Gated Communities in Ankara, Turkey: Park Renaissance Residences as a Reaction to Fear of Crime

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Abstract

Gated communities have become a major subject in the related literature with their development as a new way of life with an increasing element of isolation on space and evaluated through demand-and supply-side discussions originating from the reasons of their emergence in the big cities, further criticized as a reflection of income polarisation and segregation.

The research makes a brief discussion on the reasons behind the development of gated communities based on a literature survey and case study analysis in Park Renaissance Residences in Ankara, proving the fact that the primary reason is the fear of crime, followed by lifestyle the gated communities present for the higher-income groups preferring to live in a unique community order in the case of Park Renaissance Residences although this example cannot give the signs of a community like their European counterparts.

Keywords: Gated communities, security, Ankara, polarisation

1. INTRODUCTION

Gated communities are described as residential areas that are fenced or walled off from their surroundings, prohibiting or controlling access by means of a secured entrance as gates or booms [1,2]. The concept basically refers to a residential area with restricted access [2-4] but it also defines a self-sufficient environment with swimming pools, private bars, children's play areas and a full accompaniment of care-taking staff and security forces [1-3, 5]. 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 [2]. Privatization is guaranteed by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct and (usually) collective responsibility [6].

The appearance of gated communities is not new. In England the earliest gated communities were built by the occupying Romans around 300 B.C [1]. As Atkins [7] points out Victorian London was fragmented by more than 250 closed streets. Blakely and Snyder [1] claim that these settlements were seldom to protect against external invaders but rather to guard against the local villagers who might torn on the baron at any moment. As a matter of fact, they represented a form of territorial control and of symbolizing the power and ability to control that territory acting as the symbols of paternal security offered by the monarch or feudal aristocracy. Thus they retain the symbolic overtones of economic power and control [7]. As in the case of Anatolia, the earliest settlements like Troy in 3000-1000 B.C. were enclosed. The situation was repeated during the Medieval Byzantine period as a defence to Arabian attacks but such settlements have never been constructed afterwards [8,9]. The only

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exception happened in Antalya city where the settlement was divided into religious neighbourhoods by walls.

In the west, the first purely residential gated neighborhoods appeared in the latter half of the 19th century by wealthy citizens to insulate themselves from the troublesome aspects of rapidly industrializing cities for privacy, protection and prestige as an outcome of a new fortress mentality [1,2]. During the 20th century, researches prove the fact that early gated communities were for the super rich, however newer settlements of the 1970s and 1990s are for the middle to upper-middle classes [1, 10, 11].

Salcedo and Torres [12] classified the advantages of gated communities' arrival into four central issues: improvement of quality of life in the zone, better job opportunities, diminishment of the social stigma of living in a poor district, and an increase in the value of their land. This new type of urbanization has brought construction and domestic jobs (gardeners, maids) and on the other, the arrival of new 'wealthy customers' has increased profits for local markets and convenience stores and changed the image of the municipality among outsiders in return of the loss of rural tranquility, the increase in traffic and the arrival of drugs.

In this article, the emergence of gated communities in Anatolia at the end of the 20th century is trided to be discussed in a land where such a system was merely exercised. The research question is to settle down the reasons behind this emergence in Turkey considering the fact that the motivations behind the gates is unique for each settlement over the world.

2. WHY ARE GATED COMMUNITIES BEING BUILT?

Most of the literature on gated communities [1, 2, 7, 3, 13, 14] rests on the motivations on demand- and supply-sides. Demand-side discussions are shaped by the motivations of the gated community residents seeking for security, prestige, a new lifestyle community and for controlling the quality of their housing. Supply-side discussions on the other end are centered around the expectations of developers/builders using gated communities as a marketing device and of the local governments for the privatization of public services. Roitman [15] and McKenzie [16] classify the causes for the arrival of gated communities into structural and subjective using Gidden's structuration theory. The former is explained as being influenced by the social, political and economic structure, here to be called supply-side and the latter being a result of the motives and desires of the social actors here to be called demand-side.

Discussions also put forward the idea that gated communities serve different purposes and express distinct cultural meanings in different localities. For instance they provide a secure lifestyle in the face of extreme poverty in Southeast Asia or create exclusive compounds for emerging elites in Bulgaria and China [2, 17]. In a globalizing world, security has again the highest priority

in Indenosia [18]. However exclusivity appears to be a second motive in addition to security in England [14].

At the other end of the spectrum there lie the discussions in critical literature taking gated communities as an outcome of segregationist tendencies of the new global economy [3, 7, 11, 13, 14, 19].

2.1. Demand-Side Discussions

People of all classes are forting up to find neighbors who share their sense of the good life, protection of privelege with a search for community in a globalizing world, to reduce or escape from the impact of crime and secure the value of their houses [1, 2, 11]. Also Luymes [7] defines the desire for privacy and the fear of crime as sociological reasons for the formation of gated communities.

Blakely and Snyder [1] bring a typology of gated communities basically resting on the motivations of the gated community residents in the US as lifestyle communities, prestige communities and security zone communities/enclaves of fear.

2.1.1. Security/Fear of crime

For Blakely and Snyder [1], rapid demographic, economic and social change in the US has resulted in a fear about the future or in an ecology of fear as called by Davis, in vulnerability and uncertainty about the stability of neighborhoods- all of which are reflected in an increasing fear of crime - unrelated to actual crime trends and locations. Glasze [20] relates this development to the weakening informal social networks like kinship or other traditional forms of community.

Soja [21] defines this as a postmetropolitan mode of social and spatial regulation and directs it to the new urbanization processes with its unprecedented cultural heterogeneity, widening social and economic disparities, and multiplying points of tension and confrontation based on differences in race, ethnicity and sex. In this respect, gated communities are the outcome of the need of protection against the real and imagined dangers of daily life [21] mostly visible in the 1990s with the increasing tension between different social groups in core areas.

As Blakey and Snyder [1] claim, they are not just running from crime but from a larger sense of disorder and the loss of control- over traffic, noise, incivility. It is also the fact that when people feel they cannot rely on public regulations and political processes to protect their neighborhoods from unwanted uses (or people/outsiders), then some find the option of voluntarily entering an exclusive community quite desirable [2, 3, 11, 17].

The dramatic growth of the security industry is indicative of these developments. In the decade from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, the number of security guards doubled and surpassed the number of police as Blakely and Snyder [1] state.

2.1.2. Privacy

Some [1, 14, 20] claim that security is not aimed solely at protecting residents against serious crime but also meets an apparent desire to avoid day-to-day incivilities and random social contact with an increasing element of privacy. As a matter of fact the desire for privacy is not new; it has long been a motivating factor in the flight of the middle-class to the suburbs describing preservation of a way of life and belief in private property rights [7]. But the current motivation is different as Judd and Swanstrom [20] explain the spreading of gated communities with the continuation and aggravation of 'the culture of privatism', a liberal urban development, which reflects an individualistic concept of democracy. In Glasze's [20] words ' the idea of individual freedom takes the priority over the idea of solidarity'.

2.1.3. Lifestyle/Prestige

Gated communities are described as part of a broad national socioeconomic class transformation defining the formation of a leisure class [3] whose residential choices are largely characterised by self-interest and personal affluence as well as a desire for disengagement [6]. Thus motivation behind gated communities is in fact to create an image of exclusivity [7, 20] and this is gained in a community contributing to having neighbors like themselves. By the same token, the motivation is the value for □oney that properties offered, given their location in affluent and sought-after residential locations, and their potential as longer-term investments given the expected resale prices they may command [1, 13]. So they guarantee future prices and gain community support [1, 10].

However community includes a sense of mutual responsibility, significant interaction and cooperative spirit and represents the intensity of common values as expressed by social ties to a place and by the people within it.

Here community seems to be commodified. Neighborhoods are shaped by economic rather than social institutions. In such an environment, researches show that the community members in a gated community do not feel strong commitments to one another [1].

As Atkinson and Flint [14: 886] state;

> "… people went to work and came back in the evenings…, not communicate with their neighbors or those outside. .. neighboring generally low down the list of social priorities for these groups. …such evidence apeears to contradict the idea that gated communities contribute to some communitarian ideal of local interaction and support with like-minded people.

2.2. Supply-Side Discussions

Supply-side discussions originate from the debates on the restructuring of economy and the capitalization of globalized interests. The shift from an industrial economy to a service and knowledge-based 'post-industrial' economy, has resulted in changes in the distribution of employment and capital within the metropolitan region [7].

2.2.1. As a Marketing Device

Within this environment developers/builders support large-scale gated community developments □ort he expectation of greater economic benefits presenting the home buyer with a "complete package" of a total living experience [1]; a community or to maintain profits despite rising land costs [15]. They emphasize the motivations of the residents; security [7]- both at the level of the individual home, and at the level of the neighborhood, exclusivity with names [19] and prestige with stylized quasi-pastoral designs and imagery [3] . Roitman [15] explains this phenomenon with the arrival of foreign investments that want to export models from other places, particularly the US, to developing countries so that gated communities have been encouraged by developers as an international trend.

In developers' words:

> "We sell the image of a lifestyle… we don't show a gate or a house in the ads, but a yacht… we use "community" as a term of art… gates intensify and highlight the feeling of belonging, the positive. Emotions we associate with community" [1, 18, 19].

2.2.2. As a New Governance System

Local governments support privatization of public services and self-governing communities in the name of homeowner associations in the US. This is termed to be a new refuge from the problems of urbanization by Blakely, Snyder [1], and an institutional transformation reflecting the ideological shift toward privatism characteristic of the neo-liberal consensus by Mc Kenzie [16]. Local governments consider self-governing communities as a valuable source of revenue because suburbanisation costs are paid by the private developers and the final homebuyer [17]. In fact, local government takes the lead in promoting gated communities because they represent growth, increased tax revenues and less public expenditure [6].

Luymes [7] calls these associations as local pseudo-governments in an attempt to relocalize governance and to avoid public □ort h to local resources. So as a matter of fact it is a private entity that can make its own rules although it is not democratic [7], far from a voluntary community bound by contract, gated community purchasers have an enforced relationship with their homeowner association [6]. Glasze [20] analyzes private neighborhoods as club economies against the background of historically and regionally differentiated patterns of urban governance.

The writings describing private neighborhoods as a new form of political organisation and as a 'privatisation of public space' tend to dichotomise between a public realm

and a private realm and in order to understand the economics of private neighborhoods, the club goods theory is used [17, 20, 21]. This approach helps to understand their potential attractiveness for developers, housing seekers as well as local governments [20].

Within this framework, the spreading of private neighborhoods might be described as the establishment of a 'new' territorial organisation on a sub-local level which enables the exclusive consumption of collective goods, and in which political decisions are taken in a kind of shareholder democracy managed and regulated by a self-governing organisation [20]. So spreading of gated communities is explained as an institutional innovation which ensures a market driven and efficient supply of local public goods □ort he inhabitants who pay for it on the basis of ownership-membership arrangements [20]. These excludable collective goods (parks, playgrounds, pools, and the like) have been named 'club goods' [20].

In such a system developers also profit from the fact that the power to regulate the use of common spaces and facilities, reduces the risk of an economic degradation of the neighborhood. Furthermore they market not only the home but also the club goods within the neighborhood. Individual owners also profit from stable home values as the self-administration assures a strict control of the social and physical environment and keeps the prestige in the neighborhood [17, 20] with a private contract.

2.3. Critical Literature

Some authors criticize gated communities as one of the visible forms of discrimination and segregation [17, 6, 12, 15]. Especially sociologists blame gated communities to be exclusionary, elitist and anti-social [19]. According to Luymes [7] it is a □icture of paranoia, self-interest and elitism that is around enclave communities.

As listed in Luymes [7], themes in the critical literature are
1. social control and exclusion,
2. security concerns and fear of crime,
3. property values and marketability,
4. breakdown of civic and public life.

2.3.1. Social Control and Exclusion

The critical literature mostly relies on the idea that the arrival of gated communities is closely related to urban social segregation [12, 13 15, 18].

Gated communities create physical barriers to access, privatize civic responsibilities like police protection and communal services such as street maintenance, recreation and entertainment [12, 18]. Spatial segregation can be defined as the relative residential separation of population categories from each other. Thus the researcher and politician should take into account whether spatial structures are the result of individual and voluntary choice or the result of constraints [4] as some [5] term gated communities as 'voluntary ghettoization and self-segregation'.

Low [2] relates this new type of segregation to economic restructuring and relocation of capital. She claims that these developments with focus on free-market capitalism, produced political changes with far-reaching social consequences. Power, wealth and income all titled toward the richest portions of the population during this regime [1]. There is growing poverty with an increasing gap between the affluent and the poor exacerbating the process of social polarisation [15] and significant dislocation caused by a restructuring economy [13]. So most claims gated communities as an element of the race- and class-structuring of privilege and poverty.

Massey [3] applies Sennett's concept of 'purified communities'. The concept refers to the processes whereby people build walls around themselves as way excluding others who are not the same. The private governance and the implementation of restrictive covenants lead to an implicit selection of the owners, through design guidelines, age restrictions or a selective club membership, in order to ensure the homogeneity of the neighborhood. Access control features reinforce this construction of exclusion, as one can be only from the inside, or from the outside [17]. It is not only the gating but also exclusivenes that creates a border [17].

2.3.2. Security Concerns ad Fear o Crime

Literature [2, 6, 14] points to the fact that gated communities are not safer than nongated suburban neighborhoods, but "it makes harder □ccess□m to get in".

Davis [3] states that security is in fact more than it includes in its general meaning, it becomes a positional good defined by income □ccess to protective services. So he sees security as a prestige symbol [3, 17, 22] not only related to the risk of crime but also to the high value ascribed to privacy, quiet and an absence of social contact, as signs of status [14]. Meanwhile, Blakely and Snyder [1] state that the more isolated become and the less they share with others unlike themselves, the more they do have to fear.

2.3.3. Property Values ad Marketability

Gated communities are further perceived as an incongruous architectural anomaly with an unnecessary fortified look, often in areas that have low crime □ate sor in areas where such designs were not in sympathy with the existing character of the street [14]. There is a danger of a 'them and us' attitude developing both amongst residents of the gated communities and of the surrounding neighborhood developing antagonism [11].

As Hook and Vrdoljak [3: 300] state;
> "The idyllic imaginary of eco-sensitive architectural styles and evocative names are viewed as strong means of extending an already large potential market. …Promise of a lifestyle increasingly divorced from reality…".

In order to sell in a comparative and rush market economy, their ads and brochures are sprikled with words like 'village', 'community' [23] and 'residences'.

2.3.4. Breakdown o Civic ad Public Life

Most see gated communities as both a symptom, and a contributing cause of loss of civic life at the metropolitan scale [3, 7, 19], reducing the residents' civic involvement and disrupting the social contracts that cities and towns are built on [24]. Blakely [24] fears that these places signal 'a new form of discrimination'.

It creates an insiders-outsiders tension or a 'them and us' tendency. Blakely and Snyder [13] claims exclusion imposes social costs on those left outside. Gates are a visible sign of exclusion, an even stronger signal to those who already see themselves as excluded from the larger mainstream social milieu [3, 12, 13, 15]. It reduces the number of public spaces that all can share, and thus the contacts that people from different socioeconomic groups might otherwise have with each other [17].

At the other end of the spectrum gates also symbolize the last point the residents will pay for. As Blakely and Snyder [13] point out when the community of responsibility stops at the gates, the function and the very idea of democracy is threatened. Gates and barricades that separate people from one another also reduce people's potential to understand one another and commit to any common or collective purpose [13, 20].

> "The club good of security and neighborhood services represented by gated communities resemble new medieval city-states wherein residents pay dues and are protected, literally as their 'citizens'. With the growth of these gated mini-states, ... gated residents should not have to pay twice for services they already receive. This may ultimately have the effect that entitlements to vital aspects of citizenship, such as security, welfare and environmental services, become based on which neighborhood one lives in" [6].

Moreover, Glasze [20] claims that in the long run, the spread of gated communities would lead to a territorial organisation where everybody lives in autonomous enclaves according to his financial capacity.

The case study area, Park Renaissance Residences will be analyzed according to the concepts above in order to understand the motivations behind its formation and its continuation in a artifically formed segregated zone in Ankara, Turkey.

3. Park Renaissance Residences

Since the 1980s, the Turkish economy has been dominated by neo-liberal policies such as privatisation, decentralisation and a more deregulated, open economy. The opening of the economy to direct foreign investments in the country has led to big changes in the spatial configuration of the city with the appearance of shopping malls, international hotels, multiplex cinemas, trademarks and gastronomy and gated communities. However the neo-liberal model led to the weakening of the middle-class and increasing polarisation. There is an increasing gap between the poor and a limited number of wealthy people enjoying the benefits of the neo-liberal model.

Gated communities are claimed to be an outcome of these developments mostly seen in great cities like İstanbul and Ankara but spreading to even more smaller cities of Anatolia. Park Renaissance Residences is located at the outskirts of two distinct residential areas at the southwest of Ankara city centre. One of these residential areas has been established at the end of the 1970s to serve the low-income groups. The aim has been to propose a better living zone for workers, answering to all the daily necessities in a properly planned neighborhood.

During this period, the land chosen was at the outskirts of the city, but close to the Middle East Technical University campus, with low land prices, and expropriation has been relatively easy. The neighborhood was realized by the credits with low interests and long-term payback, given by the National Social Security Institution. The workers are encouraged to own a flat in this properly designed and organized neighborhood, named as the "100th Year District" commemorating the 100th anniversary of Atatürk`s birth. Although the site arrangement is composed of apartment blocks of 5-15 storeys, a small shopping centre, an open grocery bazaar, two schools of primary and secondary levels, large open areas between the blocks spared for green, a central heating system and different architectural plan types all neatly designed (Figure 1). Unfortunately the building and environment quality never reached even an optimum (Figure 2). Therefore the district obtained, has always served for the low-income groups, slightly better than a slum zone. Later the students of the university preferred to live in the small flats with low rents. The system led the owners and users of the neighborhood to be concerned only with their own apartment blocks. This resulted as messy common areas.

Figure 1: 100th Year District

Figure 2: Low building and environmental quality

Towards the hills at the south of this district, Karakusunlar village was located. It is known to be existed in this place, at least, since the midst of the 20th century. Being provided by sufficient social welfare buildings nearby, the small village turned into a squatter zone immediately and surrounded by such housing further (Figure 3, 4).

Figure 3: Karakusunlar village in the 21st century

Figure 4: Squatter housing

By the midst of the 1980s, at the skirts of the hilly land at the south of the "100th Year District", a group of academic staff of the university close by, developed a better living area basically composed of twin and row houses of two flats (Figure 5). The construction realized by the building cooperative established, organized and conducted by them. Astonishingly, this new district has been illegal up to the recent years, as the land chosen was then out of the development zones. It was not planned

and was also out of the municipal boundaries. Furthermore, the site arrangement does not fit also to the rules of the legal rural planning. The university staff has been after the aim of creating a world of their own, close to their work-site, in an atmosphere of a slightly rural area. Nevertheless, a green and well-organized living environment has been achieved. This illegal interference drew the attention of land speculators and contractors to this region.

Figure 5. METU Site

The beginning of the 1990s witnessed to the development of a fourth residential zone over the southwestern hills. Some of the land was empty, used as grain fields. Others were either bought from private owners or from the owner of the squatter houses. High-rise apartment blocks, constructed in the "build and sell" system favored by private contractors, have been quite popular, because of the forest established by the university adjacent to the area. Apart from this factor, access to the city centre is found to be relatively easy by means of private vehicles. Residential blocks mostly fenced, green and secure to some extent, owned by middle and upper-middle income groups quickly covered the hilly land towards the south of the workers` neighborhood (Figure 6). The campus of the university has always been a prestigious place in Ankara and raised its reputation by creating a forest over the empty steps of Central Anatolia during the last fifty years. Existence of the forest with the desire of being relatively close to the city centre, and using all the transportation facilities that gradually varied, while being away from the chaos of the centre, immediately raised the land prices.

Figure 6: Fenced residential blocks

As the city of Ankara developed towards the south and south west as indicated in the development plans, the subject area with these four different residential districts composed of different social groups of income and cultural levels, became a prestigious zone directly linked to the city centre.

3.1. Methodology

Methodology of this research rests on combining quantitative and qualitative social researches. The terms "multiple research strategy" or "method triangulations" are generally used in social sciences to describe the use of diverse methods in tackling a research problem [25]. It is argued that in order to fill some gaps in their knowledge and to produce a general picture, researchers may prefer to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. One of the ways in which quantitative and qualitative researches are frequently united is where both are given equal weight [26].

In this analysis, the basic method to be used in data collection is survey analysis. However facts are seen and perceived different by different individuals and groups. Qualitative analyses reflect individual evaluations about the facts. The aim of these analyses is to evaluate the facts, occasions within the social content of the individuals/groups with different methods.

Within this understanding, the analysis of quantitative data constitute of reading according to the theoretical framework, bringing descriptions with notes, formulating categories and organizing information into knowledge. The qualitative methods to be used in the research are in-

depth interviews made with the research population and basic partners (housing producers, security firms and General Directory of Security). Another method of qualitative research used is "letting individuals speak for themselves" so some of the interviewers were let to talk about their lives in the community. Moreover participant observation used as an important tool for gathering information as one of the researchers lives and the other was living in the community. The researchers observed the meaning of the attitudes of the individuals and groups within their living environments. Thus the researchers observed the individuals, participated to their lives and shared their experiences with the aim of perceiving their lives [27]. Additionally supportive documents and texts, plans, drawings and advertisements are analyzed from 2004 to 2007.

3.2. The Story of a Gated Community in Ankara: The "Park Renaissance"

The case study area "Park Renaissance Residences" is located at the back of the University staff houses, apart from the new high-rise blocks, overlooks at the workers` district and squatter houses, and is directly adjacent to the forest. Related to the facts summarized above, "Park Renaissance Residences" developed as a gated community with completely different social and economic profiles.

In 1956 when the Middle East Technical University was established, depending on models applied in the US, it has been decided to be a Campus University. It possesses 4500 ha. area and there is even a small natural lake within its boundaries. Ankara being established over the plain steps, the University also took the responsibility of creating a dense green composed of pine trees. During the recent years, this completely manmade 3043 ha. green area (including the lake) has been registered as a natural site to be preserved.

This vast area, being used as grain fields during the 1950s, has been expropriated from the farmers. A real estate agent has possessed the plot of 30 000 m2, which is the concern of this paper. It is obvious that he has been informed about the expropriation before and has bought a considerable amount of land. Unluckily the expropriation has stopped at the frontier of his possession. He has to wait for 30 years to gain the profit he expected. The magical hand of luck has knocked the door when the Implementation Plan has ordered the zone to be a high-rise residential area over the squatter zone. At that date, still the plot, over which Park Renaissance Residences is constructed, was out of consideration. A partial implementation plan has been prepared in 1996 after a construction firm discovered the plot and signed a construction contract with the landowner.

3.3. The Site Plan and Construction Phases

The Park Renaissance residential site is composed of two apartment blocks of 10 storeys high (Figure 7). Two of the four different types of plan schemes in 28 flats, are duplex. 16 triplex villas are located before the blocks with a green area among them (Figure 8). At the south

end of the plot, the open area is spared for sports activities, as a jogging track of 500m.long, two tennis grounds, a basketball ground and a playground for children. The aim of the plan seems to obtain as much open land as possible, to increase the rate of the green. The open and green land covers 26 000 m^2, where the

built- up is 4 000 m^2. The site presents a dense green with the University staff houses before them. Under the two blocks there are also two closed swimming pools, saunas and small fitness centers.

Figure 7. Apartment houses

Figure 8. Villa houses in a green area

The site is supported with sufficient number of car parks, open and closed and it is encircled with walls and fences and a private security firm controls the entrance (Figure 9). The firm is responsible of the security of the site by day and night. This indicates to a very restricted area completely separated from the neighboring districts, although the playground and the green area is inviting for the children of the nearby environment.

green and open areas. The community shares the expenses. There is an elected governing body composed of a group of owners/users, responsible from the maintenance of the buildings, open areas and the control of the budget.

3.4. Research Findings

The research findings are composed of survey analysis contributing to the questionnaire results with 20 % sampling (16 in 78 households), 25 in-depth interviews held by the researchers and participant observation in 2003 and 32 in-depth interviews and participant observation in 2007. The idea was to make a survey analysis in 2007 as well but most did not want to contribute although the questions were not different from the ones in the prior survey. So the research in 2007 is limited with in-depth interviews and participant observation. This gives an important conclusion to the increasing level of segregationist tendencies of Park Renaissance Residents developing with their level of privacy seeking. In-depth interviews were made with the residents of Park Renaissance, the neighbors of the surrounding areas outside Park Renaissance, the developers, real estate agencies and Ankara General Directorate of Security.

3.4.1 The Findings of the Survey Analysis Made in 2003

The rate of owner occupancy is high in the site especially for villa type of houses. 93.75 % of the villas are occupied by the owners. This percentage decreases to 61.54 in the apartment blocks (Table 1).

Figure 9. Park Renaissance gated community

The construction of the buildings and the application of the open and green areas have lasted for three years. The contractor firm and the landowner shared the profit according to their contract; therefore some of the flats and villas are sold by the landowner, and others by the contractor firm. Another firm maintains the common,

Table 1. Property ownership pattern

Type of property ownership % Property type	owner	tenant	unknown
Villa	81.25	6.25	12.50
Apartment flat	61.54	28.20	10.26
TOTAL	67.27	21.82	10.91

When the occupant profile of the Park Renaissance Residents is investigated, it is found out that, they reveal a great variety in the dispersion of their previous settlement areas (Table 2). One of the owners of the villas was living in a military residence. One migrated to Ankara from another Turkish city, and another who is in fact a tenant (foreigner), came from abroad. In the apartment flats again 5 % of the owners were living in governmental residences and chose the site when they bought their own houses. 15 % of the flat users came to Ankara from various cities of Turkey and settled newly in Ankara and 5 % came from abroad. The residents who were living in Ankara before, have also been investigated. They are classified depending on the general income level of the districts they came from. 6.25 % of the villas and 20 % of the flats were the residents of upper-income districts. 18.75 % of the villa owners and 2.5 % of the flat owners came from districts that can be accepted as upper-middle income level. 18.75 % of the villa owners and 15 % of the flat owner/users were living in middle-income districts. It is understood that 18.75 % of the villa owners and 7.5 % of the flat users/owners changed their life style a lot as they were living in districts shared by low-income groups. The previous districts of 1 villa owner and 5 flat user/owners could not be learned among those inquired.

Table 2. The residents' previous settlement areas according to income levels (%)

Property type / Income level of the previous district	Villa	Apartment flat	Total
Upper income	06.25	20.00	16.07
Upper-middle income	18.75	02.50	07.14
Middle income	18.75	15.00	16.07
Low income	18.75	07.50	10.71
Out of Ankara	06.25	15.00	12.50
From abroad	6.25	05.00	05.36
Governmental residence	6.25	05.00	05.36
Unknown	6.25 (+12.50 empty)	12.50 (+7.50 empty)	26.79

Another question to settle the resident profile of the site was to fix the educational level. The investigation revealed that 50 % of the villa owners were graduated from various universities. 25 % are below this educational level. In the apartment blocks 48.48 % were again graduated from a university, 33.34 % have an educational level below this and in 9.09 % the educational level could not be learned. Again the numbers cover those inquired (Table 3).

Table 3. Educational level of the inquired residents (%)

Education level / Property type	University	Secondary school or below	Unknown
Villa	50.00	25.00	12.50 (+12.50 empty)
Apartment flat	48.48	33.34	9.09 (+9.09 empty)
Total	48.98	30.61	20.41

As for the professions of the residents, the percentage of tradesman/artisans (25.58 %) and government officials (16. 28 %) take the lead. The others (58.14 %) work in different areas of the private sector.

50 % of the villa residents are among the upper income level group. In the flats, 51.52 % represent this group. Upper-middle income group is only 6.25 % in the villas while it is 21.21 % in the flats. 31.25 % of the villa residents are from middle-income group. This percentage is 33.33 % in the apartment blocks (Table 4).

Table 4. Income levels of the residents inquired (%)

Income level / Property type	Upper income	Upper-middle income	Middle income	Unknown
Villa	50.00	6.25	31.25	(+12.50 empty)
Apartment flat	51.52	21.21	33.33	(+9.09 empty)
Total	51.02	16.33	32.65	(+10.20 empty)

Most preferred Park Renaissance Residences because the area is silent and clean (23.53 %), and secure (29.42 %). They are primarily satisfied with the security system (25 %) and villa type of houses. The percentage of the residents who said that they were satisfied with the neighbourhood relations is only 12.5. They are secondly satisfied with the scenery (57.14 %), thirdly with silence (54.54 %), security system (36.36 %) and the neighbours (10.0 %).

The interviewers were also asked to list their reasons of preference of this site as given in Table 5. The table

shows that the first reason of choice is the lifestyle followed by security and prestige given in an enclosed area.

As one interviewer said:
    "It is very important for me to live in an area with people in the same social and income level."

Table 5. Reasons of preference of the Park Renaissance Residences (%)

Reason	Primarily	Secondly	Thirdly
Lifestyle	**46.64**	38.47	25.00
Security	40.00	**46.15**	8.33
Prestige	6.68	7.69	**66.67**
Children	6.68	7.69	0.00

On the other hand they think that they can provide their children a secure living area. One says:
    "I think that we are somehow away from urban crime. My children can play outside safely. This is what I expect from a living area."

Another interviewer says:
    "My children have a lot of friends in the site and they can play until midnight safely in the garden"

However one says:
    "I thought that security was very high in this site but now I do not think so."

3.4.2. The Findings of the In-Depth Interviews Made in 2007

The percentage of tenancy is still very low. Most apartment flats and villas are occupied by the owners. Different from the previous survey, all of the male population and 50 % of the female population were born in Ankara. Most came from the southern upper- and upper-middle income districts of Ankara. So the population of Park Renaissance has changed in its income level from a dispersed pattern to a similar pattern.

Education level increases as well with a great percentage of university degree english speaking male and female population. All of the male population has a regular job generally in the private sector as a manager. Although most of the female population has a university degree, most does not work. This is a general situation in Turkey, coming from the traditional background of the country. Most women prefer to look after their children instead of working if their husband can afford their economic life.

The primary reason of choice of Park Renaissance Residences is security different from the prior survey followed by prestige and lifestyle. They say that they are mostly satisfied with the security system, the size of the houses and their neighbours;
    "decent people"
but some also claim that cultural level is low.

The reasons of leaving their prior housing areas support the findings that they are mostly satisfied with the environmental facilities presented by the site. But different from the survey in 2003, they believe the site seperates them from both the problems and crimes of the city especially from robbery. However they also add that the risk decreases but never disappears.

The residents generally (66.67 %) think that the site seperates them from the problems of urban life, especially from air and noise pollution. They wake up with the birds instead of traffic noises. But most (57.14 %) do not think that they are now away from the urban crimes.

As it is seen that security becomes the most important reason of living in a gated community, the research was continued with an interview in the General Directorate of Security.

The number of crimes to the individuals is very low in 100th Year District. The number of housing robberies is 5-6 per week. Areas that have less neighbourhood relations are more open to face crime. The district is one of the most secure areas in Ankara. The General Director of Security also adds that:
    "We support enclosed areas for security reasons. The number of crimes decreases in such areas. Moreover these areas facilitate the possibility of finding the guilty. There are three basic reasons of living in gated communities as security, lifestyle (togetherness of people in the same status level) and 'let them say' (that we live in a prestigious are)."

The words of the General Director of Security do not support an increasing crime rate in the district as the residents mention. But it is also a fact that the percentage of crimes increased 57 % from 2005 to 2006 [28] as a result of increasing income gap between the upper and lower income groups. The rate of poverty has increased a lot especially in the last years in Turkey and this reinforces crime rates. So migrating to 100th Year District seems to be a reason for living in a secure area in Ankara but living in an enclosed area in this district does not have a basis. However the residents put the reason of security as primary for their living in a gated community and they think that they are seperated from the crimes.

3.4.3. The Outsiders

The residents of the surrounding housing areas protest being separated from the green area with a strict fence and require to use open and the sports grounds. In fact the open areas belong to the Municipality and so they can use but they cannot enter the enclosed area. The residents of METU site just near the Park Renaissance Residences brought a legal action against them. Afterwards The Mayor came to the neighbourhood and said that the open areas will be open to everybody. So another gate was opened entering directly to the open area to welcome the outsiders and now they can enter the area and walk in the garden but some also claim that:
    "They permit only the children to enter the area"

As for the insiders:

> "They bring their tea pots and want to have a picnic and leave their garbage."

Besides the negative views on the site, most claim that it is beautiful and secure. They admire the life inside the gates except for the neighbourhood relations. Although neighbourhood relations are effective in preventing crime especially robbery, the residents of Park Renaissance do not have strong neighbourhood relationship within themselves. As one of the outsiders claims;

> "They seperate themselves from us."
> "Everybody should be able to enter the area. Status discrimination is not good"
> "Gated communities are isolated areas"

On the other hand, Park Renaissance Residents believe that they have added much to the quality of the surrounding with such a well-maintained area, claiming that the plot was full of garbage and wild plants before the establishment of this gated community.

The increasing property prices inside the gates prove this fact. From 2000 to 2007 the prices increased two to three times. The saling price of villa type of houses is nearly 1 trillion TL, the prices of the apartment flats are 400-750 billion TL.

2. CONCLUSIONS

The research question of this paper is to settle down the reasons behind the emergence of gated communities in Turkey but also considering the fact that the motivations behind the gates is unique for each settlement over the world. The literature gives different examples from different cities each presenting (a) different factor(s) from security to a marketing device. So it is important to discuss the reason(s) of living in a gated community specific to Park Renaissance Residences in Ankara, more or less giving the picture in Turkish cities. .

Both demand-and supply-side reasons are effective in the emergence of Park Renaissance Residences. Security is stated as the primary reason for the residents, followed by prestige and lifestyle in 2007. But the survey held in 2003 gives a different allocation, lifestyle being the primary reason followed by security and prestige given in an enclosed area. Within this context lifestyle preferences as shaped in the hands of the developers as a marketing device, become preliminary in the choice of the residents but in time they left their place to security with an increasing element of fear of crime in the city of Ankara as explained by the General Director of Security. This can be explained with the developments in Europe and the US as described with the realities of a globilizing world characterized by income polarization and urban poverty. The findings show that the residents first preferred Park Renaissance because of the lifestyle the area offers them as expressed in the advertisements of the site; a gated community, secure and prestigious with its playgrounds, swimming pools and a beautiful garden so supporting supply-side effects shaped with the efforts of the developers as a marketing device. The salesperson was stressing their peevishness in choosing the people they are selling a house in the community. They were in fact offering a lifestyle equipped with status and prestige.

However the enclosed area offered them all the luxuries of security especially for the children.

With this finding, the situation in Park Renaissance Residences is a good representative of the gated communities in Turkey. But the fact of security especially for the children away from the dangers of traffic, appears to be the primary reason behind the formation of gated communities in Turkey more than lifestyle and privacy.

However, most of the residents are satisfied with the lifestyle given to them. They are proud of being aresident of the Park Renaissance. They mention the garden parties organized every summer. This is to build a strong neighbourhood pattern among the residents but in fact does not work. Most work very hard ady and night, some do not like the others. One calims;

> "Most are very rich but their cultural background is very weak."

There are small groups of women in contact but this does not prove a strong relationship. It is in fact not a community but an enforced group came together in their living environments, isolated from the outsiders in an enclosed area after the gates. However the outsiders do not think themselves as outsiders. They are mostly satisfied with the scenery. They in fact admire the life inside the gates as they think to be far away from every kind of crime. They want to enclose their sites as well if they can, especially for security reasons. This area has in fact become a model for the future as a liveable area in the city especially for the suburban areas as in the case of the METU site. So it is surprising that the life in gated communities is not critical but attractive for the outsiders. They rarely mention the externalities such as the breakdown of civic life or residential segregation.

At the other end of the spectrum, although the Mayor opened the garden to the outsiders, there are not legal restrictions for gated communities to enclose public roads and open areas in Turkey. There is neither a legal setting nor an institutional framework in Turkey for the development of private governments as in the case of Homeowners Associations. The General Director of Security on the other hand says that they support these kinds of housing areas because they cannot be effective enough facing with the increasing crime rates in Ankara. On the other hand the management of the site is the primary problem for most of the residents. The first group of managers wanted to implement strict rules as in Homeowners Associations of the American and European models but they faced with protest. They always blame the others of not being urbanites.

As McKenzie [16: 189-190] states:

> "... the private governments are not a passing fashion but an important institution reflecting the ideological shift toward privatism that is characteristic of the neo-liberal consensus. … This is a kind of localised identity formation… Some scholars like to think of this process as social capital formation, … and some think it is a voluntary community. … typically this institution gathers a group of affluent people together and forces them to think of themselves

in relationship to the institution and the neighborhood it represents."

Called as 'separate worlds', 'isolated communities', or 'social islands' [14], gated communities are cut-off from the wider community and do not bring economic benefits to the local area [14]. McKenzie [16] calls gated communities 'privatopia' because it represents the pursuit of utopian aspirations through privatisation of public life.

Finally, it must be remembered that, in Anatolia, the tradition of establishing fortified settlements have faded after the decline of the Byzantine / East Roman Empire at the end of the Middle Ages. It is known that there were only two cities in southern-Anatolia, namely Adalia and Antioch, during the prosperous ages of the Ottoman Empire having walls between their districts and controlled entrances. Does the neo-liberal policies force us to turn back to the history?

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