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**GATED COMMUNITIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF
NEIGHBORHOOD CULTURE: THE COMPARISON BETWEEN
BEYAZ RESIDENCE AND NİŞANCI NEIGHBORHOOD**




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ABSTRACT

GATED COMMUNITIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD CULTURE: THE COMPARISON BETWEEN BEYAZ RESIDENCE AND NIŞANCI NEIGHBORHOOD

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Economic transformations in the world after 1950 have created differences within the forms of housing production. In the process where the dynamics of neoliberal policies, postmodernity, and consumer culture are spatialized, gated communities that spread all over the world by globalization have risen as a result of these transformations. The gated communities, which are different from previous ones, are formed and presented with their basic features within the framework of the specific context of each country and city. With this socio-economic transformation, after 1980, social polarization and socio-spatial segregation have also increased, and the housing and the neighborhood have redefined its structural and semantic meaning by making new properties. The multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-layered, and sometimes multi-religious structure of the traditional Istanbul neighborhood with administrative, legal, economic and social functions has transformed into a homogeneous and fragmented structure, and in the new urban neighborhood, the nostalgic neighborhood culture became a marketing element of gated communities. In this study, social and economic developments in the world and the emergence process of gated communities in Turkey will be evaluated in parallel with the global scale. The study aims to develop a more comprehensive approach by focusing on the effect of this housing form on the traditional texture of the neighborhood. In this context, Nişancı Neighborhood and Beyaz Residence located in Eyüp are examined in the context of the relationship between actor and space. The methodology of study is qualitative research. Demographic structure and socio-economic status of participants and their perceptions, preferences, and evaluations for their houses and will be analyzed by semi-structured in-depth interviews. Through findings, the

neighborhood culture and the relationships within neighborhood will be discussed, and the differences will be tried to be revealed as to how individuals experience the city and people in the city.

Keywords: Gated communities; Neighborhood unit; Neoliberal urbanization; Socio-spatial segregation; Traditional neighborhood texture.

ÖZ

KAPALI SİTELER VE MAHALLE KÜLTÜRÜNÜN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: BEYAZ REZİDANS VE NİŞANCI MAHALLESİ KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

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1950 sonrası dünya genelinde yaşanan ekonomik dönüşümler, konut üretim biçimlerinde farklılıklar yaratmıştır. Neoliberal politikaların, postmodernitenin ve tüketim kültürü dinamiklerinin mekansallaştığı bu süreçte küreselleşmenin de etkisiyle tüm dünyaya yayılan kapalı konut siteleri bu dönüşümlerin ürünü olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Temel özellikleriyle öncekilerden farklı biçimlenen ve sunulan kapalı siteler her ülkenin ve kentin kendi özgün bağlamı çerçevesinde şekillenmiştir. Bu sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm ile birlikte 1980 sonrası sosyal ve mekansal ayrışmanın ve toplumsal kutuplaşmanın arttığı İstanbul'da konut ve mahalle yeni nitelikler kazanarak yapısal ve anlamsal dönüşüm geçirmiştir. İdari, hukuki, iktisadi ve toplumsal fonksiyonlara sahip geleneksel İstanbul mahallesinin çok kültürlü, çok etnikli, çok tabakalı, zaman zaman çok dinli yapısı, modern kent mahallesinde homojen ve parçacıl bir yapıya dönüşmüş, nostaljik mahalle kültürü kapalı konut topluluklarının pazarlama unsuru haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada Türkiye'de kapalı konut topluluklarının ortaya çıkış süreçleri küresel ölçekteki toplumsal ve ekonomik gelişmeler paralelinde değerlendirilecektir. Çalışmanın amacı bu konut biçiminin mahallenin geleneksel dokusuna etkisine odaklanarak daha bütüncül bir yaklaşım geliştirmektir. Bu çerçevede İstanbul Eyüp bölgesinde bulunan Nişancı Mahallesi ve Beyaz Rezidans kapalı konut topluluğunu kullanıcı-mekan bağlamında irdelenmektedir. Bu kapsamda nitel araştırma metodu benimsenen çalışmada mahalle ve site sakinleri ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerle katılımcıların demografik yapıları, sosyoekonomik statüleri, evleri ve çevreleri ile ilgili tercihleri, algıları ve değerlendirmeleri analiz edilecektir. Elde edilen bulgularla bireylerin kenti ve kentliyi tecrübe etme şekilleri olarak mahalle kültürü ve komşuluk

ilişkileri tartışılacak ve farklılıklar ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geleneksel mahalle dokusu; Kapalı siteler; Komşuluk birimi; Neoliberal şehirleşme; Sosyal ve mekânsal ayrışma.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
BR	Beyaz Residence
NN	Niřancı Neighborhood

INTRODUCTION

The housing carries psychosocial meanings such as peace, happiness, and safety rather than being only a physical shelter that protects the individual from natural resources and provides living possibilities. The meaning of house differentiates depending on the social development it contains. Economic developments in the world at the end of the 20th century have created differences in housing production. These transformations, which were based on economic restructuring in the beginning, were shaped by the reproduction of the space in order to maintain the existence of the capitalist system.

Lefebvre states that (social) space is a (social) product including relations of production and social relations of production. Space has always been a strategic and politic means for capitalism to maintain its sustainability. Lefebvre, as narrated by Marx and Engels, defined urban space as not a place for the capitalist mode of production but as a commodity of capitalism itself. Capital and capitalism ‘influence’ practical matters relations to space, from the constructions of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labor.¹

Harvey perceives Lefebvre’s approach as a starting point and claims that the capital commoditizes the space to maintain its continuity and moves from the first cycle to the second cycle. Capitalist urbanization has developed as a result of the capital that has entered the economic crisis in production process direct their investments to the urban build environment in order to maximize their profits and lead new demands. Thus, the transformation and reproduction of space are directly related to capital movements; capital structure, accumulation, and mobility.²

The neo-liberal policies shaped under the socio-economic developments spreading by globalization after 1960 have narrowed the scope of the welfare state and increased the efficiency of the private sector. The global expansion of capital and the

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden, (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2014), 10.

² Murat Şentürk, “Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 204.

cities becoming the focal point of global capital have brought cities into a restructuring process. Inequalities in income distribution, the privatization of social services provided by the state before and the reproduction of the postmodernism and consumer culture dynamics with the rising middle class have been factors that make social segregation distinctive. Gated communities have emerged in the late 20th century as a result of these transformations that have evolved in the economic, political and socio-cultural contexts. These formations, which point to a different model of housing practice than before, have emerged as a new form of housing and urban growth that spatially integrates the effects of neoliberal policies, consumer culture, and social dynamics. Gated communities that spread throughout the world by globalization are shaped differently in each country and city with their qualifications. In Turkey, this process has been shaped by the adoption of neo-liberal policies after 1980, and consumption culture that is penetrated into everyday life.

In the post-1980 period, within these socio-economic developments, 'house' gained new functions and meanings besides the need for sheltering. Gated communities are presented as a spatial organization packed within all functions necessary for a particular lifestyle concept. These societies, which are artificially shaped in terms of the dynamics of the consumption culture, aim to give individuals status and prestige by offering a privileged life. With the fear of crime constructed in society and the defensive approach developed against the lower income groups, they contain wide security measures against any danger that may arise from outside. As the accessibility is limited for the rest of society, it also brings social inaccessibility for those areas. The spread of gated communities causes the transformation of neighborhood culture in terms of inaccessibility for the rest of the society, so they reinforce spatial segregation by fragmented structure and damage the consciousness of being a society. It has been damaging the neighborhood structure concerning the protection and maintenance of the neighborhood culture. In the face of the heterogeneous population structure and unifying approach, which does not emphasize religious, socio-economic or ethnic differences, of Istanbul's traditional neighborhood, gated communities are the only means of supporting the isolation, segregation, and exclusion. Traditional neighborhood structure, including its complex, waqf-centered structure, sense of community, solidarity, and mutual responsibility demonstrates the expression of religious and traditional values and

practices in the urban area. However, the neighborhood culture has been developed in different styles as a marketing strategy for gated communities.

Researches have been carried out in many districts such as Başakşehir, Sulukule, Balat, Fener, Fikirtepe and Bahçeşehir to cover underlying reasons, preferential reasons, main characteristics of gated communities that spread after 1980. However, it is noteworthy that the gated communities that have spread in the central district of Eyüp, especially after 2010, have not been studied extensively. The district of Eyüp, which developed as the first out-of-town neighborhood after the conquest of Istanbul, carries cultural and historical dynamics and offers a neighborhood structure where neighborhood culture and practices are maintained. On the other hand, as a result of participant observations and analyses, it is determined that gated communities in the region increased after 2010, and the structural and social integrity of the region have been damaged. In this context, the restructuring of the urban space of gated communities and the determination of the relations with the existing neighborhood texture in the social organization are essential and constitute the data to be examined. In this sense, with a neighborhood and a gated community survey in the region, the evaluation of the region in the context of both a comprehensive understanding of global developments and an actor-space relationship will be the basis for understanding the role and dynamics of gated communities in the transformation of neighborhood culture from the view of sociology of space.

Literature Review

The literature review within the scope of the thesis study firstly examines research on the social context and model that paved the way for the reasons for the emergence of gated communities in the world. In international and local literature, the reasons of the emergence of gated communities are discussed in parallel with globalization, neo-liberalism and postmodernism processes, and the global city, neoliberal urbanization and new housing approaches are examined. For this purpose, in the international literature: Steger's "Globalization" (2003), Friedmann's "The World City Hypothesis" (1986), Sassen's "The Global City: Introducing a Concept" (2005), Harvey's "Brief History of Neoliberalism" (2005) and "The Condition of Postmodernity" (1992) and "The Right to the City" (2008) and Brenner and

Theodore's "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'" present significant approaches.

Concerning the conceptualization, evolution, and types of gated communities, Davis's "City of Quartz" (1990) and McKenzie's "Privatopia" (1994) are the primary sources in the literature of urban planning. Blakely and Synder's "Fortress America" (1997) is a significant research in the aspect of central concepts and definitions. Atkinson and Blandly's "Introduction: International Perspectives on the New Enclavism and the Rise of Gated Communities" (2005), Roitman's "Gated Communities: definitions, causes and consequences" (2010), Caldeira's "City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo" (2000), Luymes's "The Fortification of Suburbia: Investigating the Rise of Enclave Communities" (1997), Maxwell's "Gated Communities: Selling the Good Life" (2004) include comprehensive examinations. In the national literature, the gated communities have been increasingly important on the agenda of academic literature, especially since 2000. The global city discourses, neoliberal restructuring, and post-modern approaches of the rising middle class are main aspects addressing the issue of the spread of gated communities. In the academic literature, Geniş's "Globalization" (2007) and "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul", Çağlar Keyder's "Küresel ile Yerel Arasında", Candan and Kolluoğlu'nun "Emerging Space of Neoliberalism: A gated town and a public housing project in Istanbul", Öktem's "Küresel Kent Söyleminin Kentsel Mekanı Dönüştürmedeki Rolü" (2015), Rıfat Bali's "Tarz-1 Hayattan Life Style'a -Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar" (2002), Öncü's "The Myth of the 'Ideal Home' Travels Across Cultural Borders to Istanbul" ve Alver's "Steril Hayatlar: Kentte Mekansal Ayrışma ve Güvenlikli Siteler" are considered crucial researches to discuss the issue in the context of Istanbul and Turkey. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's "Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk" (2011) ve Kurtuluş's (2005) studies on Bahçeşehir and Beykoz Konakları are outstanding analyses in the aspect of field study. Among the Ph.D. and Master's thesis studies, Akyol Altun's "Kent Çeperlerindeki Az Katlı Konut Topluluklarının Kullanıcı-Mekan İlişkisi Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi: İzmir Örneği" and Firidin Özgür's "Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul" are the most comprehensive studies on gated communities discussed in this thesis.

To analyze the transformation process of neighborhood unit and neighborhood culture, the conceptualization of contemporary approaches is discussed with reference to Knox and Pitch's "Urban Social Geography: an introduction" (2010), Duany and Plater-Zyberk's "The Neighborhood, the District and the Corridor" (2003), and Williams's "Designing Neighborhoods for Social Interaction: The Case of Cohousing" (2005). To determine the general characteristics and changing dynamics of traditional neighborhood culture in Istanbul, the sections of "Mahalle" and "Istanbul" in Islam Encyclopedia and Alver's research on "Mahalle" (2013) are perceived as significant to conceptualize the neighborhood. Işın's "Istanbul'da gündelik hayat: insan, kültür ve mekan ilişkileri üzerine toplumsal tarih denemeleri", Alada's "Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle", Halil İnalçık's "Istanbul: An Islamic City" (1990), and Kuban's "Mahalleler: Osmanlı Dönemi", Ortaylı's "Istanbul'dan Sayfalar" (2000) discuss the establishment process, elements and functions of traditional neighborhood culture with reference to typical Ottoman neighborhoods. Additionally, Bartu Candan's and Danış's (2002) studies are considered significant and extensive. They develop a critical point of view and analyze the neighborhood culture as a market strategy of gated communities in the examples of Bahçeşehir and Kemer Country.

In the part of field study, the rescripts of Eyüp Sultan symposiums that have been organized since 1997 for twelve times are perceived as primarily essential sources to understand the development and change of Eyüp Sultan settlement in the historical process. Especially the studies of Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara and Halil İnalçık's "Eyüp Sultan Tarihi" present a comprehensive perspective on the historical importance of the region and the relationship between socio-economic developments and urbanization process in Eyüp. Also, the section of "Eyüp" in Islam Encyclopedia and the book of "Eyüp: Dönüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı" (2000) by Yenen, Akın and Yakar cover the social, economic and spatial characteristics of Eyüp and its change in the historical process.

The Aim and Scope of the Study

The main aim of the thesis is firstly to comprehend the emergence process and problematics of gated communities within the scope of global developments and secondly to develop a holistic approach on its effect to the transformation of

neighborhood culture. To serve his aim, the purpose is also to fill the gap in the literature with this holistic approach, concerning the subject and with the inventory study in the context of actor-space relationship.

The study is made of two central bodies that are a literature survey and empirical search. The first chapter is the introduction part where the scope, aim, and structure of the thesis are framed. The second chapter focuses on the social paradigm, including cultural, economic, social, and ideological dynamics of the 20th century, which paved the way for increasing numbers of gated communities. In that context, gated communities are analyzed in a new model of society including the waves of globalization and the discourse of global city, neoliberal restructuring and neoliberal urbanism, postmodern approaches and consumption culture and socially segregated structure of society with the rise of the middle class. Also, the historical evolution, main characteristics and types, and underlying reasons for gated communities are investigated in a global context. Thus, the first step of questioning which has progressed from the conceptual stage to the stage of space has been completed by discussing the formation of gated communities in the context of social developments. In the third chapter, the reflections of the developments in the international arena discussed in the second section are examined within the context of Istanbul, and the developments of the gated communities in local context are explored. To understand the influences of gated communities in the transformation of the meaning of home perception and neighborhood culture in Istanbul, the concept of neighborhood is investigated with modern approaches and its historical developments. The social, functional, and structural differences between traditional neighborhood texture and the approach of gated communities to the neighborhood culture are compared. In the fourth chapter, the historical development of the region of Eyüp, where the study is realized, is examined, and the changes that the region experienced in parallel with social and economic developments are discussed. Besides, Nişancı Neighborhood and Beyaz Residence Site are evaluated in historical, social, economic, and structural terms and aimed to present a general portrait of the area. In the fifth chapter, according to the findings of the field research and participant observations, the perceptions of the residents of the gated community and neighborhood are compared, considering the literature analysis. Main findings and assessments are classified under five themes: the way that residents define their residence and neighborhood,

their social relationships and perception of security, the way that the residents define and position others and their lifestyle and lastly approaches of participants to the increasing number of gated communities and its effect on neighborhood culture and city structure. The sixth chapter includes general assessments and conclusions.

In this context, the main questions to be investigated in the thesis were determined as follows:

- What are the social and economic developments in global context that pave the way for increasing number of gated communities all over the world?
- How do gated communities offer a housing structure?
- What kind of structural, semantic and symbolic qualities have socio-economic developments brought to housing in Istanbul in post-1980 period?
- What are the basic values and relationships that constitute the traditional neighborhood culture?
- What effect has the increasing number of gated communities as a new form of housing brought to neighborhood culture and the structure of the city?
- How do different spatial organization styles shape the relationships between users?
- What are the habits and behaviors of the users regarding the space?

The Methodology

In the first step, to examine the emergence and central problematic of gated communities, the studies within global and local literature have been scanned and evaluated as the main framework of the thesis. The second and third chapter provided data for a field study by providing basic parameters for the evaluation of the study area. Thus, the themes to classify findings are determined, and the method is developed in this context.

In this research, the inductive approach is considered as a method and the perceptions of participants on space and the way that they experience the space were evaluated with the interpretive approach. The qualitative research method, which is based on exploration, understanding, and interpretation in the research process, is defined as “a qualitative research process in which qualitative data collection methods such as observation, interview, and document analysis are used, and

realizations of perceptions and events are presented in a natural and realistic manner”.³ The essential characteristics of qualitative research are mutual interaction, sensitivity to the environment, the participatory role of the researcher, holistic approach, and revealing different ideas. In qualitative research, there is no effort to produce generalizable results. The lack of strict rules and standards in research requires that each research problem must have a research pattern and strategy of data analysis. Each qualitative research is unique.⁴

In the data collection process of the study, participatory observations, photographing, interviews with the neighborhood headman and site management, short interview forms which participants were expected to fill in before the interview, and in-depth interview method with the residents were applied. The participants were given preliminary information about the purpose and scope of the study before starting the interviews to keep the atmosphere comfortable. Among the data collection techniques used within the scope of the thesis, firstly, there is a short survey consisting of closed-ended questions. Before the interview, participants fill a short questionnaire form in face-to-face interviews and give information about their age and occupations, how many years they had been living in their present location, their ownership status and where they resided before.

In the second step, the researcher applied the method of interview, which is one of the qualitative data collection methods, in order to obtain detailed and in-depth information about research questions and to obtain some information which could not be obtained with other methods. The participants were informed about the nature and duration of the interview before the interview. Semi-structured interview technique was used in the research. In this technique, while the researcher is preparing an interview form with the questions he/she is planning to ask, he/she can affect the flow of the interview with different side or sub-questions depending on the flow of the interview and can ask participants to give more detail.

³ Hasan Şimşek, Ali Yıldırım, *Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri*, (Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık, 2008,), 39.

⁴ Neslihan Aydın Yönet, “Korumalı Yerleşimlerin Tercih Sebeplerinde Etkili Olan Faktörleri Açıklamaya Yönelik Kavramsal Bir Model,” PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011, 120.

Participants' perceptions, thoughts, attitudes, and stories were directly observed and recorded. The perceptions of the inhabitants about the neighborhood, the perceptions of the inhabitants on social relationships, and finally, the outward ideas of users about the site and neighborhood lifestyle were evaluated in all dimensions. Therefore, the research is planned to include not only the inward point of view but also the outward point of view, and it provided to evaluate and compare two views. Besides the themes are not independent of each other, they involve interwoven dynamics. The themes provide a fiction that approaches from more general, conceptual perspective to spatial practice.

In order to analyze the obtained data, all of the interviews were recorded except for 3 of them. The records were transcribed and written text was made and at the same time, the observation notes were taken during the interview. The data were collected and analyzed under the themes and categories. After data coding, creating the themes and arrangement of codes, themes were identified, compared, and interpreted. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Turkish sources and interviews with participants in field study are translated by the author.

The study was carried out between February and April of 2019 in Nişancı Neighborhood and Beyaz Residence in Istanbul-Eyüp district. The participants do not show homogeneity in terms of age, sex, education and occupation. Sixteen people from Beyaz Residence and fifteen people from Nişancı neighborhood were interviewed from a younger or older generation or middle age group. The shopkeepers and manager of the site were considered essential to interview as they could convey the general impressions and observations of the area. During the interviews, the snowball method was applied to find new participants.

CHAPTER 1

PARADIGM CHANGE AND A NEW MODEL OF SOCIETY

After 1980, it has been a period in which social paradigm has changed within the context of globalization and neoliberal policies, and social dynamics has been redefined. In that restructuring process, space gained new meanings and functions, the phenomenon of housing was redefined as spatial organization patterns, and gated communities and residences became widespread as a product of this period.

Although researchers state that the function and meaning of gated communities cannot be considered independent from their location and characteristics of the population, the rise and spread of them across the world is derived from the relation between globalization and urbanization as a global urban form. The production and dissemination of gated communities are not solely local processes; they take place in a global context and are linked to transnational ideologies, discourses, and networks. In this context, the general background of social, economic, cultural and political background that has given rise to gated communities and new concepts about economic restructuring, global city, consumption culture, and lifestyle is discussed in this section.

1.1. Globalization and the Discourse of Global City

Globalization reveals new structure within the frame of economic, political and social strategies and spreads across the world with the development of communication and transportation networks and restructures all social areas under the influence of multidimensional structure and universal dynamics.⁵ It is a social process in which borders of geography on economic, political, and social orders are

⁵ Serkan Yaşar Erdiñç, “Rezidans’ Kültürü Üzerine Bir İnceleme: İstanbul Örneđi,” PhD diss., Beykent Üniversitesi, 2017, 40.

exceeded, the dependency of human, notions, money, and services on location are decreased. It caused radical transformation across the World by developing strategies in favor of capital accumulation.

Steger states that “Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant.”⁶ He analyzes the historical sketch of globalization starting from 12.000 years ago and classifies into five periods, which are the prehistoric period (10000 BCE – 3500 BCE), the premodern period (3500 BCE – 1500 BCE), the early modern period (1500-1750), the modern period (1750-1970) and the contemporary period (from 1970). He considers the contemporary period from 1970 as the dramatic creation, expansion, and acceleration of global interdependencies and global exchanges that represent another quantum leap in the history of globalization.⁷

In the last century, the flow of capital, labor, goods, and raw materials, which were controlled by colonist states and nation-states in the international system, has undergone a radical transformation since the 1980s. Geniş (2007) expresses the reasons for this transformation, which distinguishes today’s globalization from the previous ones. The first one is the development of information technologies, and therefore the capital and the freezing activity of the capital, and the second, the privatization, liberalization, the expansion of the national economies into foreign capital and the increasing proportion of national economic actors in the global markets and the emergence of the global economy.⁸

In terms of globalization and neoliberal policies affecting society, the relationship of society with space has changed, and cities have become a global actor. Especially in the post-1980s, the years of production and labor organizations in the world were reorganized in all its dimensions and the geographic-spatial patterns and hierarchies in the world were restructured and the cities were formed in the framework of this

⁶ Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization* (New York: Oxford, 2003), 13.

⁷ Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization* (New York: Oxford, 2003), 20-35.

⁸ Şerife Geniş , "Küreselleşme, Toplumsal Eşitsizlik ve Mekansal Ayrışma," In *Sivil Toplum Düşünce ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 5 (2007): 71.

new division of labor and scales.⁹ In this context, transformations in geographic scale of production, hierarchy among cities, the concept of world city, new production system and new industrial centers, the local governments, new rent areas, new business opportunities and business centers and consequently new social stratification and their new spatial preferences and spatial differentiation among the segments of society have become research subjects to comprehend the dynamics of today's global cities.

Globalization in economy and developments in digital technologies have increased the importance of cities in the world economy and has brought the necessity of extensive centralized control and management due to the geographical expansion of economic activity and restructuring in markets. Due to the need to ensure the flow of capital and control and infrastructure, cities have gained new essential functions.¹⁰ They can be ranked as a network reflecting function as well as the hierarchical organization of the global division of labor. Although each city is integrated into the global economic system, there are "key cities through the world" that "are used by capital as basing points in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets."¹¹ "World cities are major sites for the accumulation of international capital, and their global control functions are directly reflected in the structure and dynamics of their production sectors and employment. They are destination points for large numbers of both domestic and international migrants". Also, Friedmann emphasizes its reflection on city structure by suggesting that world city formation brings into major contradictions, including spatial and class polarization.¹²

According to Sassen (2005), global sites are the primary locations for finance and specialized service institutions, production and innovation areas, and markets for manufactured products and innovations. She considers the emergence of the concept of global city as a result of privatization, deregulation, the opening up of national economies to foreign firms, and the growing participation of national economic

⁹ Asuman Türkün, Hatice Kurtuluş, "Giriş." In *İstanbul'da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015).

¹⁰ Şerif Geniş, "Küreselleşme, Toplumsal Eşitsizlik ve Mekansal Ayrışma," In *Sivil Toplum Düşünce ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 5 (2007): 72.

¹¹ John Friedmann, "The World City Hypothesis," In *Development and Change*, no. 17 (1986), 70.

¹² John Friedmann, *ibid.*, 70-75.

actors in global markets.¹³ However, Sassen has created a new dimension to the concept of world city by defining world cities as cities that not only control and management centers but also the production of trade and service sectors and financial innovations.¹⁴

In order to become one of key cities used by capital as basing points for capital accumulation and to be integrated into the global city network, the cities have gone through privatization and liberalization in economy and restructuring in the institutional, political and spatial areas by state actors and social actors who have risen as a result of neoliberal policies and global network. The projects, which were supported by the central government, local authority and capital and aimed at transforming the cultural and spatial image of the city together with the economy, led to the emergence of socioeconomic issues and conflicts. Sassen (1994) explains the effect of globalization on city structure. The impact of global processes radically transforms the social structure of cities themselves –altering the organization of labor, the distribution of earnings, the structure of consumption, all of which in turn create new patterns of urban social inequality.¹⁵

In this context, the transfer of the central authority and its responsibilities to the local administrations, establishment of public-private partnership, implementation of mega infrastructure and urban transformation projects to attract foreign capital and professional upper classes as cities' accumulation spaces, transnational diplomacy initiatives for the globalization of local and national capital, the financial and strategic support for the expansion of global urban and urban competition projects, and a series of cultural policies for the creation of images and identities in line with global city vision are the phenomena that have marked almost all cities in the last 20 years.¹⁶

¹³ Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Introducing a Concept," In *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11, no. 2 (2005): 27.

¹⁴ Binnur Öktem, "Küresel Kent Söyleminin Kentsel Mekanı Dönüştürmedeki Rolü." In *İstanbul'da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 28.

¹⁵ Sonia Roitman, "Gated Communities: definitions, causes and consequences." *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers-Urban Design and Planning* 163, no. 1 (2010): 33.

¹⁶ Şerife Geniş , "Küreselleşme, Toplumsal Eşitsizlik ve Mekansal Ayrışma," In *Sivil Toplum Düşünce ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 5 (2007): 72.

1.2. Neoliberal Politics and Urbanization

The last two centuries of capitalism has witnessed the two-globalization process. The first period prevailed in the market of the world between the years of 1870 and 1914 after the technological improvements of the industrial revolution. After the interim period of 1914-1970 including national development projects of nations in the first and second World War, the world was confronted with the new globalization process, which could be considered as a new form of capitalism, neo-liberalism.¹⁷ After the 1980s, the neoliberal flows with the influence of globalization have been popular as political and economical form and impacted all societies and their lifestyles socio-economically.

Neoliberalism is a transformation process that has taken place in the post-1980 period of world capitalism as a system where state intervention is reduced, and individual initiative is promoted. It produces policies of government providing control of social life and relations within the context of market needs, commodity production, and service economy. Although the doctrine has published in the 1940s, its policies were preferred after 1970s due to the emergence of the oil crisis in the 1970s and the decrease in total shared income of economic elite after the capitalist system has entered into a crisis.¹⁸

According to Harvey, the neoliberal state should favor secure individual private property rights and the rule of law in order to guarantee individual freedom of action, expression, and choice.¹⁹ Moreover, the institutions of freely functioning markets and free trade should be supported by the government, which is regarded as a fundamental good. For innovative attempts and wealth creation, private enterprise and entrepreneurial initiative are considered as essentials. Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue that neoliberalism reveals its first worldwide recognition as a strategic political response to the prolonged global recession in the late 1970s and early 1980s. From the 1980s on, neoliberalism has become the dominant political and ideological

¹⁷ Esra Banu Sipahi, "'Yeni' Liberalizmin 'Yeni' Yaşam Alanları Olarak Güvenlikli Siteler," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 111.

¹⁸ Zafer Çelik, "Neoliberalizmin Kısa Tarihi," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 190.

¹⁹ David Harvey, *Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64.

form of capitalist organization.²⁰ Brenner and Theodore explain the emerging reasons of neoliberalism:

Neoliberal doctrines were deployed to justify, among other projects, the deregulation of state control over major industries, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the shrinking and/or privatization of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, the intensification of interlocality competition, and the criminalization of the urban poor.²¹

Neoliberal doctrine supports financialization and commodification of everything in everyday life. The market is the most useful instrument for a human being to realize all individual and social ideals. The state could interfere at the minimum level as a supervisor to ensure equality and fairness.²² With these socio-economic changes, the problems and strategies of cities have begun to be explained with neoliberal concepts. As the cities become strategic targets for administrative policies and institutional innovations and have been exposed to an increasingly broad range of neoliberal policy experiments, the urbanization of neoliberalism process has been occurring. Under these conditions, cities have become the incubators for many of the significant political and ideological strategies through which the dominance of neoliberalism is being maintained.²³

1.3. The Rise of Middle Class

The years of the 1980s have witnessed the rise of neoliberalism, and with the flows of globalization, it has penetrated economic and politic dynamics of the states across the world. In that period, restructuring of the economic system, the necessity of consumer society for the continuation of capitalist system and reproduction of self and identity with postmodern discourse have led to the emergence of new social actors. In the process of where each phenomenon is transformed into an object of consumption, the middle class, which differentiates itself from other segments of

²⁰ Serkan Yaşar Erdiñç, “‘Rezidans’ Kültürü Üzerine Bir İnceleme: İstanbul Örneği,” PhD diss., Beykent Üniversitesi, 2017, 25.

²¹ Neil Brenner, Nik Theodore, “Cities and the Geographies of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism’”, In *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 350.

²² Zafer Celik, "Neoliberalizmin Kısa Tarihi," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 190.

²³ Neil Brenner, Nik Theodore, “Cities and the Geographies of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism’”, In *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 375.

society and looks for new identity has become an important actor of social structure as both producer and consumer with its lifestyle following capital policies.²⁴

The phenomenon of suburbanization has been a form of spatial differentiation for middle class started before industrialization and spread in the industrialization period. However, the dimensions of suburbanization have changed after the 1980s. Import substitution economic policies are replaced by neoliberal policies that give rise to export, and favorable relations replace populist politics. Urban and urban land evolved from a being stage of capital accumulation to becoming an actor.²⁵ The middle class who can take advantage of new economic policies had tended to leave from their sub-cities and return to the center of the city. The one reason for that is the increase in the presence of ethnic and class differences in sub-cities and loss of the characteristic of being a pure homogeneous settlement area.²⁶

Post-Fordist economy, manufacturing shifted to developing countries and the newly rising service sector has gained importance in industrialized countries. “According to Leinberger and Lockwood (1986), Harvey (1989) and Luymes (1997), this shift from an industrial economy to a service-based economy, which resulted in both relocation of capital and distribution of employment led to the rise of ‘upper middle class’”.²⁷ This new middle class, which emerged in the 1990s with globalization and economic liberalization, includes high-level employees in sectors such as finance, advertising, consulting and tourism and young urban professionals who conduct their own job.²⁸

From the point of the state, neoliberal urbanization, which accompanies neoliberal economic restructuring, aims to increase the role of market forces in the housing estate sectors, privatization of urban public and social services and increase the role

²⁴ Serkan Yaşar Erdinç, *ibid.*, 33.

²⁵ Asuman Türkün, Hatice Kurtuluş, “Giriş.” In *İstanbul’da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 15.

²⁶ Hatice Kurtuluş, “Bir ‘Ütopya’ Olarak Bahçeşehir,” In *İstanbul’da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 78.

²⁷ Handan Karakaş, “Gated Communities and Sign Value: Logics of Segregation in the Case of Ankara,” Master’s Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2013, 14.

²⁸ Seda Aydın, “İstanbul’da ‘Orta Sınıf’ ve Kapalı Siteler,” In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 6 (2012), 99.

of elites in shaping urban space.²⁹ According to Swyngedouw, Moulaert ve Rodriguez (2002), the city can be considered as an ‘elite playing fields’. The main target of urban development projects is to turn the city into a global competition arena for the elites who consider it as competitive advantage. Thus, the future of the city is directly articulated with the visions of those who are essential in the formulation, planning, and implementation of the cities. The city reflects power struggles and position-taking of crucial economic, political, social or cultural elites.³⁰

The enriched new middle class with the economic liberalization has become the main target of urban development projects. With the commodification of housing, new economic restructuring, consumption culture, and production of self, the capitalist system considers the middle class as an important actor to survive. The house has become an object for consumption by being instrumentalized by the market. It satisfies the request of the middle class of differentiating its identity, status, and lifestyle from the rest of society. It is a process of urban development and the adoption of fragmentary planning with an increasing amount of social and spatial segregation along with capitalist strategies.

1.4. Postmodernity and Consumption Culture

At the end of the twentieth century, the market of housing has faced with new dimensions, including results of modernity and the culture of consumption. Among the concepts of ‘information society’, ‘society after modernity’, ‘consumption society’, ‘post-industrial’, ‘post-Fordist’, ‘post-capitalist’, ‘post-structuralist’, the concept of postmodernism has become the most spread doctrine to define the new process. Although the essence of new postmodern order has developed from economic transformations, it is necessary to evaluate this new order accepted as the postmodern period by understanding the economic, political, and social transformations. Altun states that postmodernism is a transformation process from Fordist production system to a flexible production system. Harvey states that the crises of capitalism after the Second World War and economic rout had led to the

²⁹ Şerife Geniş, "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 772.

³⁰ Erik Swyngedouw, Frank Moulaert, Arantxa Rodriguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy ", In *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 568.

necessity of preservation of the system and restructuring in the capitalist system.³¹ Thus, the restructuring in the economy brought about new transformations in political structure of the state.

As discussed, Harvey states that capitals lead their investments to the urban build environment and maximize their profits to provide continuity of the capitalist system, which had faced with the economic crisis in the production process. He defines the postmodernity as a historical-geographical condition and as the result of the crisis of over accumulation that began in the late 1960s and which came to a head in 1973:

The experience of time and space has changed, the confidence in the association between scientific and moral judgments has collapsed, aesthetics has triumphed over ethics as a prime focus of social and intellectual concern; images dominate narratives, ephemerality and fragmentation take precedence over eternal truths and unified politics, and explanations have shifted from the realm of material and political-economic groundings towards a consideration of autonomous cultural and political practices.³²

Addition to the commodification of space, the consumption and housing have been instrumentalized for the continuance of capitalism. To increase production and consumption, it has become necessary to develop more production and consumption means. For the supply-demand system, the new needs, demands, status, prestige, lifestyle had been new-emergent concepts to provide diversity in consumption. Thus the consumption society has not been shaped by solely economic dynamics; it maintains an ideology guided and shaped by a variety of tools and actors to preserve the integrity and continuity of the system.³³

Space is commoditized when it reveals a new lifestyle, provides an identity and status to its user. At this point, suburbs are considered as the ideal means of promoting capitalist expansion and consumer demand and creating new fields of consumption by suggesting concepts that emerged as a result of postmodernity such as identity, status, prestige, lifestyle. In the eighties, consumption culture has emerged as a more powerful concept, supported by the discourses of postmodernity.

³⁴ A new fragmented identity replaced the concept of integral self. The individual

³¹ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 152.

³² David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 328.

³³ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 66.

³⁴ Robert Boccock, *Tüketim*, trans. İrem Kutluk (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1997), 13.

was directed to new searches encouraged to consume more in order to create a new identity. All habits, routines, and preferences related to life are considered as “lifestyle” and these choices became prominent as a function defining the identity and status of the individual. In this context, the meaning of housing has turned into a consumption object, and it has started to be considered as an investment tool. In addition to its practical value such as shelter, it is accepted as an identity and status tool in social life. It has become the most prominent tool that can reveal the identity of the individual, show its social status, and socio-economic power, among other commodities in the market.

Postmodernism has taken a fragmental approach in planning of the city by emphasizing differentiation and individualization. With the impact of changing economic policies after the 1980s, housing settlements in suburban lost their features and became neighborhoods of low income and ethnic minorities. The dynamism of the city center again made it a center of attraction. In this context, gated communities that are planned as housing estates in center or suburban have become offered to the consumers with the opportunities such as consumption, investment, identity and lifestyle, which are mixed with postmodern doctrine.

1.5. Socio-Spatial Segregation

The economic and political transformations are essential dynamics that gave rise to the formation of neoliberal strategies on urbanization, social segmentation, fragmented structure of the city and socio-spatial segregation and the rise of gated communities. The process that causes social segregation in the economic sphere is based on the restricting the scope of the welfare state and its loss of influence, the leading of initiatives by the market, the cutting of government support and the spread of capital and inequalities in incomes.³⁵ The change in the structure of employment, the change of the relationship between the state and the market have caused spatial differentiation and strengthened the social segregation in the city.

During the past fifteen years many nation-states which had developed welfare provisions slowly started to move in a more neo-liberal direction. A general atmosphere was created in which many initiatives were pushed into more market-led and deregulated directions. Tax reduction, no universal welfare benefits, a reduction of

³⁵ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 84.

redistribution, deregulation, subsidy cuts and more flexible labor markets became the new keywords. It is now a widely shared view that these revisions will result in an increase in individual employment opportunities, but will at the same time result in an increase in social polarization and socio-spatial segregation in urban areas.³⁶

Restriction in the scope of the welfare state has not solely caused the polarization in the distribution of income in terms of real wages but also the sense of the reduction of indirect subsidies and weakening of redistribution mechanisms.³⁷ Thus, it could be concluded in disadvantageous conditions for lower classes in some cases due to unguaranteed standard living conditions by the welfare state. Sardar (2010) relates the polarization of the city with the given importance of entrepreneurship and profit. When entrepreneurship and profit are the supreme values in an already unequal world, inequality proliferated with the proliferation of the wealth of the elite: the rich get richer, and the poorest are more and more excluded.³⁸

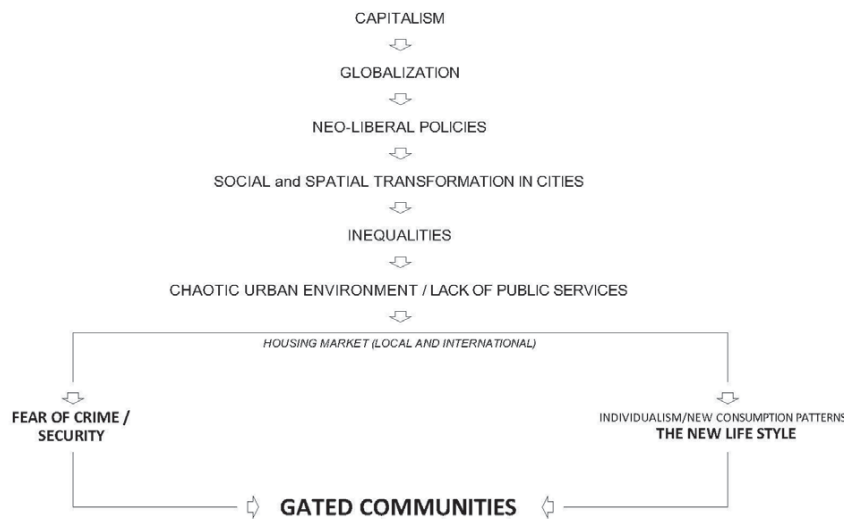


Figure 2.1. The emergence of gated communities³⁹

³⁶ Sako Musterd and Wim Ostendorf, "Segregation, Polarisation and Social Exclusion In Metropolitan Areas." In *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State*, ed. Sako Musterd and Wim Ostendorf (New York: Routledge, 1994), 4.

³⁷ Ebru Firidin Özgür, "Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul." PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 23.

³⁸ Ziauddin Sardar, "Opening the Gates: An East-West Transmodern Discourse?" In *Gated Communities Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*, ed. Sameer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku (Washington: Earthscan, 2010), 10.

³⁹ Neslihan Aydın Yönet and Funda Yirmibeşoğlu, "The New Mode of Housing Production," In *Intercultural Understanding*, no. 5 (2005), 8.

Within the framework of the dynamics of consumption culture, individual consumption, manifestation, and exclusivity, housing has become a tool for prestige and status. The efforts of the new middle class to differentiate itself from the other segments of society, to be abstracted from the problems of the city and to have new lifestyle and prestigious have also paved the way for social segregation in the city. In that context, gated communities are the main consequence of socio-spatial segregation while at the same time encouraging factor of it. These settlements, where all kinds of personal and collective services are offered, and sub-classes can only be served as servants or staff, have redefined both urban and the sense of urban identity and belonging for the upper classes.⁴⁰ The urban space evolves rapidly towards closed islands, homogeneous but fragmented as a whole, classified and culturally divided and socially-spatially segregated.

One of the encouraging reasons for socio-spatial segregation is urban renewal projects and gentrification policies. The central government and local municipalities have supported renewal and urban transformation projects. The main target for significant capital is to enter the city and take a share from the rents that are distributed among the groups and relations. Although they offer better living conditions for lower classes to leave their home, which is in the center of the city, the only result that they achieved is more segregation and polarization in the city. Harvey explains this process with the concept of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ by emphasizing numerous conflicts produced in that phenomenon.⁴¹ The dispossession has enabled new urban lands for middle and upper classes, but at the same time produces social exclusion. As the living spaces of social groups moved away from each other, the difference between lifestyles turned into an irreconcilable fiction, and socio-spatial inequalities began to be read in an iconic way, even on cultural or racist codes.

1.6. The Conceptualization of Gated Communities

The past two decades have witnessed a remarkable growth of gated communities in almost all metropolises around the world. Gated communities offer new home-style

⁴⁰ Şerife Geniş, "Küreselleşme, Toplumsal Eşitsizlik ve Mekansal Ayrışma," In *Sivil Toplum Düşünce ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 5 (2007): 79.

⁴¹ David Harvey, "The Right to the City," In *New Left Review* 53, no. 1 (2008): 34.

representing the modern city with iron gates, socio-economically homogeneous structure, 24-hour security system, privatized services, and self-enclosed lifestyle. The restructuring new neoliberal policies after 1980, the transformations in the geography of production and in the hierarchy among cities, the discourse of global city, new production process and new industrial centers, new local administrative changes, new rant areas in cities, new class stratification and socio-spatial segregation, reproduction of new spaces in cities and increasing gap between different social segments of society after sharing rents are the problematic research questions that remain on the agenda.

In the article of Medieval Modernity, Alsayyad and Roy consider gated communities with medieval urbanism and the formation of chartered towns due to their spatial, social, and political form.⁴² Saskia Sassen (2010) states that it is necessary to consider gated communities as the examples of breakings created by a new social area of social relations emerged with the process of marketization and transnationalization triggered by neoliberal globalization.⁴³ The breakings mentioned by Sassen are directly related to the commodification of space in the organization of urban spaces and relations, the rearrangement of the city under the discourse of global city and neoliberal policies that prioritizes the demands of elites.⁴⁴

‘Gated communities’ (Blakey, Synder, 1999:209), which is the most spread usage is defined in different ways in the literature. ‘Edge cities’ (Garreau, 1991), ‘fortified enclaves’ (Calderia, 1996), ‘enclosed neighborhoods’ (Landman, 2000), ‘enclosed housing development (Glasze, 2003), ‘gated enclaves’ (Grant, 2003) are some of the definitions for gated communities.⁴⁵ The concept of gated community is generally defined as closed and isolated housing estates that most middle and upper-income households dwell, surrounded by fences and high-level security devices, offering a range of leisure time and lifestyle. In *Fortress America*, the first published book focusing only on gated communities, Blakely and Snyder define as:

⁴² Nezar AlSayyad and Ananya Roy, "Medieval Modernity; On Citizenship and Urbanism in a Global Era," In *Space and Polity* 10, no. 1 (2006): 6.

⁴³ Saskia Sassen, "Urban Gating: One Instance of a Larger Development?" In *Gated Communities Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*, ed. Sameer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku (Washington: Earthscan, 2010), xi.

⁴⁴ Şerife Geniş, "Takdim," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 6 (2012), 5.

⁴⁵ Tuğba Ekici, "Sürdürülebilir Kentsel Gelişme Çerçevesinde Kapalı Sitelerin İrdelenmesi: İstanbul-Çekmekoy Örneği," Master's thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2011, 117.

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized. They are security developments with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences, and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents. They include new developments and older areas retrofitted with gated and fences, and they are found from the inner cities to the exurbs and from the richest neighborhoods to the poorest.⁴⁶

Atkinson and Blandy, in the special issue on gated communities of *Housing Studies*, give their definition of the gated community as:

...a housing development that restricts public access, usually through the use of gates, booms, walls and fences...residential areas may also employ security staff or CCTV (closed-circuit television) systems to monitor access... (they may) include a variety of services such as shops or leisure facilities.⁴⁷

Roitman states that most of the definitions emphasize the physical elements of gated communities, linking with social consequences of gated communities. Other elements such as the type of housing, location, and socio-economic status have generally produced disagreements among scholars. Roitman (2010) suggests that definition considering all the features by several authors:

Closed urban residential settlements voluntarily occupied by a homogeneous social group, where public space has been privatized by restricting access through the implementation of security devices. Gated communities are conceived as closed settlements from their inception and are designed with the intention of providing security to their residents and prevent penetration by non-residents; their houses are high quality and have services and amenities that can be used only by their residents, who pay regular compulsory maintenance fees. They have a private governing body that enforces internal rules concerning behavior and construction.⁴⁸

The definition of gated communities varies from the perspective of researchers. However, Berköz claims that with the region they are in, and the cultural and social structure of the environment, they are expressed as “generally developed to respond to the search for new lifestyles of homogeneous group that are often composed of

⁴⁶ Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 53.

⁴⁷ Rowland Atkinson, Sarah Blandy, "Introduction: International Perspectives on the New Enclavism and the Rise of Gated Communities," *Housing Studies* 20, no. 2 (2005): 177.

⁴⁸ Sonia Roitman, "Gated Communities: definitions, causes and consequences," *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers-Urban Design and Planning* 163, no. 1 (2010): 33.

same-ethnic or same-income families, as a consequence of globalization process for the purpose of security, identity-seeking, privileged life demand”.⁴⁹

1.6.1. The Evolution of Gated Communities

The gates and walls that are the essentials symbols of modern time’s gated communities have been as old as the times of city formation. According to Blakely and Synder (1999), England has witnessed very early examples of Roman soldiers around three hundred BC. The walls were constructed to protect barons against local villagers who might return on the baron rather than protection against external invaders.

Blandy (2006) identifies the historic gated communities in England, arguing that defended buildings, whether individual or collective, are not new. She adds that the country has witnessed many fortified dwellings from previous eras. Feudal castles and medieval walled towns are often the early examples of gated communities.⁵⁰ Unlike today’s homogeneous entities, the fortified medieval town was an independent entity with a far wide range of residents, and there was no legal framework of contractual self-governance.

The oldest known walled cities are the walled city (Dupuic and Thorns, 2008), the walled structure of the ancient states as Troy, the Forbidden City example in China (Wu, 2005), and the walled structure of Arab world which is traditional urban texture (Glasze and Alkhayyal, 2002), the walled medieval cities (San Gimignano, Carcassone, etc.) and many of the colonial cities (Blakely and Synder, 1999) are important extant structures in order to show historical traces of gated settlements.⁵¹ Helstey and Strange (1999) classify the historical gated settlements in three groups; shelters to protect from invaders, castle cities to strengthen administration and for the self-defense strategy. The security concern, including the possibility of attack and internal disturbance, has maintained its importance from the ancient time. In modern time, the gated communities provide security in two ways. It is between the residents

⁴⁹ Cited in Tuğba Ekici, “Sürdürülebilir Kentsel Gelişme Çerçevesinde Kapalı Sitelerin İrdelenmesi: İstanbul- Çekmekoy Örneği,” Master’s thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2011, 107.

⁵⁰ Sameer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku, “Opening the Gates: An East-West Transmodern Discourse?” In *Gated Communities Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*, ed. Sameer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku (Washington: Earthscan, 2010), 4.

⁵¹ Neslihan Aydın Yönet, *ibid.*, 44.

and non-residents, which is a restriction for non-residents to enter into the field, and the other is security among residents mutually. The residents have likely close socio-economic status and prefer those settings for perfect service, which secure uniformity and order within the walls.

Luymes states that in ancient time walled enclaves were symbols of paternal security served by monarch or feudality and they have long been remained a symbol of control and power, while in recent centuries gated preserves of manors and estates in Europe retained symbolic overtones of economic power and control, without the military imperative of feudal defenses.⁵²

A new period for gated enclaves has begun with the rise of bourgeoisie class in the 17th century. Enginöz (2010) states that with the industrialization process and increase in population, suburbanization movements were perceived as the way to retire from uncomfortable, unhealthy, dirty, and chaotic atmosphere of London.⁵³ Despite the congested structure of the center, the low-priced and large areas in suburbia and new developments in the capitalist system such as the decrease in working hours and increase in income level and leisure time are the other important factors that direct society to the suburbia.

Merchants and industrialists firstly in London started to build their second houses in suburban areas. Improvements in railway system in the United States facilitated the suburbanization process. Notably, the invention of the car and the use of motor vehicles have become turning points for the spread of local movement and it made the suburbs the dominant housing estate. Thus, the industrialization and suburbanization process in parallel experiences triggered each other.⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century, the industrialization process contributed to the middle-class level of income and suburbs were promising living with the same social class group members together as a sign of status for the ones who can afford to buy a house from

⁵² Don Luymes, "The Fortification of Suburbia: Investigating the Rise of Enclave Communities," In *Landscape and Urban Planning* 39, no.1 (1997), 188.

⁵³ Barbaros Bektaş, "Kapalı Sitelerde Ortak Mekanları Kullanma Eğilimleri: Mersin Örneği," Mersin Üniversitesi, Master's Thesis., 2014, 15.

⁵⁴ Neslihan Aydın Yönet, *ibid.*, 45.

there.⁵⁵ “During the 20th century, researches prove the fact that early gated communities were for the super rich, however newer settlements of the 1970s and 1990s are for the middle to upper-middle classes”.⁵⁶

Altun compares the development of suburbanization in Europe and America by stating that the integration process of middle-class identity and consumer culture took place in different forms. While Europe has the aristocratic tradition as a source of inspiration for the new bourgeoisie class; North America does not have the tradition of an aristocracy to be imitated. So the concept of ‘ideal house’, a domestic culture composed of the ideal housewife and ideal family member life was shaped and presented through the media.⁵⁷ Moreover, the abundance of a flat and broad area in America, and the state policy, focused on the property of the house and considered suburbs as economic motivation, were the other factors that accelerated the suburban movements.

Sandercock states that by the mid-twentieth century, an urban crisis emerged in the United States due to lack of adequate attention to ongoing racial conflict, violence, and inequalities in residential accommodation and schooling. White middle class flew to suburbs buying the protection required instead of addressing social problems.⁵⁸ Leisure World in Orange County was the first example of retirement, where middle-class Americans walled themselves off.⁵⁹ Addition to that, the rise of transportation facilities and the law of equal housing access for minorities of Asians, Hispanics, and African American gave rise to the security problem in the suburbs. Since the 1980s, the gated communities gain the quality of ‘secured,’ and it has become widespread across the world with the effects of globalization, change in economic structure, acceleration of real estate market and the interference of capitals on space.

⁵⁵ Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 13-14.

⁵⁶ Özlem Güzey and Zuhâl Özcan, “Gated Communities in Ankara, Turkey: Park Renaissance Residences as a Reaction to Fear of Crime,” In *Gazi University Journal of Science* 23, No. 3 (2010), 364.

⁵⁷ Didem Akyol Altun, “Kent Çeperlerindeki Az Katlı Konut Topluluklarının Kullanıcı-Mekan İlişkisi Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi,” PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2010, 53.

⁵⁸ Sibel Ekremir Kaya, “Gated Communities in Istanbul”, Master’s Thesis, Boğazici University, 2010, 28.

⁵⁹ Sibel Ekremir Kaya, *ibid.*, 28.

In that context, gated communities could be considered as the last stages of suburbanization movements. As the factors that reveal the suburbanization after industrialization, the factors that give rise to the gated communities are related to the economic, political, and socio-cultural developments of the period.

1.6.2. The Types of Gated Communities

There have been various kinds of gated communities, but the studies of Blakely and Snyder (1997), Luymes (1997), Burke (2001) and Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) on classification of gated communities are selected ones as the baseline. The gated communities could not be reduced one single typology, every single one presents different dwelling quality, equipment opportunities, social fabric and addresses to different segment of society although the first target is security.

Blakely and Snyder (1997) provided one of the most thorough investigations of gated communities available, and presented the most frequently discussed typology of the phenomenon.⁶⁰ In their comprehensive study of gated communities in United States, they suggest three types of gated communities considering building the sense of community, neighborhood unit, the way to provide security, activity center, the extent of disintegration from the outside, the general profile of residents.

⁶⁰ Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt, "Types of gated communities," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 33, no. 1 (2004): 915.

Table 2.2. The Typology of Gated Communities by Blakely and Synder⁶¹

Type	Features	Subtypes	Characteristics
Lifestyle	These projects emphasize common amenities and cater to a leisure class with shared interests; may reflect small-town nostalgia; may be urban villages, luxury villages, or resort villages	Retirement	Age-related complexes with suite of amenities and activities
		Golf and leisure	Shared access to amenities for an active lifestyle
		Suburban new town	Master-planned project with suite of amenities and facilities, often in the Sunbelt
Prestige	These projects reflect desire for image, privacy, and control; they focus on exclusivity over community; few shared facilities and amenities.	Enclaves of rich and famous	Secured and guarded privacy to restrict access for celebrities and very wealthy; attractive locations
		Top-fifth developments	Secured access for the nouveau riche; often have guards
		Executive middle class	Restricted access; usually without guards
Security zone	These projects reflect fear; involve retrofitting fences and gates on public streets; controlling access	City Perch	Restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic
		Suburban Perch	Restricted public access
		Barricade Perch	Closed access to some streets to limit through traffic

⁶¹ Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt, *ibid.*, 915.

First, are “lifestyle communities” where the gated provide security and separation from the rest of society. Lifestyle communities cater to both upper and middle-income groups and offer a lifestyle choice in a socioeconomically homogeneous society.⁶² They hope to attract residents searching for identity, security, and a shared lifestyle with their neighbors. They seek to create a sense of community through shared interests and activities.⁶³ The first examples of lifestyle communities are used to spend the summers before retiring, and the retired people began to live during the years. Subtypes within this category include retirement communities; golf, country club, and resort developments; and new towns.⁶⁴

Özgür (2006) conveys that scholars emphasize that lifestyle communities are equipped with leisure activities with the slogan of “doors to heaven”.⁶⁵ They argue that leisure facilities constitute the distinctive side of this type, and the primary motivation behind the design and marketing of them is to transform the leisure time consumer society into capital.⁶⁶

The second, “prestige communities” cater exclusively to upper-income groups and convey status along with the exclusivity. While gates and walls provide prestige, exclusivity, and privilege, recreational features are more limited than lifestyle communities. The emphasis is mostly on image to create elite communities that have homogeneous structure providing controlled access mechanism for physical and social security.⁶⁷ Moreover, one of the essential features of this type of settlement is a carefully selected location. The authors state that the history of this type of settlement dates back to the end of the nineteenth century when the wealthy sections of the city and the industrial barons closed themselves up to the crowd.⁶⁸ The same dynamic is effective today; the inhabitants prefer those settlements because they see

⁶² Şerife Geniş, "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 772.

⁶³ Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt, *ibid.*, 916.

⁶⁴ Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 58.

⁶⁵ Ebru Firidin Özgür, “Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 52.

⁶⁶ Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *ibid.*, 46.

⁶⁷ Burcu Adike Poyrazoğlu, “A Comparative Study of Gated and non-Gated Dwellings in Ankara: Zirvekent Settlement and Birlik Neighborhood in Çankaya,” Master’s thesis., Middle East Technical University, 2009, 21.

⁶⁸ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 53.

themselves as different and unique who need to be protected. There are three subtypes in this category that are enclaves of famous and rich, top-fifth developments and executive, middle class.

In the third type of gated communities, which is “security zone communities,” the fundamental reason is the fear of crime and security. They are occupied by low-income groups wherein the previously public spaces are retrofitted with gates, reasons for safety and protection from crime and violence.⁶⁹ As Blakely and Synder (1999) state that the criteria that is considered in placing this type apart from others are the fact that while the gates of the lifestyle and prestige communities are constructed and marketed from the beginning, the security zone communities are closed later due to increasing fear of crime. People do not want to leave their places and protect their neighborhoods by closing off access and hiring guards. Moreover, they are composed of lower and middle-class households.⁷⁰ They are divided into three according to the form of closure: urban perches, suburb perches, and barricade perches.

In the classification of Blakely and Synder (1999), there is segregation based on recreation in lifestyle communities; segregation based on guaranteeing and increasing real estate value in prestige communities and in security zone communities it is based on creating a safe zone.

⁶⁹ Şerife Geniş, *ibid.*, 772.

⁷⁰ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 54.

Table 2.3. The Classification of Gated Communities⁷¹

Blakely and Synder (1999)	Lifestyle Communities	Retirement Communities Golf and Leisure Communities Suburban New Towns
	Prestige Communities	Rich and Famous Communities Top-Fifth Communities Executive Communities
	Security-Zone Communities	City Perches Suburban Perches Barricade Perches
Luymes (1997)	First Degree of Security Level Second Degree of Security Level Third Degree of Security Level Forth Degree of Security Level	
Burke (2001)	Urban Security Zones Secure Apartment Complexes Secure Suburban Estates Secure Resort Communities Secure Rural-Residential Estates	
Grand and Mittelsteadt (2004)	Ornamental Gating Walled Subdivisions Barricaded Streets Faux-Gated Entries Partially Gated Roads Fully Gated Roads Restricted Entry Bounded Subdivisions Restricted Entry Guarded Subdivisions	

Luymes (1997) compares the gated communities according to their degree of control and closure. For Luymes, the physical “typology of control” in contemporary enclave communities is often established along socio-economic lines.⁷² The communities “fourth degree of security level,” where the highest income group live are settlements

⁷¹ H. Özge Tümer ve Neslihan Dostoğlu, “Bursa’da Kapalı Konut Yerleşmelerinin Oluşum Süreci ve Sınıflandırılması,” In *Uludağ Üniversitesi Mühendislik-Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, No.2 (2008): 57.

⁷² Tüzün Baycan and Aliye Ahu Gülümser Akgün, “Gated Communities in İstanbul”, In *Department of Urban and Regional Planning Istanbul Technical University*, no. 1 (2007), 4.

that provide 24-hour guarded gatehouse with various security systems. There are two or more gates at the entrance with a control point. The community with retirement and holiday village concept “third and second degree of security level” is a walled and protected group with limited Access. Upper-middle income group settlements - first degree of security level- also have a controlled entrance, but there is no security guard.⁷³ In Luymes’s classification (1997), the level of security is increased from the first degree to the fourth degree while the environmental permeability level decreases.⁷⁴

Burke (2001) divides gated communities in the US, England, and Austria into five considering physical, social, and geographical characteristics of different communities. The first, “urban security zone” settlements are surrounded by gates and walls in order to reduce social problems, unwanted pedestrian or vehicular traffic. The second type, “secure apartment complexes” block pedestrian or vehicular entry of non-residents, but do not have private open spaces for the dwellings or communal outdoor areas and facilities available to us of all residents.⁷⁵ The following one, “secure suburban estates,” which is more commonly perceived as a gated community, consist of low-rise villas or townhouses. There is generally a communal pool and gymnasium. The fourth one, “secure resort communities,” includes holiday-rest based lifestyle facilities and they are more extensive than safe suburban settlements and have different privileges such as gardens, pathways and lighting elements. The last one, “secure rural-residential estates,” are located most often at the edge of the rural fringe of major centers, including a gated entrance and other security features.

The fourth typology is the typology of Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) is based on the basic typology of Blakely and Snyder and adds considerations of the characteristics of amenities and facilities, the level of affluence, and the type of security features and spatial patterns.⁷⁶ The classification is mostly based on a continuum of enclosure

⁷³ Hümeýra Kılıç, “Kent ve Kentli Kimliğinin Günümüz Konut Lansmanları Üzerinden Okunması: İstanbul’daki Son Dönem Kapalı Konut Sileri,” Master’s thesis., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2015, 30.

⁷⁴ Neslihan Aydın Yönet, “Korumalı Yerleşimlerin Tercih Sebeplerinde Etkili Olan Faktörleri Açıklamaya Yönelik Kavramsal Bir Model,” PhD diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011,88.

⁷⁵ Tüzin Baycan and Aliye Ahu Gülümser Akgün, *ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁶ Tüzin Baycan and Aliye Ahu Gülümser Akgün, *ibid.*, 4.

considering controlled entrances and types of security elements. They classify gated communities in 8 types; (i) ornamental gating, (ii) walled subdivisions, (iii) barricaded streets, (iv) faux-gated entries, (v) partially gated roads, (vi) fully gated roads, (vii) restricted entry, bounded areas and (viii) restricted entry, guarded areas.

Blakely and Snyder’s typology focuses on describing the social characteristics of gated communities in terms of a sense of community. While the typology of Grant and Mittelsteadt is concerned with the physical features of gated communities, Luymes (1997) focuses on the security features. The typologies of gated communities differ between researchers according to their interests and approaches and in terms of the urbanization pattern of the city itself. Among these four typologies, the common factor is a focus upon the security aspects of the communities including entrance control, environmental security, and internal monitoring.

Table 2.4. The Main Areas of Interest of Different Typologies of Gated Communities⁷⁷

<i>Method of Typology</i>	<i>Security reason</i>	<i>Security level</i>	<i>Security type</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Social characteristics (Sense of community)</i>	<i>Physical characteristics</i>	<i>Main Area of Interest</i>
Blakely and Snyder	./	./	./	./	./	./	Community
Burke	./	./		./		./	Function
Luymes	./	./	./				Security level
Grant and Mittelsteadt	./	./	./	./	./	./	All components mainly physical components

⁷⁷ Tüzün Baycan and Aliye Ahu Gülümser Akgün, *ibid.*, 5.

2.6.3. The Underlying Reasons for the Rise of Gated Communities

The underlying reasons for the rise of gated communities are related to the economic, political, and socio-cultural developments of the period. Altun notes that almost all of the reasons affecting the formation of gated communities have similarities with the reasons that lead suburbanization since the early ages.⁷⁸ Social segmentation, a desire for a sense of community and living in the single-detached dwelling, escaping from urban problems, status concern, and security concern are fundamental reasons which lead suburbanization after industrialization. Within restructuring in the economy and consumption culture, these factors have become exaggerated reasons and instruments for marketing.

According to Kesteloot, the underlying reason for the rise of gated communities is social and spatial transformation generated from social inequality and the way capitalism increases its profit. Kesteloot (2010) states that globalization (spreading geographically around the world), flexibility (difference and diversity in consumption), financialization (growth and expansion in finance and real estate) and restructuring in economy (privatization of public services) are the ways that capitalism functions and they have paved the way for social inequality and socio-spatial segregation in urban land.⁷⁹

As discussed previously, neoliberal politics, postmodern and consumption culture, globalization, the rise of the middle class and socio-spatial segregation have established a ground for the fragmented structure of the city. Roitman (2009) presents a systematical approach to the reasons for the expansion of gated communities considering the economic, political, and sociological background. He divided them into structural and subjective causes. The structural reasons are related to globalization of the economy and withdrawal of the state from the provision of basic services. These themes result in social inequalities, social polarization, increase in foreign investments, urban violence, and the privatization of security. Sassen (1991) claims that globalization of the economy has influenced the real estate market and it produces an increase in foreign and domestic investments for luxury

⁷⁸ Didem Akyol Altun, "Kent Çeperlerindeki Az Katlı Konut Topluluklarının Kullanıcı-Mekan İlişkisi Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi," PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2010, 83.

⁷⁹ Neslihan Aydın Yönet, *ibid.*, 48.

commercial and residential construction.⁸⁰ Roitman conveys that Sassen (1994) noted ‘the retreat of many real estate developers from the low- and medium-income housing market who are attracted to the rapidly expanding housing demand by the new highly paid professionals and the possibility for vast over-pricing of this housing supply.’⁸¹ Thus, the gated communities with high-quality services and luxury equipment have offered as a solution for this new middle class to satisfy their demands and needs. On the other hand privatization in public services, which comes to the fore with neoliberal doctrine causes the loss of the influence of state control mechanisms and it has led to the increase of crime rate, the spread of urban terror in the international level, the fears of urban crime and the emergence of security concerns in the cities where the different segments occurred, the social relations are weakened and the polarization have increased.⁸²

Subjective causes for the expansion of gated communities are related to the individual’s desires, viewpoints, and opportunities. As discussed in the section of postmodernity and consumption culture and emergence of the new middle class, the restructuring process of government has produced new high income and professional acquainted social group. Within the framework of consumption culture, this process is accompanied by the determination of individual consumption as a culture of difference, manifestation, and exclusivity. In this context, housing becomes a tool for prestige and status, and it is important to display the purchased image for the consumer culture that exists with the images, objects, and spaces it has. Beauregard (1988) states that housing is a powerful symbol in class formation and it has particular importance for the middle classes. It is an investment and a symbol of status, while it represents a sheltering need for the lower income group.⁸³

With the influence of global economy and postmodern waves, the individualized and enriched middle class have searched for a house offering better living conditions and higher status with a sense of community, which is socially homogenized and differentiated from particular social groups. The most significant subjective cause is fear of crime, which is main driving force behind the rise of gated communities.

⁸⁰ Cited in Sonia Roitman, *ibid.*, 33.

⁸¹ Cited in Sonia Roitman, *ibid.*, 33.

⁸² Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 86.

⁸³ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 40.

Security emerges with the societal problem of crime. Even though the starting point of gated communities is security, it turned out to be a complex structure. Low (2003) states that the security elements in gated communities such as walls, bars, or gates, have a broader meaning than solely being simple barrier elements.⁸⁴ These elements have social and psychological effects as much as physical effects. They do not decrease crime rates or dissuade criminals. However, they make the residents feel secure and increase the value of the real estate. Also, they become a symbol for prestigious due to inaccessibility of outsiders and essential marketing tool due to being a symbol of the hierarchy of richness and power.

Gated communities are advertised in the real estate market as places different from the city where it is possible to have closer contact with nature as well as larger houses and plots and access to social amenities.⁸⁵ It offers better living conditions with high technology security devices, markets, gyms, green spaces with walking-track, and indoor-outdoor parking. According to Kurtuluş, the thing promised to residents is not only a privileged and exclusive built environment but also lifestyle. The target of presentation of lifestyle is heterogeneous class, which can be homogenized with a new settlement and new lifestyle rather than completely homogeneous class. The main factor that covers the occupational, cultural, and ethnic differences and enables a heterogeneous class to live together is similarity in purchasing power and consumption patterns.⁸⁶ Thus, the gated community is not only related to location preference, but also a lifestyle with limits and qualities. On the other hand, Blakely and Synder (1999) also emphasize the importance of the search for a sense of community with the rise of gated communities. The concept of “community” includes a sense of mutual responsibility, cooperative spirit, and significant interaction in social relations, traditions, targets, and economic status.⁸⁷ Caldeira (1999) agrees on the importance of a sense of community and a search for

⁸⁴ Neslihan Aydın Yönet and Funda Yirmibeşoğlu, "The New Mode of Housing Production," In *Intercultural Understanding*, no. 5 (2005), 6.

⁸⁵ Sonia Roitman, *ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁶ Hatice Kurtuluş, “Bir ‘Ütopya’ Olarak Bahçeşehir.” In *İstanbul’da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 103.

⁸⁷ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 87.

social homogeneity.⁸⁸ She analyzes the new way in which spatial and social segregation is organized in Sao Paulo and argues that the public space is no longer related to the modern ideals of commonality and universality. The idea of fortified enclaves is one of separateness and assumes that social groups should live in homogeneous enclaves away from those perceived as different and with whom social interactions tend to disappear.

As mentioned earlier, the expansion of gated communities has been due to the demand for new professional social groups driven by the housing market. As stated by Bali (2002), Keyder (2000), and many other researchers having such a house means becoming part of an abstract high-level group of consumers and assuming the same lifestyle.⁸⁹ Maxwell (2004) explains the role of market techniques and consumption culture in the rise of gated communities:

The marketing material used to advertise gated communities idealized and commodifies place, community and lifestyle. Gated developments are presented as problem free and protected from the troublesome or unattractive aspects of life and wider world. Communities are portrayed as friendly and welcoming. Luxurious, active and healthy lifestyles are attainable simply by buying a home in a particular gated project... these features are not created through civic action, careful relationship building or self-discipline, but are commodities purchased with the price of a home.⁹⁰

Addition to that, he states that community, friends and acquaintances, lifestyle, health, exclusivity, prestige, privacy, and security are instruments for marketing. Erkilet also emphasizes the external appearance or visibility of housing in fashion magazines. The words are carefully selected to attract consumers. The usage areas of houses, a width of 180 square meters to 620 square meters is observed; the splendid social facilities of these residential areas and their SPAs are emphasized.⁹¹ Öncü describes the relationship between housing and market and the myth of the *ideal home*, which was firstly created in the nineteenth century to distinguish America's bureaucrats and professionals from worker class:

...the links between today's consumed products and abstract meaning and values are

⁸⁸ Teresa Caldeira, "Duvarlar İnşa Etmek: Sao Paulo'da Yeni Mekansal Ayrımlaşma Yapısı," In *Birikim* 123, no. 1 (1999).

⁸⁹ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 63.

⁹⁰ Kristin Maxwell, "Gated Communities: Selling the Good Life," In *Plan* (2004), 21.

⁹¹ Alev Erkilet, "Mahremiyetin Dönüşümü: Değer, Taklit ve Gosteriş Tüketimi Bağlamında 'İslami' Moda Dergileri," In *Birey ve Toplum* 2, no. 4 (2012), 35.

established through advertising and media industries. What we call the culture of consumption means that a variety of passion and aspirations –such as freedom, beauty, nature, comfort love- are matched by products that can be purchased. Not the products, but its legendary features are consumed. Nowadays, with the globalization of the advertising and media industries, we see that contemporary legends are becoming more fluid and exceeding cultural boundaries... The new house is not the focal point of the urban middle class culture, but the ‘house of your ideal’ fiction, along with globalization, is freed from its historicity and transforms into ‘universal’ truth – theology- which does not belong to a certain time and place. In today’s media culture, ‘ideal home’ words evoke the related images constantly generated in advertisements, television, and magazines.⁹²

The myth of ‘ideal home’ that was fiction originated from Americans has reached to Istanbul with the globalization effect and it is presented to Turkish middle class as a dream through advertisements. Another element used for marketing tool is the identity of the neighborhood. The creation of a nostalgic and idealized neighborhood identity occupies an important place in the marketing of gated communities. Özgür criticizes that although the choice of place names is claimed to be a neighborhood environment through architectural interpretations, what is mentioned is not beyond being a decor, because living in these houses cannot automatically develop good community relations and the strengthening of social bonds.⁹³ In fact, with the idea of exclusion and exaltation of the individual, they include personal freedom and exclusion rather than collectivity.

Another critical factor in the explosion of gated communities due to market mechanisms has been the protection of the estate and property value (Davis, 1990; Blakely and Synder, 2003; Le Goix, 2003; Vesselinov, 2007).⁹⁴ The protection of estates has been provided through organizations, which is firstly established by residents to protect their interests. They have administrative autonomy independent from local administrations to make decisions and implementations to establish common areas in the community and the provision of maintenance and the security. Despite the fact of urban sprawl, increased pollution, crime rates, and rugged construction, gated communities protect property values by being isolated from the

⁹² Ayşe Öncü, "The Myth of the ‘Ideal Home’ Travels Across Cultural Borders to Istanbul." *In Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalising Cities*, ed. Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland, (London: Zed Books, 1997).

⁹³ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 91-92.

⁹⁴ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, 89.

rest of the city and guarantee the quality of settlement through autonomous administrations.

In brief, gated communities have been formed in relation with the dynamics of economic restructuring, social stratification, and postmodernity and consumption culture. Altun divides the reasons for the rise of gated communities into two themes: socially evolving and subsequently constructed fictions:

While reduction of public services, increased social inequality and crime rate, social polarization, market rent concerns are structural factors that arise in the postmodern period, excessive fear of crime and insecurity, popularization of housing sites, global trends, desires and expectations of families, a better lifestyle, a desire for status, escape from urban problems, the search for social homogeneity, the desire to be privileged can be seen as exaggerated causes in the system.⁹⁵

1.7. Conclusion

Neoliberal globalization and global urban dynamics have increased the importance of cities in the international arena. Emerging new social actors, and their new class and cultural demands, inequality in income distribution, polarization between the segments of society accelerated the spread of gated communities in Istanbul. Beside that there are many preferential reasons such as security search, community belonging, search for prestigious life and social facilities, it has been caused socio-spatial segregation in society with its privileged lifestyle and security equipment.

The dramatic and sharp change after the 1980s has been an era of the beginning of efforts to integrate into the global system for Turkey. In the process of physical and intellectual restructuring, Istanbul has become an important actor in the transformation process with its national and global identity. In Istanbul, the urban land was reconstructed in the context of global city concept, and housing has been redefined physically and functionally as a result of the reproduction of neoliberal structure and global city consumption through space. Gated communities that emerge as a spatial reflection of the new approach has played a crucial role in the transformation of neighborhood texture into a fragmented and separated structure through the law of urban and regional planning. In order to evaluate the role of rising of gated communities in the transformation of neighborhood culture, the issue of

⁹⁵ Didem Akyol Altun, *ibid.*, trans. Sevde Meşe, 89.

neighborhood unit and its traditional structure has received considerable critical attention in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRANSFORMATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

UNIT IN ISTANBUL

In the post-1980 period, social and economic developments, the transformation in employment conditions, postmodern consumption patterns along with class discussions and the rising discourse of global city have changed the city structure and produced new dynamics in housing production. Beside the need for sheltering, ‘house’ gained new functions and meanings. In this context, gated communities, discussed in the first section formalize all dynamics of socio-economic developments and come forward as a new presentation type and urban growth form within the distinctive context of each city itself. In Istanbul, gated communities have become a fast becoming commodity presenting how global urban form transplanted into the city’s landscape with the help of socio-cultural politics and has transformed the dynamics through which cities and identities are produced.

The second chapter is organized under three headings: the first one is the economic and political background that pave the way for the underlying reasons for the rise of gated communities in Istanbul. The second section is the transformation in the meaning of ‘neighborhood’ including the elements and functions of traditional neighborhood culture. Lastly, in order to comprehend the transformation process in neighborhood texture, the traditional neighborhood structure and approach of modern urban understanding on neighborhoods is discussed considering gated communities in Istanbul.

2.1. The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul

Gated community development in Istanbul firstly emerged in the 1980s following economic and political changes and has begun to spread rapidly in 1990s. Initially, gated communities emerged in both the inner and the outer city close to business districts, Göktürk - Kemerburgaz, and Zekeriyaköy - Demirciköy in the north, and

Bahçeşehir and Büyükçekmece in southern west on the European side; around the second Bosphorus Bridge, Beykoz and Ömerli on the Asian side.⁹⁶ Spatial quality, transportation opportunities and proximity to bridges, architectural designs, being far from the city's dense, crowded, dirty atmosphere, security, and homogeneous social structure are attractive characteristics for gated communities that are also developed for marketing strategies. While the first examples of gated communities in Turkey were offered to the bourgeoisie and new middle class,⁹⁷ it has expanded considerably through mass marketing strategies and product diversification. The production and dissemination of gated communities in the case of Istanbul should be evaluated both in the local context; economic and politic developments of the country and global context; transnational ideologies, discourses, and networks.

The beginning of the neoliberal process in Turkey dates back to Turgut Özal's era in 1980. The appointment of Özal by Prime Minister Demirel to implement reform programs in 24th January 1980 and the task of switch technocrat afterward 12th September military coup are considered as turning points of neoliberalism in Turkey.⁹⁸ Before 1980, the inward-oriented economic activity which was national economic activity operated to preserve the market from foreign competition by putting import duties and foreign currency prices up has ended up with economic crisis due to the depletion of accumulation and industrialization potentials at the end of the 1970s. With the new reform program, the target was to minimalize the domestic market and deploy resources for outward-oriented growth. The following step was the implementation of '32' code in 1989, including efforts to integrate Turkey national financial market into the international financial market and liberalize the capital movements inside and outside the country. This change, which is considered as the free movement of capital or the transition to the hegemony of financial capital, has left its mark on the following years. The liberalization, privatization, and internalization of capital are undeniable facts that make the year of

⁹⁶ Aliye Ahu Akgün, Tüzin Baycan, "Gated Communities in Istanbul: The New Walls of the City." *The Town Planning Review* 83, no. 1 (2012): 92.

⁹⁷ Şerife Geniş, "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 783.

⁹⁸ Özlem Güney, "Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları: Neo-liberal Kent Politikaları, Yeni Kentsel Aktörler ve Gecekondu Alanları." In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 68.

1980 turning point for Turkey in the political, economic, and social development of cities.⁹⁹

The new project includes acknowledging free market and competition, narrowing the public sector and not depending on only inward-oriented industrialization but also encouraging entrepreneurs for the global market with limited regulatory interference of the state. The main effect of these developments on space is that the authority to make and approve the plan was transferred to the municipalities from the ministry of Reconstruction and Housing in 1986.¹⁰⁰ The law brought a two-tier system, consisting of district municipalities with the greater municipality. New financial resources were introduced for the local governments, and the Metropolitan Mayor Bedrettin Dalan directed their control and jurisdiction. Those implementations have caused the emergence of entrepreneurial local government acting as a market facilitator and the privatization of various municipal services such as housing and transportation, which is called as the liberalization of Istanbul's economy.¹⁰¹ In the time of Justice and Development Party (hereinafter referred to as AKP), neoliberal policies have become more extensive and more powerful.¹⁰² The authority broadened the limits of physical space under the control and jurisdiction, increased its power in development and control, and made it easier to collaborate with private companies. It defined new responsibilities for municipalities such as dealing with "natural disasters" and outlined first legal framework for "urban transformation" by giving municipalities the authority to plan and implement projects on "urban transformation" areas.¹⁰³

To see the effect of neoliberalism on urban planning in micro cases, the rising economic potential of Islamists and reproduction of their daily practices related to preference for new housing types attach importance to the discussion of gated communities in Istanbul. Integration of the Turkish economy to the world's

⁹⁹ Çağlar Keyder, "Arka Plan." In *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013), 21.

¹⁰⁰ Özlem Güney, "Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları: Neo-liberal Kent Politikaları, Yeni Kentsel Aktörler ve Gecekondu Alanları." In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 68.

¹⁰¹ Ayfer Bartu Candan, Biray Kolluğlu, "Emerging Space of Neoliberalism: A gated town and a public housing project in Istanbul" In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 39 (2008), 12.

¹⁰² Ülke Uysal, "Sulukule: Kentsel Dönüşüme Etno-Kültürel Bir Direniş," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 137.

¹⁰³ Ayfer Bartu Candan, Biray Kolluğlu, *ibid.*,13.

neoliberal system after 1980 has dramatically influenced all segments of society. AKP's rule since 2001 and its policies are not only economic theory but also political and social phenomenon that has been influencing perceptions and everyday life practices. Erdoğan has continued to develop neoliberal policies, which were taken over from Turgut Özal, under the guidance of international institutions, with the target of rising living standards of the citizens and solving injustice in the distribution of wealth.¹⁰⁴ AK Party has strengthened not only the position of middle class by neoliberal policies but also created Islamist bourgeoisie and elite. The sector of construction in the last ten years gives much information about the interaction of neoliberal transformation and Islamists. Islamism's adherence to neoliberalism appears firstly in the discourse of Erdoğan. In his speech, "the intersection of Islamic meanings with neoliberalism shows itself: "the reproduction of our own authentic value systems on the basis of our deeply rooted ideational tradition, along with the universal standards adopted within a conservative political orientation.""¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the political approach and policies of government on neoliberalism have encouraged the new rising middle class of Islamists to attempt for plural housing production called later as residences and gated communities. The phenomenon is considered essential to discuss because Beyaz Residence, which is the analysis area of this thesis is an example of a gated community showing the interaction of neoliberalism with Islamism.

In the framework of global integration strategies and neoliberal policies, neoliberal urbanism has become a fundamental dynamic in the planning of cities through capital and functioning following market logic. Institutional arrangements define a new urban coalition supported by property-based development behind the neoliberal doctrine, which is motivated to increase urban rent.¹⁰⁶ The highest economic benefit of land-use planning is not categorized according to the public interest, but the rate of return for its 'highest and best use' to attract the attention of capitals for their investment capital. So, the urban and urban land is not only the scene of capital

¹⁰⁴ Ayşenur Altuntaş, "AKP's Neoliberalism: Changing Middle Class, New Borders and Rising of the Islamic Gated Communities," İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi, 2013, 9.

¹⁰⁵ Ayşenur Altuntaş, *ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Özlem Güney, "Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları: Neo-liberal Kent Politikaları, Yeni Kentsel Aktörler ve Gecekondu Alanları." In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 69.

accumulation, but it is evolving into being its actor.¹⁰⁷ These transformations, which took place in the aftermath of the 1980s on the fortified settlements of the cities, turned into the efforts of the significant capital enter the urban area and to take a share from the rents in the cities. In the same period, urban rents were distributed among the groups, and these distribution mechanisms reproduced relations among these groups. Notably, in that term, the welfare level of the middle class has increased, and the municipalities could respond significant demands and cooperate with distributors who can cooperate with and be politically supported by them. Therefore, neo-liberal urbanism, which has accompanied neo-liberal economic restructuring, seeks to expand the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatize the provision of municipal and social services, and increase the role of elites in shaping urban landscapes.¹⁰⁸

After the 1980s, with economic, political, and cultural transformation in Turkey and being an important actor of cities for the global system, Istanbul has been shaped by the project of making Istanbul a global city. During the era of Bedrettin Dalan, with the private entrepreneurial restructuring process, the projects aimed to create the dynamics and framework of the transformation of Istanbul from being the leading city of the country to a new world city. In that context, with the targets of “re-ordering” the city, “opening the eyes of city”, “putting it forward”, “cleaning” and “giving new functions” to the city to present Istanbul as a modern, clean and global city, the municipalities developed strategic plans. It is expected from inhabitants in squatters, which were constructed after the 1950s by migrants, to move through decentralized places of Istanbul under the project of transforming Istanbul into an “aesthetized commodity”.¹⁰⁹ In this process, Istanbul has become a city shaped by cultural consumption, with its monumental structures, restored neighborhoods, and new commercial hotels, as well as the international commercial area where office buildings are designed according to modern, technological and global functions.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Asuman Türkün, Hatice Kurtuluş, “Giriş.” In *İstanbul’da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 15.

¹⁰⁸ Şerife Geniş, "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 44, no. 4 (2007): 772.

¹⁰⁹ Ayfer Bartu Candan, Biray Kolluğlu, *ibid.*, 13.

¹¹⁰ Çağlar Keyder, “Arka Plan.” In *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013), 24.

The period that economic policies have changed and shaped the economic structure of Istanbul globally has enriched the middle class and controlled the market movements in order to meet the demands of this new class. The new middle class and economic restructuring, which redefined the housing sectors and changed its dynamics, and actors have facilitated the spread of gated communities.¹¹¹ Due to neoliberal policies and global consumption culture, the balance of struggle and power between classes and social strata became the main dynamic, and class positions and identities began to be more visible on the social level. With the culture of consumption, individual identity and self-oriented understanding has become effective, and the importance of class belonging has emerged as an alternative to the ethnic and political position. In the period of Özal, businesspeople who had evaluated the new opportunities resulting from the abandonment of the import substitution economy, high-level executives of significant trade, industrial and financial companies and media sector have searched for a new lifestyle that is parallel to the newly acquired wealth levels and headed for gated communities. On the one hand, the Westernization and Western lifestyle with the policies of opening up to the world from the 1980s to the present day was presented as “privilege” and “moving up to the social ladder” with the contributions of media.¹¹² On the other hand, the complex structure, which the classes try to settle in its social hierarchy stages, produced the necessity of defining the self.¹¹³ As the differences in terms of income sharing and restructuring in the middle class has made the social fabric of the city disintegrated, tense and conflicting, which has caused social segregation and spatial differentiation. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu define the profile of the city:

1980s urbanization process in Turkey has marked the dynamics of *differentiation* and *separation*, which is associated with the *diversification* tendency. At one end, the urban poor, who are trying to stay in the periphery of the city with very different methods and relationships than before, and who are ready to do so much that he cannot even imagine beforehand; in the meantime, middle classes that participate in the sharing struggle in the city through cooperatives and aspire for large lands on the urban wall; and at the other end, the upper classes that live behind the high walls

¹¹¹ Şerife Geniş, *ibid.*, 773.

¹¹² Rıfat Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a –Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002)

¹¹³ Ebru Firidin Özgür, “Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 34.

protected by security systems in the most prestigious 'closed' lands of the city and do not look the city, even the society that they abandoned.¹¹⁴

Therefore, inequality in income distribution, the polarization between poor and rich, consumption culture and middle and upper class's desire to be differentiated from the others have led to social segregation and spatial differentiation, encouraged by the developments in media, advertisements and marketing sector. The characteristics of the socio-economic transformation process are embodied in the housing sector, and the gated communities have become frequently seen in Istanbul as the spatial reflection of these transformations. Rıfat Bali (2002) relates the spread of gated communities to the quests of the luxury of new riches, which have increased in parallel with their wealth. He states that the result of the rapid growth of the free market economy in the period of Özal is that the well-educated young people started to work with high wages.¹¹⁵ They have been looking for luxury residences following their new social status in the socio-economically homogenized community with private services and social outfits. This new middle class distinguishes itself from different lifestyles, patterns of behavior and social relations, and defines its identity within the frame of the habits of consumption culture. On the one hand, this group played a crucial role in the external links of the economy; on the other hand, as Öncü (1999) states, it played a pioneering role in establishing the norms of behavior of global consumption culture.¹¹⁶

The neoliberal policies and outward-oriented industrialization, new global actors in domestic market, the advantageous position of capitals who want to transform the Istanbul to global city, the rise of new middle or middle-upper class and the transformation of urban land into a source for rent are the underlying reasons that have led to spread of gated communities. However, there is a difference in the development process of gated communities in Turkey from the capitalist countries considering its evolution process from history. In capitalist countries, the primary reason for the preference is the security, secondly prestige, and lifestyle and thirdly the protection of property value. In Turkey, rather than security and prestige, the

¹¹⁴ Oğuz Işık, M. Melik Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011), trans. Sevede Meşe, 128.

¹¹⁵ Rıfat Bali, *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a –Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002)

¹¹⁶ Oğuz Işık, M. Melih Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011), 139.

lifestyle, which is imported and marketed seems to most significant reason (Özgür, 2006; Keyder, 2000; Hacısalihoğlu, 2000; Öncü, 1999; Bali, 1999 and 2002). The global media has spread the effects of global culture and has a directive effect on consumption trends and preferences.

The other reason that has led to the spread of gated communities in Istanbul is the result of the efforts to create a consumer society begrudged by the new wealth of people in 1980s with the result of American lifestyle (Bali, 2002; Keyder 2000; Öncü, 1999). Keyder (2000) suggests that the reason for the rise of gated communities is the ideal international lifestyle, which was just imported to Turkey and triggered by media marketing techniques:

The large villas and luxury apartments that are constructed with the same style with globally famous and rich people's houses in the international standards are advertised with the concept of contemporary life style. The most attractive advertisement was that the lifestyles promised by this financial potential could be experiences in isolated spaces from the rest of society. Each of these communities are self-sufficient; including shopping centers, clubs, even schools. Moreover, it is possible to live a life protected from the city's mess, from the chaos, from the noise, by secure walls.¹¹⁷

According to Öncü (1997), the gated communities offered a lifestyle imported in Turkey, and global media has become a factor in its spread.¹¹⁸ Öncü draws a parallel between the escape of middle and upper classes from the city center in Istanbul and the result of the story of North American cities when automobile and television first spread after II. World War. In the first years of the 1990s, the myth of 'ideal home' gained acceleration with the spread of color television, private channels, the explosion in magazine press and the images of home in the magazines. It was presenting a homogeneous lifestyle in sterile social spaces, away from the city's clutter, crowds, dirt, and traffic. Janoschka and Glasze also evaluate the gated communities as 'the diffusion of a successful real estate product' and explain that 'in developing countries, gated communities are part of the image of the international and modern elite and are commercialized as part of this 'global culture'.¹¹⁹ On the

¹¹⁷ Çağlar Keyder, *Küresel ile Yerel Arasında*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013), trans. Sevede Meşe, 186.

¹¹⁸ Ayşe Öncü, "The Myth of the 'Ideal Home' Travels Across Cultural Borders to Istanbul." *In Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalising Cities*, ed. Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland, (London: Zed Books, 1997), 56-72.

¹¹⁹ Sonia Roitman, "Gated Communities: definitions, causes and consequences." *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers-Urban Design and Planning* 163, no. 1 (2010): 33.

other hand, Kurtuluş states that new residential areas that appeal to the upper classes are not enough to consider as one-sided; it is necessary to consider the issue within the context of change of class culture, demand for a new lifestyle or differentiated settlements created by the middle-class dream. It is necessary to understand the relationship between different class positions and accumulation processes.¹²⁰

The economic and social background that led to the emergence of underlying reasons has concluded in the rise of gated communities in Istanbul. In progress of time, this new housing type has been introduced in suburban with the marketing strategy of being far from the complexity of the city center. It became spread through the city centers in old neighborhoods by way of urban transformation and renewal projects. Thus 1950's unplanned urbanization in Istanbul has been continued with new housing projects after the 1980s. Gated communities, as a new form of lifestyle, have resulted in changes in the social and spatial organization of neighborhoods in Istanbul. The neighborhoods, with its physical structure and social function, have transformed into a fragmented and separated structure through the law of urban and regional planning. In order to evaluate the role of rising of gated communities in the transformation of neighborhood culture after developing new understandings for urban planning, the issue of neighborhood unit and its traditional structure has received considerable critical attention.

2.2. The Transformation of Neighborhood Unit

2.2.1. Conceptualization of Neighborhood Unit

Conceptually, the neighborhood unit has meanings and functions referring to an individual, society, and social relations. Although the postmodern city uses the sense of the neighborhood as a marketing tool for gated communities, the traditional neighborhood structure offers a consistent unit in the administrative, social, and spatial organization of residential areas. In this framework, in order to understand the changes in the production of space and the process of moving away from the real social and spatial meaning and function of the neighborhood, the traditional neighborhood structure and functions are discussed and the transformations in

¹²⁰ Hatice Kurtuluş, "Bir 'Ütopya' Olarak Bahçeşehir." In *İstanbul'da kentsel ayrışma: mekânsal dönüşümde farklı boyutlar*, ed. Hatice Kurtuluş (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2015), 81.

housing consumption and the modern and socially differentiated structure of the postmodern neighborhood is evaluated.

The neighborhoods can be evaluated in different ways, some of them about how the neighborhood is defined in terms of social relations, while others relate to its physical structure or the organization. Knox and Pinch state that each neighborhood is what inhabitants think it is. It means that definitions and classifications of neighborhoods and communities depend on the geographical scales of reference used by people. They focus on social interactions, the size of the neighborhood, the organization, and functions of the neighborhood:

...immediate neighborhoods (which are small, which may overlap one another and which are characterized by personal association rather than interaction through formal groups, institutions or organizations); traditional neighborhoods (which are characterized by social interaction that is consolidated by the sharing of local facilities and the use of local organizations) and emergent neighborhoods (which are large, diverse and characterized by relatively low levels of social interaction)... It is possible, for example, to think in terms of neighborhoods' existential functions (related to people's affective bonds and sense of belonging), economic functions (geared to consumption), administrative functions (geared to the organization and use of public services), locational functions (relating to the social and material benefits of relative location), structural functions (related to the social outcomes of urban design), political functions (geared to the articulation of local issues) and social reproduction functions (related to the broader political economy of urbanization).¹²¹

Hence, the unit of the neighborhood is essential in defining both society and social relations within society and the relationship between the space and the community. Moreover, the neighborhood offers particular importance in terms of planning and urban design disciplines due to its influence to bring people together in governance for political and democratic participation; developing personal relationships such as sense of belonging within individuals and in the spatial organization of the services such as recreation, sports fields, children's play areas, daily shopping.¹²²

The theorists of New Urbanism theory, Duany and Plater-Zyberk (2003) suggest that the neighborhood, district, and the corridor are the fundamental elements for the

¹²¹ Paul Knox, Steven Pitch, *Urban Social Geography: an introduction*, Edinburgh: Pearson Education, 2010, 193.

¹²² Ebru Firidin Özgür, "Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul." PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 81.

social and spatial organization. They state the main principles of an ideal neighborhood design;

(1) The neighborhood has a center and an edge; (2) The optimal size of a neighborhood is a quarter mile from center to edge; (3) The neighborhood has a balanced mix of activities- dwelling, schooling, worshipping and recreating; (4) The neighborhood structures building sited and traffic on a fine network of interconnecting streets; (5) The neighborhood gives priority to public space and to the appropriate location of civic buildings.¹²³

Thus, the neighborhood is a self-sufficiently social and spatial organization providing essential social services in a limited area and social relations, which enable to improve oneself by experiencing the field and having the sense of belonging to a community. The area, which is defined as the optimal size of the neighborhood, defines an area determined by walking distance. As in the study of Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Williams (2005) claims that the neighborhood both physically and functionally is also very essential in terms of encouraging social interaction in community and social contacts are enhanced in a community when residents have opportunities for contact, live nearby and have appropriate space for interaction.¹²⁴

When the neighborhood is defined as the geographical area where a community lives, it gains social content. It allows residents of the neighborhood to create a sense of belonging and integrate with those living in the neighborhood. In this context, Blakely and Snyder define the neighborhood as a community, which implies sharing a territory, experiences, social interactions, traditions, institutions, common purposes, and political and economic structures.¹²⁵ Within a regional community, it gives a sense of belonging and shared destiny to inhabitants. Hence, the neighborhood is not only a place or human relations but also intertwinement of them. Alver (2010) explains the concept of the neighborhood:

The neighborhood is the city's main element, the essence and the core. The neighborhood, as one of the mandatory venue of the city, symbolizes that the place and life are intertwined. It is an example to that the place and life shape and complement each other mutually. The neighborhood is a place and format as well as a

¹²³ Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "The Neighborhood, The district and the Corridor" In *The City Reader*, ed. Richard T. LeGates, Frederick Stout, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 29.

¹²⁴ Jo Williams, "Designing Neighborhoods for Social Interaction: The Case of Cohousing." In *Journal of Urban Design* 10, no. 2 (2005): 197.

¹²⁵ Edward J. Blakely, Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*, (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 32.

certain way of life. Therefore, the main element of the neighborhood is human relations and spatial formats. The foundation of a neighborhood is the environment of space that shapes the multi-faceted human relations. The neighborhood is the mysterious union of space and life.¹²⁶

Thus, the neighborhood maintains its important position by having a meaning beyond a geographical area, forming the city's core, being in the center of social life, allowing the social organization and expressing a lifestyle. Due to the reflections of human and space coexistence, it functions as a mirror to analyze the social and cultural transformations, including economic restructuring and the transformation of the city.

When the historical, demographic, cultural, economic, social and psychological characteristics of the society are changed, the characteristics of urban identity have changed and accordingly the natural and artificial environment will be covered, its scope and space; that is, buildings, streets, squares, settlements; equipment and symbols have changed.¹²⁷ The neighborhood; its socially integrated and heterogeneous structure providing solidarity, belonging and neighborhood relations; its self-sufficient living space including houses, school, mosque, bazaar, recreation activities; its administrative role have been transformed and reproduced, depending on social and economic dynamics. The neighborhoods in Istanbul took their share from the process of transformation from the Ottoman period to the present day. In this context, it is discussed how new neighborhoods create appropriate conditions for the formation of identity and a spirit of solidarity in the sense of neighborhood offering a climate of spatial unity and trust. Today, with the effect of globalization, Istanbul continues to lose the traditional fabric of the city with the perception of economic restructuring and postmodern consumption. At this point, discussing collective identity and social functions offered by the traditional neighborhood culture plays a critical role to understand the social and cultural dynamics of today's Istanbul neighborhood.

¹²⁶ Köksal Alver, "Mahalle: Mekan ve Hayatın Esrarlı Birlikteliği," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, trans. Sevede Meşe, no. 2 (2010): 116.

¹²⁷ Selma Mine Erses, "Mahalle Kimliği," In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 59.

2.2.2. Traditional Neighborhood Culture in Istanbul

In the dictionary, the meaning of neighborhood is ‘settle down, place, settle’ and as a word, it is derived from the *hall*, *halel*, and *hulül*. It implies dwelling units to reside permanently or temporarily.¹²⁸ The term neighborhood is often used to describe the sub-divisions of urban or rural locations such as cities, villages, and towns.¹²⁹ They are sections that have some physical and social characteristics within walking distance for most residents. From the point of functionality, Mumford explained the sense of neighborhood and emphasized its functionality in the city: “Traced back to its origins, this turns out to be the old village component, as essential to a balanced urban life are its centers of higher culture and purposeful association”.¹³⁰

The term of the neighborhood could be considered from the multi-perspective approach, and its definition varies according to the approach based. Thus, the neighborhood could be socially, economically, physically, and even politically defined. The neighborhood is the essence of the city, it is the foundation, and it is an essential actor.¹³¹ It is made up of people, but it is a sense of social relationship over that community, which reinforces the collective identity. It provides residents the feeling of attachment and belonging to a community with strong interactive relationships and identity. On the other side, according to Erkilet, the neighborhood is a structure that is created by the people of the city within their interactions, which is consistent, fully functional and produced its political economy in the strictest sense of the word.¹³²

The emergence of the neighborhood phenomenon and the formation of traditional neighborhood culture is one of the issues need to be discussed in order to observe the effect of economic and social structural transformations on the traditional structure of the neighborhood in Istanbul after 1980. In this regard, after the conquest of Ottoman

¹²⁸ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükbaşçı, “Mahalle,” In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 323.

¹²⁹ Mehmet Gökhan Berk, “The Concept of Neighbourhood in Contemporary Residential Environments: An Investigation of Occupants’ Perception” In *Munich Personal RePEc Archive*, May 5, 2010, 2.

¹³⁰ Lewis Mumford, *The City In History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1961), 499.

¹³¹ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 19.

¹³² Alev Erkilet, *Kenti Dinlemek* (İstanbul: Büyüyenay Yayınları, 2017), 102.

State in 1435, the first Istanbul was organized with the scale of neighborhoods maintaining the traditions and culture of Islam and the Middle East. Between the 16th and 18th century, the neighborhood offers a structure that is organized in many fields as administrative, economic, legal, and social. However, the demographic and economic factors, which increased with the 19th century, eroded the socio-cultural frame of the neighborhood and the traditional content of everyday life began to melt in the multi-centered urban life.¹³³ While main reasons for this are the economic insufficiency of small settlements and the population increase in the 19th century,¹³⁴ the developments in the external world such as the machine production, which started in the UK and the nationalist movements developing in Europe, caused the ongoing problems within the state. Bureaucrats and notables, *ayans*, demanding that influential external factors must support the necessary changes embodied some structural and institutional transformations by the decree of *Tanzimat* Reform with the support of the west.¹³⁵ From this period onwards, specialized occupations and traditional professions began to lose their typical characteristics, consumption norms and habits began to change, and the only consumption patterns shared by the rich and the poor in the classical Ottoman era had been replicated and varied according to the pleasures of different social groups and status groups.¹³⁶ When we think of all these historical dynamics and social transformations, Istanbul neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire between the 16th and 18th centuries is the era that traditional neighborhood characteristics have come into bloom with essential elements such as carrying the traces of both Islamic and Middle Eastern culture; administrative, legal, social and social functionalities and providing solidarity, collective identity and place attachment. Within this scope, Istanbul neighborhoods in the classical Ottoman period has been instrumental in our understanding of ‘neighborhood’ to make comparison with the modern approach of urban planning and evaluate the transformation of neighborhood culture. The critical aspects of the issue are

¹³³ Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul’da gündelik hayat: insan, kültür ve mekan ilişkileri üzerine toplumsal tarih denemeleri*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 80.

¹³⁴ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 91

¹³⁵ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 180.

¹³⁶ Esra Banu Sipahi, “A Study on the Impacts of Neo-Liberal Transformation from “Traditional” Neighborhood to “New” Neighborhood on the Risk Perception,” *The Journal of International Social Research* 9, no. 43 (2016), 852.

discussed as follows: essential characteristics, values, and functions of traditional neighborhood culture.

First Establishments of Neighborhoods in Istanbul

Istanbul as a city gained its traditional, historical and socio-cultural structure after the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed in 1453. Istanbul, which was an important center of the Byzantine Empire for many years, became the capital of the Ottoman state and political, cultural, economic, and religious center three years after the conquest. The traditional structure of the city, which mainly consists of the peninsula of Haliç, the Sea of Marmara and the walls of the peninsula, *suriçi*, and Üsküdar, Galata and Eyüp districts, *Bilad-ı Selase*, has demographically changed and the social, cultural and ethnic structure of the city has necessitated new organization for the city planning. The main principle followed in the reconstruction of Ottoman Istanbul was to ensure that the Muslim community could comfortably fulfill the requirements of religion and to benefit from the convenience of living in a Muslim city.¹³⁷ In this direction, on the day following the conquest Sultan went straight to St Sophia church and converted it into a mosque, saying there his first prayers, an act that symbolized the dedication of the city as an Islamic one and gave it the name 'Islam-bol', *Islam abounds*. İnalçık states that new name reflects the high aspiration of Muslims during centuries to convert the great city of Constantine into a city of Islam.¹³⁸

In order to organize and revitalize the ruined city as a result of the conquest, the Sultan Fatih brought an Ottoman-Islamic city infrastructure to the city by building mosque complexes, masjids and covered bazaars, *bedestens*. The Sultan had the closed bazaar, many caravanserais and the workplace constructed to revitalize the city's economic structure and increase the population of the city and some of which were donated to the foundations of the Hagia Sophia. At this point, Hagia Sophia emerged as the first grand mosque of the city with the economic and social institutions and foundations, *waqfs*, which provided the general welfare of the city; place gathering people together and connecting the Sultan and people in the Friday

¹³⁷ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 222.

¹³⁸ Halil İnalçık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 5.

events. Economic and social institutions that support the city life and provide the welfare of the people emerged as the foundations, *waqfs*, of the Hagia Sophia for the first time. It has also been an example of the morphological structure of the Islamic city settling around the mosque. While the first administrative unit of the city was built in the Hagia Sophia district, the neighborhoods were built around the mosques, and they became the smallest administrative unit of the city. In that regard, İnalçık argues that in spite of the general argumentation on the Islamic city about coming into being spontaneously without any sort of planning and its population was only ‘an amorphous crowd’, the Ottomans followed a traditional pattern of organization for the urban space of Istanbul under the direction and supervision of the Sultan.¹³⁹

In order to ensure the security in the city, Sultan Mehmed paid attention to the majority of Muslim population and division of neighborhoods mostly according to that the religious element for people to live more comfortably in line with their political, social and economic preferences. The representation of daily life as a scale of the neighborhood in the Ottoman society is an extension of Middle-Eastern Islamic traditions, in which the tribal or ethnic groups of people who are belonging to different religions, sects, and beliefs, are settled in separate neighborhoods.¹⁴⁰ In this context, Ergenç describes the neighborhood as the city section where the congregation worshiped in the same mosque settled together with their families.¹⁴¹ Although it was true that the Ottoman Empire was trying to organize and divide society into the cells guided by the religious leader and sought a similar order in the non-Muslim population, this was not an absolute rule.¹⁴² There are always religious and ethnic groups in cities where they do not live in separate closed, separate communities. Where this is the case, there is no discrimination at all times when people from different religions and races are settled in the same neighborhood.¹⁴³ The Ottoman State has also taken non-Muslims under state guarantee due to its tolerant social structure. An area inhabited by non-Muslims, which had submitted to the

¹³⁹ Halil İnalçık, *ibid.*, 8.

¹⁴⁰ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 80.

¹⁴¹ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalle’nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IV (1984), 69.

¹⁴² Ömer Düzbakar, “Osmanlı Döneminde Mahalle ve İşlevleri,” *U.Ü. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 4, no. 5 (2003), 99-100.

¹⁴³ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, “Mahalle,” In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 324.

power of Islam, was considered to be within the Dar al-Islam, that is, part of the Islamic territory, whether or not the people living there had converted to Islam.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the Muslim and non-Muslim people of the city have been working side-by-side in the market area and even in the neighborhoods of the settlement in the neighborhood.¹⁴⁵ It is known that the closure of some groups in a separate neighborhood from the whole of the Ottomans is not as rigid as it was seen in the pre-Ottoman Islamic cities, and it is known that religious and ethnic groups did not live in closed congregations in the cities during the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁶

Cities are centers that provide a variety of services and activities and constitute an economic, social, and civilian whole with their area of influence.¹⁴⁷ The neighborhoods are the sub-units that provide the proper functioning and cultural integrity of this system. The neighborhoods that make up the core of the Ottoman city are also a physical unit representing the characteristics of the city. The neighborhood, like the city, is the place of participation, freedom, heterogeneity, differences, and pluralism where various cultures are in interaction.¹⁴⁸ Distinctly, Cansever does not only mention the importance of the neighborhood in the administrative administration of the city, but also the organization of the city focused on neighborhoods including mosques, masjids, schools, lodges, libraries and baths enables describing the appropriate environment and protecting it, which one can reach the consciousness of the environment and can participate in all kinds of responsibility of this environment.¹⁴⁹ In the neighborhoods of the Ottoman, the residents are responsible for public order, security, the cleanliness of the streets and keeping an eye on children in streets, the need of neighbors or the trouble of the poor, the protection of the poor and the elderly and the final decision about the environment.

¹⁴⁴ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul: An Islamic City." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 7.

¹⁴⁵ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 222.

¹⁴⁶ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, *ibid.*, 325.

¹⁴⁷ Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2005), 94.

¹⁴⁸ Didem Akyol Altun, "Kapalı Konut Siteleri ve 'Mahalle' Kavramı," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 219.

¹⁴⁹ Turgut Cansever, *İslam'da Şehir ve Mimari* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 119.

Işın (1995) states that the physical growth of the city is realized through newly established neighborhoods. In this context, while 182 districts existed in the establishment era of Ottoman in Istanbul, this number increased to 219 in 1546 during the Kanuni period. In 1635, the number of neighborhoods was 292, with an increased population and shared by 12 communities. In the first half of the 17th century, the number of neighborhoods was observed to be decreasing, and the number of neighborhoods in 1672 was counted as 253. Işın claims that the reasons for this decline are the administrative arrangements and the measures taken to restrict the migrations to Istanbul. Moreover, some small settlements, unable to provide organic integrity, lacking strong foundation support, have been lost their congregations in time and have been taken within the boundaries of larger neighborhoods.¹⁵⁰

The Waqf-Imaret System and the Organizations of Guilds

While discussing the city planning and the formation of the neighborhoods in the rebuilding process of Istanbul, the waqf-imaret system and the organization of the tradesmen giving essential physical-topographical, economic and social characteristics to the city have remarkable importance that cannot be excluded. “In large metropolises such as Istanbul and Bursa, the city developed not around a single nucleus but several, variously located, each constructed as a well-planned complex of religious buildings (mosque, madrasa, hospice, etc.), and supported by waqfs.”¹⁵¹ These buildings consisted of religious buildings, complexes, a large mosque, a madrasa, a hospital, a library, a school, an ablutionary school, a guesthouse, and sometimes a tomb of buildings. The waqfs covered the expenses of these complexes with rental income from the shopkeepers or traders in the city. These areas, which are accepted as the cores of the city, have been transformed into the settlement centers called sub-districts, *nahiyes*, by the adequate infrastructure services they offer. While the state was dealing with the structures, roads and barracks that provide the security of life, and property, every unit covered by the complexes and various services such as baths, *hamams*, and fountains belonged to the waqfs.

¹⁵⁰ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁵¹ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul: Bir İslam Şehri,” *Marife* 4, trans. İbrahim Kalın, no. 2 (2004), 316.

The foundation system, which has a religious-social character, is based on the principles of Islamic law, which is a person's allocation of one or more of his or her property to a religious, charity and social cause that constitutes the needs of the society. It is a promise for allocating lifelong with the intention of being close to God.¹⁵² While the sharing of religious feelings, solidarity and cooperation, being a member of community, *cemaat*, and the sense of collective identity ensure the good functioning of the waqf system, there have been situations in the Islamic lodges, *zawiyahs*, providing feeding and sheltering services for the poor; connecting wages to widows and orphans, making an effort to give education for the public and raising the living standards of people, which all have enabled mutual reinforcement of emotions. It led to the continuation of prosperity and peace throughout the empire. Also, people who established a foundation to serve people were respected by society and it was encouraging for people who spend time in the service of the foundation.¹⁵³ The fact that approximately 90% of the neighborhoods were named with the name of the person who built the mosque¹⁵⁴ has been an indication of this respect.

The organizations of guilds were the other construction that affected the physical and social establishment of the city. The origin of guild organization was based on the spread of Sufi thoughts through whole society as a result of religious, political, military, and social fluctuations in XII. and XIII. centuries and its reflection on the economic life under the name of some Turkish-Islamic morals, *futuwwah*.¹⁵⁵ This community, which continued to exist under the name of Turkish-Islamic guild, *Ahilik*, in the Anatolian Seljuk, had advised being benevolent, handfull, courageous, good morality and solidarity within the society. The Ahi organization, which has a social meaning beyond the professional organization, had been transformed into the guild organizations where economic functions gained more importance over time. In this process, the essential characteristics such as the interfaith, friendship, solidarity, attachment and loyalty among the members have been maintained, and therefore, the *futuwwah morals* maintained to reflect the spiritual aspect of the structure while the

¹⁵² Adalet Bayramođlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sumer Kitabevi, 2017), 74.

¹⁵³ Lütfi Bergen, "Medeniyetin Cüzü: Mahalle" In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 155.

¹⁵⁴ Halil İncalcık, "İstanbul," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 227.

¹⁵⁵ Adalet Bayramođlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sumer Kitabevi, 2017), 94.

craftsmanship, *loncas*, remained an external structure that guided the economic life relations.¹⁵⁶ In addition to the moral education of the people, it had provided education in the fields of art, trade, and economy. After the conquest, the shape of the organization of this tradesmen-merchant was sometimes classified according to the profession, the congregation or some practical reasons.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, within a group of tradesmen, people from different communities were able to work in solidarity for their professional career. In addition to that, the company was able to maintain market equilibrium by preventing unfair competition and personal gain and helped with gathering tax collection and other issues required to be inspected.

Artisans' organizations were forming the market order by locating in the streets collectively. The Ottoman character of Istanbul stems not only from the Islamic ideal but also from the ancient Middle Eastern state and society tradition, which ensured that every kind of traders and artisans of all religions (who would live in the country) under the military rule.¹⁵⁸ Artisans gathered according to the main art branches around the *Bedesten* (covered Turkish bazaar), which was established as a requirement of the waqfs. This system, consisting mainly of infrastructure, market places, warehouses and shops provided a source of income to religious foundations. While the waqfs determined the social life through the mosque, the commercial life was determined from the *Bedesten*,¹⁵⁹ and *Bedesten* and city-centered development were complemented by neighborhoods. The organization of trades that surrounds whole life of guilds solely rather than physical grouping was a reliable form of organization by making young people in the neighborhood had a profession and occupation while also finding a job for them and infusing trade ethics into them.¹⁶⁰

In order to understand the formation and functions of the Ottoman traditional neighborhood, having a discussion on waqf-imaret system and guild organization which have both physical and social importance in the foundation and development

¹⁵⁶ Adalet Bayramođlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 105.

¹⁵⁷ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵⁸ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 227.

¹⁵⁹ Lütü Bergen, "Medeniyetin Cüzü: Mahalle" In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 155.

¹⁶⁰ Ömür Nihal Baday, "Modern Kent Mekanlarında Mahallenin Konumu." Master's Thesis., Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2011. 28.

of the city will be useful to understand the phenomenon of the neighborhood comprehensively. The neighborhoods, which are the smallest units of the city, developed around the mosque and the commercial centers have a specific physical and social organization that was based on and reflected the ideal of Islamic Sharia for Muslims.¹⁶¹ Besides, it is like a miniature of the city with its systematic and comprehensive organizational functioning within the relationship of religious, cultural, economic, and social values.

2.2.3. Main Elements of Traditional Neighborhood

Home

Bayartan states that the neighborhood had two settlement modules; the first is the dwelling unit where residents coming from the same ethnic and the same religion settle, and the other is the *imarets*, which contains the whole of social and religious functions.¹⁶² The *imarets* form the center of the cities, and the neighborhoods are formed around this core. The house, which forms the core of the neighborhood itself, is the area where Muslims and other communities live their lives in their own regions. The house is the most basic, top-level representation of the relationship between space and lifestyle and demonstrates the impossibility of separating the spatial organization from the cultural structure.¹⁶³ It is possible to make a relationship between lifestyle and each detail of the house such as shape, material, function, and location. While it gives information about the person's worldview, traditional norms, lifestyles, and priorities of culture, it also reflects the way that one defines personal space, security factor, and neighborly relations. Cooper (1974) claims that the house reflects how the man is looking at himself and out; it is a choice of how he reflects himself to the outside.¹⁶⁴

The house, which is the main element of the neighborhood phenomenon, interacts with the daily life practices and traditional values of the neighborhoods. In the era of Sultan Mehmed the Second, with the conquest of Istanbul, the cultural dynamics

¹⁶¹ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul: Bir İslam Şehri," *Marife* 4, trans. İbrahim Kalın, no. 2 (2004), 322.

¹⁶² Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2005), 99.

¹⁶³ Köksal Alver, *Steril Hayatlar* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 67.

¹⁶⁴ Köksal Alver, *ibid.*, 63.

shaped by Christianity and Islam according to different beliefs of traditions have led to the formation of a vibrant society model. Işın defines Istanbul in the Ottoman Classical era as follows:

The classical era is a historical process in which traditional forms that were experienced with almost every aspect of everyday life in a wide range of social activities from trade to culture and religion to aesthetic and the norms required by these patterns are followed. In this period, Istanbul has gained its historical identity and has created a mosaic of rich society, which consists of many civilizations. From the 18th century onwards, the transition process that this mosaic began to be displaced from the joints began, and after the 19th century it became completely fragmented. The 19th century is the history of attempts to reconstruct this extraordinary mosaic of Istanbul's everyday life by different materials and techniques.¹⁶⁵

Within the rich society model, since religious character shapes the cultural dynamics, the influence of religious practices and beliefs on the determination of neighborhood culture and neighborhood elements has a significant role. Within the context of religious sensibilities, details such as shaping the structure of the house in the direction of religious values as in the example of sitting separately for men and women, keeping the structure of the house under a closed walls, high walls built in order not to be seen from other houses can be seen as reflections of Islam architecture to the Ottoman neighborhood. Günay analyzes the forming of houses considering the flexibilities of people in the lifestyle and spatial boundaries. In this direction, coffeehouses, Turkish baths, caravans, and the mosque are essential elements for Ottoman society that are evaluated in the habits of socio-cultural life. She defines the house as a limited space with walls and emphasizes that it was maintaining certain privacy, especially for women.¹⁶⁶ Işın, on the other hand, defines house (private housing) as the founding symbol of the traditional Ottoman neighborhood and as a symbol of family life. The house symbolizes the boundary between the external world and the internal world, and at the same time, it gives a moral sense of privacy to family life.¹⁶⁷

The cities of the Ottoman Empire had a physical and social organization of the worldview of Islam and they are organized in the integrity of the orders and

¹⁶⁵ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, trans. Sevede Meşe, 68.

¹⁶⁶ Efsun Ekenyazıcı Günay, "Menzil Kavramının Konut Bağlamında İstanbul Örneğinde Mahalle Dokusu ve Kapalı Siteler Üzerinden Okunması," Master's Thesis., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2013. 26.

¹⁶⁷ Ekrem, Işın, *ibid.*, 88.

prohibitions of Islam. İnalçık argues that the division of the city into two main sections that are a commercial-industrial zone and a residential section with neighborhood communities organized around the temple is definitely originated from Islamic concepts.¹⁶⁸ In addition to the organization of the city around the neighborhood, the establishment of concepts such as land, property, and housing according to Islamic faith prevented the creation of speculative investments and gains. In this context, Cansever states that, according to the Islamic belief, the land is essentially God's and the houses are built to meet the needs of families with different economic opportunities. Multi-story house construction is not permissible, and houses are 1-2 stories and a garden. In this way, the rent was prohibited, and all kinds of speculative buildings and unethical aspect in the construction of the Ottoman neighborhood were hindered. Except for the detached house, the surplus value coming from the city centers and leading trade and business centers were allocated and transferred back to the needs of society to develop social facilities and infrastructure.¹⁶⁹

In Ottoman neighborhoods, houses with high walls, courtyards, and back gardens were constructed from wooden and adobe to protect privacy. In every neighborhood, there was a variety of house shapes that are *sufli* (single-story, coarse, small or low quality), *tahtani* (single-story, normal, middle-class), *fevkani* (usually two story), *ulvi* (higher than two floors), *mükellef* (wide, large house, mansion, palace-style). It is noteworthy that in the Ottoman neighborhoods were not determined. A small house of clerk in front of a pasha mansion or a dignitary's mansion next to the neighborhood water passenger's huts neighborhood could be placed, and residents communicated with each other in spite of difference in status.¹⁷⁰ Kuban expresses that regardless of whether single or large, each house had a small garden and he emphasizes the importance of these gardens for women. The garden is fundamental concept that saves homes from being closed.¹⁷¹ They emphasize the integration of houses with nature and the intense contact between nature and the elderly and children. In Ottoman it is also known that it provided much more services than

¹⁶⁸ Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul: Bir İslam Şehri," *Marife* 4, trans. İbrahim Kalın, no. 2 (2004), 322.

¹⁶⁹ Turgut Cansever, *İslam'da Şehir ve Mimari* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 127-128.

¹⁷⁰ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükbaşçı, "Mahalle," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 325.

¹⁷¹ Efsun Ekenyazıcı Günay, *ibid.*

today's "active green space", which provides all kinds of care and raising the fruit trees and flowers to the household. It also provides significant savings in the green space investment and maintenance expenditures of the city to the municipalities.¹⁷²

The Mosque

At the end of the 19th century, the main physical elements of a developed and settled neighborhood are mosques, primary schools, grocery, and bakery, maybe a coffeehouse and a bath shared with other neighborhoods.¹⁷³ Neighborhoods gathered around a temple-synagogue-church-mosque in the vicinity of the community formed by the integrity and collective mood. In the traditional Ottoman Muslim neighborhoods, the mosque was not only a place of worship but also had physical and socio-cultural importance by being located in the center of the neighborhood and gathering people together in the prayer time and special days for the neighborhood. The mosque, which symbolized the religious life in daily life, also contained information on the cultural values of the neighborhood. As the decisive symbol of culture was religious, human relations, economic activities, and value system of daily life have gained a collective character in this spiritual atmosphere.¹⁷⁴ The community structure, having a collective character increased the relationship between the neighborhood and consolidated solidarity, sharing, and a sense of belonging. Individuals gathered in mosques in order to perform their prayers at every prayer time and it strengthened their relations. The mosque community was aware of each other; the people who could not come to the mosque were thought to be in a distress or busy occupation. In this sense, the relationship between the mosque and the community was observed in the neighborhood as a social control mechanism.

In addition to the social control and socialization functions, the mosques performed important administrative processes in the establishment of the administration and public relations.¹⁷⁵ In the classical period, the mosques played a role of social control center and it was tool to provide a connection between the rulers and ruled, and to spread the decisions that authority decided and gets approval from the public.

¹⁷² Turgut Cansever, *İslam'da Şehir ve Mimari* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 122.

¹⁷³ Doğan Kuban, "Mahalleler: Osmanlı Donemi," In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1994), 244.

¹⁷⁴ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 82-84.

¹⁷⁵ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 164.

Moreover, it was a space where many issues could be discussed in a room of a masjid such as the conditions of homeless and poor people, questions about heritage, divorce, marriage etc.

The masjids of the neighborhood, which have religious, educational, and social functions, were replaced by Islamic-Ottoman social complex, *kulliyes*. The location of a complex or a mosque was an expression of the will to regulate the city and reflected the fulfillment of the religious and social tasks by the classes governing the society.¹⁷⁶ Following this, the neighborhood texture was spontaneously made following the topography and in consensus in the accessible environment of the mosque. In particular, mosques built in the city centers in the form of complexes were responding need in different areas. “A larger mosque was the central building among a complex of buildings including the madrasa, the library, hospital, hospice, convent for dervishes, a school for children and fountain for ablution.¹⁷⁷ Işın explains the importance of the complex, *kulliyes*, in the city with the following words:

First of all, the complex is the dominant symbol of the culture that has marked the city. This symbol is shaped according to a social organization model, which outlines the public services within its structure. The mosque is located in the center of complex and undertakes the function of a forum where the community is gathered at certain times. Thus, the mosque is a social institution in which religious and worldly problems are considered in accordance with the Islamic Sharia, and it controls the public order of daily life on behalf of the palace. The complexes managed the control mechanism by carrying out education and health services through various institutions within their body and educating managers in bureaucracy.¹⁷⁸

In addition, the complexes functioned of its own social mechanism by educating managers to bureaucracy in the health and education sector. Therefore, the mosque can be described as “social institution that works in order to gather people in specific times and introduce them each other, to see their religious and secular works and to inform them about the orders and bans of the government by taking advantage of this meeting“.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Doğan Kuban, *ibid.*, 245.

¹⁷⁷ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul: Bir İslam Şehri,” *Marife* 4, trans. İbrahim Kalın, no. 2 (2004), 316.

¹⁷⁸ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, trans. Sevde Meşe, 24-25.

¹⁷⁹ Mehmet Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2005), 99.

The Street

In the traditional Ottoman neighborhood, the curved and unbending streets, considered by some researchers as the example of unplanned urbanization, were shaped in different ways depending on the topographic structure of the neighborhood. In the Ottoman neighborhoods, houses were built on the slopes of the city in a way that topography and unbending streets allowed. When addressing the location and orientation of houses, it was essential to respect the right to the neighborhood; to build the house in such a way that it cannot be seen from the outside and not block the view of other houses. The possibility of matching each of the existence, the creature and the reality of the reality by way of connecting the topography and the road texture according to their own necessities had been realized in Ottoman cities at a level similar to humanity throughout history.¹⁸⁰

The street is a way among mosque, bazaar, fountain, coffeehouse, and school connecting the basic elements of the neighborhood. However, since it is a physical structure that connects buildings with houses, it is a socialization area for the neighborhood. Children running in the streets, the older adults watching the streets from the window, the residents communicating with the tradesmen on the street establish a communication over the street in fact. The street, which affects the realization of cultural interaction and the formation of social memory, also prevents the formation of class differences and provides the ground for solidarity and sense of belonging in the neighborhood.

Bazaar

The symbol of economical life is one of the crucial elements of the neighborhood. The bazaar in the neighborhood is a place that serves only for the neighborhood apart from the city bazaar and meets the main functions of the grand bazaar in a narrow frame.¹⁸¹ It consists of shops such as bakery, coffeehouse, grocery store, barbershop, warehouse, and constructs a permanent relationship between the neighborhood and its shopkeepers, which leads the neighborhood to shop at their own shopkeepers and the embrace and protection for shopkeepers towards residents. The practice of credit,

¹⁸⁰ Turgut Cansever, *İslam'da Şehir ve Mimari* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 117.

¹⁸¹ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 108.

veresiye, is a typical example of this protection, solidarity, and cooperation. When the neighborhood has no money to buy something from the grocery store, the owner of the store takes note of the name and cost and gives the time for his/her debt to be paid later.

Coffeehouse

The coffeehouses in daily life were cultural centers open to all sections of the society in Ottoman neighborhoods, and the first closed entertainment centers that provide social communication were started to be opened in the 16th year.¹⁸² The coffeehouses allow for actions such as gathering, rallying, reading, resting, chatting, function as socializing. The crucial feature of neighborhood coffeehouses is that the traditional way of enclosed life between the civic space and the religious place in the neighborhood becomes an outgoing social construction process through these coffeehouses. It means that the residents of the neighborhood know the street culture independently from the civic and religious places and get the opportunity to participate directly in the city life through these centers. At the same time, the bath was a way for socialization other than the primary function of cleaning. As a venue where the activities such as meeting, chatting, and eating were carried out for women, *hamam* was perhaps the only public space of the social life of women. Among the activities that were bringing solidarity, collective spirit, and sense of belonging in the community, going promenade areas was also important for entertainment and socialization. It was taking the residents from the triangle routines –home, mosque, and bazaar- of daily life and gathering different cultures together. At this point, the habit of going to the promenade offers a different socialization experience and shows that the self-enclosed structure of neighborhood began to act more freely.¹⁸³ There are other spaces in the neighborhood such as lodges, grocery store, fountain or park. However in this section, the ones only that were mostly existed and had essential functions are taken into consideration.

¹⁸² Ekrem, Işın, *ibid.*, 66.

¹⁸³ Efsun Ekenyazıcı Günay, “Menzil Kavramının Konut Bağlamında İstanbul Örneğinde Mahalle Dokusu ve Kapalı Siteler Üzerinden Okunması,” Master’s Thesis., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2013. 25.

2.2.4. Functions of Traditional Neighborhood Culture

The Ottoman State consists of the provinces that are governed by the governors. The states are a combination of the sanjaks administered by the banner lords. Sanjaks consist of sub-provinces directed by qadi. The neighborhoods are the smallest administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire, which formed the subprovinces. While the neighborhoods constitute an important part of the city with the location and functions they have in the city, they provide an integrated system in social, administrative, economic, and legal terms. As discussed in the previous section, this system includes the principles of the Middle East Islamic tradition and law from both social and administrative aspect. In this section, the administrative, social, and security functions of the neighborhood will be discussed in order to understand the position of the Ottoman neighborhood in the city and the social mechanism within itself.

The Neighborhood as an Administrative Unit

In the establishment and rising era, the Ottoman neighborhood was the main building blocks of the system from the administrative aspect. In addition to the fact that the division of the amount of taxes pertaining to the city according to the districts, the collection of the taxes by the *imams*, the establishment of neighborhood foundations and the responsibility of the neighborhood trustees for these foundations and the important role of the residents and the *imam* in the processing of the law are some juridical arrangements that make the neighborhood core element for the relationship between the state and people.¹⁸⁴ The neighborhood, which was playing an intermediary role between the state and the society in the provision of control and order, had given these responsibilities to all the residents of the neighborhood, especially the *imam*.

It had become widespread since the Umayyad era that the responsible person for the administration tasks in Ottoman district were *imams* who worked in the neighborhood masjids. Since the administration of the neighborhood was given to

¹⁸⁴ Tahire Erman, "Yıkılan Gecekondular, Yapılan TOKİ Toplu Konut Projeleri: Kent Yoksulunun Yeni Yaşam Çevresi Olarak Karacaören-TOKİ Sitesi," In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 7 (2012): 40.

religious institutions; until the first half of the XIX. century, the director was *imam* in Muslim neighborhoods; the rabbi or priest in non-Muslim neighborhoods. *Imam* was the only authority which controlled the neighborhood according to customary, traditional and religion rules, prepared marriage documents. He was responsible for the cleanliness and order of the neighborhood, was asked in order to solve the disagreements between the neighborhood and in a sense the relationship between the state and the person.¹⁸⁵ The Sultan was declaring the *imams* and he was a civil servant in charge of the representation of the qadi who was the supervisor of the town. He was responsible for providing public order. The *imam* of the neighborhood used to convey the orders of the Sultan from qadi to the neighborhood as the representative of the neighborhood in the official relations. He had to inform the residents of the neighborhoods who did not fulfill their responsibilities to the official authorities, especially qadi.¹⁸⁶ The leading people or trustees in the neighborhoods could also represent the neighborhood in some cases. The neighborhood trustee was responsible for the neighborhood foundations created by the donations of neighbors. With this common budget, the *imam* was given a daily wage called *vazife* and the maintenance of the poor in the neighborhood and the part of the common tax thought to be met in the neighborhood.¹⁸⁷

The appointment of the *imams* by the Sultan's declaration and the power of the religious characteristics were the factors that strengthen their authority. While his position and duties in administrative and religious terms made him valuable in the neighborhood, he could also be frequently audited by the state and punished when necessary. In this case, community relations between the residents and the *imam* – who was integrated with neighborhood management- have been formed in terms of central and local administrative services as well as through worship.¹⁸⁸ At this point, Alver (2013) deals with the consent institution as a matter that regulates communication between the neighborhood and the *imam*. It is not only enough that the neighborhood residents accept the *imam* and sees him as a predecessor, but also

¹⁸⁵ Doğan Kuban, “Mahalleler: Osmanlı Donemi,” In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1994), 244.

¹⁸⁶ Halil İnalçık, “İstanbul,” In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 229.

¹⁸⁷ Mehmet Bayartan, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2005), 11.

¹⁸⁸ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 166.

the approval and appreciation from residents and the adoption of the *imam* by the resident were considered very important¹⁸⁹. At this point, the *imam* should carry all the *imam* attributes and fulfill all responsibilities in both administrative and religious terms. Otherwise, he was relieved of duty and taken to another mosque.

The religious and administrative powers of the *imams* increased their influence. As well as the religious tasks such as making five prayers in the mosque or bathing the deceased activities, *imams* were in charge of registration of events such as birth, death, marriage contract; providing security and peace in the neighborhood; having full information about the inhabitants of the neighborhood; being a guarantor for those who want to move to the neighborhood and identifying and recording them; paying attention to the cleanliness of the neighborhood, and giving information about the residents in legal proceedings when necessary. In this sense, being an *imam* of a neighborhood meant being responsible for water shortage, security crisis, organizing drummer during the Ramazan, constructing sidewalks etc. Moreover, the most important duty of the *imam* was the distribution and collection of taxes from the community. Many taxes were collected based on the neighborhood units, which means that the amount of taxes of the city was divided into neighborhoods, and then each neighborhood was obliged to give the tax to its administration.¹⁹⁰ Especially the taxes of *avarız* and *imdadiye* that were spread after XVIII. century were collected by the *imam*. The names of the taxpayers, the buildings that they settle in and in which neighborhood they belong to were included in the cadastral record books and other tax records.¹⁹¹

Another responsibility of the *imam* was his role in the implementation of the law because he did not only have information about the number of households, households, shopkeepers' names, and goods but also about the identity and character of residents in the neighborhood. *Imam* was bringing issues to trial, conveying the complaints of the people to the court and sometimes could direct the attitudes of the qadi by witnessing for residents or issues. For this reason, *imams* as pioneer figures

¹⁸⁹ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 131.

¹⁹⁰ Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Doneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim Mahalle'," In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 66.

¹⁹¹ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "Mahalle," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 325.

performed important tasks in order to express public moral norms and provide social control and public order within the neighborhood.¹⁹²

As an administrative and legal unit of the neighborhood, another element that has an important role as *imam* was the people of the neighborhood. The fact that the people of the neighborhood were all in charge of violation of the order and that the issue of chained covenant system between the localities in this kind of events shows the responsibility given to the individual and the society in order to ensure that the public order works smoothly. This situation was a function of the mutual control of the neighborhoods. The *avarız* and *imdadiye* taxes, which became widespread in the 18th century, were indicants of the collective responsibility and supervision. If one of the neighbors could not pay the tax, the amount of the others taxes were increased.¹⁹³ Ergenç (1984) stated that there are two objectives in taking these precautions; to ensure that the taxpayers were fully identified and that taxes were fully collected and the central authority and the general security could be carried out as desired. These actions had made the neighborhood a basic management unit in the city, making the inhabitants of the neighborhood more aware of one another and responsible for each other.¹⁹⁴

According to the Ottoman law, residents of the neighborhood were consecutively bailed on each other. In other words, all residents were responsible for the clarification of an incident in their neighborhood. The information given about the defendants by the local people about the good or bad conditions could affect the course of the case. When there was no evidence, a good impression between the neighborhoods had been enough to be declared blameless. The resident was responsible for finding the perpetrator in incidents such as the murder or the physical injury. In such a case, the implementation of *kesame* and *diyot* punishment based on the source of both religious and military law were significant for demonstrating the shared responsibility of the neighborhood. The residents were obliged to pay the

¹⁹² Ahmet Yüksek, "Kamusal ve Mahrem Arasındaki Çatışma: Osmanlı Toplumunda Ötekileştirme ve Kamusal Ahlak Mekanı Olarak Mahalle," In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 26.

¹⁹³ Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı Şehrinde Bir İdari Birim," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2005), 7.

¹⁹⁴ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IV (1984), 73.

price, *diyet*, for unidentified murder, if they could not find the perpetrator. The location of the dead body in the case of unidentified murder was also the determinant of who belongs to the responsibility. If it was found in a person's house, he was the one who had to pay *diyet*. If it was found in an open area in the town or neighborhood, the victim's closest relative was determining the fifty people who were supposed to give an oath, which was *kasame*. In that region, the reprisal, *kıyas*, was implemented or the price, *diyet*, of the death, was divided equally into their heirs.¹⁹⁵ Alada explains that the provisions on joint responsibility required the inhabitants to know each other closely enough to become guarantors, and it became a necessity for individuals to be cautious and accountable in order not to give rise to the unfavorable situation in the community.¹⁹⁶ In this sense, collective responsibility plays a deterrent role. The Ottoman criminal law has relied on the people of the neighborhood to protect public order and to ensure social control.

The Neighborhood as a Social Unit

The neighborhood is a center of Ottoman social life. It was also one of the parts that make up the whole as well as it had all the features that can express the whole.¹⁹⁷ Although the neighborhood consisted of diverse cultures, ethnicities, socio-economic status, and sometimes various religions, it had a social mechanism that could conduct all differences within it. The neighborhood, including concepts such as social cohesion, community, collective identity, unity, cooperation, solidarity, neighborhood, belonging and loyalty, was one of the first steps of socialization for the individual.

Socialization: Sociologists develop different perspectives on the issue of socialization. In Berger's *The Social Construction of Reality*, Bauman's theory of *Us and Them*, Bourdieu's *Habitus*, and Giddens's *Structuration* theory, the socialization means all knowledge that people acquire in current society from the birth to death and interaction process between society and agency. Every element of the individual's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors that he grasps and adds his memory by

¹⁹⁵ İsmail Kıvrım, "Osmanlı Mahallesinde Gündelik Hayat," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (2009), 244-245.

¹⁹⁶ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 154.

¹⁹⁷ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 150.

his feelings, thoughts, and behaviors is referred to the process of socialization.¹⁹⁸ The neighborhood is the first area in which a person has experienced the socialization process after his/her family and relatives. This process covers the transfer of social norms and values from the neighborhood to the individual and the contributions of the individual to the social structure of the neighborhood. Unlike family and relatives, the neighborhood offers a diverse, different and vibrant environment. For the first time, one meets different people from different cultures, identities, or ethnicities in a neighborhood and adapts to these differences by establishing a relationship. In this sense, the neighborhood is essential for a child in terms of participating into the society for the first time and making one's feel that he is a part of a large society.¹⁹⁹

The socialization is learning to participate in society, and it is a process that one transforms social norms, or behavioral regulators into its personality. It continues in every age, every new environment or event. A neighborhood as a social space plays a significant role in the construction of personalities, while both the common characteristics of people living in the neighborhood also affects identifying the space. In this process, neighborhood consciousness, collective thinking, community structure, neighborhood relations, which influence the formation of one's personality and identity show the social importance of the neighborhood. In Ottoman's Istanbul, since the mid-16th century, many tradesmen introduced themselves by talking about their neighborhood instead of their last name. This correlation led to a way of living that included local solidarity and unity.²⁰⁰ In the development of this sense of identity, loyalty, and belonging, the expression of "we" create a lifestyle united on the congregational structure and collective thinking. The neighborhood has a collective structure, and it is a network of social relations established on the space. Concepts such as "daughter of our neighborhood", "our neighborhood's grocery", and "our neighborhood" do not only express this collective identity and belonging

¹⁹⁸ Ömür Nihal Karaaslan, Faruk Karaaslan, "Modern Kentsel Mekanlar ve Mahalle-Güvenlikli Siteler ile Mahallenin İşlevsel Kıyası," In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 44.

¹⁹⁹ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 147.

²⁰⁰ Ahmet Yüksek, "Kamusal ve Mahrem Arasındaki Çatışma: Osmanlı Toplumunda Ötekileştirme ve Kamusal Ahlak Mekanı Olarak Mahalle," In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 21.

but also remind to the individuals the existence and control of this collective identity from time to time.²⁰¹

The congregation, which is a dominant structure in the organization and construction of the traditional Ottoman neighborhood, constitutes the social image of the neighborhood with its religious identity.²⁰² During the foundation period of Istanbul, which is a city composed of people from different cultures, the crucial role was common belief and abstract values that constitute community consciousness in settling people in the city.²⁰³ The concept of the congregation was evaluated in the religious character, and it was explained as a sense of totality dominating all the practices of daily life.²⁰⁴ However, the main thing is that the neighborhood is a spatial unit where people live side by side in different sized houses; people have different levels of social strata, and occupations and they are gathered in the same space. In the traditional Ottoman neighborhood, there was no significant difference in the economic and social life of the people in the neighborhood that could lead to any explicit social categorization.

Neighbor Relations: The neighborhood is a collective structure in solidarity where everyone is familiar with the other. The neighbor relation is a social bond arising from both spatial and social closeness. According to the Ayata (1999), the neighbor relationship is physical closeness and due to this physical closeness, a type of continuous social relationship even if it is not physically close and quite established and continuous social phenomenon.²⁰⁵ In Nirun's definition, the neighborhood is "a small, local structure that is built by families who visit each other in a certain geographical environment, know each other personally and by name, give mutual help, borrowing and lending, use tools and materials of each other and have a tight social relationship."²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Doneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim Mahalle'," In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 67.

²⁰² Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 220.

²⁰³ Selma Mine Erses, "Mahalle Kimliği," In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 60.

²⁰⁴ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 83.

²⁰⁵ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 218.

²⁰⁶ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 153.

Alada states that neighbor relations should be evaluated as social behavior style of moral aspect created by religion and traditional culture. It refers to the unity of people, mutual aid and solidarity in the face of the material and spiritual needs of life.²⁰⁷ Community consciousness, collective thinking, and shared values and customs are feelings that strengthen neighbor relations within the neighborhood.

Neighbor relations do not only have an increasing effect on sharing and solidarity among the neighborhood but also play a role as a social control mechanism by overseeing, monitoring and applying pressure when necessary. Depending on the surety system and shared responsibility, the unusual situation and behaviors of individuals were completely excluded by the collective attitude of the inhabitants, or, the judiciary was applied as in the case of individual problems, which were usually caused by property relations.²⁰⁸ Besides, being neighbors in the Ottoman neighborhood meant that people had many duties for their neighbors. Some examples such as asking the neighbor, visiting when there is birth or similar situations, not harming the neighbor's property and life, and being next to her in a situation where she needs to, were some of the behaviors that increased the friendly relationship and neighborhood consciousness. In Ottoman era, Tamdoğan states that in some moral books, there were some advises for people to tolerate the mistakes of their neighbors, to not wonder what is going on in the neighbor's house, and to not reinforce religious divergence in neighborly relations.²⁰⁹

Solidarity and Cooperation: One of the most prominent features of the traditional Ottoman neighborhood is its self-organization based on the fact of solidarity. It is an element perceived as a religious and cultural value that reinforces neighborly relations and neighborhood consciousness among the neighborhood. In order to illustrate the solidarity function of the neighborhood, Ortaylı states that the old neighborhoods mean solidarity; poverties and needs were interlocking the residents and the residents were in unity in sadness and happiness.²¹⁰ Thanks to this spirit of

²⁰⁷ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *ibid.*, 159.

²⁰⁸ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *ibid.*, 161.

²⁰⁹ Işık Tamdoğan-Abel, "Osmanlı Doneminden Günümüz Türkiye'sine 'Bizim Mahalle'," In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 69.

²¹⁰ İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'dan Sayfalar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 144.

solidarity, a poor person was able to survive with support from the grocery store and neighbors even if he had no income.

Erkilet considers many of the social assistance and solidarity practices in the Ottoman neighborhood as the urban manifestations of religious themes and describes the spirit of solidarity that does not distinguish the residents in any way according to their socio-economic status. The mansions, one of the typical housing type of the Ottoman neighborhoods, were in the middle of everyday life, and there were many people in the house within a communal life relationship. It would not be wrong to say that they took a share of the owner's wealth and they benefited from it. This category, consisting of relatives, neighbors, children, employees and the people who offer a variety of services to the mansion, was hosted in weddings and special days with caterings and gladdened and supported with gifts.²¹¹

Avarız waqfs in the traditional Ottoman neighborhood and the practice of *Avarız Akçesi* and religious responsibilities such as charity and zekat indicate the material dimensions of this solidarity. The charity stone, which was usually placed in the gardens of mosques, was a secret way for the rich to help the poor. In this way, the poor was not feeling embarrassed to be seen when he/she receives money. In some sources, it is stated that money is waiting for weeks in the charity stones and everyone was refraining from receiving money because of the need of another.²¹²

Avarız funds are the regulations that take the cooperation of the community under financial guarantee.²¹³ Its administration was belonged to the neighborhood trustee headed by the *imam*. In fact, the institution was a fund that was set up to collect in order to meet common expenses from the residents of the neighborhood.²¹⁴ Some of those common needs were protecting and maintaining the public goods, carrying out the services such as the expenses for military units. In addition, all the people who want to take advantage of the need for personal use could be benefited without any

²¹¹ Alev, Erkilet, "Türkiye'de Kentlerin Dönüşümü ve Magnetsiz Şehirler Kitabının Hikayesi," In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 4.

²¹² Ömür Nihal Karaaslan, Faruk Karaaslan, "Modern Kentsel Mekanlar ve Mahalle-Güvenlikli Siteler ile Mahallenin İşlevsel Kıyası," In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 53.

²¹³ Ekrem, Işın, *ibid.*, 40.

²¹⁴ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IV (1984), 9.

religious discrimination, but in the condition of having guarantors.²¹⁵ Alada sorts the services provided by the *Avarız Akcesi waqfs*. It is used for maintenance, repair and needs of public buildings of the neighborhood and the wages of management and service staff in the neighborhood were paid. Also it is known that the needs of the poor, widow and orphan members of the neighborhood such as school, wedding dress, deer, clothing and camouflages are met from the *waqf*.²¹⁶ The fact that in order to fulfillment of required amount for meeting financial resources used in neighborhood services and meeting the needs of the needy residents, collecting from the residents from themselves is an important issue pointing to the financial autonomy of the neighborhood.

The Neighborhood as a Secured Place

The legal system implemented in the traditional Ottoman neighborhood and organization of the neighborhood on the basis of primary relations and surety system had a functional role in the provision of security and peace. Strong neighbor relations are one of the most important elements in providing security. In addition, the security system created by consecutive surety system had led to the strengthening of cooperative organizations, which were suitable for the communal structure, and every inhabitant had taken an essential role in the control of the region in which he lives.²¹⁷ According to the Ottoman law, the inhabitants of the neighborhood were responsible for classifying unidentified incidents. In cases where the guilty could not be detected, the resident had to cover the loss. The residents could come together and apply court for a person who broke down the general order and peace. Even they could have excluded that person from the neighborhood with the court's approval.²¹⁸ The primary purpose was to take the precaution for people who aimed to break social order and security.

In the neighborhood, the belief that the neighborhood was shared with the mechanisms of social control and self-defense was real, durable, and effective in a

²¹⁵ Lütüf Bergen, "Medeniyetin Cüzü: Mahalle" In *İdealkent Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 163.

²¹⁶ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 174.

²¹⁷ Ekrem, Işın, *ibid.*, 40.

²¹⁸ Ömür Nihal Karaaslan, Faruk Karaaslan, *ibid.*, 54.

serious sense. Yüksek emphasizes the physical structure of the neighborhood with the relationship between the neighbors in the functioning of the social order:

Different control mechanisms and common defense mechanisms were functioning in order to protect and regulate social order and morality. The inhabitants of the neighborhood were watching and checking who enters to or leaves from others' houses. Even the spatial orientation of the neighborhood showed this mentality because many streets in the neighborhood were generally dead end and the number of streets where cars such as horse-drawn carriages can pass was also limited.²¹⁹

The right of residents to export for the people who are disturbing themselves and disturbing the peace of the neighborhood was not only a matter of life and property security but also a moral attitude and behavior in society. The moral behaviors that were determined by traditional and religious rules had a central role in the provision of security and peace in the Ottoman neighborhoods. The fact that the tarred house doors of women who were suspected constitutes one of the moral interventions related to honor. Thus, it was announced that the one sitting in that house was stamped with a black mark, and it caused being excluded from the community, which was one of the worst penalties. Again, as immoral behavior, wine sales and being drunkenness were the subject of complaints in some of the neighborhoods where the non-Muslims and Muslims live together.²²⁰

One of the measures taken by the Ottoman Empire in order to provide city security and structural integrity was the construction of gates between the neighborhoods in 1578.²²¹ These doors were closed in the evenings and prevented other neighborhoods from being affected when there was disorder. In the 16th century, to ensure the security, the residents of the neighborhood were wardens of the neighborhood in order. This practice was later continued with the implementation of the paid wardens called *pasban*. According to a law dated in 1695, each neighborhood resident was entitled to arrest the foreigners who wander after night prayer by monitoring the neighborhood with the lantern in their hands. Also each neighborhood had to retain two wardens whose loyalty was guaranteed by the guarantors.²²² The wardens, who were appointed to the neighborhood with the application of the inhabitants and the

²¹⁹ Ahmet Yüksek, *ibid.*, trans. Sevde Meşe, 22.

²²⁰ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, (İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi, 2017), 155.

²²¹ Ekrem Işın, *ibid.*, 40.

²²² Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul," In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 229.

official letter of the *qadi*, were appointed in the security works of the neighborhood under the command of *imams* and headmen.²²³

2.2.5. The Traditional Neighborhood Structure and Gated Communities

Housing satisfies the need of shelter but in fact, it is a symbol of identity and socio-economic status beyond being only personal space. House explains complicated processes such as the neighborhood in it is located, its architectural style, stylistic features, size, design and installation, its essential goods, material value, construction quality, number of households and their social position, roles, and cultural capital.²²⁴ It manifests the life of the social class it belongs to. In this respect, housing gains significance because of its social and cultural relations within the neighborhood unit.

In the traditional neighborhood structure, which had administrative, economic, legal, and religious functions, the land belongs to God²²⁵, and housing and surroundings were shaped to reflect Islamic principles. With the XIX. century, the structural transformations, which dominated the Ottoman state and social life, influenced the Ottoman city and the neighborhood structure. Specialized occupations and traditional professions have begun to lose their symbolic characteristics; consumption norms and habits have changed.²²⁶ The consistent consumption patterns and living standards of the traditional neighborhood structure have become to lose their homogeneity. These changes, which were constituted dualities in structural terms for the first time, changed a dimension in Istanbul after 1980. Neoliberal policies, post-modernity, and consumption culture have spread rapidly with the effect of globalization, subsequently, the rise of the middle class, the polarization in the society and the privatization of public services have led to the spread of gated communities as a new housing style. “Instead of neighborhoods that are permeable to each other, new residential areas have emerged by excluding the others. This situation is firstly related to the fact that the residential areas have become an indicator for prestige and status and have been commodified within consumerism and firstly they have been

²²³ Ali Murat Yel, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, “Mahalle,” In *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 326.

²²⁴ Köksal Alver, *Steril Hayatlar* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 67.

²²⁵ Turgut Cansever, *İslam'da Şehir ve Mimari* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 117.

²²⁶ Esra Banu Sipahi, *ibid.*

mentioned with material values”.²²⁷ Space and the land have moved away from the meaning of Islamic and Middle Eastern culture. Land and urban land are being considered as the source of rent; in this sense the housing has lost its primary value and it has been turned into capitalist conditions and the formation of new profits. Erkilet explains the process of the replacement of the use value with exchange value as follows:

The fact that the profit-centered view that shows itself in all space and housing usage is a concrete example of the influences of modern interventions on capitalism. Today, the fact that the use value of closed or gated communities and residences remain in the background and being marketed with an emphasis on “magnificence” and “luxury” is also one of the examples that can be mentioned in this context and it points to a significant change that requires attention. We know from Veblen that housing is the object of the vanish consumption; however, housing is rapidly abstracted from the use value and the meaning of nest; it starts to be an investment subject that is evaluated as a reinforcer of the status of the owner and lucrative. The characterization of houses and sites as luxury and being closed (exclusionary), being large/broad, is an indication that the processes of total modernization and capitalization have begun to reflect on urban space perception, its use, and urban relations.²²⁸

The urban planning of modern city with the focus of “surplus”, “capital accumulation” and “consumption” is far from the social, religious, and legal structure of the traditional neighborhood. The Ottoman city was built around mosques and complexes in the scale of neighborhoods. The waqf-imaret system and the organization of artisans directly influenced the city's planning and the formation of the neighborhoods and they gave the city's physical-topographical, economic, and social characteristics. The intent of the foundations and the service they offer in the society, the morality of the *Futuwwah* of the tradesmen organizations, and its transition to guild organization by leading to economic and social life show the importance of religious and social values and traditions in urban planning. The services of the waqfs to the society in many areas such as social, religious, health, and education, and the control of guild organizations to the market in order to avoid unfair competition and individual gain prevented the privatization of the services in the society and its articulation to capitalism. Thus, space and neighborhood were not commodified, and social institutions were not replaced by economic institutions.

²²⁷ Ebru Firidin Özgür, “Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 95.

²²⁸ Alev, Erkilet, “Türkiye’de Kentlerin Dönüşümü ve Magnetsiz Şehirler Kitabının Hikayesi,” In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak, trans. Sevede Meşe, (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 9.

The traditional neighborhood has a structure of diversity. The structure of mixed property in this neighborhood also provides social diversity of the neighborhood.²²⁹ There is no class or status difference between the neighborhood and people from all kinds of socio-economic layers can talk to each other. Erkilet states, “The poor and rich houses in the Ottoman quarter were sides by the side in the same space shows that income and wealth were not the cause of social-spatial segregation and economic stratification did not lead to isolation and exclusionary practices like a ghetto.”²³⁰ The social relations with this partnership and social solidarity developed community consciousness and sense of belonging. Alada explains the heterogeneous structure of traditional neighborhood:

The old neighborhood was in a heterogeneous pattern of social stratification; each neighborhood brought together different segments of people in terms of income, although the proximity of the neighborhoods to the center of the city according to the degree of prosperity cannot be identified. Even the general ethnic and religious distinction attributed to the traditional neighborhood's examples in Islamic cities cannot be regarded as a strict and traditional acceptance for the Ottoman neighborhood.²³¹

However, the neighborhood, as a self-contained local settlement, gives a sense of neighborhood with strong neighborly relations and a community spirit and collective unity. Therefore, neighborhoods are not integrative but unifying. The relationship established with the shopkeepers of the neighborhood and the social life of the elements such as mosques, streets, etc. in the public life reinforce the social relationship. In the modern city structure, since the gated communities are established with the aim of direct exclusion, by considering from the aspect of the whole city, it both constructs a spatial and social organization that constitutes the organization of a housing area that turns one's back, separates and excludes each other.²³² Gated communities are established to address a particular socio-economic segment and exclude people outside of this section. The distinguished minority has moved away from the public while retaining the value of the property. Despite its

²²⁹ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 89.

²³⁰ Alev, Erkilet, “Türkiye’de Kentlerin Dönüşümü ve Magnetsiz Şehirler Kitabının Hikayesi,” In *Magnetsiz Şehirler*, ed. Alev Erkilet ve Yunus Çolak (Ankara: Nobel Yayın, 2017), 4.

²³¹ Adalet Bayramoğlu Alada, “Küreselleşen Şehrin ‘Geleneksel Mahallesi’ne’ Reddiye” In *Kent ve Politika Antik Kentten Dünya Kentine*, ed. Ayşegül Mengi, trans. Sevde Meşe, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 30.

²³² Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, 90.

social facilities such as recreation areas, sports facilities, and sometimes mosques and schools, it cannot provide a strong sense of belonging, shared responsibility and community spirit. On the contrary, they prefer to move gated communities, which point out their happiness and family well-being away from the chaos of the city by focusing on the desire to live with “purified communities” and in “purified lives” and experiencing all kinds of activities with their families or with people like themselves. It causes the collapse of urban public sphere.²³³

In contrast to the exclusionary structure of the modern neighborhood, the traditional neighborhood structure undertakes an inclusive and unifying function. In order to ensure the order and security in the neighborhood, there was a common responsibility among residents under the supervision of the *imam* or headman and residents consulted to the *qadi* when necessary. When an unidentified incident happened, the responsibility for finding the guilty was given to the all members of neighborhood. With the bail system, the essential security has been established primarily by establishing a relationship between the neighbors. The ban of going outside after a specific time in the evening, being familiar with the neighbors, the implementation of the neighborhood warden and, where necessary, the exclusion of people who were seen as a moral or physical threat from the neighborhood have been phenomena that provide peace and security. However, the changing meaning of the today’s neighborhood, the degeneration caused by that some concepts that are full of sense of belonging such as “being from neighborhood, *mahalleli*,” “strong social control” and “neighborhood pressure” and increasing crime rate became reasons for preference for gated communities.²³⁴

The traditional neighborhood texture and its value-oriented organization according to religious and traditional values and customs have been accepted as a strategy in the marketing of the gated communities. Creating a nostalgic and idealized neighborhood texture by giving a neighborhood name and identity to gated communities is a marketing tactic. The gated communities are presented with marketable identities. Özgür defines the space as tool for production of urban rent, marketed with traditional values:

²³³ Aslı Didem Danış, “Bahçeşehir bir Mahalle mi?,” In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 104.

²³⁴ Esra Banu Sipahi, *ibid.*, 854.

Space, as a specific geographic area is nourished by cultural, historical, and original characteristics. Today, in the reproduction of urban space, we can say that this situation turns against the space and society. In the production of today's urban space, the circulation of capital is taken into consideration rather than the historical continuity; the space has a social value in terms of the material value that it can only be marketed or converted into a consumption object.²³⁵

This situation affects the neighborhood itself and its production. The neighborhood, which has been transformed into a label in the marketing of gated communities, is sometimes offered with traditional architecture and common social facilities that can strengthen social ties and neighborly relations. In addition, it is marketed as being far away from the complexity and congestion of the city, but in a location where it is easy to reach anywhere, as well as in the form of housing units, which are equipped with security equipment against all kinds of threats from the city. Bartu, in his research on Kemer Country highlighted the factors presented in the marketing process of the gated community.²³⁶ This project, which is designed with the perspective of new-traditional urbanism, argues that it provides to regain social values both physically and spiritually. Families can provide collective identity and belonging. Besides, they offer complete neighborhood integrity with details such as the houses with bay windows, backyards, and roofs of Turkish / Ottoman civil architecture. However, the lifestyle offered is based on a neighborhood identity that is far from an inclusive social perspective. The security measures taken against the dangers of the city and house prices to address a particular segment of society are the reasons at first glance.

The relationship of these “neighborhoods” with the city and its public life is “staying away,” and it is a new way of organizing social and cultural differences. These settlements, which are marketed as a “new civil society,” are based on principles that will prevent the development of any civil society, in contrast to that claim. In other words, they are elements that reinforce urban segregation.²³⁷

Alada compares the traditional neighborhood culture and the gated community projects suggesting that they are presenting ‘traditional neighborhood lifestyle’ from the point of structure and relationship. The defensive organization of the Ottoman neighborhood with the social control mechanisms is provided with the walls,

²³⁵ Ebru Firidin Özgür, *ibid.*, trans. Sevede Meşe, 81-82.

²³⁶ Ayfer Bartu, “Dışlayıcı Bir Kavram Olarak ‘Mahalle’,” In *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 40 (2002): 85.

²³⁷ Ayfer Bartu, *ibid.*, trans. Sevede Meşe, 86.

advanced security technology, and security personnel in today's 'traditional neighborhood'. In the traditional neighborhood, the neighborhood itself is a necessity of the legal regime that regulates the public sphere, which derives from collective responsibility for the rulers. However, gated communities are built on the defense of an isolated lifestyle from the city against people outside.²³⁸

2.3. Conclusion

The gated communities have become spread in Istanbul after the 1980s. The military coup was the turning point for neoliberal economic activities and new political arrangements, parallel to global developments. With the fact that neoliberal urbanism has become a fundamental dynamic in the planning of cities, social polarization discernibly manifests itself in the urban area. Postmodern approaches and habits of consumption culture redefine the concepts of lifestyle, prestige, and leisure activities. In that regard, gated communities have been developed as a new form of life to maintain the sustainability of capitalism.

The fragmented and separated structure of postmodern city is resulted not only in damaging the silhouette of Istanbul but also socio-spatial segregation, fear of crime, and social relationships. Offering a way of lifestyle with traditional neighborhood culture is considered as a marketing tool. Thus, in order to make comparison and analyze the role of gated communities on the transformation of neighborhood unit, the essential characteristics of traditional neighborhood culture are taken into consideration with reference to its specific examples of Ottoman culture between 16th-18th centuries in Istanbul. The value-oriented establishment of neighborhoods after the conquest of Istanbul, the organization of guilds, the importance of main elements, and its social, administrative and security functions have shown that the traditional neighborhood culture has been providing social, political, economic and cultural integrity within itself. The value-oriented approach of traditional neighborhood texture in both structural and social aspect contradicts with the profit-oriented approach of modern city planning.

²³⁸ Adalet Bayramođlu Alada, "Küreselleşen Şehrin 'Geleneksel Mahallesi' ne' Reddiye" In *Kent ve Politika Antik Kentten Dünya Kentine*, ed. Ayşegül Mengi (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 31-33.

The concepts, approaches, functions of gated communities, and traditional neighborhood structure have been presenting different socio-economic structures and lifestyles. In the last chapters of thesis, in order to develop holistic approach about the influence of gated communities on neighborhood culture, the examples of Beyaz Residence and Nişancı Neighborhood in Eyüp are analyzed within the context of residents-space relationships considering literature review in first two chapters.

CHAPTER 3

FIELD STUDY

3.1. General Characteristics of Eyüp

The district of Eyüp is located in the Çatalca Peninsula on the West side of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area on the European side of Istanbul. The district is surrounded by Şişli, Kağıthane in the east; by Beyoğlu, Fatih, Zeytinburnu in the south; by Başakşehir in southern; by Bayrampaşa, Gaziosmanpaşa, Sultangazi, and Arnavutköy in the west and by the Black Sea in the north.

The topographic structure of the Eyüp region, which is 2.6 km from the Haliç waterway, is rugged terrain. The elevation increases from the coast and the center to the interior. Kara explains the location of Eyüp and the dynamics and social structure of the region:

Alibeyköy in the north of the district of Eyüp, where the shanty and residential cooperative settlements are densely populated; Gaziosmanpaşa in the northwest where the Bulgarian immigrants began to immigrate in the 1876s and continued in the 1940-1950 and industrial areas were settled in; Bayrampaşa in the West where the Yugoslavian immigrants began to immigrate in 1950s and continued 1960s and industrial areas mostly located in Rami; and in the south Fatih walled city which forms the border with the city walls, and the outskirts of Zeytinburnu which is the first shanty settlement of Istanbul.²³⁹

There are twenty eight districts in Eyüp that are Akpınar; Ağaçalı; Çiftalan; İhsaniye; Işıklar; Odayeri; Pirinççi; Göktürk Merkez; Mithatpaşa; Mimar Sinan; Güzeltepe; Akşemsettin; Cırcır; Alibeyköy; Yeşilpınar; Karadolap; Esentepe; Emniyettepe; Sakarya; Silahtarağa; Eyüp Merkez; İslambey; Rami Yeni; Rami Cuma; Düğmeciler; Topçular; Nişancı and Defterdar Neighborhoods.

²³⁹ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara. "Eyüp," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (III)*, (İstanbul: Ana Basım A.Ş., 1994), trans. Sevede Meşe, 245.



Map 4.1. The neighborhoods of Eyüp²⁴⁰

The district of Eyüp area began to allow intense immigrants since the mid-70s. The population increased from 238,831 to 331,507 between the years of 1970 and 1980. As of 2013, the population was 361.531, and it was 383.909 in 2018.²⁴¹ The change in the ratio of immigrants' population in Eyüp and the fact that Bayrampaşa has been separate municipality are developments that have effect in the change of population growth rate over the years.

²⁴⁰ from <http://www.eyupsultan.gov.tr/eyupmahallelerharitasi>.

²⁴¹ DIE (State Institute of Statistics) (2018). Retrieved January 23, 2019, from http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1059

3.2. The Development and Change of Eyüp Sultan Settlement in Historical Process

The district of Eyüp has continued to be a historical site from the past to the present day with its monumental and civil architectural structure and it is the first Turkish settlement established out of the walled city in the Istanbul.²⁴² After the conquest, the development and change in Eyüp, which is formed around the Eyüp Sultan Complex, *külliyeye*, can be discussed at different time intervals based on different dynamics. Throughout history, political, commercial, social, economic, and cultural changes have created changes in the social structure, and urban space. In this context, this section firstly focuses on the development of the neighborhood structure of Eyüp with the social and economic factors that cause these changes and transformations.

Eyüp in Byzantine Age

Constantinople, proclaimed as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in A.D. 395, was a significant city due to its population density and the roles that it undertook. With the spread of the city to the west, two significant axes (oak paths) have emerged from the old core of the city to the important gates of the land walls. One of them is triumph way, and the other is the axis that combines Eyüp Sultan's relations with the old world city. It was called Kosmidion (Green) due to the foundation of ministry in the time of Theodosios and the appearance of the landscape. Because of its religious buildings, it is known as a holy healing center. Also, the area was covered by a rich and dense plant center and hunting animals were living in the nearby forests like the other shores of Haliç. That's why the emperors were often visiting the region for hunting.²⁴³

Eyüp in 15th and 16th Century of Ottoman State

The most crucial problem faced by Fatih Sultan Mehmed after the conquest of Istanbul was the construction and settlement of this city with its geopolitical,

²⁴² Gülnur Kadayıfçı et al., "Nişanca Meydanı ve Çevresinin İncelenmesi" In *X. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2006), 123.

²⁴³ Eyüp Sultan Belediyesi, "İlçemizin Tarihi," Accessed January 23, 2019. <http://www.eyupsultan.gov.tr/ilcemizintarihi>.

geographical location and characteristics under its historicity and importance.²⁴⁴ In order to revitalize the city economically, culturally and socially, the complexes, *külliyes*, were built where charity works were carried out. The stability was maintained through foundations, *waqfs*, which is called as imaret system. With the mosque, masjid, madrasa, primary school, library, soup kitchen, guesthouse, the social, cultural, and health needs of public have been satisfied. In addition to the complexes, the khans, bedestens, caravans, and manufactures, which provide continuous income for these facilities, have created the city's core. As the settlement areas expanded, new neighborhoods started to develop.

Fatih, after the conquest of Istanbul, intended to extend the settlement out of the city walls while reorganizing and reconstructing the city with Turkish-Islamic identity. In the sixth year of the conquest, Ayverdi states that the qadi system of Istanbul (walled city) and Bilad-i Selase, namely, Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar were united under the leadership of qadi of Istanbul Molla Hüsrev in 1459 and after that, the fate of these four districts would be carried out together.²⁴⁵ In this direction, three significant policies implemented in the conquered areas of the Ottoman Empire, Turkifying, enlivening and resettling were implemented for Eyüp Sultan. The Turkification and resettlement of Eyüp Sultan were completed with Turkmen people brought from South Marmara and Bursa. Enlivening of space meant to resettle the population there to increase agricultural production and provide security over the years, especially in order to stimulate long mercantile trade.²⁴⁶ In the name of the state, the complexes built by the Sultan and the foundation facilities built by the wealthy section of the people provided continuity in reconstruction process. In that way the cores of new settlement areas to be resettled were determined by the constructions of complex facilities.

İnalçık states that Eyüp Sultan is an original and typical example of Turkish urbanism in Anatolia, such as Bursa, an Ottoman-Turkish town. Besides it is a visiting, meeting, recreation and entertainment place, it is also called as the art of

²⁴⁴ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Fetih ile Birlikte Kurulan Bir Semt Eyüp ve Fetihden Günümüze Ulaşan Mahalleler” In *VII. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2003), 343.

²⁴⁵ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Bir Dünya Kenti İstanbul ve İlk Türk (Osmanlı) - İslam Yerleşmesi Eyüp Üzerine”, In *III. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1999), 105.

²⁴⁶ Nadide Körçeşme., “Eyüp Merkez Yerleşiminde Geleneksel Konut Mimarisi.” Master’s Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012, 5.

museum and the city of shrines.²⁴⁷ Hz. Khalid Bin Zaid al-Eyyub al-Ansari was killed during the battle of the Arabs. He was the first person who hosted Hz. Mohammed (the Prophet of Islam) in his house when Hz. Mohammed immigrated from Mecca to Medina. After the conquest of Constantinople, the place narrated as the tomb of Eyyub al-Ansari was built in 1458/1459, and the first Turkish-Islamic complex was built near the tomb. In the same years, the madrasah, library, *imaret*, and two baths were added, and the sustainability of these services was ensured through the foundation established by the Sultan. As a result, the Eyüp Sultan complex was the first Turkish-Islamic complex to form the core of the Eyüp region, and the district has gained its still-continuing religious-spiritual significance. This “spiritual symbolism will rise with calling the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire as the caliph and the religious representative of the Islamic world and the transfer of holy relics of the Prophet”²⁴⁸.

Being one of the widely visited sacred place, creating a social and cultural environment with the Sultans, dignitaries, statesmen and thinkers and artists who lived here since Eyüp was founded,²⁴⁹ and the tombs and cemeteries of these prominent figures have risen the religious and social importance of the district. The mosques, lodges, madrasahs, soup kitchens, hamams, palaces, fountains, cemeteries, which have established from the construction of the first complex until today, are historical documents reflecting this social and cultural importance. Also the district of Eyüp was carrying political importance for Ottoman Sultans. The fact that the belt ceremonies were performed on the religious axis around Eyüp Sultan mausoleum reveals the sanctity of this place and its role in the political growth of the city.²⁵⁰ In addition to this, in the development process of Ottoman Empire, Eyüp Sultan was the focal point in the celebration of the ideological and symbolic throne, the oath of allegiance, and the celebrations of circumcision, birth, and victory.²⁵¹ Organizing

²⁴⁷ Halil İnalçık., “Eyüp Sultan Tarihi”, In *Eyüp: Dün, Bugün: Sempozyum 11-12 Aralık 1993*, ed. Tülay Artan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).

²⁴⁸ Zekiye Yenen et al., “Eyüp’te Tarihsel Birikim” In *Eyüp Dönüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 83.

²⁴⁹ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Fetih ile Birlikte Kurulan Bir Semt Eyüp ve Fetihden Günümüze Ulaşan Mahalleler” In *VII. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2003), 346.

²⁵⁰ Naci Şahin., “XIX. Yüzyılda Eyüp’te Kültürel Yapı”, In *X. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 398).

²⁵¹ Zekiye Yenen et al., “Eyüp’te Tarihsel Birikim” In *Eyüp Dönüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 83.

celebrations between Eyüp and palace on the way of holy ax and Haliç paved the way for new developments of the neighborhoods around the complexes built on the holy axis and the buildings with religious and recreational purposes on the Haliç. Therefore the manufacturing and commercial functions of the region and the ceramic and comic ateliers have been developed in that period.

At the end of the Fatih Era, a significant part of the old city texture of the present Eyüp settlement was construction area although there were gaps in between. As the settlement project of Fatih, the first settlement in Eyüp was built as a mosque centered neighborhood after Eyüp Sultan Complex.²⁵² The earliest examples were the neighborhoods centered Otağcılar Masjid and Kasım Çavuş Masjid. Ayverdi supposes that the mosques and masjids constituted the core of the neighborhoods as the first point of formation and she often associates the establishment year of the neighborhoods with the construction years of the mosques where they develop around.²⁵³ Known districts of Eyüp until the end of the 16th century are (i) Abd'ül Vedud Camii (Sultan Mosque Neighborhood), (ii) Cami-i Kebir, (iii) Fethi Çelebi Camii (Otağcılar Camii Mahallesi), (iv) Kasım Çavuş Mosque, (v) Mehmed Bey Masjid, (vi) Otağcı Başı Masjid, (vii) Sofular Masjid, (viii) Ülice (Ödlice) Baba Masjid. With the construction of the Rami Barracks after the second half of the nineteenth century, new neighborhoods were developed with the settlement of the state office and the settlements of the Turks coming from Bulgaria. In 1934, with the newly formed neighborhoods, the number of neighborhoods in the district of Eyüp, which is connected to Fatih District, was twelve and significant changes were made in the borders of the neighborhood. (i) Abdülvedud Neighborhood, (ii) Cezeri Kasım Neighborhood, (iii) Eyüp Sultan Neighborhood, (iv) Eyüp Gümüşsuyu Neighborhood, (v) İslambey Neighborhood, (vi) Fethi Çelebi Neighborhood, (vii) Dügmeçiler Neighborhood, (viii) Nişancı Mustafa Paşa Neighborhood, (ix) Üç Şehitler Neighborhood, (x) Rami Cuma Neighborhood, (xi) Topçular Neighborhood, (xii) Rami Yeni Neighborhood.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Gönül Çantay., “Eyüp Sultan’da Osmanlı Dönemi Yapılaşması”, In *X. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 94.

²⁵³ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Fetih ile Birlikte Kurulan Bir Semt Eyüp ve Fetihden Günümüze Ulaşan Mahalleler” In *VII. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2003), 345.

²⁵⁴ Nadide Körçeşme., “Eyüp Merkez Yerleşiminde Geleneksel Konut Mimarisi.” Master’s Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012, 86.

At the end of the 16th century, Haliç was integrated into urban life. The settlement texture of the city during this period did not spread much over the previous period, but there were essential zoning movements. The buildings that are the most beautiful examples of classical Ottoman style were exhibited with their style reflected in architectural structure, materials, and decorations. They have become an indicator of the developing cultural and social environment.²⁵⁵ From 1539 to 1588, Mimar Sinan, who was the chief architect of Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim II and Murad III built many constructions in Eyüp reflecting the cultural and social dynamics of the 16th century in Eyüp.

Eyüp in 17th - 19th Century of Ottoman State

Although the settlement area in the 17th and 18th centuries did not expand very much, it approached the city walls. This period, which includes the “Tulip Era”, has been a rich period for water structures such as fountains for Eyüp as in general of Istanbul. Most of the characteristic buildings of this century were built in Eyüp.²⁵⁶ The fountain structure of Shah Sultan Complex, Mihrişah Sultan Complex, Kalenderhane Tekkesi are the most beautiful examples of the term. From those examples, it is analyzed that the Ottoman Classical Era style is gradually abandoned in the architectural structures and ornaments, and West's decorative arts are worked in details. Palaces and mansions were built on the coasts of Eyüp and the shores of Bahariye.

In the 16th century, Istanbul, where there was a control of the population growth with the implementation of the ban on abandoning the landowner's land, began to allow migrants due to the internal disturbance in the 17th century in Anatolia. In the 18th century, the beginning of the loss of land on the Rumeli side increased immigration rates and caused the concentration of housing areas.²⁵⁷ On the coast of Haliç, new settlements from Tersane to Sütluçe were established, and the old view of

²⁵⁵ Hatice F. Kara., “Eyüp Sultan Yerleşme Dokusunun Tarihsel Süreci İçerisinde Gelişimi-Değişimi”, *In II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1998), 286.

²⁵⁶ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Bir Dünya Kenti İstanbul ve İlk Türk (Osmanlı) - İslam Yerleşmesi Eyüp Üzerine”, *In III. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1999), 107.

²⁵⁷ Zekiye Yenen et al., “Eyüp’te Tarihsel Birikim” *In Eyüp Donüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 84.

Istanbul, which was limited to the walled city, began to take its place on a coastal city. Kuban (2004) claims that this situation also increased the importance of neighborhoods and zones outside the city walls. The old city of Istanbul, which was limited to walls, was replaced with a small city concentrated on coasts.²⁵⁸ This development has led to a more precious expression of the integrity of the city and increased the importance of Eyüp. The gaps between settlements in the 15th and 16th century were opened for settlement. It is emphasized that in these new settlements, the neighborhoods started to be formed at the center of the lodges, in addition to mosques. Also, the guild neighborhoods formed for production purposes, are involved in this process such as Çömlekçiler Street. Yenen and Yakar describe Eyüp in the 18th century as follows:

During this period, Eyüp has expanded along the Haliç to the south, today in the area between Haliç and Eyüp Sultan. Neighborhoods have been formed around the Cezri Kasım Pasha and Zal Mahmut Pasha mosques along the Haliç, south of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque Quarter. The presence of Yavedud, Zal Pasha, Defterdar, Eyüp and Hoca Efendi piers on the shore shows that the region has a dense population at that time. In the 1630s, Evliya Çelebi mentioned about the area up to the Defterdar Mosque on the Haliç. There were about 1000 houses in the neighborhood of the Çömlekçiler in the plain, with a pleasant view of the floor, and the existence of many mansions and villas. According to Evliya, there were two hundred and fifty pottery shops in this neighborhood apart from three hundred shops. According to the information given by Evliya Çelebi and Komürcüyan, pottery, pitcher, plate, oil, honey, wine, and water containers and all kinds of toys were produced in pottery shops and workshops.²⁵⁹

Eyüp in 20th Century of Ottoman State (1900-1950)

The time of reform movements all over the world in the 18th century and reform process in Ottoman period which started in the era of Mahmut II and developed with 1839 Tanzimat Reform Era was an essential period in which there were radical changes in the traditional structure of the city.

The changes in the institutional structure in the Western sense, the importation of the new technology with the first steps taken in industrialization, and the urbanization brought by the industrialization, the population explosion that came with immigration, the work done with the understanding that the cities can be planned has begun the

²⁵⁸ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), trans. Sevde Meşe, 313.

²⁵⁹ Zekiye Yenen et al., "Eyüp'te Tarihsel Birikim" *In Eyüp Donüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 84-85.

essential changes term in the social texture, the cultural structure and the physical changes of the city.²⁶⁰

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Eyüp was developed within the borders of Edirnekapı, which included the Fethi Çelebi and Nişancı neighborhoods, and the Kasım Çavuş Mosque and Pierre Loti behind the İslambey neighborhood. There are important elements that play a role in the transformation of the 19th century physical texture of the Eyüp region, which surrounds the woods, cemeteries and treasure areas and woodlands on the shores of Bahariye. First of all, with the decision to remove the guild of janissaries and the construction of new Western military organization in the western sense, the barracks structures began to be built in the regions dominating the silhouette of the city. In this context, the Rami barracks, which was built in 1828, caused the formation of new settlement areas and the settlement texture of Eyüp was widened by placing the immigrants from the Balkans on the ridges of Rami. The construction of the Rami Barracks was a turning point in Eyüp's physical form to be determined by factors different from the previous years and distant from water.²⁶¹

Yenen, Akın and Yakar state that the establishment of the administrative function of the palace in Yıldız and Beşiktaş coasts outside the city is the most critical factor in determining the relations between the urban regions. The connection of Galata-Pera to the walled city with bridges, the development of a new center in the environs of non-Muslim countries representations in Pera, the orientation of prestige housing districts to Beyoğlu and the Bosphorus are some factors that influenced the relationship.²⁶² With the different functional areas of the city becoming evident, the need for transportation systems arose. In addition to the railway lines passing through Haliç and Bosphorus by sea, tramway between Suriçi-Beyoğlu and Kadıköy-Üsküdar and the tunnel on the Beyoğlu side and the railway lines parallel to the coasts of Marmara, wheeled transportation areas have started to be in city districts. This situation necessitated a new structuring planning with the grid system that exhibited different road and property textures than the traditional texture.

²⁶⁰ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., "Bir Dünya Kenti İstanbul ve İlk Türk (Osmanlı) - İslam Yerleşmesi Eyüp Üzerine", *In III. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1999), trans. Sevede Meşe, 108.

²⁶¹ Nadide Körçüşme., "Eyüp Merkez Yerleşiminde Geleneksel Konut Mimarisi." Master's Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012, 23.

²⁶² Zekiye Yenen et al., "Eyüp'te Tarihsel Birikim" *In Eyüp Donüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 85.

From the time of Mahmud II, when the interest of the dynasty and state officials shifted from Haliç to the Bosphorus, in this environment where the traditional structure was gradually abandoned under Western influence, the neglected Sultan's palaces and mansions on the coasts of Eyüp Bahariye were destroyed by the Sultans. The industry started in Haliç coasts with the introduction of some manufacturing activities such as Feshane Factory and İplikhane Barracks. The factories were built in the collapsed places and continued with the production of fez in a section of Hatice Sultan Palace in Defterdar and transformed into a weaving factory.²⁶³ Another important building that has a major role in the development of industry in the coasts of the Haliç region is the establishment of the first power plant Silahtarağa Power Plant in 1913. Until this period, Eyüp, which has attracted attention as the living space of upper social classes with its mansions, palaces, forest areas, and promenade locations, has come to a settlement where the religious and industrial identity comes along and the area is mostly preferred for those works in the industry.²⁶⁴

In the plans of the experts from Western countries for Istanbul such as Prost Plan (1936) and Moltke (1837), the Eyüp region were proposed as the most important part of the industrial distribution. It has brought the spread of the small industry that cannot be controlled, along Haliç shores.²⁶⁵ With the establishment of those industrial zones and placing Balkan migrants in the new settlements created with grid system around Rami barracks, Eyüp nested with industry and expanded towards the northwest along the Golden Horn.²⁶⁶ According to the boundaries of the neighborhood in 1934, the district of Eyüp was divided into 12 neighborhood units; Abdulvedut, Cezeri Kasım, Eyüp Sultan, Eyüp Gümüşsuyu, İslambey, Fethi Celebi, Düğmeciler, Nişancı Mustafa Paşa, Üç Şehitler, Rami Cuma, Topçular, Rami Yenimahalle.

²⁶³ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara. "Eyüp," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (III)*, (İstanbul: Ana Basım A.Ş., 1994), 247.

²⁶⁴ Zekiye Yenen, Hülya Yakar., "Eyüp'te Ekonomik ve Sosyal Değişimin Fiziksel Doku Aracılığında İncelenmesi", *In V. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2001), 133.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁶⁶ Nadide Körçeşme., "Eyüp Merkez Yerleşiminde Geleneksel Konut Mimarisi." Master's Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012, 27.

Eyüp in 20th Century of Turkish State (1950-1984)

Until the 1950s, Eyüp, which had taken its place with its religious identity, green areas, palaces, mansions and the buildings of the corpus of the city, entered into a rapid transformation process with industrialization after 1950s. In parallel with the development process of Istanbul, Eyüp started to change and transform, and the dynamics that shape the space became diversified. ‘The human-nature-structure’ balance within the region in previous years has become the place of ‘environmental pollution-structural degeneration-slum’ problems with Haliç's transformation to industry axis.²⁶⁷

With the expansion of the industrial areas in Gaziosmanpaşa, Bakırköy, Zeytinburnu, Kağıthane, İstinye, Levent, Yeşilköy in European side; Kartal, Beykoz and Bostancı regions in Anatolian part, the boundaries of the residential areas have expanded. In this context, the production of two different house types is an important factor in the change of the physical texture of the city: squatting and apartment building. With the industrialization, the intense migration wave coming to Istanbul caused the state to ignore squatting. In 1954, an amendment to the land registry law allowed for condominium accelerated the apartment building process.²⁶⁸

In order to meet the increasing need for transportation in this period, Rami Kışla Street was converted into an active connection road and was connected to Eyüp Sultan Mosque through a boulevard called as Eyüp Sultan Boulevard, *Yeni Yol*.²⁶⁹ In the 1950s houses and roads were built in order to place the immigrants from the Balkans in Rami. The shops on the Mosque Kebir Caddesi were demolished after the construction of the boulevard. In 1973, between Ayvansaray and Defterdar, the Bosphorus, belt highways and the 3rd bridge of Haliç were built.

²⁶⁷ Murat Şentürk., “Kentsel Müdahaleler Acısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 204.

²⁶⁸ Zekiye Yenen et al., “Eyüp’te Tarihsel Birikim” *In Eyüp Donüşüm Sürecinde Sosyal-Ekonomik-Mekansal Yapı* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 89.

²⁶⁹ Ayşe Zengin., “Eyüp Kentsel Sit Alanının İnanc Turizmi Kapsamında Değerlendirilmesi ve Yerleşim Dokusunun Korunması Üzerine Bir Araştırma” Master’s Thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2010, 104.

As a result, when we examine the photographs and maps of different periods of Eyüp, Kara states that the coasts of Haliç were still empty although the industry has begun in 1920s. However in 1939 the planned industry brought unplanned industrialization with the implementation of the Prost plan. She argues that 1961 year aerial photographs of the beach is fully filled with industrial planning but the old city is not yet a speculative purpose of major interventions, spreading the ongoing industrial structures along the Rami Kışla Street through cemetery and increases of unlicensed constructions in new areas. In the post-1970 aerial photographs, she says that some of the empty spaces have been transformed into high-rise blocks by decisions made with site plans.

This development towards the 1980s, some of the free space, urban areas, old lodge, and mansion terrains have been opened to intense structuring with approaches such as lack of plan integrity zoning plans, regulations, principle decisions. Even the old texture has been seriously damaged in the neighborhoods where the wooden houses are dense, by attempts to demolish a few wooden houses and expand the road by creating a high construction opportunity.²⁷⁰

Eyüp After 1980s

“With the entry into force of the Law No. 3030, the most important implementation of the post-1983 period, when the local administrations were reorganized, and the development powers were increased, was the reorganization of the Haliç coasts by cleaning from industry”.²⁷¹ All the large industrial facilities and shipyards along the Haliç coast have been demolished to save the area from the swamp. First measures have been taken to prevent contamination, then it was planned to move the institutions causing population. Şentürk defines that process firstly with the concepts of discharge / evacuation / demolition, and then planning / programming / construction.²⁷² In the time of Bedrettin Dalan, those were put into practice with the support of the soldiers. Instead of destroyed industrial facilities and shipyards, public parking spaces were constructed. The existing coastal path parallel to the Haliç has been developed, and continuity has been provided by expansion the of road. In this

²⁷⁰ Hatice F. Kara., “Eyüp Sultan Yerleşme Dokusunun Tarihsel Sürec İçerisinde Gelişimi-Değişimi”, *In II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1998), trans. Sevde Meşe, 291.

²⁷¹ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara. “Eyüp,” in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (III)*, (İstanbul: Ana Basım A.Ş., 1994), 249.

²⁷² Murat Şentürk., “Kentsel Müdahaleler Açısından İstanbul.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011, 303.

process, the causeway project, whose plan was not approved and the strong transportation axles in the metropolitan region such as 2nd Bosphorus Bridge and Belt Highway have been aimed. Şentürk evaluates the decentralization of the industry not as a step to clean up city center but as a step for the city center to predispose to tourism and provide tourism function.²⁷³ In a sense, an attempt was made to create the infrastructure of the new economy of the city in order to make Istanbul a global city.

Kara argued that in the process of decentralization of the Haliç region the necessary precision was not showed during the demolition phase, and that caused serious damage to traditional wooden houses and other historic buildings. Within the old textures that disappear with the old streets, the scholar gives Türbe Arkası dead end street as an example, which was destroyed in 1870 with its historical fountain. In addition to this, it is emphasized that the streets with low code and the structures approached to the road do show inadequacy in attention. As a result of all this, it is necessary to discuss the construction of child park areas and their urban designs in the unsafe area where there is heavy traffic. The old quay stones of the quay, which Sultans came out when they came by sea to visit Eyüp or for belt ceremonies, disappeared in reconstruction process.²⁷⁴ Thus:

The exceptional edge of Eyüp; with its physical texture including many important historical artifacts, the memories of the past, and the mystical atmosphere it carries was torn off from the water by a quick carriageway of four traces and the integrity of the mosque square and its close surroundings with the shore was damaged in a way difficult to compensate. Thus, for prospective works for this district that will carry the traces of the past to the future, and evaluate the cultural and natural potential in a contemporary, rational and eloquent manner, have lost much in the beginning.²⁷⁵

When we come to the present day from 1934, the former district of Eyüp with the new neighborhood arrangement is divided into 8 neighborhoods: (i)Eyüp Merkez Neighborhood, (ii)İslambey Neighborhood, (iii)Düğmeciler Neighborhood, (iv)Nişancı (Nişanca) Neighborhood, (v)Defterdar Neighborhood, (vi)Topçular Quarter, (vii)Rami Yeni Neighborhood, (viii)Rami Cuma Neighborhood. In 1984, under the Law No. 3030, the Metropolitan concept was established and Eyüp Sultan

²⁷³ Ibid., 307.

²⁷⁴ Hatice F. Kara., “Eyüp Sultan Yerleşme Dokusunun Tarihsel Sürec İçerisinde Gelişimi-Değişimi”, *In II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 1998), 291-293.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., trans. Sevde Meşe, 292.

became a province of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. “Under this law, Kemberburgaz settlement and rural area were connected to Eyüp Sultan Municipality and Eyüp Sultan province has become a center of local administration in a wide area to the coasts of Black Sea.²⁷⁶ In 1990, as Gaziosmanpaşa and Bayrampaşa became provinces, urban population in Eyüp decreased, but the problems of rural areas were raised. Inadequate communication facilities with rural areas, problems of mining and quarries sites, destruction of natural resources, degradation of coasts, and environmental pollution are among these problems. The most important of these developments is that the urban area which moves towards the north at the TEM environment causes fragmentation and destruction of the forests. At this point, Kemberburgaz is the answer of the upper-income group's quest to establish a separate living area from the lower part of the community in a secure site and outside the city.



Map 4.2. Neighborhoods of Eyüp in Fatih Era and in 1934's City Guide²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Eyüp Sultan Belediyesi, “İlçemizin Tarihi,” Accessed January 23, 2019. <http://www.eyupsultan.gov.tr/ilcemizintarihi>.

²⁷⁷ Fahrünnisa (Ensari) Kara., “Fetih ile Birlikte Kurulan Bir Semt Eyüp ve Fetihden Günümüze Ulaşan Mahalleler” In VII. *Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2003), 348.

3.3. The Development of Gated Communities in Eyüp

In the process of the transformation of this spatial identity, the housing phenomenon of the region of Eyüp Sultan shows difference according to age such as mansion, palace, a house with garden, wooden houses with bay windows, apartment, a slum. In this context, the housing and its surroundings were rebuilt according to the identity of the user and the way one uses the space. Potur and Benli state the historical process of spatial identity in Eyüp:

As an example of the tradition of Ottoman city building and development in the 15th century, taking public complexes such as the complex, mosque, madrasa, tomb as center, and the two-story, bay windows, modest wooden housing texture have been firstly replaced by the mansions, races, and palaces; followed by pavement, squatting and apartment building with organic articulation in the course of time, in parallel with the economic and social change phases of the terms. In the 19th century Tanzimat Period, after the industrialization movement which caused the collapse of the coastal palaces, the new boulevards that were constructed with the belief of ‘the image of the modern city in the 1950s could only be made on the hierarchy of the road’ has changed not only the physiognomy of the Eyüp urban space, but also the functional, spatial and physical character of the residential space.²⁷⁸

With the industrialization movement after 1950, the traditional urban texture and neighborhood culture began to change. In the process of transition from the agricultural society to the industrial society, the government allowed immigration from Anatolia to Istanbul and also the population density was varied with the placement of Balkan immigrants in the new residential areas around the Rami Barracks. With the transition to the industrial society, the relationship between house, garden and neighborhood, which gradually began to lose its traditional meaning, has started to be considered as an economic benefit and consumption object with its quantitative dimension. With the law of the freedom of condominium ownership of the condominium wooden houses with gardens have been replaced by reinforced concrete, prestigious apartment case, which is suitable for multi-story building typology. However, during the reconstruction process, monuments and structures were damaged of the construction; attempt to construct broad boulevards and new ways has caused great damage in the sense of traditional neighborhood texture. Potur and Benli explain the inability to protect the traditional tissue and the loss of damage with the context of ‘change of proprietor phenomenon’. In this

²⁷⁸ Ibid., trans. Sevde Meşe, 182-183.

context, in the 20th century with the transformation of social structure in the industrial society in which the values and traditions were consumed, as well as the differentiation of culture and thought systems, have prevented the development of sense of belonging and ownage. The traditional urban texture is not perceived as a semantic value item of qualified and cultural essence.²⁷⁹ Besides, in the decisions regarding the physical protection of the structural environment, wooden houses were considered as structures to be protected. However, in order to preserve the traditional housing and neighborhood texture, focusing only on housing is to push the integrity back to the ground, and to ignore the importance of the home-garden-street relationship. House, shared living space is the center of living space and the concepts of courtyard, and street are the main elements of this structuring. They develop neighborhood relations mutually as well as the spaces that protect the privacy as in Turkish-Islamic origins.²⁸⁰ Therefore, home, street, neighborhood culture, sense of belonging, ownership and cultural consciousness is not the values that can be maintained by only restoration of wooden houses.

After 1980s, social and economic developments has brought new urbanization period for Istanbul. Neoliberalism, spreading under the influence of globalization, caused many social and economic consequences. Istanbul has been the scene of the search for new housing under the new economic structure and the new consumer culture and postmodern habits of the rising middle class. The gated communities as a response to this search are both the result and reinforcing element of social and spatial disintegration. Perouse (2004) states that the date of the first construction of the gated communities in Eyüp was at the end of the 1980s when the borders of Eyüp Municipality were defined, and the district of Göktürk was established. He argues that this date coincides with the opening of second bridge (1989) and the opening of the second highway connected to the region (TEM) and the emergence of local powers in 1984 having the authority on urbanization policies. In this process, the transition from the cooperative structure applied in the construction of the residential groups to the model of gated community, the Kemer Country was the first project started to be built in 1991 and started to be settled in 1993.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 185.

²⁸⁰ Naci Şahin., “XIX. Yüzyılda Eyüp’te Kültürel Yapı”, In *X. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2000), 399.

In 1996, when Kemerburgaz was officially started to construction, some penalties were introduced for some constructions until that time, but on the other hand, a new era has started and new opportunities were introduced in a legal framework. In 2001, between Hasdal and Kemerburgaz, the opening of the 6 km. length new preferential expressway, which is expected to expand into the north-west and to open many other areas to construction marks a new phase that will make this region more attractive for the development of the gated communities.²⁸¹

In addition to the increase in gated communities in the Göktürk and Kemerburgaz regions after 1990, there were cooperative housing estates that do not contain developed security devices and specified facilities and services in Eyüp Merkez Neighborhood (including Eyüp Merkez, İslambey, Nişancı, Düğmeciler, Topçular, Defterdar, Rami Yeni and Rami Cuma Neighborhoods). However, especially after 2010, there has been an increase in the number of gated communities and it continues to increase. Suryapı Axis is a shopping center opened in 2016 has made the region attractive for new investments. While gated communities are mostly located in Rami, Topçular and Düğmeciler are the districts that some developments for new constructions could be observed in the district of Topçular and Düğmeciler. There is one gated community ‘Beyaz Residence’ project in Defterdar neighborhood where the field study is done. In these gated communities, the security is strictly provided by advanced camera systems and security personnel. They provide social facilities such as open or closed pool, sauna, fitness, playing field, and car parking area, hiking trails. While the projects of *Rami Park Evleri*, *Erdemli Konakları*, *Man Reve*, *Nef İki Haliç*, *Mihmandar Eyüp*, and *Beyaz Residence* are completed constructions, *Bahar Yaka* Project to be completed after 2020, which will be conducted within the scope of the urban transformation project. Also, in Nişancı neighborhood studied in this thesis, neighborhood residents speculate on the possibility of construction of a gated community due to the decision of urban renewal.

3.4. Nişancı Neighborhood and Beyaz Residence

Eyüp, a typical example of Ottoman-Turkish urbanism, draws attention to the fact that it is a center where the most valuable art and artistic works are gathered through

²⁸¹ Jean-Francois Perouse, “Eyüp İlcesi’nin Cevresindeki “Güvenlikli Siteler” ya da Farklılaşma Yanılsamaları.” In *İstanbul’la Yüzleşme Denemeleri*, ed. Berna Akkıyal (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011), trans. Sevede Meşe, 191.

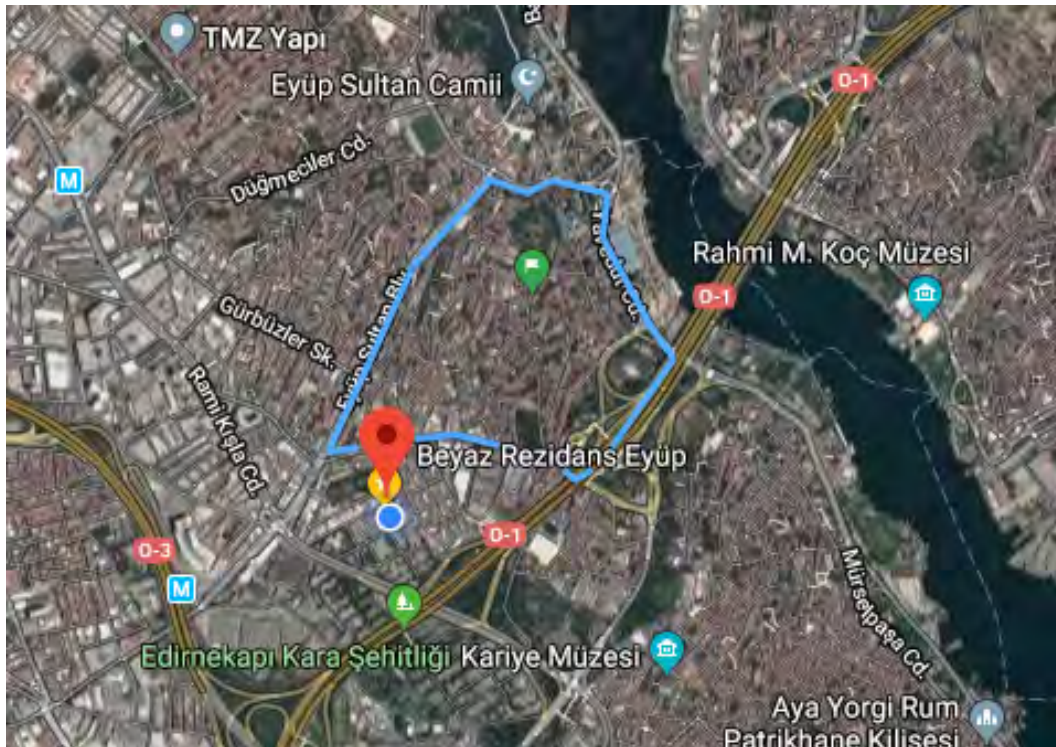
the foundation of the Ottoman due to the percept of Sultans as sacred space.²⁸² The site of literary serenity remains the city of graveyards since the elite of the city society who wanted to be close to the tombs of the martyrs of Abu-Eyub el Ensari built mausoleums carefully. Due to this spiritual identity, it is a visiting area. Also, it has been a political, recreation, and entertainment place that make the region necessary throughout history. The district has the most beautiful examples of the art of cinematography and writing, many fountain artifacts that were mostly constructed in Tulip Era, and famous lodges, which were academically a center for thought and art. Those have been factors that increase the cultural importance of the region. Thus, the district has a historical, cultural, and religious identity. In addition to that, although the region has been exposed to irregular urbanization after the 1950s, wooden domestic architecture, single-story or low-rise housing types and narrow and dead-end streets show that the district has been carrying the physical characteristics of traditional neighborhood culture. However, the constructions of gated communities and urban transformation projects that have become spread, especially in the last ten years conclude in historical and cultural destruction which brings together the necessity of analysis of Eyüp. These projects, which are carried out in order to consolidate the region and the buildings, are the points where Eyüp Sultan will begin to lose its traditional texture. Although in literature, scholars have long debated the urban transformation projects in the surrounding area as Sulukule, Fatih, Fener, Balat, Süleymaniye, Tarlabası etc. (Kıray (2003), Güvenc (2006), Binici (2018), İslam (2003), Erbağcı (2018), Altıntaş (2017), Kayalar (2010), Balcı (2009)), far too little attention has been paid to the center of Eyüp, particularly for the effect of gated communities on neighborhood culture. The theses of Master's and Ph.D. in the department of architecture are mainly about projects that are conducted for the preservation of traditional wooden domestic architecture. However, surprisingly, no previous study has investigated the region in the context of the sociology of space.

In this context, since Nişancı Neighborhood has a historical, spatial and cultural importance, and it has still-countinuing neighborhood culture, it is determined as analysis area to understand the effect of gated communities on the structure of neighborhood. In the neighborhood, relations within neighbors and shopkeepers

²⁸² Halil İnalcık., "Eyüp Sultan Tarihi", In *Eyüp: Dün, Bugün: Sempozyum 11-12 Aralık 1993*, ed. Tülay Artan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 1.

continue intensively; the cultural and religious practices, the spirit of solidarity and cooperation in urban area can be experienced. It has a heterogeneous structure in socio-economic aspect with their narrow and bending streets and adjoining houses. Beyaz Residence as a gated community is isolated from Defterdar Neighborhood, and Nişancı Neighborhood and it offers a sterile lifestyle with its socio-economic profile addressing to the middle-upper and upper-income groups. It contains high-security services and types of equipment developed against the outside and the general features of the gated communities discussed in the literature. For this reason, in order to discuss the effects of the gated communities on neighborhood culture particularly in Eyüp, Beyaz Residence and Nişancı Neighborhood was determined as study area and the relations of the participants with space were evaluated in this context.

Beyaz Residence is 250 meters away from the border of the Münzevi Street of Nişancı Neighborhood.



Map 4.3. The locations of Nişancı Neighborhood (blue field) and Beyaz Residence (red point)²⁸³

²⁸³ <https://www.google.com/maps/>.

3.4.1. Beyaz Residence

The construction of the Beyaz Residence (hereinafter referred to as BR) located in the Defterdar Neighborhood of Eyüp Sultan district started by Beyaz İnşaat in 2013 and residents started to reside between 2009-2010. The site is spread on the area of 8.700 m², and the total construction area is 28.200 m². Beyaz Residence consists of four blocks with different house types. In total, the site has 103 apartments and 26 shops, asserting that it carries a unique and distinctive ambiance with its original architecture.

The BR is located in the Otakçılar area of Eyüp, five-minute distance to Haliç Bridge and the main transportation vehicles, metrobus, tramway and metro lines. It takes fifteen minutes to walk to the center of Eyüp. Addition to its accessibility, the location is very close to business centers and city centers. In the promotional ads, the site is presented as an attractive point because of the cultural texture and historical features of Eyüp, its landscape of the Haliç and its proximity to the business centers and the city center. In addition, its proximity to the shopping centers, the Flatofis Business Center and the Eyüp State Hospital are suggested as advantages for the residents of BR.

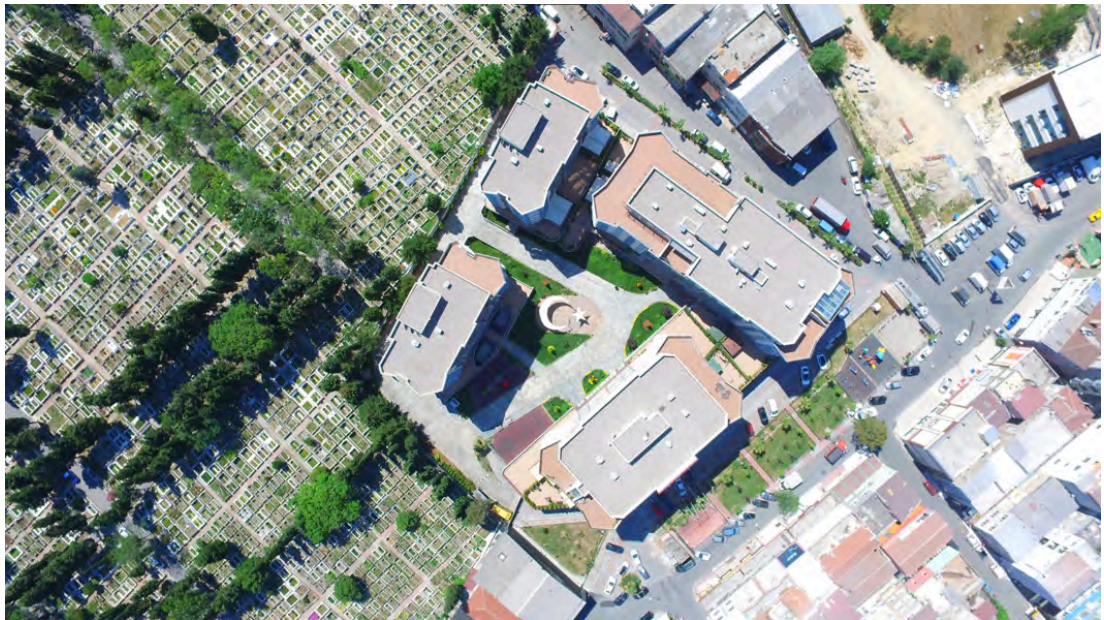


Figure 4.1. The aerial photo of Beyaz Residence

Analysis of the Physical Scope

While analyzing the BR in terms of physical scope, the physical factors, security techniques, planning techniques, social reinforcement are examined in the light of participatory observation and in-depth interviews with residents of the site.

The BR is located in the center of the city, on an area large enough to accommodate social facilities and recreation areas. There are furniture makers and manufacturers around the housing estate, but the high walls and secured doors keep problem of traffic and noise away from the residents.

Security, which is one of the primary factors in the preference of gated communities, is one of the most important reasons for the residents of the BR too. The decoration of the entrance hall and attitude of personnel staff create the impression that a person is entering into a special place. The site is built on flat ground surrounded by high walls. It has a single point of entry for the cars and two points for pedestrians. One of them is just for residents of BR and they can enter with a private entrance card. In the other entrance, there is a reception desk who welcomes guests or services and informs residents. when a guest or a service come to the site, the host is allowed to enter after the relevant resident being informed. The site is protected by four security personnel from a private security company in two-shift work. This company provides cleaning, technical maintenance, and security services. In total, six security personnel, three cleaning staff, a technical person, a director in addition to one gardener in the summer periods are employed. Closed circuit camera system (CCTV), 24-hour security personnel and entry-exit control are perpetually provided. When one wants to enter from outside to the site, the personnel allow him to enter after the house owner confirms. At this point, every detail applied in order to ensure security in the site strengthens the spatial separation, and isolates the inhabitants from their surrounding community. It is stated by the site administration that there is no case of theft until now. In terms of cleanliness, apartment floors and common areas are cleaned once a week with a washing machine and cleaners control floors everyday.

In addition to offering leisure activities such as gyms, swimming pools, Turkish bath, sauna, cafeteria, masjid to the residents of the site, it also offers privileged areas for children such as a children's playground and an indoor children's playroom. Cafeterias are not places providing café service. They are used in a meeting room

format, and residents can take the key in case of a need and then give back. Besides, with the apartments with private garden, open public arbors in the garden of site and greenery areas, it is claimed that the site opens the doors of social and natural area to the residents. Some of the apartments have a view of the garden, and some have panoramic view of Haliç Bridge. Also, some face the Sakızağacı Martyrdom and the houses in the Modesa furniture shop, which surround the back and side of the site. The shops in the site are mostly furniture sales. The entrance to these shops is provided from outside the site; the residents of the site can reach to the shops by getting out of the site. In addition to the furniture shops and several different commercial stores, there is a small market called Beyaz Market to meet the basic needs of the residents. Although shopping from the market by the residents of the site is possible with home service, it has been determined from the interviews with the residents of the site that they are not used very often. Also some of them think that the reason for this is the high sales prices of the goods or the fact that the tradesmen are not friendly enough or some important needs do not exist in the market.

As 1 + 1, 2 + 1, 3 + 1, 4 + 1 4 types of houses are available, the number of apartments on the floors varies accordingly. There are elevators between floors, so it is observed that households do not use the stairs between floors frequently. Addition to elevator facility, the reason for this was the fact that there are fire escape doors in each floor at the entrance and the end of the stairs and the ladders are narrow, and the rooms of stairs are not light well. Again on each floor, there is a room to throw rubbish.

Buildings are clustered around the yard. In the middle garden, there are seating areas, sitting benches and a playground for common use, and there is no access for cars to the garden. There is an underground car park at the bottom of the buildings, and it is also possible to pass to other buildings from the car park floor without going out. One floor of a two-story underground car park is for one apartment block, and the other floor is reserved for the remaining blocks. According to the size of the apartments, owners of households are entitled to one or two parking spaces. Since the parking spaces of the apartments are fully occupied, the manager of BR says that the residents have at least 1, sometimes 2 or 3 private vehicles. Apart from the

householders, guest vehicles are not allowed to enter the car parking area and the garden; they are directed to the open car parking area.

Analysis of the Socio-Economic Scope

The site has four blocks and there are six floors in three blocks and seven floors in one block. 103 apartments and 26 shops are currently in use. In 80% of the apartment, the householders settle while in the remaining 20% of apartments are settled by tenants. One of the shops is a shopkeeper, while the remaining 25 are tenants. The director of the site, Türker Tocan states that the rental circulation is too low and when a house or a shop empties, it is rented again in a short time. Tocan explains the reasons for this as the centrality of the site, the dominant family structure of the site, and the fact that there is no illegal activity and any non-commercial business. Tocan states that, as far as they follow, the rental prices for 2+1 houses vary between 2,000 and 2900, while the prices for 3+1 houses vary between 3000-3200 TL. While the sale of houses is around 700 thousand liras for 2 + 1, it is in the range of 1100-1200 thousand liras for 3 + 1. The dues of apartments for 2+1 is 530 liras, for 3+1 is 595 liras, and 4+1 is around 690 liras. Green area maintenance, social facility maintenance, irrigation, and security services are included in the fee of dues.

Tocan states that the residents of the site are generally composed of the upper-income group depending on the rent and sales prices of the houses and the dues. Approximately 70% of adults are university graduates. Approximately 25% of them are at primary and secondary school graduates and the remaining 5% at primary school graduates. For the education level of children, at least 80% of the students are university graduates or university students. He adds that the workplaces of the inhabitants are around the site and that the majority of them are using private vehicles to work. However, due to closeness of public transportation, some residents prefer to use metro, tramway or metrobus.

Considering the monthly sales and rent prices and the monthly fees that should be paid to the site management, it is understood that the people residing in BR are middle or high-income group. When work and education careers, housing ownership, car ownership and the means of transportation are considered, it can be expressed

that the residents are generally middle-high income level as a result of participant observations and interview with the director of the site.

Gated communities are designed to bring together people who do not disrupt the integrity of homogeneous view of social and economic aspect. While social facilities are served for particular economic income group, it also brings with it the social values and lifestyle. The BR has a homogeneous view in cultural aspect due to its proximity to the central districts of Fatih and Eyüp and the demand and reason for preference of the residents to live with the people who have close sensibilities with them. Meeting in masjid to read Quran in the month of Ramadan, the meetings organized by the neighbors on Fridays in the time of Cum'a, the attention of the residents to the neighborhood rights, and serving out ashuras show that religious and traditional customs are practiced and maintained by many residents. The fact that social areas such as swimming pools, saunas, gyms, and baths are arranged separately for both men and women show that most of the residents are acting in line with these sensitivities. In connection with this issue, in response to the demand for creating a timeframe for the co-usage of the pool for women and men for a couple of hours in a week, the members of management said that they refused the suggestion considering the general approach of the inhabitants.

3.4.2. Nişancı Neighborhood

The History of the Neighborhood

Nişancı Neighborhood (hereinafter referred to as NN) is located at the upper end of Haliç, between Ayvansaray and Eyüp center, neighboring to Düğmeciler, İslambey, Eyüp Center, and Defterdar Neighborhoods. According to the 1934 City Guide, the name of the neighborhood, Nişancı Mustafa Paşa, was developed in the 16th century around the Eyüpsultan Complex. "It is an old neighborhood where the mosque, masjid, lodge, madrasa structures are densified in the Eyüp District, and the civil architectural examples are also observed with the formation of the demand for settlement."²⁸⁴ The district, which is connected to the district of Eyüp Sultan, is one of the oldest settlement units on the southern shore of the Golden Horn, extending to

²⁸⁴ Gülnur Kadayıfçı et al., "Nişanca Meydanı ve Cevresinin İncelenmesi" In *X. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi, 2006), 123.

the city's Fatih period (1451-1481).²⁸⁵ It was named after the construction of Nişancı Mustafa Pasha social complex, *kulliye*, which was built in the 16th century and consisted of a mosque and a bath. Neighborhood has been in the form of an organic texture surrounded by mosque, masjid, fountain and other reinforcement structures serving the neighborhood. The boundary between the NN and the Defterdar neighborhood where the BR is located in the point where Paşmakçı Çayırı Street and Münzevi Street intersects with Eyüp Sultan Boulevard.

The population of the district is 15.820 according to the ADNKS reports of 2018²⁸⁶ and constitutes 4.12% of the population of Eyüp Sultan. It is possible to reach the district by sea (from Ayvansaray and Eyüp piers) and land within walking distance to metrobus. It is possible to access NN from the highway along the Haliç coast or from the D100 highway.

Analysis of the Physical Scope

NN established in 16th century. There are conflicts regarding the name of the neighborhood between Nişancı and Nişanca, but the street names have almost remained unchanged.

With the development of industrial areas in Nişancı and presence of historical texture, the city has formed a complex urban fabric. The historical mosques, courthouses, and monuments in the neighborhood were lost in the complex texture as a result of the irregular urbanization formed by the unplanned development of flats and two-story buildings in the region. There is a inharmoniousness between the ruined historical buildings and the new multi-story buildings. Alev Güven, who is the headman candidate of the municipality in March 31st municipal elections, draws attention to the necessity of the restoration of historic houses and nondurable houses to experience historical texture of the neighborhood.

There are many dead-end streets in the region, and the streets are rugged, narrow and houses are attached buildings. The founder of 'Nişancı Neighborhood: Association of

²⁸⁵ Tuğba Keskin., "Eyüp-Nişancı Mahallesi Yenileme Alan ve Cevresi Kentsel Sit Alanı Koruma Onerisi." Master's Thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2018, 4.

²⁸⁶ DIE (State Institute of Statistics) (2018). Retrieved January 23, 2019, from <https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=95&locale=tr>.

Neighborhood Culture Conservation and Survival,' Nihat İmir states that the majority of residents are homeowners and apartments have been transmitted from grandfather to father and to son. There are many educational, social and religious facilities such as schools, information houses and mosques in the neighborhood, but the inhabitants of the neighborhood point out the insufficiency of broad, green spaces and parking spaces. In spite of this inadequacy, it was understood as a result of the interviews that it does not affect the resident's socialization and communication capacity. Among the local community, social organizations such as various associations and sports clubs keep social relations close. The lack of playing field is also a problem for children. Due to the tight, cramped and dense construction of the neighborhood and the lack of open space in the possibility of an earthquake, old and earthquake-resistant houses, the difficulty of the transportation of vehicles such as ambulances or fire brigades to some narrow streets in the event of an emergency are some issues that residents feel worried and complained. In addition, there are parking problems in the neighborhood because the streets are narrow and the houses are attached. However, it is advantageous for the neighborhood to be centrally located and close to public transportation facilities such as metrobus, metro, and ferry.

The residents of the district find enough the infrastructure services such as environmental regulation of the neighborhood, the collection of traps, the control of open areas, street lighting, and security provision. However, there are many neighborhood residents who do not have the title deed of their houses because there is more than one structure in a parcel. This is an issue in which the neighborhood residents are struggling with the government. The residents have contact with the state in order to obtain the title of their house and land against any possible demolition decision about their houses under the urban renewal project.

The Analysis of the Socio-Economic Scope

Nişancı district today has a complex structure in terms of its socio-cultural aspect. Other than those born in Istanbul, the residents have come from various geographical regions. For example, people from Rize are located in Mustafa Pasha, Nazperver, Gülsuyu, and Samancı Streets; people from Kırklareli and Tekirdağı are settled in Hayrettin Street. However, the fact that the participants are from different regions

such as Rize, Giresun, Kastamonu, Gaziantep, Sakarya, and migrant of Selanik is remarkable for showing ethnic diversity.

The neighborhood does not consist of people from particular economic level, but people from both low-income and high-income group settle in NN. There is a diversity in economic and professional terms. There are lawyers, doctors, and engineers, and on the other side there are small trades to meet the needs of the small trades of the neighborhood such as tailor, shoemaker, milker. Home rents in the neighborhood average between 1000-2000 liras and home sales prices vary between 200-600 thousand liras. As a result of the interviews with the residents of the neighborhood and the participatory observation, it is concluded that there are varieties of social and economic diversity in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 4

MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Main Findings

In-depth interviews carried out in the scope of research and participant observations are analyzed in five themes: (i) defining the space, (ii) neighbor relations, (iii) the perception of security, (iv) participants' positioning lifestyle in the site/neighborhood and its residents, and (v) approach of participants for the increasing number of gated communities and its effect on neighborhood culture and the structure of city. Hence, the research asserts the relationship between the space and actor in BR and NN considering both their internal view to themselves and external view to others.

4.1.1. Defining the Space

Participants of Nişancı Neighborhood

When the participants are asked to define the space where they live in, the first thoughts that neighborhood evokes them are calm atmosphere, safe area, intimacy and close and warm neighborly relations. During the interviews, it is realized that space where people define as a neighborhood is limited with few streets. In the interviews, the use of expressions such as lower or higher neighborhoods are limited within a narrow and small area. Alver points out that the neighborhood is a place of familiarity with the eye. The narrow area of known and understood human relations consists of a house and a few streets.²⁸⁷ Participants define the Nişanca neighborhood as a place away from the crowds and the noise of the city.

This neighborhood is like a village in Istanbul, in my opinion... (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

Nişanca neighborhood is located just at the bottom of Istanbul, very close to the walls of Istanbul, but it has not turned into a city... People from Kastamonu lives here as if they are living in Kastamonu, people from Giresun lives here as if they are living in Giresun, it is not like in Istanbul. (NN10, M, *Shoemaker in NN*, 65)

²⁸⁷ Köksal Alver, *Mahalle* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 182.

Sometimes we think to go to summer houses, as an example. Let's live with village air. My friend said something very nice. Do not leave from Nişanca and do not enter the traffic of Istanbul. This is village life. We have a beautiful neighborhood. (NN6, M, *Headman of NN*, 53)

I do not want Istanbul's confusion because of my age... Nişanca is nice for me. You are going to many places and facing many pollutions, vehicle pollution and people have too much noise pollution. But Nişanca is a little quieter place. (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

The reactions of the participants while talking about the neighborhood are mostly in the form of satisfaction and joy. The neighborhood is mainly portrayed as the place of sincerity, friendship, and neighborhood. The comments show that organic tie and tissue of traditional neighborhood culture is maintained in NN.

Neighborhood is friendship for me. (NN15, F, *Housewife*, 23)

I define it as helpfulness... (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

It means neighbor, being familiar... (NN1, F, *Housewife*, 54)

We have lovely neighborhood relations with our people, our neighbors, our friends... We have very beautiful ties. (NN6, M, *Headman of NN*, 53)

You can talk or chat with at least ten people until you get home from here... the relationships are very close. (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

Participants define the NN as a safe area. People feel safe in outdoor environment and women can walk in streets without any difficulty at any time of the day.

Safety... I feel like I'm safe even at night. We have so much confidence that nothing bad happen to me or if anything happens to me, there will be someone around to help. Our neighbors are all very good people, thank Allah! (NN2, F, *Housewife*, 53)

When it is about 11-12 at night, my wife and I can take a stroll 3-5 times because I feel comfortable. On Saturday evenings, teens talk on the street, and we all know them, so there is no problem. When I go to the grocery store at 11-12 at night, I stay there and talk for an hour or half an hour, because I know them and I trust them. (NN12, M, *Employee in private company*, 32)

The residents define their love of the neighborhood and their loyalty in a way that they do not want to leave from the neighborhood in any way. Even if a better, more luxurious place is offered, they prefer to live in their own neighborhood. They think that they will not live in a different place from NN. The sense of belonging and attachment is special feelings. The participants consider the neighborhood as an environment of belonging and combines themselves with the neighborhood.

If you ask me to live in another place, it is difficult for me because I have been living here for 50 years and we're used to this place. (NN6, M, *Headman of NN*, 53)

For example, my sister lives in Paşabahçe, she says come to me, greenery is very nice... But when I turn back, I see Eyüp Sultan and I feel relieved... I never thought of going anywhere else and I could not send my daughter. We always looked for a house from Gaziosmanpaşa but I could not send her from here. Then she moved and has been living in my mom's house. (NN3, F, *Housewife*, 48)

It sounds like I can't live anywhere else ... my relatives live in Uskudar. I am going there and watching the Bosphorus for a couple of hours and then I want this place again. It seems to me that if they give me a home from, I can't live there, so it's a habit. I feel like I belong here. (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

I love my neighborhood. It is one of the ideal places to live for me. Now someone told me here is a rent-free house from Avcılar, come and sit. I prefer to live here and give rent. I feel like I belong here due to close and warm relationships. (NN10, M, *Shoemaker in NN*, 65)

The neighborhood is within walking distance of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque, so some participants express their feelings through the neighborhood with spiritual closeness. They are aware of the historical and cultural importance of the region. It means that they feel the spiritual importance and try to visit to the tomb of Eyub-el Ensari frequently. Koçdemir expresses that the ambiance of the neighborhood did not fail due to the spirituality of the region. It keeps the relations close and protects the ambiance.

That space has another feature. Spirituality is a feature of this neighborhood... For me, people do not change and go bad because of that. (NN7, M, *Retiree*, 62)

When we think of the past, he welcomed our Prophet. He came here 90-year-old and he contributed to liberation of these places. Is it possible to not feel this spiritual atmosphere? (NN1, F, *Housewife*, 54)

From here to Eyüp it takes two kilometers and you see at least four mosque doors. You breathe the atmosphere and live this spirituality of neighborhood, especially in Ramadans. (NN10, M, *Shoemaker in NN*, 65)

Here is the most beautiful place. We are very close to mubarak person, Eyup el-Ensari... We have many companions around us. (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

There is a great spirituality here that I feel... Mosques, tombs, lodges... There are cemeteries at every step. (NN15, F, *Housewife*, 23)

Participants of Beyaz Residence

One of the most important points of the gated community research is the approach of the inhabitants to the place they live in. In addition to the statements that people use while explaining the life of the site, the reasons for preferring to reside in the site and the approach to the facilities offered by the site are remarkable points. At this point, the views of the participants differ. It is noteworthy that the participants firstly evaluate the opportunities offered by the site when they are asked to evaluate the first impressions they had for the space they live.

First of all, participants who evaluate the services and facilities offered by the site life also differ on their own. While some participants stated that they could not benefit from the opportunities of the site, some participants mentioned the importance of the children park and security services for their children. The weakness of neighborhood relations, the necessity of following specific rules, and the centrality of the site are the first statements mentioned by participants.

Living here... There is no other important thing than security... (BR5, M, *Headman in Private company*, 37)

Maybe because I'm a mother, I care about security and playground for children... Security is very important for me; there is a security system at the door that no one goes in without asking for identity. Cameras are everywhere... (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

I think the life in the site... I could not make many friends here, although there is a lot of social space. People cannot socialize, there is a problem with that. (BR4, F, *Student in university*, 18)

It is unnatural environment. The relationships are not warm. Until now, for five years, I met with only thirty neighbors among 103 apartments. Men salute each other in the elevators, staircase or at the entrance of the site by fleeing. That's it. (BR10, M, *Liberal profession*, 52)

They interfere so much, so why can't we put the shoes in front of our door? They give more importance to the appearance, it is the inside of my house, but the front of my door is mine, so why are you so interfering? I'm sitting here for someone else. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

In this site, I'm far from the complexity of life, but I'm also in the center. (BR11, M, *Student in university*, 38)

Attachment to space means the internalization of the space.²⁸⁸ The thoughts of participants, whether they feel attached to the site they live in are asked to try to understand whether they are willing to live in this place. At this point, the views of the inhabitants of the community vary: some participants do not feel any attachment, while some see themselves belonged to the site.

Of course it does not create an extra sense of attachment for me. I'm sitting on the site that is not something makes people close to me. So I don't feel that I should be neighbor with them. (BR1, M, *Inspector in private company*, 31)

Of course, it provides belonging, gives a sense of attachment, I see this place as my neighborhood. (BR8, F, *Retired teacher*, 59)

Sometimes we say that we should move because of my husband's workplace. But I feel like I cannot leave here. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

I feel belonging here. I had different feelings at the beginning. Being close to Fatih in terms of location, I lived here in this region. So the location and facilities of this site met my expectations. (BR11, M, *Student in university*, 38)

The most important factor for participants to choose the site life is the search for security and a playing area for children. On the other hand, there is not any participant who finds necessary to sit on the site. After the earthquake, qualified housing with a certain standard is planned and marketed in the lifestyle of gated communities, and it directs people to such a choice. Many participants do not use social facilities such as pool, gym, and cafeteria. However, security system is necessary for a lot of participants and the site is considered insufficient at this point. According to personal sensitivities and priorities, the reason for choosing site life and evaluating the site life vary.

The life of the site is beautiful, especially for only those who have children. Common areas are good things in the site, your child can play comfortably and you can sit in a place. You can sit comfortably with someone; you do not need to go to houses. You meet there and socialize with neighbors... You are taking a breath. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

My mother is living with me and there is security personnel when I have a problem. When my wife is not here, a man from security can come to help. It's safe apart from it. There is parking. There is a swimming pool, which we especially preferred for it because I have health problems. (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

In terms of children, the most important part is that children spend their time in safety without me. This item is very important for me. They are with the children at the same

²⁸⁸ Alver, Köksal, *Steril Hayatlar* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2013), 161.

age that I know and I trust in them. Not only benefiting from the park... I am preparing the environment for them to have a good friendship before puberty. I am compatible with mothers of their friends too... (BR11, M, *Student in University*, 38)

Security is the first thing that comes to your mind. If I'm sitting somewhere else, I prefer to live in the site, maybe because I have kids. They can go down to the park and I can watch them. You know, what I'm saying is security and playing area for children is very important. Location is also important. I'm not sure of an apartment that directly opens to the street makes me feel uncomfortable. (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

The most beautiful side of the site is to be safe. At least when our kids play outside, our eyes are not behind. 50% of the people who came out are identified. For that reason, I think a little bit safer than other places... (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

I care about security and playing field. There is a security in the door that does not let anyone to enter without being asked for. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

For me, the reason is primarily a safe playground for children. (BR12, F, *Housewife*, 43)

To make a general comparative assessment on the theme of defining space, the first impressions of residents in the neighborhood involve the statements of a quiet place and feeling of pleasure. For residents of the neighborhood, the neighborhood firstly recalls sincere neighborly relationships. They define the space where they live in as an area of 'friendship', 'solidarity', 'familiarity', 'beautiful ties', 'close relationships' and 'safe area'. All participants feel the sense of belonging and attachment to NN. There is not any negative sense or thought that comes to their mind.

On the other hand, the first reflections of the site residents on defining the space where they live in include both positive and negative approaches. It is remarkable that most of the participants directly explain their relationship with the space on opportunities and social facilities that they have in the site, contrary to neighborhood residents. Especially they emphasize the necessity of playing field and security system for children. Also, the site is considered as an area of 'so much rules' and 'weak relationships'.

4.1.2. Relationships with Neighbors

Participants of Nişancı Neighborhood

The neighborhood relations are the most crucial element of the neighborhood. The residents are asked to define their neighborhood relationships and its importance and place in life. In Nişancı, neighborhood relationship means closeness and social togetherness. Expressions of friendship, family, acquaintance were used to describe intimate relationships within neighbors. Strong communication ties between the neighbors is a very important factor in establishing safe and peace. The participants describe warm relations with practices of getting to know each other, meeting with the tradesmen, having a conversation on the streets, supporting neighbors in difficult times and being a supporter in birth or special days. The most important factor in this warm relationship is that the neighborhood is rooted and many of the residents live here for many years. The ownership of the houses has been transmitted from grandfather to father and to son. During the interviews, women who are gathered in the street and sit on the wooden chair and chat by drinking Turkish coffee and during the interview with the chemist, a man enters the shop suddenly and inquires after shopkeepers are the examples that show the sincerity and warmth in the neighborhood. The chats in the mosque after the prayers, gathering in the evenings in the association of neighborhood and drinking tea, the ashuras distributed on important days and the provisions distributed to neighbors after turning back from hometown are some of the routines that the participants talk about and strengthen the relation between them.

If I go to bazaar we always see each other; everyone knows each other. If you're on your way, you're chatting someone on foot ... People in the shops have been here for years... (NN1, F, *Housewife*, 54)

Neighbors for me are people who can help each other when we are in trouble... (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

Neighbor relationship continues. We go to each other and have a chat... We are very fond of each other. (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

Our communication way is usually coming to the association, going to the association of mosque, and drinking tea after prayer. On the weekend we usually sit with all the friends in front of the mosque. We have a chat... If there is a match, we discuss the details of the match and then other current issues. (NN11, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 40)

When my wife sent me to the grocery store at 9 o'clock, I go out and don't turn back for two hours. I talk in the shop. Shopkeeper offers tea for me and I drink. At the weekend, when I wash the car with my hose, friends bring their cars and we wash twenty cars by chatting... (NN12, M, *Employee in Private Company*, 32)

There is a family and friendship concept here. You're sitting with old people and you can chat with all kinds of people... (NN6, M, *Headman of Nişancı Neighborhood*, 53)

This place has very good neighbor relations. I do not see anywhere like this neighborhood... I see my neighborhood like my own family... I love my neighborhood so much than my relatives. I did not go to Rize for 7 years after I got married. I did not ever want to go and I did not need. (NN8, F, *Housewife*, 48)

The residents state that they are helping each other and they are in solidarity, cooperation and sharing. Being neighbors requires supporting each other in difficult times.

Neighborhood relations still exist ... Here whole neighborhood goes when there is a funeral. When you have a wedding, the whole neighborhood goes. It's still going on. Noone says 'what's it to me'. (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

The tenant did not get out. We were organizing the wedding in that time. My husband wanted to move me to another place in Eyüp ... I said that there is no one who will open my door when I died. One likes its own neighborhood in the time of funeral, Quran or disease... If we hear an ambulance, we're just going out balcony... (NN1, F, *Housewife*, 54)

We are always united when there is a funeral... There is solidarity. I got married by running away and my neighbors helped me, for example, Kıymet abla made cover for me from the small parts. I gave birth to my grand daughter, they immediately fried the dough and brought to me. They came by running like a mother, I never forget it, I was 30 years old. It's only from the neighbor relation; there is no kinship between us... Everyone is like that here... (NN3, F, *Housewife*, 48)

When it comes to summer, mothers and fathers go to the villages and collect the walnuts and nuts. When they come back here, distributes them to everyone. (NN11, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 40)

There is no jealousy or intolerance among our neighborhood. I think there are people who listen to each other's troubles. We all listen to him when one of us complaints about something..." (NN8, F, *Housewife*, 48)

We've got people living together. They come to funeral, birth, they come to everything. If you have trouble, everyone comes to you to help..." (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

Participants are also acquainted with the neighborhood tradesmen. The residents, which mostly prioritize to shop in the neighborhood grocery and market, state that they prefer large grocery stores when it is more affordable. The participant who has to buy a product from supermarket, which is not in the store complaints to the

grocery store owner. In addition, there is no disagreement among the shopkeepers and between the shopkeepers and the participants. The residents of the neighborhood have to complete their needs from different shops to make contribution for all tradesmen.

I prefer to go bazaar mostly. Then I usually prefer the old shops in my neighborhood. I'm going upstairs to the big market when I can't find it here. At that time I'm warning shopkeeper in my neighborhood saying that I'm not getting it from here. You do not complete the products so I had to go other large markets. (NN2, F, *Housewife*, 53)

I like small tradesmen because I know them so I like to talk with them while shopping... I'm constantly buying small things from there but I prefer supermarkets when I'm going to do big shopping or something. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

There's a Nişancı market outside. Also there is always a grocery store below. Since my husband lived here since his childhood, they know my husband. We have a trustworthy relationship... (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

We always go to the bazaar, it's our bazaar. When I didn't go to the bazaar, it seemed like everything was finishing at home... I have a habit... The sellers in the bazaar know us, I have been going to the market for 50 years... There are stands I buy constantly. They call me 'Welcome aunt' from far away. 'Why are you late, Aunt?' (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

On Sundays my wife wants me to buy something. My father always taught us; I buy the egg from the other, I buy the cheese from the other, I take something from the other. I'm going into all of them to be helpful for all. Actually I can buy all of them from one shop but I don't prefer to behave in that way. There is bread in grocery store but let's take the bread from the oven. So that he can do the tradesmen and earn money. (NN11, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 40)

There is no problem among tradesmen, like an enmity. There is a sweet competition. I've never heard of any of the trades discussing or fighting each other. They're fine. There is no uneasiness here. (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

Participants of Beyaz Residence

The participants of BR make different interpretations for the relationship among neighbors. While there are those who express themselves in a dissociated, unnatural, and weak relationships, other participants say that they have close ties and frequently meet and talk with each other. Therefore, it is important how the residents feel themselves in the site environment. It is possible to assess the participants' evaluations in two groups: the people who are familiar with many neighbors and in close contact with them, and the group of people that do not communicate with the

neighbors for a variety of reasons. At this point, neighborhood relations are more complex and variable.

Some participants state that the neighborhood relations in the site are very weak, cold, and artificial because of personal or physical factors.

Relationships evolve in the party style. There is a party culture in Europe to get to know each other. The site includes artificial meetings. Spontaneous acquaintances are not happening, we do not see anyone for five minutes. So you need to have plan. Women agree together to meet in masjid for Friday via whatsapp group, they convene to read the Quran. But of course this kind of meetings also helps to develop a relationship when it is regular. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

There is nothing about the neighborhood relationship. I am very close to four people at maximum. 4 people from 108 apartments, I think it is nothing. In the morning we meet with some people in the parking area, they do not say hello... There is no such environment here; there is no sincerity and warmth ... I was imagining to be very close with everyone before we had come. For example, my father is sick and I take him to the doctor by ambulance about every month. In Nişancı, when I need help, whole neighbors come to help me. But for here I doubt that someone will come. Of course, they will come but I feel a little cold. (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

I am very uncomfortable with not having a neighborhood relationship as in my old neighborhood. For example, I gave birth, and people did not visit me. Maybe everybody was very new and they had just moved. But in my opinion in gated communities this kind of relationships is difficult to establish. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

Some participants state that there is no need to establish a neighbor relationship as a result of the intensity of work life, busy schedule and fatigue of living in the metropolitan area. At the same time, the participants, who are more active in social life than their daily lives, consider the house as a place of rest away from any relationship. Thus, personal approaches are also effective factors for weak neighborly relations.

I'm working from early morning to evening. I'm coming back late in the evening. I do not have a dynamic relationship with the place where I live in. It's something that I don't need so much. I already have an environment in the business, friendship around the family environment, so I don't need for forth environment. The tiredness of the people in time, the tiredness of the city and time the city makes people reluctant to establish new relationships, especially it is like this in my example. (BR1, M, *Inspector in Private Company*, 31)

Maybe you don't need a lot if you already have a dynamic environment. Social persons who are full of sociality find unnecessary to enter into a new relationship. I already have a lot of groups. One can see the house as an escape. Like I said a little while ago, I sometimes do not want to be disturbed... (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

One of the reasons for the weakness of neighborly relations in the site is that the environmental organization and design of the site are not encouraging for strong relationships at this point, and from time to time some participants consider the physical structure of the site preventive in the development of the relationship.

Parking lots, for example, B block residents park cars on my floor. I do not see anyone in my parking area; I go out from the parking area and enter my home from again parking area. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

There is no walking track; women do not have anything in the garden. There is a small table and women are drinking tea... Group of people who are in disagreement with others blocked camellia and everyone holds them. You know, there's not a big area where that everyone can meet and greet together. Everyone is watching the garden from the balcony so it is very relevant to the circumstances. (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

Here the elevator is an important factor. There was no elevator in our house in Nişancı neighborhood; we were talking with our neighbors as you climb up the stairs. They could be called coffee or something. But here no one sees each other. If we did not meet and gather in the garden, we probably would have not met this much. This masjid and garden provide warm relationships. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

You get on the elevator, you go down to the parking lot, and you come to the door of the apartment. You're not seeing anyone. However, you can talk to people in the single-detached area. When you are leaving the site, you are passing by doors of everyone and seeing them. (BR14, F, *Housewife*, 47)

People do not see each other physically in the entrance and exit. You go down by elevator to -2 and get in the car, so you do not have a neighborhood culture. Children may know each other while playing, but for adults, the common places are not used so much to socialize due to busy life. That is why people do not know each other. We are physically prevented from seeing each other. Seeing each other at any time in a day, five minutes standing by talking, informing each other about something important, calling an event or something... But as far as I see, the site life prevents people from seeing each other in such a way. So I don't see many human faces. Normally, I've been to go down the ladder, but I've always noticed that I've always used a lift for two floors. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

Apart from that, some residents consider the relations in the site warm and close. The gatherings in the garden and masjid are the activities that strengthen the ties. The most important factor that prepares this friendly environment is that people are conservative and their lifestyle habits are formed according to religious rituals and traditional values. They are all respectful for neighbor rights and maintain their relations in all probability. The fact that some of the inhabitants of the site had previously experienced the neighborhood culture is also a crucial point for some participants.

I'm more in touch with my friends and my neighbors... We have gatherings in masjids

and we read Quran in Friday times... In summers we steep tea and prepare some foods and have a picnic in the park. (BR11, M, *Student in University*, 38)

When my milk or my egg is over there are so many people to borrow from them. Everyone can help you very friendly. Human relations is very nice... This place is a warm family atmosphere. I do not feel lonely. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

In 15 days, we meet approximately 10-15 people in the cafeteria of the site and create a chat environment to discuss some Islamic issues. When we hear of neighbors' illnesses or funerals, we do what we should be supposed to. (BR10, M, *Liberal profession*, 52)

When you see someone carrying the neighboring culture, you respond immediately because you are carrying it in yourself... We serve food to each other, for example on ashura days... We are communicating, and we want them when we need something. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

There is a neighborhood culture here... People help each other. For example, they come together and everyone can bring something to eat. Someone has a close relative who passed away; neighbors prepare meals and offer them. This site has the advantage of being a boutique because everyone cares to greet each other. They come together on Friday to read Quran. Men participate in a 2-week conversation and talk. Hence, relationships are warm. There are some sites where people on the elevator do not recognize each other and do not say hello. In this site, eighty percent of people recognize each other. This is because people are from the same strata. It is advantageous in that respect. (BR16, M, *Headman of BR*, 55)

My friend's sister sold her house in a popular gated community in Sariyer a year ago. She was complaining about the lack of friendship relations in the site. But here is we have close relations because people mostly have conservative worldview. (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

The neighborhood in our site is nice, compared to other gated communities. The thing that provides this relationship in our site is that most people come from the neighborhood culture. I have never heard people who previously lived in a site. It is very rare. I also think that their traditional way of life is more conservative. They have traditional family structure. People have same social background. Everyone lives in Turkish traditions and have neighborhood sensitivity. I'm also trying to do my tradition. I work but I made an ashura and I distributed it to my neighbors... I love to live in traditions. Because I'm raising two sons, maybe they won't maintain these traditions, but I don't want to be forgotten. They're beautiful customs that make us. You play the door of a neighbor, you talk, you share, in fact, we must not forget ... Knowing Islam, the requirements of religion is also an important factor to develop neighbor relations. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

Neighborhood right, this is very important. I think maybe it's very important that we have some religious sensibilities. For example, in a block there is Hayriye Aunt and she hurt her leg and had an important operation. We didn't know it. I never met with her but I visited her out of respect for the right of neighbor. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

The evaluations of the participants about shopping habits and relations with shopkeepers vary regarding their order of preference. Although the site is not very close to the neighborhood bazaar, many participants prefer to go to the bazaar and

grocery store in the neighborhood due to close relations. Some residents also prefer supermarkets on the main road.

We get the urgent things from small market of site, but of course there is not much choice for big shopping. Neighborhood trades, such as phyllo dough is indispensable we never buy from the market. We have a relationship with the shopkeepers... Everyone knows who is my father, natural gas Mehmet. When you say that everyone knows because the relationships remain strong. (BR4, F, *Student in University*, 18)

Going to the bazaar is my habit of years. I'll definitely go to the bazaar in which neighborhood I'm in... The sellers in bazaar know me; they call me by name. They say that Zuhal sister welcome. I also know the name of the sellers. A friendship is created because you prefer it... The shopkeepers are also very good, they love me so much and I love them. Even small neighborhood butcher is registered on my phone. I always shop from phyllo dough seller and pharmacy... I meet almost everyone from there. (BR14, F, *Housewife*, 47)

It was determined that only the urgent needs are bought from the small market of the site. It is noteworthy that the site residents do not have close relationships with the shopkeeper and are not satisfied. However, they attach importance to shop there because of the right of neighbor. They feel responsible for contributing on his earnings and help the management of the shop.

When I cannot get out of the site, I'm buying from the market of site. I am very lucky because they put in the elevator when I need something... But there is no adoption and a sense of belonging for the grocery store. I said to my mother that I found another grocery store. My mother said that I should watch over my own grocery; it is neighbor right. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

The grocery of the site is very small but we continue to shop there in order to sustain it... (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

The grocery in the site is more for such small urgent needs. It is both insufficient and expensive, so we go to supermarkets when we are going to do larger shopping. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

I buy from the small grocery store of the site to earn them... I'm going to other markets and bazaar. There are many people from the site who go to bazaar every week. (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

I also use the grocery in the site to help their sustainability. But shopkeeper in grocery and their work of a tradesman came to me a little cold at first. I support them due to the right of the neighborhood. Everyone can have a financial problem so I pay attention to shop from them. (BR14, F, *Housewife*, 47)

To make a comparative analysis between the residents of the site and neighborhood on the theme of relations, it is mostly agreed on the neighbor relations in NN are explained with the experiences of solidarity, togetherness, and cooperation. The

participants can give many examples from their personal life to narrate their close relationships. Some express their feelings by describing the relationship as “beyond family bond”. Strong relationships have influential role in establishing security and peace. The importance of street attracts attention in maintaining social relations within the neighborhood. Meeting and chatting on the street when people encounter or drinking coffee on stools are the practices that participants mention. The culture of the bazaar is also a weekly practice that cannot be considered dissociated from street culture. The residents of the site are also in the habit of going bazaar weekly. Distinctly, according to the participants in BR, the neighbor relationships of the site are considered from different perspectives that are not common and single, compared to NN. Residents argue that the relationships are very weak and cold. Due to the physical conditions and design of the floors, it is not possible to meet someone else without planning. For example, the physical structure of the site does not allow having spontaneous meetings on the floors. Some residents stated that their relations are very strong with neighbors in the site. The similarity in the conservative approach and their lifestyle habits provide a basis for residents. Gathering in meeting rooms to have talk on Islamic issues and reading Quran on Fridays are religious practices that develop neighbor relationship at the same time.

4.1.3. The Perception of Security

Participants of Nişancı Neighborhood

The perception of security and safety concern can be changeable depending on the environmental conditions and personal characteristics. Although there is not any equipment or private service to provide security in the neighborhood, the participants feel in safe exceedingly.

There is always a safe area from here to metrobus... My husband's nephew was turning back at 11 pm by herself. She went to school for four years and nothing happened. (NN2, F, Housewife, 53)

Everyone leaves kids alone in the street. The daughters and wives go away. We have not experienced something bad until now, thank God. (NN10, M, Shoemaker in NN, 65)

I have been living here for 12 years. Nihat calls me and says that my window and backyard door is open. We live very comfortably and we don't have such a problem. (NN12, M, Employee in Private Company, 32)

The residents do not have any concern about their children to play in the streets.

Here children go to the park by themselves. Our street is a dead end and children come out to the streets comfortably. Everyone knows each other; they peek at each other's children too. For example, if one sees neighbor's child away, he asks what he is doing here? That is why it is more comfortable. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

My neighbor raises a child with Down's syndrome. She was feeling a little distressed at first, but she is leaving him alone now. Normally, the child might have run away, but you know people in the neighborhood. Sometimes he runs away, but neighbors find. In that sense, I'm nervous about people from the outside of malicious intentions, but I think I'm comfortable about it, I'll leave my child after he grows a little, my eye will not stay behind... (NN15, F, *Housewife*, 23)

Our neighborhood is quiet. I'll leave my child alone. Because I know everyone because of my husband, there is no mistrust... It is safe here so I have no fear. In summers we leave the window open and sleep, my house is on the 2nd floor. The thief can enter comfortably. (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

In the neighborhood, on Saturdays children play on the street, play in the middle of the street, boys play with ball, girls play with dolls, etc. Our neighbors park their car from the top and the bottom of the street to not allow cars to come and one of mothers definitely watch them in front of the door. They play until the evening and no one worries for them. (NN11, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 40)

There is no police or guard here. There is no record of the camera. We have something different in this neighborhood. When Safiye sister needs help, I look after her grandchildren in the street. I watch them from the window. (NN8, F, *Housewife*, 48)

The most important reason behind this feeling of confidence and safe is that everyone knows each other and the children of the neighborhood. When we, as researchers, entered the neighborhood at first, there was an aunt looking out from window and she asked us where we come from and who we are looking for.

I think within the neighborhood they provide safe by themselves. For example, in a site security personnel wait and check the identity of hosts, but people do not know too much about each other. In contrast, I had observed here, including many women and my mother know who is coming home at 11 pm, when this girl left home. They say that they are providing a safe environment by observing. It is a safe environment where its people provide security. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

I think the thing that provides security is that everyone knows each other. I know everyone - even if I didn't talk - I know who he is sitting where and on which floor... So I know most people. (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

My daughter lives here at my mother's house. She is not scared. For example, her husband works at night but she sleeps without being frightened... Everyone in the building helps when she calls out even with a low voice. My husband also works at night. I'm so afraid when I'm in the other place. In Nişancı, when I call someone, he

runs to help. If there is a voice comes from out, everyone goes out and tries to understand what is happening... Stranger people draw attention immediately and we ask who is he or she. We provide security because we know each other. (NN3, F, *Housewife*, 48)

Here a woman can walk at night without being worried and scared. I've never heard that there's something wrong here... We are familiar with each other so the region is safe, everyone knows each other... (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

Participants of Beyaz Residence

Almost all participants approve that the entrance-exists are under control, security staff asks for identification of outsiders or to whom they come as guests. The site is structured in a security cordon. However, there are also participants who stated that the security in the site is not fully ensured and it is insufficient. Some participants claim that the reason for that there is no personal connection with security personnel and inattention of personnel and residents in some cases such as leaving open the back door often.

Here is security personnel who earns from my dues is waiting for me but has no connection with me. The organic bonds are wider in rare neighborhoods where many things are shared. (BR1, M, *Inspector in Private Company*, 31)

Security is sufficient. The security of the entrance is sufficient, but the fact that there is safety in the apartments or parking lots. They can't keep track of all places, but children go in and out everywhere from the parking lot to the leisure center. I am not sure if there are enough security cameras there. I think it's better to keep track of the secret places. I feel a bit too much of distrust because of the point where society comes. We know the people who incite personnel to commit theft... We heard this kind of things too much so it increased our mistrust... (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

Of course security is not enough for our site. I'm constantly using the back door and it is constantly distorted and open. At the moment the door works but I have problem with it for many years. I'm going out every day and it is open... Actually these doors are unnecessary. There could have been a single entrance and anyone could use it. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

Generally there are security elements everywhere, but it cannot be fully ensured. I think it is not enough here. There is no security staff in back. Someone could enter inside from the back. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

The security in our site is not very good; I think it is only for show. I go by metrobus and the white door is constantly open. I don't know how much security is being provided. It opens by wind maybe. That's why I think it is a show. Sometimes there is no security personnel when I enter the site. (BR4, F, *Student in University*, 18)

One of the participants states that the security precautions developed against the outside are exaggerated. She thinks that the life of the site has been attracted to

attention firstly by luxurious appearance and inaccessibility. Thus the residents feel the environment in site unsecured by making the outside unsafe. It is also emphasized that a guest from outside waits until the personnel verifies by asking the host, and this situation may be offending for the guests.

My grandfather wanted to install a door on the wall of the cemetery and the door will open with personnel cards of site residents. It will provide to reach the mosque easily by elders. However, some residents did not allow it and complained it to the municipal authority. It really creates an illusion that it is not safe out but inside is very safe. However, one enters through the other doors or cemetery walls if he wants. Inside is physically safe, but when you are going to build a door that is physically the same safe again, you can be blocked somewhere because there is a distrust of the outside. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

I think sometimes it would be offending. Our guests are waiting at the door. It is a waste of time there and it is a little shame. (BR4, F, *Student in university*, 18)

I think it is ridiculous to keep our guests waiting to call and inform us. When our guests arrive, they have to account for them. I do not want it for others but when everyone wants to enter, it would be a problem. You advertise your houses and attract the attention of people outside, so everyone wants to enter of course. You are making yourself insecure. Then you are providing security. If you do not differentiate yourself, you won't need these security elements. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

The residents -with their own expressions- are religious people and have conservative lifestyles and this is a crucial point in establishing security within site. Although they find unsecured outside and do not rely on security elements and staff of the site, they did not mention about any distrust to neighbors. The main reason for that is their confidence in religious values, which makes them trust each other. The participants who find the security elements necessary and adequate as provided in the site feel comfortable mostly in that point. Foreign vendors and home services are not allowed to enter the site without being informed by personnel at site entry.

I think the measures of security are not exaggerated but it is necessary. For example, I close the door but do not lock it... (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

I care about security. There is a security at the door that no one can enter without being asked. The children are very strictly followed by cameras. The sellers overly disturb me, the door rings at the moment you never expect it and a vendor or deliverer comes. Thus I'm very concerned about the safety of encountering such things. If the door rings, I think it is either a neighbor or a staff but it is not a stranger. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

We're not talking to a person we don't expect at all. Even if someone comes, I've got five minutes to get ready until he comes up from the bottom. I know to whom I'm going to face when I open the door, with a stranger, or with a cargo. Or my children

are in the garden; I know there is not a stranger or a car. It gives people a sense of security and makes me feel comfortable. I think it is very necessary. (BR6, *M, Housewife*, 37)

To conclude, security is the most important reason in the increasing number of gated communities. Social polarization and fear of crime have concluded in a feeling of insecurity for the new middle class. However, as it is observed from interviews, the walls and security measures are not sufficient for residents to feel safe. Contrarily they may be skeptical about staff or complain about the places where there is no camera in and the door of the site, which usually remain open. Although the participants make out of the site completely unsecured, they trust neighbors and they do not have a security problem with neighbors. The reason for that is their shared religious beliefs and sensibilities. The residents of NN develop a relation-oriented approach to the issue of security and they have not developed expectations. There is no security staff, camera system, or physical obstacle to make area safe. However, participants of the neighborhood agree on the influence of close relations on creating safe area. They explain that they feel in confidence when they leave children to the street due to familiar relations. This situation shows that the security patterns in two places that we examined are interestingly parallel to each other. Participants both seem to have a value-oriented approach in key cases in the site and neighborhood in the aspect of security.

4.1.4. Participants' Positioning of Others' Lifestyle

There are crucial differences between the way that participants consider their lifestyle and the way others evaluate them. Internal views of participants about themselves and external views for others are considered significant to develop a realistic assessment for the research.

The Gated Communities from the Perspective of Residents in Nişancı Neighborhood

For residents of the neighborhood, there are many rules in the site environments that do not conform to their comfortable lifestyles and may limit them from time to time.

My aunt's son sits in a site in Çekmeköy. He's got a garden with a very nice hammock and a sofa. It is a very nice place but when you go out to smoke, we cannot make a

sound. When we say let's sit outside and drink tea at a late hour, they say it is not possible due to the rules of the site. (NN12, M, *Employee in Private Company*, 32)

Living under extreme rules ... The site has many rules. There are some facilities, but there are some difficulties in rulemaking. I don't like it that much. Like I said, I have a workshop, and sometimes I make noise while working. I can't do this on the site because I've had a similar situation in Avcılar before... (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

For example, you're sitting upstairs and you want to do the cleaning. If you shake the carpet, it is the end of the world. We're making it very comfortable here. There is a terrace in our building. I even wash a carpet there, and nobody gets angry with me. The site has its own rules. (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

Participants complain about the lack of parking space and green space in the neighborhood due to distorted urbanization, narrow streets, and adjacent building settlement. For this reason, the facilities in the site such as parking lot, green area, playground, leisure activities are welcomed for some residents.

I would like to sit in the site, especially for the comfort of parking my car... Site is a safe place. There are places to park your car in the underground of the apartment. There are parks for children. There are indoor and outdoor pools. I'd love to reside in a site. (NN7, M, *Retiree*, 62)

There's a parking problem here, the streets are full of cars. Sites might be more comfortable about it maybe. Everybody has their own parking space. (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

The facilities are very nice. There are gyms, pools that are very good... Some sites have more green areas. Especially for a mother, the playground is very important... (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

The site comes to me a little more livable space. For example, I want to walk in a flat and wide area. I can walk in the garden of site. Also, there is a park for the child and my child can play. I think you might be a little more comfortable inside the site. Especially the cases of going for a walk and getting the kid out are important reasons for me. I want to walk here, but it's not possible because it's all over the hill. There are many people parked their cars on the sidewalks... (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

Neighborhood residents suggest that people in the site do not have neighborly relations and they do not think to support neighbors in their hard times. In fact, most of the participants have not experienced to reside in a site before. They express their thoughts on site life in the way that they experienced in their relatives' sites or they heard from their surroundings.

If we go out for the night or the day, we're not experience something bad. We all know each other. For example, when I feel bored, I'm happy to see people. I consider them as my relatives. We do not live in the site and do not know, but it is often said that

there is no neighbor relations in the site. I do not know. We do not have security problems; our guarantee about security is our neighbors. (NN3, F, *Housewife*, 48)

For example, when someone is sick in the neighborhood, everyone goes to visit him. Everyone is in a position to share and support each other... When necessary, some also provide financial support. We have this in the neighborhood culture but they don't have this on site. They don't even have a relationship and they don't know each other. The person living on the 1st floor cannot describe the Ahmet brother who lives on the 5th floor. But I can describe the guy who stands by the highway in the Otakçılar quarter. They don't know anything about each other... Their way of life is completely opposite of neighborhood culture. (NN10, M, *Shoemaker in NN*, 65)

My aunts are sitting in the site, and my aunt says that the person on top floor of the site doesn't know the one on the lower floor... Relations in the sites are more formal and not very sincere. You can be friend with two neighbors in the site but you cannot be sincere with all your neighbors. It is that in my aunt's site... But in this neighborhood someone is sick and others run to help. If one has a wedding ceremony, we all help. (NN8, F, *Housewife*, 48)

For example, the inhabitants of the BR are more formal people than here. I don't think they know each other as much as we do. So there is no sincerity there. (NN7, M, *Retiree*, 62)

We always know when there's an incident in our neighborhood. We're trying to help people as much as we can. I don't know exactly the site environment because I've never lived. But people in the site don't know each other. The neighbors do not recognize each other. As I see, they want to get people away from the neighborhood culture and put them in the site culture... It seems that some relations are getting broken. For example, they do not establish a direct relationship with the grocery store. (NN6, M, *Headman of Nişancı Neighborhood*, 53)

The sites are beautiful, but it seems that people move away from each other. They sit in the same building, but there's no greeting. They're leaving without any greeting. I don't know if it's due to arrogance. (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

I see that there are not warm neighborhood relations in the sites. There are even people who have problems in terms of trust because they do not recognize their neighbor. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

The Neighborhoods from the Perspective of Residents in Beyaz Residence

Residents think that relations in the neighborhood environment are warmer and more intimate. In line with the experiences they gained in the neighborhood environment in which they lived before, they think that getting in contact and developing a relationship in the neighborhood are more comfortable and more pleased. Practices such as parking the car on the street, getting bread from the grocery store, and giving greetings to the people walking down the street can be influential in developing

spontaneous relationships and provide an environment remote from unnatural relations.

In neighborhood culture, while people's neighborhood relations were more intimate and natural, it had more formal and cold structure in the sites. (BR10, M, *Liberal profession*, 52)

Let's think of a neighborhood environment if you have shopkeepers, houses in adjacent order or with garden... You park your car and you go up and down the street directly. As soon as you leave your house, you walk directly to the grocery store and you buy bread. Of course, compared to the site in terms of communication, you may be more fortunate to encounter and contact with someone. (BR1, M, *Inspector in Private Company*, 31)

Dialogue in the neighborhood is easier. Small, four or five floored apartment buildings are not so crowded... No matter who says, the environment in the neighborhood is more intimate, and communication is easier due to physical reasons. The small size of the buildings, the frequency of seeing each other and the absence of an elevator are those reasons. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

There is nothing to do with the neighbor relationship in this site. I'm intimate with no more than 4 people. 4 people from 108 apartments, I think it is nothing. We meet in the parking lot with some people in the morning and they do not give greetings... Before we came to this site, we were living in the neighborhood of Nişancı. It was not like this in the neighborhood. It was better in the neighborhood; you know everybody there and talk to everyone. Even when you go out there, you can chat with everyone. But I couldn't find this atmosphere here; it sounds a little cold to me. (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

Everybody in the neighborhood knows each other, we know the grocery store, the butcher, everyone. For example, when my money was not enough, the butcher was saying that I could get the money later. Maybe these close relations still continue in Nişancı but it is not like that here. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

We were sitting in the neighborhood market, even the seller in front of our building knew me. He was telling me your mother didn't come yesterday. Of course it was like a family. Aunties are sitting in a small bank in the garden, especially in spring when the weather is beautiful. They check who came and left and who moved to this house and who is daughter of whom etc. They were aware of everything. It was a feeling of belonging and trust, what the security provides us in this site. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

The participants state that the neighborhood environment is not safe enough. They concern about their children due to the lack of security personnel or camera system in neighborhood. One of the most important reasons why the residents prefer to reside in a site as we have discussed in the section of 'Defining the Space' is to provide a safe environment for their children.

Nişancı neighborhood was not a safe place. The house had a night porter but he was asleep until morning. He was not asking anything people who come from the outside. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

The main problem in Nişancı neighborhood was about children. There was no place for children to play or to ride a bike. Twelve years ago, a child got lost and he could not be found. It is a real problem. (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

According to general assessments of interviews, the residents of NN considers the lifestyle in gated communities as full of rule that may make them uncomfortable. However, residents living in gated communities have the possibility of special parking lot, green areas and playing field for children. While these facilities make sites attractive, they argue that there is no close relationship among neighbors depending on the sayings of relatives or experiences. The residents of BR also emphasize the warm relationships in neighborhoods. The atmosphere of neighborhoods does not carry artificial relations; they do develop naturally. Yet the environment is not safe in neighborhoods so it makes them very worrisome because of the experiences they had before.

4.1.5. Participant's Approach on the Increasing Number of Gated Communities and its Effect on Neighborhood Culture and the Structure of City

Participants of Nişancı Neighborhood

The neighborhood residents emphasize that the neighborhood culture has lost its importance with the increasing number of gated communities. The sites weakened the neighborly relations between people, as well as reducing cooperation, solidarity and sharing. For a resident, a neighbor is supposed to support a neighbor in hard times and attend his funeral when necessary in order to express the weakness of relationships. They state that the inhabitants of the site are not even aware of each other's funeral. For this reason, in order not to lose the conscious of neighborhood culture, they are against the construction of gated communities. They are worried about urban transformation projects in the region where they live in connection with the current land registry issue and the probability of the site construction. However, some of them support the necessity of urban renewal because there are old and durable houses in the neighborhood. There is no open space in the neighborhood to escape in an urgent situation, such as an earthquake. Also, the narrowness and density of the streets cause problem of access and parking, which are the most important problems of the residents. All those lead to the necessity of reconstruction

of houses and the general structure of the neighborhood. The historical artifacts lost in this swift urbanization are important part of the discussion. The participants feel confused about the consequence of the neighborhood, although the district is an urban protected area. The inhabitants request house title deeds and legal development right. Depending on the current process that residents encounter, the participants' opinions and reactions about the gated communities and their effects on the structure of neighborhood and city are formed over the title deeds, development problems, and urban transformation.

Participants consider the possibility of demolishing of their houses and replacing the region with a site. It makes them worried and uneasy because they think that they will not be familiar with new people and continue their comfortable life.

It's not clear what's going on here. It is not clear whether the houses are durable or not. If there is a site, I'm wondering who will be in the building. Are they going to be good people or bad people? I can't lean towards it. We've gotten used to it. My husband and son speak in a louder voice. When foreign people come, we will not be comfortable. *(NN1, F, Housewife, 54)*

In our neighborhood, we want 4 or 4.5-floored buildings. Nobody wants sites in this neighborhood. Even a little sound makes people uncomfortable in sites. *(NN8, F, Housewife, 48)*

We now live in our own apartment. We open the door and we close. But it is not so comfortable when others enter, then it will not remain safe... *(NN13, F, Housewife, 63)*

Some of the participants state that the sites are built to earn income, and the monthly dues are kept high despite the small size of the houses. The lifestyle does not address the neighborhood residents in the material aspect.

They won't make a site for me. They will construct the site in general. I don't have a chance to say that I don't want a pool or not want a car park. 800 liras per month is very high dues for me. We can't sit here. 90% of people in Nişancı cannot stay here and would have to go. Maybe 10% of Nişancı could be rich and stay here. *(NN5, M, Seamster in NN, 62)*

What makes the site and the neighborhood so different from each other is materiality. 70-75% of the people here are retired people, and today the lowest of the site fees is 500 liras... Maybe they can manage the budget for one month, three months or five months, but then they do not have a chance to sit. They are not able to cope with it. *(NN11, M, Headman in Private Company, 40)*

The square meters of houses will be reduced, 65 square meters or something. There are urban transformation houses in the back and they have always made smallish teeny houses... *(NN7, M, Retiree, 62)*

We don't want them if they give us 40 square meters of the house. We have a 100-square-meter house right now. They will build houses to make money. (NN13, F, *Housewife*, 63)

Some participants argue that the site lifestyle influences adversely to our traditional culture. In addition to the cold, artificial and weak relations, the rules set by the administration of the site and some non-moral behaviors are contrary to the traditional neighborhood culture.

I think sites are reserve to our people. I'm talking for Turkey in general. The lifestyle of gated communities is reserve for the older generation in Turkey, not for the new generation. From the point of neighbor relations or cleaning... My mother lives in a housing estate and the building is 1 and 2-story and my mother lives on the 6th floor. For example, when she shakes something from the window she thinks twice. She thinks that if it would be a problem for a neighbor. You have to think about it, is it comfortable? The site has its own rules. (NN4, F, *Landscape Technician*, 23)

I don't think that sites in the context of cultural relations will be good. Already partially in our world and specifically in Turkey we have apartment life... The relationships do not develop in general. (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

Sites are a point that will break our culture and throw us back from our customs and traditions. I lived in a site in Şişli, but then I decided to move. People were going to the pool with a bathrobe, and the guys were hanging around the pool with his bathrobe while I was getting on the elevator with my child. Now, is this something that suits my traditions and customs? That's why I moved. These are things that do not fit our customs, and it may be the wrong example for my daughter and my son. (NN11, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 40)

Some stated that the increasing number of gated communities might have positive effects. It could be observed that in NN there are traces of unplanned urbanization due to the destruction of historical buildings and illegal housing after the 1950s. Thus the complicated structuring might be replaced by a more organized and planned structure, landscaped and greened areas by site planning.

In terms of influencing the city's silhouette, it definitely affects. There are higher buildings but in a more regular structure when you look at it. This can be a positive side. When you look at these things, the buildings are too crooked. For example, there is a house in the middle of the road. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

Maybe the city can be more organized by gated communities because the houses are really so crooked. (NN15, F, *Housewife*, 23)

Some participants stated that the life of the site causes an abstracted life form. According to them, people living on the site; people living in the neighborhood will

not be aware of the people. Site life is a different world, detached from the neighborhood. The inhabitants of the site have broken their relations in all ways.

Of course the site is isolated from the outside, it is self-enclosed. Because their income levels are high, they have their own way of life. Their relationship with people is weak... (NN10, M, Shoemaker in NN, 65)

The site is like another world... There is a line between the site and the neighborhood. (NN12, M, Employee in Private Company, 32)

Does Beyaz Residence have a relationship with this neighborhood? Probably not. It is a separate world. (NN5, M, Seamster in NN, 62)

As I see, they live as a stranger to the environment. They have no relationship with the environment. For instance, I wouldn't know if there is a funeral in Beyaz Residence. However, I know about the funeral at the Nişanca Mosque and I go to the funeral prayer. I'd know if it was the funeral in Davutağa or on the other side of the Otakçılar because of the neighborhood culture. Everyone tells the other and the information spreads. But no one knows when there's a funeral in Beyaz Residence. (NN10, M, Shoemaker in NN, 65)

My friend's nephew was living in the residence and he says that inside of the site is like Germany. When we have entered into the building, there is a European air. However, when we go out of site, it is a village like in Giresun. Thus he doesn't like the outside but inside is very nice, whatever is in it. For example, in the case of Beyaz Residence... They have nothing to do with this neighborhood. It's a totally different world. It is isolated and disconnected to the real world. (NN5, M, Seamster in NN, 62)

Some participants focus on the negative impact of the sites on children. They emphasize that children who grow up with people in the same socio-economic status in the site may experience its absence in the future because they do not have the opportunity to meet people from different income groups. The togetherness of rich and poor people in the neighborhood raise awareness of people and children on empathetic thinking and helping each other. Children in the site cannot develop awareness of others' conditions of their lives.

In my opinion, if the family does not take responsibility of it, it can have negative effects for children. They will not encounter friends from different income group... (NN14, F, Translator in Private Company, 29)

Those with high-income levels go to a site and they are unaware of the happenings around the world. They're living their own lives. They don't see the poor and underestimate the poor ones. They do shopping from markets, not bazaar of the neighborhood. For example, a girl in the Beyaz Residence does not date a man from this neighborhood. However, a girl in that neighborhood dates a man from here regardless of whether rich or poor. She doesn't care that he is rich or poor because she lives in a neighborhood culture. There is a divergence... (NN10, M, Shoemaker in NN, 65)

The neighborhood has a rich and poor. Everybody plays with each other. For example, my husband's brother is Down syndrome and has normal friends. They don't exclude him. There are a lot of friends. There are rich and poor ones and they are friends of my child. (NN15, F, *Housewife*, 23)

Sometimes, even when I always meet with the same income group, I feel myself losing that awareness after I started working. In the past, I was more careful about people from lower income and I have been more careful to help. However, after the work, being in the same environment can make us forget a little more. It is the beauty of the neighborhood, you do not forget it. (NN14, F, *Translator in Private Company*, 29)

If you watch in some movies or series, children in the site and the children in the neighborhood are looking opposite each other. In the same way in schools, some go to private school and others go to the public school... Children in the neighborhood play football in the street and don't think about the economic status of other children. However in the site, this divergence has been experienced... (NN9, M, *Pharmacist in NN*, 59)

The inhabitants of the neighborhood use highly anxious expressions for the case of urban transformation because they do not want to leave NN and lose neighbor relations.

The roads are wide, the parcels are united, and things should be done together... Okey for the apartments but firstly they should guarantee us not to send us. But if you send people of Nişancı to Hasdal, no one agrees with it. Many people will either stay or take the money and go to their hometown. Neighbor relations will end so there will not be old friendship. When we go to Hasdal, our relations and neighbors won't come with us. The neighborhoods will be finished then... (NN5, M, *Seamster in NN*, 62)

Residents of the neighborhood stated that it is aimed to lose the existing neighborhood culture by constructing sites in the neighborhood. "They want to break this culture out of here. I've been dealing with the municipality for two and a half years. They want to make here a site and we try to stop them. Nihat İmir emphasizes the importance of neighborhood culture as chairman of "NN: Association of Neighborhood Culture Conservation and Survival" and thinks that especially neighborhood culture has to be introduced to children. After İmir had lived in the site for four years, he turned back to Nişancı as a tenant with the consciousness of the need for maintaining neighborhood culture. In order not to lose this culture, as an association they give importance to teach this culture to children, practice the traditions, give children the necessary financial and moral support to keep away from the wrong behaviors and to keep the neighborhood environment clean. In addition, they stated that they organize activities and develop some projects through social media to strengthen the relations and spread consciousness of being neighborhood.

Participants of Beyaz Residence

Some participants argue that the increasing number of gated communities have positive effects on the general structure of the city. By means of gated communities, the overall view of the city became better organized and systematic. Especially for unplanned districts of Istanbul, projects of the sites provide broad green secured areas.

Actually I like the site lifestyle. It would be better if everywhere was organized as a site. I thought it would be more organized and the city would be tidy. (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

We think that sites have more negative impact but the structures in the area are too bad. There is also an unplanned urbanization when we go to Nişancı. At least I think this place is more organized. (BR4, F, *Student in University*, 18)

I certainly think that it has a positive effect, for example, I can go to work without getting worried about my children. I'm comfortable and I don't think there will be a problem. Because there is security here and children can play within site, so I take a weight off my mind. But if it was in the neighborhood, for example, in Nişanca... Children play on the street so my eyes remain outside. You can't get inside the window when you leave your child out. (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

I think the site has a positive effect, so I am also very supportive of urban transformation. Not only children with higher economic status grow up, but all children should grow in these beautiful conditions. Children should grow in green spaces safe. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

On the other hand, residents claim that the increasing number of gated communities damages the structure of the city. High rise buildings and fragmented structure in neighborhoods damage the silhouette of the city.

I think the structure of the city gets harm in general. We live in a historical city and all the sites are constructed of very high buildings. Is there any site that is transverse? I think that the increasing number of gated communities structurally and visually disrupts the city. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

High-rise buildings in sites are always so boring. The old houses of the neighborhood are warmer. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

Regardless of how much it is controlled when the money became involved in, they have negative influences in terms of appearance from the architectural structure to the preservation of historical buildings. Concrete buildings ... When we look at other new urban areas, we feel this negativity. For example, when I go to Beşiktaş where the region completely consist of gated communities, I feel very uncomfortable ... In order

to prevent that, the sites should be constructed in small area and in limited numbers and limited number of floors. (BR11, M, *Student in University*, 38)

The structures of gated communities prevent the development of relations within the neighborhood. Spatially broken and disconnected site environment from the neighborhood make the residents feel isolated and away from the liveliness of the city.

The site itself is independent from the neighborhood... (BR13, M, *Computer engineer*, 43)

Nişanca was in the real neighborhood. As I stepped out the door, my grocery store was in front of the door. There was such an advantage. Here we must go down. It was a little more in life, in the mobility of life. It's a little out of here... (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

You don't get out when you're here. It's hard to get out of the site for shopping. Its location is far for shopping. This place is separating us from the neighborhood; shopping is difficult. When you get off the job in Nişanca, you're coming to the market, to the baker, to the phyllo dough seller. You see many people on the street... (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

Although the site is close to the center of Eyüp, I feel like I'm isolated here. Because you feel the spirit of that culture when I go down to Eyüp Sultan by walking through the streets there. I don't know if it's something I can describe, but you're in the street but feel like in the house, and you can feel on the street like you're at home at the same time. But I did not feel that much on the site. I don't feel warmth, even I see children playing in the garden. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

The residents in the site do not have any connection with people who live in the neighborhood. The spatial segregation and residents' security perception weaken neighborhood bonds and it concludes in social segregation.

By the increasing number of gated communities, the structures of neighborhoods have become broken. The urban transformation projects are also an important factor in damaging neighborhoods and constructing new buildings. Those conclude in weakened human relations. (BR16, M, *Headman of BR*, 55)

If it was not the site here, we might have had a relationship with the furniture makers, we could have greeted or met with people in the shops. I think people in such shops in front of the site like in a separate place when I leave the site. The wall of the site builds a wall in the mind of people. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

The site is a socially sterile lifestyle. The life in the site is separated from out of the site. I think it causes othering. I think the old warm-friendly-familiar neighborhood structure in the modern life would be lost and the recovery would not be possible. (BR12, F, *Housewife*, 43)

I don't have a neighbor outside the site. People cannot step into a relationship outside the site because of a trust problem. Maybe you can contact the next neighborhood if

you're in the neighborhood. Everybody gets to know each other when they get together. The other neighborhoods next to yours can enter your relationship circle. But here you can't take a step outside the site. (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

Additionally, the second point residents emphasize that the residents of the site have socially and economically sterile lifestyle. They do not communicate with someone from lower economic status and cannot feel the sense of helping each other directly.

You know your neighbor in the neighborhood is in hard times. There was a wooden house in Nişanca at the entrance, now it was destroyed. An old granny was sitting there. Everyone took her for supper. Someone was bringing soup the other was bringing a meal. So you can see in the neighborhood, you can see who cannot sacrifice in the feast of sacrifice. However you can't see here, you're saying that he already sacrifices. You can say that if he can pay rent and dues here... But I am continuing to distribute every year in our old neighborhood, Nişanca. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

If you live in the neighborhood, you know the poor neighbor. I don't have a poor neighbor in this site. For example, sometimes we have more food or breads to share... Something comes to my mind. In Nişanca, we had a neighbor who had very hard time with bankrupt. They were in a very bad situation, even selling their homes. We gathered in the neighborhood, one took the oil and the other took the kitchen supplies. We helped her through a hard time. There is no such opportunity on the site. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

A person in need of help cannot meet with anyone from this site in no way and cannot knock the door of the houses to ask for help. Such a thing is already blocked, so the culture of cooperation is also blocked. The people who live here are not going to ask for such a lot of financial help to neighbor because the houses are similar and the economic status is similar. The relationships become narrow. I know only this site in Defterdar district. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

You can see many people in different neighborhoods. Everyone here is above specific economic level. You can't see lower ones than yourself. But in the neighborhood, there are poor, rich and middle-income families. But here there are people with high-income; you're isolated from the other ones. (BR4, F, *Student in University*, 18)

In order to express the lack of communication and difference in perspective with neighborhood residents, the inhabitants of the site explain that they hesitate when talking with people in neighborhood about the site they are living in. The gated community is called as 'residence' and there is no site with similar form around BR. Because of those reasons, the site attracts attention and it makes site participants worried about having a cool, elite and prestigious human profile on outsider's eyes. Therefore, the residents of the site do not have the priority of being prestige concerning their living spaces.

Normally there are lots of sites and there are lots of affordable prices too. However, our site is in the city center, so this house was expensive. The neighbors were shocked when they heard I was buying a house. I was a tenant, I borrowed and worked for years and accumulated. We've given half of it, and the rest was credit. But they said that I am a homeowner in a different way. They were abstaining from me so I was very sad. (BR3, F, *Employee in Private Company*, 43)

They used the catalog name for the site, the residence. Now, when you use that word, people approach you a little bit differently. My daughter's elementary school was in Nişanca neighborhood and I could feel it. Of course, if they were inside of us, they would know it's not as they thought. There was a possibility and we bought this house, but we are looking different from the outside for them. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

If the person that I talk with is lower income group, then I'm not saying that I live on such a gated community... I don't want to give this detail to the other person and make him think that we are different people. (BR1, M, *Inspector in Private Company*, 31)

For example, my children go to the school in the neighborhood. When you say where you live, Beyaz Residence, their looks immediately become different. There is such a status difference. (BR7, F, *Housewife*, 28)

So far I do not say the name of the site. I said that there is a site above, but I do not know what it would be like if I was saying the Beyaz Residence... It affects people's feelings, their curiosity towards each other, and point of view. It affects the perspective of people for us. (BR15, F, *Student in post-graduate*, 26)

For some participants, being perceived as prestigious, elite and wealthy people may be one of the main reasons for socio-spatial segregation. They do not agree with that the main reason for segregation is caused by site residents. It is about the perception of people out of the site. They assume that the residents of the site underestimate the others and do not want to communicate in any way. However, some participants claim that the site environment is exaggerated in any aspect, and neighborhood residents consider the inhabitants in the site more prestigious, haughty, and self-righteous.

There is a separation, but the separation is not caused by us for this site. The neighborhood feels the separation, but they think wrongly... We moved here, a while later a child from out of the site told us that we had a laser at their house. We said that we did not, but he insisted. The event was prolonged and we had to call the police because of the child's behaviors. The kid also opposed the police. On the other hand, his mother was shouting at us and said that you are sitting there and what you think you are? They had a complex like we were underrating them there... We don't have a point of view, but people have this idea... (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

It was raining down in Nişanca neighborhood. We were living in a site, which has no door or security elements. There was a house in the neighborhood at the exit of the site. The floods come and they clean their houses. They were very upset with us. They didn't have anything to do with us, but they said that some people constructed a site here and they're sitting right now. They were trying to say that our house is flooding

because of the site. People may have those kinds of thoughts for gated communities...
(BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

In terms of socio-spatial segregation, participants consider BR different from the other gated communities. They assert that, by means of conservative lifestyle and religious practices, there is not too much separation with out of the site, compared to other gated communities.

Since we believe in Allah and Islamic values, we know that being upper and lower is only in the sight of Allah, we do not see any difference because it is only the result of his evaluation. However, it is necessary to say it is different in other sites. For example, the residence that I first live in was different from Beyaz Residence and we were only 3-4 friends. There was distance with people out of the site. But, there are some connections with the neighborhood and it is not that much separated. It is special for here but I don't know how to fix the general problem. (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

There were so many differences in Çekmeköy. People feel a little excluded. It makes people wonder when someone get into a site with luxurious cars. But I didn't feel it right here. They call it as a residence, but this is like a six-floor apartment. I didn't think this place is so luxurious... I'm going to the neighborhood and I'm aware of the people in the neighborhood. For example, there is a teacher in the neighborhood. When someone needs something, she announces and we meet immediately. (BR14, F, *Housewife*, 47)

In Çekmeköy people were feeling to take a look into the site when they were passing through the road. Suddenly luxurious cars entered their lives... However, I do not feel anything here. In fact, it's about the difference in the material income and actually, I see more luxury car outside the site. Here people do not live in more luxurious conditions. Maybe they have high income, but as a life experience, there is no person who introduces it. (BR2, F, *Psychologist*, 28)

For participants, the most important concern about residing in a gated community is the separation of children from the ones different from them and lack of communication with them. The sensibility of participants in this issue is also originated from their religious values. In addition some residents feel worried about the future of children because they always live under high life conditions.

It is an issue that I cannot forget it at all. While I was talking with my daughter, I asked what do you think to move back to our old house? She said that no dad. I asked why? She said that there is no lift, no pool there and I can play outside here. It will be a problem... The child sees such an environment, and I am concerned about her... For instance, the simplest one I sent my child in public school, here everyone sends to college. Although as Hilal says, the people are humble here, I had to send her to college. (BR5, M, *Headman in Private Company*, 37)

Parents fell worried that the child will have the same place and conditions of life in anytime and anywhere. (BR6, M, *Housewife*, 37)

It definitely influences children negatively. To give that consciousness to children, it is necessary to communicate with other children. We need to ask them to be involved in communication with other children. I think the children are isolated from outside, no matter how conservative their families are. Giving them college and giving to the course... This makes children abstracted from the needs of other children. They are growing different in every way ... I don't know how to tolerate it is. (BR8, F, *Retired Teacher*, 59)

Sometimes I watch very poor people, I wonder if we live in a poor neighborhood... The present children are very insatiable. They don't realize what's out there. But if he grows up in that environment, maybe they will share their toys with children who do not have a toy. Maybe he'll give it to him. (BR9, F, *Housewife*, 57)

The next generations will open or our children opened their eyes in the site. However, in the social sense and religious sense, in interacting with all social-economic groups, it will influence them negatively. A child has to hear a swearword to learn that it is wrong behavior with watching of parents. Seeing differences will teach finding the right. Especially, not seeing a poor person in this site is very unfavorable for children, even for us. They do not understand the life, and they are insatiable because we offer all the opportunities in front of them. For example, there is a concept of empathy or aid –infak-. They cannot understand these concepts if they don't know someone who is from lower income group. (BR11, M, *Student in University*, 38)

When we moved to Çekmeköy, we registered my children to public school, although they have scholarship from private schools. We wanted that they live together with the poor ones and they learn in the same school. You know, life is not just about the people in college. We have always preferred public schools. They are equal with poor or wealthy children... (BR14, F, *Housewife*, 47)

The participants from both BR and NN agree on that by means of the increasing number of gated communities, the general structure of the city has become better organized with underground parking lots and green space, which may be considered as a solution for irregular urbanization. However, the silhouette of Istanbul as a historical city get harmed by high buildings and fragmented structure of neighborhoods. Residents of NN claim that the gated communities influence neighborhood culture negatively because of the uncomfortable atmosphere to experience traditional values. Higher expenses such as dues address a high-income level group of people. The relations are weaker, and people do not familiar with each other. Residents in BR also agree on the artificiality of ties. The second point that all participants agree on is the spatial and social segregation in society that gated communities caused. BR participants feel separated and isolated from the rest of society. Due to economically homogeneous structure of the residence, they cannot experience helping and their children grow unaware of needy-indigent person. The reasons that make the residents aware of others are religious sensibilities and traditional practices. They behave in abstaining way when they tell about their home

location. On the other hand, the approaches of residents in NN about seeing others elite, prestigious, and unreachable may be as crucial as on reinforcing socio-spatial segregation in society.

4.2. Conclusion

According to the analyses conducted as a result of in-depth interviews and participatory observations, it was confirmed that the relationship and value-oriented approach of traditional neighborhood culture are maintained in the Nişancı district. Participants state that they have close and intimate neighborhood relations in daily life and experience the spirit of solidarity and cooperation. The familiarity of everyone in the neighborhood is the essential factor in ensuring security. The street where participants can greet and chat with their neighbors is one of the most important factors enabling socialization. One of the residents of BR expresses the warmth of the street relationship in the NN as “you are in the street but feel like in the house, and you can feel on the street like you're at home at the same time”. On the other hand, some residence residents talk about the artificiality and coldness of the site relations. Despite many social facilities, one of the most important reasons for the weakness of the relations in the site is that the physical organization of the site naturally does not allow spontaneous gatherings and encounters.

A second important point that participants emphasize is that gated communities have a homogenous structure socially and economically. The inhabitants of BR are mostly inhabitants of the middle-upper class or upper-income group, which is one of the typical characteristics of the gated communities. To describe the residents of the BR participants use the term “pious religious profile”, “elite people”, “conservative people and special families,” and “people with high-income but humble”. It confirms that the gated communities are intended to gather a group of people who have the same lifestyle and tendency to same world view. Creating a community spirit, and intensively emphasizing the concepts of identity, neighborhood, cohesion are the strategies of marketing of the capitalist system. However, contrary to the literature, the fact that BR has reached a target audience in a natural process rather than as a result of a marketing strategy. The reason for that can be attributed to the fact that the site is mostly preferred by the people in the district of Eyüp and Fatih. However, it is

noteworthy that the inhabitants of the site produce space related to their concepts of value, emotion, identity, and belonging. The gatherings in the mosque on Friday, the iftar organizations in Ramadan and, the regular gathering of men for the discussion of religious issues are presented as the main factors that provide communication among the residents. Besides, it was concluded that the perceptions of the distrust of the inhabitants against the outside of the site, site staff and employees do not cover distrust against the neighbors because of having similar socio-economic status and religious values. It is not only the wall, security personnel, or the 7/24 camera system that provides the security in the site, but also the shared values adopted by the neighbors. Participants visit their neighbor just because they are elderly and ill, and they shop only because of the only right of neighbor although they are not satisfied with grocery. These practices and experiences show that value-oriented approach of traditional neighborhood culture is maintained and reproduced in BR.

Participants agree on that the gated communities have negative impact on the neighborhood structure. Security measures taken as a result of the perception of distrust of the residents against the outside cause spatially segregation preventing the development of relations in the neighborhood. Participants stated that this could reduce awareness of the individuals towards other income groups and thus did not allow the continuation of the essential characteristics of the neighborhood culture. However, the other important issue that prevents communication and reinforces the separation is the way that people out of the site position residents in the site. Residents of the neighborhood behave in a reactionary and have accusatory statements against the residents in the site due to their insecure and insincere behavior towards people with lower economic income. Residence participants state that when they tell something about their house location, they do not even say the name of their site or call it as the residence because they do not anxiety of prestige. Most of residents preferences' are security system and playground facilities for children. Moreover, isolation of BR and the socio-spatial segregation make the residents worried for the future of their children to not be in contact with people from lower-income groups. For this reason, some residents prefer public school rather than private school for their children to get an education with people from any socio-economic status.

Although the relations within site are cold and artificial, some participants state that there is a warm and friendly atmosphere, not different from the neighborhood. Particularly in BR, it is analyzed that traditional culture and shared values have crucial role on the formation of social relations and daily practices without any concern for lifestyle and prestige. On the other hand, the most important factor that has an impact on the sustainability of the still-continuing warm neighborhood relations is that the neighborhood residents and their families have been living in the same home and neighborhood for more than 50 years. The fact that inhabitants mostly live in the house left by their fathers and grandfathers and the weakness of the rent circulation allowed neighborhood relations to continue in a rooted, strong, and pure manner.

It is noteworthy that the district of Eyüp is exposed to modern economic neoliberal changes, and it is possible to see the manifestation of neoliberal policies on urban area in both NN and BR examples. BR is an important example of Islamic gated community where naturalization of neoliberalism manifests itself in the case of fetish of securitization and changing the perception of the border.²⁸⁹ This fear-centered social perception of the street led people to normalize the segregation between two examples in which people live very close to each other but never get to know each other thanks to made up border and walls. The neighborhood culture, basically based on Islamic tradition, is being overthrown by neoliberal understanding. On the other hand, part of residents in BR struggle with the problematic of isolation from the rest of society and try to maintain the religious and cultural traditions, although the atmosphere in the site does not allow to develop them. Residents in BR interact with each other by performing religious practices together and following in some traditions. Since Islam gives importance to interaction between different social groups and classes, residents have worried about the future of children because of physical and non-physical borders with the rest of society. Also, the contradiction between the traditional neighborhood culture and neoliberal approach to neighborhood give rise to tension in NN. The tension is not caused by the struggle of residents to live traditional values. In fact, they have safety, a sense of belonging and strong relationships, and live religious and traditional practices without any support of private service and monthly payment. Also, they have conscious of the necessity

²⁸⁹ Ayşenur Altuntaş, *ibid.*, 13.

of neighborhood culture, arguing that the lifestyle that gated communities bring prevent the maintenance of neighborhood culture. Therefore, the probability of development of the district as an urban transformation project makes the residents worried about losing traditional culture. It manifests the tension between traditional neighborhood culture and neoliberal approach in spatial organization.

When all these evaluations and the five themes (i, ii, iii, iv, v) determined as a basis for comparison between NN and BR are examined in details, there are parallels in the literature in some cases. Unlike these discussions, especially when the meaning of security is taken into consideration, there is a common approach between values of neighborhood and site life. Confidence that is felt for closer ones, the organizations and activities that bring residents together, the intimacy of relations, bring two distinct spaces together in the common denominator.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction part of the thesis, the conceptual framework and the developments in world conjuncture were tried to be conveyed. As a result of the economic and social developments of economic restructuring, the change in the structure of employment has created the necessity of producing a new housing project in cities. The fact that the consumer group is transformed into a new group by the market with the effect of postmodern concepts has been one of the main reasons that spread gated communities. With the sharpening of social and class segregation in society and increasing demands on this new form of housing, gated communities emerge as both producers and reinforcing elements of social and spatial segregation. In this thesis, the formation of gated communities was examined in a critical approach within the framework of the neighborhood concept.

This new marketing field emerges with the demand of an elitist class to privilege itself. The primary reason for that is to distinguish the new class from the other sub-groups and to create a different lifestyle by benefiting from the opportunities brought by the economic situation. Outstanding, prestigious, and privileged are the demands of the rising middle class. The second factor is that the new class perceives people from the lower segments of society as a threat of crime and feels the need to secure themselves. Those with low social and economic status cannot be involved in the lifestyle of the new middle class. Instead, they are a group that needs to be taken high-security measures against them. By means of the restructuring, the society points out socio-spatial segregation, which is apparent with the fact that people live in different places according to their incomes groups, not touching each other and not having any interaction. Due to neoliberal restructuring and globalization, the social segregation in the society has been becoming concrete and evident as a result of the spatial fragmentation that occurs with the spread of gated communities.

Parallel to the social and economic developments in the world conjuncture, with economic restructuring in Turkey after the 1980s, the inward-oriented economy integrated into the international financial market and with liberalization and privatization encouraged entrepreneurs for capital movements inside and outside the

country. Thus, neoliberal urbanism has become a fundamental dynamic in the planning of cities through capital under market logic. Inequality in income distribution and, middle and upper class's desire to be differentiated from the others have led to social segregation and spatial differentiation, encouraged by the developments in media, advertisements, and marketing sector. Therefore, new middle class's demand for the homogenized community with private services and social outfits, fear of crime against the rest of society and global media establishing a lifestyle based on global consumer culture are underlying reasons that have paved the way for the spread of gated communities.

The neighborhood, having a meaning beyond the geographical area, form the city's core, and is in the center of social life and socially organized lifestyle. It functions as a mirror to analyze social and cultural transformations. Thus, the social and economic developments that urban faced has been concluding in the transformation of neighborhood culture. Space was valuable with its cultural and historical characteristics, but within the circulation of capital, it has been gaining social value in terms of material value that it can only be marketed or converted into a consumption object. Changing the perception of 'housing' and socio-spatial segregation that gated communities resulted in influence adversely traditional neighborhood culture. High walls and security measures that prevent interactive relations within society causes disconnection and fragmentation. The socio-economic homogeneity of residents of gated communities reinforces isolation, segregation, and social exclusion. It has been damaging the unifying approach and heterogeneous structure of neighborhood culture both in religious-ethnic and socio-economic aspect. Traditional neighborhood texture including complex centered structure, sense of community, solidarity and mutual responsibility demonstrate the expression of religious and traditional values and practices in the urban arena. Gated communities are mostly preferred for security lifestyle and prestige concern. Even the structure of gated communities do not mostly allow building close social relations, traditional values and customs have been accepted as a strategy in marketing of gated communities in the way of creating a nostalgic and idealized neighborhood texture.

In the last chapters of the thesis, in order to develop holistic approach about the influence of gated communities on neighborhood culture, the examples of BR and NN in Eyüp are analyzed within the context of residents-space relationships

considering literature review discussed. The district of Eyüp draws attention due to its centrality for a significant number of valuable art and cultural works, famous lodges, graveyards of wise and martyrs with addition to Eyub-el Ensari, the examples of the art of cinematography a writing and wide range of fountains mostly constructed in Tulip Era. Besides, NN presents physical and social characteristics of traditional neighborhood culture with its historical buildings, the structure of streets, close relationships based on solidarity and cooperation. However, the constructions of gated communities and urban transformation projects that have become spread, especially in the last ten years conclude in historical and cultural destruction has brought together the necessity of analysis of Eyüp. For this reason, in order to discuss the effects of the gated communities on neighborhood culture specifically in Eyüp, BR and NN was determined as the study area, and the relations of the users with space were evaluated in this context.

Field study carried out in the scope of in-depth interviews and research and participant observations are analyzed in five themes: (i) defining the space, (ii) neighbor relations, (iii) the perception of security, (iv) participants' positioning lifestyle in the site/neighborhood and its residents, and (v) approach of participants for the increasing number of gated communities and its effect on neighborhood culture and the structure of city. According to analysis and main findings, the participants' perceptions, practices, and relations are in parallel with the literature except for a few points.

The general profile of NN presents socio-economically and culturally heterogeneous structure. The first thing that comes to the participant's mind when they are asked for their first impressions about the neighborhood is their close and warm neighbor relationships. This intimacy has brought solidarity, cooperation, and sharing in peace and safety. Since closeness is essential in establishing peace and safe, sense of attachment and belonging to neighborhood lead to feeling security. On the other hand, for residents in BR, it is not possible to reach general and simple statements, as in the neighborhood. Although it could be argued that the site has socio-economically homogeneous structure, there are different expressions on neighbor relations and the perception of security. The first points that residents emphasize about their living space are the security system and playing fields that allow children

to grow in confidence. When they are asked to evaluate the first impressions about their living space, it is noteworthy that the participants firstly evaluate the opportunities offered by the site, such as the security system and social facilities. However, they do not trust in security cameras or personnel completely. They have security concern against the dangers coming from outside. Surprisingly, since they do not have any tie with security staff, they do not have exact trust. However, the similarity in socio-economic status and common religious belief make them trust in neighbors, although they do not have any familiarity. While some residents claim that the relations among neighbors are very cold and artificial due to complicating physical organization of the site, others say that they can feel the close and warm atmosphere as living in a neighborhood.

It is a remarkable point that residents of NN maintain a stance against urban transformation projects and the increasing number of gated communities. As they argue, NN is under the threat of urban transformation, and there is a probability of displacement and construction of gated communities. These social and economic developments have brought residents intellectual approach to urban issues. The strong relationships and unity and solidarity within the neighborhood raise their awareness on neighborhood culture and developed consciousness against conclusions that gated communities brought with the social aspect. They argue that the increasing number of gated communities damages the neighborhood culture. Their target of construction is only money making, and it results in weakening of neighbor relations. Weaker relations, non-moral behaviors, and spatial segregation will reduce the awareness of people on emphatic thinking and helping each other. Thus, they consider gated communities as a means for urban transformation. They develop an attitude towards gated communities explicitly by being organized with the association rather than aspiring for moving up the social ladder or having better life conditions. However, it is commonly agreed that renewal is a necessity due to insufficient open space, the problem of car parking and endurable buildings. The unity and togetherness of residents deal with the situation that takes the neighborhood and neighborhood culture under risk. To struggle with it, they even establish an association, which is 'Nişancı Neighborhood: Association of Neighborhood Culture Conservation and Survival'.

The second crucial point is that in BR, some participants argue that social relationships are strong and friendly. The underlying reasons that pave the way for such relations are mainly caused by cultural factors. It affects their security perception through neighbors in comparison with security staff. Gated communities generally present socio-economically homogeneous structure and they discussed in the aspect of class relations. However, in this field study, it is claimed by participants that BR have a neighborhood atmosphere and neighborhood culture more than other gated communities. Addition to economically homogeneous structure, similar worldviews, perspectives, values, and relations have brought the necessity of value-oriented analysis in consideration of BR. Residents who emphasize the closeness of relationships establish their relationships and security perception by way of religious and traditional commonalities. The gatherings in the mosque on Friday, the iftar organizations in Ramadan and, the regular gathering of men for the discussion of religious issues are some rituals practiced that enable for warmer relationships. Even if they don't have strong relationships, they are attentive to visit when their neighbor is sick by thinking as 'neighbor right'. They shop from the grocery of the site, although most of them are not satisfied with products and prices. Another important unparallel point with the literature of gated communities is the fact that the residents of BR are not concerned about being prestigious and privileged. They hesitate to mention the expression of 'residence' when they talk with people from economically lower income group about their houses. They are aware that the gated communities give rise to socio-spatial segregation within society. It makes them worried about their children in the aspect of living in a sterile lifestyle and being isolated from the rest of society. The site is mostly preferred by people who had lived in the district of Eyüp and Fatih. Also, residents of BR mostly experienced neighborhood culture before and move that lifestyle to the site environment. Therefore, the perceptions of security and relation and lifestyles of participants show that the residents try to reproduce neighborhood culture within the gated community.

Both in Nişancı Neighborhood and Beyaz Residence, residents experience the contradiction between lifestyles offered by traditional neighborhood culture and gated community. The spatial manifestation of neoliberal restructuring gives rise to particular struggles in each space. Although the physical organization of BR often does not allow for the development of relationships, it has been observed that some

residents run relationships by maintaining the shared values and practices that they have. They reproduce neighborhood culture within the gated community. They interact with each other by performing religious practices together and gathering in religiously important days. Due to shared belief and Islamic approach, residents feel worried about the future of children and the socio-spatial segregation, which is made up by the walls and border. The residents in NN also have struggle with the risk of being urban transformation project field. They have safety, a sense of belonging and strong relationships, and live religious and traditional practices. They have conscious of the necessity of neighborhood culture, arguing that the lifestyle that gated communities bring prevent the maintenance of neighborhood culture. However, the possibility of the construction of a gated community within the borders of NN makes the inhabitants stressful and fearful. They oppose the municipality to send themselves to another location and build large constructions where their homes are located. Thus, neoliberal approach to the structure of the neighborhood and the city create a tension in both BR and NN.

As a result of the theoretical framework and findings of field study, it can be claimed that gated communities cause socio-spatial segregation within society. The structure of the city has become socially and spatially fragmented, and it prevents the sustainability of neighborhood culture. The thesis makes original contributions by bringing a different approach. In the example of NN, we can observe the continuity of influential neighborhood culture in socio-economic and structural aspect with the struggling spirit against the increasing number of gated communities and urban transformation projects. On the other hand, the case of BR has demonstrated efforts for the reproduction of neighborhood culture within the site. Overall, the study highlights the need for further studies to develop a new value-oriented approach to gated communities regarding the reproduction of space that enables to sustain neighborhood culture.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Figure A.1. List of Participants in Nişancı Neighborhood

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education al Status	Proffesional Status	Owners hip Status	Number of Years that PR resides
NR1	F	54	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	34
NR2	F	53	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	31
NR3	F	48	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	48
NR4	F	23	Married	University Graduate	Housewife	Tenant	23
NR5	M	62	Married	Primary School Graduate	Seamster	Home-owner	41
NR6	M	53	Married	Primary School Graduate	Neighborhood Headman	Home-owner	53
NR7	M	62	Married	Primary School Graduate	Retiree	Home-owner	62
NR8	F	48	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	35
NR9	M	59	Married	University Graduate	Pharmacist	Home-owner	59 (left for 15 years and returned)
NR10	M	65	Married	none	Shoemaker	Tenant	31
NR11	M	40	Married	University Graduate	Headman of Department in a Private Company	Tenant	40 (left for 3 and returned years)

NR12	M	32	Married	Primary School Graduate	Employee in a Private Company	Home-owner	12
NR13 (F	63	Widow	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	63 (left for a few years and returned)
NR14	F	29	Single	University Graduate	Translator in a Private Company	Home-owner	29
NR15	F	23	Married	University Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	23 (left for 2 years and returned)

Figure A.2. List of Participants in Beyaz Residence

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Educational Status	Professional Status	Ownership Status	Number of Years that PR resides
BR1	M	31	Married	University Graduate	Employee as an Inspector in Private Bank	Tenant	5
BR2	F	28	Married	Post-graduate	Psychologist, Student in Doctorate	Home-owner	5
BR3	F	43	Married	University Graduate	Employee in Private Institution	Home-owner	6
BR4	F	18	Single	High-School Graduate	Student in University	Home-owner	6
BR5	M	37	Married	University Graduate	Headman in Private Company	Home-owner	6
BR6	F	37	Married	University Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	6
BR7	F	28	Married	University Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	6
BR8	F	59	Married	University Graduate	Housewife – Retired Teacher	Tenant	4
BR9	F	57	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	5
BR10	M	52	Married	University Graduate	Liberal profession	Home-owner	5
BR11	F	38	Widow	High-School Graduate	Housewife, Student in University	Home-owner	5
BR12	F	43	Married	University Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	5
BR13	M	43	Married	Post-	Computer	Home-	5

				graduate	Engineer	owner	
BR14	F	47	Married	Primary School Graduate	Housewife	Home-owner	4,5
BR15	F	26	Single	University Graduate	Student in Post-graduate	Home-owner	5,5
BR16	M	53	Married	High-School Graduate	Headman of BR	-	-

APPENDIX B

Appendix B.1. Questions for Participants of Beyaz Residence

- How would you define the neighborhood? What is the first impression that the neighborhood has brought you?
- What do you think about the neighborhood? How do you experience the neighborhood?
- Do you think the neighborhood gives you a sense of belonging and attachment?
- How do you evaluate neighborhood relations in the neighborhood? How is your relation with neighbors?
- From where do you firstly prefer shopping? How are the relationships with the tradesmen in the neighborhood?
- Do you feel safe in the neighborhood? If you feel, what do you think about the factors that provide this?
- Where did you live before this neighborhood?
- How do you find the infrastructure services of the municipality in the neighborhood?
- How do you think about distinguishing factors on the lifestyle of gated communities and the neighborhood?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of increasing number of gated communities on neighborhood culture and the structure of the city?

Appendix B.2. Questions for Participants of Nişancı Neighborhood

- How would you define the site where you live in? What is the first impression that it has brought you?
- What do you think about the house? How do you think about the necessary features that a house includes?
- What are the social possibilities in this site and what is your thought on lifestyle in site?
- Do you think living such a gated community gives you a sense of belonging and attachment?
- How do you evaluate neighbor relations in the neighborhood? How is your relation with neighbors?
- From where do you firstly prefer shopping? How are the relationships with the tradesmen in the neighborhood?
- Do you feel safe in the neighborhood? If you feel, what do you think about the factors that provide this?
- What are the reasons you prefer to live in such gated community?
- Where did you live before BR?
- How do you think about distinguishing factors on the lifestyle of gated communities and the neighborhood?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of increasing number of gated communities on neighborhood culture and the structure of the city?

APPENDIX C

Appendix C.1. Pictures of Beyaz Residence







Appendix C.2. Pictures of Nişancı Neighborhood









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