

GATED COMMUNITIES AND SIGN VALUE: LOGICS OF SEGREGATION IN  
THE CASE OF ANKARA

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GATED COMMUNITIES AND SIGN VALUE: LOGICS OF SEGREGATION IN THE CASE OF ANKARA**

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This study brings out an analytical framework to the issue of gated communities in relation with the consumer culture theories in Ankara.

There has been a radical shift from Fordist to post-Fordist economy since the mid-1970s, which finally ends up with the change in consumption patterns of people. People turned into desiring consumers, consuming not for their necessities but for what objects signify. As a part of that development, gated communities became the object of consumer culture which is produced and sold as a commodity of architecture. Especially the advertisement sector helped the commodification of gated communities through ever-repeating images and words.

This research analyzes the commodification and marketing processes of gated communities in order to see the relation between discourse of advertisements on gated communities and gated communities' segregationist tendencies. To this end, the formation of gated communities around the world and in Turkey is explained. Then the commodification of gated communities within the framework of consumer culture theories is discussed. Finally, the theoretical arguments are presented by incorporating the findings of the case study carried out in Ankara. In other words, the

study will highlight whether or not the language employed in the marketing materials of gated communities creates a segregationist language.

**Keywords:** Gated communities, consumer culture, advertisement industry, segregation, sign-value

## ÖZ

### KAPALI KONUT ALANLARI VE DEĞER İŞARETLERİ: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİNDE AYRIŞMANIN MANTIĞI

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Bu çalışma Ankara’da kapalı konut alanlarını tüketim kültürü teorileri ile ilişkilendirerek analitik bir çerçevede sunmaktadır.

1970’li yılların ortasından itibaren Fordist ekonomiden post-Fordist ekonomiye olan radikal geçiş insanların tüketim alışkanlıklarında da değişime yol açar ve insanlar nesnelere kendi ihtiyaçları için değil ifade ettikleri anlam için tüketmeye başlar. Bu gelişmenin bir parçası olarak, kapalı konut alanları tüketim kültürünün bir ürünü gibi üretilen ve satılan mimari bir meta haline alır. Özellikle reklam sektöründe sürekli tekrarlanan görüntü ve kelimeler kapalı konut alanlarının metalaşmasına yardımcı olur.

Bu araştırma, reklamlardaki söylemler ile kapalı konut alanlarındaki ayrımcı eğilimler arasındaki ilişkiyi görmek için kapalı konut alanlarının metalaştırılma ve pazarlama süreçlerini analiz etmektedir. Bu amaçla, öncelikle dünyada ve Türkiye’de kapalı konut alanlarının oluşumu açıklanmaktadır. Daha sonra tüketim kültürü teorileri çerçevesinde kapalı konut alanlarının metalaştırılma süreci tartışılmaktadır. Son olarak, kavramsal tartışmalar çerçevesinde geliştirilen olguların geçerliliği Ankara’da gerçekleştirilen alan çalışmasının bulguları ışığında sunulmaktadır. Bir

bařka deyiřle, bu alıřmada kapalı konut alanlarının pazarlamasında kullanılan dilin ayrımcı bir dil yaratıp yaratmadığı incelenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kapalı konut alanları, tüketim kültürü, reklam endüstrisi, ayrımcılık, işaret değeri

To My Beloved Mum and Dad,



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Defining the Problem

The setting of boundaries is always a political act. Boundaries determine membership: Someone must be inside and someone outside. Boundaries also create and delineate space to facilitate the activities and purposes of political, economic and social life.”(Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.1)

As it is stated by Blakely and Snyder, day by day more and more boundaries are set up by enclosed communities to create a physical segregation of people which embodies substantially social segregation of public life.

The concept of gated community mainly refers to a “housing development that restricts public access, usually through the use of gates, booms, walls and fences” (Rowland and Sarah, 2006, p.vii). Entrance to these areas from its surroundings is possible with access control and there are self-sufficient communal spaces inside the gated communities such as parks, pools, green areas, sidewalks, playgrounds etc. “So it is not only the houses that are physically enclosed but streets, sidewalks, and other amenities are also enclosed by barriers and entrance gates operated by a guard or opened with a key or electronic identity card”(Low, 2010, p.364). In this sense, gated communities are not apartments or condominiums with security system. Gated communities have walls and fences which prevent public access to shared amenities and these gates and fences are not just physical barriers, they symbolize more than this (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.3). These visible barriers have social effects on urban life besides its physical effects.

That is why; the potential social effects of the gated communities have long been a discussed issue among the scholars (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001; Caldeira, 2000; Le Goix, 2003; Roitman, 2005). Currently, gated communities have become one of the main subjects in the related literature in terms of creating a new way of life which promotes language of segregation. It has also been criticized as a reflection of income polarization and segregation as realities of a globalizing world. Many scholars mention the segregationist tendencies of gated communities and its

possible effects on the urban form. These segregationist tendencies could be seen both physically and socially. The ever increased advertisements of gated communities are one of those forms which make the segregationist tendencies of gated communities explicit. Today, gated communities are commoditized, marketed and sold as “life-style projects” which offer better and distinct life within the city. Concordantly, it is highly important to understand the underlying messages in these advertisements.

Gated communities are production of spaces and they are produced and sold as a commodity of architecture. There is a close connection between production of space and social practices. According to Lefebvre (Lefebvre cited in Öncü and Weyland, 1997), urban spaces are socially produced and they also reproduce society. He claims that production of space is actually reproduces the social relations. In this regard, gated communities as a global phenomenon produce new form of spaces which reproduce the social relations of urban life. The role of consumer culture and advertisement are important at this point because “space is never empty but always crucially inscribed with meanings” (Öncü and Weyland, 1997, p.14). Products are not used for their use-value anymore. Objects of consumer culture have started to be consumed for their sign-value which is an expression and mark of style, prestige, status and hierarchy (Baudrillard, 1998). Today, millions of people choose to live in gated communities which are enclosed areas from public life. The real issue in here is not about the actual gates but how people started to feel that they need the offered life style of gated communities. Through the ever-repeating images, words and discourses in the advertisements of gated communities, gated communities have become the object of consumer culture. As a result, gated communities do not only bring physical segregation and control by their existence, they also symbolically reconstruct reality in order to enforce the same practical result by advertisements (Raposo, 2006, p.52).

In a nutshell, the commodification and marketing processes of gated communities will be problematized in this study in order to see the relation between discourse of advertisements on gated communities and gated communities’ segregationist



tendencies. Whether or not the commoditized and sold life style in the advertisements of gated communities has an effect on the actual gates will be critically examined to see the potential consequences of advertisements. Accordingly, the main hypothesis in that study the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements lies on a segregationist language. While urban sphere has been separated by barriers and walls of gated communities, understanding whether or not the sign-value of gated communities employed in the advertisements of gated communities have a segregationist tone is crucial in order to be aware of the unknown consequences of these barriers in urban sphere.

### **1.2. Aim of the Study**

Aim of this study is to find the actual relationship between gated communities and consumer culture in order to understand how gated communities produce a segregationist language. How these produced spaces are influencing the social relations will be analyzed based on looking at the discourse upon which this new urban form is constructed. Gated communities are creating social fragmentation within the society and this social fragmentation is legitimized by marketing discourses presented by the media. It is important to understand the role of advertisement industry in keeping the economy stimulated by creating the desire for products of capitalism because while social fragmentation is legitimized by marketing discourses, the commodification processes and the aestheticization practices of advertisement industry also shape the gated communities and lead to segregationist tendencies. This study will particularly question how the gated communities marketed as an object of consumption and how it creates the segregation within the urban form.

This study will also make an analysis of the reasons and social dynamics behind the development of gated communities based on a literature review and case study analysis will unfold the relation between advertisements of gated communities and turning them into a part of social sign system. Reproduction of meaning of space

through advertisements in gated communities will be analyzed in detail to understand whether they are now new forms of segregation in urban settlements or not.

### **1.3. Method of the Study**

To study gated communities in Ankara, an operational definition which apply both to case study and to theoretical framework of the thesis is established. According to this operational definition, term referred as the “gated community” in this study has the following characters: (1) private or privatized amenities for collective use, (2) collective private ownership of open space and (3) access control in entrance (Raposo, 2006, p.44).

To analyze the gated communities, their history, evolution and development, theory of consumer culture will be the theoretical ground of this study. Marketing process of gated communities and it’s relation with the consumer culture will be the focus of case study.

To reveal this relation, this study employs a qualitative methodology that combines textual analysis of marketing media and also in-depth interviews with the sales representatives of the selected gated communities. The selected gated communities are analyzed according to their marketing catchphrases and the recurrent themes in the marketing material. Then some of the selected gated communities are visited and interviews with the sales officers of the gated communities are made to understand the underlying motives and desires in marketing materials.

For the case study, 23 gated communities has been selected based on the frequency of their appearance in internet search and on the continuation of their marketing process. The most used real estate websites ([www.sahibinden.com](http://www.sahibinden.com), [www.hurriyetemlak.com](http://www.hurriyetemlak.com)) have been taken as a source for the selection of gated community projects. Each project’s website is visited and marketing brochures of them are downloaded. As the selected samples are rich, firstly their marketing catchphrases are analyzed in order to list their marketing discourses. Then they are grouped based on their location and typology and them they are analyzed according to Blakely and Snyder’s (1997) general typology of gated communities. Then

recurrent themes emphasized in the marketing materials of the selected gated communities are studied in detail. Before starting the in-depth interviews, selected 23 gated communities are categorized based on the number of dwelling units as it is the only varying criteria. They are grouped into four as follows: gated communities which have dwelling units up to 100, gated communities which have dwelling units between 100 and 200, gated communities which have dwelling units 200 and 500 and gated communities which have dwelling units more than 500.

Based on the categorization, from each category sales offices of some of the gated communities are visited. Totally 9 gated communities' sales offices are visited which provide to study important insight about the subject. Although the aim was to visit more gated communities' sales offices number of interviews had been limited because of the difficulty to find someone who is in charge and to have meetings with sales officers. Then the findings of interviews were analyzed to see whether or not there is any overlap between content analysis and in-depth interviews.

#### **1.4. Structure of the Thesis**

The study is presented in four main sections. In the first chapter the problematic of the thesis is briefly defined the subject and the aim of the thesis are stated and also limits and the method of the study are outlined.

In the second chapter, gated communities starting with the definitions and kinds of gated communities are discussed. Evolution of gated communities and their different uses in history and worldwide examples of gated communities are examined. The focus is on the rise of gated communities and its literature to better articulate gated communities as a housing form. Already existing huge literature on gated communities is summarized from different perspectives such as demand-side discussions, supply-side discussions and critical literature. Different arguments put by different scholars are revealed to get the general notion of gated communities. Then emergence of gated communities in Turkey is explained with an emphasis on both development of housing sector and its legal arrangements.

In the third chapter, theories of consumer society are evaluated in order to make the link between gated communities and consumer culture explicit. Role of capitalism under the process of globalization and how consumer culture theories explain the link between capitalism and consumer society is summarized. Then gated communities are examined in terms of new consumption spaces of global capital. The way of housing sector to become something to be commoditized is discussed. In this chapter the role of advertisement industry to stimulate consumer society and the link between gated communities and advertisement industry is also revealed. Especially the way of presentation of gated communities by advertisement industry is the subject of this chapter.

The fourth chapter comprises a case study to uncover the relation between consumer culture and gated communities. The results obtained through a content analysis of gated community advertisements and in-depth interviews with the sales officers of the selected gated communities are presented and analyzed. Whether or not the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements lies on a segregationist language is questioned within the framework of consumer culture theory. While gated communities are becoming a part of consumer culture and are sold by different aesthetization practices, the language used in the materials is analyzed to understand how these urban forms create the segregation.

In the last chapter a critical analysis of the case study results to reach a conclusion about the relation between consumer culture and gated communities is presented. Especially how the practices of consumer society to sell its products create a language which employs a segregationist character is explored.

## CHAPTER 2

### FORMATION OF GATED COMMUNITIES

This chapter of the thesis aims to give a sketch of formation of gated communities considering that to be able to do research on dominant language employed in marketing materials of gated communities, it is important to know what the gated communities are and how they become one of the housing forms in urban space.

To that end, first section of this chapter will focus on what it is meant by a gated community concentrating on the definition of gated communities and then types of gated communities will be clarified. There are different types of gated communities and each type has different features and customer group. To be able to pick a group of gated communities to analyze their marketing materials, firstly their types should be known. The second section of this chapter is dedicated to historical grounds of gated communities and the reasons of the rise of gated communities. To understand current forms of gated communities, the previous forms of gated communities should be known. The impact of gated communities within urban space could be understood through having sense about the evolution of gated communities. The literature on gated communities is wide and there are different scholars explaining the impact of gated communities from different viewpoints. The third section of this chapter summarizes gated communities literature to articulate where the main hypothesis of this study is standing. The fourth and last section of this chapter provides a general evaluation of the emergence of gated communities in Turkey by focusing on Ankara. Development of housing sector and legal arrangements in housing sector of Turkey is discussed within the framework of evolution of gated communities. Urban history of Ankara will be summarized to understand the importance of gated communities' locations. It is significant to know regions dominated by gated communities and kind of their residents to evaluate the language employed in the marketing materials and sales officers of gated communities.

Herein after, parallel to the paragraph above, it will be concentrated on formation of gated communities to derive some conclusions for helping the case study of this thesis. To understand the language employed in marketing material of gated communities and sales offices, it is crucial to know the rise of gated communities,

the literature on it and the evolution of this urban form in Turkey thoroughly. Motivations behind the development of gated communities as one of the dominant urban forms is significant to be able analyze how this urban form became a part of consumer culture.

## **2.1. Definitions and Types of Gated Communities**

There have been many ways to define gated communities but the most common definition is that “gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.2). Grant (2004) also defines gated community as “a housing development on private roads closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary access and the developments is surrounded by fences, walls, or other natural barriers that further limit public access”. Gated communities are kind of housing settlements which prevents public access through gates, walls, fences etc. (Rowland and Sarah, 2006, p.vii). This means that gated communities are places entered with access control which have self-sufficient communal spaces such as parks, pools, green areas, sidewalks, playgrounds etc. “So it is not only the houses that are physically enclosed but streets, sidewalks, and other amenities are also enclosed by barriers and entrance gates operated by a guard or opened with a key or electronic identity card” (Low, 2010, p.364). In this sense, gated communities are not apartments or condominiums with security system. “They include private property, individual houses and collectively used common private property, for example clubhouse and sports facilities.” (Roitman, 2005, p.304) Gated communities are also homogenous places in contrast to open city. Most of the residents are from middle or upper-middle class (Roitman, 2005, p.304).

There have been various kinds of gated communities which is not easy to classify according to their special features but the most thorough research available about gated communities has been done by Blakely and Snyder (1997) and their typology of gated communities are broadly accepted within the literature (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). According to them there are three types of gated communities which are lifestyle, prestige and security zone gated communities. There are also subtypes of kinds of gated communities (See table 1). Lifestyle gated communities

have three subtypes which are retirement, golf and leisure, and suburban new town (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46). Prestige communities are composed of enclaves of rich and famous, top-fifth developments and executive middle class communities. Security zone communities have three subtypes too, which are city perch, suburban perch, and barricade perch. It is important to know features of the types of gated communities in order to evaluate the meaning of gated communities within the urban form. Table 1 clearly summarizes the types, features, subtypes and characteristics of the subtypes of the gated communities.

**Table 1: Blakely and Snyder's (1997) General Typology of Gated Communities (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.915).**

Type	Features	Subtypes	Characteristics
<b>Lifestyle</b>	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
<b>Prestige</b>	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
<b>Security zone</b>	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 in inner city area to limit crime or traffic

Type	Features	Subtypes	Characteristics
		Barricade Perch	closed access to some streets to limit through traffic

First type is the lifestyle communities. At the core of lifestyle communities, there are leisure activities, which is a primary motivation for designing these settlements (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.915). These communities address to leisure-consuming society who searches for identity, security, and distinct life style (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.915). “They are common internationally, although they vary in character” (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p. 919). There are three subtypes of lifestyle communities. “The first, the retirement community, includes a wide range of recreational amenities and structured programs of social activity.” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46) The second type, golf and leisure community is for working people. They include gated country clubs, golf developments, and second-home resorts like retirement communities but golf and leisure communities differ from them by their focus on social environment which is planned for working people. Many of them are second-homes for the people (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.57). The third one is the new town which offers a total life experience to its residents. What sold is not just houses but also a community. They are marketed as lifestyle projects which means that they have everything in it both physically and socially (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.65).

Second type is the prestige communities which are symbols of wealth and status for the residents (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.916). What common in these communities is not the shared amenities but the economic class and status (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.915). “One of the key functions of gating for prestige developments is protecting property values.” (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.919). According to Blakely and Snyder (1997) there are three subtypes of prestige communities. Enclaves of rich and famous are for the wealthiest people in the society. These communities offer prestige and privacy by physically separating the most affluent who seeks for security and seclusion from



others. The second type, top-fifth projects, is for business people and professionals. Their marketing codes are “private” and “exclusive”, gates usually are not mentioned (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.82). The third one, which is projects for executive middle class, has gates but they do not offer security (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.916).

Third type of gated communities is the security zone communities which are reflection of fear of outsiders and first reason of the existence of gates, walls and fences is the security (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.99; Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.916). These gates and walls rather than being amenities, they are seen as necessary for the residents and the walls here have defensive functions (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.916 - 919). There are three types of security zone gated communities which are city, suburban and barricade perch. According to Blakely and Snyder (1997) enclosed urban neighborhoods are city perches. Areas which are formerly open to access are closed based on demand of society, city government or the local housing authority. Suburban perches are gated communities in urban periphery. The motives for gates and walls are same: The security. The barricade perches are not fully gated communities. Based on residents demand, the suburban cul-de-sacs are created and the majority of the intersections are closed which means leaving just one or two entry point to the area (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.113).

Having summarized the types of gated communities, it is important to know that although gated communities differs based on the aspects, they have common characteristics as it is understood by its definition. Enclosure by walls or fences, restricted and controlled access, and shared amenities are among these most articulated common aspects of the gated communities (Öden, 2004, p.12). At this point, it is important to bear in mind that while walls and gates are among the common characteristics, they have different functions across culture: physical, economic, social, and symbolic (Grant, 2004, p. 919). Functions of enclosure change and vary both in time and space. Enclosure is also a kind of the exercise of power and discipline over space (Foucault, 1977, p.141). To understand these differences in functions, historical background of gated communities should be known.

## **2.2. Historical Grounds of Gated Communities**

### **2.2.1. Antecedents of Gated Communities**

As it is stated by Luymes (1997), Blakely and Snyder (1997) gated communities are old as cities itself. The physical form of gated communities exists for a long time. The earliest gated communities were built around 300 B.C. by Romans (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.4). “The walls around these settlements were seldom to protect against the local villagers who might turn on the baron at any moment.” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.4) Victorian London (Atkins, 1993) and St. Louis (Savage, 1987) have history of gated streets which represent a form of territorial control. In ancient time, walled enclaves (gated communities) were symbols of paternal security served by monarch or feudality (Luymes, 1997, p.188) and they have long been remained as symbol control and power until feudality comes to an end. “In more recent centuries, the walled and gated preserves of manors and estates in Europe retained symbolic overtones of economic power and control, without the military imperative of feudal defenses.” (Luymes, 1997, p.188)

A new period for walled enclaves begins with the rise of bourgeois classes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Luymes, 1997, p.188). Land-owning aristocrats divide their lands to sale or lease and these subdivided lands are walled to prevent the public use of private roads and to maintain peace (Atkins, 1993, p. 266). Reasons for the development of gated and walled enclaves similar to reasons used today which shows they are the ancestry of contemporary gated communities (Luymes, 1993, p.188).

As it is pointed out Blakely and Snyder (1997), walled and gated settlements were also built in the New World which is the Caribbean but the first purely residential gated communities appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. These were Grammercy Park in New York City and Louisborg Square in Boston (Luymes, 1997, 188). More and more gated communities were also built during the 20<sup>th</sup> century by especially Hollywood aristocracies for privacy and prestige (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 4).

However, until the late 1960s and 1970s gated communities were not widespread housing units (Luymes, 1997, p189). First gated communities where average Americans could wall themselves off were retirement developments like Leisure World developed in 1970s (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.4). Gates then spread to resorts, country club developments and later on to middle-class suburban developments (Low, 2001, p.46). This situation implies that while early gated communities were for rich, settlements of 1970s and later on are for middle or upper-middle classes (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, 364). Since the 1980s, with the acceleration of real estate speculation and the change in economic structure and the effects of globalization, gated communities have become very widespread across the world.

### **2.2.2. Reasons of the Rise of Gated Communities**

It is clear that although gated communities have existed for a long time in history, the recent rise of gated communities as a housing form should be additionally examined as well. The forces at work behind this recent rise of gated communities are varied. Firstly, the importance of economic restructuring during the 1970s and 1980s should be understood. Since 1970s, there have been radical changes in the production and consumption patterns of people due to economic restructuring. Rapid relocation of capital which leads to an uneven development has produced social and political changes (Low, 2001, p.46). As it is stated by Harvey (cited in Öden), relocation of capital and urbanization are closely connected to each other. “Urban land is re-shaped according to capital accumulation that instantly required new physical infrastructures; centers of production, consumption and agglomeration” (Öden, 2004, p.13).

In this new accumulation regime, there are two developments which prepare the grounds for the development of gated communities (Öden, 2004, p.13). The first one is the free flow of capital which means multi-national capital has a chance to find best environment to make a profit. Due to the flexibility of capital, production, marketing and finance have also gained flexibility. So, products are specialized not to target everyone but to certain parts of it (Gönlügür, 2000). As a result, these

developments have paved the way for new urban forms which are specialized to some parts of the society.

The second development is the emergence of the new social class which is “upper middle class”. As a result of restructuring of economy due to Post-Fordist economy manufacturing shifted to developing countries and the newly rising service sector has taken its place in industrialized countries (Öden, 2004, p.14). This new sector has created the “upper middle class”. According to Leinberger and Lockwood (1986), Harvey (1989) and Luymes (1997), this shift from an industrial economy to service based economy which resulted in both relocation of capital and distribution of employment led to the rise of new “upper middle class”. “The realm of gated enclave is part of these changes in the urban land, demanded by the newly emerging upper middle classes” (Öden, 2004, p.14).

Consequently, these interrelated economic developments which affected class divisions within society affected the city itself, and the form of residential development. Middle-class residential move from the inner-city followed the decentralization of capital and employment (Luymes, 1997, p.189). While people were moving to suburbia, old core cities turned to “a hopeless, jumble of housing, industry, commerce, and even agricultural uses” (Fishman, 1987, p.190). These new suburbs were different from old form of suburbs which were composed of low-density field of homogeneous single family houses (Luymes, 1997, p.189).

There are also sociological reasons behind the development of gated communities. As stated by Luymes (1997), the old desire for privacy and the new urban reality of the fear of crime also become the driving power for the growth of gated communities as well as the fragmented mosaic of suburban land uses.

The desire for privacy has long been an important factor for people to choose where to live. Even the utopian schemes like Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City emphasize quiet, private life which is far from crowd of the city (Luymes, 1997, p.190). However, beside the desire for privacy effects which change the face of cities like increase in employment centers, more traffic jam, migration of different groups of

people, and higher density of development lead to the fear of crime inside the society. The response of housing market industry to this fear of crime is to emphasize security (Luymes, 1997, p.191). Davis (1992) explains this as a “security-driven logic of urban design”. It is also a destruction of urban space which leads to the privatization of public sphere by a parallel restructuring of electronic space which is heavily guarded (Davis, 1992, p.155). Security concerns of the people motivated housing market to construct small walled cities inside of the cities. Rise of gated communities from this perspective is a sign of “ongoing shift in crime prevention competences from central and local government to neighborhood level” (Cséfalvay, 2011, p.737). According to Atkinson (2008, p.7) by this way gated communities increase the social and spatial segregation between the “have” and “have nots” and the “have nots” are excluded from the spaces both physically and socially.

Another one of the most inclusive explanations about the rise of gated communities has been developed by Rotiman based on using the Giddens’ structuration theory. Roitman (2005) explains the causes for the arrival of gated communities in two groups which are structural and subjective. Structural causes are affected by social, political and economic factors. On the other hand, subjective causes are the motives and desires of the people (Roitman, 2005, p.304). These two causes should be considered together because according to Giddens social system is composed of conditions which tie the action of agent but it cannot totally determine the action of agent (Roitman, 2005, p.306). Roitman explains the gated community reality with this theory:

Consequently, the actor is influenced by increasing rates of crime, increasing social inequalities and the inefficiency of the state to provide basic services. However she/he has the ability to choose whether to move a gated community or not according to her/his interests, desires and expectations.(Roitman, 2005, p.306)

So, while explaining reality of the existence of gated communities, agent side of the story should not be forgotten. Structural causes are mostly the rise of insecurity and fear of crime, increasing social inequalities and international trend promoted by developers. The most relevant subjective reasons, on the other hand, are the desires

of families to have a better lifestyle, the moving away the problems of city life and the search for social homogeneity and exclusivity (Roitman, 2005, p.305). Structural and subjective reasons are here work together and hence segregation led by gated communities cannot be defined as either voluntary or subjective.

### **2.3. Theories of Gated Communities**

The literature on gated communities can be divided into 3 headings which are demand-side discussions, supply-side discussions and critical literature (Güzey and Özcan, 2010; McKenzie, 2005, p.188). Demand-side discussions rest on the motivations of the gated communities residents such as prestige, security, a new life style (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.364). According to McKenzie (2005), demand for a life offered by gated communities cannot be ignored. Home buyers are looking for privatized utopias which offer security, prestige, homogenous society, high standards of living conditions. Supply-side discussions, on the other hand, are generally about using gated communities as a marketing device. It is based on the economical shift from an industrial economy to a service based “post-industrial” economy. The critical literature on gated communities deals with the issue from the perspective of segregation. Gated communities are considered as a consequence of segregationist tendencies of the new global economy (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.364; Roitman, 2005). However, these three approaches cannot be thought as separate from each other. As Roitman argues (2005), both demand-side and supply-side discussions are closely related with each other and reinforces each other. The critical literature argument, at the other end of the spectrum, is also connected to demand- and supply-side discussions because the segregationist tendencies within the gated communities are the result of them.

#### **2.3.1. Demand – Side Discussions**

Demand-side discussions are centered on the motivations of people to live in gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997 Low, 2003; Grant, 2005). People are looking for privilege, prestige, security and high living conditions and the gated communities provides all of them at once. As Blakely and Snyder (1997) argues even in 1989 the demand for gated communities was three times more than the demand

foras for non-gated communities. So it is important to understand main motivations behind this demand. As it is offered by Güzey and Özcan (2010) these motivations can be gathered under three headings which are security, privacy and lifestyle.

Security measures in gated communities become widespread during the 1990s. Before these security measures were available to the very affluent (McKenzie, 2006, p.17). These security measures are entry controls such as gates, barriers; hardened perimeters and internal surveillance systems like video cameras or alarm systems (McKenzie, 2006, p.18).

Urban violence, fear of crime and security are dominant reasons to move to a gated community (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003; Roitman, 2005). According to the research of Blakely and Snyder (1997, p.126), 70% of people state that security was very important for their decision to move in gated community. They also state that increasing fear of crime is not related with the actual crime rate. Low (2001) explains this situation as a legitimization and rationalization of class-base exclusion strategies. She claims that the discourse of urban fear of violence and crime is a way for the legitimization of residential segregation. Caldeira (2000) also explains the relation between fear and social change in cities with the generation of new forms of spatial segregation. Fear of crime and violence feeds people's concern about the security. People run away from the dangers of city life and see gated communities as an escape point.

Desire for privacy is also among the motivations behind the demand for gated communities "because the first step in creating private world is controlling access to where to live" (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.8). Glazse (2005) explain this as "the culture of privatism" fed by liberal urban development. Although desire for privacy is not new, it is an important factor for people to move to gated communities (Luymes, 1997). Privacy demand is closely related with security motivations but the privacy desire is also for "to avoid day-to-day incivilities and random social contact" (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365).

Among the demand-side discussions, one of the most relevant motivations to live in gated community is to achieve a better lifestyle (Roitman, 2005, p.305). This better lifestyle also creates an image of exclusivity. Gated communities which offer a lifestyle are the first types of gated communities to appear in many areas (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.46). According to study of Janoschka and Borsdorf (2006), the achievement of an ideal lifestyle is the driving force motivating life behind gates because gated communities especially with the amenities they have offer a different lifestyle which provides exclusivity and prestige for their residents. However, lifestyle sold by gated communities is, to some extent, commoditized because the neighborhoods are shaped by economic rather than social institutions (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365).

### **2.3.2. Supply-Side Discussions**

Supply-side discussions originate from the shift in economy from an industrial to service based post-industrial economy. As a result of the change in the distribution of capital and employment, urban structure changes too (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365). Supply-side discussions can be gathered under two subheadings which are gated communities as a marketing device and as a new governance system (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365).

Based on the demands of people who want to live in gated communities and as a result of the service based economy, developers support gated community developments (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). The demand for security, lifestyle and prestige also motivated developers. They marketed gated communities as a place to life which offers both security and prestige. They started to sell gated communities as lifestyle projects as a result of the increased demand of newly emerging upper middle class. International trend and the investors' aim to export models particularly from the US to developing countries have played an important role in this process (Roitman, 2005, p.305).

Local governments also support the gated communities because gated community means the privatization of public services and self-governing communities (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365). According to Le Goix (2005), gated communities are



valuable source of revenue for local governments because suburbanization costs are paid by them. In terms of local governments, gated communities mean growth, increased tax revenue and less public expenditure (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365). Glasze (2005) also use the club good theory to explain potential attractiveness of gated communities for the developers and local governments. According to Buchanan, clubs can be defined as groups which share the consumption of specific goods exclusively based on the membership arrangements (Buchanan, 1965, p.13). So the theory of clubs is only applicable to the organizations where exclusion is possible. Therefore, gated communities can be categorized as clubs to understand their potential attractiveness for developers and local governments because they are among one of the important places where exclusion is sold (Glasze, 2005, p.224).

### **2.3.3. Critical Literature**

The critical literature about the gated communities is mostly based on the idea that gated communities lead to urban social segregation. For many authors such as Blakely and Snyder (1997), Low (2001), Caldeira (2000), Le Goix (2003), Roitman (2005) gating is a form of segregation. Gated communities in critical literature have been regarded as exclusionary, elitist and segregationist that exacerbates the already existing social segregation within society (Low, 2001). According to Luymes (1997), there are four major themes in critical literature of gated communities which are the desire for social control and homogeneity, the response to a fear of crime, the maintenance of private property values and the breakdown of civic and public life.

Gated communities are criticized as the form of discrimination and segregation. So, most of the critical literature is about the exclusionary tendencies of gated communities. There are three types of arguments which focus on the relationship between gated communities and social segregation (Le Goix, 2005). First, gated communities are considered as a part of post-industrial societal changes such as fragmentation, individualism and as a part of commoditization of public space and as a penetration of ideologies of fear and security. The second argument is about considering gated communities as one of the symptoms of urban pathologies which mean gating and the decline of public spaces are harmful to poor. The last argument

considers the rise of gated communities as a response of an elite opposed to welfare redistribution system.

As it is noted by Blakely and Snyder (1997) gates and fences are more than simple physical barriers. They determine boundaries which determine the membership. While some have access to enter, someone has to be outside. According to Le Goix (2005), gated communities are homogenous territories that differ from their neighbors especially based on socio-economic status. They increase the social segregation. Vesselinov (2012), in her study, found out that education also works as a segregation mechanism in gated communities. As education increases, the probability to live in behind gates also increases. She thinks that gated communities contribute to social segregation which increases urban inequality. Roitman also argues the same thing: “The arrival of gated communities with their physical barriers makes social differences more evident in the city landscape” (Roitman, 2005, p.319).

The most common reason to move a gated community is security concerns and fear of crime but according to critical literature, gated communities are not actually safer than their neighborhoods (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Meaning of security is more than it includes, it is also a symbol of prestige and privacy (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.366).

In terms of their property value and marketability, gated communities are criticized as being not consistent with the existing character of cities. To sell in the market, their advertisements are full of words like “village”, “community”, “residences” but this does not reflect the reality (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.367). According to Öden (2004), marketing strategies of gated communities are constructed around a theme of a distinct life style which does not reflect the reality. Production, perception and consumption processes of contemporary housing represent the reflections of dominant cultural forms and values (Öden, 2004, p.83).

The critical literature about gated communities has also seen them as a cause of loss of public life. Gated communities have their own shared amenities and by this they reduce the number of public spaces that all share. As a result, communication

between people from different socioeconomic groups decreases (Le Goix, 2005). This also leads to people's potential to understand each other. As a sign of segregation, gated communities prevent the shared life by all.

In brief, it is possible to draw some conclusions from issues explained above within the perspective of this study. Firstly in terms of the definition, gated communities are closed spaces entered with access control, which has communal spaces inside. According to literature, there are different kinds of gated communities which are lifestyle, prestige and security zone gated communities. Based on the definitions of these types of gated communities, it can be argued that specifically prestige communities which are symbols of wealth, status and image are in the scope of this thesis because gated communities as an object of consumer culture, commoditized and turned into a market-oriented product which sells the "lifestyle", is only possible with the prestige communities. The marketing codes of these communities are "private" and "prestige" (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), which is a way of segregating the space through used language too. Having known that this thesis is seeking for the tone of language employed in marketing material of gated communities, prestige communities come up as the best examples for research.

In terms of historical grounds of gated communities, although gated communities are old as cities, as a housing unit they became widespread around the late 60s and 70s. First type of gated communities were not in today's sense, they are more like second homes for Americans. Since 1980s, specifically with the acceleration of real estate speculation and shift in economy from Fordist economy to post-Fordist economy, gated communities spread around the world as one of dominant housing forms. Especially two developments which are the free flow of capital and the emergence of the new social class which is "upper middle class" have paved way to the rise of gated communities. For that matter, because the consumer culture related effects on gated communities are to be discussed, it became clear that mostly the developments after 80s are important for this study.

The summary on gated communities' literature has shed light on the approach of this study to the concept of gated community. As it was explained above in detail, there

are three perspectives on gated communities, which are demand-side discussions, supply-side discussions and critical literature. This study problematized the segregationist tendencies of gated communities from the perspective of consumer culture theories, which means that it has a critical standing to the existence of gated communities within the urban space. Gated communities are criticized as the form of discrimination and segregation by many authors and this study aims to reveal reflection of this discrimination and segregation on marketing language.

Henceforth, the rest of this chapter will be dedicated to the emergence of gated communities in Turkey. Having known the kinds and features of gated communities, how they became widespread throughout the world and different perspective on them, it is important to analyze urban history of Turkey and emergence of gated communities as Ankara in Turkey is the area for the case study of this thesis.

## **2.4. Emergence of Gated Communities in Turkey**

In this part, the spatial transformation of urban space and the emergence of gated communities in Turkey will be analyzed. It is useful to have a better understanding of the development of the housing sector in Turkey to analyze gated communities. The history of the spatial transformation of urban space in Turkey have been analyzed under four periods by many authors such as Bilgin (1996), Tekeli (1998, p.162), Sey (1998) and Şengül (2001). These periods are the pre-republican period (from 1850s to 1920s), the early-republican period (from 1923 to 1950) defined as “Urbanization of Nation-State” by Şengül, the period between 1950 and 1980 in which “Urbanization of Labor Power” took place (Şengül, 2001, p.103) and the last period after 1980s which is defined as the period of “Urbanization of Capital” by Şengül. These periods also mark important turning points in development of housing sector in Turkey, therefore the housing sector will also be analyzed within these periods.

### **2.4.1. Development of Housing Sector**

Urban transformation processes in Ottoman Empire started especially after the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the effects of the world capitalism and modernizing attempts of the elites (Erişen, 2003, p.79). However, city planning was not developed as a response to industrial city, but more as a pragmatist concern to

apply laws and regulations in Ottoman Empire (Tekeli, 1998, p.162). City planning was first applied in İstanbul by Von Molke in 1836 – 1837 (Tekeli, 2009, p.109). The first city plans did not cover the whole city and they did not require major reconstruction operations (Tekeli, 2009, p.109). The city planning operations spread out of İstanbul after 1850s. In these years, city plans were applied by foreign survey engineers (Tekeli, 2009, p.110). The more comprehensive city plans which cover the whole city according to “beautiful city” concept actualized in the end of 1910s (Tekeli, 2009, p.110).

The second period beginning from the year 1923 was a more radical in terms of both modernity and spatial organization of cities. Because it was a period of the construction of nation-state, spatial strategies played an important role. These strategies can be considered on two different levels according to Tekeli (Tekeli, 2009, p.111). The first one is transforming the country space to the nation-state space. The second one, on the other hand, is organizing cities as a place of modernity. One of the most important strategies, in terms of the transformation of the country space, is declaration of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic (Tekeli, 1998, p.165). There were some reasons behind declaration of Ankara as the capital of Turkey. There are economic and political symbolic meanings. Leaving İstanbul, which was the capital of three empires behind, and the construction of Ankara as a capital city was important for the success of new regime (Tekeli, 1998, p.165). Parallel to these, according to Şengül (2001, p.115), in this period which he named as the “Urbanization of Nation-State”, there were three important socio-spatial policies of the strategy of constructing nation-state. The first one was moving capital of Turkey to Ankara, the second one was leading the public investments to small cities in Anatolia such as Nazilli, Kırıkkale which are close to the railroad network and the third one was creating a transportation network which gave importance to Anatolia more and which aimed to provide the integrity of domestic market while strengthening the supervision of the capital city over country (Şengül, 2001; Tekeli 2009).

City planning in the Turkish Republic was first made in Ankara and then it became compulsory for all cities (Tekeli, 1998, p.166). Also, law issued for the profession of architecture and engineering, the monopoly of building was given to the professionals in urban areas (Tekeli, 1998, p.166). Although this is not applied in practice, this law has broken the construction of building with the tradition (Tekeli, 1998, p.166). These developments during the early republican period determined the city planning approach of the Republic until 1980s.

Developments after 1946 which is called as the “Urbanization of Labor Power” by Şengül (2001) led to important social, economic and political changes. “The transition to a multiparty system, the emergence of liberal economic tendency, a shifting pattern of integration into world markets combined with the populist policies resulted in an era that is completely different order from the previous one” (Erişen, 2003, p.84). As a result of these developments, there was a very fast growing urbanization process in Turkey (Tekeli, 2009, p.117). Priority was given to road transportation and private sector started to grow and investments were made in the western parts of the city (Şengül, 2001, p. 122 – 136). Because of these developments in big cities, rural population started to migrate into these settlements. According to Demirtaş (2009), two different spatial models of urbanization emerged out of these developments. The first one was the move of villagers to towns nearby. The urbanization process in the late 1940s and early 1950s was the growth of small towns which acquired city status (Demirtaş, 2009, p.67). The second model was the intense rural-to-rural and urban-to-urban migration which led to growth of industrial cities (Demirtaş, 2009, p.67). This fast growing urbanization created important problems for the modernization process of Turkey (Tekeli, 1998, p.168). Infrastructure of cities and housing production remained incapable in the face of this urbanization process and squatter settlements<sup>1</sup> have emerged (Tekeli, 2009, p.117). As a result, while some segments of the cities were growing parallel to the modernity

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<sup>1</sup> Squatter settlements in Turkey are known as “gecekondu”, meaning built over-night (Uzun, 2005, p.198), “... gecekondu is legally defined as a shelter built on land which belongs to somebody else, without permission of the owner and without regard to building regulations. This definition thus excludes shelter built on land by landowners without a building permit.” (Özekren, 1997 cited in Uzun, 2005, p. 198).

approach, other segments of the cities faced spontaneous growth and cities faced problem of having binary structure (Tekeli, 2009, p.117). Squatter settlements brought their previous life styles to the cities and developed their own subculture (Özüekren, 1997, p. 34). Although the modern city image was the low-density housing areas in the previous period, because of rapid urbanization this image did not continue in the second period. Instead, the high density housing areas were constructed to meet the housing demand of cities (Tekeli, 1998, p.169). As a result, all these developments strengthened the dualistic structure of urban life.

The rise of gated communities as a housing form in the beginning of 1990s has their roots mostly in 1980s (Öden, 2004, p.18). “Under the influence of the world economic crises and subsequent globalization processes, the economic development model based on import substitution was replaced with a model encouraging export under the leadership of the private sector.” (Uzun, 2007, p.133) As a result, redistribution of population and capital redefined the spatial transformation process of cities (Tekeli, 2009, p.128). More than half of the population started to live in cities. Second or third generation of people who live in squatter settlements benefited from the opportunities of cities but cultural transformation envisaged by the modernization process did not occur (Tekeli, 2009, p.171). Besides the redistribution of population, redistribution of capital had important implications. The case in Turkey after 1980s with change in economy towards economic liberalization was an important change (Boratav, 2012, p.147 - 150). As Tekeli (2009) carefully notes, there were three choices on economic policies. The first one was the choosing export based economic model instead of import substitution model. The second choice was the investments on telecommunication sector. The last one was the restructuring economic activities in line with world-economies by the establishment of free trade zones, by the improvement of financial sector and banking sector (Tekeli, 2009, p.130).

During this period the intermigration pattern has changed, too. Rural-to-urban migration was replaced by intercity migration, which has been observed specifically in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia (Erişen, 2003, p.90). Big cities like İstanbul,

İzmir, Ankara have lost their internal migration status because of the lack of employment and job opportunities. “Concurrently, there has occurred functional and social differentiation in urban areas in the post 1980 period” (Erişen, 2003, p.91). Spatial and social fragmentation of cities increased as a result of the new global economy. Factors like the shift from industrial production to a service sector, new international division of labor, and transformations in the social and economic spheres are the reasons of the urban functional differentiation (Erişen, 2003, p.91). Cities become fragmented and differentiated areas although rate of urbanization has slowed down after 1980s. As a result of the neoliberal policies, class-based urban segregation increased (Keyder, 2005). Homogenous form of cities before 1980s turned into a heterogeneous form.

According to Tekeli (1991), the urbanization practice before 1980s can be called as “the speculation of small capital” but after 1980s it is “the speculation of large capital”. Before the 1980s, urban land was not a profitable area to invest. Investments were directed to industrial areas. So, housing sector was held by the build-and-sell<sup>2</sup> (yap-sat) entrepreneurs (Bilgin, 1996). After the 1980s, build-and-sell type of housing production was replaced by the large-scale mass-housing projects (Bilgin, 1996) as the government intervened the market and established Mass Housing Fund and Mass Housing Administration. “The Mass Housing Fund, with its provision of credit, increased the productivity of housing cooperatives.” (Yüksel and Gökmen, 2008, p.2) After that, housing sector has been seen as a profitable area to invest by large capital owners. As a result, cities underwent an important structural change. They became the speculative city of large capital. This is explained by Yüksel and Gökmen (2008) as such:

“Mass Housing Administration has started sharing revenues with the private sector, which has certain technical and financial resources, in order to solve the urbanization problems including housing. The authority has also cooperated with central and local government agencies to reach this end. The labor capacity has been increased and while reducing the bureaucracy, Mass Housing

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<sup>2</sup> It is a mode of housing production carried out by small-scale contractors. Apartment houses are built with their own financial sources and then sold to middle and upper-middle classes. (Erişen, 2003).



Administration has undertaken certain risks, such as pressure from the private sector to increase residential density”

#### **2.4.2. A Brief History of Legal Arrangements in Housing Sector**

To be able to better articulate the gated communities in Turkey, it is also important address legal arrangements in housing sector done by state and political actors. Although this issue involves very long period which is dates back to 1850s (Tekeli, 2009, p.109) the period of Turkish Republic and after it will be summarized to have an idea about the legal arrangements in housing sector of Turkey.

According to Buğra (1998), housing policy was on the agenda in the early years of Republic. The first important thing in terms of legal arrangements in housing sector was the foundation of “Development Directorate of City of Ankara” with the Law No 1351 and competition for the city planning of Ankara was held. At those times, Ankara was a fast-growing city and for the legal authorities it was not hard to understand that applying city plans to such cities is not an easy thing. As a result of Ankara experiences, authorities changed the legal regulations inherited from Ottoman Empire. Five new laws were adapted between 1930 and 1935 (Tekeli, 2009, p. 113 – 144). These laws were The Municipality Law No 1580, the Public Health Law No 1593, Construction and Roads Law No 2290, Foundation Municipality Bank Law No 2033, Municipality Expropriation Law No 2722 and Foundation of Municipality Reconstruction Committee Law No 2763 (Tekeli and Ortayli in Tekeli, 2009, p.115). According to Tekeli, (2009), these laws are determined the approach of Turkish Republic to city management and planning until 1980s and even then. This approach was modernist and it did not care the already existing urban fabric. As noted by Şengül (2009, p.119) and Uzun (2007, p.132), although municipalities were held responsible with many city services with the Municipality Law No 1580 because of lack of finance and personnel they did not perform their duties. In terms of implementation, the necessity to prepare development plans for the cities above 20.000 was not successful. At the end of 50s, only 58% of cities prepared the development plans (Keleş and Payne cited in Şengül, 2009, p.120).

With the beginning of urbanization in 1950s, Turkey experienced a “housing boom” and constant need for urban land and housing occurred (Baharoğlu, 1996, p. 44). “6% population growth rate for Ankara started to be seen in every city of Turkey” (Tekeli 2009, p.117). In the face of such a transformation in cities, authorities understood that they are unable to provide solutions. Squatter housing areas around the cities started to be constructed and cities have grown with the problems of infrastructure (Tekeli, 2009, p. 117). As a result it became compulsory to make some legal arrangements. The first one of these was the foundation of Bank of Provinces with Law No 4759 to create financial sources for the urbanization of cities. The second law to create financial sources approved in 1948, which is Municipal Revenues Law No 5237. The third progress was the foundation of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects with Law No 6235. The fourth progress according to Tekeli (2009) was the approval of Construction Law No 6875 in 1956 and this law was a reflection of new planning understanding worldwide. The fifth development was the foundation of the Ministry of Development and Housing with Law No 7116. (Tekeli, 2009, 117 – 118). In terms of housing, the government policies until 1980s were composed of providing social housing and tax exemptions (Yetkin and Lepkova, 2010, p.49). According to Tekeli (2009), with these legal arrangements and housing policies the modernist approach of city planning was being protected but on the other side squatter housing areas continued to be formed. As noted by Şengül (2009), although urbanization speed accelerated, policies of state did not change seriously.

The rapid urbanization process slowed down a little bit between 1960 and 1980 because of the existences of small producers in rural areas and emigration but the problems in cities did not stop even new problems like air pollution started to emerge (Tekeli, 2009, 121- 122). The mass housing was first mentioned in Second Five-Year Development Plan to solve the housing demand. After this, big construction areas started to be added to cities. (Tekeli, 123 – 125). The most important law approved at this period is the “Squatter Housing Law” (Law No 775) which was the first formal acknowledgment of squatter houses (Tekeli, 2009 & Demirtaş, 2009). “This law is

not only a repentance law. The main motive in this law was providing assurance to squatter house owners in urban life.” (Tekeli, 2009, p.127)

The years after 1980 were open to changes in housing policies like the other policies because of the January 24 Decisions and 1980 cup d'état. “In this period, there were important changes in the redistribution of population and capital, which are two important processes, determine the transformation in space organization (Tekeli, 2009, p. 128). The rise of İstanbul's importance, development of tourism in the west and south side of Turkey and the rise in opportunities to meet world market for the entrepreneurs in Anatolia were the most important changes of this period in terms of urbanization and the redistribution of capital and population. However, it is not enough to explain transformation in spatial organization only with the relations between places. Behind the transformation in space organization there are also three important things. The first one is social stratification in cities with changes in their relations with the peripheries. Second one is the developments in construction forms and transportation organization in cities. The third and the last one is the increase in settlement areas in cities. (Tekeli, 2009, p. 130 – 132) As a result of these changes, it became necessary to take some precautions and apply new policies especially in housing sector. “After the 1980s, the increasing demand in the urban land market became the basic force shaping the city” (Uzun, 2005, p.185) and it was realized by the governments that housing sector is in close collaboration with the more than 300 sectors (Yetkin and Lepkova, 2010, p. 49). So, important laws were approved in early 80s. The first one is the law related with the foundation of Mass Housing Administration and Mass Housing Fund (Law No 2983) and after this law growth of residential construction accelerated. “The number of contractors and the amount of housing which they build have increased greatly after the Mass Housing Development Law was enacted in 1984.” (Türel, 1996, p.xi) Mass Housing Administration and Mass Housing Fund under it were founded for low income groups but actually this law also let private companies to get credit and this led to meet the demand of middle-class more than low-income groups (Buğra, 1998, 308 – 309).

After the 1980s, important changes were made in urban planning systems too. With the Urban Development Law No 3194, municipalities transferred some of their powers of planning which led to easy access to urban lands by construction firms (Türel cited in Kan Ülkü, 2010, p. 93). In a nutshell, it can be argued that the growth of urbanization and construction sector went hand in hand and actions were mostly taken by state actors. Public authorities did not only produce houses but also let construction firms to produce housing projects by financing them through some legal arrangements.

### **2.4.3. Gated Communities in Turkey**

Having analyzed the development of housing sector in Turkey, it is important to know where gated communities stand in this process. As it is stated before there have been various social, political and economic changes after 1980 in Turkey. During 1980s period, liberal market economy has started to be applied by the ruling party. Export economy has accompanied the liberalization of economy. This change in economy affected both social and political life in Turkey (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p. 35 – 36). As a result, “the urbanization process of Turkey starting with 1980 has been the scene of developments that no one could have imagined before” (Bali, 1999, p.35). With the free economy, Turkey’s interaction with the world has increased and the income levels of business people have started to increase. While some segments of people were getting richer and composing a new upper middle class, “the unlucky masses that make up the bulk of the labor force” (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.34) continued its existence in urban life and with the increasing migration into the city, “squatter housing” has gained speed. As a result of these processes, new elites of the urban life have started to search for new residences for themselves far away from squatter houses. For the new elites, life in gated communities has meant moving away from the mixed population of city socially and spatially and living in a secure and healthy environment with the people who are like them (Öncü, 1999, p.33). They wanted to live in an environment which fits their social status and lifestyles (Bali, 1999, p.36). As Öncü carefully notes (1999, p.27), the 1980s were the years of escaping from the city centers for new upper-middle class in order to live in an healthy and clean environments which mean a new house for them. So, investors, who were aware of

the rise of this new class, their desires and the change in consumption patterns, started to invest in real estate sector (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p. 34 – 36). To respond the potential demand of new rising elites, The Law of Housing Development announced in 1984. “First Mass Housing Law determines the rules and regulations related to the Mass Housing Fund and it controls their implementation.” (Satılmış, 2011, p.84). On the other hand, the second one announced in 1984 was required a principle source of credits and as a result Mass Housing Fund was also created (Satılmış, 2011, p.84 - 85). This law paved the way for very important and radical changes in big cities of Turkey (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.36). These changes are summarized by Satılmış (2011, p. 85 – 86) as follows:

“According to the second mass housing law, private individuals, contractors, cooperatives, unions of housing cooperatives and institutions of social security receive mortgages directly from the Fund in order to purchase commercial dwellings on the market. Furthermore, the second act enabled credits not only for cooperatives but also for individuals and producers of construction materials. This was a sharp departure from the previous policy, which had required that only the homeless were entitled to receive social housing credit. As a result, thousands of individual and cooperatives applied to the Mass Housing Fund and in a short period of time the number of new housing starts boosted. Therefore, this period can be called as the boom of housing cooperatives since the number of cooperatives founded per year increased from 140 to 2787 after 1984.”

Other than shift in economy, the shift in social and cultural life of people also affected the urban life form. Free market economy glorified individualism, personal tastes, pleasures, competition and conformity. With the increase in the income of people, consumption of people also increased (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.36 – 37). This increase in the consumption of people was not just because of the increase in the income level of people but also the rise of emphasis in the private life of people. Interest of people changed from public to private life. The private life of individuals became object of media during the 1980s (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.36). Private life journalists, private life magazines have emerged as a result of these developments (Gürbilek, 1992, p.55).

Representation of others’ lives and life styles in the media intensified the process of people’s defining themselves by the goods they consume. Turkish

society was on the way to being a consumer society and there was a young population which wished for going up in the hierarchy to become a member of the elite for having the same life style with them. People had become aware of the life styles of not only the upper classes in Turkey, but also the people in the US and Europe and began thinking that the idea of being satisfied with less was not relevant anymore.(Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.36).

In such an environment, the housing market was ready to market their ideal homes which were promising homogenous environment, healthy lives, clean air, and clean water.

As a result, after the 1980s, gated communities have become an inseparable part of the production of housing sector in Turkey. The first new villa-type residential areas which were for the new upper-middle class were constructed in İstanbul in the late 1980s (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.37). These new upper-middle class people have also demanded to socialize and spend their free time in a homogenous environment with people who are like them. This search led to construction of gated communities after the first new villa-type residential areas (Bali, 1999, p.36). These new residential areas were sold by emphasizing the concept of “life style”. They were marketed as the “the world of privileges” (Bali, 2002, p.115). People who bought houses in these communities did not only acquire a real estate but also they provided added value. This added value was having “the world of privileges” (Bali, 1999, p.37).

Ankara, which is the capital of Turkey, got its share from this development process of gated communities as one of the fastest growing cities of Turkey. “Ankara is now hosting 6.47% of the total population and level of urbanization in Ankara is very much above the average in Turkey and Ankara has the second highest level of urbanization after İstanbul.” (Ankara Regional Plan, 2011 – 2013) Because of that it is important to understand urban history of Ankara to know its evolution from small Anatolian city to the capital of Turkey.

#### **2.4.4. Urban History of Ankara**

Pre-republican Ankara was always depicted as a small town which carries the traces of Independence War but actually the history of Ankara dates back to 3000 B.C. (Şimşir, 1988, p.21) and this history of city was largely ignored by the Republican

Regime's planning experience. This situation led to social duality between "natives" and "outsiders" of the city and also a split in the "social" and "physical" space of the city (Demirtaş, 2009, p.102 – 103).

There are reasons for choosing Ankara as the new capital city of Turkey. The main reason may be the search for a new national identity because İstanbul both symbolically and physically was the center of Ottoman Empire. The young Republic needed a modern capital which can be constructed different from the tradition of Ottoman Empire with a new modern looking. What was expected from the city was not just to be a symbol of new Republic but also to be the city that reflects modern lifestyle of new world (Tankut, 1993, p.44) Moreover, because of the favorable geopolitical position of Ankara especially the during the War of Independence was another reason for the selection of Ankara as the capital of Turkey (Demirtaş, 2009, p.104). With declaration of Ankara as the capital of Turkey, Ankara turned to be an attraction point for people from rural areas and Anatolia (Uzun, 2005, p.183).

"The decade between 1929 and 1939 is a period in the Republican era which is filled with striking events. The planned building of Ankara is only one of these important events." (Tankut, 1993, p.7) To understand planning strategy of Ankara, it is important to know social context of the city in the same years. In the early 1920s, there were four main groups in Ankara which are "natives", migrants, foreign officials and Turkish bureaucrats. Because foreign officials were staying temporarily, the first modern buildings were hotels and restaurants (Evren, 1998, p.173). These modern buildings became spaces for the western style of urban entertainment. Dance parties, ceremonies, were organized in these places. People who attended these events were in European-style dresses and adopted appropriate codes of behavior to be "modern" (Şenol Cantek, 2011, p.261). Also, newcomers of the city did not want to live with natives and they preferred to live new areas (Erişen, 2003, p.97) Hence, from the beginning social and life style differences between natives and newcomers of Ankara led to decrease in close social encounters (Demirtaş, 2009, p.106). As Demirtaş stated (2009) this social and cultural difference within the inhabitants of

city and the neglect of the city's social context constituted main weakness of the planning strategy of the city.

The first initiative laid the foundation of today's Ankara was the largest expropriation of Ankara which was happened in 1924. There is no other counterpart of this initiative in Turkey, which led to foundation of modern Ankara (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.30). However, until 1927, the housing problem of Ankara was solved by consumers themselves and the municipality but in the face of increasing population of Ankara, the necessity of land use plan showed up (Türel, 1986, p.55). Between the 1920s and the 1940s, significant planning activities was implemented in Ankara. The planning experience of Europe was the model for Ankara. In 1928, a competition was held and Herman Jansen was chosen as the supervisor of the planning activity of Ankara. (Tankut, 1993, p.79) In terms of ensuring regular positive urban development Jansen Plan had positive effects but in terms of land speculation it had negative implications in Ankara (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.30). The premises of his plan which foreseen the city on two main axis between Ulus and Kızılay was mostly realized but some neighborhoods in the actual plan could not be constructed and the because of the unintended growth of the city construction exceeded the planned boundaries of the city. Population growth, the rate of migration, emergence of squatter houses on the area which was planned for the construction of the worker and university neighborhoods, land speculation, the unwillingness of bureaucrats to cooperate with planners were among the reasons for the partial realization of the plan. (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p. 31 – 32) To sum up, as it is carefully noted by Demirtaş (2009) the main obstacles behind the planning of Ankara can be gathered under two groups. Firstly, the social and spatial context of Ankara was not taken into account by the modernization ideals. Modernist perspective ignored the social and cultural duality in the city. Secondly, land speculation, the high rate of migration and the reactions against the planning activities also affected the implementation of the city plan of Ankara. (Demirtaş, 2009, p.107 – 112)



Because of the indicated land speculation after the approval of the Jansen Plan, people started to look for areas outside the planned area. As a result, “Turkey’s first mass housing movement, which was also the first cooperative movement, as a large-scale housing project Bahçeli Evler came into being” (Erişen, 2003, p.100). But as it was noted by Türel (1986:55), the establishment of cooperatives and the self-built housing activities could not solve the housing shortage of Ankara. Thus, at the end of early Republican period, the picture of Ankara was dual which means that while new residential areas of high-income groups were in one side, old residential areas were on the other sides and this led to a highly fragmented and socially segregated urban form in the capital city of Turkey (Erişen, 2003, p.100).

Because of the inefficiency of the Jansen Plan, in 1955 a new competition was held for Ankara and The Yücel-Uybaydın Plan was set in motion. This plan designed more homogenous city and paved the way for high-density development to solve problems related with population growth. But the destiny of this plan resembled to Jansen Plan and practices contrary to plan were applied (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.37). During this period, apartment life became prominent instead of one-to three-storey houses and living in apartment turned into a something prestigious. The Yucel-Uybaydın plan was realized until the middle of the 1970s and Ankara turned into a compact and integrated city with high-density apartments. (Erişen, 2003, p.101 – 103) However, the housing stock was not enough to meet the demand during this period and this houses crisis solved by the development of squatter areas around the city. Series of laws enacted during this period to prevent the construction of squatter housing areas but these laws were not effective to stop the construction. (Uzun, 2005, p. 184 - 185).

The most important and positive development of this period may be the opening of schools related with architecture and urbanization. In 1956, the Middle East Technical University was opened and in 1961 Department of City Planning was established. The first work of urban development in social sciences was done in Ankara. In 1953, under the leadership of Ernst Reuter, Housing and Urbanization Institute was established. (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.37)

After 1980s, under the impact of globalization and related changes in economy, urban structure of Ankara started to change like other cities in Turkey. The capital of Turkey took the lead in the implementation of liberal policies (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.39). Big firms started to dominate the building sector and the rise of post-modern culture; the imperatives of world-economy have started to show itself in office towers, shopping malls, five-star hotels etc. The inner parts of the city such as Gazi Osman Paşa, Çankaya, Tunalı Hilmi, Kızılay and Ulus also became places for consumption and leisure activities. However, these centers of the city started to serve different segments of society. People from different social classes utilized the different parts of the city. As a result, post-1980s years ended with the increased segmentation of urban sphere of Ankara. Especially with change in consumption patterns of people, urban form started to change. Large-scale housing construction companies were shown up and “advertisement for middle and upper class residential developments gave priority to the promotion of new way of life, new life-style and a sense of being urbanite” (Erişen, 2003, p. 107). As a result, a variety of housing alternatives mostly gated communities started to be constructed alongside the Eskişehir Highway. (Erişen, 2003, p.105 – 108) As it is demonstrated by Oğuz Işık (1999, p.265), the percentage of cooperatives within the whole housing building has incrementally increased. The percentage of cooperatives was 10.9 in the period of 1975 – 1980. This percentage was 21.1% in the period between 1980 and 1985 and later on nearly one third of every building was a cooperative house.

Mostly after the 1990s, Çayyolu region turned to be an area for large-scale housing projects. Middle and upper-middle class people started to prefer Çayyolu Mass Housing Development Project because these projects were satisfying their needs to separate themselves from others (Keyder, 2000, p.185) and also the consumption of housing as a commodity turned to be an important marker for upper-middle class people. There were also the state initiated mass housing projects which were in the form of gated communities in the years after the 1980s. Military Housing Estates, Residence for Parliamentarians on the Çankaya-Or-An road, and the Lodgments of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works on Eskişehir Highway were among most important of this type of housing developments. These cooperatives developed

generally at the periphery of Ankara because of the increasing rate of car ownership, decentralization of government buildings, and mostly because of the attractiveness of cheap land prices for the housing firms at the outskirts of the city (Işık, 1999, p. 265). As a result, middle and upper-middle class people have started to move from city center to the periphery of Ankara although the idea of cooperatives was to solve the housing problem of low and middle income population because only upper-middle class people were able to buy these houses in the face of booming rate of inflation in the late 1980s (Altaban, 1996, p.11).

In a nutshell, in the last two decades middle and upper-middle classes could be able to make use of mass housing projects which have developed mostly at the peripheral areas of Ankara and this situation increased already existed fragmentation of the city. (Altaban, 1996)

To sum up, according to Keleş and Duru (2008), Ankara as a symbol of republican regime was created out of nothing and it took the leading role in the urbanization process of Turkey. The decisions taken for Ankara were applied all over the country, which makes Ankara responsible for the situation in other cities of Turkey. Ankara is a good example of how urban development was corrupted and in this respect it is possible to find every milestones of urban development of Turkey in Ankara. (Keleş and Duru, 2008, p.41)

In the lights of subject focused in this chapter, it is possible to derive certain conclusions prior to next chapter. Although the history of gated communities goes back in history, today's forms of gated communities are mostly the result of the shift in economy and there are different kinds of gated communities which extends from communities just for security to communities for the privacy and exclusion. This study is motivated on the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements prestige communities fall under the subject of this thesis.

Another point is the importance of gated communities within the literature. The literature on gated communities is wide and there are many scholars approaching to

the impact of gated communities on urban form from different viewpoints. This confirms the existence of need to study more on this area. Among the literature, mostly the critical approach becomes prominent for this study. Critical stance is about the exclusionary tendencies of gated communities and this thesis seeks for exclusionary tendencies of gated communities too but not physically or socially. This study makes a study of how exclusionary tendencies of gated communities make itself explicit in the language employed in marketing and selling processes.

Further conclusion derived from this chapter is about the development of housing sector both in Turkey and Ankara. It is observed that limited implementation of urban plans and unexpectedly growing cities has been always the problem of Turkey and this led to housing shortage overall in cities. When this housing shortage merged with the new “upper-middle class” needs, gated communities become very widespread firstly in İstanbul, Ankara and then other growing cities of Turkey especially after 80s. Legal arrangements were not enough to provide planned urbanization and even some legal arrangements to supply houses for low-income groups such as Mass Housing Administration and Mass Housing Fund worked reversely. This administration and its fund started to meet the demand of middle-class (Buğra, 1998). It was started to build gated communities in such an environment accompanied with the liberalization of economy.

Change in the economy affected social and political life of people, new-born upper-middle class people started to seek for privacy and exclusion and the market provided gated communities for them. Cultural life of people also has been affected in the face of change in economy. The free market economy emphasizing individualism, pleasures, competition and conformity created its own people to consume what it is produced. New culture which is based on consumption has gained significance. People started to differentiate themselves what they buy and what they consume. In such an environment, space also turned into a commodity which is produced and sold. Which is why, next chapter of this thesis concentrates on consumer culture to better analyze how gated communities become the object of consumer culture because to understand the sign-value of gated communities created

by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements, it is critical to understand how a housing form evolved into an object signifying status and prestige for people.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONSUMER CULTURE

To be able to study and discuss segregationist tendencies in the language employed in marketing and selling process of gated communities, firstly how gated communities as a housing form turned into an object of market which is produced and sold should be analyzed. Therefore, understanding the consumer culture theory and where gated communities position in this culture is crucial. Parallel to this, this chapter aims to concentrate on consumer culture theory and place of gated communities in this theory for providing the link between space and consumer culture.

To that end, theory of consumer culture will be given in the first section. What the theory is and what are the perspectives on it will be discussed to have a notion on consumer culture theory. How capitalism is affected by the forces of globalization and how consumption is turned into a practice by capitalism to sell its products will be clarified. In the second section how space turned into a commodity specific to gated communities will be argued. This is important because the turning process of gated communities into a commodity makes it possible to understand the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements, which lies on a segregationist language. In the third and last section, the advertisement industry as an important tool of consumer culture and the role it played to intensify the effect of consumer culture is summarized. Also, there is a discussion on dwelled on the advertisement of gated communities briefly because gated communities are commoditized through the advertisements.

#### **3.1. Theory of Consumer Culture**

To be able to define consumer culture, it is useful look at the definition of “consumption”. According to Baudrillard (1988, p.21), “consumption is an active mode of relations, a systematic mode of activity and a global response on which our whole cultural system is founded”. For him, “material goods are not the object of consumption”. “Material goods are the objects of needs and satisfactions. Consumption is beyond these. *“It is a virtual totality of all objects and messages*

*presently constituted in a more or less coherent discourse. It is a systematic act of the manipulation of signs*". (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 21 – 22).

From this perspective of consumption, it is possible to define consumer culture "as a culture in which the majority of consumers avidly desire goods and services that are valued for non-utilitarian reasons, such as status seeking, envy provocation and novelty seeking" (Belk cited in Varman and Belk, 2008, p.228). According to Baudrillard (1998), consumer culture is an economy whose value is away of the material satisfaction of wants and the sign-value of goods overrides. As it is understood from its definition, consumer culture has effects in multiple domains of life and cannot be analyzed in one dimension (Varman & Belk, 2008, p.229). The literature on consumption theories is also vast and concerns many fields at the same time. Schor (2007) hints at this point by saying that:

In the past twenty-five years, there has been a flowering of literature on consumption across a wide range of disciplines. Scholars in history, anthropology, cultural studies, English and other literatures, sociology, geography and marketing have studied consumption from a large number of angles, with a multiplicity of research methods and perspectives. These contributions have enormously enhanced scholars' understandings of the emergence and growth of consumer society; how consumers experience their consumption activities and goods, subcultures, consumer agency and meanings; the role of consumption in the constitution of social inequalities such as gender, race, and class; the connections between consumption, nationalism and empire; the nature of retailing; spatial dimensions of consumption; and many more dimensions of consumption. (Schor, 2007, p.17)

There have been three main perspectives on consumer culture. According to first view, consumer culture is the expansion of capitalist commodity production. The aim of the capitalist production is consumption which leads to maximize and satisfy individual's needs and desires. The second view focuses on the different ways of consumption to create social distinctions and bonds within the society and the third view questions the dreams, desires, and emotional pleasure of celebrated consumption. (Featherstone, 2007, p.13) These three views are closely related with each other and it is important to understand these three views in order to analyze effects of the consumer culture on urban settlement. As the argument in this thesis

mostly rests on the relation between production and consumption, first view will be analyzed in detail.

Production and consumption are two important processes in terms of capitalist societies because capitalism provides its continuation from the consumption of what it is produced. In this part of the thesis, theories of consumption will be analyzed in order to understand how gated communities turned into a consumption practice which constructs the social distinction within urban settlements.

“It was Marx who first drew attention to commodification as an internal dimension of capitalism” (Raposo, 2006, p.45). Marx (1978, p.230) explains the reciprocal relationship between production and consumption by this means:

Thus, production produces consumption 1) by creating the material for it; 2) by determining the manner of consumption and 3) by creating the products, initially posited by it as objects, in the form of a need felt by the consumer. It thus produces the object of consumption, the manner of consumption, and the motive of consumption. Consumption likewise produces the producer’s inclination by beckoning to him as an aim-determining need.

In capitalist societies, commodities are produced to be sold in the market. Therefore, “consumption should be placed within the production model of the industrial capitalism” (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.15). In this regard, before analyzing the consumer culture, three-sided relation between capitalism, globalization and consumer culture should be revealed because as it is stated by Öncü (1999), the relation between consumption – culture – globalization has to be understood a series of processes instead of seeing it one-dimensional, one way progress.”

### **3.1.1. Capitalism under the Process of Globalization**

Defining globalization and understanding its effects are probably among the most popular debates of today. With the increasing fluidity of capital globalization of economics, culture, politics, art has been accepted without questioning (Yırtıcı, 2002, p.9). As it is stated by Öncü and Weyland (1997), globalization can be understood as a kind of movement and circulation of everything such as capital, people, signs, symbols, myths etc. Giddens (1990, p.64) defines globalization as “the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a



way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa". Therefore, globalization is not a shift from one period to another; it is "intensification" of flows (Öncü and Weyland, 1997, p.3). These flows are not just financial flows or commodity trade. Globalization is more than that. Globalization has also human actors whose ideas, cultures, identities flow too (Trentmann, 2009, p.209). Besides, these flows mean the removal of any political or physical barriers for the free movement of capital, people, information and culture among nations (Pizarro, 2003, p.111).

In fact, world-wide movement of capital and capitalism as a well-functioning economy is not a new phenomenon (Yırtıcı, 2002, p.10). "From the 18th century on, capitalism is a structure which connects different geographies with each other but this connection and network has gained speed and widened very much around the last quarter of 20th century" (Yırtıcı, 2002, p.10). "In a nutshell, what is meant by globalization is the change in the functioning of capital and a new form of organization which is caused by evolving technological and institutional structure of capitalism" (Yırtıcı, 2002, p.10). So, globalization can be defined as the new era of capitalism which causes a new form of organization within the capitalism. And in this new era of capitalism, the emphasis had shifted from production to consumption. This change in emphasis has explained by Yırtıcı:

There is no doubt that production has no meaning by itself. The relations of production are directly connected to the relations of consumption. Continuance of the production is only possible with the continuance of the consumption. Stable increase in the production in an economic structure like capitalism is depending on the demand from consumption side. Because of this reason, in capitalist economies consumption cannot abandoned to the needs and desires of humankind alone. Consumption has to be stimulated and new needs have to be created. (Yırtıcı, 2002, p.13)

As it is understood from the explanation above, this new era of capitalism accompanied by the forces of globalization stimulates the desires and needs of people and creates its own consumers. Production pattern of capitalism requires endless consumption pattern which makes necessary the created needs and desires.

### **3.1.2. The Production of Consumption**

In the 20th century, based on the political and economic shift in capitalism, consumption patterns have radically changed too (Süer and Sayar, 2002, p.39). With the expansion of capitalist production, it became compulsory to construct new markets and turn people into consumers through advertising and media (Ewen in Featherstone, 2007, p.14). Because the structure of Fordist economy was based on the techno-scientific rationality and it envisaged the standardized mass production, it was impossible make this turn with this functionalist Fordist economy (Süer and Sayar, 2002, p.40). So, after it became clear that Fordism cannot hold capitalism under control around of mid-1970s, two important developments occurred (Süer & Sayar, 2002, p.40):

The first development is transition to the period of flexible accumulation as it is stated by Harvey too. While the old Fordist forms of capitalist economies needed stability and depended on substantial investments, flexible accumulation on the other hand is a more extensive phase of accumulation. This means minimum investments in inventories and shortening the turnover time of capital. However, the acceleration of turnover time would have been useless if it was not accompanied by increased consumption. Thus the flexible accumulation regime needed the change in consumption patterns of people to complete the turnover time of capital and products (Harvey, 1990, p. 156). Flexible accumulation also requires globalization because it needs the opening up the world to capital accumulation (Edvinsson, 2010, p. 469 – 470). Emphasis is on the capital, not on the workers. As it is stated by Edvinsson (2010), deregulation of financial markets, privatization and the destruction of the old consensus between capital and labor has paved the way for this transformation. Moreover, with this transition, service sector has gained speed and sectors like entertainment, show business became prominent (Süer and Sayar, 2002, p.40) As it is stated by Harvey (1990, p.147), in this post-Fordist era new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services and new markets have emerged. With the opportunity of this flexible accumulation regime, flexible production had a chance to target to the different segments of the market.

The second development is reorganization of global financial system and the increase in the possibility of financial coordination (Harvey cited in Sürer and Sayar, 2002, p.40). As a result of these developments, “upper” middle class who is composed of high-paid professionals emerged. This new upper middle class within this era of flexible accumulation has found a chance to practice her/his distinct life style to differ herself/himself from others (Sürer and Sayar, 2002, p.41).

In post-Fordist economy, with the transition to flexible accumulation, consumption and consumption culture has gained importance as the shift in the dynamics of capitalism, transition to the era of flexible accumulation, has necessitated this consumption culture. In fact, the act of consumption is at the core of survival of capitalism and is a precondition for the growth of production. So, individual has to be turned into a desiring consumer. (Gottdiener in Öden, 2004, p.9) The increasing expansion of Post-Fordist capitalist production has been accompanied by the process of the aestheticization of commodities (Raposo, 2006, p.45).

One of the most important characteristics of this period is that, the value in the use of goods has lost its meaning and the sign, prestige or status of the purchased item became important. This is explained as “sign-value” which is an expression and mark of style, prestige, status and hierarchy by Baudrillard. By this way, consumption becomes a cultural act more than meeting the needs of people. (Sürer and Sayar, 2002, p.41) According to Baudrillard, consumption is a kind of active manipulation of signs and symbols. In late capitalist societies, sign and commodity come together and produce the “commodity-sign”. Commodities are displayed more for their sign-value instead of their use-value and sign-value is an important component of the commodity in consumer society. It is now a period of endless reproduction of commodity through signs, images and simulations. Baudrillard (1988) defines this period as “a revolution” which has put an end to “classical” economy of value. According to Baudrillard (1984) in “classical” stage of signification:

There is a complete parallel with the mechanism of value in material production as Marx described it. Use value functions as the horizon and finality of the system of exchange value: use value qualifies the concrete operation of the commodity in the act of consumption; while exchange value refers to the

interchangeability of all commodities under the law of equivalence.  
(Baudrillard, 1988, p.125)

This period, on the other hand, is “an end of the use value – exchange value dialectic and the end of the classical era of the sign; and the end of the era of production” (Baudrillard, 1988, p.128).

In this new era of consumption, reproduced commodities through the media also put away the distinction between image and reality (Featherstone, 2007, p.15). Gervasi touches on this issue too. He states that people’s choices are not random, they are socially controlled and they are not any goods produced and consumed. They have meanings based on the values system (Gervasi in Baudrillard, 1998, p.70). Parsons emphasizes that there is no maximization of production for the individual; rather maximization of production is related with the value system of the society (Parsons cited in Baudrillard, 1998, p.70). Lash and Urry (1994) also underline the increase of sign value and image in the products (Raposo, 2006, p.45). “What it is consumed is not product itself, but the mythical features of products because consumer culture means a matchup of various passions and aspirations with the products” (Öncü, 1999, p.28).

According to Baudrillard (1998), logic of consumption is not for satisfaction, it is the logic of production and manipulation of social signifiers. So, social logic of consumption should be analyzed within this perspective. Consumption as a process of signification and communication is a system of exchange. It is also a process of classification and social differentiation. Objects are ordered according to status values in hierarchy. This means that you do not consume the object for its use-value, but for what it signifies because these signs help to affiliate you to some groups or to mark you off from some groups. (Baudrillard, 1998, p.61) Consumption provides people opportunity to distinguish them or to acquire a sense of social identity. Objects are signs of status, hierarchy and prestige. Needs and aspirations of people are not natural in this society because they are activated by social differentiation and demands for social status. So, needs and aspirations grow more quickly than available goods. Actually, these needs are the product of the system of production.

Needs are produced as consumption power (Baudrillard, 1998, p.74). Moreover, as it is stated above, the post-Fordist capitalist system presupposes this growth of needs as production grows too. Here, differentiation comes out as a decisive variable. As it is stated by Baudrillard (1999, p.64) the differentiation of products is limited but the differentiation of the social demand for prestige which means man's needs as a social being is limitless. Consumption as a process of classification and social differentiation come up at this point. Because of this limitless needs and desires of people as a social being, advertisements target everyone in their relations to others. People are motivated for consumption to differentiate themselves. In this stage of capitalism, it is much more essential to take into consideration what and how people consume because the position of groups within the production relations is not important as it was before (Kan Ülkü, 2010, p.17).

In a nutshell, through the history of the industrial system, genealogy of consumption is as follows (Baudrillard, 1998, p.75):

1. The order of production produces the machine which is very different from traditional tools.
2. The order of production produces the capital which is different from earlier modes of exchange.
3. The order of production produces the waged labor power which is a systematized productive force different from traditional workmanship and concrete labor.
4. Lastly, it produces needs which completes three others. These needs are different from satisfaction because they are produced within the system. They do not have any relationship with an individual or an object like labor power which does not have any relation with the product of his labor.

### **3.2. New Consumption Spaces of Global Capital: The Gated Communities**

The transition from Fordist economy to flexible accumulation era and the change in the consumption patterns of people has similar effects on the discourse of architecture. Architecture is an object of consumer culture as everything is. (Yırtıcı,

2002, p.11) This is explained by Yırtıcı (2002, p.9) as such: “The space, as a main product of the discipline of architecture, is an object produced and consumed in social practices” So, the space can be considered as a part of consumption patterns but it also affects the consumption patterns beyond the just being an object of consumption. Süer and Sayar (2002) state that: “to the extent that space is being an intermediary to produce new life styles, it becomes a commodity”.

Baudrillard (1998) emphasizes on space in terms of the social logic of consumption. He believes that in an urban concentration the demand for differentiation which is a requirement of consumer culture grows more quickly (Baudrillard, 1998, p.65).

When the whole social world becomes urbanized, when communication becomes total, ‘needs’ grow exponentially. That escalation, that differential ‘chain reaction’, sanctioned by the total dictatorship of fashion, has the urban space as its locus. And, reciprocally, the process reinforces urban concentration by rapid acculturation of the rural or marginal areas. Human density in itself exerts a fascination. But the language of cities is competition itself. Just as industrial concentration results in an ever increased production of goods, so urban concentration results in a limitless promotion of needs. (Baudrillard, 1998, p.65)

Baudrillard also analyzes the space in terms of creating new segregations. According to him, space and its social marking are more important than objects. While other objects work to homogenize, the space has a differentiating function. (Baudrillard, 1998, p.57) Hence, “the consumption of housing as a commodity has arisen as a reference point in differentiating oneself from others” (Erişen, 2003, p.94). Within this context, gated communities became the object of consumer culture to be produced and sold.

Moreover, “housing units became one of the most decisive and discriminator element of life style and upper-middle class has been synonymous with consumption” (Öncü, 1999, p.29) because the space turned into a significant commodity also as a result of the emergence of new social class which is composed of upper middle class. Different from the traditional middle class of the former periods, they are rich and have opportunity to know what happens around the world. They have a chance to learn consumption habits through the free circulation of global images and

commodities (Erişen, 2003, p.95). As a result, they also demand different standards in the environment they live in.

Advertisements accelerated this process by offering distinctness, uniqueness and specialty through consumption of commodities. As it is stated by Ewen (1988) (in Öden, 2004, p.9), “advertisement became a very important tool for making potentially consumer masses informed about the availability of industrially produced goods”. Today, advertisements are the major instruments to sell a commodity because advertisements stylize the consumers’ needs. The role of advertisement industry cannot be ignored within the reorganization of capitalism. Especially after the 1980s, following the post-Fordist economic transformations, the advertisement industry focused on images, symbols and values to sell the product. It is no more about use-value of products, but the symbolic value (Öden, 2004, p.11). Öncü (1999) evaluates the advertisement industry as the quickest sector to integrate into international markets.

This change and quickest adaptation of advertisement industry as a result of the turn in economic structure has also affected housing sector. The space, as a product of the consumer society is marketed through the advertisements. What it is marketed is not the reality but the reproduced symbolic values of the space like prestige, status and symbol. Öncü (1999) states that with the colored television in 1980s, people first met with the myths of ideal home. These marketed houses primarily were for the upper middle classes who demand a different life style. As a result, advertisements which emphasize clean and socially homogenous life in gated communities make it easy to reproduce culture of upper-middle class. Thus, as it is stated by Öncü (1999, p.34), living in a gated community which is away from the city center has turned into a way of reproduction and protection of the identity of middle class.

### **3.3. Advertisement Industry and Re-Production of Gated Communities**

As it is stated by Ewen (1976) modern advertising is a kind of response to the needs of industrial capitalism. Especially after the boost received through the scientific management, the advertisement industry started to play an important role within the reorganization of the capitalist production system. With the expansion of capitalist

production, people become consumers especially through the use of advertisements and other media means because advertisement industry has a good use to stylize products in order to sell it (Featherstone, 2007, p.14). Caldeira (2000, p.263) hints at that point by emphasizing the advertisements “rely on a repertoire of images and values that speak to different people’s sensibilities and fantasies and thereby address their desires”. Today, the link between the abstract meanings and consumption products are established by advertising and media industries (Öncü, 1999, p.28). According to Baudrillard (1988, p.12), “advertising has changed from a commercial practice to a theory of praxis of consumption, a theory that crowns the whole edifice of society”.

Before the turn of Fordism into Post-Fordist economy, the advertisement industry sold products by emphasizing their “use-value” but after 1970s, it started to emphasize the image or the sign-value of the products (Öden, 2004, p.11). Society is not dominated by the mode of production anymore but the code of production and the objective of the system shifted from exploitation to domination by signs (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003, p. 608). “At the beginning of the 1980s, advertisement industry was one of the quickest sectors in terms of integration with the international companies” (Öncü, 1999, p.29 – 30). Today, advertisement industry helps capitalism to create image dependent products whose sign-values are also associated with the social status. Individuals are looking for the products which represent their identity and satisfy their difference in their social life (Öden, 2004, p.11). “Goods take on the properties of sign-value through the process of branding, in which marketers and advertisers attach images to goods” (Raposo, 2006, p.45). But it should be noted that attaching signs to goods is not a simple case.

That process is instantiated through a set of practices that are specifically associated to the work of what are often termed ‘cultural intermediary occupations’ (marketing, design and advertising). Design works basically takes place in production and is dependent on prior market research and product definition, which are basically the task of marketers. Advertising and the symbolic ‘engineering’ of product presentation, through the use of repertoires and clusters of meanings and aesthetic imagery (or, more generally, signs) are integral parts of that research and definition work and do not take place in isolation. (Raposo, 2006, p.47).



Today, “the house, identified with consumption, is one of the most defining elements of the urban middle class culture and life style” (Öncü, 1999, p.29). Gated communities are also commoditized and sold to individual masses by advertisements and their sign-values are highlighted. Even as it is emphasized by Raposo (2006, p.51), “gated communities represent a particularly propitious terrain for the deploying of commodification and aestheticization practices”. There are two reasons of this: First, typical gated community clients are from middle and upper-middle class who are seeking for segregation, the securing of lifestyles and social status and also sensitive to commodification strategies (Raposo, 2006, p.51). “For the upper and middle classes, the construction of a home occurs through the mediation of advertisements, the real estate and construction industries (Caldeira, 2000, p.264). Second, gated communities are packaged products which involve complete habitats and so purchasing a gated community includes many other things like neighbors, social relations, lifestyle, a way to display identity etc. (Raposo, 2006, p.51). As a result, gated communities do not only bring physical segregation and control by their existence, they also symbolically reconstruct reality in order to enforce the same practical result by advertisements (Raposo, 2006, p.52). As it is stated by Caldeira (2000, p.263), “real estate advertisements constitute a good source of information about the lifestyles and values of the people whose desires they elaborate and help to shape”. She also analyzed the advertisements of high-rises and closed condominiums from 1975 to 1996 and found out the elements of current patterns of social differentiation and distinction (Caldeira, 2000, p.263). There were five basic elements in these ads: security, seclusion, social homogeneity, amenities and services.

The image that confers the highest status is that of an enclosed, fortified, and isolated residence, a secure environment in which one can use various facilities and services while living exclusively among equals. The advertisements present the image of islands to which one can return every day to escape the city and encounter an exclusive world of pleasure among peers. The enclaves are, therefore, opposed to the city, which is represented as a deteriorated world not only of pollution and noise, but, more important, of confusion and mixture, that is, social heterogeneity. (Caldeira, 2000, p.264).

Öncü (1999) also states that regardless of differences in the prices and qualities of houses, advertisements emphasize the same standards which fictionalize a utopia. She finds out that there are two repeated features in the advertisement of housing sector. One is that they are all out of the city but they are also near highways which means that it takes just few minutes to reach city. Another is that they have all comfort which modern life requires like gardens, sport centers, playgrounds (Öncü, 1999, p.30). Overall, it could be noted that advertisement industry plays an important role in the commodification processes of gated communities and implicitly given messages through these processes need further attention to understand gated communities potential effect in urban space because beside their physical existence in space, gated communities are socially producing a language which strengthens their physical existence.

### **3.4. Evaluation**

The theoretical framework given in the previous sections show that, the aim of this thesis which is to discuss the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements can be only be articulated from the perspective of consumer culture theory, it can be useful in guiding the case study of this thesis.

First of all, in this chapter the link between space and consumer culture is provided to open a discussion on commodification of gated communities as the sign-value of gated communities are produced within consumer culture. To be able to research sign-value and its actualization through advertisements, it is crucial to understand what consumer culture is and how it affects the space. So far, it was argued that globalization is a new era of capitalism and the emphasis is much more on the consumption because this form of capitalism requires endless consumption practices to survive and for that end the endless consumption practices are stimulated by aestheticization practices of commodities. That is why sign, prestige and status of a purchased item are highlighted more than its use value, which is defined as the sign-value by Baudrillard. People are motivated to buy products not for its use-value but for what it signifies and here turning products to something more than what they are

is the role of advertisement industry. People become consumers through the use of advertisements because advertisements can address people's desires relying on a repertoire of images and values. Under such an environment, people especially the upper-middle class, who emerged in post-Fordist era, start to seek for products to differentiate themselves. In this era, space also became one of the products of consumer culture through use of advertisements because the consumption of space turned to be an important marker in differentiating oneself from others.

Today, gated communities as one of the most common forms of housing provision are presented through media means such as TV advertisements, newspaper brochures, billboards, web pages and like other products' commodification processes they are commoditized through those media means. As one of the main features of gated communities are the walls and gates which lead to create a segregated area within the urban form, the articulation of these features in advertisements needs further attention and to understand the implicit language and discourse employed in the marketing and selling processes of gated communities. It is better to think from the consumer culture theory because as it was discussed in this chapter this theory explains the turning process of products from an object consumed for its use-value to an object consumed for its sign-value. These sign-values are mostly realized through the branding of products which attributes a meaning more than what it really is. Therefore advertisements of gated communities are chosen in this thesis to analyze these sign-values. It is argued that there is an implicit usage of segregationist language during this commodification process of gated communities no matter what the dominant themes in gated communities are. They are not mere products of space, they are consumed objects which means that their sign-values like prestige, symbol and status are more important than their use-value and whenever those sign-values are highlighted, what it is behind the explicit messages is significant to understand potential effects of gated communities within the social life of urban forms. The notion of gated communities as physically segregated areas strengthened within the mind of people as places segregated socially too through the language used. In the following chapter this discussion will be elaborated with the case study.

## CHAPTER 4

### CASE STUDY

As discussed in the previous chapters, gated communities have become an inseparable part of the production of housing sector in Turkey, mostly as a result of the shift in economy and its social effects on society. After 1980s, free market economy emphasized individualism, personal tastes, pleasures, competition and conformity and at the same time ideal homes for middle and upper-middle class people were in the housing market. These new residential areas sold by emphasizing the concept of “life style” and “the world of privileges” (Bali, 2002). In that context, especially with the change in consumption patterns of people, Ankara witnessed increased segmentation in urban space. In this chapter, based on the theoretical framework the outcomes of the case study will be tested. Parallel to main hypothesis of this study - the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements lies on a segregationist language - the language used in marketing and selling processes of gated communities will be analyzed to understand whether or not this language has segregationist tendencies.

#### **4.1. Gated Communities’ Marketing Material: Content Analysis**

In this study on gated communities, the aim is to establish an analytic framework that accounts for their social production and that would set the relation with consumer culture theory. In order to reach this aim the focus is on the commodification processes and aestheticization practices which are connected to their segregationist character.

Firstly, to study gated communities in Ankara, an operational definition which applies both to case study and to theoretical framework of the thesis is established. The term referred as the “gated community” in this study has the following characters: (1) private or privatized amenities for collective use, (2) collective private ownership of space open space and (3) access control in entrance (Raposo, 2006, p.44)

To reveal and explain the gated communities’ relation with the consumer culture theory, 23 gated community projects are selected from Ankara based on the

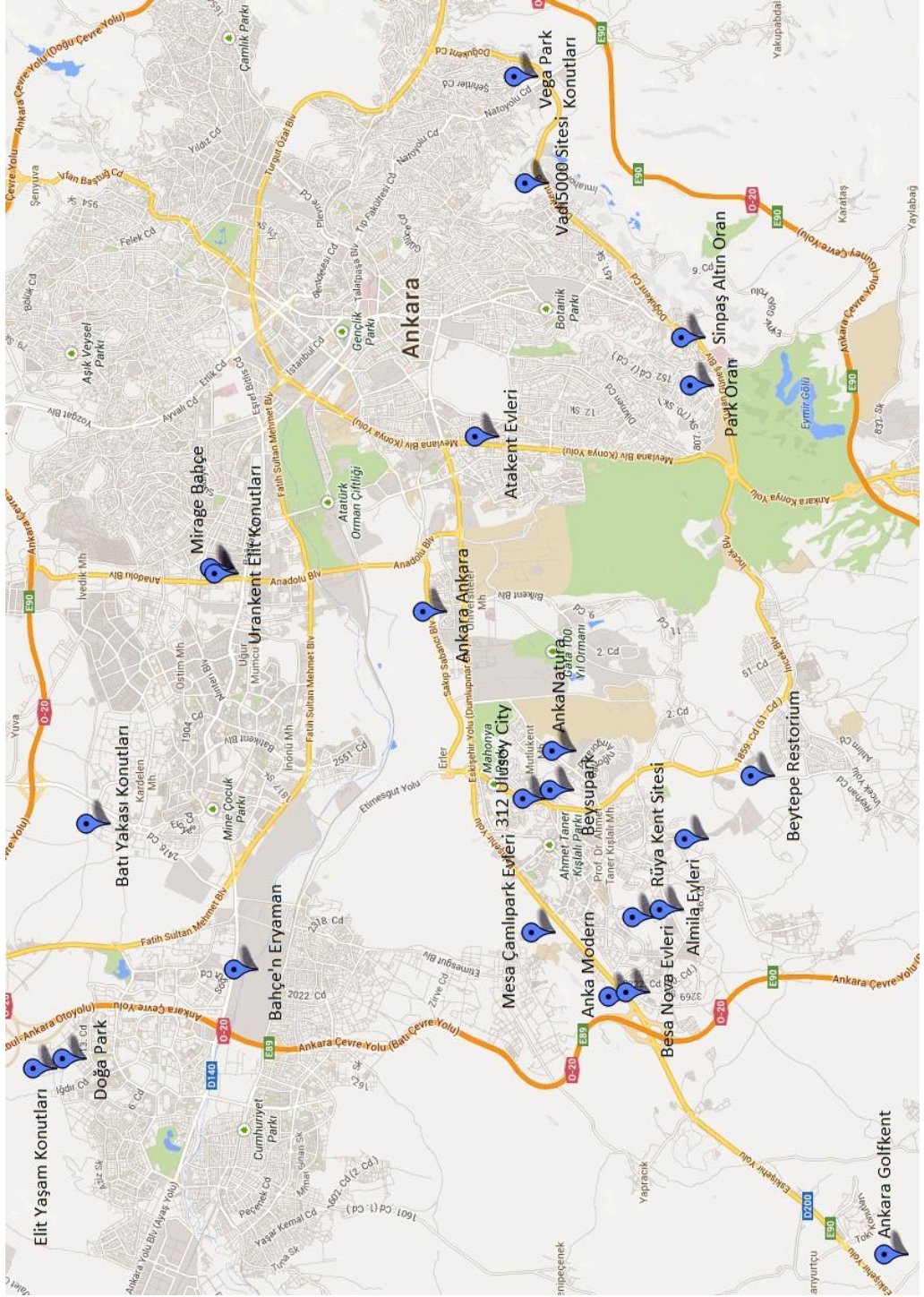
operational definition given above. These projects are important for the study because most of them are in construction period which means that the construction firms strongly take note of marketing strategies in order to sell them.

Because the real estate and developer advertisements are important sources to understand how commodification processes and aestheticization practices are in close connection with their segregationist character, the brochures and the pamphlets of the selected gated communities are used. In order to analyze marketing discourses of these gated communities, their official web pages are taken as main source. Both television and newspaper advertisements can easily be found in their web pages and it is also possible to reach and download their marketing brochures through official web pages. Official web pages are important and useful tools to reach all marketing material related with the gated communities. Moreover, official web pages of gated communities have all kinds of information and documents related with the projects which make it easy to analyze marketing discourses. Also, the analysis of advertisements is important because they give clues about the underlying motives and desires of the new urban way of life and the code of social segregation. Additionally, the advertisements of gated communities are ways to discursively construct the image of gated communities which means that understanding the proposed codes within the advertisements help to understand how these urban forms strengthen the already existed social segregation. In a nutshell, this section provides an analysis on the advertising rhetoric employed in the marketing of gated communities in Ankara.

Firstly, seen below, the selected gated communities have been mapped ( Map 1) based on the construction site addresses in their official web pages of the selected gated communities. It is remarkable that the area of Eskisehir Highway still is the most preferred region for the construction of gated communities. Among 23 gated community projects 12 are in the region of Eskişehir Highway, especially in the Çayyolu region. The other projects are also away from the city center, mostly at the peripheries of the city and nearly all of them are very close to the peripheral

highway. This situation affirms the rising popularity of Eskişehir Highway and Çayyolu region mostly after the 1990s.

Map 1: Location of the Selected Gated Communities



#### 4.1.1. Content Analysis Based on Location

After mapping selected gated communities, it is observed that they are concentrated on some regions (See Map 1). While 12 of them are developed in Çayyolu region, 6 of them are developed in Eryaman region and the rest of them are concentrated around Oran. Based on this observation, it is decided to analyze their main marketing catchphrases according to their location to see whether or not there are any significant differences or similarities between them (See Table 2).

For the group of gated communities located in Eryaman region, there is an emphasis on nature and green. 4 projects among 6 gated community projects in Eryaman are using the theme of nature in their marketing materials. For example, Mirage Bahçe Konutları uses the phrase of “a dream garden in the city” as a main marketing catchphrase. What is interesting that 3 projects have words related with the nature even in the name of their projects. These are “Doğa Park” (“doğa” means nature in Turkish), “Bahçe’n Eryaman” (“bahçe” means garden in Turkish) and “Mirage Bahçe Konutları” (“konut” means dwelling in Turkish). Having known that the region of Eryaman’s main type of flora is steppe, the emphasis on nature and green confirms Featherstone’s (2007) logic of consumer culture. He argues that consumer culture through use of advertising methods puts a distinction between image and reality.

For the projects located in Çayyolu region and Oran, it is obvious that there are different themes and concepts but there is not any overlap between location of gated communities and recurrence of marketing themes.

Selected gated communities were also analyzed according to general typology of gated communities which are explained in Chapter 2 of this study (See Table 1, p. 9). According to Blakely and Snyder (1997) there are three types of gated communities which are prestige, lifestyle and security zone type of gated communities. In this study, it is seen that most of the selected gated communities are prestige type of gated communities, which is consistent with foresight of this study (See Table 2 and p. 20). It is also remarkable that there is a tendency to develop and sell prestige type of gated communities in Ankara.



Some of the gated community projects are in the group of lifestyle projects but it is significant that there is no security type of gated community projects among the selected gated communities although previous studies shown the importance of security measures as a rise of gated communities (Cséfalvay, 2011; Davis, 1992). Another significant point is that while half of the projects in Eryaman and Çayyolu region were in the type of lifestyle gated communities, for the projects in Oran region where is more close to city center of Ankara, nearly the all of them except one of the projects were prestige type of gated communities.

#### **4.1.2. Catchphrase Analysis: Marketing of “New Life”, “Nature” and “Dream”**

Selected gated communities’ marketing materials are systematically analyzed in order to see whether there is a relation between commodification of gated communities and their segregationist character. For that end, after an analysis based on location and type, their main marketing catchphrases and the other marketing catchphrases which were used in their brochures, pamphlets and websites are listed (See Table 2).

When their main marketing catchphrases are analyzed, it is seen that the concept of “new life” used in 5 different gated community projects. Totally, it is repeated 9 times. For example, main marketing catchphrase of “Besa Nova Evleri” is “*A New Life Colored with Details*”. “Urankent Elit Konutları” welcomes its potential customers with the statement “*Meet with a New Life*” in the first page of its brochure. “Doğa Park” project also offers a new life to its customers by saying: “*a new life within the nature*”.

Another recurrent theme is the marketing of “*nature*” among these 23 gated community projects. The word of “*nature*” and “*green*” is repeated totally 12 times. Bahçe’n Eryaman project’s main marketing catchphrase is “*Your dreams are turning green.*” Almıla Evleri also emphasizes the similar concept. Almıla Evleri offers both “new life” and “green spaces” to its customers with a catchphrase of “*totally new life as green as grass in Çayyolu*”.

As a result of the study on marketing catchphrases of gated community projects, “*dream*” has shown up as a third theme. The word of “dream” has been repeated 11 times totally and 4 of them are in the main marketing catchphrase. The gated communities are defined sometimes as equivalent of potential customers’ dreams sometimes as more than what they dreamed about. For example, one of marketing catchphrases of “Perge Duru” is “*equivalent of your dream house is Perge Duru*”. For Vega Park Konutları”, this house project is more than people’s dream: “*Meet a brand new life in excess of your dreams.*”

Below, in Table 2, type, location and marketing catchphrases of the selected gated communities are listed.

**Table 2: Marketing Discourses of Gated Communities in Ankara**

<b>Eryaman Region</b>				
<b>Other Marketing Statements</b>				
<b>Type of Gated Community</b>	<b>Name of the Gated Community</b>	<b>Main Catchphrase</b>		
<b>Prestige</b>	Elit Yaşam Konutları 3	"Elite Life"		
<b>Lifestyle</b>	Doğa Park	"A new life within the nature"		
<b>Prestige</b>	Bahçe'n Eryaman	"It became green with the help of your dreams."	<p>A life full of peace and comfort</p> <p>A new definition of prestige</p> <p>We are rising with confidence</p> <p>It has green inherently</p> <p>The shortest live in the heart of Eryaman</p> <p>Happy Families in Bahçe'n</p> <p>First Class Life, Unprecedented Life</p> <p>The most close star to you</p> <p>The most prestigious, the most different project of Eryaman</p> <p>The idea of new life to be taken as model</p> <p>Feel that you are living</p> <p>Easy and different life</p> <p>The most secure garden of the city</p>	
<b>Lifestyle</b>	Batı Yakası Konutları	"To write second success story"	<p>An architect of happy and peaceful life is in Batıkent again</p> <p>A peaceful life is waiting for you in the west side of the city</p> <p>For those who are passionate to nature and green.</p>	

**Table 2 (continued)**

<b>Eryaman Region</b>			
<b>Type of Gated Community</b>	<b>Name of the Gated Community</b>	<b>Main Catchphrase</b>	<b>Other Marketing Statements</b>
<b>Prestige</b>	Urankent Elit Konutları	"Meet with a new life"	Do you want to be in the center of life? Places to live with pleasures A prestigious life is born A home that you want to live in Family-size peace A solid investment To look at the future with confidence
<b>Lifestyle</b>	Mirage Bahçe Konutları	"A dream garden in the city"	We move to the green to the sky Increase your life quality Its name is dream, thing in itself is real. Peaceful, secure, social

<b>Çayyolu Region</b>			
<b>Type of Gated Community</b>	<b>Name of the Gated Community</b>	<b>Main Catchphrase</b>	<b>Other Marketing Statements</b>
<b>Prestige</b>	Besa Nova evleri	"A new life colored with details"	We built your home to fill your dreams and love.
<b>Lifestyle</b>	AnkaModern	"A new life style"	
<b>Prestige</b>	Mesa Camlipark evleri	"The youngest project of Mesa"	Get a larger share of happiness
<b>Prestige</b>	Perge Duru Konutları	Reporter of a happy life.	Life that you are longing for Brand new, modern, privileged life Equivalent of your dream house is Perge Duru All the details are considered for you It is not only your home which is changing "The Key of Happiness" Your security and peace are important for us.

**Table 2 (continued)**

<b>Çayyolu Region</b>				
			<b>Other Marketing Statements</b>	
Type of Gated Community	Name of the Gated Community	Main Catchphrases		
Lifestyle	Almila Evleri	"A totally new life as green as grass begins in Çayyolu..."	Large enough and unlimited as your dreams	Totally new dimensions which are comfortable and not bored are coming
Prestige	Rüya Kent Sitesi	"Your dreams come true"	Very special place to call home	Quality, secure, comforting and healthy life.
Prestige	Beytepe Restorium	"There are no standards. All houses are personal."	Stylish architecture and new horizons	A huge sum of happy moments of life
Prestige	Beysupark	"A new city of life"	Host of the happiness	Environment surrounded by entertainment
Lifestyle	312 Ulusoy City	"You will always find the more in 312"	Security was considered	Comfort was considered
			Environment was considered	Silence was considered
			Details were considered	Your life is not limited by just inside your home.
			Away from the crowd of the city	Pleasure of all life invigorated in a safe and comfortable environment again
			Customized design	The understanding of neighborhood has been revised with the inner courtyard which has traces of the past and is inspired by the future.
			Freedom of choice and a rich collection of products	Be ready for pleasant surprises
			All the activities is under your feet	Privileges were considered

Table 2 (continued)

Çayyolu Region				
Type of Gated Community	Name of the Gated Community	Main Catchphrase	Other Marketing Statements	
Lifestyle	AnkaNatura	"The story of a natural life"	Environmentally friendly AnkaNatura	Smart home technology is at your service All the details which give color to life is in AnkaNatura In the center of life with nature All the shades of green is in AnkaNatura All the details of life is designed carefully
Lifestyle	Ankara Ankara Projesi	"A new point of view with whole details"	Modern recreation area	The pioneer of a new trend Cozy areas created with modern landscapes Integrated apartments with concept and quality Balanced combination with its favorite location
Lifestyle	Ankara Golfkent	"Life is fantastic in here"	Residential areas integrated with golf concept, rivers, lakes, markets	We are on the Eskişehir Road, in Ankara's favorite place The vast grass-covered forest areas, extremely serene atmosphere A different approach which emphasizes the pedestrian access Social and commercial units, education areas

Oran Region				
Type of Gated Community	Name of the Gated Community	Main Catchphrase	Other Marketing Statements	
Prestige	Vega Park Konutları	"Exactly in the heart of life"	Buy the key of new and good quality life	The highest residences of Ankara which can reach even the most prestigious dreams For people who wants more... The key of a new life Rich opportunities You and your loved ones are safe at any moment Fly high Perfect living spaces Meet a brand new life in excess of your dreams A new life is waiting you in Vega Park Look at the Ankara from here. Develop your point of view.

**Table 2 (continued)**

<b>Oran Region</b>													
			<b>Other Marketing Statements</b>										
<b>Type of Gated Community</b>	<b>Name of The Gated Community</b>	<b>Main Catchphrase</b>											
<b>Prestige</b>	Sinpaş Altın Oran	The biggest themed residential project of Turkey	This is where I want to live.	The view from your house is just as important as the look of your home.	The love of water in your lifestyle will increase	You have the most precious painting of the world.	The serenity of the scenery will double your happiness	My dreams are reflected onto the water.	I am capital of the privileges.	I am much more exciting now.	Nature is on your doorstep.	Your homes as you imagine it.	"Here, my new favorite Altın Oran"
<b>Prestige</b>	Atakent Evleri	"Choose Atakent to make your dreams come true"	Batikent are breathing in through the Atakent... Miracle of nature	Every corner of the Atakent houses is a distinct pleasure.	Look at the nature from Atakent window								
<b>Prestige</b>	Vadi 5000 Sitesi	"Privileged life promise of Vadi 5000"	Another picture of Ankara is at your window	City, right to next your home, is disappearing when you want to escape									
<b>Lifestyle</b>	ParkOran Konutlan	"Moving to ParkOran is moving to a new Ankara"	You are at the most secured place of life, you are at your home	Homes with sports centers	What about moving your job to the ParkOran								

#### 4.1.2.1. Marketing a “New Life”

Öncü, in her article dated 1999, emphasized that although the prices and qualities of dwelling units vary, they were all marketed in the same way. They all offered a standard “dream world” to their potential customers but today there are different rhetorics used systematically through the marketing of gated communities and one of them is the marketing of a “new life”. Within the 23 gated community projects there is a special emphasis on “new life” by articulating different words and themes. This recurring theme of “new life” also signifies segregation because choosing “a new life” means leaving the past.

In Bahçe'n Eryaman Project, “the idea of new life to be taken as model” was used as one of the newspaper catchphrases. (Figure 2) This term signifies not just a “new life” but also a model life for the idea of new life. This main catchphrase of the advertisement is supported with another catchphrase which is “the most prestigious, the most different project of Eryaman”. This saying strengthens the main catchphrase and also highlights the understanding of best of everything.

**besa nova**  
EVLERİ

"ayrıntılarla renklenen yeni bir hayal"

- ▶ besa nova evleri
- ▶ besa nova plaza
- ▶ planlar
- ▶ galeriler
- ▶ iletişim

**BESA**  
İNŞAAT A.Ş.

Tel: +90 312 219 10 10  
Faks: +90 312 219 17 98

### Nova Evleri Hakkında

"Yuvanızı, sevgi ve hayallerinizle doldurmanız için inşa ettik."

Ankara'nın güzüde bölgesi Çayyolu'nda, her detayı incelikle düşünülmüş, seçkin, kaliteli, güvenli ve ulaşımı kolay bir yaşam alanı sunuyoruz.

**besa nova** Evleri; kalitesi, konforu, doğadan esinlenilmiş dinlendirici alanlarıyla size yepyeni bir yaşam için inşa edildi.

Teknolojik ve ekolojik altyapının sentezi **besa nova** Evlerini kusursuz bir teknik altyapıya ulaştırdı. Sosyal alanları fiziksel ve zihinsel olarak sizi daha sağlıklı kılmak için tasarlandı.

**besa nova** Evleri'ni eşsiz ve güvenli bir yaşam alanı olmasının yanında, değeri artıran yatırım imkanı sağlamaktadır.

**besa nova** Evleri, metro gelişim güzergahı üzerinde, Ankara çevre yolu ve Eskişehir yolu ile bağlantılı yaklaşık 23.000 m<sup>2</sup> arsa üzerinde konumlanmaktadır. Her biri yaklaşık 800 m<sup>2</sup>'ye oturan 3 blokta toplam 224 konut yer almaktadır.

Sitede 5000 m<sup>2</sup>'ye ulaşan yeşil alan, süs havuzu, çocuk oyun alanları, tenis kortu ve basketbol sahasından oluşan sosyal aktivite alanları ile spor salonu ile açık yüzme havuzu bulunmaktadır. 24 saat güvenlik kontrolü vardır.

Figure 1 From web site of Besa Nova Evleri (A new life colored with details)



GÖLDEKENT, BATIPARK, GORDİON ve ATLANTİSİN MİMARINDAN

ÖRNEK DAİREMİZ HAZIR

örnek alınacak yeni bir yaşam fikri...

**BAHÇE'N**  
ERYAMAN

Bahçe'n. Eryaman'ın en prestijli, en farklı projesi...  
Rüyalarınızda ki gibi bir eve sahip olmak için 9 blok ve 618 konuttan oluşan Bahçe'n'i ziyaret etmeniz artık yeterli...  
Çünkü Eryamanda dışarınlız çoktan yeşerdi...

ÖDEME TABLOSU	
FAİZ	VADELİ
0.00	36 AY
0.68	60 AY
0.80	120 AY

**Figure 2** Newspaper Advertisement of Bahçe'n Eryaman from the Hürriyet Ankara in May 5<sup>th</sup> of 2011 (The Idea of New Life to be Taken as Model)

Besa Nova Evleri and Urankent Elit Konutları have similar emphasis on their main catchphrase. Besa Nova Evleri has a simple web page in comparison with the other gated community projects' web pages and they have just one main catchphrase which is "a new life colored with details" (See Figure 1). Urankent Elit Konutları also welcomes its customers in the first page of its brochure by saying "meet with a new life".



**Figure 3** Main Catchphrase of Urankent Elit Konutları from the e-brochure (Meet with a New Life)

What it is seen here is a kind of confirmation of explanation of Roitman (2005) selling gated communities as lifestyle projects.

#### **4.1.2.2. Marketing of “Nature”**

Emphasis on nature is among the most important recurrent themes in the selected gated communities. Words like nature, green, natural life, garden are used to a great extent in the marketing material of gated communities and also the images used in brochures and pamphlets are mostly green and show as is dwelling units are totally located in nature. “AnkaNatura” is one of these projects which emphasize the nature both in its name and its images. Main marketing catchphrase of the AnkaNatura is “the story of a natural life” and other used catchphrases such as: “in the center of life with nature”, “all the shades of green is in AnkaNatura” and “environmentally friendly” are in the concept too.



Yeşil ortamın deneyim sonucu bir evde Anka'nın yaşadığı tadını mı hissetti?  
Yeni bir başlangıç için evinize Anka'ya katılmaya hazır mısınız? Şahin  
kaymakçıdan, gününün başından, kaliteyi önemseyen kişiye, yaşamın doğayla  
bir arada bu kadar da güzel geçmesini; daha yakın olmak isteyenler  
için Anka'ya katılmaya hazır mısınız?

Figure 4 First Page of the e-brochure of AnkaNatura

The first page of the brochure welcomes its potential customers with the emphasis of “nature” and “green”. These words exactly tell what it is meant by the “emphasis on nature”:

Have you ever watched Ankara by turning your back to green? A new initial story is energizing with the AnkaNatura. A new natural life story begins in AnkaNatura for those who want to run away from chaos, noise and crowd of the city, live in nature as green as grass and also want to be close to city.<sup>3</sup>

This passion to nature and green as a marketing strategy shows itself in other projects too. Bahçe'n Eryaman is one of them. “Bahçe” means garden in Turkish and the emphasis on green is even in the name of the project. Its main catchphrase also emphasizes the green by saying “it became green with the help of your dreams”. Additionally, the first page of the brochure is important in terms of the using of green as a something privileged.

We are living in a world of projects. This is a world in which everybody wants to become different by using same discourse, which is your dream house. Well, do you remember what you really want in the world of same definitions and standards? Do you know that a Garden (Bahçe'n) in Eryaman offer you a life of your dreams different from others' stereotyped usage? This is a concept which changes the best of your life. Isn't it time to live in your own Garden (Bahçe'n) by pulling away from the grayness of life.”<sup>4</sup>

It is really interesting for a gated community project to underline repetition of same discourse in different projects and saying that “we are different from them” because what they emphasize is also a repetition of the same discourse through different images. They do sell a new life but with an emphasis on nature and even the nature is privileged for the house owners.

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<sup>3</sup> “Yeşile sırtınızı dayayıp sonsuz bir ufukta Ankara'yı izlediniz mi hiç? Yeni bir başlangıç öyküsü AnkaNatura ile hayat buluyor. Şehrin keşmekeşinden, gürültüsünden, kalabalığından kaçıp, yemyeşil doğayla iç içe ama bir o kadar da vazgeçemeyeceği şehre yakın olmak isteyenler için, AnkaNatura ile yepyeni doğal bir yaşam hikayesi başlıyor.” From the e-katalog of AnkaNatura ([http://www.ankanatura.com/Static/doc/ankanatura\\_brosur.pdf](http://www.ankanatura.com/Static/doc/ankanatura_brosur.pdf), accessed in December 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Projeler dünyasında yaşıyoruz. Bu, herkesin “işte hayalinizdeki ev” söylemiyle benzer yaşam vaatleri sunduğu ve farklılaşmaya çalıştığı bir dünya. Peki, düşlediğiniz hayatı ararken, hep aynı tanımlara, standart donanımlara boğulurken gerçekten ne istediğinizi hatırlıyor musunuz? Eryaman'da bir “Bahçe'n” in, diğerlerinin basmakalıp kullanımından kurtulup, düşlerinizdeki gibi bir yaşam sunduğunu biliyor musunuz?



**BAHÇE'N**  
ERYAMAN

# düşlerinizle yeşerdi

Projeler dünyasında yaşıyoruz.  
Bu, herkesin **"işte hayalinizdeki ev"** söylemiyle  
benzer yaşam vaatleri sunduğu ve farklılaşmaya çalıştığı bir dünya...  
Peki, düşlediğimiz hayattı ararken,  
hep aynı tanımlara, standart donanımlara boğulurken,  
**gerçekten ne istediğinizi hatırlıyor musunuz?**  
Eryamanda bir **"Bahçe'n"**in, diğerlerinin basmakalıp kullanımından kurtulup,  
düşlerinizdeki gibi bir yaşam sunduğunu biliyor musunuz?  
O, hayatımızdaki **"en"**leri değiştirecek bir konsept...  
Hayatın griliğinden sıyrılıp,  
**kendi Bahçe'nizde yaşama zamanı gelmedi mi?**

Figure 5 First Page of the Bahçe'n Eryaman Project



**Figure 6** From the brochure of Perge Duru Konutları (85% green spaces, 100% happiness)

Figure 6 is also another example of emphasis on green areas. Main marketing catchphrase for the Perge Duru Konutları is “Reporter of a Happy Life” and in the brochure this happiness is associated with the green areas. Having such a huge green space in a gated community was evaluated as the reason of happiness because otherwise you cannot have opportunity to use such green spaces.

Sinpaş Altınoran is another example for the emphasis on nature. Although its main catchphrase is not the emphasis on nature, it is still used as one of the main concepts (See Figure 7). The explanation within the brochure about nature is also worth to mention:

Cities, just like people, feel the need to breathe. They surely meet their needs in proportion to the natural abundance of their surroundings. Sinpaş Altınoran is exactly what you need with an abundance for trees, plants and flowers. The green space, of which large proportion is spared for recreation of this unique project is the greatest proof of that.



Figure 7 From the brochure of Sinpaş Altınoran (Nature is on your doorstep)

#### 4.1.2.3. Gated Communities as “Dream” Dwelling Units

Marketing gated communities as dream dwelling units is another recurrent theme when the selected gated communities are analyzed. The concept of “dream” becomes prominent in different ways. For example Atakent Evleri uses the catchphrase of “choose Atakent to make your dreams come true”. (See Figure 8)



**Figure 8** Main Marketing Catchphrase of Atakent Evleri (Choose Atakent to make your dreams come true)



In another example, Mirage Bahçe Konutları emphasize the concept of dream by saying “its name is dream, thing in itself is real”. Even Vega Park Konutları categorizes dreams of people. One of its catchphrases is “the highest residences of Ankara which can reach even the most prestigious dreams”. Sinpaş Altın Oran is also one of these projects which construct its discourse on the concept of dream in different ways such as: “My dreams are reflected onto the water.”, “your home as you imagine it...”



Figure 9 From the brochure of Sinpaş Altın Oran

This concept of dream gains importance because these gated communities are marketed as more than what people may expect from a house. They are marketed as they have everything in it such as pools, gardens, sports centers, shopping centers and even ski runs. So such a world is defined by the word of “dreams”. They have everything for its potential customers and they are privileged for those. Some of the sayings in the brochure of Sinpaş Altın Oran are an example of this:

I am the capital of privileges. Everyone has a different understanding of life. Some like to stay in and have a cosy night, others like to go out and have a wander. Some are shop-a-holics, some are gig-a-holics... This is Sinpaş Altınoran, a realm of privileges... I am with you to meet all your expectations and to provide you with better living.<sup>5</sup>

#### **4.1.2.4. Segregationist Tendencies in Marketing Materials of the Selected Gated Communities**

When the catchphrases of the selected gated communities are analyzed different concepts become prominent based on the project itself. Mostly recurrent themes are analyzed in previous sections but what is interesting is although there are different themes and concepts emphasizing features of gated communities like nature, new life, dreams, nearly in every marketing material of gated communities these different themes are associated with privileges and differences from the rest of world. Language used in marketing material while emphasizing features of gated community has segregationist character in itself. This segregation has two characters itself. Firstly, it segregates from the other residents of city and secondly it segregates the residents of gated community from the city. The life provided in the gated communities does not necessitate people to go outside of the community.

In the brochure of AnkaModern, while amenities of the gated community are marketed the used language has an emphasis on “modern life”:

The environmental plan, service areas, social facilities and shopping center of AnkaModern firstly enable you to share a modern life culture.

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<sup>5</sup> Ben ayrıcalıkların başkentiyim. Herkesin yaşam anlayışı farklı. Kimi evinde oturup evinin keyfini çıkarmak ister, kimi dışarı çıkıp dolaşmak. Kimi alışverişe meraklı, kimi eğlenceye... Burası ayrıcalıklar dünyası Sinpaş Altınoran... Ve ben, tüm bu beklentilerinizi karşılayabilmek ve size daha iyi bir yaşam sunmak için yanınızdayım. (From the katalog of Sinpaş Altınoran)

AnkaModern apartments which are constructed higher ceilings than the standards are designed in different types and sizes to meet the needs of each family are reflecting all its privileges and life style inside the apartments too. In other words, it brings a prestigious place culture to home of each family.”



**Figure 10** From the brochure of AnkaModern

Bahçe'n Eryaman is one of the analyzed projects which has a strong emphasis on nature in marketing but while they are marketing the gated community with its nature

and the concept of green, segregationist language is still dominant in the marketing brochure.

It is really different with the bests that bring your life. It is really special to make you feel that you are different. It is really a concept project which fulfills your every special need. It is really qualified to create new standards with conceptual life ideas. And it is really a green project which decorates all these features with your dream garden.

Similarly, AnkaNatura is a project which uses the theme of nature for the marketing of dwelling units but in this project too while the importance of nature is noted, still language emphasizing a life different from others which is modern and elite is used.

Even the areas are defined as elite as it is seen below:

When area of the project is analyzed, the closeness to university and elite dwelling units of Ankara becomes prominent.

In another page life in AnkaNatura defined as follows:

This is an extraordinary project which is composed of 107 dwelling units in 63.000 square meter areas. In a fast-flowing life, AnkaNatura offers you a calm, peaceful and modern life. All the colors of nature and life are flourishing in AnkaNatura.

Beytepe Restorium is also one of these projects in terms of emphasis on elite and modern life different from others. In every page of the brochures of Beytepe Restorium it is possible find examples of segregationist language. Examples are listed below:

Just 65 dwelling units for the city populated 4.5 million. What we tell you is not just a house, it is a life style. It is a project which has high social status, authentic architecture, unique with its activity areas and located in a valuable area. Beytepe Restorium is a niche project which is planned carefully with its every detail.

This concept puts all the comfort under owners' order, which is out of the ordinary with its modern design. Life in Beytepe Restorium is a sum of delicious times with the neighbors whom you shared the privileges of Beytepe Restorium.

“It is an inspiring life concept which you can find the marks of elite life.”

As it is seen in the above examples, there is an emphasis on modern and elite life which is full of privileges and these privileges are only shared with the neighbors

like you. Although most features of gated communities are presented in the brochures, these features are associated with the privileged, modern and elite life which offer its potential customers a life with the people like them. One of those projects which puts an emphasis on privileges is Sinpaş Altınoran. There are many concepts together in this project and even they market this project as “the biggest themed residential project of Turkey”. While many concepts are emphasized in the brochures like water, nature, social life, the language here is similar like other projects:

You will feel that you have a privileged life the moment you begin to live in the Coastal Mansions. Encountering the relaxing nature of water every time you look out of your window is only one of these privileges.

Especially this sentence is very important to understand the way they market the gated community projects: “This is Sinpaş Altınoran, a realm of privileges... I am with you to meet all your expectations and to provide you with better living.



**Figure 11** From the brochure of Sinpaş Altınoran

Urakent Elit Konutları is also one of those projects even in its name. “Elit” means elite in Turkish and the brochure of the project is full of emphasis on elite life such as:

A privileged life is rising. There are many details which give pleasure to your life in Urakent Elit Konutları which offers you a privileged life. The opportunities which are special to only you in Urakent Elit Konutları will improve your life quality at the top. (See Figure 12)



**Figure 12** From the brochure of Urakent Elit Konutları (A privileged life is rising)

These examples can be extended and examples of this language can be found nearly for all the projects analyzed in this study. What needs to be underlined then is the similarities between the projects. Their marketing brochures are emphasizing nearly the same points like the existence of green spaces, security measures, parking lots, sports and shopping centers, closeness to important roads and places but still they are

emphasizing that they are the only ones offering different, special, privileged, modern and elite life style to its customers. Words like “privileged”, “modern”, “elite”, “special”, “unique”, “best” are repeated many times in the marketing brochures. It is important that they are promising to change/increase life style/life standards of people with the facilities they offered. What they promised for people is more than buying a house. They are also selling exclusion to their potential customers (Glasze, 2005). In this respect, these gated communities fit the club good theory of Buchanan. The consumption of specific goods in gated communities is based on the membership and in this membership; emphasis is on the exclusion (Buchanan, 1965). They are marketed mostly by this way because the potential attractiveness of gated communities is not the facilities they offered but exclusive access of these facilities to only its residents.

In a nutshell, the language used in marketing material of gated communities has a very segregationist tone. Dwelling units are now beyond being a shelter, they are part of consumption culture and they are commoditized and sold. Especially, there is a commoditization of public space which normally opens to everyone but in gated communities the main motivation is to make people feel that the privileges are just for them and the public spaces are not for everyone but for the people who can afford to buy it.

As a result, to have a deeper understanding of the language employed in advertisements, in-depth interviews made in gated community projects sales offices.

#### **4.2. Gated Communities: In-Depth Interviews**

The case study method employed combines an analysis of the discourse that is embedded in the marketing media of gated communities and interviews with the developing firms’ sales offices. Both multiple choice and open-ended questions are used in the interviews (See Appendix A). Although there are different kinds of gated communities especially in terms of the ways of their marketing and marketing catchphrases, they are categorized based on the some indicators to choose which

ones will be visited. Although they emphasize different aspects in their marketing materials such as new life, nature, dream, privileges, when it is analyzed what they have it is seen that they have very similar features. They are examined based on their marketing materials. They are categorized according to concepts such as the closeness to important points like hospital, shopping mall, bus station, security measures, social amenities, shared areas, and number of rooms they have but there is no significant difference among different marketing materials. They are also examined in terms of number of dwelling units, number of buildings and total construction area and finally it was decided to categorize based on the number of dwelling units they have as this variable has been the only significant difference between the selected gated communities.

**Table 3 Gated Communities According to Number of Dwelling Units They Have**

<i>Name of the Gated Community</i>	<i>Number of Dwelling Units</i>
Perge Duru Konutları	42
Almila Evleri	42
Vadi 5000 Sitesi	42
Rüya Kent Sitesi	44
Beytepe Restorium	65
Batı Yakası Konutları	129
Mesa Çamlıpark Evleri	136
AnkaModern	153
Doğa Park	156
312 Ulusoy City	160
Elit Yaşam Konutları 3	168
Ankara Ankara Projesi	184
AnkaNatura	191
Mirage Bahçe Konutları	202
Urankent Elit Konutları	204
Besa Nova evleri	224
Atakent Evleri	348
Vega Park Konutları	377
Beysupark	559
Bahçe'n Eryaman	618
ParkOran Konutları	1832
Ankara Golfkent	2640
Sinpaş Altın Oran	2647



As a result, based on the categorization according to number of dwelling units the gated communities have, one or two gated community was visited from each category. Their sales offices were visited during working hours and sales officers answered the questions.

#### **4.2.1. Results of In-Depth Interviews**

After an analysis of the in-depth interviews done with the selected gated communities' sales offices, it is found out that although only remarkable difference between their marketing materials was the number of dwelling units, this difference did not reveal any significant conclusion. Because of that, results of in-depth interviews were given under single heading.

There are substantial similarities between the gated communities which are composed of dwelling units until 100. Sales officers answered the question of what it is expected from a gated community project by emphasizing that they are *boutique projects* which are designed for small group of people. One of the sales officer said that "This is a boutique project. We love boutique projects because we would like to offer comfortable living spaces which endowed with social facilities." As a result, it was decided to call this group of gated communities as boutique projects.

First significant thing is the security perception of these projects. There are really high security measures such as fingerprints to access buildings, security personnel; hidden camera system around the walls and within the gated community and entrance to the gated community is only possible with the confirmation of homeowner. However, while sales officers were explaining their security measures, they emphasized that these measures are now in everywhere. These are not specific features of gated communities anymore and security measures are prerequisite for gated communities. They said that people are not asking for security measures anymore because when they come to buy a house from a gated community they know that there are already security measures. One of the sales officers said this:

The security measures are now in everywhere. Even in the worst neighborhoods, there are security measures in buildings. There is no need to take this as criteria for gated communities. Security is not a privilege anymore, it is a necessity.

From the point of target customer group, they both said that there are not many dwelling units left and they both underlined that they were not selling dwelling units to everybody. As a target customer group, they want to sell dwelling units to the people who have high degree of education level. What the one of the sales officers say about this subject is important to understand these project's potential customers:

We do not want to sell dwelling units to everyone. We choose the customers. Our target customer group is the moderate people. We do not like extremes. We sell dwelling units to the families who are like us. These are not really high class people; it is mostly the middle class like engineers.

Another sales officer emphasized the nearly similar points:

Life standards are important for the people. When the customers come here, they ask that "who will be my neighbor?" We are paying attention to this. We do not sell dwelling units to everybody who has money. All our customers have high education level.

This is an important point especially in terms of understanding the perception of people who work in the sales office of the gated communities. Emphasis on upper-middle class is also significant because the price of these dwelling units vary between 500 thousand TL and 2 million TL. When it is asked how come it is possible for middle class people to buy such a house, one of the sales officers said that "it is up to you what you understand from middle class."

Another significant point is this group of gated communities differs from the larger ones especially in terms of marketing methods. They said that they are not really interested in marketing methods because people already know their projects and they do not really want everybody to come. They want to choose the customers and many people come to visit their offices by a reference of old customers.

When the multiple choice questions for this group of gated communities are analyzed it seems that prestige and the location of the gated community seem to be the most important things in terms of both sales success and opportunities offered by the gated

communities to its potential customers. Boutique projects are constructed in huge areas but the total number of dwelling units are low so total area per house is more than other projects and sales officers emphasized this point by saying:

We could construct more dwelling units in this area but we do not prefer this because small projects bring more money and prestige. This is a future investment. People do not prefer to live in crowd.

Another sales officer said that: “Now, people understand that living in mass housing is not good. Now, boutique projects are popular and people who invest in this will earn in future.”

The location of the gated community for these boutique projects is also important like the prestige and privileges. According to them, the location of the gated community is the most important thing because it does not matter for people how much they like the project if they do not like the location. All of the boutique projects analyzed in this study are really located alongside the Eskişehir Highway in Çayyolu Region which is most prestigious area in terms of the housing projects and the one is located in very close to city center of Ankara.

In terms of the marketing material, it is seen that these boutique projects are emphasizing privileges and the prestige more than others. The marketing catchphrase of Beytepe Restorium is that “there are no standards, all dwelling units are personal.” Vadi 5000 Project also underlines the privileges. Its main marketing catchphrase is “privileged life promise of Vadi 5000”.

When the interviews with the sales officers of gated communities which have dwelling units between 100 and 200 (medium sized gated communities<sup>6</sup>) are analyzed, some differences from the boutique projects stand out. First, when it is asked why your firm made an investment to the construction sector, they mostly emphasized that this sector is profitable and because of that they construct more dwelling units.

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<sup>6</sup> Thereafter it will be used the “medium-sized gated communities” in terms of gated communities which have dwelling units between 100 – 200.

When you start to build such a project, it brings you more profit than other sectors. This is a huge investment and there is a demand from society.

The same sales officer also said that it is possible to construct fewer dwelling units but the projects are profit-oriented and constructing more dwelling units is better for the firms.

Second, security concept and security measures for the marketing of dwelling units are more important for the medium-sized gated communities. The importance of security is emphasized by the sales officers both as a marketing strategy and as an important factor for people's choice to buy a house from a gated community.

There are both security personnel and surveillance camera system in our gated community. The entrances are depended upon the confirmation of homeowners. Today, security measures are the most important thing for gated communities because this is important for families.

Another sales officer underlined the same point while she is explaining the security measures.

The whole gated community is monitored with 48 cameras and it is all recorded. There are also security personnel and entrance to the buildings is encrypted. In the bathrooms, there are panic buttons. Security is one of the primary concerns of people in choosing a place to live in. People are curious about the security measures.

One of the sales officers answered the question of why people choose to live in gated communities as such:

“The most important feature of these communities is that they are closed and surrounded by walls. People want to live in such places.”

The social amenities and their effect on people's choice is the most underlined point for the medium-sized gated communities. All sales officers emphasized this. Because of the social amenities people do not need to go outside of gated communities. They can reach everything within the gated communities.

One of the sales officers answered the question of what expected from a gated community and what is the perception of the gated community of the construction firm by emphasizing the social amenities.

We aim to build dwelling units which have 24 hours security and everything in it. We do not want people need to go outside.

Another sales officer answered the question of differences between apartments and gated communities with similar emphasis on social amenities.

There are a lot of differences between two but the first thing come to my mind is social amenities and security. An apartment cannot provide you anything but in a gated community you can reach everything such as sports center, play gardens, markets. You do not need to go outside of the community.

The other sales officer again emphasized the same point while also underlining the prestige of the gated communities especially in terms of living people who have similar backgrounds. The existence of privacy demand and “avoiding day-to-day random incivilities and random social contact” reveal itself here (Güzey and Özcan, 2010, p.365):

People want to live and socialize in gated communities because you can have decent friends in here. Everything is inside of the gated community. No need to go outside.

Prestige and privileges also become something important in medium-sized projects like the boutique projects. All sales officers emphasized that their projects are for the upper-middle class or high class people and the money is not the only important thing. Education level of people and their cultural level also emphasized. It is significant that the language used here was substantially discriminative. One of the sales officers answered questions that which region of Ankara is favorable for the housing projects as such:

Beytepe, İncek and Ümitköy. Customers of Batıkent do not come here and our customers do not go there. People of here are elite and this neighbor is too. Certainly, you will have neighbors but having neighbors like Doctor Mr. Ali, Engineer Ms. Ayşe is important for our customers.

The same sales officers answered the question of target customer group as people who have high income level but she then added to that they are also educated people.

“Our target customer group is composed of people who have high income level. They are educated people like doctors, engineers. People do not pay money just for dwelling units, they are also paying for the environment

because of this their neighbors are important for them. If there is a standard in your life, you seek for it and if you have opportunity you increase your standards.”

Another sales officer answered the same question likewise.

Our target customer group is mostly engineers, architectures, academicians which means not only people who have money but also educated people are our customers. In any case, customers are asking who my neighbor will be. People want to live people like them. Our project is for high class people. Everybody who has just money cannot buy a house from here.

When it is asked why you choose this region to construct your project, one of the sales officers said that to construct such a project you should look at people’s income and culture level because otherwise you cannot sell your dwelling units and they construct here because education and income level of people in here are suitable for their project. Again potential customers are described as high class people in this project too. In terms of marketing strategies and success of a housing project, sales officers of the medium-sized gated communities mostly emphasized prestige and privileges as the most important thing. They also underlined the importance of marketing strategies to reach potential customers and they said that they mostly use billboards, internet and newspaper advertisements as an advertisement method. In terms of better marketing method to reach potential customers they said that billboards, internet and internet advertisement are more efficient. One of the sales officers underlined that people waste most of their time in the internet and traffic so billboards and internet are easier ways to reach customers.

The five of the selected projects have dwelling units vary between 200 and 500. Three of them are around 200 and 250 and two of them are around 300 and 400. While the number of dwelling units is increasing, emphasis on prestige and privileges are moving to social amenities and security but the selling of new life with privileges and prestige still dominant themes in marketing material. However, the content of interviews is slightly changing.

For gated communities which have dwelling units between 200 and 500 again emphasis is more on social amenities and security. In terms of sales success of gated

communities, social amenities become important. One of the sales officers said that people care about social amenities even if they do not use. When it is asked the future demand for gated communities, sales officer said that it is all about the security and social amenities. She said that although their dwelling units are not very luxury, people choose their project because of security and social amenities. The existence of social amenities again emphasized in terms of fulfills the needs within the gated community. One of the sales officers explained this as such:

Security and social amenities especially shopping centers are very important for people. For the people living in apartments you can provide security to some extent but you cannot find the social amenities in apartments. In here, you do not need to go outside. Everything is within easy reach. Here is away from city center 30 km but people do not worry about the distance because they want to have social amenities offered by the gated community.

High class people are defined as a target customer group for this group of gated communities too. When it is asked what kind of people are buying dwelling units from here, doctors, engineers and members of army are listed which means that education level of people again becomes something important.

What is significant for these group of gated communities is that they are not horizontal projects. They are mostly composed of multi-storey buildings different from boutique projects. For example, in Mirage Bahçe Konutları there are 4 buildings which are totally composed of 202 dwelling units. In Atakent Evleri there are 6 buildings composed of 348 dwelling units.

Security measures are again reflected as one of the most important things for people's choice. One of the sales officers said that their customers are mostly families with kids and parents want their children to play safely.

In terms of marketing strategies, newspaper advertisements, billboards and the internet are mostly expressed as a better method to reach potential customers but no need for big investment for marketing is also said by some of the sales officers. One of the sales officers said this:

As a matter of fact, we did marketing only through our web site and answering e-mails. We did not use advertisements much. All the potential customers come here either our old customers or customers coming by a reference of old customers. People already know us, so we do not need marketing.

There are 5 gated communities which have dwelling units more than 500 within the selected gated communities. Three of them have dwelling unit over thousand. Although the number of dwelling units increase, the prices do not fall down and even in these projects privileges and prestige is the most important thing both for sales and marketing.

In terms of sales success, they noted that prestige is the most important thing and beside that location, social amenities and security are important too but the prestige always expressed as the first thing in terms of privileges and opportunities offered by gated communities. One of the sales officers said that it is not possible to order factors like prestige, location, social amenities in terms of sales success because all of them are important and not the one is more important than others. Every customer has a different expectation and all of them are expected from a gated community. However, emphasis on prestige showed itself in answers to different questions in different ways which means that although they emphasized all the factors as something important for a gated community, prestige has a different place within them. When it is asked why people choose to live in a gated community, one of the sales officers said this:

Prestige becomes prominent at this point. People want to live in a prestigious place and also want to trust to the construction firm. That's why when people buy a house; they prefer prestigious and reliable firms.

The same sales officer also expressed that people choose their firm because of its prestige and the location of the gated community. He answered the question of differences between apartments and gated communities nearly in the same way:

This kind of places offers you a living space. There is everything in it. You are living in a privileged and prestigious space. An apartment cannot provide any of them.

Another sales officer answered the same question as such:



Firstly, there is security in here and then there is a harmony between neighbors. You cannot find this in an apartment. As a third point, there are quietness and peace in gated communities.

Security is also explained as an important factor for people to choose in a gated community but like the other interviews security is not the first important thing neither for this kind of gated communities. One of the sales officers noted importance of security measures as such:

All the entrances to the gated community will be possible only through card or finger print. Beside this, there will be camera systems and security personnel. If you ask how much security affects the people's choice to buy a house from here, I say it depends because these things are related with the people's expectations. Generally it is the second or third important variable.

For the same question, another sales officer said that security measures are important for people but in multiple choice questions she did not mention security as first or second important factor.

Although this group of gated communities has more dwelling units than others, prices do not really fall down and target customer group again emphasized as high class people for these projects. One of the sales officers answered the question of target customer group as such:

In this project, even the price of 1+1 dwelling units starts from 250 thousand TL. Imagine the price of the dwelling units. This project is for upper class people.

In terms of marketing, prestige, privileges and green spaces mentioned as the most important things. The location of the gated community is also important. When it asked which methods are better than others billboards, newspaper advertisements and television advertisement are defined as useful methods to reach potential customers.

Marketing methods which have visual images in it is the most efficient and easiest ones to grab the attention of customers. In that sense, billboards and television advertisements are better than others

In the interviews, they also said that they used different kind of marketing methods to publicize their projects. This is different than other groups of gated communities because there are at least 500 dwelling units needed to be sold.

Marketing is important for us to reach potential customers. We used different marketing methods. For example, we open stands in shopping malls and we distribute out brochures. If you are not interested in, somebody else see our brochures through you. Billboards were very effective in this process too. Then newspaper advertisements and internet become.

#### **4.2.2. Overall Remarks Based on Interviews**

Based on the results of interviews, there are some points need to be emphasized. Although the selected gated communities categorized and visited according to number of dwelling units they have, they do not really differ from each other based on this categorization. There are some similarities and also differences so it is better to analyze all of them together to have a notion about the language employed by sales officers.

The first important thing is the special emphasis of the sales officers about the target customer group. During all interviews, sales officers defined the target customer group as high income group and they also emphasized that their customers' education level is high too. They also said that they mostly choose the customers and the money is not the sole thing to buy a house from their gated community. This issue is underlined more in boutique projects but sales officers noted the same point in different ways in other projects too. One of the examples of this is sayings about the neighbors. Sales officers said that people are curious about their neighbors and they want to live with people like them. One of sales officers even defined their customers as "decent people" who are like them. The same issue has found itself a place in different questions. Sales officers while they were answering the question of differences between apartments and gated communities mentioned similarities between people living in gated communities. One of the sales officers said that it is not possible to choose neighbors in apartments but in gated communities you can choose your neighbors. At this point, it is easy to remark that language used by sales officers is really discriminative. While they are explaining the target customer group they always emphasized the income, education and cultural level of people. They underlined the point that having money to buy a house from a gated community is not enough for them. They also noted the importance of having decent "neighbors" like doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers and they said that people care about this

very much. These remarks are also confirmed in the study of Vesselinov (2012) as education is stated to work as a segregation mechanism.

The second thing is the perception of prestige and privileges. Many of the sales officers had difficulty to answer multiple choice questions. For example when it is asked to order opportunities and facilities offered by their gated communities such as social life, comfort, security, sport activities, green spaces, location, parking lots, playgrounds, prestige and privileges, they really hesitate to order them because most of them said that they have all of them in their gated communities. Indeed, when their marketing materials are analyzed the same conclusion is seen because all the gated communities market their dwelling units with same facilities and opportunities. None of them have different opportunities from others. Even they are located in different parts of the city, the closeness to important services like hospitals, schools and shopping malls are emphasized in all of them. On the other hand, when they ordered facilities they pronounced prestige and privileges as the first important thing. Prestige and privileges also pronounced as the most important thing both for sales and marketing success. However, when it is asked what their privileges are they mostly ordered the facilities offered by the gated community project which really are not different from other projects. Beside these facilities, most of the sales officers noted the importance of trust to construction firm. In a nutshell, prestige and privileges showed up as the most and first important thing for a gated community but when it is analyzed the core of prestige and privileges, nothing stand out to give the meaning of it. They do not really mention something different when it is asked to what they meant from prestige and privileges. In this respect, the visited gated community projects are mostly in the group of prestige communities as it is defined by Blakely and Snyder (1997). (See Table 1) They are mostly the symbols of wealth and status for its residents (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). As it is carefully noted by Blakely and Snyder (1997), the visited projects are offering prestige, privacy and privileges by separating the most affluent in the society. In-depth interviews done with the sales officers confirm this. Emphasis on educational background of the residents, emphasis on prestige and privileges by sales officers are clear examples of this situation. The visited gated communities focus on exclusivity over community

like prestige type gated communities defined by Blakely and Snyder (1997). The content analysis based on location affirms the findings of in-depth interviews in this regard. The selected gated communities are mostly the prestige type of gated communities and even the lifestyle projects visited during this study emphasized prestige and privileges different from their marketing materials.

The third important thing is the security measures and the importance of security for gated communities. Many of the literature on gated communities rest on the security concerns of people and the relation of it with gated communities. Indeed, previous researches have shown that there is a relation between security concerns of people and their choice to live in gated communities. In this study, security concerns and security measures were included in research and the findings in this regard are important in terms of literature. There is high level of security measures in all of the gated communities such as access to buildings with finger prints, panic buttons in bathroom, surveillance camera system in and out of the gated communities, security personnel etc. However it was noted that security measures are not the primary concerns of people anymore. It is emphasized that these security measures are now in apartments too. These are not peculiar to gated communities and when it is asked the importance of security what they said was important. It was emphasized by many sales officers that people are not asking for security measures because when they come to buy a house from a gated community they know that these measures already exist. So, security listed mostly as second or third important thing for a gated community. Even some of the sales officers did not take into account it. Table 2 (p.58) is also compatible with this finding. When gated communities were grouped according to typology of them (Table 1), it was observed that there is no security type of gated communities in terms of their marketing material.

The fourth and last point is about the marketing and marketing methods. As a marketing method, it is obvious that billboards, internet advertisements and newspaper advertisements are the mostly pronounced ones. It is underlined that internet has a growing significance because people spend most of their time in internet. Although some methods were mentioned more than others, many of the

sales officers said that they do not use marketing methods much because they do not need it which means that there is enough demand for housing sector. Sales officers also said that people who come to their sales offices are mostly old customers or references of them. They emphasized that their firms are recognized and people are coming because they trust them. None of them gave so much credit to their marketing and marketing methods. They said that it is of course important but it is understood in the research that they can already reaching their potential customers without marketing. Even some of them intentionally do not market their projects because they do not want everybody to come to buy a house. One of the sales officers said that they want to choose who will live in their project so they do not want everybody to come to look at their project.

#### **4.3.Results of the Case Study**

In this study, the answer to the question of whether or not gated communities through advertisements are creating a segregationist language was sought. To better articulate this question, some of the gated communities are selected and their marketing materials are analyzed. Moreover, some of the selected gated communities' sales offices were visited and in-depth interviews were made with the sales officers.

There is a huge literature on the segregationist tendencies of gated communities and through this study it is noted that created social fragmentation by gated communities is legitimize by marketing discourses presented by media and the language used in marketing and selling processes of gated communities has a segregationist tone in it. Results of the case study, to some extent, affirm this.

It is found out that marketing material of the selected gated communities mostly rests on the differences and privileges although there are different concepts used as main marketing themes such as nature, new life, dreams etc. Marketing strategies of gated communities rest on the theme of a distinct life style. This emphasis is validated by interviews with the sales officers of the selected gated community projects.

Today, gated communities are commoditized and sold mostly as “lifestyle projects” which is confirmed by this study too. Marketing catchphrases of gated communities

revolve around distinctness; different and better life for the residents and “this sold new life” offer its residents privileges which others do not have. There are ever-repeating images, words and discourses in the marketing materials of gated communities which symbolically reconstruct language of segregation and this leads to re-legitimization of physical segregation of gated communities within the urban form. Gated communities marketed as an object of consumer culture through the advertisements become areas walled, protected, privileged and full of opportunities only offered for their residents. Consumer culture shows them as if full of people’s needs in order to sell them and this commodification processes are constructed upon a segregationist language. People start to feel that they need the life offered by gated communities even they do not use any of the opportunities of them. One of the sentences of a sales officer is really a good example of this: “People want to buy dwelling units from here even if they do not use the facilities offered by gated communities.”

In a nutshell, results of the case study overlap with the hypothesis of this study. The sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements lies on a segregationist language. This is both seen in content analysis of catchphrases and in-depth interviews with the sales officers. The commodification and aestheticization practices of consumer culture strengthen the already existing physical barriers of gated communities within the minds of people.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The concept of gated community is not a new phenomenon in terms of urban life and scholars have been discussing the effects of gated communities on urban life from different angles, which was tried to be summarized in the first chapter of this study. However, this study problematized the relationship between consumer culture and gated communities from the perspective of dominant discourse and used language in the advertisements of gated communities. Although there are some studies to reveal the link between the consumer culture theory and gated communities, in this study commodification and marketing processes of gated communities were analyzed to see the relation between discourse of advertisements on gated communities and gated communities' segregationist tendencies. In other words, this study highlighted whether or not the language employed in the marketing materials of gated communities creates a segregationist language.

The space, as a main product of the architecture, is an object produced and it is also consumed in social practices (Yırtıcı, 2002), which means that space is more than being an object of consumption. In this study gated communities, which is one of the contemporary forms of housing provision, are analyzed as an area for the consumption activities and the potential of advertisement on gated communities to effect the perception of people was elaborated. Commodification and marketing processes of gated communities are actualized through the representational media of housing and through this segregationist language and discourse become legitimate. To say something on this area, the concept of gated community within the urban form is discussed both theoretically and historically. Then the theory of consumer culture and the link between gated communities as new consumption spaces of global capital and advertisement industry were revealed. To make the argument concrete, marketing of 23 gated communities in Ankara was considered. Analyzing the case studies, the study showed that commodification and marketing processes of gated communities were built upon the segregationist language and the marketing themes of gated communities both explicitly and implicitly were referring to differences, privileges and distinct life style.

There are many forms of housing provision within the cities but the one of the most dominant ones is the gated communities and even there are many types of gated communities based on the features they have and the consumer group they addressed. Although the gated communities have existed for a long time, it became widespread around the late 1970s as housing units because of the acceleration of real estate speculation, the change in economic structure and effects of globalization. The effects of gated communities on urban life were seen mostly after this time because the globalization and change in economic structure of the world turned the space into a commoditized object. Housing forms became objects to be produced and sold. Theoretical debate at this point led the way to analyze literature on gated communities. The literature on gated communities mostly rests on three discussions, which are demand-side, supply-side and critical one. The critical literature on gated communities is mostly based on the idea that gated communities lead to urban social segregation (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Le Goix, 2003; Roitman, 2005) and this perspective on gated communities drove my study to the field of analyzing the urban social segregation from the perspective of commodification and marketing of gated communities.

To analyze the above mentioned issue, it is crucial to know and understand the emergence of gated communities in Turkey. The rise of gated communities as a housing form began in Turkey around in 1980s to satisfy the needs of “upper middle class” as it was happened in all of over the world. The replacement of import substitution economic model with the encouragement of export under the leadership of the private sector affected urban form (Uzun, 2007). Urban land turned into a profitable area to invest and large-scale housing projects took the place of build-and-sell entrepreneurs (Türel, 1996). The government also intervened in the market and established regulatory administration which is Mass Housing Administration and the structure established by the government led private companies to involve housing market more although its aim was providing houses for low income groups.

Maybe the cities as living entities are the ones most affected by globalization and by the shift in economic structure of world around 1980s. Transition from Fordist



economy to the period of flexible accumulation, deregulation of financial markets, privatization and the reorganization of global financial system affected people, their lives and consumption patterns because this transition accelerated the consumption culture. Consumption turned to be a precondition for the growth of production. While the post-Fordist capitalist production has widening its sphere, the aestheticization of commodities accompanied it (Raposo, 2006). At this period, the value in the use of goods lost its meaning but prestige and status of purchased item became important. This means that people consumed objects for not its use-value, but for what it signifies (Baudrillard; 1998). Artificial use value of commodities became more important than their original use value. This also led people to differentiate themselves from others. This change both in economy and in consumption patterns of people has affected the discipline of architecture too. Space also turned into a commodity to be produced and sold. Social marking of space became more important than other objects (Baudrillard, 1998). To that end, advertisement industry as an important accelerator of the consumer culture became an important tool to highlight the symbolic values of housing provision. Marketing took the leading role to construct the consumer society. However, the aim in this study was not to analyze consumption patterns of people but to understand how segregationist discourse on gated communities through the channels of a specific media – brochures and catalogs’ of gated communities – has shown itself and legitimized.

Departing from the role of consumer culture and aestheticization and commodification practices of gated communities, the segregationist tendencies and the dominant discourse in advertisements of gated communities were questioned to understand how already existed physical segregation of gated communities showed itself on marketing materials. Advertising rhetoric employed in the sales of gated communities in Ankara and interviews with the sales officers of gated communities were chosen as a method for this analysis.

As a result, this study contributed to critical literature on gated communities by examining the role of advertising and marketing material of gated communities to

discursively construct the segregationist image which strengthen the already existed physical and social segregation in urban life. Existed physical barriers of gated communities are strengthened implicitly by the marketing material of gated communities. Major conclusions were reached, according to the case study which is composed of analysis of marketing materials of gated communities and interviews done with the sales officers, can be listed as;

- As a result of the mapping of gated communities according to their construction site addresses, the area of Eskişehir Highway came up as the most preferred region for the construction of gated communities. This situation affirms the rising popularity of Eskişehir Highway after the turn in economic structure of Turkey and change in housing provisions (Keyder, 2000).
- When the selected gated communities are analyzed according to location of them, it is observed that gated communities which are located in Oran are mostly the prestige type of gated communities while other gated communities that are in Eryaman and Çayyolu region are composed of prestige and lifestyle type of gated communities.
- When the selected gated communities are analyzed according to general typology of gated communities, it is seen that the most of the selected gated communities are prestige type of gated communities.
- When the selected gated communities main marketing catchphrases are analyzed, three themes showed themselves recurrently, which are the concepts of “new life”, “nature” and “dream”. When the recurrent themes are systematically and deeply analyzed, it was seen that these different themes are associated with privileges and differences. These concepts somehow connected to privileged world of gated communities in marketing materials.
- The outcomes of the case study, clearly illustrates that although in every project different themes and concepts for marketing of gated communities is used, the features listed in brochures of gated communities are nearly the same like green spaces, security, parking lots, sport centers etc.

- The language used in the advertisements of gated communities has clearly segregationist tone and while gated communities are produced, commoditized and sold, main motivation is to make people feel that they will be privileged and different when they buy dwelling units from gated communities. In this respect, it was turned out to be that selected gated communities are in the groups of prestige communities (See Table 1).
- In terms of the interviews, privileges, prestige and differences were more pronounced than security concerns nearly in all of the projects. Security which was thought to be one of the most important reasons for people to move in gated communities played no role. In-depth interviews were affirmed by the results of content analysis. According to categorization of selected gated communities based on the typology of Blakely and Snyder (1997), it was observed that there is no security type of gated communities.
- Using discriminative language while defining the target customer groups were observed in all visited gated communities. People living in gated communities defined as “decent” and “elite” and it is noted that having money to buy a house was not enough. Target customer group identified as people who have high-income, education and cultural level.
- This study has highlighted that while prestige and privileges are mostly mentioned both in advertisements of gated communities and in interviews, it has been seen that in terms of the features gated communities are not different from each other. There is nothing to stand out to give meaning of prestige and privileges.
- One of the most important conclusions arrived through the help of this study is on security motivation of people to choose gated communities. Many of the literature on gated communities rest on the security concerns of people, which are confirmed by previous studies. Security motivations of people were pronounced as one of the most important things for people to choose to live in gated communities. In this study, it is found out that although there is a high level of security measures in all of the gated communities ranging from

security cameras to security personnel, security measures are not the primary concerns of people anymore.

- In terms of the marketing and marketing methods of gated communities, billboards and internet advertisement are used mostly for their potential to reach more audience. However, it was noted that marketing was not so crucial because of the already existing demand for houses.
- Overall, the hypothesis of this study, the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements lies on a segregationist language, was affirmed, to some extent, by the result of case study.

Based on these results, this study can open new doors for future studies which are elaborating the relation between the sign-value of gated communities created by consumer culture and actualized through the advertisements and its potential effect on people living in gated communities. There is no doubt that advertisement industry, which is an important tool of capitalism, has important effects on both people's choices and lives. Urban sphere, where different segments of society live together, for this industry is an important arena to show itself and change people consumption behaviors. Advertisements are now in everywhere of cities and space as a commoditized object of architecture is taking its share from this industry. All images and words used in advertisements of gated communities need attention to understand implicitly constructed discourses and subtle messages. While urban sphere has been separated by barriers and walls of gated communities, understanding whether or not their advertisements are strengthening the perception of these physical barriers in minds is important to have a sense about potential future about cities.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER 4

*Ankara'daki Seçili Kapalı Konut Alanlarının Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme  
Metni*

#### ***Firma Hakkında***

- *Firmanın adı:*
- *Adresi:*
- *Telefonu:*
- *Web Adresi:*
- *Firmanın konut sektörüne giriş yılı:*

#### ***Firmanın Kapalı Konut Alanı Anlayışı***

- *Firmanızın kapalı konut alanı (konut sitesi) anlayışı nedir? Yani, size göre bir konut sitesinden beklenen nedir ve nasıl olmalıdır?*

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- *Firmanızın kapalı konut alanlarına (konut sitelerine) yatırım yapma nedeni nedir?*

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- *Bir kapalı konut alanının (konut sitesinin) satış başarısı sizce hangi faktörlere bağlıdır? Önem sırasına göre sıralayınız.*

- ✓ *Prestij*
- ✓ *Lokasyon (Önemli yerlere yakınlık gibi)*
- ✓ *Çevre (Etrafındaki yerleşmelerin yapısı, yeşil alanlar vb.)*
- ✓ *Güvenlik*
- ✓ *Sunduğu olanaklar (Spor ve yaşam alanları, sosyal faaliyetler, otopark, çocuk oyun parkları gibi)*
- ✓ *Diğer (varsa belirtiniz...)*

- *Bu tür konut yerleşmelerine olan talebin gelecekte nasıl şekilleneceğini düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?*
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- *Kapalı konut alanları (konut siteleri) bakımında Ankara'nın en gözde ve gelişmekte olan bölgesi sizce neresi? Neden?*
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- *Sizce kapalı konut alanında (konut sitesinde) oturmakla herhangi bir apartman dairesi arasında oturmak arasında ne gibi farklar mevcuttur?*
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- *İnsanların kapalı konut alanlarını (konut sitelerini) seçmelerindeki temel kriter sizce nedir?*
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### ***Seçili Kapalı Konut Alanı Hakkında***

- *Proje Adı:*
- *Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi:*
- *Proje Yeri:*
- *Toplam Alan:*
- *Şu anki durumu:*

- *Firmanız tarafından üretilen kapalı konut alanı (konut sitesi) projesinin özellikleri nelerdir?*

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- *Firmanızın müşterilerine sunduğu kapalı konut alanında öne çıkan imkânlar nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre belirleyiniz.*

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✓ *Sosyal Yaşam*.....

✓ *Konfor*.....

✓ *Güvenlik*.....

✓ *Sportif Faaliyetler*.....

✓ *Yeşil Alanlar*.....

✓ *Lokasyon*.....

✓ *Otopark Hizmeti*.....

✓ *Çocuk Oyun Alanları*.....

✓ *Prestij ve Ayrıcalıklar...* .....

✓ *Diğer (Varsa belirtiniz)* .....

- *Bu projeyi diğer konut projelerinden ayıran özellik ya da özellikler nelerdir?*

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- *Bu projenin hedef kitlesi olarak kimleri görüyorsunuz?*

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- *Proje için neden bu bölgeyi seçtiniz? Bu bölgenin seçiminde hangi kriterler öne çıkmaktadır?*

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- *Projeye yapılması planlanan toplam konut sayısı belirlenirken hangi kriterler göz önünde tutuldu?*

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- *Proje geliştirilirken kapalı konut alanına (konut sitesine) girişler için öngörülen güvenlik önlemleri nelerdir? Sizce güvenlik faktörü insanların konut seçiminde ne kadar önem taşıyor?*
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- *Bu kapalı konut projesinin kişiye özel sunduğu ayrıcalıklar var mıdır? Varsa nelerdir?*
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- *Firmanızın bugüne kadar gerçekleştirmiş olduğu başka kapalı konut alanı (konut sitesi) projesi var mı? Varsa, bu proje diğer projelerinizden hangi özellikleriyle ayrılmaktadır?*
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- *Bu konut projesi tasarlanırken örnek alınan uygulanmış projelerden yararlanıldı mı? Varsa bu projeler hangileridir?*
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### ***Pazarlama Hakkında***

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi:*
  - *Projenin pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmenizin nedeni nedir?*
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- *Projenin pazarlanmasında vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı var mı? Varsa nedir?*
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- *Firmanız tarafından üretilen projenin pazarlama sürecinde hangi kriterlerin öne çıktığını söyleyebilirsiniz?*

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- *Aşağıda yer alan kriterleri bu konut projesinin pazarlaması açısından önem sırasına göre sıralayınız.*

- ✓ *Yeşil alan*
- ✓ *Spor alanları*
- ✓ *Güvenlik*
- ✓ *Otopark*
- ✓ *Çocuk oyun alanları*
- ✓ *Lokasyon (Hastane, okul gibi önemli yerlere yakınlık)*
- ✓ *Sosyal Yaşam*
- ✓ *Konfor*
- ✓ *Prestij ve ayrıcalıklar*
- ✓ *Diğer (varsa belirtiniz)*

- *Satış yapmayı planladığınız hedef kitleye ulaşabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz?*
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- *Pazarlama için tercih ettiğiniz reklam biçimleri nelerdir?*

- ✓ *Gazete ilanı*
- ✓ *Gazete broşürü*
- ✓ *Televizyon*
- ✓ *Radyo*
- ✓ *İnternet*
- ✓ *Billboard*
- ✓ *E-mail*

- ✓ Telefon
- ✓ Diğer (Varsa belirtiniz)

- Bu projenin pazarlanması için ayrılan bütçe ne kadardır?

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- Hangi pazarlama biçiminin müşteriye ulaşma konusunda kolaylık yarattığını düşünüyorsunuz?

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- Satış ofisinize gelen potansiyel müşterilerinizi projenizin en çok hangi özelliğinin çektiğini düşünüyorsunuz? Pazarlama stratejinizin bunda payı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

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- Satış ofisinize gelen potansiyel müşterileriniz projeye ilgili en çok hangi konuda bilgi talebinde bulunuyor?

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- Şimdiye kadar satış yaptığınız müşterileriniz projenizi en çok hangi özelliği dolayısıyla tercih etti?

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*Teşekkürler...*



## APPENDIX B

Name of the Gated Community	Number of Buildings and Houses	Number of Houses	Total Area	Closeness to Important Points	Security	Social Facilities	Number of Rooms
<b>Perge Duru Konutları</b>	3 building, 42 houses	42	14613 square meter	*	Security measures	Play gardens, walking trails, green spaces, decorative pools, cycle paths, parking lots	4+1
<b>Almila Eyleri</b>	24 villa, 18houses	42	17,050 square meter	*		*	4+1, 5+2
<b>Vadi 5000 Sitesi</b>	1 building, 42 houses	42	6,896 square meter	City center	Security measures	Green spaces, play gardens, fitness center, swimming pool, walking trails, sauna and basketball and volleyball courts, parking lots	Varies from 2+1 to 5+1
<b>Rüya Kent Sitesi</b>	2 building, 36 houses, 8 villa	44	15,317 square meter		Security measures	Green spaces, play gardens, swimming pools, walking trails, playfields, parking lots.	4+1 and duplex

<b>Beytepe Restorium</b>	12 villa, 3 penthouse villa, 8 dublex, 42 houses	65	21,500 square meter	Universities, schools, shopping malls, business centers, closeness to important roads.	Security measures	Green spaces, play gardens, walking trails, playfields, swimming pool, sauna, library, squash, meeting room, fitness center, mini cinema, parking lots.	Villa, duplex and 4+1
<b>Batı Yakası Konutları</b>	3 building, 129 houses	129	17,000 square meter	*	Security measures	Green spaces, walking trails, play gardens, fitness centers, parking lots	Varies from 2+1 to 5+1 and duplex
<b>Mesa Çamlıpark evleri</b>	4 building, 136 houses	136	16,000 square meter	Universities, closeness to Eskişehir Road	Security measures	Play gardens, walking trails, playfields, parking lots, fitness center, parking lots	2+1, 3+1, 4+1
<b>AnkaModern</b>	2 buildings, 153 houses	153	*	*	*	Shopping centers, walking trails, sport center, pools	Varies from 2+1 to 5+1
<b>Doğa Park</b>	3 buildings, 156 houses	156	17 square meter	*	Security measures	Green spaces, play gardens, fitness center, playfields, organic fruit garden, parking lots	4+1
<b>312 Ulusoy City</b>	3 building, 160 houses	160	*	*	Security measures	Decorative pools, play gardens, green spaces, playfields, fitness center, parking lots	5+1, 4+1, 2+1 and duplex

<b>Elit Yaşam Konutları 3</b>	4 building, 168 houses	168	21,000 square meter	*	Security measures	Green spaces, play gardens, playgrounds, walking trails, fitness center	3+1
<b>Ankara Ankara Projesi</b>	3 buildings, 184 houses	184	18,000 square meter	Universities, metro, bus station, city center, closeness to important roads	Security measures	Green spaces, playgrounds, play gardens, swimming pools, meeting room, walking trail, parking lots, fitness center, cycle path	2+1, 3+1, 4+1, 5+1
<b>AnkaNatura</b>	84 villas, 14 buildings	191	*	Universities, important roads, shopping malls, schools, hospitals	Security measures	Green spaces, fitness center, sauna, playgrounds, shopping areas, play gardens, cafes, swimming pools	Duplex and 2+1
<b>Mirage Bahçe Konutları</b>	4 buildings, 202 houses	202	13,800 square meter	Schools, hospitals, fair and congress centers, shopping malls	Security measures	Decorative pools, green spaces, walking trails, play gardens, cafes	2+1, 3+1, 4+1, 5+1
<b>Urankent Elit Konutları</b>	3 building, 204 houses	204	47,746 square meter	Schools, shopping malls, hospitals	Security measures	Green spaces, swimming pool, parking lots, play gardens, playgrounds	1+1, 2+1, 3+1, 4+1

<b>Besa Nova evleri</b>	3 buildings, 224 houses	224	23,000 square meter	Closeness to important roads	Security measures	Green spaces, decorative pools, play gardens, playgrounds, sport center, swimming pool	3+1, 4+1, 5+1, duplex
<b>Atakent Evleri</b>	6 buildings, 348 houses	348	*	Metro, hospitals and shopping malls	Security measures	Green spaces, playgrounds, play gardens, fitness center, walking trails, fruit gardens, animal farm	4+1
<b>Vega Park Konutları</b>	2 buildings, 377 houses	377	*	Highway, city center, airport	Security measures		From 1+1 to 6+1'e
<b>Beysupark</b>	Composed of villas and buildings	559	232,000 square meter	Shopping malls, entertainment areas, playgrounds	Security measures *	Sport center, play gardens, cafes, sauna, shopping center, swimming pools, playgrounds	3+1, 4+1, duplex
<b>Bahçe'n Eryaman</b>	9 buildings, 618 houses	618	*	Göksu Park and Metro	Security measure	Green spaces (botanic park), parking lots, playgrounds, shopping center	4+1
<b>ParkOran Konutları</b>	4 buildings, 1832 houses	1832	*	City center	Security measures	Green spaces, parking lots, swimming pools, playgrounds, play gardens, fitness center, reading rooms, restaurants	Varies from 1+1 to 5+1

<b>Ankara Golfkent</b>	12 buildings, 31 villa and 1 tower	2640	1 million 260 thousand square meter	Heliport, road of ambulance and fire station, universities and closeness to important roads *		Green spaces, sport centers, play gardens, playfields, golf fields, sauna, fitness center, walking trails, cycle paths, shopping centers, parking lots, lakes	Varies from 1+1 to 5+1
<b>Simpaş Altın Oran</b>	2647	2647	1 million 850 thousands square meter	*	Security measures	Green spaces, playfields, parking lots, swimming pools, decorative pools, play gardens, walking trails, lakes, fitness center, shopping center, cafes, restaurants	Varies from 1+1 to 6+1

\* Not Indicated in Brochures

## TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Karakaş

Adı : Handan

Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : GATED COMMUNITIES AND SIGN VALUE: LOGICS OF SEGREGATION IN THE CASE OF ANKARA

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**