was similar to HDA’s, however considering the power and budget of *KIPTAS*, their capability was

limited in the territory of Istanbul (Pulat Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008). Since 1995, *KIPTAS* has constructed almost 75,000 housing units in Istanbul, and the *KIPTAS* projects in Basakşehir were vitally important for the introduction of gated apartments to the lower and middle class resulting in a turning point of mainstream (middle and lower class) investments of GCs in Istanbul (Pulat Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008). With the inception of the HDA and *KIPTAS*, the construction of GCs became common phenomena with Istanbul being the lead actor in Turkey (Pulat Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008).

4.4. Mega Projects Built Under the Global City Image and Their Impacts to the Gated Communities

Turkish State and Greater Istanbul Municipality have accomplished many projects to support Istanbul’s Global City image. The main aspect of these projects was to improve the quality of life in Istanbul, and also increase the accessibility of the Istanbul from other countries and cities.

Timeline of Mega Projects, in terms of transportation, in Istanbul, since 1980	
1988	<i>Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge</i> (Second Bosphorus Bridge)
2001	<i>Sabiha Gökçen</i> Airport, Asian Side (Second International Airport in Istanbul)
2005	<i>Metrobüs</i> , The bus rapid transit (BRT) system in Istanbul.
2013	<i>Marmaray</i> , (It comprises an undersea rail tunnel under the Bosphorus strait and the modernization of existing suburban railway lines along the Marmara Sea from <i>Halkalı</i> on the European side to <i>Gebze</i> on the Asian side)
2016	<i>Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge</i> (The Third Bosphorus Bridge is currently [2016] the longest combined motorway and railway bridge in the world and the world's eighth-longest suspension bridge).
2018	3 rd International Airport in Istanbul, Currently Under Construction Process, European Side (3 rd Airport is planned to finished in 2018, Airport is expected to have the highest passenger capacity in the world).

Timeline of Mega Projects, in terms of CBD, in Istanbul, since 1980	
Levent CBD	<i>Levent</i> is a neighbourhood and one of the main business districts of Istanbul, Turkey, located on the European side of the city.
Maslak CBD	<i>Maslak</i> is one of the main business districts of <i>Sarıyer</i> , Istanbul, Turkey, located on the European side of the city.

Table 1: Timeline of Mega Projects in Istanbul, since 1980.



Figure 19: *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge* (Second Bosphorus Bridge)



Figure 20: *Maslak* Central Business District, Istanbul



Figure 21: *Levent* Central Business District, Istanbul

There were many other projects that also contributed to the Global City image. However, these projects mentioned above were selected, specifically, because they were not only supporting the transformation of Istanbul, but also contributing to the emergence of GCs on their periphery. Moreover, after the construction of these projects there were many GCs built around them. For example, Maslak and Levent CBDs have increased the investments towards the central districts, in other words they caused the construction of gated towers around the CBD region (Bali, 2009) (Figure 20). Other example was that highways constructed to connect airports to the main roads of Istanbul have triggered the construction of various GCs and shopping malls on their axes.

4.5. Real Estate Market: Promotion and Commercial Image of Gated Communities

Private investors, domestic and international construction companies, banks, and public associations such as the HDA and KIPTAS were the main actors of the real estate market in Istanbul. Despite their prevalence, Geniş (2007) argued that the earlier developers of Istanbul as contractors with no vision and concept. Geniş (2007) highlighted the contrast between the earlier and the new developers of the real estate market through interviews with a qualified architect and a developer.

“Until very recently there was no concept of developer in Turkey. We had this *Laz* –referring an ethnic group from the Black Sea region who predominantly engaged in the construction business- contractor with no education, no vision and no formation... He would tear down one building and if he has permission, then build a new one. He would not care if that building were in harmony with the one next to it. He would work only in piecemeal fashion, lot by lot. The only large developments were the ones done by the state. But what kind of vision does state and its architects have? They have limited finance. No research. No vision of development. The other institution involved in larger projects is the military. Yet theirs is done with the idea of security and they are always very ordinary. In sum, we did not have any developers in Turkey. We had contractors who would work as financier, the developer and the designer at the very same time. The concept of marketing was absent... Now slowly developers like the ones in the advanced countries are emerging in Turkey as well. Finally, the state is making some changes to help real estate sector and we are working closely with international banks, mortgage institutions, architect firms to develop new ideas and projects.” (Geniş, 2007, p.779).

The real estate market has continued to grow with more modern-missioned actors since 2007 with new and improved marketing strategies (Geniş, 2007). When marketing GCs, developers used the features of GCs as marketing assets and depending on the income level and social class, the developers designed specialized commercials and billboards targeting those audiences. Consequently, if the audience wanted to escape crowded Istanbul they would be influenced by the image of a neighborhood life in the city outskirts where life was deemed to be healthier. Or if the audience wanted to have better position in society, a new life style image was presented that represented GCs as an elite and high class life. Developers named the properties with foreign language titles such as town, county, city and village as a marketing tool for the consumer to use as a means of impressing their social circle when asked where they live (Eren and Dolmacı, 2006). Recently companies also started to use popular design such as Smart Home, Zen House, or Minimalist Interior Design. These different marketing approaches by developers aligned with the general global characteristics of GCs, such as security, homogeneous community, privatism, private administration, and a new life style (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015).

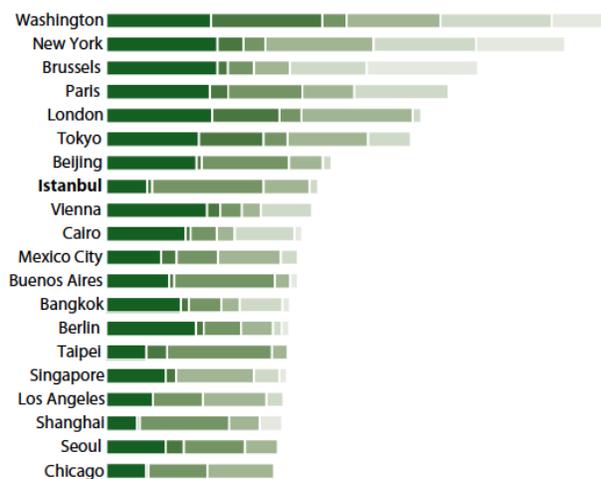
4.6. The Creative Class of Istanbul and Residential Reflections of Changing Society

The Global City image attracted many people to the city of Istanbul as the aim was to create a city of possibilities for the everyday person. With the initial influx of migration related to industry in Istanbul, the demographic profile of people migrating to Istanbul changed with the changing city and liberalized Turkish economy. Factors such as identity, background, ethnicity, and profession were critical when choosing a place to live and these factors deeply changed with the impact of globalism and the changed demographic profile of Istanbul (Figure 22).

“In parallel with the emerge of the consumer’s class is a burgeoning core of creative talent that is having a highly visible impact, both locally and internationally, on Istanbul’s art, fashion, hotel ad restaurant scene... Globally, cities like Istanbul are entering an escalating competition for increasingly mobile talent, jobs, and investment. While Istanbul is having considerable recent success. It is well documented that Istanbul is striving to diversity from its industrial roots to become a more service-and professional- based economy... Istanbul is a very dense place with growing creative class that energizes the city professionals as well as culturally, but transportation and linkages between jobs and housing are week and people are disconnected from each other. here is growing foreign investment that connects Istanbul to the world through a web of business relationships. This investment represents an opportunity to remake the city in many different ways” (Carrie Sturts *et al.*, 2012, pp. 33-34).

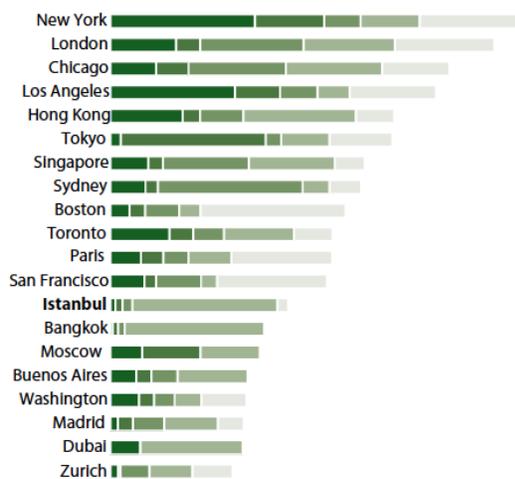
In terms of GCs, emergence of an artistic class has been important since they changed the structure of the society, yet these changes also effected the perceptions of the people. For example, when choosing gated villas, the reason could not be just an image of lifestyle, but it could be also related to the collective behavior or the mindset of residents. The figure below highlighted the comparison of cities including Istanbul, in terms of policy influence and human capital.

POLICY INFLUENCE



- Embassies, consulates and trade missions
- Think tanks
- Partner cities
- Local organisations with international reach
- Headquarters of international organisations
- Political conferences held in the city

HUMAN CAPITAL



- Foreign-born population
- Inhabitants with university degrees
- International students at the tertiary level
- International schools at the primary and secondary level
- Top global universities

Figure 22: Influence Policy and Human Capital comparisons of cities (Burdett, 2009, p. 6).

4.7. Advancing Transportation of Istanbul after 1980s

In this part, the major transformations and milestones related to Istanbul transportation system are summarized in chronological order and their effect on GCs considered. All the data, represented below were taken from the official sources (IETT, TÜİK).

Timeline of Transportation in Istanbul, since 1970	
1970	IETT increased its fleet to 738 and carried 639 500 passengers per day.
1985	In terms of total share of urban transportation, maritime transport had the share of 7.4%, railways had 4.5% and the roads and highways had 88% share. In addition, the number of private vehicles in Istanbul was 286000.
1990	In terms of total share of urban transportation, maritime transport had the share of 8.4%, railways had 6.8% and the roads and highways had 84.8% share. There were 482 000 registered automobiles in the Istanbul traffic. With this number Istanbul had 33% share of Turkey's overall traffic.

1997	There were 889342 registered automobiles in the Istanbul. This meant that 98 out of every 1000 people owned automobiles.
2004	Construction of Marmaray project began under the Bosphorus for transport between continents.
2006	<i>Taksim – Kabataş</i> funicular line has started to serve.
2008	<i>Taksim – Şişhane</i> Metro construction has finished.
2009	<i>Avcılar – Kartal</i> Metro line has started to serve. 2725521 motor vehicle were registered in the Istanbul’s traffic.
2016	there are 20,159,183 registered automobiles in Istanbul. In terms of total share of urban transportation, maritime transport has 2%, railways has 13% and the roads and highways have an 85% share

Table 2: Timeline of Transportation in Istanbul, since 1970 (IETT).

Numbers demonstrated that, even though there were a lot of investments on rail transportation system, usage of automobiles were dominating the Istanbul’s transformation. If one has examined GCs in relation with transformation investments, one could have seen that the high usage of the cars was supporting emerging gated villa towns or horizontal gated communities in the outskirts of the Istanbul (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). Additionally, constructions of new motorways, highways and metro lines has triggered the urbanization in their close territory. Consequently, developers have started to invest in these areas.

4.8. Impact of Marmara Earthquake: Searching for GCs on the Solid Grounds

Istanbul’s geographic location has significant advantage in terms of international connections and investments. However, the 1999 Marmara Earthquake had deeply affected Istanbul’s housing market and the vision of the consumers. After this natural disaster both international and domestic developers had keep their progress; However, depending on the demand from consumers, developers have shifted their constructions towards the earthquake resistant areas (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). This shift could also be observed through the marketing campaigns. For example, when marketing, the developers promoted gated low-rise buildings or gated villa towns

in the earthquake resistant areas as an advantage, and the fear of natural disasters has kept its importance when choosing residence by the consumers.

5. Gated Communities in Istanbul and Their Features and Typology

The emergence of GCs in Istanbul came after the 1980s due to the influence of social, economic, and political forces leading them to become a common and mainstream phenomenon (Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008,). The first GCs in Istanbul were gated villas marketed as private, luxury living with peace and quiet for upper-income groups in the northern part of Istanbul, and this marketing strategy continued through the 1990s up to 2000 (Geniş, 2007). The success of the first wave of GC residents encouraged developers to expand their margin towards the upper middle and middle class (Geniş, 2007). In 2005, when the HDA was included in the real estate market, gated movements reached the middle class through urban renewal and squatter transformation projects (Pulat Gokmen and Ozsoy, 2008). In terms of location in Istanbul, GCs emerged both in the inner and outer part of the city. The creation of Maslak, Levent and Mecidiyeköy CBDs on the European side and Ümraniye and Altunizade business districts on the Asian side were mediated by gated apartment blocks and gated towers in the inner city while the outer parts of the city mostly consisted of gated villas and horizontal GCs (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015).

Currently a wide range of GCs examples can be seen in Istanbul with varying physical and social characteristics depending on their type. According to Baycan-Levent and Gülümser's (2007) research, GCs could be classified under the four main typologies: (i) vertical gated developments/gated towers, (ii) horizontal gated developments/ gated villa towns, (iii) horizontal gated developments/gated apartment blocks, (iv) mixed type gated developments/gated towns (Figure 23).

	Unit Type	Target Profile	Location
Gated Towers	Apartments of high-rise building Residence	Urban elites	CBD
Gated Villa Towns	Single unit dwelling	Upper class Upper middle class	Periphery
Gated Apartment Blocks	Flats	Upper middle class Middle class	Inner - outer city
Gated Towns	Any type	Mixed type	Periphery

Figure 23: Summary of typology of gated communities in Istanbul (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007, p. 7).

5.1. Gated Towers

Development of gated towers began in the 1990s in the European side and was a solution by developers to satisfy the desire of consumers to live luxuriously within the city (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). Gated towers were a preferred design due to expensive land prices and not enough space to build horizontal dwellings in the city (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Gated towers functioned similarly to hotels with similar services such as cleaning, spas, childcare, gym, and more (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Additionally, they had private administration within the towers that was in charge of gardening, security, cleaning, collecting trash, and other services (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). In return residents paid them annual or monthly payments for these services (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Commonly, gated towers could be seen attached to a shopping mall or business office. A single tower block has more than 25 stores, and could accommodate up to 250 to 1,000 people in a single tower (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). This feature was often criticized for increasing population and car usage density in the city center (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007; Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015). Gated towers mostly targeted the higher class and business elites working in media, finance, insurance, or telecommunications (Bali, 2009). By having a central location on the European side, gated towers typically resulted in higher prices. However, after the mid 2000s, the number of gated towers significantly increased in the Asian side. The amenities and facilities provided by gated towers could vary from totally private to semi private if the tower is attached to a shopping mall or business offices (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009). The security level was high with 24-hour security cameras, CCTV cameras for the surroundings and recreation areas, and security guards at the gates (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009). The figure (24) below represents the services provided in the selected gated towers in Istanbul.

Name of the Project	Manager Of development	Use of High-tech (i.e. smart home)	Security	Restaurant café bar	Education facilities	Health centre	Swimming pool	Sport centre	Social centre	Kindergarten	Transportation	Infrastructure	Collection of dustbin
Akmerkez Residence	Developer	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Bambu Residence	Residents	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
BJK Plaza	Private firm	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Dokuz Palmiye Residence	Residents	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Elit Residence	Private firm	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Istanbul Kanyon	Developer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Kalamış Residence	Residents	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Metrocity Millenium	Residents	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Polat Tower Residence	Private firm	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Selenium Residence	Residents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Figure 24: Gated Towers in Istanbul, (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009, p. 11).

Gated towers were supported by local municipalities and consumers as they provide modern infrastructure (roads, wastewater system, fiber internet line, etc.) and services for their areas, potentially leading to new job opportunities within the city (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009). However, they were the most significant visual form of globalized housing and consequently were criticized for exposing social inequality in larger scale (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009). The increased vertical structure was seen as blocking the historical silhouette of Istanbul (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2009) (Figure 25). The same expression was also used to describe social segregation where elite society overshadowed the common society.



Figure 25: Istanbul's panoramic view.

For gated towers an efficient usage of space was necessary and the sizes of the housing units reflected this. Flats in gated towers would be structured as 1+1 and 2+1, where the first number represents room number and the second one, for living space. Smaller flats were preferred by single professionals working in the city (Bali, 2009). Functionality and modernity of the flat was essential, especially when flat size could be from 45 to 60 square meters. Design and representations of gated towers also reflected the collective and individual identity of the inhabitants as it represented a greater social status (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2015).

5.2. Gated Villa Towns

The first GC in Istanbul appeared as a gated villa targeting the wealthy with luxury features, facilities, and recreation areas (Geniş, 2007). Gated villa towns were distinguished from regular GCs by focusing on prestige, privacy, and quality of the community (Geniş, 2007). Gated villa towns mainly consisted of single unit dwellings meaning they required larger areas for construction and as a result were located in northern Istanbul close to a forest area and known for having a clean and healthy environment (Geniş, 2007; Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2004, 2007) (Figure 26).

third example was extreme in contrast as the resident described Kemer Country as “Little America” or “Universal Studio”, as it was an artificial wonderland where everything that they could imagine was inside. (Geniş, 2007). The case examples of residents living in Kemer Country confirm this community identity and indicate a level of satisfaction with the community and the administration. Geniş (2007) pointed out that Kemer Country was not designed as only housing units but as a community with community events that provide a greater experience to the residents. A sense of community and being familiar with local neighbors encourages the feelings of security and living a specific lifestyle as marketed by GCs (Geniş, 2007).

5.2.2. Lifestyle and Environment and Security of Kemer Country Example

Geniş (2007) described Kemer Country’s design as community-based with a wide range of recreation areas (golf club, spa, gym, parks, lake, cafes) with the support of collective community events (galas, charity events, showrooms). The community-based design allows residents to have a total living experience with high security measures such as twenty-four-hour security, gated entrances with guards, and CCTV cameras (Geniş 2007). Similar to other GCs, Kemer Country promoted life inside the walls and all marketing images supported this idea (Geniş, 2007). The success of Kemer Country led to a growing number of elites preferring to live in private communities behind gates (Geniş, 2007). With living in Kemer Country, residents have changed their mobility and perceptions of the places in the city. While Istanbul was expanding geographically and demographically, the perception of Istanbul by gated community residents was shrinking (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). This phenomenon is explained by Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, (2008) and is called the “Shrinking Istanbul Theory”. This theory suggests that the different socio-economic groups becoming increasingly caged and stay within localized areas with minimal contact to areas outside their group (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). Geniş’ (2007) examples during the case study further affirm the theory as the residents were quoted as wanting to be seen in the luxury places of Istanbul such as Etiler and Nişantaşı (Geniş, 2007). Another resident provided a personal experience regarding her daughter’s visit to Grand Bazaar, she explained that her daughter was so surprised and shocked because of the crowd and the culture and behavior of the people (Geniş, 2007). Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu’s (2008) also provided examples of their theory with resident interviews suggesting Istanbul to be a chaotic, old, unfamiliar, and dangerous. This frightened and closed state of mind from interviewed residents in

Istanbul is very similar with the residents of GCs in USA as highlighted by Low (2003) in her study. Although, these two examples come from totally different locations, the global impact of GCs caused similar reactions. When examining Geniş's (2007) and Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu's (2008) interviews with residents, it is evident that danger was defined as a factor that can only come from outside the secure community. Further, these residents had perceptions of those living outside their communities to be poor, narrow-minded, and uneducated furthering the ideas of the outside world being unsecure and dangerous (Geniş, 2007).

5.2.3. Private Administration and Management of Kemer Country Example

Kemer country has its own private administration in charge of rules, security forces, town maintenance, and services, and is owned by shareholders (Geniş, 2007). The application process and community focused events done by the administration provides two distinct different mutual benefits for residents and the municipality. Residents benefited from this situation as they had better and faster service by not having to deal with a slow government system (Geniş, 2007). The local municipality benefited from Kemer Country as its private administration provides better infrastructure and services taking away burden from the municipality (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008). This relief can be seen in interviews by Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, (2008) with the mayor of Göktürk.

“We do not have the funds to provide everything.... They [the real-estate developers] provide the infrastructure, build modern, aesthetically pleasing compounds, and take care of all of their problems, and on top of that provide model for good urban governance-how things should be run in an ideal settlement. With this system everyone wins” (Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu, 2008, p. 37).

5.3. Gated Apartment Blocks

Gated apartments blocks are another form of GCs with a guarded entrance for the private residential and social area in the form of multi-story apartments but with more modest services and facilities (Bayan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007) (Figure 27). These apartment blocks had various actors of development with the earliest being private investors (Pulat-Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008). After 2004, the HDA gained a large share in the real estate market as they targeted the lower and middle classes, (Pulat-Gokmen and Özsoy, 2008). Generally, these apartment blocks were designed around main social area, and had social recreational facilities such as a gym, pool,

or courts to play tennis (Aydın-Yönet, 2009). Like other GCs, the apartments also had 24 hour guarded security entrances and CCTV cameras (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007).

5.3.1. *Halkalı Avrupa Konutları* (Case study, Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009)

Halkalı Avrupa Konutları was constructed in 2006 by private companies under the tender of the HDA and was located in the Küçükçekmece district. This residence covered an area of 82,000 square meters and was close to the Atatürk Airport and Olympic Stadium (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). The authors of the study conducted a survey that focused the socio-demographic profile of the residents, as well as their motivations for moving to the gated community. Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu (2009) concluded that the gated apartment blocks were commonly preferred by middle-income young professionals, married with young families. These residents desired to benefit from the general characteristics of GCs like security, privatism, private administration and management, and a good environment (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). Similar to higher class GCs, resident's valued security highly but the main priorities of gated apartment block residents resided with better living conditions and environment (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). As most individuals living in the apartments worked in the city and their home was located in the city, environment was rated high for relaxation and stress purposes. (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). A better environment was also important for the family life in the gated apartments that were relatively secure (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009). In terms of community homogeneity, the gated apartment blocks were more heterogeneous as they were more affordable and usually without a strict application policy when compared to the gated villas (Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009).



Figure 27: Halkalı Avrupa Konutları (Case study, Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2009, p. 9).

Gated apartment blocks were supported by state via HDA and *KIPTAS* as they allowed the government agencies to control and transform the illegal urbanization process (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008). In addition, gated apartments were tool for providing better living conditions for the middle and lower class and to improve the standard of living in Turkey, the impact of the HDA and *KIPTAS* made gated apartments more common, accessible, and affordable resulting in increasing numbers and advertisements (Pulat-Gökmen and Özsoy, 2008). The earliest gated apartments constructed under the HDA were criticized for poor quality building materials and construction. Later constructions of gated apartments were criticized for destroying natural and historical aspects of the city by encouraging high-density concrete blocks perpetrating gentrification and profiteering from increased land prices.

5.4. Mixed Type of Gated Communities

Mixed type GCs, are relatively new developments when compared to the other GCs and commonly referred to as a satellite city (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Mixed GCs were mainly constructed in the outer parts of Istanbul in large areas with varying unit types, (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007). This type of GC developed mainly in the northern parts of the European and Asian side of Istanbul as they were constructed in the outskirts with communities ranging from 130 to 2,000 housing units (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Mixed GCs offer the same full services within the gates but the remote location influenced the marketing strategies (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007). Marketing relied on presenting a peaceful and affordable life outside of crowded, noisy Istanbul while being close to the main motorways for transport into the city. Mixed GCs was supported by the local municipalities in similar way as gated villa towns as they provided good infrastructure for rural areas and removed population pressure from the core of Istanbul, however, they are criticized for damaging surrounding natural areas (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007).

6. Transition Chapter

“Gated Communities from The User’s Perspective: Theory of Consumption”

Gated communities are one the trendiest housing phenomenon’s of the 21st century and Yalçın, Evcil, and Türkmenoğlu (2009) stress that GCs perfectly fulfill the needs of social dimensions for residents by using Maslow’s “Hierarchy of Needs” in 1943 as interpreted by Cooper (1975). Cooper (1975) translated the social needs in Maslow’s hierarchy (Self Actualization, Self Esteem, Love and Belongingness, Safety and Physiological needs) into the language of architecture as sheltering, security, comfort, socialization and self-expression, and aesthetic. In the GCs, security is provided by the guards and cameras, comfort provided by the facilities and services, and socialization and self-expression are provided by the recreation areas and community activities (Yalçın, Evcil and Türkmenoğlu, 2009). The aesthetic of GCs, however, led to people wanting to pursue prestige and a luxury life turning the GCs to a product to be consumed (Yalçın, Evcil and Türkmenoğlu, 2009). Thorstein Veblen (1899) indicated the importance of social status in the social hierarchy and suggested that those wishing to gain status with the hierarchy will use consumption as a means of an imitation of the higher class. According to Veblen (1899), the imitation of higher class was a dominant factor in the case of consumption as emerging new products created differentiation between those could have and have not in society.

The theory of consumption can provide some perspective for GCs seen today. Modern distribution of sharing the best and new products occurs through mass media and the internet. For GCs the importance of marketing by mass media is vital for the continuation of consumption theory. Through these means, GCs have become a globalized phenomenon for consumers and the interactions of residents, designers, developers, and marketing requires further investigation. The most interesting matter in this transaction (from global to local) was the consumers being the residents of GCs all around the world. People are both designers and consumers of this process. Therefore, preferring GCs on the one hand, and adapting the life of GC on the other hand are deeply important phenomena.

7. Case Study of A Gated Community

Evimiz Beylikdüzü İstanbul, 3-7 September 2016

7.1. Introduction of “Evimiz Beylikdüzü”

“Evimiz Beylikdüzü (EB) is in a municipal area called Beylikdüzü and is located in the western outskirts of the European side in İstanbul (Figure 29). This area can be accessed by multiple ways with the most important being the main highway E-5 where the *Metrobüs* stops, as well as connection lines on the north and southern side of EB (Figure 30).

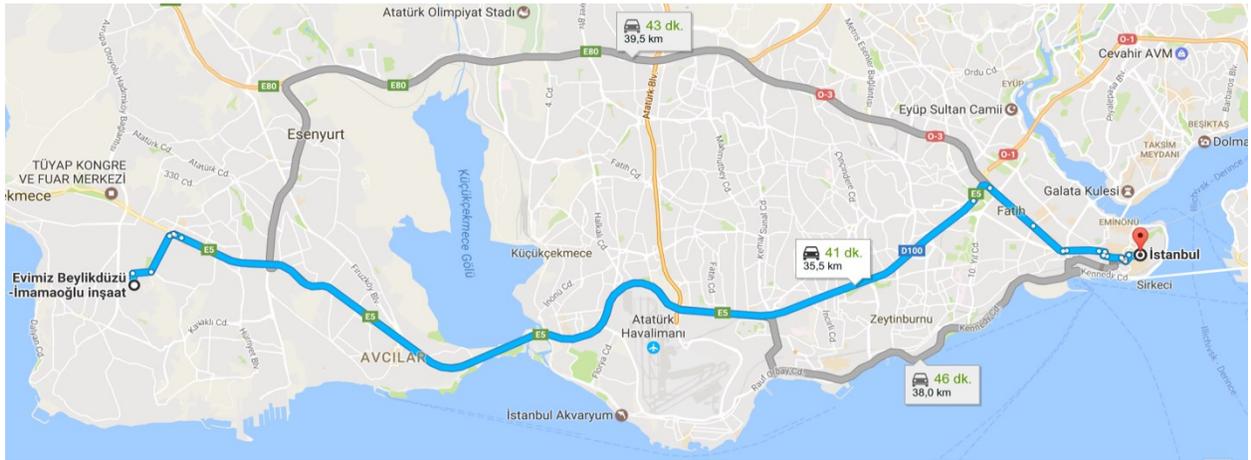


Figure 29: Location of the Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community (Google maps image, 2017).

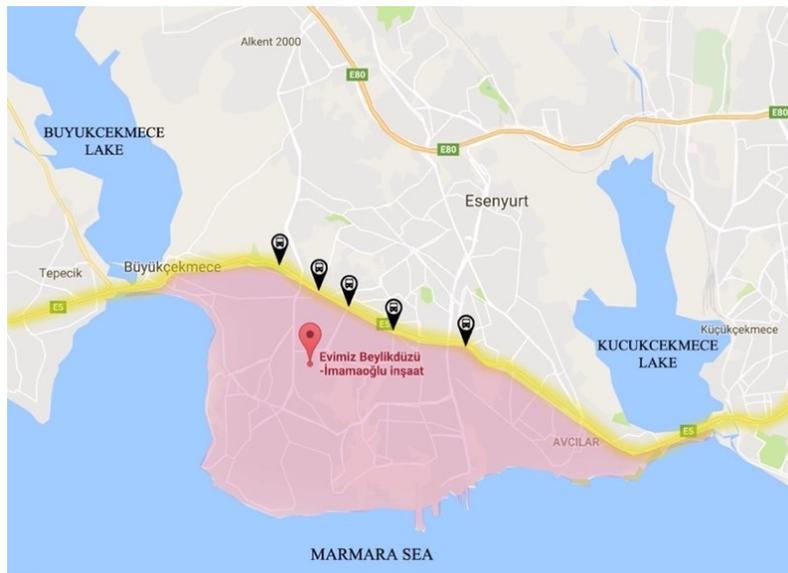


Figure 30: Location of the Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community in Beylikdüzü Municipal area (Google maps image modified by the author, 2017).

Construction of EB was completed during the first quarter of 2016 and consists of seven blocks of apartments each with 151 flats (Figure 31). The flats were designed in the formations 2+1 (garden level), 2+1 (normal), 3+1 (normal), 2+1 (duplex), 3+1 (duplex) and 3+2 (duplex).



Figure 31: Image of the model of Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community (Image taken by the author, 2016).

Evimiz Beylikdüzü GC has one main social area designed with a swimming pool, sauna, small gym, cafeteria, and a park. EB has one, 24 hour guarded entrance with a closed underground parking garage with direct access to the cafeteria zone. Residents use card access to enter EB and guests must notify security about which flat that they wish to visit (Figures 32 and 33).



Figure 32: Panoramic view I of Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community (Image taken by the author, 2016).

7.2. The process on the Field Work

The main aim in the field work was to determine the behavioral and perceptual changes of residents after they moved into the EB. Therefore, the questionnaire consisted of demographic, target, and key questions that could be answered quickly and effectively, and open interview questions to allow respondents to answer in detail. Furthermore, interviews were carried out both during the weekdays and the weekend. During the weekdays, the respondents were mostly retired people, housewives, and students while during the weekend, families were visiting social areas more often and interviewed. Interviews were often conducted in the social area of EB due to privacy concerns, however, some interviews occurred in respondent gardens or flats on request. Average duration of the interview was 30 minutes.



Figure 33: Panoramic view II of Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community (Image taken by the author, 2016).

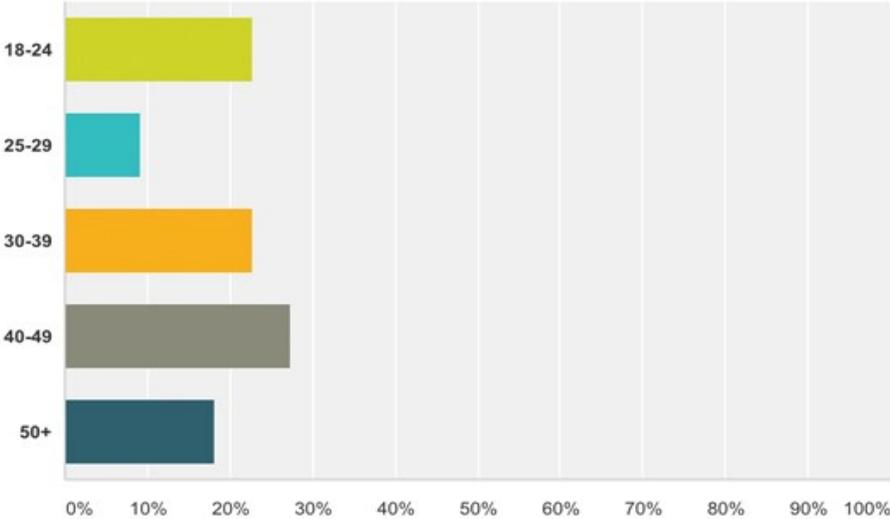
7.2.1. 2016 Summer State of Turkey

On the 15 of July 2016, a coup was attempted in Turkey against the Turkish government. This attempt was organized by military groups inside of the Turkish National Army and was blocked by the public. This unique public movement resulted in street demonstrations for politic freedom

and they managed stop armed military groups. This failed attempt created various results, the most critical was a State of Emergency announcement (SOE). SOE is important for this research as it changed the perception of the people in Turkey as the government had wider powers than normally. Under SOE, individuals could be questioned and investigated by the government and individual rights were limited. SOE has created a more introverted culture that may have influenced respondent answers during interviews. It was the most significant obstacle that encountered during the case study process.

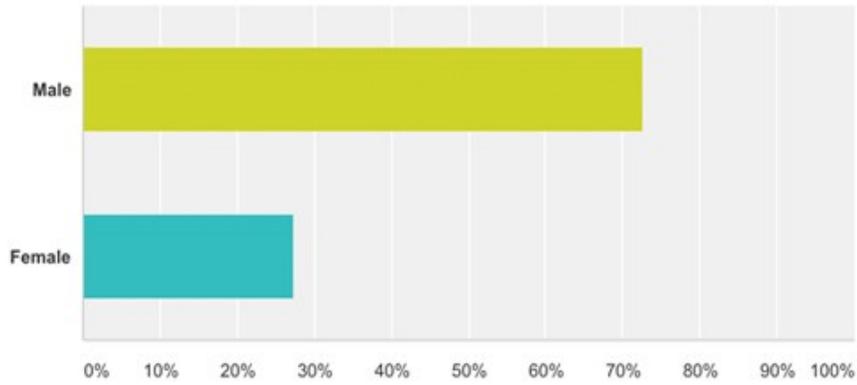
7.3. Demographic Structure

The research was aimed to interview people from various backgrounds in terms of basic socio-demographic profile, such as education, income, profession, and etcetera. Interviews occurred between ages 18 to 50+, with the majority being from 18-24, 30-39, and 40-49, respectively (Graph 1a). Out of the 22 respondents, 16 were male and 6 were female (Graph 1b).



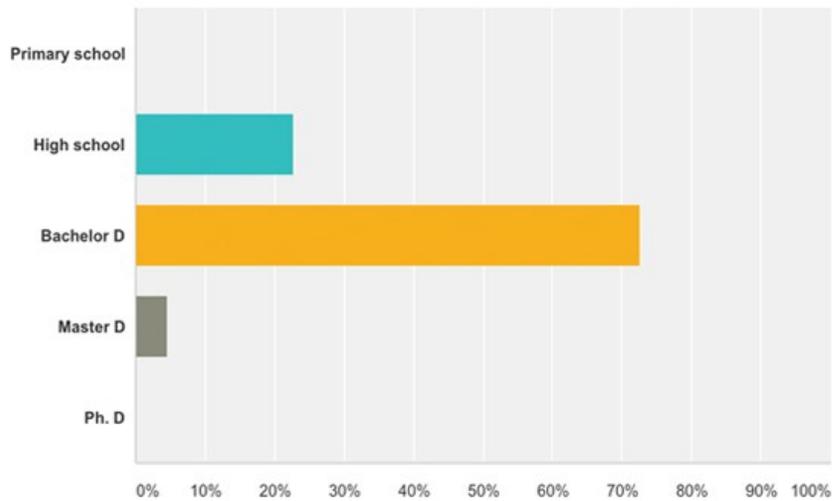
Answer Choices	Responses
18-24	22.73% 5
25-29	9.09% 2
30-39	22.73% 5
40-49	27.27% 6
50+	18.18% 4
Total	22

Graph 1a: Age groups of the respondents.



Answer Choices	Responses	
Male	72.73%	16
Female	27.27%	6
Total		22

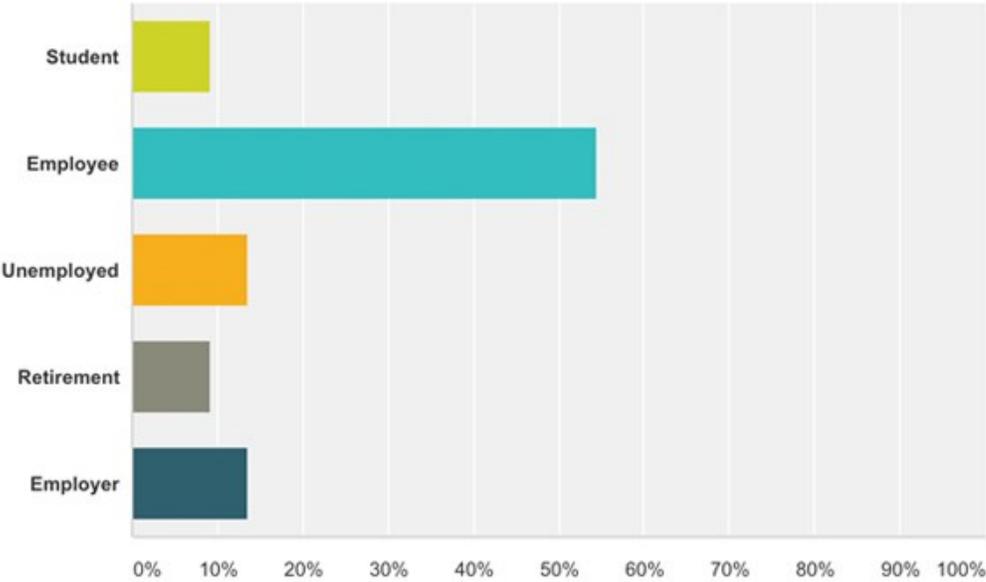
Graph 1b: According to gender, the number of respondents.



Answer Choices	Responses	
Primary school	0.00%	0
High school	22.73%	5
Bachelor D	72.73%	16
Master D	4.55%	1
Ph. D	0.00%	0
Total		22

Graph 1c: According to educational background, the number of respondents.

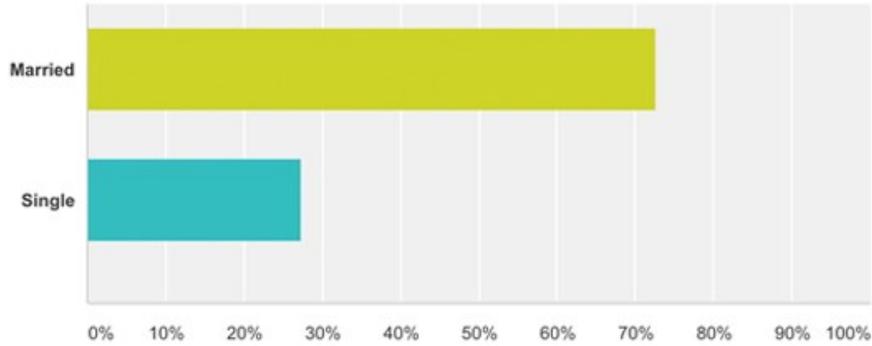
Educationally, majority of respondents had obtained a university degree either at the bachelor or masters level (Graph, 1c). While vocationally, 68% of the respondents were employed and 13% were unemployed, and students accounted for 9% and retirees at 13% (Graph 1d). The unemployed group with the rate of 13% was consisted of housewives who quitted their jobs to take their child.



Answer Choices	Responses
Student	9.09% 2
Employee	54.55% 12
Unemployed	13.64% 3
Retirement	9.09% 2
Employer	13.64% 3
Total	22

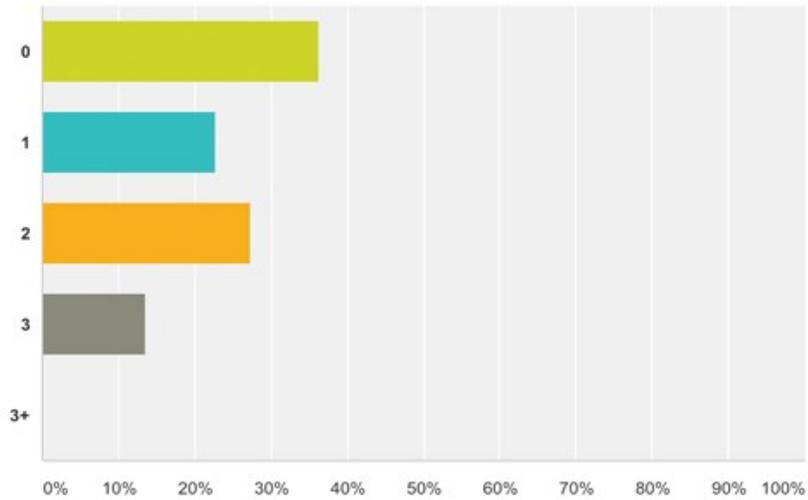
Graph 1d: According to career, the number of respondents.

Out of the respondents, 73% were married and 27% were divorced or single (Graph 2a). Majority of the respondents reported having 1 to 3 children (Graph 2b).



Answer Choices	Responses	
▼ Married	72.73%	16
▼ Single	27.27%	6
Total		22

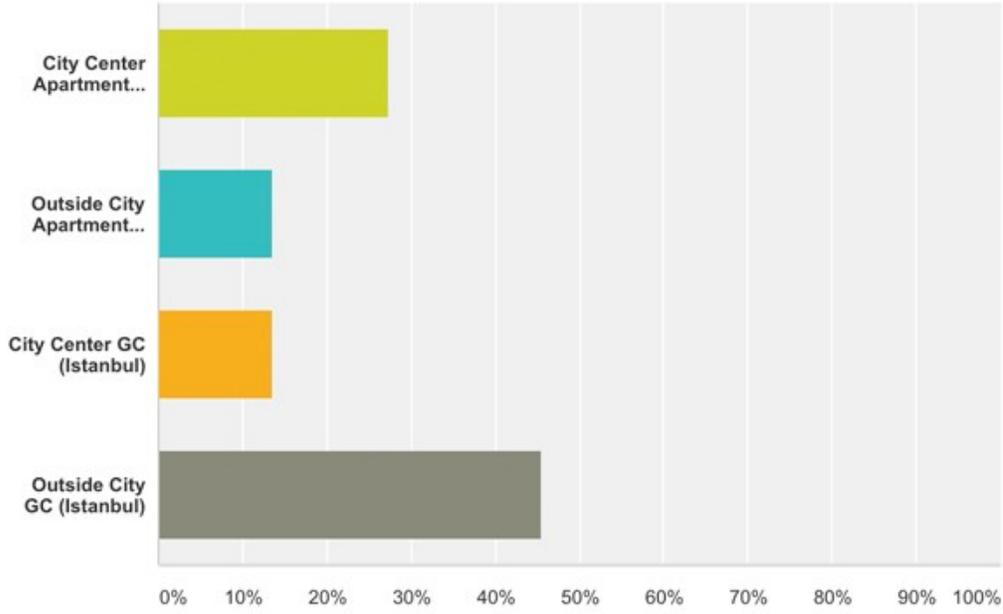
Graph 2a: According to marital status, the number of respondents.



Answer Choices	Responses	
▼ 0	36.36%	8
▼ 1	22.73%	5
▼ 2	27.27%	6
▼ 3	13.64%	3
▼ 3+	0.00%	0
Total		22

Graph 2b: Number of children.

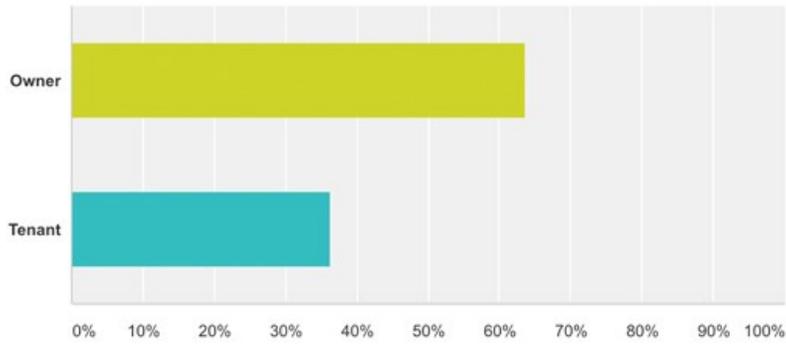
All of the respondents' previous flats were located in Istanbul with 60% previously living in GCs. Out of those living previously in GCs, 45% lived suburbs and 14% of them lived in the central parts of the city. The remaining respondents reported 40% living in apartment buildings, which 27% in the city center and 14% suburbs (Graph 2c).



Answer Choices	Responses
City Center Apartment (Istanbul)	27.27% 6
Outside City Apartment (Istanbul)	13.64% 3
City Center GC (Istanbul)	13.64% 3
Outside City GC (Istanbul)	45.45% 10
Total	22

Graph 2c: According to previous housing, the number of respondents.

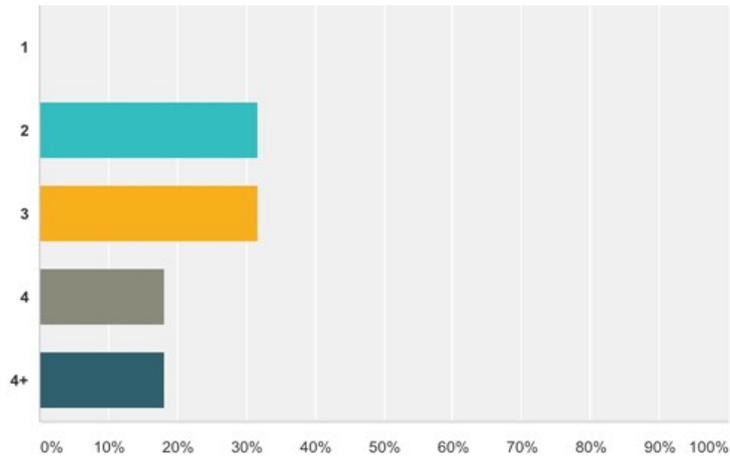
Possession of flats in the GC resulted in 64% of the respondents were homeowners and 36% of them were tenants (Graph 2d).



Answer Choices	Responses
Owner	63.64% 14
Tenant	36.36% 8
Total	22

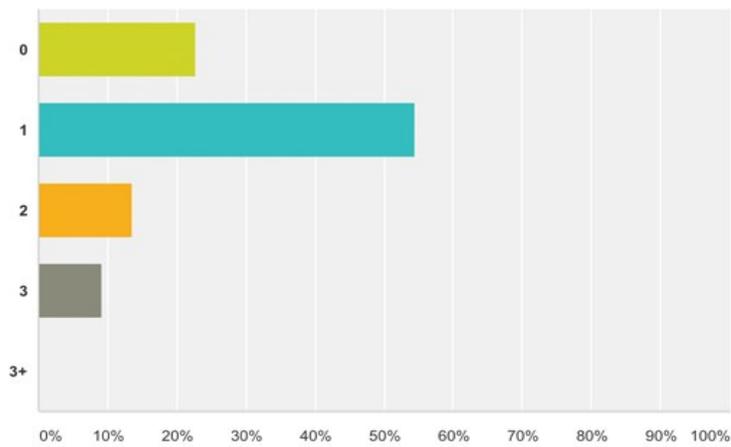
Graph 2d: According to flat ownership, the number of respondents.

Out of all respondents, none reported to living alone, 32% with two occupants, 32% for three occupants, 18% with four, and 18% with more than four occupants in the flat (Graph 3a). These numbers demonstrate that Evimiz BeylÜkdüzü GC was designed for families. In some flats there were nannies and were counted as residents. Approximately 23% of the respondents did not own a car and 78% owned one or more cars (Graph 3b).



Answer Choices	Responses	Count
1	0.00%	0
2	31.82%	7
3	31.82%	7
4	18.18%	4
4+	18.18%	4
Total		22

Graph 3a: According to number of residents living in the flat, the number of respondents.

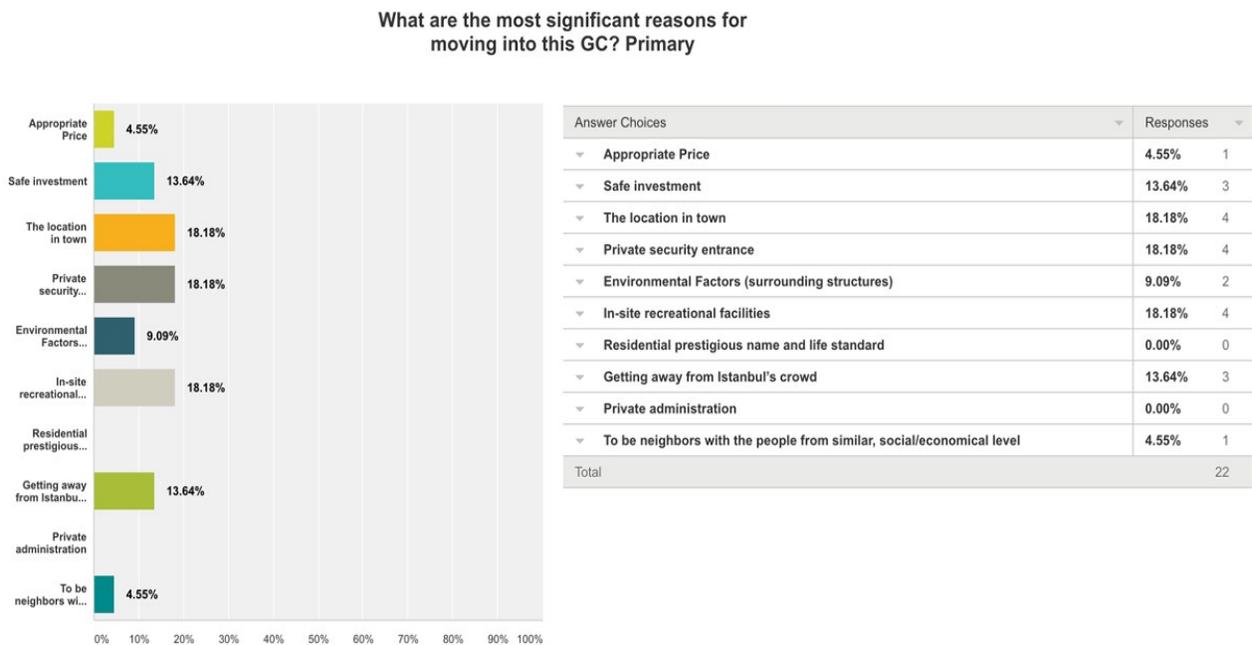


Answer Choices	Responses	Count
0	22.73%	5
1	54.55%	12
2	13.64%	3
3	9.09%	2
3+	0.00%	0
Total		22

Graph 3b: According to vehicle ownership, the number of respondents.

7.4. Preference Reasons

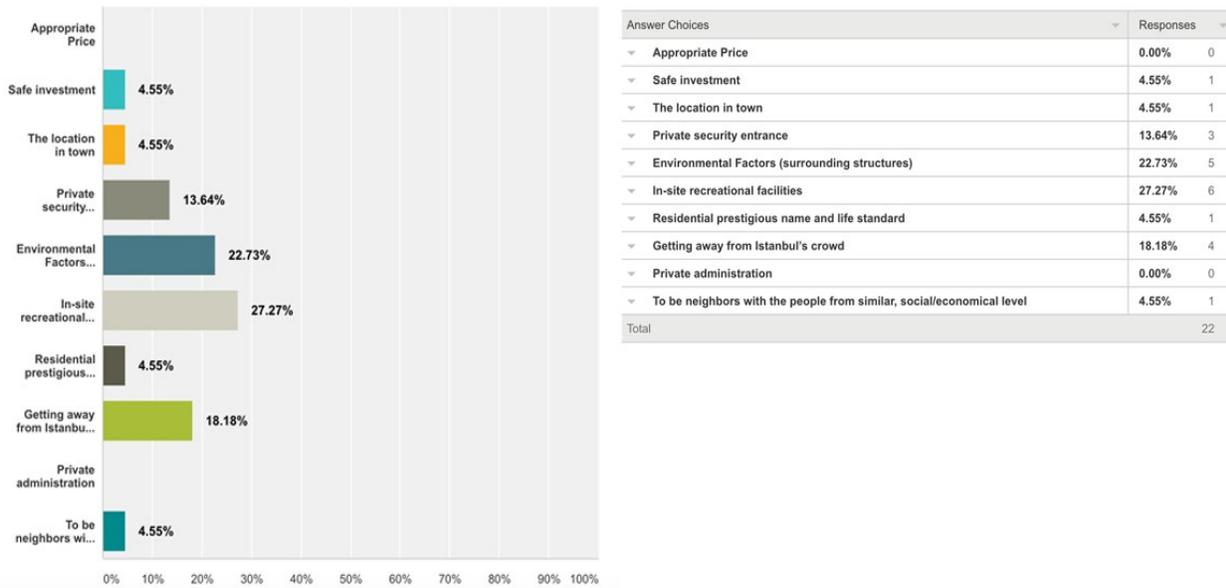
Respondent preferences were analyzed in depth regarding their decision to move into Evimiz Beylikdüzü. Answers were categorized as primary, secondary and tertiary to provide better understanding of respondent reasoning. Primary reasons for the respondents moving to EB revolved around location and the private security entrance and in-site recreation areas (Graph 4a). Many of the respondents linked their answers to the high population density of Istanbul, Discussion on increased population in the city center led to respondents stressing the problem of lack of security and accessibility. In certain cases, respondents were upset about the cultural and social changes of the city caused by immigration. Respondents tended to compare modern Istanbul with the old Istanbul, which according to them was more spacious, accessible, and secure. Respondents also defined their choice with a metaphor of needing a breath fresh air. In general, the gated community with private security and recreation areas was seen by the respondents as a package deal solution for all the above listed problems of living in the Istanbul.



Graph 4a: According to primary reasons for moving into EB, the number of respondents.

Secondary reasons for moving to EB was the in-site recreation areas and environmental factors (Graph 4b). Unlike the primary reasons, when respondents mentioned in-site recreation areas, they did not stress the benefit of privacy but rather expressing how created a beneficial change in their daily routine. This answer was common among couples with children as the in-site recreation areas are located minutes from their home and come with social and security benefits of being familiar of other recreation users. When considering environmental factors, the respondents highlighted surrounding public utilities such as close bus stops, schools, supermarkets, and shopping malls. According to the manager of Evimiz Beylikdüzü, one of the main reasons of EB being preferred by the families was location accessibility.

What are the most significant reasons for moving into this GC? Secondary

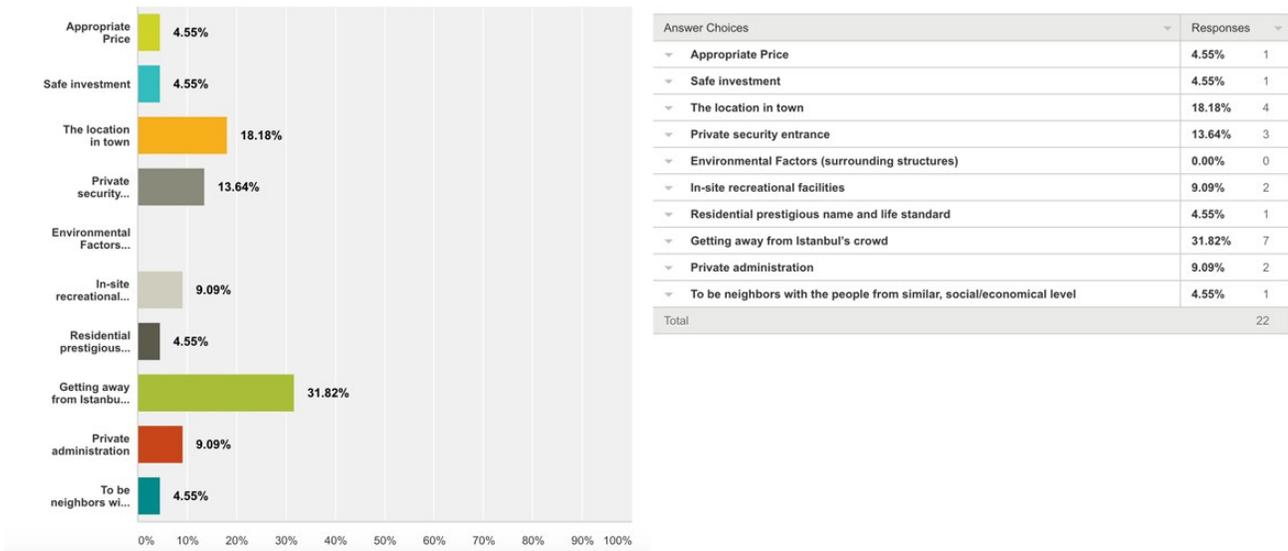


Graph 4b: According to secondary reasons for moving into EB, the number of respondents.

The most cited tertiary reason for moving to EB was residents wanting to be away from crowded Istanbul (Graph 4c). Respondents justified their opinion by suggesting issues with traffic and rush hour in the city, living an unhealthy, insecure, compressed life, and the city being too loud, money oriented, and cosmopolitan. However, all respondents mentioned the downside of long commutes between their home and the city for work. Another tertiary reason by respondents was security for their children. Majority of the respondents were born between the 1960s to 1980s, and spent their childhoods in the city center in Istanbul meaning they were accustomed to the fast paced life and

social behavior in the city. While the respondents worked in the city, almost all of them agreed that contemporary Istanbul is not as safe for the kids as it used to be. Respondents claimed that they must control mobility of their children with private security inside of the GC, and with private school buses when they are going to school.

What are the most significant reasons for moving into this GC? Tertiary

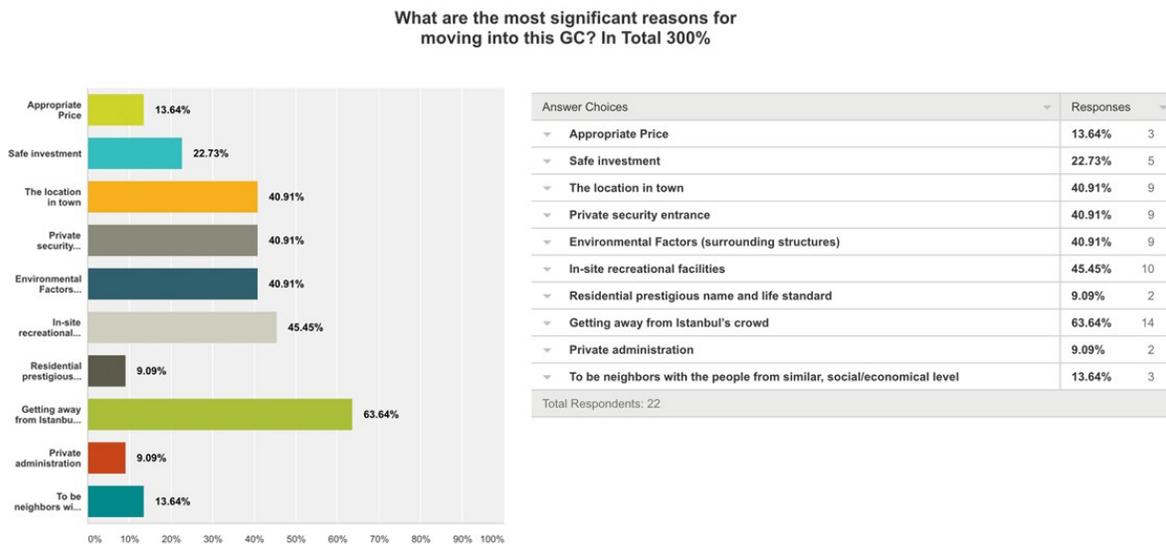


Graph 4c: According to tertiary reasons for moving into EB, the number of respondents.

From these results, conclusions can be made that population density of Istanbul was the deciding factor for life in EB with in-site recreation facilities, location in town, environmental factors, and private security being secondary and tertiary reasons (Graph 4d). Quality of life was directly influenced by the crowd, noise, and complexity of the city life of Istanbul for the residents. The other answers could be interpreted as indication that the fundamental features and benefits of GCs, such as privacy, security, and community had impact on preference for habitation. Nonetheless, the minor occurrence of prestigious name and life standard and private administration among the answers revealed that there was also contrast between commercial image and the reality.

When comparing to Aydın-Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu's (2009) case study in Halkalı Konutları, despite targeting similar income groups, the reasons for moving into the two communities varied. Residents cited security as the primary reason in the Halkalı Konutları where as EB residents cited

population density in Istanbul as the primary reason. However, residents from both GCs supported the benefits of private recreation areas as a secondary reason for moving to a GC.



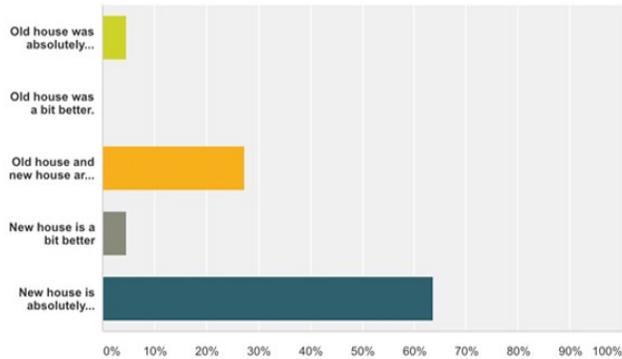
Graph 4d: Aggregate Results (combination of the data, in total of 300%).

7.5. Comparison of Previous and New Housing

In this section of the interview, respondents were asked to compare their previous housing with their new housing in relation to freedom to perform cultural or religious activity, housing design (modern or traditional), feeling free or secure, relations with neighbors, child relation and satisfaction, impact of daily habits, and overall satisfaction.

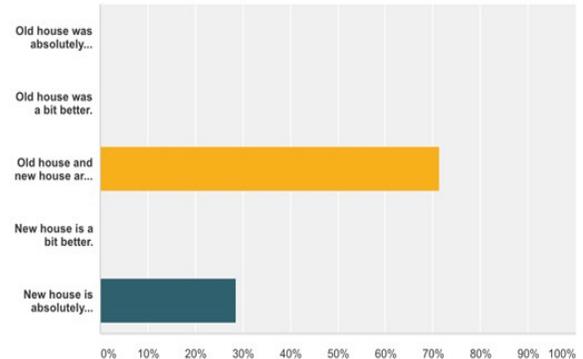
In terms of feeling free to perform cultural activities, answers showed that EB residents expressed feeling more free at 68%, while 5% of respondents believing they had more freedom in their previous housing, and 27% of them stating no difference (Graph 5a). Cultural activities included social gatherings, such as cooking and eating, and watching games or television together. When considering freedom of religious activity, majority of the answers showed us that respondents largely felt that there is no difference between the previous and the new housing and only 27% stating EB to be better (Graph 5a).

Comparing to your old house, how free do you feel to perform your cultural activity inside of this GC?



Answer Choices	Responses
Old house was absolutely better.	4.55% 1
Old house was a bit better.	0.00% 0
Old house and new house are the same.	27.27% 6
New house is a bit better.	4.55% 1
New house is absolutely better.	63.64% 14
Total	22

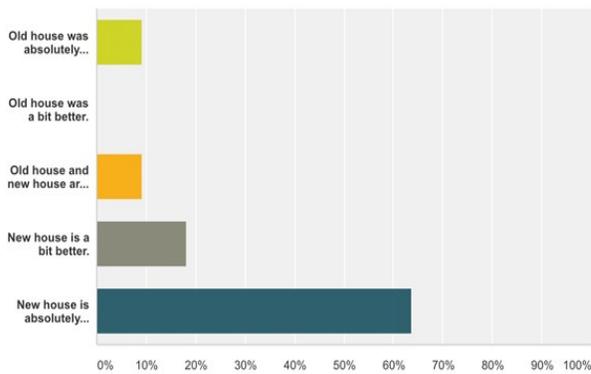
Comparing to your old house, how free do you feel to perform your religious activity inside of this GC?



Answer Choices	Responses
Old house was absolutely better.	0.00% 0
Old house was a bit better.	0.00% 0
Old house and new house are the same.	72.72% 16
New house is a bit better.	0.00% 0
New house is absolutely better.	27.27% 6
Total	22

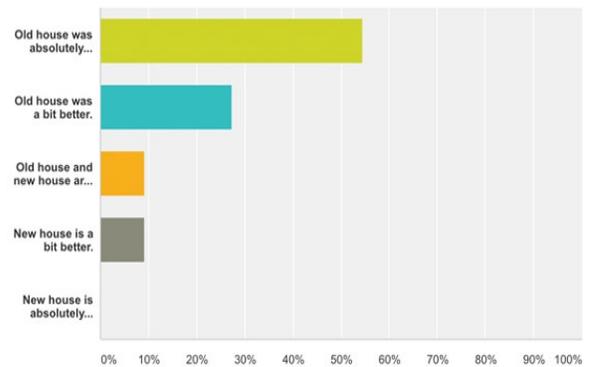
Graph 5a: Comparison of the previous and new housing in terms of performing cultural and religious activity .

Comparing to your old house, how modern is this house in terms of design and house-plan?



Answer Choices	Responses
Old house was absolutely better.	9.09% 2
Old house was a bit better.	0.00% 0
Old house and new house are the same.	9.09% 2
New house is a bit better.	18.18% 4
New house is absolutely better.	63.64% 14
Total	22

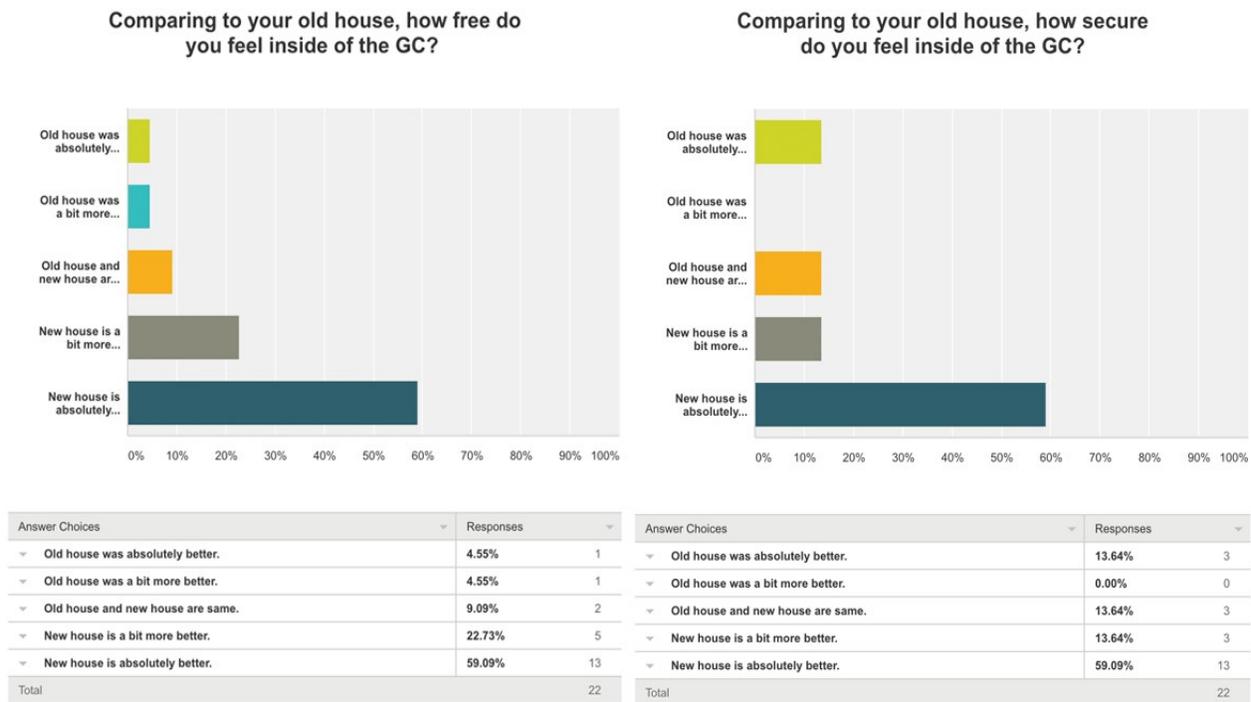
Comparing to your old house, how traditional is this house in terms of design and house-plan?



Answer Choices	Responses
Old house was absolutely better.	54.55% 12
Old house was a bit better.	27.27% 6
Old house and new house are the same.	9.09% 2
New house is a bit better.	9.09% 2
New house is absolutely better.	0.00% 0
Total	22

Graph 5b: Comparison of the previous and new housing in terms of house design.

Comparison of housing design, in terms of modern and traditional, is aimed to reveal the feelings of the responders towards the form, design, and plan of the housing. It is evident that the new housing in EB, in terms design, household items and house-plan was more modern than previous housing (Graph 5b). Although many respondents had moved from other GCs, EB, fulfilled living expectations for the residents with their new housing. For the other respondents who moved out from the central parts of the city, efficiency and modernity of the housing design was essential.



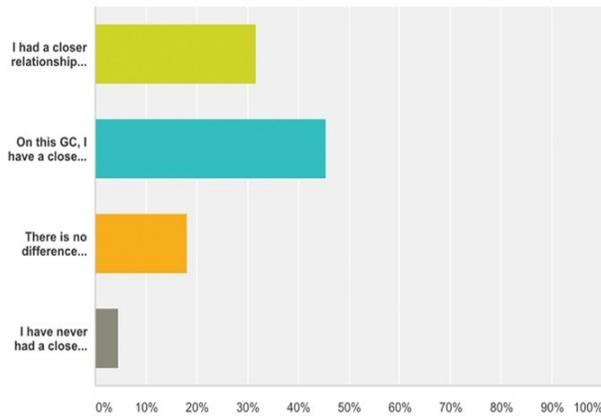
Graph 5c: Comparison of the previous and new housing in terms freedom and security.

When evaluating the feeling free inside of the GC, the results clearly showed that EB was absolutely dominant over the previous housing. That means the respondents significantly felt the freedom inside of the EB. Interestingly, when the answers combined with feeling secure, it could be concluded that one of the main reason of feeling free was security. Almost 60% of the respondents stated that GC was absolutely more secure than residents previous housing. Furthermore, when interviewing professionals, many of them stressed that they felt more comfortable with guarded entrance gate, when they went out of the GC for work. They mainly referred this as “my wife and my child are alone at home when I am at work, of course, I am concerned about their security when I am not with them, yet with guarded entrance all of the access is controlled with security and cameras, and that is the one of the main reason that I live in this

type of community”. In short, for the EB it could be stated that freedom was provided with security, and majority of the respondents supported that. There were, however, also some complains mostly by the young respondents about their privacy. Some respondents criticized the small distance between the apartment blocks that caused their worries that other neighbors could watch over or spy on them. This issue of closely located blocks also caused the noise problem between the elderly respondents and the young ones.

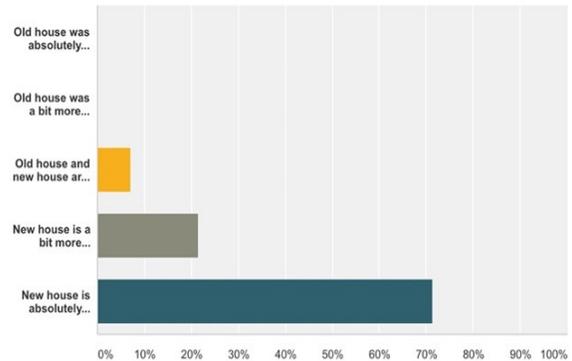
Relationships among the neighbors inside the EB were highly important, in order to understand the social structure and behavior inside the GC. The answers revealed that majority of the respondents 45% felt they had closer relationships with their neighbors inside of the EB. Yet the respondents who claimed to have better neighborly relations in their previous housing could not be ignored, since they rated second with 32%. The rest of the answers resulted as follows: 18% claimed there is no difference between now and before, and 5% indicated to have never had close relations with my neighbors. The data thus show that living in EB helped to foster neighborly relations more than the previous residence, although the difference was not high (Graph 5d). During the interviews, respondents over thirty years old stated many times that they would like to build up community spirit. Therefore, they suggested more common activities and gatherings in social grounds. Consequently, it could be concluded that couples and responders over thirty years old were more willing to build up social community inside rather than younger respondents. However, for younger respondents, aged between eighteen and twenty-six, social life and community were mainly to be built outside of the EB, and they did not suggest any common social activities for other younger respondents inside the GC. On the contrary, they would more willing bring their own entourage inside rather than creating a new one.

Evaluate your neighborly relations in the GC:



Answer Choices	Responses
I had a closer relationship with my neighbors, where I live earlier	31.82% 7
On this GC, I have a closer relationship with my neighborhood.	45.45% 10
There is no difference between now and before.	18.18% 4
I have never had a close relationship with my neighbors.	4.55% 1
Total	22

Comparing to your old house, how satisfying is this house for your child's needs?



Answer Choices	Responses
Old house was absolutely better.	0.00% 0
Old house was a bit more better.	0.00% 0
Old house and new house are same.	7.14% 1
New house is a bit more better.	21.43% 3
New house is absolutely better.	71.43% 10
Total	14

Graph 5d: Comparison of the previous and new housing in terms neighborly relations and child's needs.

When respondents were asked to evaluate the EB in terms of their child's needs, the results were absolutely on the favor of EB. 71% of the respondents stated that EB was absolutely better than their previous housing. Furthermore, 22% of them stated EB was a bit better than their previous housing. Which meant that with the total rate of 93 % EB was dominated this section, and it was the most significant result among the all comparison analysis. In the light of data above (Graph 5d), it could be concluded that when evaluating neighborly relations of residents, the answers were various, however, when it comes to evaluate child's needs and relation in the EB it was perfectly clear that all of the respondents were highly satisfied. Consequently, many of the respondents highlighted that they felt more comfortable when their kids play and interact in the area that they could easily access and watch, and with the kids that they already know (their families in some extend). As one could have observed that it be could also related with neighborly relations when neighbor's children bound socially with each other. Be sides that, many of the parents expressed that they could send their child alone into the park in the EB, and it build character and confidence into the child. Moreover, even when they out in the social area, together as family, parents could

easily focus their own business and just watch over their kids in close distance. According to them which also gave child more mobility and responsibly. In short, when evaluating neighborly relations, majority of the respondents explained that EB has complex structure in terms of demography (maybe close income level yet different background, age group and social structure). Therefore, sharing neighborly relations were not so easy, but for their children, it was absolutely positive when it comes to creating and having relations inside of the EB.

The detailed answers revealed an important variation among the respondents. Some of the respondents believed that social facilities, which were available in the EB, such as park, pool, sauna cafeteria and gym, could be in the long run integrated in in their daily life. One of these respondents specifically expressed in this sense that using sauna after work helped him a lot with his sleeping problems and therefore he seriously considers now including the use of other social facilities, such as gym, in his daily routine, rather than just going home and watching television. Another set of the respondents, to the contrary, declared they have no intention to change their leisure habits. Furthermore, this group consisted of males over forty years old, and still working actively. According to them, their time to change daily routines had passed already. But they thought that all of the social, healthy and active life that was offered by EB was still available for their wives and children. In short, physical environment has no longer power on their social behavior, yet this group stated benefits of the EB was huge motivator for their family members who had more possibility to change their life. Only minor part of the respondents stated that there was no real difference between the previous and new housing 5%, and few respondents stated their previous housing was a bit better 9%.

The answers on the overall satisfaction of EB comparing to old housing was on the favor of EB. 64 % of the respondents thought EB is a bit better than their old housing, and 23% of them thought EB is absolutely better than their old housing which meant that 87% of them overall satisfied with their new housing in the Evimiz Beylikdüzü GC.

Overall conclusions on the comparison chapter:

1. Evimiz Beylikdüzü was considered as providing more freedom to perform social activity. In terms of religious activity majority of the respondents stated previous and new housing are the same yet they put EB in second position after neutral answers.
2. EB was considered more modern in terms of housing-design and consequently, majority of old housing were considered traditional.
3. EB was considered as more free/secured area.
4. EB was considered to provide better relations with neighbors, although the opposite idea had close percentage.
5. EB was most significantly considered satisfying area in terms of child's needs.
6. EB was considered to have positive impact on the daily habits. Its position stood in the second place after neutral answers.
7. EB was considered as overall satisfying social area and community of houses.

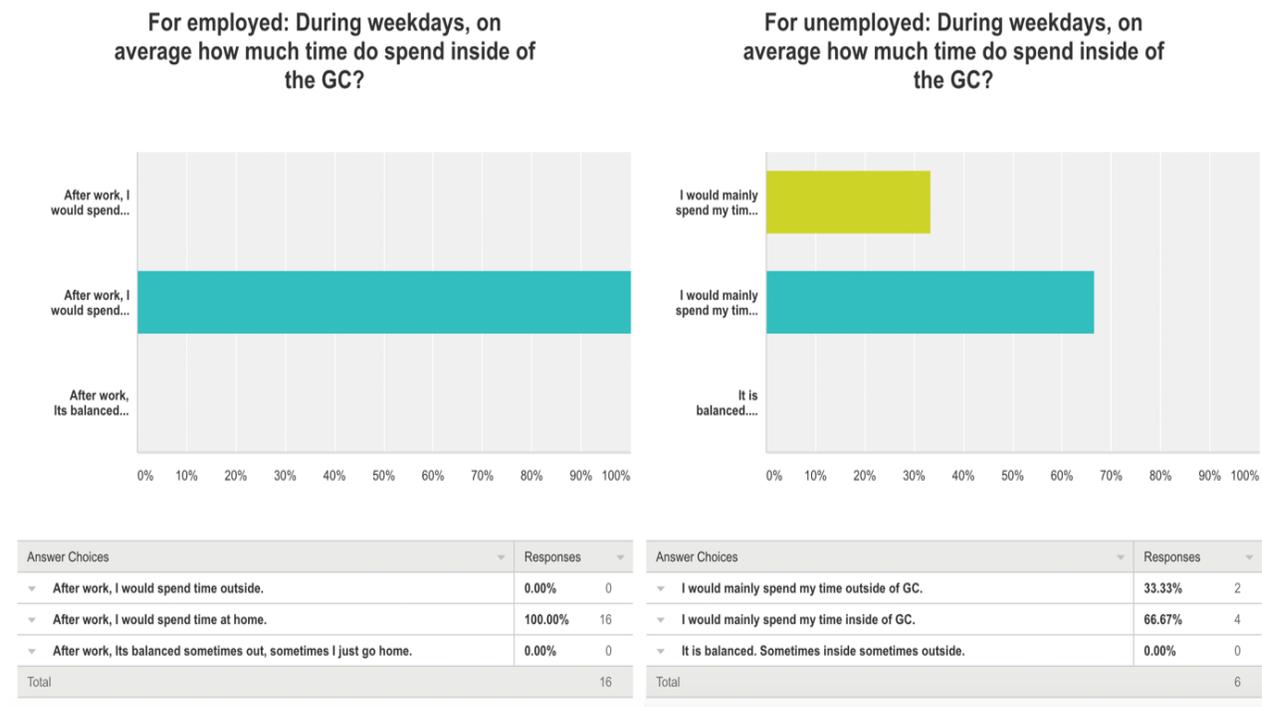
The comparison chapter gives brief information about the preferences between the old and new housing. However, it does not cover the details behind the declared reasons. For that reason, the overview of this part was supported with Open Interview Questions where respondents could explain changes that happened in their life with more details.

7.6. Analysis of Social Behaviors

Another part of the interview was focused on the social habits of the GC residents. The questions targeted issues such as how they spend their free time, and whether rather inside (at home) or outside, or whether they use facilities and green areas in the EB. The respondents commonly chosen the answer from multiple choice yet most of them had tendency to provide more details about their social life in the GC.

Respondents were divided into two groups, employed and unemployed, so that we get more accurate answers. For employed respondents, it was absolute that after the work in the week days they directly make their way home into EB at all times (Graph 6a). The residents often explained this routine with two reasons. First reason was that majority of them were married and had a family, naturally, they wanted to go back to their families after work. Furthermore, even regarding the socializing with their family, they rather chose to put a little effort and stay in the EB (taking their child to park, taking pets to walk or going house visit to the neighbors). The second reason,

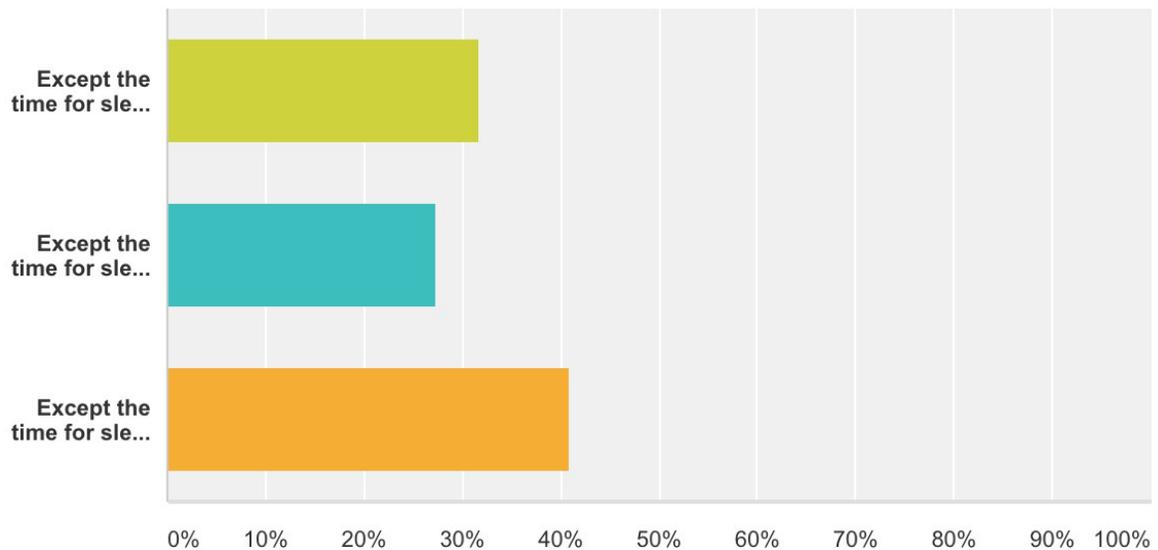
according to the respondents the professional life in Istanbul demanded and took a lot from the employees, therefore many of them were just happy to stay at home after long day of work, and to be able to enjoy basic activities such as watching TV or browsing in the internet. In short, the economical well being in Turkey and demanded of the business life of Istanbul would not allowed for many of the employees in city to have some weekday, even weekend, hobbies or habits as Western European countries. Considering all these information, for the respondents to be able to spend some quality time for themselves in a walking distance in EB was a huge benefit.



Graph 6a: Distribution of time spent in (actual housing and gastronomic areas) or out of the EB, during the weekdays.

For the group of unemployed respondents, which consisted of students, housewives and retired people, the predominant answer was spending time inside the EB (Graph, 6a). Housewives and retired had more tendency to stay in, even though, they had freedom in terms of time. Students who did not have a class in some of the weekdays indicated that they spent most of their time in the city. However, they added that in the summer time they frequently called their friends into GC to socialize because of the pool and garden. As mentioned before, unemployed group was the one that used the social benefits of the EB more. For elderly respondents, ground floor flat with garden was great benefit and they stated that they often spent their time in the garden if the weather is

good. All responders who had balcony in their flat also stated that they enjoy the social area view from their balcony and also spend there a lot of time if the weather allows.

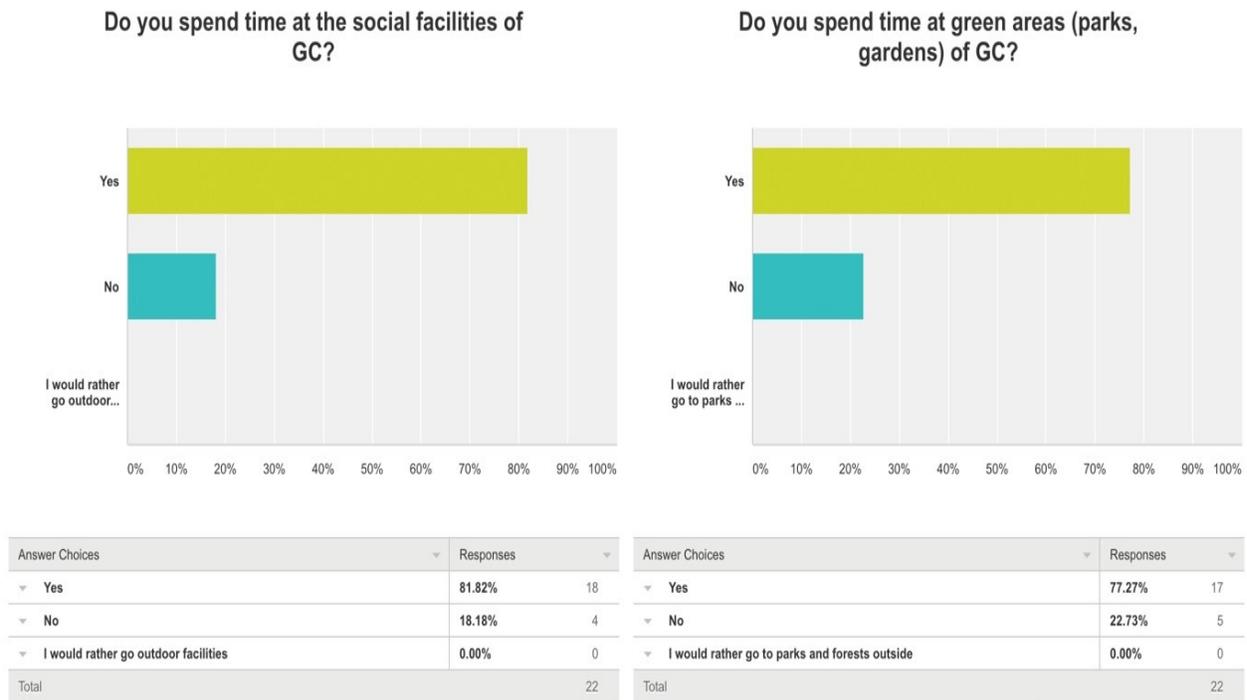


Answer Choices	Responses
▼ Except the time for sleep, I would spend my time outside of the GC.	31.82% 7
▼ Except the time for sleep, I would spend my time inside of the GC.	27.27% 6
▼ Except the time for sleep, I would spend my time balanced.	40.91% 9
Total	22

Graph 6a: Distribution of time spent in (actual housing and gastronomic areas) or out of the EB, during the weekends.

In terms of spending time in the GC during the weekends, the answers were ranked as this: first balanced, second outside of the GC, and third inside of the GC (Graph 6a). According to the answers families were mainly spending their time in the shopping malls with their kids. In some cases, there were answers such as a daily trip, family dinner in some elite restaurant or visitation of the elders. For younger and single respondents, answers such as hanging out in shopping malls, cafes, pubs, and clubs were frequent. However, they were mentioning the disadvantage of being far from the city center more than families. For younger responders much of the nightlife and social life in Istanbul was taking place in the city center, living in the EB therefore weakened their connections with the active life in the city. During weekends on the time of the interviews, it was observed that families were setting up the tables in the garden or on the balcony for breakfast or

lunch. In the afternoons, staying in the park, cafeteria and pool were preferred way how to enjoy the good weather.



Graph 7: Usage of social facilities and green areas of the EB.

This couple of questions supported the earlier findings about choosing EB because of its private gastronomic areas. While providing answers to both questions, majority of the respondents specified that they used to spend time especially in the private gastronomic areas (Graph 7). The respondents were largely satisfied, although in many cases they indicated it would be very good to have a cafeteria in the indoor facility next to the pool, so that they can get some drink and food, and even watch some movies or football games. It could be concluded that more quality and more variation of social elements in the GC equals speeding more time inside of the GC. Moreover, results were also parallel with, Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu's (2008) "shrinking Istanbul theory". According to Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu's (2008), while Istanbul was expanding geographically and demographically, "the Istanbul perception" of gated community residents was shrinking. Interestingly, similar pattern of perceptions was also observed in the EB.

7.7. Open Interview Questions and Answers

This part of the interviews had nine open questions designed to stress the opinion of the respondents on a broader spectrum. Due to the lengthy process of the open questionnaire, not all of the respondents answered all of the questions.

Question 1: What are the most significant positive changes in your life since you (your family) moved into *Evimiz Beylikdüzü* Gated Community?

Majority of the answers indicated that inhabitants of the EB were enjoying the benefits and futures of gated communities. Commons answers of the responders were as follows: I can socialize easily in the EB, I can put more attention and time for myself, I do not worry about my home when I am away, I became more sportive, I simply started to breathe, etcetera. Many of the respondents explained that their usage of time during the day is converted into healthier state, as the examples below demonstrate:

“Comparing the past, I walk more inside and outside, well, because of this I feel healthier and fit. You know here (in Beylikdüzü) there are not many cars parked on the streets since GCs around here have private parking spots, this makes streets more free and put them in order so we enjoy them more” (twenty years old, female, nurse, currently working).

“When I was living in Fatih (an area in very heart of the Istanbul located close to old town) in my free days, I could not even wake up on 11.00 o'clock but here I wake up on 7 o'clock in very healthy state. I think it is because of fresh air and silence in EB. I could use my time more efficiently during the day” (forty-six years old, male, automotive industry, currently working).

According to the positive comments above, one could understand that the main benefits of the EB resulted in positive sense for the inhabitants that used them regularly. Having many facilities in closer distance was inevitable motivator for the responders. Consequently, the common activities around the park and pool were creators of social bounds and community for the inhabitants. Rarely, respondents explained that there were no changes in their life due to their busy schedule. In one case, one of the respondents explained it as:

“Not many things have changed honestly, because I work 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. but I think it is more significant for my family, so I am happy” (thirty-eight years old, male, accountant, currently working).

Difficulty of changing daily routines is not a problem only for the inhabitants of EB; it can be seen as common problem for people who work in long hours all around Turkey. Unfortunately, because of the economic state of Turkey, conditions for middle classes were not establish well for them to had enough free time to develop some hobbies and activities. Another aspect on that issue was the long time habits of the inhabitants. Because of this issue, inhabitants who actually had time for some healthier activities such as running or doing exercise, were still not changing their routines and staying with the old habits such as watching television.

Question 2: What are the most significant negative changes in your life since you (your family) moved into *Evimiz Beylikdüzü Gated Community*?

The most dominant answer for this questions was being far away from the city; In this sense, respondents were complaining about the negative outcomes of this situation such as spending too much time in the traffic, losing social ties with friends in the city, losing social ties with family and elders etcetera. Another aspect was that many of the well-known business attractions were located in the heart of Istanbul. Furthermore, respondents who worked in the global companies in CBD of Istanbul stated that as much they were enjoying living in peaceful area in EB, sometimes they were so fed up spending three or four hours in traffic due to rush hour on the way home. Here are some of the selected examples from the respondents:

“We (my family and I) used the live in the city center in apartment with my family (his mother and father). In the apartment and in the *mahalle* (neighbourhood in Turkish language) everybody knows each other, so I would not have to worry about security or anything else. Moving out here, is good in many ways but I certainly miss that feeling and that connection” (thirty-six years old, male, mechanical engineer, currently working)

“Relationship with the neighbors are not good, I could not really socialize inside” (twenty-four years old, male, store manager, currently working).

“Housing blocks are so close to each other, I need to be extra careful about my privacy” (twenty years old, female bachelor degree student, currently studying).

According to answers, one of the critical result was nostalgia for old *mahalle* culture. *Mahalle* culture was defined as package deal of community, security and share by the elderly responders; and to not having this type of sharing inside of the GC was negative reflection of today’s reality. It can be argued that respondents were trying to remedy this nostalgia with GC. Therefore,

respondents were trying to establish nested social bonds between the inhabitants of the GC; because they knew that this type of connection could only be possible in some small and controlled environment such as EB. Another support for this idea was negative comments about Istanbul's overcrowded and cosmopolitan life.

Mahalle culture was inherited from the Ottoman era and according to that people lived inside of the homogenous community. For example, Muslims used to live with Muslims, and Non-Muslims used to live with Non-Muslims, or artisans and craftsmen used to live in the same area and that was how the districts were delimited in the Ottoman era. In the Ottoman Empire, the *mahalle* was the smallest administrative entity, and it was generally perceived to play an important role in identity formation, with the local mosque and the local coffee house as the main social institutions (*Uludağ Sözlük*, Vbulletin dictionary). *Mahalle* lies at the intersection of private family life and the public relations, thus, important community-level management functions are performed through *mahalle* solidarity, such as religious ceremonies, life-cycle rituals, resource management and conflict resolution (*Uludağ Sözlük*, Vbulletin dictionary). Over time, *mahalles* became mixed, however, the inherited feeling of past stayed. Nowadays, Istanbul's central parts are highly mixed in terms of demography; for that reason, elderly responders described the central parts of Istanbul as chaos and danger and as a result, EB was preferred by them.

Question 3: If you have a child, could you describe effects of your new housing in the EB, in terms of his/her new social habitat?

Answers for this question were completely positive. All the parents simply agreed that inside of the GC was more secure and more flexible for their children. Moreover, parents also felt extra comfortable since they were familiar with other children's parents. Rarely, some critics pointed out the life in the GC is not representing the real life in Turkey out there; due to that, some parents were concerned about their child's adaption to the society in the future. Nonetheless, all parents were happy to provide the features of GCs for their child. Two examples may illustrate the case:

“This place has effect my child very positively, his character opened up literally, he has stronger friendship inside. I knew his friends' parents and they knew us (my wife and I), so I could host his friends in my house, and I could send my child to his friends' house freely. It is not possible in the city anymore” (thirty-seven years old, male, headmaster, currently working).

“There is park inside, and it is more secure and free. We have single entry to the EB with guards, I feel more secure about my child” (fifty-three years old, male, tourism sector, employer).

According to the comments and the answers from the previous chapters, it appears that in today’s Istanbul, GCs have a lot to offer for parents who concerned about their children’s growth. According to the respondents, EB sets the reliable environment. Therefore, kids could act free at least in the controlled area. This freedom helps kids to create friendship, social relations and even hierarchy, and it also builds up a character for them. Until certain age, GCs work as safety net for kids. When considering the today’s virtual and online era, many of the parents were satisfied that their kids literally spend sometime in the park rather than just watching cartoons on tablet.

Negative aspect of the GCs towards the kids and teenagers can be described as unconsciousness of the real life beyond the GC. Consequently, GC creates a serious dilemma situation for parents. Mostly, parents prefer secure grounds for their kids such as EB, yet the life that takes place inside of the EB does not represent the whole reality of Turkey or even Istanbul. That was the critical problem for almost all of the respondents with children. They stated that they do not want to raise a child who does not know a thing about its own culture, and also they were afraid that their children will be caught up in some kind of American Country Club lifestyle. Therefore, at one point their kids need to take some responsibility and should explore the life in the city. Some of the parents were afraid that at this point their children will fail; because they got so used to living easily. As solution, some parents explained that they are sending their kids to run some errands around the EB.

Question 4: How do you comment the tendency of the majority of Istanbul wanting to live in GCs, how do you think that it will effect the life/tradition/social order in Istanbul?

Respondents mainly answered the question of “why there is a tendency to live in the GCs” with the same answers that they gave earlier, such as: private social areas, getting away from Istanbul’s crowd and chaos, security guarded entrance, low rise buildings, earthquake-free zone etcetera. However, second part of the questions led to more elaborated answers. Here are some the selected answers:

“People got lazy nowadays, they want everything (service, food, joy, pleasure) to come themselves. Before there was no security, there was *mahalle* culture. Before there was no pool

culture we used to go actual sea, but today people must have pool. So GCs give them all, I think it makes us lazier. I also believe that GCs create social segregation. I lived in both (GC and slum), the people who live in slums they see life totally different. I used to question myself a lot, I say it again this type of housing makes me and makes us lazy. We have to notice its positive sides as well as negative ones” (forty-five years old, male, customs consultant, retired)

The answer above contains various sub-texts. In the beginning of the answer the respondent criticized the contemporary consuming culture and highlighted the problem of desiring everything in close distance, such as pool. In a way, this critique was referring also to the addiction of following the trends and consumer society. It can be concluded that respondent was very uncomfortable that trends influence the way of living and perception of the people. The respondent supported this idea by stating that GCs creates segregation. Since the respondent has lived in different housing, he has analyzed the situation better, and respondent's mention about the *mahalle* culture symbolized the longing for the past life. This could also be seen as reproach to the community inside because it had lack of sincere relations and trust as it was in *mahalle* culture. In the end the respondent had clear conscience about his life in EB, therefore it meant positive sides of EB was dominant over problems for him yet he did not want to ignore the problems.

“I am coming from east of Turkey, from a village, in village there is no way that someone could harm your home but here is Istanbul. People do everything to survive in Istanbul. We see everyday 90% of the news are about Istanbul and its main reason is security. You have to feel secure about, you, your family and your assets. That’s the main reason that people move into GCs” (forty-seven years old, male, technical service, currently working)

“People choose GCs because there is no more *mahalle* culture and Istanbul became extremely cosmopolite which creates security issues. So that they want to isolate themselves from crowds and they want to socialize with similar people” (forty-five years old, female, pressman, employer).

“Main problem is the insecurity of the city of Istanbul. Istanbul is very dangerous. Thieves are robbing people on board daylight with make-up knife in front of ATMs. Even at their home people who live on ground level put metal bars in front of their windows, that’s how serious the problem is. I used to live in *Fatih* (old and central neighborhood of Istanbul) in 5 floor apartment. I had sincere relationship with my neighbors, I could say hi to everybody in the

street but GC is full of people who does not know how to live. It is treated as if there is a very intellectual life here yet I still follow my old tradition of Istanbul living” (sixty-nine years old, male, municipal employee, retired).

The three comments above mainly reacted to corrupted structure of today’s Istanbul (according to them). It can be seen that this was the main reason that they moved in the EB. Since they mentioned *mahalle* culture, nostalgia of the past could also be so observed in these three answers. Consequently, over-population for the city seems to be main trigger for insecurity and fear. Therefore, respondents felt required to isolate themselves via GCs. This situation also indicates that neighborhood relations have changed very much since the past.

“I found this movement positive (preferring GCs). We live in earthquake zone and many of the buildings in the city are old but now here (*Beylikdüzü*) they are building new blocks with smart houses with modern design. I believe that these benefits attract people a lot” (forty-six years old, male, automotive industry, currently working).

Even though not many of the respondents mentioned this problem, Istanbul faces a serious earthquake risk. Naturally, respondents would have desired to move in newly built housing because after the Marmara earthquake in 1999, construction supervision requirements were increased substantially due to that GCs known to provide better infrastructure.

“I believe that people choose it for status and prestige, frankly, where I live gives me psychological superiority” (twenty-four years old, male, store manager, currently working).

The answer above highlighted the segregation but also describes the power of one’s housing towards his/her social life. Moreover, that was not just between GC and Non-GC, it was overall competition over who lives the most prestigious life. According to the respondent, state of the luxury gave him social dominance over the people, which can be considered significant change of human behavior due the quality of physical environment. To put it more specifically, the more luxury the respondent will get the more confidence he will have in social life. This kind of behavior was also observed while the respondents were mentioning the name of GC rather than the city or the area, when talking about where they live.

Question 5: Could you describe the differences between the life inside and outside of the *Evimiz Beylikdüzü* GC? and in terms of social aspect, could you explain pros and cons of GCs?

For this question, respondents tried to explain “how would they see themselves (residents who live inside of the GC)?”, and “how would other people who live outside would see them?”, interestingly, both from their point of view. These answers were critical for understanding the question “how do inhabitants define the point of view of outsiders and also insiders”. Some examples of the answers can be displayed here:

“I believe that it (GC) visualize the social segregation. They (outsiders) think that I live ultra luxury life, yet I simply spend some time with my kids in pool or in park. I also do not spend to much time with my neighbors inside” (thirty-seven years old, male, headmaster, currently working).

“I think that these form of housing visualize inequality of income and tearing society apart. Many times that I saw, people (outsiders) looking at the flats while they passing by with their cars and wondering the life inside” (fifty-five years old, male, private sector, retired).

“I believe that it (GC) creates social segregation. A child should be able to call his/her friends comfortably at home for this reason the house must be in a decent place. Sadly, it is not possible for everybody” (twenty-four years old, male, textile industry, currently working).

Three answers above repeatedly stated segregation which caused curiosity about the life inside for the outsiders. However, what is unknown can be misleading, and can raise higher expectations for the outsiders. That was why those respondents stated that they were just doing basic things with their families and friends in terms of social life inside. But from the outside, the life in GC may be seen as somewhat extraordinary and full of leisure, simply because of the limited access. According to the respondents, it was their natural right to maintain privacy. However, if an entire region is to urbanize in this way, polarization would be inevitable; for that reason, public places hold an important value for maintaining the balance between inside and outside.

“Life is not always as it seems from the outside, I think there should be more cultural level and a sense of living with the society. I lived in many different places in Istanbul. Moreover, I even experienced suburban luxury. Hypocrisy and political interests are high between people and there is no difference here (GC)” (sixty-nine years old, male, municipal employee, retired).

As mentioned above, this answer stated that the community inside of the GC was quite regular, even if it was advertised in different ways.

“It (GC) does not really change my social behavior towards to people. We should not treat people according to where they live” (twenty-four years old, male, bachelor degree student)

“I think it is more convenient to have fun outside. The life outside is more free and active” (twenty years old, female, bachelor degree student, currently studying).

Two answers above were chosen the highlight the younger responders opinion. It was totally clear that comparing to the elders and married couples, younger responders had more tendency to interact outside; for that reason, they seemed to enjoy only housing benefits of the GCs, and not its social offerings.

“Well, people generally like to talk about where they live, especially if their house is in the prestigious place but for me it (living in GC) does not change anything. I do not mind if the people talk about my home and my life style but sometimes I observe change of perception towards me. You are either very rich or very poor in Istanbul so that reason, the gap is huge, for that reason my approach towards the people inside or outside has not changed” (twenty years old, female, nurse, currently working).

According to the answers above majority of the people acknowledge that GCs created social segregation, and visualized social inequality. Moreover, for respondents older than 30 years old, GCs had negative influence over social approaches between people living outside and inside of the GCs. However, younger respondents stressed that gated from does not effect their approach to people inside or outside, at least from their point of view and they found the life in the outside, more active and free.

Question6: After you moved into EB, could you compare the time that you spend inside and outside, in terms of social areas?

EB is commonly preferred by families. In that sense, majority of the answers favored spending time inside. Even for younger respondents, specially in summer time, socializing inside of the GC, around the pool, was highly tempting option comparing to going in the city center. Yet again, younger respondents claimed that “Even if it is very social inside, life outside of the GC is inevitable”. Regardless of the season, benefit of the private social areas could not be ignored. As it can be followed in the answers, these areas had huge positive impact towards the daily routines of the respondents, especially in terms of health.

Question7: How do you generally spend your time inside of the GC?

Common answers of the respondents were: enjoying the view of balcony, walking around with my dog, having my friends over inside of the EB, working out in the gym, hanging around the pool, spending time in the park with my children, enjoying the garden.

The social area, park and the pool of EB were located in the center of the parcel and this area was surrounded by the housing blocks. In that sense, balconies which faced the inner area offered a view. It was observed that respondents were mostly fond of this benefit. It was also motivation for having friends over in the balcony. The gym was considerably small and it had few cardio machines and weights. The treadmills were positioned facing the pool and green areas. Kids playing ground located over the indoor parking spots. There were a slide and two swings in the area of fifteen to twenty square meters. It was observed that children often used the park after school.

Question8: How do you generally spend your time outside of the GC?

Common answers of the respondents are: going to shopping malls for cinema, food, shopping and hanging in the cafes, visiting family and friends, family trips. A very important note about this question was almost all of the respondents answered that they would go out to shopping malls. Considering the latest trend of attaching shopping malls into the gated communities, especially central parts of Istanbul. This upcoming trend was also demonstrated the trials of setting all the needs and functions of the twenty-first century men into a single occasion.

Question9: After you moved into EB, how do you comment on major construction movements and trends of GCs in Istanbul? And how do you think that this process will effect the future of Istanbul?

There was not common answer to this question. Respondents aimed various aspects. Here are some selected answers:

“I think this form of housing must be stopped because it is killing all the relation between people” (twenty-four years old, male, store manager, currently working).

“Today, people are classified by their residence. Houses reveal income level of the people. I think for that reason it will polarize Istanbul in the future” (twenty years old, female, bachelor degree student, currently studying).

These two answers above were clearly against the ideology of the GCs because they believed that GCs promoted the vanity and that causes harm over human relationship. It could be concluded as privatization tendencies causes polarization in the society and these two respondent thought that GCs were tools of this process.

“I believe that old *mahalle* culture is coming to an end, however life is better this (form of GC) way” (forty-four years old, male, media sector, currently working).

This respondent answered above was aware that the old neighborhood (*mahalle*) culture was finished, however comparing to the other responders whom were so longing for the past, this respondent supported the change via GCs. This answer was selected to highlight the contrast.

“I wish that all the *gecekondu* (slum) settlements must urbanize like here (*Beylikdüzü*) that way they would have regular streets and large green areas. Even in terms of just parking, all of the GCs have private parking spot, finding just a parking spot is a nightmare in the center of Istanbul” (forty- seven years old, male, technical service, currently working).

Answer above was pointing out the effects of GCs towards urbanization. *Beylikdüzü* area, has been commonly urbanized via GCs and this form offered such positive impacts in city scale. Since the GCs had private parking spots, streets got clear of the cars. Furthermore, private administration of the GCs often brings high quality infrastructure comparing to governmental ones, for that reason it was also benefit for municipality. Because of all the reasons mentioned, the respondent believed GCs were more controllable way of urbanization.

“GCs came to us (Turkey) 20-30 years later but today with the technology it is easier to reach the knowledge. Lately, contractors kill the forests of Istanbul and build residencies instead. It needs be to stopped. Istanbul has to be decentralized, for that reason people had to have the economical income of having GC in their local context” (forty-five years old, male, customs consultant, retired).

The respondent above pointed out two different problem of the urbanization of Istanbul. One of them was the destruction of green areas due to construction, and the other one was high-density urbanization. He supported the gated community format only in suburban context. Consequently,

it would be a solution for ecological and density problems that he mentioned earlier. This suggestion, in a way, had similar ideology as Garden City Movement. But as the past, economic inability is the biggest obstacle to this transformation.

“I am totally against the Gated Towers. The environment is very important. People are stuck in high Gated Towers and their psychology is breaks down. Because they can not connect with the environment and the people” (twenty years old, female, nurse, currently working, formerly lived in Gated Towers).

“Housing is generally provided by high-rise buildings in Istanbul. Especially, that high-rise buildings in the North of the Istanbul are polluting the air. This type of urbanization will seriously damage Istanbul in the future. For that reasons I support six or seven story buildings like here (EB Gated Community)” (fifty-three years old, male, tourism sector, employer).

These two answers above were criticizing an other form of gated community the Gated Towers. As supported by the respondents, Gated Towers had negative influences towards the environment of the Istanbul, and they were ruined historical silhouette. Moreover, because of their high-rise structure and limited space, they were not suitable for healthy living. Subsequently, respondents stated that low-rise gated communities such as EB were more convenient for healthy living.

“Urban transformation projects are not good. There is no real meaningful investment in people's quality of life. But this process works as self and environment massacre in Istanbul. I think that Turkish society and culture still not be able to adapt settled life. We follow the global trends and experience rapid urbanization. For example: when I was using my flat as an office in the Gated Tower in the CBD of Istanbul, one day I faced with my clients that my neighbor uses his room to call high class escorts, also some other day I faced that somebody using elevator with robes when I am on my way to business meeting. So as you can see, mixed function usage of Gated Tower's are not suitable for Turkish Culture with many other things” (forty-five years old, female, pressman, employer, formerly lived in the Gated Towers).

The final answer above was criticizing also the Gated Towers, in terms of their social structure and internal usage. According to the respondent, the people in Turkey followed global trends of living uninformed and uncontrolled, which caused the situations that do not match the Turkish culture and living such as mixed usage in residence. Respondent though that due to rapid urbanization, majority of the housing projects lacked the quality of human life, and this situation seriously affected the social structure and internal relations inside of these projects. This comment

showed that the users do not have enough knowledge on the social structures and influences of the housings they live in. Regardless of the reasons for purchasing gated form of housings, the people should question the long terms effect of their housings as any other product they would use.

Comparing to Geniş's (2007) case study in Kemer Country with affluent residents, definitions of the environment outside of the walls and residents of the outside were more emphasized in the EB. However, there were similar concerns by the both group of residents such as fear of crime, fear of robbery, fear for their kids' future, etcetera. In the Geniş's (2007) study, residents significantly favored the homogeneous community inside, and criticized the central *mahalles* (neighborhoods). In the EB, residents also criticized that old neighbourhood culture is lost in the city center. But, since there was no homogeneous community inside of the EB, residents sought to reestablish similar feelings regardless of the background of the individual's. In short, cultural and social homogeneity were not principal in the EB, as it was in the Kemer Country.

8. Conclusion

This thesis dealt with GCs with a focus on the changes in perception and behavior of their residents after moving into this type of habitation. In the first part, the origins and major characteristics were discussed, as well as the spread of the idea and its adoption in Turkey in late 20th century. The analytical part of the thesis explored the impact of living in a gated community on its residents in more detail, using Evimiz Beylikdüzü in Istanbul as a case study. With the inception of GCs in the United States of America in the beginning of the 1970s, the forms, concepts, and context of the GCs have constantly changed since and can be seen in Istanbul. GCs offered a secure, homogenous community with private social areas and was administered by private management. Today, GCs are still very popular and are a form of housing which remains in high demand in Istanbul. Overall, the GC phenomenon is in continuous relations with the factors such as real estate market, the Global City image, neoliberal economy, and other factors. The GC transformation process itself holds great importance for current and future transformations of Istanbul. Additionally, GCs also impact the consumer and understanding this impact is vital for understanding behavioral and social changes in Istanbul. Through historical analysis, case studies, and interviews with inhabitants of the Evimiz Beylikdüzü GC, a conclusion can be reached on the influence of GCs.

In order to understand positive and negative effects of the EB, as perceived by its residents, firstly, one has to acknowledge the external factors of Istanbul. As one could have observed from the answers, life in Istanbul is hectic. Moreover, the city has its own rules and timeline because it is extremely crowded and is a highly centralized attraction for business, tourism, and education. This means that in many cases one has to follow the unwritten rules of the city, such as “avoid the rush hour routes, if you do not want to stuck in the traffic for three hours” or “be careful around the Eminönü (area in the old town) after midnight”. Another important aspect was that, there is a huge inequality in incomes, therefore the majority of the people of Istanbul live in apartment buildings which cause more appreciation from the inhabitants of EB due to having a private pool, parking lot, park, guarded entrance and low-rise newly built apartments. All these external factors are very important for understanding the mindset of the respondents.

The most significant positive effect of the EB, according to the responders, was a healthier lifestyle, mainly because the inhabitants had easy access to the social and green areas that are nearby. Just to be away from the city center and be inside a private residence were also seen as

reasons for a healthier life due to silence and pollution-free air. However, there was also some important criticism about the desire to have everything close to your home. For these respondents, the life in EB leads to a lazy, self-centered life and mindset, and they also added that with the possibilities of the internet today that one can order almost everything in and they indicated that our living space is getting narrower.

A second significantly positive effect of EB in the eyes of its residents was feeling more relaxed and secure inside. This aspect must be evaluated in two categories.

First category - for adult respondents this positive effect is caused by being around familiar people and of course 24 hour security at the entrance. If one observes the open answers, one could have understood that respondents over thirty years old had a deep longing for *mahalle* (neighborhood) culture and way of living. This was because for them, *mahalle* meant the complete package deal of close relations, security, freedom, sharing, and trust. Respondents believed that *mahalle* culture was lost due to migration and globalization. Therefore, they sought to reestablish similar values in the smaller scaled form, such as EB. The negative aspect of this result was social segregation which was accepted by almost all of the respondents. However, in respondents' defense, living in EB does not change the way that they see outsiders, on the contrary, they believed that the attitude towards them by the people outside changed a lot more.

Second category - for the children, their parents agreed that EB was more free, healthy, secure, and easy to socialize, again due to acquaintance and private security. The negative aspect for the children according to the respondents, was more about concerns over their future. Respondents acknowledged the fact that the conditions inside the EB were not the same as outside. Consequently, they worry that their children will grow up in aquarium, and that when it is time for the ocean they will not survive as they will have grown up without knowing what real life is like in Istanbul and in the rest of Turkey. In short, parent respondents indicated that growing up unaware of the realities of Turkey would cause adaptation and independence problems for their children in the future.

There is no other significantly negative effect of EB that was stated by majority of the respondents other than being far from the city center. Yet, this problem was actually caused by location of the EB, and not by the very form of a gated community. As mentioned earlier, this criticism was given mostly by younger respondents.

The respondents who favored the EB and the form of gated community life, gave as an example life in the *Beylikdüzü* area, and they explained city-scaled benefits of the gated communities. They argued that the *Beylikdüzü* area is better planned and programmed than many parts and especially the city center of Istanbul, and considering the fact that the *Beylikdüzü area* has been mainly urbanized with GCs, the respondents expressed that GCs were the key to better urbanization. Therefore, GCs are key to a better quality of life as evident by respondent answers. However, they did not consider that the *Beylikdüzü* area is a smaller and more easily controlled area than central parts of Istanbul, in terms of many things that affect urban planning and design. Consequently, the approach of considering complete urbanization with GC all around Istanbul was more utopic than realistic.

The respondents who criticize EB and the form of GC life, were concerned about the future outcomes of it, such as “a new generation who are alien to their culture and society”, “social segregation and polarization”, “people obsessed with inward life”, and “losing the identity of Istanbul”. Unfortunately, due to limited time for the research such themes could not be developed. However, the social aspect of the phenomenon must not be ignored. The very form of GCs repeatedly demonstrated segregation through the research. Such urbanization policies as GCs that are implemented without considering the balance of private and social areas can seriously damage the social and cultural structure of Istanbul in the future. Which could be seen repeatedly in the comments, on one hand globalization tendencies, on the other advancing technologies, our experiences with the environment and the city we live in are diminishing, therefore, understanding of the gated form is critical because the form is directly linked with the balance between public and private space. When we think about all of this, we can foresee that if Istanbul urbanized only through gated forms, the social structure of the city will be separated by the cells and each cell will be representing one gated form. According to this utopic approach, public spaces will be reduced, and private areas will be increased on urban scale which means that all the relationships that define life, character, and identity of the city have diminished and reached a different recognition. It is unclear whether this change will be positive or negative but the only certainty is that urbanization in this direction will cause serious social and cultural changes towards the residents of Istanbul in the future. As the living spaces and forms change, the cultural expansions and habits change depending on it, changed *mahalle* culture of Istanbul is the most significant example of it. Accordingly, it is inevitable that the gated community life will add new meanings to the social

texture of Istanbul, and human relations in the future. These new social relations may also be in the form of hybrid of old cultural patterns and the news such as: residents of EB trying to reestablish *mahalle* culture inside of the GC, or totally different from its origin context such as: affluent residents of gated villas in Istanbul having resort life similar as the American GC residents. All these factors that mentioned will determine the future identity of the Istanbul.

Throughout the research it is aimed to describe the process and the perception of GCs in Istanbul. It was found that GCs can have positive and negative outcomes in the city and human scale. By having a better understanding of GCs, changes can be made through, design to better transform space for those living in the city. Case studies, historical context, and resident interviews provide insight as to how these perceptions of GCs are important for the transformation of Istanbul in the present and future.

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10. Annexes

Demographic Questions:

Age:

- a) 18-23 b) 24-29 c) 30-39 d) 40-49 e) 50+

Gender:

- a) Female b) Male

Educational Background:

- a) Primary b) High School c) Degree d) Graduate e) Ph.D.

Career Status:

- a) Students b) Employees c) does not work d) Retirement e) Employer

Business Sector:

- a) State b) Private Sector c) Nonprofit Organizations

Type of Previous Housing:

- a) Istanbul, centrally located apartment b) Istanbul, outskirts located apartment c) Istanbul, centrally located GC d) Istanbul, outskirts located GC

Marital status:

- a) Married b) Single c) Divorced

Do you have children?

- a) 0 b) 1 c) 2 d) 3 e) 3+

How many people live in your housing?

- a) 1 b) 2 c) 3 d) 4 e)

Housing Ownership:

- a) Home b) Tenant

The amount of cars owned by you or your family?

- a) 0 b) 1 c) 2 d) 3 e) 3+

Preference Questions:

What are the most significant reasons for moving into this GC? Multiple options can be selected:

- a) Appropriate Price b) Safe investment c) The location in town d) Private security entrance
- e) Environmental Factors (surrounding structures) f) In-site recreational facilities
- g) Residential prestigious name and life standard h) Getting away from Istanbul's crowd
- i) Private administration j) To be neighbors with the people from similar, social/economical level

Comparative Questions:

Comparing to your previous housing, how free do you feel perform your cultural activity inside of this GC? (1 to 5, point system, 1 means old housing was better, 5 means GC is better, 3 is they are both equal)

Comparing to your previous housing, how free do you feel perform your religious activity inside of this GC? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how modern is the housing in the GC, in terms of design and house-plan? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how traditional is the housing in the GC, in terms of design and house- plan? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how satisfying is this house for your child's needs? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, evaluate neighborly relationships? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, on what scale that your new house changed your daily life? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how free do you feel inside of the GC? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how safe do you feel inside of the GC? (1 to 5, point system)

Comparing to your previous housing, how satisfied overall with your life in this GC? (1 to 5, point system)

Behavioral Questions:

For employed: During weekdays, on average how much time do spend inside of the GC?

For unemployed: During weekdays, on average how much time do spend inside of the GC?

During weekends, on average how much time do you spend inside of the GC?

Do you spend time at the social facilities of GC?

a) Yes b) No c) I usually meet my social needs outside

Do you spend time at green areas (parks, gardens) of GC?

A) Yes b) No c) I prefer to go to the woods or forest outside

Interview Questions:

- 1) What are the most significant positive changes in your life since your moved into EB?
- 2) What are the most significant negative changes in your life since your moved into EB?
- 3) If you have child, could you describe effects of your new life in terms of his/her new social habitat?
- 4) How do you comment the tendency of majority of Istanbul wanting to live in GCs, how do you think that it will effect the daily life in Istanbul?
- 5) Could you describe the differences between the life inside and outside of the Evimiz Beylikdüzü GC? and in terms of social aspect, could you explain pros and cons of GCs?
- 6) After you moved into EB, could you compare the time that you spend inside and outside, in terms of social areas?
- 7) How do you spend your time inside of the EB?
- 8) How do you spend your time outside of the EB?
- 9) After you moved into EB, how do you comment on major construction movements and trends of GCs in Istanbul? And how do you think that this process will effect the future of Istanbul?

These two images from Istanbul, NYU Stern Urbanization Project added here for comparison of urbanism process:

