

## **“Gated communities: as an efficient force in the fragmentation process of Istanbul”**

### **Introduction**

Turkey is one of the developing countries that burn the brunt of neo-liberal policies enabled by the state's cession of the economy in 1980's. Empowering the capital shift from the 1<sup>st</sup> circuit to urban development as a more profitable arena in the big cities<sup>i</sup>; rendered the urban space on behalf of the capital, as a target<sup>ii</sup>. What forms urban space in Istanbul became the capital and the demands of the “new elites” inbred and enriched by the neo-liberal policies. As a consequence; Istanbul is divided, polarized, layered and fragmented by new urban spaces, gentrified areas, twilight zones, regenerated areas, non-spaces and gated communities. Considering these urban pieces' prevalence, political power and social effects; gated communities appear as an emergency; thus it forms the research areas of this study.

The private housing investment is directly involved in this new urbanization process by constructing isolated settlements- which are formed and marketed by the demands or the potential needs of these new elites- arise in and at the edge of the city. Having lured by the market strategies like “being privileged” in the concept of “new life styles” and having fired by the social and physical security problems in the city by the so-called inclining social tension and the fear of possible earthquakes; these new elites are segregated from the “city” socially and spatially in a programmed way, as an expected consequence of the world wide known market strategies. As the meaning of the “society” is weakened and dwindled by these strategies; the “enclaves” are enhanced in their fortresses which are spread out all over Istanbul metropolitan area, mostly on the “privileged lands of Istanbul”, infracting the natural thresholds. Thus, “gated community” is the focus of this study, as an efficient force in the city's fragmentation process. In order to question their effects cited in the literature; the location of the existing private projects are mapped and their preference criteria by the residents are questioned by intensive and extensive methods.

### **Research Methodology**

The aim of this study is to find out the effects of gated communities in the fragmentation process of Istanbul. In the light of literature review, we composed a “gated community” definition; built our research questions which are assembled in two axes; and discussed by intensive and extensive techniques.

The research questions in the first axis are the gated communities';

- Existing location (by district and by the relation with the natural thresholds)
- Physical relation with the main transportation system and the surrounding neighborhoods
- Location criteria

In order to find out their existing location and physical relation with their surrounding; a study -containing reports and maps about the housing in Istanbul done in 2005 by IMP (Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center) Housing and Quality of Life Group is used and interpreted. To comprehend the location criteria of these settlements; interviews are realized with real estate agencies' and real estate development agencies' experts.

The research questions in the second axis are;

- The profile of the gated community residents
- The preference criteria of these settlements by their residents
- The physical and social relations of the residents with their settlement
- The physical and social relations of the residents with “outside” and “outsiders”

In this step, according to our gated community definition; our research universe is composed of the residents of gated communities. Our sample group consist 30 respondents. It is activated by two residents and progressed by snowball method on convincing the residents to interview and arranging next contact numbers. Through all the research process; papers, books, internet resources and media advertisements produced on this subject are taken into consideration.

### **The development process of Gated Communities in Istanbul**

Housing market was one of the most effective instruments of the commodification process after the 1980's. In 1984, Mass Housing Legislation and Building Law inflamed this sector, which triggers approximately 300 sectors and used it as a regenerator for the economy in the big cities (Table 1). The law was a tool to satisfy the dwelling need of the middle class on the second half of 1980's. Thus, many public mass housing supplied, mostly as suburbs.

Table 1: Development of Ready-mixed concrete production in Turkey in between 2001-2005

<b>Ready-mixed concrete production</b>	<b>dev. (%)</b>
2001-2002	11,4
2002-2003	4,9
2003-2004	15,2
2004-2005	31,7

Source: Sabah Gazetesi Emlak & Mortgage eki, 8 Haziran 2006 (Newspaper)

Land cost compose %61 of total construction costs (Table 2). Hence, big housing projects are prone to locate at cheaper lands at the periphery.

Table 2: The construction costs in Turkey

<b>Costs</b>	<b>%</b>
land	61
rough construction work	8
kitchen	7
electricity	6
mechanical	6
others	12
total	100

Sources: Sabah Gazetesi Emlak & Mortgage eki, 8 Haziran 2006 (Newspaper)

However, by the globalization wind in 1990's, the housing capital focused on the new elites-as a target mass. The meaning of the house replaced with more than a dwelling, which triggered the housing investment more than the other sectors (Ünsal, Erbaş and Çavuşoğlu,2001). Suburb is redefined as the rise of "marketing" enabled creating and controlling demand which was the injection of a new, "American" life style by the cooperation of mass media, mostly as half or full-page advertisements:

*"You can't compare Acarkent with another settlement. The difference between others starts with the clean air and shining atmosphere. It is a colourful world, within the forest. A private life inside Saip Molla Paşa Private Forest Area located in Beykoz which is the most conserved district of Istanbul. Acarkent provide a secured and a comfortable life against earthquake threat. In addition to high technology, first class construction materials and accuracy in construction quality; the geotechnical advantage that is ensured by the location of the settlement provides a dependable life in Acarkent."*

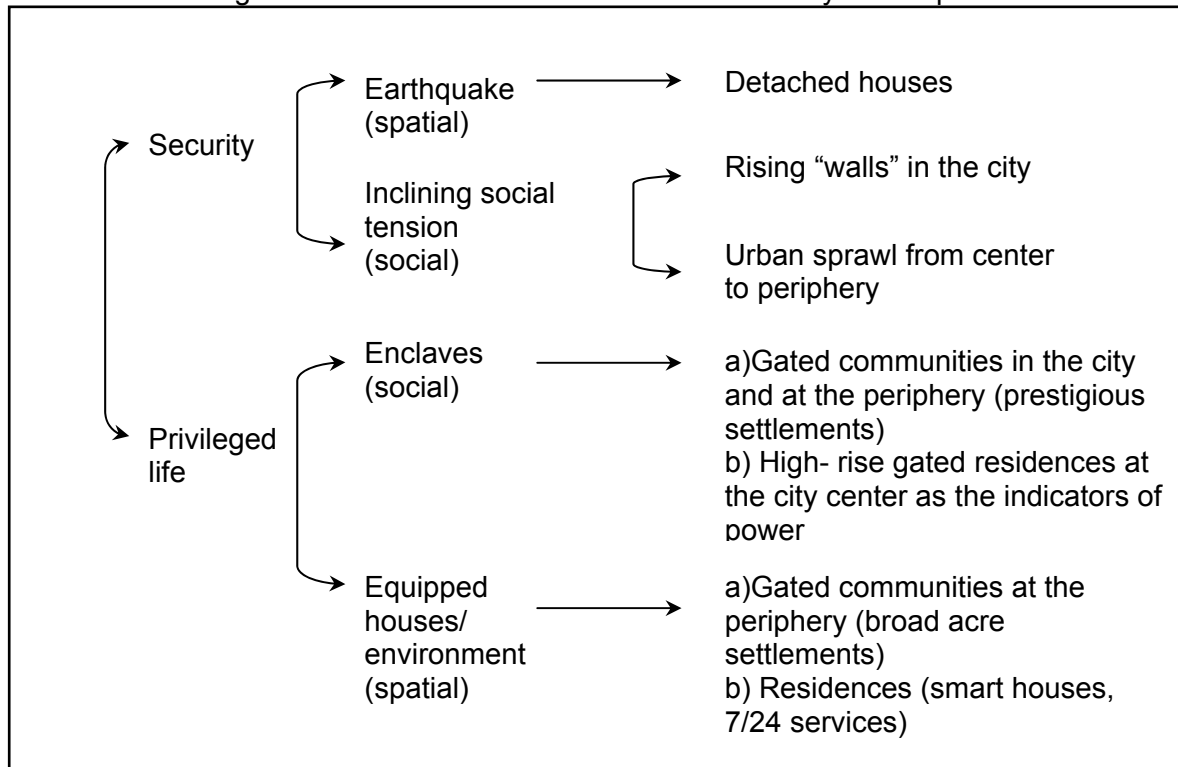
*www.acarkent.net (Acarkent Settlement, website)*

On the other hand, the gini coefficient –the indicator of inequality<sup>iii</sup>- in Istanbul was inclining<sup>iv</sup> (Işık; Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) and triggering the polarization<sup>v</sup>. Compared to Istanbul with levels of income inequality, its almost completely privatized housing market, political fragmentation and large immigrant community; ‘with well regulated property systems and with sizeable social housing sectors, it is not surprising that German, Dutch and Swedish cities are much less polarized spatially’ (Musterd, 1994). For Musterd (1994, quoted in Badcock, 1997); where modes of state intervention tend to be weakest, “the ultimate polarized urban society” has given rise to spatially partitioned and compartmentalized cities. Kaya (1999) states that gated areas are the reflection of the dualism created by globalization.

According to Kurtuluş (2005) the neo-liberalization policies and the changing development strategies encourage the industry production for export and the international capital investments. In this context, the radical reconstruction development implementations are actualized by the radical legal reforms... However, these regulations concluded by the inclusion of the local capital instead of the international capital. In spite of the legal regulations that facilitate the reconstruction process of the land, local capital’s political relations and land mafia canalize the process. Besides the projects produced for the new-elites; projects for the upper-middle class with lower costs was supplied. By this strategy, gated communities enlarged their target mass and their city-wide spreading. Also, after the earthquake in 1999; “possible” earthquakes was one of the main determinants of the process mentioned above which has played a great role in leading the growth of metropolis.

In this two decades, the growth dynamics exposed two major components- which have been used as a marketing tool by the construction sector - “security” and “privileged life” (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Cause and Effect of Gated Community Development



Source (constructed on): Özkan, E. (2004) ‘Küreselleşme- Yerelleşme Diyalektiğinde: “Olmayan Kent”’, *Değişen- Dönüşen Kent ve Bölge*, Çakır, A.Y. and Tirkeş, G.K. (edit.), Ankara, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi ve TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası ortak yayını

1999 earthquake was a breaking point in the process; since it inflamed the exodus from the high-rise apartment buildings to the lower ones or the detached houses. What determined the house demand was mostly the feel of obligation with the effect of the earthquake fear, as it had already defined the supply. Following days, existing house projects were wrapping around this new strategy as “spatial security”, while the new projects were just on the way. As a consequence of this supply-demand chain, the borders of the existing settlement expanded by the projects based on trustworthy ground, out of the dangerous earthquake zone, mostly along the north and east-west axis; infracting the natural thresholds.

Another strategy was the offer of “social security”, based on the social tension in the city. “Fear of others”-defined as “xenophobia” (Bauman, quoted in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) is one of the major subjects of the marketing process. However, it should be stressed that; Istanbul never witnessed a social crime as it is in South Africa or Brazil cases<sup>vi</sup>. In Istanbul, “others” are mostly the immigrants who live in bad conditions without any health, education or dwelling security; mostly unemployed or working for illegal sectors and living in the derelict areas at the urban center. Additionally, as the social and spatial privileges of the new elites inclined, the differences crystallized triggered the new elites’ feel of “under threat”. Kurtuluş (2005), appraises that the security expense of “Beykoz Konakları”<sup>vii</sup> consists of 401 residences is over 25.000 Euro/month.

No doubt this fear is exaggerated and canalized by a shepherd’s pipe to “secured lands”; whether at the urban center -stressing the walls, digital security systems (like cameras) and security guards; or at the periphery- emphasizing the distance to the urban violence, but the adjacency to urban life too by the slogans like “Only 20-25 minutes far away from the city”. The consequence was two-fold; “hiding” behind the rising walls of the settlements in the city and “diverging” from the urban center to the new settlements constructed at the periphery. These are the projects for the new elites, since a life in Bosphorus, the forestry areas or water basins can only be afforded by this class. These housing projects exchange the city values into capital by the promise of “privileged life”; relying on the lack of planning tradition in the city (Özkan, 2003).

As it appears as a consequence of the need of physical security and social security; leaving the urban center is a common tendency for spatially privileged life need of the resident. They have common characteristics like security (walls, restricted gates, security guards/systems); social activities (like playing fields, pools, sports centers, walking/biking paths...etc); daily needs (shopping, baby caring, laundry); an attractive landscape with green areas and more that the non-residents cannot benefit. While these amenities abate the necessity to go “out”, no doubt that they bruise the social and spatial interaction in between the enclave and the others. For Bauman (quoted in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) the “new rich” are out of the social norms for they are not a part of this society anymore. They are like tourists in the city.

They may employ labor force from these slum areas; for the cleaning and security services. However, gated community residents prefer the expert services in the center, instead of utilizing the existing services adjacent (like school, hospital... etc.)

Thus, while they keep their meaning as a “new life style” for their target mass, as the walls in the city kept rising and the forest areas are sold for the fragmented private housing enterprises, they gained a new meaning for the rest of the city; “gated communities”. By their walls and security systems; gated communities exist as physical borders, which is the indicator of division in the city.

By the need of “defense” united with “exclusion of others”, these settlements became “enclaves”- perceived as “citadels” or “fortresses”- a tool to counterattack by the social and spatial privileges they have. Kurtuluş (2005), interprets this “citadel” formation as a consequence of the unequal share of the social gain produced by all the classes in the city.

She stresses that, the “citadel” has lost its archaic meaning as a common defense for the threats expected from out of the city.

“Enclave” is a term used to define this exclusion process<sup>viii</sup> justified by the private lives of the gated community residents. Landman & Schönreich (2002) states that the exclusion of other urban residents, casual passers-by and people from surrounding neighborhoods can lead to social exclusion which will damage the networks of social and economic activities. Thus, the term is as strong as “ghetto”, which stresses the strength of the social and spatial unity in a gated community. Contrarily to ghettos, they share a prestigious social status<sup>ix</sup>; they have the privilege to choose their conditions and power of leading the spatial decision process in the city. The intervention may actualize as a co-operation or the political force of enclaves’ over the government. Stressed by Kurtuluş (2005), some changes that led construction authorization in some urban site areas or forest areas are led by The Ministry of Development and The Ministry of Forest. For Hall (1998) the loss of architecture’s social vision has coincided with its being co-opted by large institutional investors and speculative developers<sup>x</sup>. In both cases, urban space is under threat.

In Istanbul case, since the money afforded to houses and the personal choices lead the “enclave” process, it is not possible to say that the choices and the so-called common socio-cultural statuses overlap. Although there are many samples of these enclaves in the world in which you are not own a house unless you are a member of some proverbial social clubs (Bali, 2002), the samples in Istanbul does not emerge such a social obligation. In Istanbul, the capital is the chooser, which can be either entrepreneur of the project as the supply side or the resident nominee as the demand side, but not the existing residents. This reveals the fact that the residents are mostly grouped as enclaves by their incomes, not by their social interaction or common sense. Thus, many gated communities witness clash of cultures. ‘In Beykoz Konakları, the construction restriction about the insertions (as bowers) is invaded by 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the residents. Some of these residents are famous politicians, football players, entrepreneurs and a singer. The administrative interprets this invasion as a disharmony in between the residents’ cultural identities and the existing cultural identity of the settlement’ (Kurtuluş, 2005).

### **Research Findings**

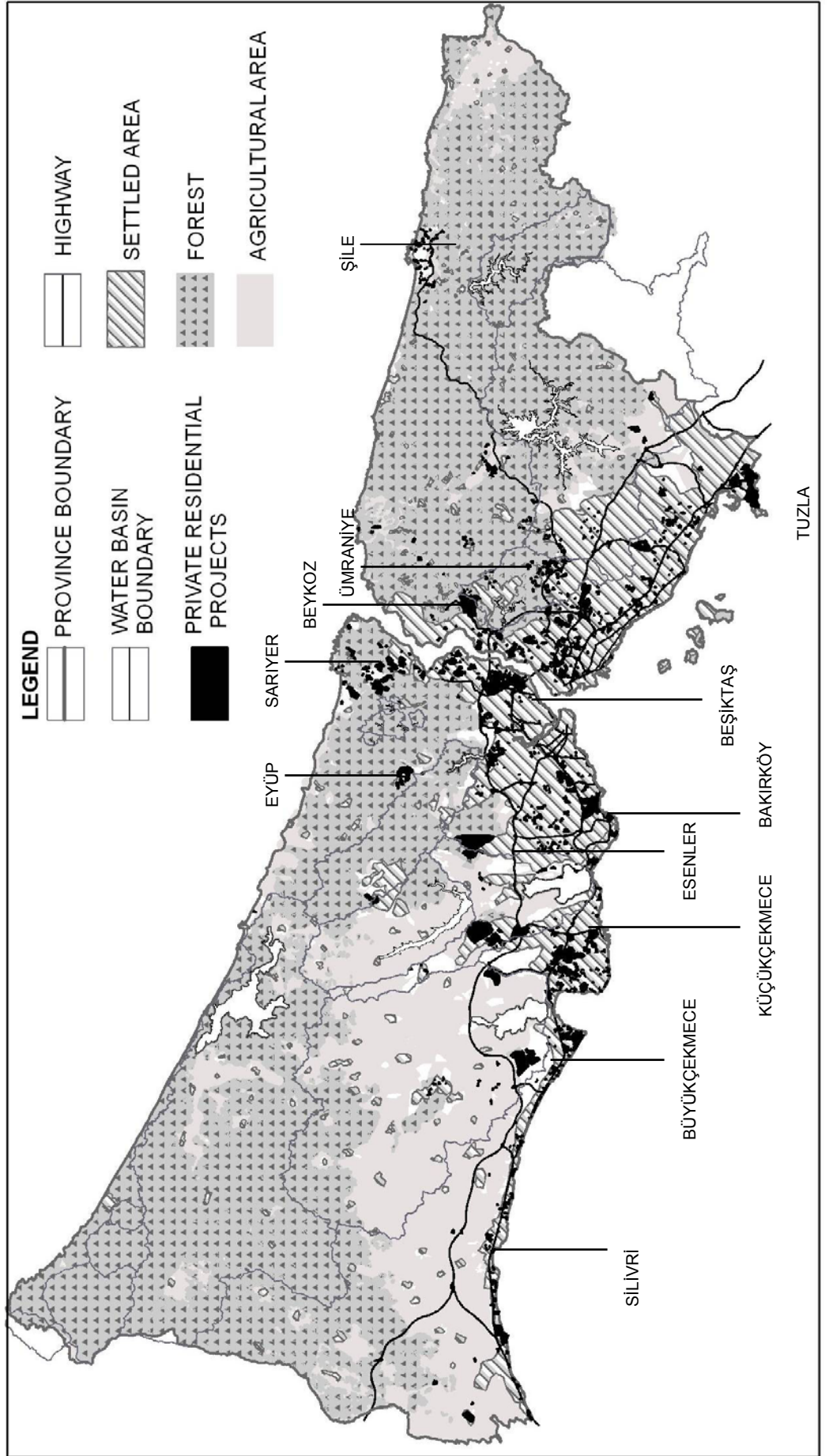
By its nature a gated community physically separates a specific area from its environment and creates zones or pockets of restricted access within the urban fabric (Landman & Schönreich, 2002). In this study, gated communities are defined as; ‘settlements that the entrance of non-residents is restricted or stipulated by walls, gates and/or security system’.

Considering the natural thresholds; gated communities mostly locate at;

- the east and west banks of Bosphorus,
  - the south, through sea shore,
  - the north, in the forest areas and Şile district; infracting the water basin boundary.
- (Map 1)

In Istanbul, gated communities are both located at the center and at the periphery. The most agglomerated settlements are in Büyük Çekmece, Sarıyer, Küçük Çekmece, Tuzla, Ümraniye, Eyüp, Esenler, Beykoz and Beşiktaş Districts (Map 1). The existing residential area in Istanbul is approximately 78.000 ha. Planned residential area is approximately %68 of this size, around 52.000 ha. %62 of this planned residential area locates at the west side of Istanbul (Table 3).

Map 1: Distribution of Private Residential Areas in İstanbul



Source: Constructed on the data of IMP, Housing and Quality of Life Group, 2005

Table 3: Distribution of Planned Areas in Istanbul

	Residential Area		Planned Residential Area	
	.000 ha	%	.000 ha	%
west side	46	59	32	62
east side	32	41	20	38
total	78	100,00	52	100,0

Source: IMP, Housing and Quality of Life Group, 2005

In the study of IMP, the “mass housing” areas includes; public mass housing projects, public residential projects (rented by public institutions’ workers) and private residential projects defined by the help of ‘Istanbul June 2005 ICONOS’ satellite images, TOKI (Association of Mass Housing) and the information taken from the municipalities. The mass housing areas and the public residential areas mentioned in the study of IMP are eliminated in this paper. The borders of these areas are drawn and calculated by the help of a G.I.S. (Geographical Information System) computer program. Thus, the data reliability of the map and the total area is limited by the sensitivity of the digital calculation. By this method, the “private residential area” recalculated and remapped in this paper represents the proximate area of “gated communities” which is about 10.000 ha<sup>xi</sup> and 1/5<sup>th</sup> of the existing planned residential area.

Transportation is one of the main determinants of the location criteria of gated communities. These settlements are mostly located adjacent to main transportation axes (E-5 and TEM) and the secondary axes (Map 1). However, there are some settlements floating, out of the transportation links. For Moreno (General Director of Alarko Real Estate Investment Corporation, Interview, Istanbul, June 2006) by the improvement of accessibility, settlements which are far away from the city became more attractive. These settlements are interpreted as the ones with adequate satisfactory facilities which break the required links in between the settlement and the city.

Some of the private residential settlements are out of the center, located mostly at the north forests and water basin boundary. While some appears adjacent to settled areas (villages of the districts), some grow independent of their neighborhoods (Map 1). This growth as an urban sprawl is the indicator of the infraction that leads the invasion of the natural values in Istanbul. These settlements are like the tuberculosis microbe in the lungs of metropolis.

The location criteria of these settlements are discussed by the citation of the interviews realized with real estate agencies’ and real estate development agencies’ experts. As stated during the interviews; there are client-dependent and client-free decision parameters in the location process.

Supply- demand of these settlements as ‘a new life style’ is a vicious cycle which forms the client-dependent side of the process. The more the society’s fear and arrogance is triggered, the more raise the demand. These triggering forces are the images and the slogans of the marketing process.

At the urban center; since the land is limited and expensive, gated communities arise like resident towers. By 7/24 services like laundry, coiffeur and restaurants they mostly target the working new elites who do not want to waste time with daily charges or traffic. The tower image is the indicator of prestige and power. However,

*“...for large scale real estate enterprises it’s indispensable to take place at the periphery of the settled area. Because of the exiguity of wider empty lands inside the settled area, locating outside the city center becomes an obligation... The land is quite cheaper at the periphery. In order to compete in the real estate market; the developer choose to reflect this advantage to the*

*costs.” (Harun Moreno, Alarko Real Estate Investment Corporation, Interview, Istanbul, June 2006)*

*Harun Moreno  
Alarko Real Estate Investment Trust Company, General Director  
Interview, Istanbul, June 2006*

Stressing the development (for the unplanned areas) and property difficulties in the real-estate development process; wide and cheap lands at the periphery can be grouped under the client-free decisions.

*“In spite of the importance of the location, the feasibility determines the investment decisions. For the feasibility, land cost is important. A project at the center might not be so that profitable because of the land costs. For the project developed at the periphery, the transportation infrastructure is taken into consideration.*

*Mustafa Ertuğrul Oğuz,  
TEKFEN Real-Estate Development Company, Project Developer  
Interview, Istanbul, 2006*

For the “families” we generally see that the tendency shifts to detached houses. “The children” are the main determinant of the life style they are prone to live; hectares of green with numerous amenities for their children and for themselves. Being asked about the customer profile of the villas; Ayşem Balman (real estate expert) stated that they are rich, married with children and are generally working in the services sector which leads the supply of the housing sector; as the demand of indispensable amenities (like security, pools, parks...) and the privileges of the settlement (like being located in the forest area, in Bosphorus or lake shore...)

This widespread demand of living in wider gated settlements with lots of facilities and privileges; determines the supply, as it is triggered by the supply and marketing. The amenities, increasing among the walls can be defined as client-dependent decisions.

*“They are tired of the urban life, so they do not only buy a house as a dwelling, but they also buy a town life where they may lock themselves and their children into large green areas; new, quiet lives in peace...They tend to live either in Bosphorus or forest areas”*

*Ayşem Balman,  
Retürk Seçkin Real-estate, expert  
Interview, Istanbul, 2006*

For Harun Moreno (Alarko Real Estate Investment Corporation- General Manager, Istanbul, June 2006), the life choice between inside and outside the city differentiates according to family expectations. Generally parents who exist in high income groups, prefer to live in secured, private houses outside the city far from the chaos. This tendency changes with the growth of the children, when vital urban life becomes more tempting for young people.

Neighborhoods are stressed as another factor on the demand side. Balman states that it is very important for the customer to have information about she/he new neighborhoods; if she/he may get along with them culturally or not. Having witnessed many examples that the sale ruins at the last step, she stresses cultural harmony as a very important determinant in sales which is mostly seen in the smaller settlements, where face to face interactions are intense.



1999 Earthquake is emphasized as a breaking point in the housing sector that it re-defined the customers' initials. Today, earthquake endurance is one of the main client-dependent location criteria of the sector.

*“Gated community customer tend to locate at the settlements constructed after the 1999 earthquake which are required to have the ‘earthquake certificate’; in fact, most of them tend to see it with their eyes... In Kandilli (a quarter of Beykoz, a Bosphorus village) when you get off your villa, you see many trees which accompany you in your way to seashore twenty minutes; in Çekmeköy (a quarter of Ümraniye, one of the oldest squatter areas), what you see when you get of your settlement is not more than poverty. The funny thing is that, they have the same prize! What make Çekmeköy residents pay the same amount of money with Kandilli residents are their earthquake fear and their belief on the floor-safety”*

*Ayşem Balman, real estate expert  
Interview, Istanbul, June 2006*

Looking at both the client-dependent and client-free criteria; amenities, wide and cheap land, earthquake endurance, and considering Map 1, it can be stated that gated communities will tend to locate at the periphery in the future, and the holes in the metropolis will keep growing by urban sprawls.

As a conclusion;

*“the private housing sector, improved itself by the demands of the customer. Nowadays, developers pay much more money to satisfy the needs and the demands of their rich customer. The supply is guided by the demands of the customer.”*

*Ayşem Balman, real estate expert  
interwiev, Istanbul, 2006*

In the next step of the study, the information about the demand side is tested by a sample group. According to our gated community definition; our research universe is composed of the residents of gated communities. Sample group is activated by two residents and progressed by snowball method on convincing the residents to interview and arranging next contact numbers. Totally, our sample group consists of 30 respondents who answered questions mainly about their profile (age, education, income...), house preference criteria, physical and social relations with their settlement and physical and social relations with “outside” and “outsiders”. In order to respect the qualitative data, some of the responses are quoted directly.

Respondents are mostly married women -in between 20 and 66 ages- with children, living with their families. About half of them are middle-aged in between 36 and 45. %57 has university graduate degree while %43 is high-school graduated. While %33 of the respondents are working; of the remaining %67, nearly half is retired or worked before while the rest has never worked in their lives. The household income of %73 is over 5.000 YTL/month.<sup>1</sup> %7 refused to reply the question. The distribution of the respondents by districts and quarters is given in Table 4. %53 of the respondents live on the east side dispersing at 5 districts: Beykoz, Ümraniye, Kadıköy, Üsküdar and Kartal. More than half of the respondents are located on the west side are in Sarıyer. Büyükçekmece, Bakırköy and Eyüp are the other

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<sup>1</sup> GNP= 5.216 YTL/year (estimated for 2006), 1 € = 1,99 YTL (Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey)

districts. No doubt, these location districts overlap with the gated community districts in Map 1. Most of the quarters below (Zekeriya köy, Kemerburgaz, Kavacık, Göktürk...) locate in the forest areas. 30 respondents represent 16 settlements located at Sarıyer, Beykoz, Ümraniye, Büyükçekmece, Kadıköy, Bakırköy, Eyüp, Üsküdar and Kartal Districts in 14 quarters (Table 4), since some of the respondents live in the same settlement.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by settlements, district and quarter

Name Of Settlement	District	Quarter	Number of Respondents
Nurol Sitesi	Sarıyer (7)	Tarabya	1
Sarıyer Acarlar Sitesi		Maden	2
Sunset Parkevleri		Zekeriya köy	2
Flora Evleri		Zekeriya köy	2
Acar kent	Beykoz (6)	Kavacık	6
Çekmeköy Gölkonakları	Ümraniye (5)	Çekmeköy	1
Simpaş Aqua City		Aşağı Dudullu	3
Simpaş Aqua Manos		Yukarı Dudullu	1
Bahçeşehir	Büyükçekmece (3)	Bahçeşehir Municipality	1
Alkent 2000		Alkent 2000	2
Ataşehir	Kadıköy (3)	Atatürk Quarter	3
Florya Fly Inn Residence	Bakırköy (2)	Florya	2
Aytek Sitesi	Eyüp (2)	Kemerburgaz	1
Kemerburgaz Yamaçevler		Kemerburgaz	1
2001 Çengelköy Konutları	Üsküdar (1)	Çengelköy	1
Ağaoğlu My Village	Kartal (1)	Samandıra	1
Total			30

%53 of the respondents lives in villa while the rest live in apartment. The household size is 3-4 in %83 of the 30 responses. This indicates that respondents live with their families; husbands/wives and children. %57 moved to their houses in between 1999 and December 2002 (Table 5). This is a striking term of exodus of the new rich to avoid the earthquake hazard. By the moving rate of %31, 2004- June 2006 is shows the inclining demand acceleration in the last years.

Table 5: Year of relocation

Year of relocation	Responses	%
1996- December 1996	2	6,7
1997- December 1997	0	0,0
1998- December 1998	1	3,3
1999- December 1999	2	6,7
2000- December 2000	3	10,0
2001- December 2001	5	16,7
2002- December 2002	7	23,3
2003- December 2003	1	3,3
2004- December 2004	3	10,0
2005- December 2005	3	10,0
2006- June 2006	3	10,0
Total	30	100,0

Of the 30 responses received on the topic “Way of hearing about the settlement”; 11 (%36,7) stated “advertisement” while 9 (%30) implied “recommendation”. 5 respondents (%16,7) found the settlement on her/his own, 3 respondents (% 10) were directed by the real estate agents while the remaining heard about the settlement in other ways (Table 6). Only 1 of 30 respondents is tenant.

Table 6: Way of hearing about the settlement

Way of hearing about the settlement	Responses	%
Advertisement (newspaper or media)	11	36,7
Recommendation	9	30,0
Herself/Himself (While looking for a house)	5	16,7
Real estate agent	3	10,0
Others	2	6,7
Total	30	100,0

Being asked about their reason of settlement preferences; the respondents determined four subsequent, three supplementary reasons in common, given in Table 7. Of 69 responses; earthquake resistance, more qualified infrastructure, positive environmental conditions and security were stated by 13 respondents (%19 of total responses, %43 of total respondents).

Table 7: Reason of settlement preference

Reason of settlement preference	Responses	%
Earthquake resistance	13	18,8
More qualified infrastructure	13	18,8
Positive environmental conditions	13	18,8
Security	11	15,9
Closeness to the work	6	8,7
Closeness to city center	5	7,2
Far from city	5	7,2
Like the house	1	1,4
Isolated living	1	1,4
Others	1	1,4
Total	69*	100

\*Respondents are required to mention at least one reason.

Considering the year of relocation (Table 5), the responses stressing the earthquake resistance gain significance. Being lose to work, being close to city center and being far from the city are the supplementary reasons of the preference:

*“Tranquil, away from urban complexity, but close to city”*  
*Berrin Görgünç, 44*  
*a respondent from the sample group*

Of 11 respondents who stressed security as a preference criterion, 1 respondent had experienced a security problem in her/his former house. Remaining 10 respondents feel in the need of security but can not justify it by their personal experiences. However, they have a strong belief on the requirement of living in a secured settlement. On the other hand, no doubt that this fear lays bare the success of the marketing process.

*“The dimension of loneliness has climbed to crucial levels. People do not know each other anymore. This triggers the fear. To live in a settlement with security comforts the person psychologically.”*

*Gül Reman, 50  
a respondent from the sample group*

Pool, sports center and shopping malls are the most frequent facilities utilized by these 30 respondents. Parks, courts, cinema and restaurants are the secondary facilities. Pharmacy, coiffeur, Turkish bath, dry cleaner, florist and sauna are the other facilities<sup>xii</sup>. These facilities can not be utilized by a non-resident in %70 of them. 12 (%40) of the respondents spend their times mostly in the settlement while 14 (%47) spend outside. 4 (%13) did not mention a priority. The postulation that gated community residents are hiding behind the rising walls is tested by the question: “Where do you go when you go out?” They mostly prefer outside activities in closed, prestigious urban spaces (like big, luxury shopping centers: Metrocity, Akmerkez...). Our sample group can be defined as 'new rich, out of the social norms' (Bauman, quoted in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) by their effort to adopt an elite commune, visiting prestigious spaces in the city center like Bosphorus, Nişantaşı, Etiler e.g. which are chosen to actualize social activities. So, when the residents are “out” of their gated communities, we may induce that they are either in shopping malls or socializing in prestigious spaces. These spaces used for shopping or socializing by these 30 respondents, do not determine any kind of physical and social relations with the settlement's quarter or neighborhood except the usage of the main transportation axes.

Of the 30 respondents, %43 had been living in a gated community in her/his former house (Table 8). With the improvement in socio economic structure of the individual, propensity of leaving old quarter or house becomes more distinctive as a result of increasing purchase capacity. Person who becomes capable, moves to private houses with big gardens and other facilities with a good security system and this determination is parallel to our research indication (findings). %100 of the responses stressed walls, %83 have camera and %73 have security personnel. Alarm system exists in 4 houses (%13) and one of these 30 respondents, 1 has a security dog (Table 9).

Table 8: Former House type of respondents'

Former house type	Responses	%
Apartment	17	56,7
Secured apartment	11	36,7
Villa	2	6,7
Total	30	100,0

Table 9: Security Systems of the settlements

Security System	Responses	%
Walls	30	100,0
Camera	25	83,3
Security personnel	22	73,3
Alarm system in the house	4	13,3
Security dog	1	3,3

\*Respondents are required to mention at least one reason.

Being stipulated to make a preference on the location and house types for their assumed next houses; 17 respondents (%57) stated that they would choose same kind of gated community. Not mentioning “a secured settlement” 8 preferred detached houses while 2 preferred to live in an apartment. 3 respondents did not mention a specific house type. The most common location preferred is Bosphorus by 6 respondents (%20). Levent-Ulus-Etiler is mentioned by 3 respondents (%10). While the tendency to live in Bosphorus can be explained by physical demands to come close to the sea; the tendency to live in Levent-Ulus-Etiler can be interpreted as the socio-cultural demand to live in prestigious places.

In accordance with the responses, most common satisfied factors about the settlement are; the positive environmental conditions by 19 respondents (%38), adequate facilities by 10 respondents (%20) and sufficient security system by 6 respondents (%12) (Table 10).

Table 10: The satisfying factors of the settlements

<b>Satisfying Factors</b>	<b>Responses</b>	<b>%</b>
Positive environmental conditions	19	38,0
Adequate facilities	10	20,0
Sufficient security	6	12,0
No traffic jam	4	8,0
Strong transportation connections with city center	4	8,0
Good neighborhood relations	3	6,0
Transfer to new premises	1	2,0
Earthquake resistance	1	2,0
Similar socio-economic structure between inhabitants	1	2,0
Far from city center	1	2,0
Total	50*	100,0

\*Respondents are required to mention at least one reason.

“Good neighborhood relations” is also mentioned as a satisfying factor. Comparing it with their old settlement; while for 7 (%23) respondents the neighborhood relations got loose and for 4 respondents it stayed same, 19 respondents (%63) defined their neighborhood relations as “increasing and improving”.

Considering unfavorable conditions in the settlement, respondents declared more various negative elements than the positive conditions. In the settlements constructed at the periphery, most important issue is infrastructural problems (Table 11). New constructed or incomplete infrastructural system defined as an important unsatisfying issue. Lack of infrastructure, distance to city center, increasing population/ urbanization of the settlement and lack of public transportation are the most common stated unsatisfying features.

Table 11: The unsatisfying factors of the settlements

Unsatisfying Factors	Responses	%
Lack of infrastructure or infrastructural problems (public utility services)	5	15,2
Distance to city center	5	15,2
Increasing population of the settlement/urbanization	5	15,2
Lack of public transportation	4	12,1
Spending more money and time for the needs of house care and infrastructure	2	6,1
Transportation (traffic jam)	2	6,1
Lack of neighborhood relations	2	6,1
Sharp contrast of the socio-economic structures of the settlement and its periphery	2	6,1
Traffic jam inside the settlement	2	6,1
Lack of public transportation inside the settlement	1	3,0
Bad building construction	1	3,0
Security	1	3,0
Lack of facilities	1	3,0
Total	33*	100,0

\*Respondents are required to mention at least one reason.

The respondents also complain about the increasing demand which transforms these settlements into small cities, by the never ending construction in the settlements. Sharp contrast in between the socio-economic structures of the settlement and its periphery is stated by 2 respondents while similar socio-economic structure between inhabitants is stressed as a satisfying factor.

*“The place that I live is a regular settlement with many shopping places. The inhabitants are in the same level.”*

*Tülin Arbaş, 66  
a respondent from the sample group*

## Conclusion

In this study, gated communities are defined as; ‘settlements that the entrance of non-residents is restricted or stipulated by walls, gates and/or security system’. By the leading of this definition; the effects of gated communities as an efficient force in the city’s fragmentation process is questioned by intensive and extensive methods; first, to find out their existing location, physical relation with the main transportation system and the surrounding neighborhoods; secondly, their location criteria, the profile of the gated community residents, the preference criteria of these settlements by their residents, the physical and social relations of the residents with their settlement and the physical and social relations of the residents with “outside” and “outsiders”.

For the first step, the location criteria of these settlements are discussed by the citation of the interviews realized with real estate agencies’ and real estate development agencies’ experts. In the second step of the study, the information about the demand side is tested by a sample group composed of the residents of gated communities.

The research findings are mainly as follows:

- In Istanbul, gated communities are both located at the center and at the periphery. The most agglomerated settlements are in Büyük Çekmece, Sarıyer, Küçük Çekmece, Tuzla, Ümraniye, Eyüp, Esenler, Beykoz and Beşiktaş Districts.
- Transportation is one of the main determinants of the location criteria of gated communities. These settlements are mostly located adjacent to main transportation axes (E-5 and TEM) and the secondary axes.
- The tendency to locate at the forestry areas (like Sarıyer, Beykoz...) and in water basin boundary, they grow as urban sprawl which indicates the infraction that leads the invasion of the natural values in Istanbul.
- The land is quite cheaper and wider at the periphery. Land cost is important for the feasibility of the project which might not be so that profitable at the city center. For the project developed at the periphery, the transportation infrastructure is taken into consideration. The private housing sector, improved itself to satisfy the needs and the demands of their rich customer.
- Being asked about their reason of settlement preferences, our 30 respondents determined; earthquake resistance, more qualified infrastructure, positive environmental conditions and security. Considering the year of relocation (%57 moved to their houses in between 1999 and December 2002) the responses stressing the earthquake resistance gain significance.
- Pool, sports center and shopping malls are the most frequent utilized facilities by these 30 respondents. These facilities can not be utilized by a non-resident in %70 of them.
- They mostly prefer outside activities in closed prestigious urban spaces (like big, luxury shopping centers: Metrocity, Akmerkez...). Their daily habits do not determine any kind of physical and social relations with the settlement's quarter or neighborhood except the usage of the main transportation axes.
- Being stipulated to make a preference on the location and house types for their assumed next houses; their general tendency emerged as Bosphorus and Beşiktaş. While the tendency to live in Bosphorus can be explained by physical demands to come close to the sea; the tendency to live in Levent-Ulus-Etiler can be interpreted as the socio-cultural demand to live in prestigious places.
- "Good neighborhood relations" is mentioned as a satisfying factor. Comparing it with their old settlement; %63 of the respondents defined their neighborhood relations as "increasing and improving" since the socio-economic structure between inhabitants are similar. This can be interpreted as an indicator of enclaves.
- Declared unfavorable conditions in the settlement are infrastructural problems especially for the ones constructed at the periphery. Urbanization of the settlement by the increasing demand and lack of public transportation are the other common stated unsatisfying features. Sharp contrast in between the socio-economic structures of the settlement and its periphery is also stated. Aksoy & Robins (1997; cited in Landman & Schönsteich, 2002) states that, in Istanbul, fortified spaces successfully serve to segregate the growing middle class from the surrounding landscapes of self-constructed squatter settlements. For Kurtuluş; the walls surrounding the gated community, blocks both the threats expected and the unaesthetic image of these slums (Kurtuluş, 2005).

In the light of these research findings; gated communities have no contribution to their local (quarter/neighborhood), except the common usage of the main transportation axes. Moreover they are fragmenting the city with their walls. They are agglomerating at specific places in the city, like Bosphorus, where they socially define the prestigious places as their own properties and exclude the public usage by outsiders directly and indirectly. Besides, their outside activities agglomerate in specific locations in the prestigious zones of the city and redefine these public places (like shopping centers, restaurants...etc.) as "gated" with unseen boundaries by emplacing social codes or requirements.

Eventually, by the help of literature review and interviews it is concluded that; gated communities arising like fortresses in the city are triggering forces on the social and spatial disintegration of Istanbul.

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## Interviews

Harun Moreno, General Director of Alarko Real Estate Investment Corporation, Interview, Istanbul, June 2006

Ayşem Balman, Retürk Seçkin Real-estate expert, Interview, Istanbul, 2006

Mustafa Ertuğrul Oğuz, TEKFEN Real-Estate Development Company, Project Developer, Interview, Istanbul, 2006

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<sup>i</sup> Harvey (1985), building on the insights of Lefebvre (1970), has argued that the secondary circuit of real estate investment is an important outlet for surplus capital which can not find opportunities for above-average profit in production (eg. Manufacturing investments) (Feagin and Smith, 1987; Şengül, 2001). The capital flow from the productive sectors to urban space is intensively affected by the state strategies. Taxation, incentives and many policies redefine the relation in between the two circuits. As it appears in Istanbul case, the industry-led state strategies ... enhanced the rent sectors and the urban space specifically (Şengül, 2001).

<sup>ii</sup> For Lefebvre the capitalist relations on the urban space can be defined as “commodification”. Major economic investment and location decisions shape the built environment of cities, from the expansion of outlying residential areas to the number and location of ancillary industries, office towers and shopping precincts (Feagin and Smith, 1987). Urban space is the playing field of capital.

<sup>iii</sup> Inequality is “the differential appropriation of wealth (income and assets) by different individuals and social groups, relative to each other (Castells, 2000d). The interconnections between cities within transnational urban networks increase, the connections between these cities and both their regional hinterlands and domestic national urban systems decrease. (Sassen, 1994 quoted in Hall, T.) The inequalities in and between cities are defined as; sectoral inequality (caused by the “advanced” services), social inequality (caused by the inequality in the employment), and geographical/spatial inequality (caused by the centralization of the services sector- controlling this new economy, in local, regional, national and global levels).

<sup>iv</sup> The coefficient inclines from 0.38 to 0.43 in 1978- 1984 and recently to 0.58 in 1994.

<sup>v</sup> It is “a specific process of inequality that occurs when the top and the bottom of the scale of income or wealth distribution grew faster than the middle, thus shrinking the middle, and sharpening social differences between two extreme segments of the population” (Castells, 2000d). Sassen (1991; quoted in Badcock, 1997) reasons that the disproportionate job growth that took place in the three expanding segments of the labour market in cities like New York in the 1980s- producer services, routine personnel-domestic services, informal activity- dramatically widened social divisions between the rich and poor. “It is the rise of “global cities” that has stimulated fresh insight into the process of urban restructuring (Sassen, 1991), and led to speculation about bearing the bearing that has upon deepening levels of social and spatial polarization in post-Fordist cities (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Fainstein *et al.*, 1992; Goldsmith and Blakely, 1993; O’Loughlin and Friedrichs, 1996; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1997)” (Badcock, 1997). Sassen (1994) quotes that; what we can detect in the 1980s is that certain segments of the middle class gain income and earnings, becoming wealthier while others become poorer.

<sup>vi</sup> Landman and Schönreich’s study (2002) focuses on the gated communities in Brazil and South Africa, as a popular alternative against the violent crime that exist in the city.

<sup>vii</sup> A well known gated community by it’s prestige in the east side of Istanbul.

<sup>viii</sup> For Zukin (1996) nearly all cities use spatial strategies to separate, segregate and isolate “the other”.

<sup>ix</sup> For Kurtuluş (2005) not only the ownership of a tangible life environment, but the eminency symbolized by the lifestyle is one of the main factor that determines the “price” in this market.

<sup>x</sup> Urban landscape is designed in (artful) fragments and becomes littered with a number of ‘spectacular’, ‘imageable’ or ‘scenographic’ enclaves which are largely divorced from their immediate urban or social contexts (Harvey 1989; Crilley 1993; Knox 1993, quoted in Hall, T.). Since the urban space is the reason of social inequalities, the problem of social justice may not be solved independent of it. (Şengül, 2001)

<sup>xi</sup> In the study of IMP, Housing and Quality of Life Group (2005), the recalculated number of private residential projects is around 1.000. Perouse (2006) states that, by April 2006, the number of gated communities is more than 770.

<sup>xii</sup> So, the numbers does not represent the existing facilities in the settlements. There are not equal facilities in each settlement. However, for example we might understand that at least 25 respondents utilize pool facility.