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RESEARCH ARTICLE

New (Project) Housing and New Nuclear Families[*]

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Abstract

Due to our observations concerning changes in homes and families in Istanbul, we plan to address the societal effects of new (project) housing zones. Accordingly, two pertinent questions may be asked: (i) "Is there a relationship between housing plans and family types?", (ii) "Does housing environment affect the relationships between families and neighbors?" The first question addresses the issue from the micro-level whereas the second addresses it from the meso-level and asks whether houses are simply to be considered as a physical structure and whether houses interact with their environment. Existing literature addresses this issue from both of these levels. Using content analysis techniques, this study analyzes the frequencies of the messages attempted to be delivered through the texts and visuals of advertisements published in the Turkish daily newspaper Hürriyet over a one-year period spanning October 2015 to 2016. Upon evaluation, five themes emerge from the texts, indicating a new life style: (i) nature/green areas, (ii) housing development's milieu, (iii) quality, (iv) luxury, (v) prestige. As a result, it is thought that new housing zones are effective in helping new nuclear families not wanting solidarity with, responsibility to, or intervention from their environment to attain a new identity.

Keywords

House • Home • Family • New (project) housing • New nuclear families • Neighborhoods • Housing environments

Yeni (Proje) Konutlar ve Yeni Çekirdek Aileler
Öz

İstanbul'da evlerin ve ailelerin değişimiyle ilgili gözlemlerimiz nedeniyle, 'yeni (proje) konut alanlarını toplumsal etkileri üzerinden ele almayı planladık. Bu doğrulta iki soru sorulabileceği düşündük: (i) Konut planı ile aile tipi arasında ilişki olabilir mi? (ii) Konut çevresi, aileler ve komşular arası ilişkilerde etkili olabilir mi? Birinci soru mikro düzeyde konuya yaklaşırken ikinci soru mezo düzeyde konuya yaklaşmakta ve konutu sadece yapı olarak ele almamakta ve çevresiyle birlikte etkileşim unsuru olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır. Her iki düzeyde de konuyu ele almak açısından elimizde literatür mevcuttur. Bu çalışmada literatüre ek olarak, içerik analizi tekniği kullanılarak Ekim 2015/Ekim 2016 tarihleri arasında Hürriyet Gazetesi'nde yayınlanan konut reklamları taranmış, reklam metin ve görsellerinin verdiği mesajların frekansları analiz edilmiştir. Metinlerde öne çıkan ilk beş tema değerlendirildiğinde; doğa-yeşil, bulunduğu konum (bulunduğu yer ve bu yerin ulaşım imkanları), kalite, lüks ve prestijle ifade edilen yeni yaşam tarzı dikkat çekicidir. Hatta görsellerin analizinden anlaşıldığı gibi bu mesajlar, yaşam tarzını pekiştiren unsurlardan oluşmaktadır. Yeni yaşam tarzı, ailelerin dayanışma beklentileri üzerine kurulu değildir. Aksine eve kapalı bir hayatı sunmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, yeni konut alanlarının, çekirdek ailenin çevresiyle ne dayanışma ne de sorumluluk ya da müdahale istemeyen yeni kimliğine kavuşmasında etkili olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Ev • Konut • Aile • Yeni (proje) konut • Yeni çekirdek aileler • Mahalleler • Konut çevresi

Our observations regarding changes in homes and families in Istanbul have caused us to question whether housing projects have an effect on social relationships and behaviors. As such, we have designed our research around the issue of whether new housing projects cause changes in societal relationships or individual behaviors of those living in them. We have focused on which messages housing advertisements seek to give, as advertisements present the types of families being marketed to and what attractive features they are using for this marketing (Akbıyık, 2018). Analyzing the contents of advertisements can also provide us with an idea of the kind of life style imbued in these areas as both social and physical environments.

We will begin this study by discussing why housing type, from a sociological perspective, is important. Sociologically speaking, we observe that a home is a physical, social, and cultural entity. New housing projects, however, are a rather attractive research subject. Before further engaging in this sociological study on houses and housing, we will discuss the meaning of homes and the relationships that may be built between homes and families. Following this discussion, we will provide an analysis of advertisements' texts and images and finally, we will discuss the study's findings.

Sociological Meaning of Home

When thinking about what the meaning of home is, the first thing that comes to mind is the wide variety of terms used to express this concept. In addition to housing, there are numerous words meaning house (TR: ev) or something similar in Turkish. Among these words are dwelling (TR: hane), residence (TR: mesken), and home (TR: yuva). Furthermore, just as the words shelter (TR: barınak) and tent (TR: çadır) mean house, they mean family and woman in certain regions of Turkey. The Arabic word for house (i.e., mesken) is, rather than an architectural structure, a place where humans, families, and even animals live (Bozkurt, 1995, p. 502). This means that a home is not merely a lifeless place of shelter. The home symbolizes a place where family relations and individual life lessons are learned. The home is where children are raised. Without the family, a home may be considered merely a house (Mallett, 2004, pp. 62–74). So that this concept may be better understood, we have chosen to use the distinction of home and house made in English. We will use the word *house* (TR: konut) to mean a physical building and the word *home* (TR: ev) to mean a place of life.

Després (1991, p. 97) mentions that a significant portion of the disciplines producing literature examining the relationships between people and the environment deals with finding answers to the question of what the concept of home means for people. Bachelard (2017, p. 58) states that in Paris, there are no homes and that people in big cities live in boxes stacked on top of each other. Bachelard (2017, p. 37) writes, "Just as

the home protects from storms reigning down from the sky, so do they protect from the storms that occur in life. The home is both the body and the soul. It is the first world of human existence. Man is an entity created in the cradle of the home."

Upon examination of the literature on the home (and the house), we find that the majority of articles written on the meaning of the home are in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, psychology, human geography, history, architecture, and philosophy (Mallett, 2004, pp. 62–74). We are not concerned with the meaning of the home from a phenomenological perspective in this study. Our specific interest in the meaning of the home is how the type of house, its location, and the amenities it offers influences familial and social interactions. The common points of several sociological and architectural studies recently conducted are the home's physical features, its location, its design, and how these are related to social life.

Homes and Families

From the very beginning, sociology's discussions of traditional/modern or society/community (TR: cemaat/cemiyet) are directly concerned with cities. Moreover, there is a tenacious link between the discipline of sociology and the symbol of post-industrialism, Western cities. In Durkheim, Weber, Tönnies, and Simmel's work, efforts to understand and explain current societal relationships by comparing them with former societal relationships are visible. In short, sociology has been preoccupied, to the point of even coalescing with the transition of former intimate primary relationships into indifferent distant secondary relationships and with the notion that this transition is the result of industrialism. Indifferent relationships beget insecurity, loneliness, and individualism whereas the concept of "we" was fundamental in older societal relationships that were composed of families and neighbors. Though there was, in the totality of relationships, mutual assistance and solidarity, the relationships allowed individuals and families the opportunity to intervene in one another's affairs.

The house as a physical unit, or the families that live in such houses, finds itself somewhere between this old and new network of interactions. In other words, families in societies where secondary relationships are predominant can easily transition from intimate inter-neighbor relationships into self-reclusive/isolated units (Akyol-Altun, 2010; Ayata & Güneş-Ayata, 1996). An important name in urban sociology, Wirth (2002) puts forward ideas concerning urbanness: (i) crowded cities, (ii) the weakening of relations with one's family and relatives, and (iii) the disappearance of neighborliness. Criticizing this notion, Gans (1982, as cited in Akyol-Altun, 2010, p. 229) shows that so-called pseudo-primary relationships have appeared in regions composed of classic detached single family houses in America. Pseudo-primary relationships are more cautious in nature than primary relationships and do not bring

individuals very close to each other. Gans asserts that geometrically, every home located in the suburbs constitutes the very center of its own neighborhood cluster and that the strongest relationships are formed with those homes immediately next to and across the street from one's own home. That this type of inter-neighbor relationship exists in the residential environment made up of detached houses shows how both homes and the greater housing environment affect the interactions among families and individuals.

Different concepts exist in the literature on the naming of the different housing projects composing a city. Geographical and social environments within individual housing projects where homogeneous individuals conglomerate are called neighborhoods or housing environments and are used interchangeably. In Turkish, the terms *mahalle* or *konut çevresi* may be used as equivalents to their English counterparts (Demir, 1999, p. 55). With that being said, since the term *mahalle* carries a unique historical meaning in Turkish society, we prefer not to use it in our discussion, choosing instead to use the term *housing environment*[1] (TR: konut çevresi).

In this article, we will address the relationship between houses and families from the perspective of how families have changed as a result of their living space. For example, although whether families become distanced as a result of houses' inadequate physical conditions is, in and of itself, an area of sociological research, it is outside the scope of our specific issue. The issue that we are addressing is composed of two interactive variables: *housing plan* and *housing environment*. From the standpoint that we are addressing this issue, two questions, one on the micro- and the other on the meso-level, appear: (1) "Is there a relationship between housing plans and family types?" and (2) "Does housing environment affect the relationships between families and neighbors?" The first question addresses the issue from the micro level and lays the groundwork for the topic. The second question is on the meso-level and suggests that the house be addressed together with its design in addition to its physical and social environment.

Changes in the Home and Family

Changes in the family constitute the very foundations of family sociology. Uğur Tanyeli's works examining changes in Ottoman-Turkish homes reveal the relationship between a home's architectural features and the family. Consequently, this answers the first question addressing the issue on the micro-level. Tanyeli (2004) states that

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1 It is also necessary to state here that interest in works related to homes/houses in Turkish Sociology is not new. The first things coming to mind are overnight-built houses (TR: gecekondu). In studies on these types of structures that began to appear near the end of the 1950s, overnight-built houses were considered a type of housing environment in and of themselves. Muzaffer Sencer's article published in 1967 addressing housing as an indicator of social stratification can be cited as an example of approaches considered outside of this framework. Other than these studies, Ayda ve Turhan Yörükân's studies conducted near the end of the 1950s merit referencing. Yörükâns introduced the human ecology approach developed in the Chicago School and the views of architects concerning houses and families in France. The notion that a house is simply a physical unit, from this viewpoint, is inadequate indicates the effect that houses have on individuals and the family.

when the configuration and set-up of rooms and homes is examined, the 18th century constitutes a critical turning point from the standpoint of privacy (TR: mahremiyet). While single nuclear families composing the greater extended family would live in a single room of wealthy Ottoman Turkish homes, this life style slowly began to change, beginning in the middle of the 18th century. The most important factor exemplifying this change may be observed in the most upper echelons of society beginning in the 1820s where doors allowing passage from one room into another figured in the architectural plans of houses. Tanyeli (2018) emphasizes the significance of passing from one room into another, namely that this layout renders it impossible for a single family to live in a single room of the house. As such, this type of home architecture shows the entire home being used by a single family, signifying the birth of the modern family. Rooms passing one into the other without intermediate hallways began to appear in the 1910s and continued until the 1970s. We are of the opinion that the link between changes in the home and changes in the family established by Uğur Tanyeli has continued to exist in various forms throughout history[2].

It is possible to glean examples from plans of homes as evidence of the fact that change began among the upper echelons of society, moving its way downwards. The transition from traditional homes into apartments is a process composed of stages where some of the functions of the very old status quo are made to be more diverse instead of a process that represents a complete break from tradition (Mutdoğan, 2014, p. 5). For example, the anteroom (TR: sofa), an important part of traditional homes, has survived in apartments, becoming the place of meeting for family members. Following the 1950s, the living room took the place of the anteroom. Exactly like the anteroom, the living room became the place where families lived their lives. The living room, however, was designated specifically for guests and was a room unused by family members. It was only after a long while that the living room stopped being a closed room designated solely for guests. Come the 1980s, however, rooms had become completely privatized, rendering the living room a room used in the daily lives of the family. Later, in some homes, the living room has even merged with an open kitchen (Mutdoğan, 2014, p. 14).

This process, observed in buildings' functions and understood more as a diversification process rather than a break from tradition, is also valid for families and the social environments in which families exist. The fact that there exists a special room for guests shows just how important guests are for families. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the privatization of rooms occurred in tandem with (i) trends toward individualism -like turning the living room that was previously reserved for guests into

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2 Another example provided by Uğur Tanyeli (2018) is the summer house. The desire, beginning in the 8th century, to leave one's neighborhood in the city and live in a mansion on a large plot of land is thought to be the source of similar modern behaviors. It can be said that seeking a change of pace by swimming in the sea, for example, began in peripheries like the Bosphorus seaside and Bağdat Street in Istanbul.

a complete living area for the family, (ii) increased urbanization, (iii) the acceleration of the pace of life in cities, and (iv) the gradual decline in hosting guests in the home.

In regard to our second question that addresses the issue on the meso-level, we have suggested that houses should be discussed in their physical and social environments in addition to the design of homes encompassed by these environments. At this point, the process of moving from a house into an apartment - a move symbolizing modernity and status and occupying an important place in Turkish literature - should be examined from this aim. The process has been realized more so as a result of diversifications/transformations in both spatial arrangements and families than as a result of a critical break from tradition as is held in Turkish literature. The so-called family apartments constructed by families previously living in houses are themselves an important case in this process of change. As social status required them to do so, the families in question first found their places in the modernization process by settling in apartments. On the other hand, as the nuclear family units making up greater extended families and living in houses settled into different floors of the same apartment building, they continued the same living practices that they had been used to. In other words, the extended family who constantly interacted with each other continued to exist in the family apartment[3]. If the first apartments constructed during the end of the 19th century are remembered, it took a long time to spread into the middle class and become genuinely widespread, only becoming possible in the 1970s. However, even during these periods, the nuclear family did not dissociate itself from traditional relationships: "… contrary to living in different homes, married children lived in different apartments in the same or neighboring buildings or in the same neighborhood where they frequently encountered each other" (Duben, 2002, p. 88).

In the 1970s, Alen Duben states that living in close proximity was viable for families living in either apartments or overnight-built houses (TR: gecekondular). According to his study, related (classic) nuclear families residing in close proximity to each other, were closely concerned with each other's lives, frequently participated in joint ventures, worked in the same shop, workshop, or factory, and provided continuous mutual support to each other (Duben, 2002, p. 90).

The (classic) nuclear family's severance of ties with its extended family, whose members constantly interacted with each other, and from the greater social environment began to be observed anew in the upper classes of society. First modern and wealthy (classic) nuclear families left family apartments behind. Relatives preferring to live in close physical proximity began to disperse by moving to metropolitan cities and

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3   To further illustrate this, a quote from Orhan Pamuk is very telling: "Since, just like the divisions in a large family mansion, there was always a coming and going between floors, the doors of apartments in Pamuk Apartment were open most of the time" (Pamuk, 2009, p. 16). Also able to be cited is Aynur de Rouen's work (2016) expounding on the transition from family mansions to houses in Istanbul during the 1950s.

into neighborhoods with ever-expanding borders. On the other hand, we see that apartments constructed in the former poor and informal settlement projects may be considered family apartments[4]. Due to their being an informal type of house in the research, the apartment building of parents who would build new floors upon the marriage of their children have been examined. For indeed, these buildings, in their capacity as family apartments, evoke a flexible Turkish House (Bektaş, 2013).

Addressing apartments and overnight-built houses from in terms of social interaction, Ayata (1989, p. 109) relates that the homes of women living in overnight-built houses were places constantly hosting guests and where no one would be alone. Families moving into apartments from these types of houses stated that what they missed the most in regard to their overnight-built houses were the social relations there. The current study reveals that community relationships are shunned and that while not being ostracized, relationships with one's relatives experience a decrease in intensity due to increased physical distance (Ayata, 1989, p. 114).

Despite the perceived indispensability of apartments, the fact that apartment life breeds a neighborhood completely disconnected from nature with increasingly limited opportunities for children to play in the streets is a sociological critique in city sociology studies (Alver, 2017; Şentürk, 2016; Tuna, 2010). In regard to changes in the home and family, the 1990s constitute yet another period where changes in houses occurred among the upper classes.

Ayata's (2002) study on one type of settlement appearing in Ankara in 1993 and 1998 dubbed the satellite town (TR: uydu kent) reveals important conclusions in terms of defining family relationships, finding that satellite towns are both a home and family centered area. Life in satellite towns is defined by a sharp spatial distinction between home and work. The two fundament reasons behind (classic) nuclear families moving into satellite towns are the decrease in average family size and nuclear families' increasing desire to separate themselves from the greater society. The nuclear family gradually *distanced itself socially from the extended family. The family's break from the street, relatives, and the neighborhood environment is clearly evinced in satellite towns*. Social relationships began to weaken as physical distance increased. For instance, residents, upon moving into such types of housing, would arrange pre-planned appointments instead of simply "stopping by" as they had done prior (Ayata, 2002, pp. 43–44). In these apartment blocks, the consequential increase in physical and at least partial social distance with friends and relatives living in the same town led to *the family's loss of autonomy and home-orientedness* and an *increase* in individualism and permissiveness (Ayata, 2002, p. 51). The excessive interest and sensitivity towards children and increase in privacy are two important aspects observed to have occurred in family life (Ayata, 2002, p. 51). In addition to a

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4   Today, living together with one's extended family has transformed into a strategy to survive economically adopted by the lower-middle class (see: Özbay, 2014, p. 70).

person's work and family life, he now had a personal life. Moreover, an individual's autonomy trumped in many ways family control (Ayata, 2002, p. 52).

From the 1990s until today, the proliferation of mortgages has caused living in apartment blocks to become increasingly more widespread among diverse segments of society. What interests us here is how families have chosen to live in new housing areas. The fact that people are inundated with advertisements in every venue of life is undoubtedly very significant in this vein. As such, it is necessary to examine the life style accompanying the house being sold in advertisements in order to properly understand the change in question.

Analysis of Housing Advertisements' Content: Life Style, Home, and Family

According to Bauman (2012, p. 225), advertisements' texts themselves, in addition to every instance that they are run, constitute a concentrated attempt to embolden and provoke us to buy a specific product. Even the comparison of people's type of dress, languages, free-time activities, and even physical shapes portrayed in advertisements causes their audience to recognize that every product (e.g., choice perfumes and luxury automobiles) comes with a specific "address." Instead of having a strictly pragmatic value, the product being sold embodies a symbolic meaning as the very foundation for a complete, distinguished life style (Bauman, 2012, pp. 225–228). The images portrayed to us in advertisements are images that leave an imprint of this life style in our mind and that are a decisive factor in choosing a house.

Method

The texts and images used in housing advertisements are full of colorful content and language to entice the potential consumer. At the same time, the seeming universalness of the recurrent messages in advertisements is worthy of attention, such as in the following message: "Upon opening your window, do your eyes, in their search for trees, find only windows instead? Don't you wish that you could close your eyes and fly away on a magic carpet toward green hills and valleys far away from Paris?" (Bilgin, 2006, pp. 40–42).

Texts calling people to escape from the city to nature and green areas are very familiar. We find ourselves face to face with companies marketing houses and their promise of our being reunited with nature. Although the text of this specific advertisement was taken from a study by Bardin published in France in 1975, it resembles the current content of advertisements by the housing market seeking to create the same demand in Turkey[5]. Bardin (1975, pp. 117–124) states the following

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5 Here, it is of benefit to remind the reader of the desire to be the owner of a new house, dubbed "the ideal home and its mythology" by Öncü (2013) and his article explaining how the ideal home was to be marketed through contributions by Western advertisement agencies.

in regard to advertising: "Is the true strength of advertisements only in selling or is it in creating new needs? Advertisements are shown as if they were a theater stage or some sort of constructed décor and can be thought of as if they were opening the curtain showcasing a performance to a group of spectators. Realty advertisements present such a living space, world view, and life model that, in reality, people are not buying a house but the value that it symbolizes."

An analysis of the messages contained in housing advertisements will reveal the life model/life style presented. In this vein, a thesis written by Taşar (2008) will serve as an important resource. In his thesis, Taşar examined the advertisements in the Turkish daily newspapers Sabah and Hürriyet between 1985 and 2006, evaluating how the concepts used in such advertisements changed over time. According to Taşar (2008), the concepts and themes used changed periodically: (i) Between 1985 and 1989, advertisements emphasized concepts pertaining to investment, savings, and inter-neighbor relationships. (ii) Between 1990-1994, being modern, peaceful, opportunities, investments, and savings were frequently used. (iii) Between 1995-1999, there was an emphasis on nature and modernity. (iv) By 2000-2006, advertisements promising happiness, health, together with the notion of being modern, unique and privileged while also offering security, were widespread. Comfort and ease combined with a certain life style, technology, nature, scenic views, and exclusiveness where personal requests were taken into consideration were commonplace.

The most distinguished of these results is the concept of *houses as investments*, which is a desired expectation regardless of the period. However, the inter-neighbor relationships emphasized during the first period were not to be observed again. Additionally, the concept of being modern that emerged in the 1990s is replaced by life style beginning in the 2000s. Accompanying life style are individualism, comfort and ease, being privileged, and exclusiveness. Nature and scenic views top off all of these individualist housing environment images. The analyses that we conducted in 2016 and that are to be discussed shortly will show how contemporary housing environment understanding has changed.

Data Collection Tool

Gökçe (2006, p. 20) states that the content analysis seeks to analyze texts produced and built for the public sphere and is a technique that allows researchers to reveal the content (i.e., the messages and meanings) of various communication sources, such as books, articles, and films (Neuman, 2013, p. 466). This technique is very frequently used to examine how the news, television series, advertisements, and entertainment products reflect socio-cultural problems and values (Çomu & Halaiqa, 2014, p. 38).

Sample

Our reason for asking "what features are used in the portrayal of new (project) housing portrayed to society?" in our study is due to our acting on the assumption that one may gather an understanding about the type of family that buys the life style accompanying these houses and that prefers to live in these houses. In line with this objective, the advertisements published in the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet spanning a period of one year from October 2015 to October 2016 were scanned through and the research area was limited to Istanbul. The reason that we selected the newspaper Hürriyet was because of its high circulation and its high allocation of space to advertisements.

At the beginning the research plan, it was stated that the newspaper Hürriyet would be scanned over a one-year period. However, after having scanned the newspaper for a certain period, it was found that the majority of advertisements published during the working week consisted of vacation and automobile advertisements and that housing advertisements were found in a greater concentration during weekends. For this reason, we decided to devise a sample. In line with this decision, we constructed our sample to include the advertisements from *the first weekend of every month* over a one-year period spanning from November 2015 to November 2016.

Procedure

Following content analysis processes and using the program Atlas.Ti, step by step, we devised the sample group, collected data, designated both textual and visual symbols as units of analysis, and defined the themes belonging to visuals and texts.

Housing advertisements consist of both texts and visuals. These two components are accepted as two separate units of analysis. As is common knowledge, a unit of analysis is a significant unit requiring encoding and can take the form of words, sentences, themes, people, attitudes, actions, events, and visuals. Sources state that the reliability and validity of content analysis depend mainly on the encoding process (Bilgin, 2006; Gökçe, 2006; Neuman, 2013,). The fact that researchers performed the encoding by themselves eliminates errors and indicates reliability. Validity, however, is related to the appropriateness between objectives and tools (Çomu & Halaiqa, 2014; Neuman 2013). We believe that our analysis is robust in this vein. During the encoding process, first texts, then visuals were given codes.

Findings

We designated a total of 24 codes pertaining to the written texts in advertisements. As seen in Table 1, the most frequently emerging codes are information about payment

and price, a new life, the housing development's milieu (location), nature/green areas, and transportation opportunities. After designating codes, we grouped them into specific categories. Grouping codes based on certain criteria and creating relevant categories is a necessary phase (Bilgin, 2006) and can be done in one of two manners. The first is to use pre-determined categories whereas the second is to first review the codes and then devise appropriate categories. In this study, we did the latter.

Table 1

Textual codes used in housing advertisements in the newspaper Hürriyet

CODE (written text)	Frequency
Information about payment and price (payment plan, down payment, payment term, credit descriptions, launch prices)	82
A new life (life style/neighborhood life/a new life/a prestigious life /prestige/privilege/glimmer/wellness center)	60
Housing development's milieu (location)	51
Nature/green areas	46
Transportation opportunities (proximity to subway access)	39
Shopping opportunities (street shops/shopping avenue/mall)	29
Occasion	27
Recreation areas (walking path, bicycle path)	27
View (islands/sea)	24
Investment/investment center	18
Architecture	16
Apartment options	15
Spacious balcony/terrace	14
Special day discounts	13
Pool, lake, pond, water parks	11
Gift/inheritance to children	10
Playground for children	9
Public facilities like hospital, university, and schools	9
'TOKİ' and 'Emlak Konut' (state support)	9
Low-rise buildings	7
City park	5
Escape from city	4
Dreams	2
Neighbors	2

A look at the categories' frequencies[6] (Table 2) reveals that life style is the most emphasized category followed very closely by payment conditions. In third and fourth place are an emphasis on the housing development's location and nature, respectively. The least emphasized category was neighbors. Indeed, it is possible to state that life style does not include the concept of neighborly relations.

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6   In showing the analysis as frequencies, we preferred to act based on the notion that "evaluating categories based on frequencies assumes that the categories' importance is tied to frequency" (Bilgin, 2006, p. 12).

Table 2
Categories' Frequency Table

Categories	Frequency	Categories	Frequency
Life style	112	Architecture	52
Payment	109	Investment	37
Location/Milieu	99	Children	9
Nature	96	Neighbors	2

The visuals included in the advertisements were analyzed during the second stage of the study. It is generally held to be notoriously difficult to directly analyze messages or emotional content through imagery, symbols, and metaphors (Neuman, 2013, p. 472). During our analysis, however, we decided that we would simply analyze the symbols. More specifically, we designated 17 codes (Table 3) after examining the frequencies of the literal meanings of the dialogues included in the advertisements we encoded. We then grouped these codes into categories of their own (Table 4).

Table 3
Visual codes in housing advertisements in the newspaper Hürriyet

CODE (visual symbols)	Frequency
View of housing project from afar	39
Landscape of the housing project: green/pool/artificial lake	38
Sky/blue	25
Nuclear family in a yard	22
Payment schedule/plan	21
Balcony/terrace	14
Sketch	13
Award-winning label	12
Example living room	10
Shopping	9
Sea/islands	8
Name of a celebrity in the advertisement	8
The color black	7
Birds	6
Smiling faces	6
Subway	4
Label GYODER (Association of Real Estate Investment Companies)	3

Among the most frequently seen imagines in advertisements for housing projects are a view of the development from afar, an image belonging to the internal landscape of the development in which green space, a pool, or artificial lakes are brought to the fore, an emphasis on the color blue or the sky in the upper portion of the image, pictures of a family with children, and a payment schedule. However, when the codes are considered in combination, even more meaningful conclusions are revealed. When examined, the visual codes fall under two meaningful categories: 1) Nature/view/outside and 2) Physical features of the house being marketed. As may be understood from this, the image of prestige conflated with such a house as viewed from afar is more important than its interior plan.

Table 4
Combined visual codes

Categories	Frequencies
Nature/view/outside	130
Physical features of the house	23

In conclusion, we observe that information detailing payment and prices are a ubiquitously important theme throughout advertisements. The increasing profusion of mortgages have rendered payment conditions and price ever more important. However, when the first five themes coming to the fore are evaluated, the following features draw our attention: nature-green areas, the milieu in which it is located (i.e., location and this location's transportation opportunities), quality, a new life style of luxury, and prestige. Just as is understood from the analysis of images, these messages are composed of reinforcing factors of the life style being sold. In none of the messages are inter-human relationships at the fore. On the contrary, nuclear families disconnected from others are represented. It is interesting that nuclear families with only one or two children are placed alone in the gardens of the housing projects. On the other hand, high-rising tower type houses are designed with a two-person living area in mind. In short, we believe that we can define the nuclear families in Turkey preferring to live in areas emphasized as different from others in terms of prestige, privilege, and a life style, desiring not solidarity but to be different and self-reclusive as "new nuclear families."

Discussion

The issue focused on in this study is the new manifestation of the relationship between the house and family. New houses, specifically the homes produced by housing projects selling a specific life style, are designed in particular for those individuals wanting to be different or special. Though it is difficult to claim that such houses created the new nuclear family, we can state that new housing projects are preferred by these new nuclear families wanting to live in a private space and that families living in these projects place greater importance on privacy. As such, it can be claimed that the housing environment has an effect on how families change.

A high number of houses located in particularly large and complex buildings offers greater opportunities for individualism and freedom. Batışehir, located in Bağcılar with its houses, shopping malls, and hotels, is home to a total of 3,226 apartments[7]. Also emphasized in the advertisements were buildings' size and multi-functionality. As can be seen in Picture 1 below, the magnitude of the buildings behind the neighborhood's old apartments speaks for itself. It is difficult to think that families living in such a housing zone can build close relationships with others[8].

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7   https://emlakkulisi.com/bagcilar-batisehirde-5-saatte-150-milyonluk-satis-yapildi/322821 (Online)

8   One problem occurring in the houses compressed into an increasingly growing number of multiple-story buildings appearing after World War II is observed in the type of housing zone designed by Le Corbusier in

Figure 1. Batışehir.[11]

The change between housing projects and houses on one hand and the family on the other, that we have sought to show may be made more concrete with the statements made by civil engineers in Akbıyık's (2018) study. A participant (male, civil engineer, 45 years old) who moved to a housing development project in Ankara's Bahçelievler district in 1979 described his house and the human relations in the development project:

> You see a 12-story building shaped like a hexagon. The middle is empty and you see the sky when you lift your head up. Each floor has six flats for a total of 72 flats and there are three blocks. It was an apartment complex, but it didn't have a security guard. We had a yard. My mother would give me permission and I'd go down by myself. The apartment under us had an empty hallway. My mother would sit with the neighbors at a table there and would drink tea and chat. As for us, we could go in and out of everyone's house like it were our own. I remember the human relations, they were amazing.

Although this house was located in a housing development, it certainly does not resemble today's examples in terms of the layout or environment. Although the house was part of a high-rise building, apartments had access to an open-air environment and there was interaction between apartments on the same floor. In parallel, due to a shared area where neighbors may interact, we are able to observe a housing environment allowing for interactions between families. Yet, this scenario is the product of a social period during which relationships without appointments were commonplace and before people developed the desire to isolate themselves from others. However, it is quite possible to say that such relationships do not exist now. For example, as a result of in-depth interviews conducted with middle class individuals living in housing developments serviced by security guards in Istanbul, Akbıyık (2018) concluded that almost none of the participants visited one of their neighbors as a family and that conversations occurred on foot at the

which 1,600 people would live. Despite hosting a variety of services, like cafés, recreation areas, and pre-schools, this type of housing project is renowned for its entertaining a wide variety of physical, social, and cultural based complications.

9   Photograph: Orhan Kolukısa

doorway and the most intimate relationship took the form of an exchange of gifts at the doorway. There were participants who did not know or recognize the other residents living on the same floor. For example, one participant (Lawyer, female, 32 years old, Ataşehir, married, three-year-old son) stated the following:

> In the apartment we currently live in, well I don't know the people living next to or across from me, for example. We don't run into each other actually. We aren't able to run into each other. When we do, the relations aren't that intimate. But you can establish such relationships if you wanted. There are some who do (Akbıyık, 2018, p. 243).

As understood from this statement, families are clearly observed to have the desire to isolate themselves from others. New housing projects (from either a housing layout or environment standpoint) are both the cause of these conditions and facilitate this self-imposed isolation. In conclusion, the life style espoused by the upper class in the 1990s has started to spread into the middle class. Our reason for making such a statement is because the target group and overall number of these housing projects have increased as a result of mortgages' becoming increasingly widespread and more easily attainable.

The opinions of a 51-year-old mother of four included in an article published by Aydın (2012, pp. 24–35) supports this idea. Moving from her beloved neighborhood of Fındıkzade after having lived there for 18 years to an isolated housing project, she states that her new living arrangements are more spacious and offer a more comfortable life and that she prefers not closing her curtains at night and her spacious kitchen to her old neighbors in Fındıkzade.

It is observed in comparative studies conducted on traditional neighborhoods that isolated housing projects are unable to generate a sense of community as strong as that in old neighborhoods and that individual or family life prohibits community living (Akyol Altun, 2010, p. 238). In his study on housing projects serviced by security guards in Konya, Alver (2007, pp. 183–184) found that community-like relationships between individuals and families did not exist, that the depth of conversations was limited, and that individuals were not very eager to engage in conversation with their neighbors. According to Tanyeli (2012), although isolated housing projects were *neo-gemeinschaft* promising to put people together with like-minded individuals with similar income levels and expectations, they are unable to generate a sense of togetherness among neighbors. The interesting point here is that families preferring to live with people similar to them prefer not to converse with such people in such housing projects.

On the other hand, according to the data from the 2014 Turkey Family Structure Study, 74% of households are comprised of the nuclear family. Parents have close relationships with their children. The findings reveal that the mother-father-child triangle constitutes a very healthy relationship network and that it is important that siblings do not reject each other (Özbay 2014, p. 70). Özbay (2014, p. 622) states that

"individuals develop intense networks of solidarity within the mother-father-child triangle at the exclusion of other relatives."

In conclusion, we can state that from a housing environment standpoint, families' preferences manifest in a "neither solidarity, nor intervention!" mentality. Even if (classic) nuclear families in Turkey (after having undergone a long process of modernization) resemble their modern western counterparts in their outer form, they include relationships with extended family members, relatives, and neighbors. (Classic) Nuclear families maintaining relationships with relatives or neighbors were in relationships of mutual solidarity. However, this relationship also entailed mutual responsibility and intervention. Trickling down from the upper to middle class, new nuclear families living in novel housing projects have adopted a new identity in which they desire neither solidarity with, responsibility toward, nor intervention from their environment. The mentality of "a neighbor is in need of even his/her neighbor's ashes" [10] is abandoned now. Individuals move into a neighborhood and housing environment where although they want to be physically close to those similar to them, they prefer not to invite them into their house.

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10 A Turkish proverb meaning that one's neighbor will aid him even in the most mundane of endeavors and that one should therefore reciprocate in a brotherly manner (TR: komşu komşunun külüne muhtaçtır). Ashes were used as soap in washing clothes one generation prior [tran.]

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