Urban and Spatial View of Gated Communities as Transformation Products: An Experimental Study

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ABSTRACT

In every era of history architecture has been formed under the influence of social, political and economical changes, and the change of social life has also affected its spatial formations. In line with the multiple transformations in economical, political, socio-cultural contexts and the strategies of the capitalist system on urban space, cities have entered a restructuring process by becoming the focal points of global capital. After 1980, in many cities around the world, starting to move to housing estates which are formed as residence groups in and outside the city limits, gated communities emerged as a controlled way of living areas. In this study, the settlements referred to as gated communities in the literature have been interpreted as a spatial expression of socioeconomic inequality. In this direction, the emergence of gated communities, which are considered as the appearance of urban and spatial segregation, and the tension it creates in the society are examined over the city of Ankara, for the example of Ankara Park Vadi, a survey study was conducted with the participants living around the gated housing complex, questioning the social sustainability qualities of the space and the house. According to the survey data obtained, it was claimed that there was a 'tension' created by the gated settlements. As a result of this tension, the sense of belonging to the place where people live decreases, social habits and relations in the settlements are broken, and the social sustainability quality of the spaces disappears.

KEYWORDS

Architectural design, Housing, Gated community, Social sustainability, Urban space.

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INTRODUCTION

In every era of history, architecture has been formed under the influence of social, political and economical changes, and the change of social life has also affected its spatial formations. In line with the multiple transformations in economical, political, socio-cultural contexts and the strategies of the capitalist system on urban space, cities have entered a restructuring process by becoming the focal points of global capital (Bal & Altun, 2009). Housing, as the most experienced form of Architecture, has undergone changes as a result of these transformations in the world at the end of the 20th century.

After 1980, new middle and upper classes in many cities around the world started to move to luxury gated communities, which were built as high-density residences in the city center or low-rise residential communities in the city peripheries with large capital investments. In this context, the gated community, which emerged as controlled and planned living spaces in the city or its neighbourhood, was discovered in the 1980s as a new way of presenting the classical housing structure to the consumer with a different spatial organization (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). These areas, which contain different services and functions for various needs, in a defined and controlled area isolated from the outside world; they present aestheticized daily life practices and lifestyles by enriching them with images and simulations (images of different parts of the world, artificial landscapes, etc.). Ritzer talks about the dizzying abundance of these environments that allow, encourage or even force us to consume goods and services, and calls them "new cathedrals of consumption" (Ritzer, 2000).

In this study, gated communities will be discussed as the appearance of urban and spatial segregation, the emergence of this subject and the tension in the society will be examined over the city of Ankara, and the reasons will be questioned.

CITY, HOUSING AND TRANSFORMATION

According to Altman, the vital importance of housing in society is an unchangeable fact and it has great vital value for every living thing in need of shelter. Housing is a protector and has witnessed every moment of human life (Altman, 1993).

incedayı describes the house as a social phenomenon. Housing affects not only the family or individual living in it, but also the environment in which it is located. İncedayı also stated that it would be a shortcoming to consider the housing issue only as a tool that meets our shelter needs. If we take the place and texture in the house in general, it means that its environment has developed as a life style unit (İncedayı, 2003). Erman also considered the house as an indicator of the existing social strata, as well as the need for shelter. Arguing that housing plays a role in social segregation, Erman says that people's addresses are an important sign of who they are in the society and in which class and stratum they belong (Erman, 2012). In this respect, the 'belonging' dimension of the dwelling formed by the individual is also important. People define who and what they are, to a significant degree, by where they live. The environments they live in constitute an important part of people's identities (Altman & Low, 1992).

Dener mentions that existence is actually change and characterizes the dwelling as an organism, which needs to change independently of its form in order to survive. Housing, as an organism, is in constant change. This is necessary for the continuity of both housing and the society that needs it. In this sustainability, it has to assimilate and develop its conceptual infrastructure, to isolate from unnecessary things and to renew itself with the changing of social structure, lifestyle, meaning and needs (Dener, 1994). Housing is changing conceptually, spatially or formally, and this change will perhaps accelerate in the future, but it will still continue to be a vital means of shelter for the society and to continue its existence as a home. As an organic entity, the house will never lose its vital meaning for the society and

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the individual, but it will continue to exist with other conceptual and formal identities by constantly changing.

URBAN SPATIAL SEGREGATION

The change in consumption habits and the desire for similar commodities and lifestyles all over the world, independent of cultural identity (social habits), as a result of the spread of global information with communication technologies, especially the effect of advertisements is seen to be important. Baudrillard (2004) mentions that advertising is not a news-information tool, but a communication tool that turns into its own message and uses various languages (slogan, sign, sign, sound) to make the society believe in its own discourse. Lefebvre (2007) states that advertising not only presents an ideology of consumption; It expresses that it offers a design of the consumer 'I' that is satisfied with its consumer identity, realizes itself through actions and coincides with its own image or ideal. At this point, gated community life is tried to be imposed on the society as a tool of marketed images.

The intense flow of people towards cities is one of the most important factors in explaining the fragmentation of urban space. As Sennett states in his book 'The Decline of the Public Man'; As cities filled with people, these people began to lose their functional connection with each other. 'With this intense flow of people, urban life is becoming more and more colorless and finally the public space is disappearing' (Sennett, 2002).

As a result of the understanding of private life that rose with the fear of the unknown, people got away from this crazy crowd and imprisoned themselves in safe places. The fears that once caused the establishment of the city have been replaced by 'urban fears' in our age; Fears of the 'enemy within'. This type of fear is more concerned with the isolation and security of one's own home within the city than with the integrity and security of the city as a whole as the collective guarantee of collective property and

individual security. The walls that once surrounded the city divide the city from the inside in many different directions (Sennett, 2002).

With the contributions of the global economy, hegemony has created its existence by reducing the space and keeping it under control, homogenizing it with the concepts of separation, exclusion, marginalization, privatization, community, protected, surveilled, consumption culture in urban spatial formations.

The individual's desire to belong to a place is determinant in his social behavior. At this point, concepts such as clustering, congregation and grouping emerge in the urban area. The concept of communityization is a phenomenon that we encounter in spatial separation, as well as dating back to ancient times in the existence of cities (Sennet, 2002).

According to Alver (2009), the focus of urban segregation is whether the city is divided by classes, cultures (and subcultures), actors, groups, communities, partially the fragmentation of the urban integrity or corresponds to its position against another. In particular, the monopolization and sharing of material and cultural capital by certain groups; political, economic interest and rent calculations; Various factors, such as the more rational and therefore economical use of the city, form the basis of urban segregation. Therefore, urban and spatial segregation is a clear indication of borders, differences, segregation, stratification, classification and division in the social structure (Alver, 2009).

Ünlü (1998) mentions the importance of two concepts in explaining stress, choice and suitability. The choice of settlement and migration from one place to another are considered as a result of the environmental quality and the push and pull factors of the environment. Gated communities as urban spatial differentiation and segregation bring social and spatial isolation. There are two forms of isolation, voluntary and involuntary. The party

producing the voluntary isolation lives behind walls under strict security measures to protect itself from others. This willingness and non-voluntariness is a stressful situation in itself.

GATED COMMUNITIES AS URBAN AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION VIEWS

Today, the meaning of housing for high-income groups, namely the wealthy of the city, is constructed through high status, elitism, privilege and luxury/pretentious consumption. Housing is for this segment, by keeping itself away from the chaos and social and physical 'pollution' of the city (Ayata, 2003), creating a homogeneous community by coming together with people who think and live like themselves, earn and consume like themselves, and separate itself from other segments of the society, thereby increasing its belonging. it emerges as a means of getting away from its responsibilities towards the city and society by isolating itself from the other segments of the society and the city.

It is possible to say that the factors that reveal the gated housing estates are based on the capitalist economy and consumption culture, and the first reason for their formation is the political and economic transformations at the end of the 20th century (Low, 2003). After 1980, they are presented with print and visual media advertisements as 'different' and 'ideal' houses, self-sufficient with social facilities, high security service, in the natural peripheries of many cities in the world and in areas with the advantage of location in city centers. Although it initially started as a low-rise residential practice on the periphery, 'closedness' and 'security' aspects came to the fore; In order to meet the housing need in the city center, more compact and multi-storey examples have also started to be produced. After 1980, when an important outward expansion process was experienced in Turkey as well, the adoption of neo-liberal policies and the integration of the capitalist restructuring process in the world, together with the concentration of capital

accumulation in the cities and the urban space becoming a means of rent, constituted the main driving force of the gated housing estates (Bal & Altun, 2009).

When considering the concept of the gated community, the importance of the border and its surroundings and the tensions at the borders should be taken into account. The gated communities which visually limit the space with walls, fences, doors and similar separating elements and also set social and economic boundaries, are closed to the access of unwanted persons and are located in the urban area with border arrangements protected by special security techniques and teams. An important feature of closed communities is that they do not only consist of housing groups, but also that there are social reinforcement areas that serve these houses and that the public space is privatized.

CASE STUDY: ANKARA PARK VADI HOUSING SAMPLING

Park Vadi Houses, which is a mixed type closed settlement in the city center of Ankara, was chosen as a sample. At the end of the study, the targeted; The aim is to determine the socio-spatial structure of this site and the consequences of the life changed by the closed settlements in Ankara. Park Vadi Houses are located around Dikmen Valley in the center of the city and dominate the view of the valley. The changing profile of the valley users and the viewpoints of the residences around the Park Vadi Houses to the valley are investigated.

A survey will be applied to the samples selected in the case study. The questions are multiple choice and sequencing is preferential. The questionnaire was prepared to obtain data on user profile, socio-economic structure, and social-spatial structure. The aim of the survey study is to determine the data on the user profile, socio-economic and cultural structure, spatial structure and the changing role of these settlements, and to make a generalization over these settlements.

Park Vadi Houses



Figure 1. Dikmen valley housing (URL-1).

Park Vadi Houses are located in Dikmen Valley, south of Ankara. As seen in Figure 1, there is a green valley in the middle of a dense residential pattern around it. Dikmen Valley covers an area of approximately 250 hectares in size (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Dikmen valley housing and environmental development Project (URL-2).

On the Hoşdere side of the valley, there are Park Vadi Çankaya Houses (Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 5) consisting of 5 blocks with 100 flats, Park Vadi Terrace Houses consisting of two blocks and terrace houses on the Dikmen side, and a total of 1120 residences, four of which are allocated to the beneficiaries.



Figure 3. A view from Dikmen valley housing and environmental development project (Demirci, 2004).



Figure 4. Dikmen Valley Park valley houses site plan (Demirci, 2004).



Figure 5. Dikmen Valley Park valley houses (URL-3).

Evaluation of the impact of Park Vadi Housing, which is a gated community in the Dikmen Valley region selected for the case study, on its surroundings

was obtained through a survey study. For the survey, 15 people living in the region were interviewed. The total number of people and the number of people participating in the survey were decided by simple random sampling. The survey was conducted with the neighborhood people living around the gated community, and the number of people was found to be sufficient as the results were consistent. It is aimed to examine the urban and spatial perception of gated communities through the survey study. Survey questions were prepared by the authors. The answers to the interview questions for the region were analyzed separately with graphics and presented in charts.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants in the selected gated community, including gender (Fig. 6), age (Fig. 7), education level (Fig. 8), occupation, income status and residence time in the settlement, were asked within the scope of the interview.

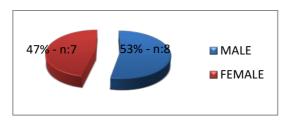


Figure 6. Gender distribution of the participants.

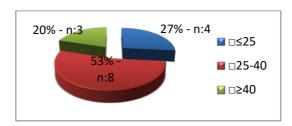


Figure 7. Age groups distribution of the participants.

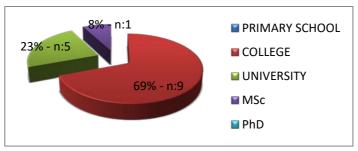


Figure 8. Education level distribution of the participants.

Distribution of the participants by occupation

The occupational profiles of the participants were gathered under seven headings in line with the answers given. The categories formed accordingly; It consists of housewife, private sector (salary employee in the private sector; accountant, assistant) employee, civil servant, retired, student, self-employed (grocer), worker. When we look at the occupational distribution of the region in general, it is seen that the participants consist of low-paid workers and housewives.

Distribution of the participants according to their income

During the interview, the question was left to the initiative of the participants, with the concern that the question of income status might cause discomfort. However, it is concluded that the rate of income is low in direct proportion to occupations.

Distribution of the participants according to their residence time

The duration of residence of the participants in the area (Fig. 9) where they are participating in the interview is required to measure the attachment of the participants to the place and their ownership of the place. Duration of residence; they are grouped under three groups: up to 10 years, 11-20 years and more than 21 years.

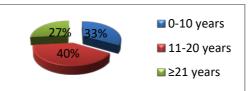
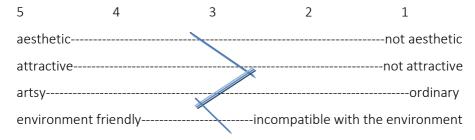


Figure 9. Distribution of the participants according to their residence time.

In the part of the case study up to this point, the distribution of the sociodemographic characteristics of the participants in the regions is seen. In the next part, the answers given to the interview form, which consists of 20 questions at the beginning, are evaluated with graphics. These; questions about the physical perception of the settlement, questions based on social solidarity and neighborhood relations, questions about the perception of the social and environmental effects of the settlement, and questions about dependency on the place.

The gated community image of the participants in the regions - What are your thoughts on the exterior of the site?

Table 1. The gated community image of the participants in the regions.



In general, it is seen that the weighted averages are concentrated at the medium level, that is, at the level of 3 (Table 1). This shows that the general

perception of the gated community is neither very positive nor very negative.

Satisfaction with the existence of a gated community (Fig. 10) and satisfaction with the gated community walls (Fig. 11) are graphed. Accordingly, there is a high level of dissatisfaction with the walls of the gated community.

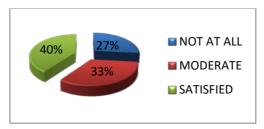


Figure 10. Satisfaction with the existence of a gated community.

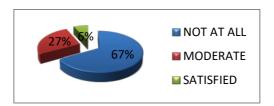


Figure 11. Satisfaction with the gated community walls.

Request for access to the gated settlement - Would you like to be able to enter and exit the site comfortably?

The desire to enter and exit the gated settlement in the Park Valley region was approximately equal. Among the reasons for this situation, one; two; besides the reasons why I don't wonder or care about what's inside, and don't want to go inside; It is desired to enter inside for reasons such as wondering inside, wanting to use social facilities. Getting into the gated

settlement is difficult and gradual (showing identity to the security, giving the name of the person you come to, calling that person and getting through after approval) is not desired because it is a difficult task. The main reason for not wanting to create tension here; Blocking the entrance to an urban area with walls creates discomfort (Fig. 12).

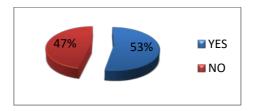


Figure 12. Request for access to the gated settlement.

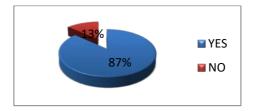


Figure 13. A preference for a settlement without a wall instead of a settlement with a door.

87% of the participants around Park Vadi stated that they preferred a residential area without walls in place of Park Vadi residences (Fig. 13). According to this result, the discomfort felt from the wall is quite high.

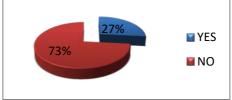


Figure 14. The case of wondering about the gated settlement.

The rate of those who are curious about the life in the gated community in the Park Valley region has increased to 27%. 73% of the participants (Fig. 14) in this region are not curious about the life in the gated community. The reasons for this are that they have been inside before, they are not curious or they do not like this kind of life. In addition, the fact that they think their own life is no different from the inside is a factor here.

Discomfort near the wall - Do you experience any discomfort when walking near the wall of the site?

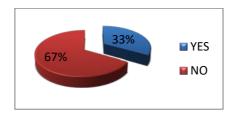


Figure 15. Discomfort near the wall.

67% of respondents in the Park Valley region do not experience any discomfort when walking next to the gated residential wall. 33% of the participants state that they feel discomfort (Fig. 15). Among the causes of this ailment are; aesthetic concerns, incompatibility with the environment and the perception of this wall in the urban area as a 'prison wall' come from. Another reason is that they perceive the wall as separation. In addition, the

participants feel distressed because the wall does not allow visual contact. The perception of the wall carries tension. The reason for not feeling uncomfortable in general is related to not being able to pass through the area where the walls are and the height of the wall being not disturbing.

Frequency of meeting with those in the gated community - How often do you meet with those on the site?

In the interview, the questions were about the thoughts and perceived differences about the residents of the gated settlement and the social relations (Fig. 16) and it was tried to understand how the residents outside the gated settlement perceived the inside from the outside. In this direction, the question asked to the participants; is the frequency of meeting with residents of gated communities.

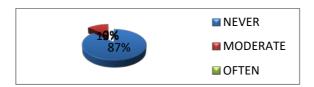


Figure 16. Frequency of meeting with those in the gated community.

In general, the lack of contact of those inside and outside the gated community is seen as a problem for the future. Spatial segregation appears to be parallel to social segregation. This is a situation that triggers the tension put forward in the research.

How do you think the people living on the site?

Table 2. The perceived image of the residents.

	4	3	2	1
respec	ctful			disrespectful
helpfu	ıl			not helpful
friend	ly-warm			cold
related to the environmentirrelevan				

The 9th question of the interview (Table 2) was aimed at how the residents of the gated community were perceived by the people around and was scaled by scoring the given adjective pairs. However, this question was canceled after the answers given to the previous question, since people in the gated settlement were not interviewed.

Whether the residents of the gated settlements are tied to the ground

The other question of the interview (Fig. 17) is about the perception of the residents of gated settlements by their dependence on the ground.

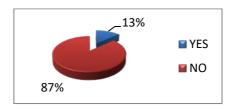


Figure 17. Whether the residents of the gated settlements are tied to the ground.

87% of the respondents in the Park Valley region think that the residents of the gated settlements do not belong to that place. The reasons for this are that they are not like the local people, do not use the neighborhood and do not deal with their problems, do not walk in the way and do not talk to anyone. Participants do not see the residents of gated communities as neighborhood residents. It was stated that they had nothing to do with the area they were in, only that their mukhtars were the same. There is no reason tying the gated residents who are not in contact with anyone to the ground. Because he has established an introverted life in which he can provide the same environment in any place. Their position has no effect on the created life. This situation is perceived this way by outsiders and this situation causes stress.

Perception of similarity with those living in the gated community - Do you find the people living in the site similar to you in terms of income level, education and origin?

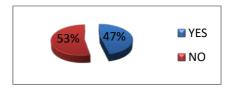


Figure 18. Perception of similarity with those living in the gated community.

Participants in the Park Valley region were evaluated whether they found themselves different or similar to those living in the gated community. Accordingly, 53% of the participants stated that they saw themselves as different from those in the gated settlement, while 47% stated that there was no difference (Fig. 18). It is thought that the fact that it is in the center

in terms of its urban location and that there are not great differences in socio-economic terms is effective in the answers that there is no perception of difference.

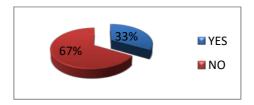


Figure 19. Perception of privilege of gated settlement life.

While 67% of the participants do not see living in a gated community as a privilege, 33% see it as a privilege (Fig. 19). The fact that the Park Valley region is in a central location in terms of urban location and that the participants live in the same area is said to be the reason why being in a gated community does not create a privilege. The physical appearance and good environmental quality of the site are effective in the privilege response.

Do you find yourself luckier in terms of neighborly relations than those in the complex (Fig. 20)?

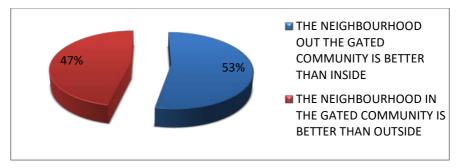


Figure 20. Comparison of neighbourly relations inside and outside the gated community.

Has there been a change in the habits of the neighborhood with the existence of the site?

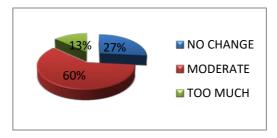


Figure 21. Perception of the social life of the gated community.

Has there been any change in neighborhood relations with the existence of the site?

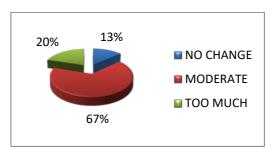


Figure 22. Perception of the social life of the gated community.

Was the neighbourhood a safe place for children before the

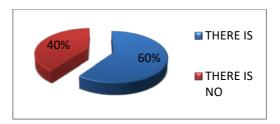


Figure 23. Perception of the social life of the gated community.

The opinions of the participants on whether the gated settlement has an effect on the social habits in the settlement were tried to be understood with questions 14, 15 and 16 (Fig. 21, Fig. 22, Fig. 23). The result is the longing of the participants who are old enough to remember the past, in order to feel that they belong here more. It is a definite result that the gated complex creates a change in the habits of the settlement.

Do you consider yourself from here?

site existed?

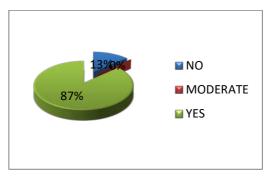


Figure 24. Belonging to the place.

87% of the participants see themselves as belonging to this district (Fig. 24). This result is due to the high number of participants who have lived here for

many years, and the satisfaction with the place they live in. In the residential area, which is located in the center due to its urban location, the rate of ownership of the place is quite high.

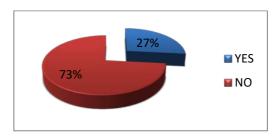


Figure 25. Request to move.

The graph (Fig. 25) shows whether participants in the Park Valley region are considering relocating from the region. Accordingly, 73% of the participants do not consider moving from the region. Because they love the neighborhood they live in.

Would you like to live on this site if given the opportunity?

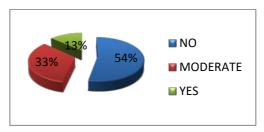


Figure 26. Desire to live in a gated community.

The graphic (Fig. 26) shows the desire to live in the gated community in the Dikmen Valley region. Accordingly, 54% of the participants did not want this, while the other half stated that they wanted it (13%) or could happen (33%).

The idea of living in a gated community was asked in relation to the quality of social facilities and physical environment. Among the unwilling group, not wanting to live in a place isolated from its environment predominates. Fear of not being able to adapt to such a life culturally and seeing one's own life better can also be counted as the reasons for not wanting to live in a gated community.

CONCLUSION

Theodor W. Adorno talks about a dual structure in the contemporary world, which is based on the constant defeat of high culture and popular culture. Popular architectural media defines and promotes the "extraordinary" with the virtual representation environment it creates, and does this by visualizing architectural values as much as possible (Adorno, 2004). If the products, which were in a marginal position at the beginning, have the potential to come to power, they are accepted, become widespread, become ordinary with the speed of the communication age we live in and become a part of the current order. The residential settlement process within the consumption culture and marketing dynamics can be handled in a similar way.

In cities that are globalizing and trying to globalize, space is valued or devalued as a tool of capital. Accordingly, owning or using the valued space differentiates the society in terms of class. The desire to own what is valued brings class conflicts. This basic socio-economic process continues to feed on itself within the system of capitalism. Gated communities are a form of spatial organization offered by the aforementioned economic process of the globalizing world. In the cycle where capitalism consumes and reproduces its resources, gated housing settlements have emerged in the urban space. The main feature of the gated communities comes from the way of demarcation. The border is always provocative because it separates someone from someone else. If the boundaries are created with

assumptions and emphasized by feeding on discourse, they cause a reaction. In this context, it is claimed that there is a 'tension' created by the gated community. As a result of this tension, the sense of belonging to the place where people live decreases, social habits and relations in the settlements are broken, and the social sustainability quality of the spaces disappears. In order to examine this tension, a survey study was conducted on the sample selected in this study. The survey questions were determined according to parameters such as appearance, social relationship, environmental effects, and belonging, and were made to the residents of the area living around the gated community. When the answers are examined, it is seen that a statistically significant result emerges in the perception of the exterior of the gated settlement, the presence of the gated settlement, the ease of access, the security perception of the wall, the curiosity about the gated settlement, the liking of the houses in the gated settlement and the urban location. In the same way, it has been observed that there is a statistically significant relationship with the urban location regarding the belonging of the residents of the gated settlement to the neighborhood, the perception of the gated settlement life as a difference, the perception of the life in the settlement as a privilege, and the neighborhood belonging of the people outside the settlement. It is understood that the gated communities, which live a life disconnected from their immediate surroundings, are not physically warm and in harmony with their surroundings by the people around. The walls forming the borders of the gated community are perceived as a symbol of marginalization and segregation. It has emerged in the interviews that spatial segregation brings social segregation along with it. As a result of the survey and interviews, the following conclusion is reached: Spatial segregations, which may or may not be integrated with the area in which they are located, constitute a source of environmental stress. The walls around the settlement have the potential to create tension beyond the source of stress.

As a result, a physical environment with a high quality of life, a social life in which income distribution is equal, a system where the law works quickly and reliably, planning approaches that value people, 'participatory democracy' that will be created in the context of public rights of the people, a social system with a clean society understanding, socially there is a need to understand and solve the vision of life culture and the falsity of any understanding of segregation.

Ethics Committee Declaration

Ethics committee approval dated 04.02.2023 and numbered E-96274976-100-16724 was obtained by Ostim Technical University Ethics Committee.

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