

**ADVERTISING MEDIA AND HOUSING
PRODUCTION: GATED COMMUNITIES OF
ISTANBUL IN THE POST-2000S**

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**by
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ABSTRACT

ADVERTISING MEDIA AND HOUSING PRODUCTION: GATED COMMUNITIES OF ISTANBUL IN THE POST-2000S

In this dissertation I investigate how the marketing strategies of the developing consumer society has infiltrated the marketing of high end housing in Istanbul as a corollary development of globalization. I aim to analyze marketing strategies as active agents that shape the design of these newly emerging housing developments based on the theme of ‘an ideal life style’ through advertising media in the form of TV commercials, newspaper ads, publicity brochures etc.

This study also focuses on the representation and dissemination of this elusive ‘ideal’ to the public via the advertising campaigns of these housing settlements. Therefore the cases that the study is based on concentrates on the Turkish architectural scene after 1990 when consumer culture’s most significant impacts on architectural products are observed. The study observes that the marketing of this new type of suburbanization in Turkey is concomitant with the rise of a new middle class that has a high purchasing power. Therefore I analyse the life style characteristics of architectural projects that provide for this class, according to Bourdieu’s conceptualization of life styles, and aim to uncover how this conceptualization reflects on the marketing of high-end housing.

In this regard, the concept of ‘distinction’ will be used as key theoretical tool to analyse the qualities of environments proposed in the selected cases. The relation between the advertising strategies of a ‘distinct life style’ and its legitimization process which directly affect the ‘fabrication’ of these specialized housing settlements will remain at the core of my thesis problem.

ÖZET

REKLAM MEDYASI VE KONUT ÜRETİMİ: 2000 SONRASI İSTANBUL'UNDA KAPALI YERLEŞKELER

Bu tezde; küreselleşmenin sonucu olarak gelişen tüketim toplumunun pazarlama stratejilerinin, İstanbul'daki lüks konut üretimine nasıl nüfuz ettiğini inceleyeceğim. İstanbul'daki bu yeni tür konut önerilerini, televizyon reklamları, gazete ilanları, tanıtım broşürleri, vb. biçimindeki reklam araçları üzerinden, 'ideal bir yaşam tarzı' temasına dayanarak, etkin bir şekilde biçimlendiren pazarlama stratejilerini incelemeyi amaçlıyorum.

Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda bu tür lüks konut gruplarının pazarlama kampanyaları vasıtasıyla, bu erişilmez 'ideal'in halka, sunumu ve yayılımı üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Bundan dolayı, çalışmanın dayandığı örnekler, tüketim kültürünün, mimari üründe en önemli etkilerinin görüldüğü, 1990 sonrası Türk mimarlık sahnesinde yoğunlaşacaktır. Çalışma, Türkiye'deki bu yeni tip altkentleşmenin pazarlanmasında yüksek alım gücüne sahip, yükselen bir değer olarak yeni orta sınıfın eşlik ettiğine dikkat çekmektedir. Bu bakımdan, bu sınıfa sunulan mimari projelerin yaşam tarzı özelliklerini, Bourdieu' nün yaşam tarzları kavramlaştırmalarına dayanarak analiz ederek, bu kavramlaştırmanın lüks konut gruplarının pazarlanmasına ne şekilde yansıyor olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlıyorum.

Bu bağlamda, 'farklılık' kavramı anahtar kavramsal araç olarak, seçilen örneklerde; sunulan önerilerin çevresel kalitelerini analiz etmekte kullanılacaktır. Doğrudan doğruya bu özelleşmiş konut yerleşkelerinin üretimini etkileyen, 'farklı bir yaşam tarzı' teması ve bunun meşrulaştırma süreci arasındaki ilişki tez problemimin esasını oluşturacaktır.

To Cemre Şölen,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Housing production in Turkey is dominated by marketing strategies and advertising jargon more than any time in the past. Offering innumerable versions of the ‘ideal house’ to the upper middle class clientele, marketing strategies seem to prefigure architectural production more than anything else like references to cultural traditions (such as the ‘Traditional Turkish House’ which were prevalent in the 1980s) Mass media is the most common and effective way for marketing these settlements. In the housing commercials, the major strategy is to make customers believe that it is not only an ideal home that one buys in the end, but it is distinction and privileged status.¹

There has been a remarkable growth of gated communities in almost all metropolises around the world. Different forms of gated communities have also been spreading to other world cities as well. Similarly, gated communities emerged in Istanbul in the beginning of 1990s and their numbers have continued to increase since then. Embedded in the political economy and cultural imaginary of neo-liberal American urbanism of recent decades, the gated community is becoming a global commodity and cultural icon eagerly consumed by urban elites.² This study, therefore, is interested in the result of the social, cultural and economic change which is closely linked to globalization.

While recent literature emphasises the ‘global spread’ of gated communities, the physical form of gating has existed for a long time in history. The gate and walls can be dated back to the walled city used for military defence. Gating, at that time, was not a contentious issue because it was not a device for social exclusion. However, the meaning of gating has changed or other functions of gating has been rediscovered in today’s postmodernist era. The concept of ‘gated community’ involves a complex tension- as

¹ Keyder, Çağlar. İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2006.

² McKenzie, Edward. Constructing the Pomerium in Las Vegas: a case study of emerging trends in American gated communities. *Housing Studies* 20:2 ,2005:187-203.

the discourse of ‘community’ it emphasises shared lifestyles and values which enhance social interaction, yet as a gated space it excludes non-members from social interaction.

During the past 30 years, the meaning of lifestyle has shifted from the acquisition of a stable privilege of social status³ to that of an aggressive demand for cultural capital⁴. Attention to lifestyles has given rise to novel spatial configurations that cater for consumption. In the print media readers are shown images and text illustrating a vast array of design products that they are encouraged to purchase, use and display in their homes which express good taste, appropriate style, high status and achievement of success. Advertising therefore is the major fuel of conspicuous consumption⁵ in which commodities take the role of sign values in conveying social meaning and forming the basis of status hierarchies based on social distinction⁶. In these terms the home-related designs and products as well as the homes themselves referred to in magazine articles and advertising are more than objects, they signify a social end.

What concerns this study is that the most significant element that dominates the discourse of advertising media is the representation of a type of housing as indispensable to a new life style associated with a ‘new Turkey.’ The assertions of such ‘a new life style’ are externalized under the striking slogans of each development as ‘Yepyeni Bir Mavi-Yaşam Projesi’ (A Brand New Blue-Lifetime Project), ‘Yaşam Resitali Devam Ediyor’ (Lifetime recital goes on), ‘Ayrımenkul’ (≈Distinct-immeuble), ‘Konsept California’dan, Peyzaj İtalya’dan, İç Mimari Türkiye’den’ (Concept from California, Landscape from Italy, Interior Design from Turkey), ‘Mesa İSTediginiz yaşamı İstanbul’da kurguluyor’ (Mesa constructs the life you desire in İSTanbul). This ‘new life style’ is represented via new practices of dwelling among those who share a similar life-style, based upon the idea of total security and isolation against the disorder, dust, noise, and crowds of the city, feeding upon the fear of urban crime and violence, characteristic of a metropolis in global disarray.

In order to investigate the effects of globalization and marketing upon housing production, I benefited from the conceptual framework formulated by Pierre Bourdieu

³ Weber, Max. *Essay in Sociology*. Edited and Translated by Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

⁴ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:114.

⁵ Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of Leisure Class*, Dover –Thrift Editions, Dover Publications, New York:1994:43 (Veblen, T. [1899] *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. London: Allen and Unwin)

⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts,1984:156.

in his studies on lifestyle and taste. I analysed the marketing campaigns of several high-end gated communities as case studies in which this conceptual framework bore important results. I selected these case studies with an eye on how publicity products shape and define consumer choices, as a direct result of ‘creative titleing’, that is the writing of names, mottoes and slogans tailored to accompany the housing projects’ imagery. The primary sources for this analysis were the projects’ representational tools for marketing, which are the original project catalogs, brochures, films and computer animations. The examples selected are physically and socially segregated urban settlements that target privileged high-income groups. I aim to understand how the design and marketing of a number of gated communities in İstanbul are affected within the context of global urban transformations—decentralization, dissolution between locality and architecture, spatial segregation, and social change- and its direct reflections on Turkey. By examining the ratio of a development firms’ investment in marketing in the overall cost of a housing development and comparing this ratio to the number invested in architectural design, I aim to question the hierarchical relationship between architecture and marketing as well.

In discussing questions of design and their use in marketing media, I aim to understand and demonstrate how global inventories of lifestyles and their projection onto architecture are inserted into local contexts. Via the re-articulation of global models and local realities by means of marketing media I will question how such an articulation is embedded in the production of housing and the qualities of the environment. Reviewing a number of recent projects I illustrate how they all address high material demands, social fear, and promise safe and healthy homes enveloped in a community of like-minded neighbours. Drawing on recent theoretical debates on the increasing segregation of urban spaces and the disappearance of public spaces, this study also speculates the use and limits of such theorizations for media as a shaper of taste and consumption patterns.

In this dissertation I am not interested in how architectural production is directly affected by the marketing process of architecture but the marketing process itself with a focus on. How architecture is marketed and to whom. Looking at the examples in İstanbul, it can easily be seen that gated community investors and the municipality prefer to develop the periphery and the north of İstanbul where there is better access to the natural environment - such as a good panorama of forest or sea- and to achieve superior living standards in order to compensate for their removal from the metropolis.

High-income groups leave the city centre due to the relatively decreasing quality of life in inner-city areas caused by the problems of rapid urbanization such as congested residential areas, lack of open and green sites, traffic and parking problems, if not due to problems of social class. Metropolitan peripheries have become development areas for major housing developments as an alternative to inner-city housing sites since they have better infrastructure, social and recreational facilities, security and availability of good environmental amenities. Developers also find it profitable to concentrate on peripheral areas due to the escalation of land prices around the city center. Added to these factors the earthquake risk is a major force that affects the residential market, and there is a tendency to relocate to building areas that allow for stronger foundations after the devastation caused by the 1999 Marmara earthquake.

Together with the rise of living standards and the appearance of new social classes, developers are urged to devise new marketing strategies. The strategies usually center around; '*a distinct life style*' '(a lifestyle or a neighbourhood life- yaşam biçimi ya da 'mahalle hayatı')' and '*place names*' (Turkish place or brand names (mahalle, semt, şehir) are usually coupled with the English 'residence' 'town', 'village' or 'country' to attract target groups) that signify a recovery of values that are deemed lost during modernization and concurrent social change as one result of globalization.

According to H. T. Şengül class relations began to be redefined in the 1990s, when urban areas were transformed by means of large scale investments such as shopping malls, five star hotels and business centres when major Turkish cities were targeted by speculative development⁷. The urban transformation caused by such economic pressure increased class polarisation. Moreover, the strategies followed by the central government and local governments were directed towards the exchange value of urban space rather than its use value which legalised and even promoted speculation.⁸ The perception of urban space as a commodity with high exchange value, gave way to several market strategies implemented to appropriate the highest rate of profit. In this new era, housing became one of the most important commodities signifying status for

⁷ Şengül, H.Tarık.'Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset - Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar', Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi (WALD), İstanbul:2001: 89

⁸ ibid.94.

the new middle class. According to Öncü the survival strategy of the middle classes has chiefly centred upon the domain of consumption symbolized by the ideal home.⁹

As David Chaney argues, although ‘traditionally occupation and profession determined social class and thus an individual’s way of life’, in the second half of the twentieth century ‘leisure activities and/or consumer habits are being increasingly experienced by individuals as the basis of their social identity’.¹⁰ I am interested in both the environmental and architectural representations as well as attached values by which a set of signs, symbols and metaphors are being used in the marketing and the linked production of architecture that cater to the formation of social identity. Marketing agents look upon the media they create as the most powerful means of representing the notion of a ‘different’ or ‘distinct way of life’ that a housing development is expected to produce. Therefore, the case studies were examined according to the slogans and the dominant categorical phrases for each case emphasized within the marketing media of the selected housing developments.

In this respect, the study evaluates the dominant themes that are focused within the brochures of selected gated communities and sort out the repetitive discursive formations and image formations as well as the strategies they deploy for the construction of the ‘ideal home.’ These environments are introduced to the popular medium with the themes that qualify or define a ‘new way of life’ through the concepts of style and taste. Targeting, addressing class identity, status-oriented definitions of a ‘new life style’ and its sub-themes has redefined the habits, relations, beliefs and behaviours of the targeted groups legitimizing class-based values and their related practices.

In Istanbul's residential market all advertising texts that frame the visual representations of 'the ideal homes' narrate a similar story, constructed via the metaphors of 'nature' and 'pollution'. What is dramatically depicted in these narrations of existing city life as bad, filthy, dirty, crime-infested, etc., is in fact self-referential and thoroughly constructed. These advertisements appropriate meanings from a repertoire of signs, symbols and images which Istanbulites are already familiar with, the global myth of the ideal home. According to Ayşe Öncü’s reading of the increasingly globalized advertising industry, the important analytical point that emerges is that ‘our ideal home’

⁹ Öncü, Ayşe. ‘The Myth of ‘Ideal Home’ Travels Across Cultural Borders To İstanbul’, *Space Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*, in A. Öncü and P. Weyland (ed.), Zed Books: London and New Jersey, 1997.

¹⁰ Chaney, David. ‘Lifestyles’, Routledge: London and New York 1996:112

has a money sign attached to it. What has travelled across cultural borders to Istanbul is the ideal home as an expensive and desirable commodity, to be bought and sold.¹¹ Confirming Öncü's findings my analyses pointed to references that circulate around the globe usually coming from beyond İstanbul, situating these developments on an obscure territorial map while architectural styles, the quest for security, community names, services and amenities linked these communities to their global peers. The Turkish advertising industry, which probably is one of the most truly globalized industries in the country, makes a remarkable use of contemporary and global consumer signs and symbols.

The study is presented in six main sections, with an appendix that presents the findings of eight case studies. The introduction briefly outlines the limits of the study, states the subject of the thesis and contains the aim and the methodology of the study. The second chapter titled 'Turkey's integration into the process of globalization' constructs the theoretical ground for globalization and Turkey's articulation into this process and evaluates this process in terms of the circulation or dissemination of consumption patterns as well as local/ global dualities within the context of the selected period. The third chapter 'Conceptualising the Urban Middle Classes in the Turkey' focuses on the upper middle class in Istanbul by analyzing emerging consumption patterns especially with reference to housing and concurrent lifestyles. The development process of gated communities in Turkey is the focus of fourth chapter titled 'the gated communities and their development process in Turkey'. In this chapter, a brief evaluation of the theoretical work on gated communities is given in relation to the housing policies and their legitimization by the Justice and Development Party (AKP), and the possible impact of these policies with regard to urban gentrification and segregation. The last chapter present a critical analysis of the case study results and findings in relation to the the marketing of gated communities in Turkey. This chapter also reflects upon the role of the advertisement industry, in keeping the market and the consumer economy stimulated by perpetuating the desire of the masses. I discuss the commodification processes of lifestyles and the reproduction of symbolic values to create an unceasing desire for consumption. In the conclusion I present my findings on

¹¹ Öncü, Ayşe 'The Myth of 'Ideal Home' Travels Across Cultural Borders To İstanbul ', Space Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities, in A. Öncü and P. Weyland (ed.), Zed Books: London and New Jersey.1997.

the the relationship between advertising media and housing production in the selected period in İstanbul.

1.2. Limits of The Study

For the case studies, I selected nine firms that produced 25 gated communities mostly located along the TEM (**T**ransit **E**uropean **M**otorway) in Bahçeşehir, Beylikdüzü, Kemerburgaz, Halkalı and some of the more central districts of Istanbul such as Fulya and Maslak and investigated the impact of their marketing strategies on architectural production by paying specific attention to marketing spending/expenses. I concentrated on the period between the year 2000 and 2005 because there had an enormous production of gated communities in İstanbul and the first examples of strong relation between marketing and gated communities, firms' incredible marketing expenses are mostly seen in that period. The advertising frequency of the project and the distinction that the project offers are other two main criteria that affected the selection.

1.3. Methodology

The study employs a qualitative methodology that combines visual and textual analysis with interviews that took place between the author and the developer firms' marketing agents. Although the interviews played the major role in data collection, the visual analysis of marketing media in any form that partook in creating the development's marketing impact were considered of potential relevance to the research question. Particularly open-ended, and in-depth interviews provided detailed information.

Mike Featherstone's analysis of consumer culture and postmodernism,¹² a rereading of Thorstein Veblen's idea of conspicuous consumption and his 'pecuniary emulation theory',¹³ Simmel's 'trickle down theory',¹⁴ the framework developed by

¹² Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991.

¹³ Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: Mentor Books, 1994[1924].

¹⁴ Simmel, George. *On Individuality and Social Forms*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1971

Pierre Bourdieu in his '*Distinction*'¹⁵ served as theoretical tools in analysing the subject. What weighed heavier for the dissertation, I believe is the conceptual framework formulated by Pierre Bourdieu in his studies on class and taste. The relationship between class identification and distinction, taste and consequent lifestyle as developed by Bourdieu were key to analysing marketing strategies and to understanding the desire for such lifestyles designed for high-end gated communities that I've selected in Istanbul.

1.4. Data Collection

I chose İstanbul to determine case studies as it has one of the highest proportion of gated housing settlements among major Turkish cities. The dynamic real estate market in Turkey also allows us to readily examine the growth of gated communities and its impact on urban life (a trend that may otherwise take several more years to be apparent in other Turkish cities). In collecting data I applied to interviews and documents such as, in the form of internet sites, newspapers, real-estate-specific journals, architecture magazines etc. The records of the selected construction firms on financial reports announcing marketing and selling expenses were also used in the analysis. The data obtained from real estates, developers, from public officials are additionally verified to support the study.

I also collected data in site visits to both construction firms and the buildings. As it is true for all the qualitative design, data collection is primarily field-based, flexible, and likely to change over the course of the study. As the study proceeded, the nature of the phenomenon under investigation became clearer, and within this qualitative approach, I had to renew my procedural decisions in order to ask more specific questions.

I started with applying a standard interview questionnaire that consisted of both multiple choice and open-ended questions. This questionnaire was prepared in order to analyse the underlying motives/desires of the new urban way of life constructed by the marketing agencies that designed the media. The questionnaire was used in face-to-face interviews conducted with the selected eight construction firms that marketed high-end housing. The questionnaire addressed the type of marketing strategies, the types of

¹⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge & Massachusetts, 1984.

media used in the marketing process, the key issues that factor into the development of their advertising messages, the importance of marketing research, the cost of their marketing process, the status of their company within the housing sector and the characteristics of the housing development. I also analysed documentary sources made available by the firms, such as publicity brochures, community bulletins, collections of advertisements published in various papers and magazines and, in some cases, various research reports prepared by the management.

The results of the analyses are presented around a set of key themes that emerged as a direct result of the case study under the main title 'Marketing 'Ideal Life Style:'. These include the 'marketing of 'Fear', the 'marketing of 'Nostalgia', the 'marketing of 'The Alternative: Isolation from the City and Closer to Nature', the 'marketing of 'originality, technology and simplicity of design', the 'marketing of 'Belonging', and the 'marketing of 'Gender'.

After the interviews were carried out in the period between April 2007 and May 2008. I focused on a number of big construction firms which are Taşyapı, Varyap-Teknik Yapı, Sinpaş GYO, Eston Yapı, Aşçıoğlu İnşaat, Dumankaya İnşaat San. ve Ticaret A.Ş., Saros İnşaat, KKG Group as they are the so-called big players in the high-end mass-housing market. The gated settlements developed by the above-mentioned companies selected are located on the most preferable locations for new housing in Istanbul such as; Bahçeşehir, Beylikdüzü-Büyükçekmece, Göktürk-Kemerburgaz, Halkalı-Esenyurt, Kilyos-Zekeriyaköy and Silivri on the European side while Ataşehir, Ümraniye-Çekmeköy, Samandıra-Ömerli, Kurtköy-Tepeören, Beykoz and Riva-Şile on the Asian side. Mashattan, Novus Residence, Almond-Hill, Minimal, Konsept İstanbul, Trend, Dumankaya Vizyon, Selenium Twins, Selenium City, Selenium Panaroma, Avangarden, Marenegro, Sealybria, Sinpaş Lagün, Bosphorus, Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evleri, Pelican Hill, Pelican Hill Residence, Trump Towers İstanbul, Eston Şehir, Eston Deniz, Eston Ardıçlı Evleri were the selected gated communities constructed after 2000.

The criteria for case identification was based on;

- the advertising frequency of the project,
- the rate of popularity of these gated communities,
- the value of the project,
- the distinction that the project aims to offer.
- concurrent construction dates.

The survey involved interviews with eight construction firms ranging from managers to public relation managers. In addition interviews included property speculators and marketing agencies.

CHAPTER 2

TURKEY'S INTEGRATION TO THE PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION

Major changes have taken place in the world since the early 1970s, in technology, in communications, in the organization of business activities, in the function of cities. Globalization represents one aspect, perhaps the central one, of these changes. Globalization has probably been one of the most popular concepts of our times. However, it is also certain that it lacks a precise definition. It mostly reflects a common belief in that the world is rapidly being shaped so that developments in one region of the world can have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on other parts of the globe. In parallel with this idea, limits to national politics and search for international political institutions are suggested by many. Globalization, which is principally an economic phenomenon, is also accepted as relevant for social and cultural fields, functioning in the same way with the economic processes. A picture of current condition is produced in which there is a global world without centers, not only economically but also socially, a world without power relations, winners and losers, and a world in which the mechanisms of politics are at the transnational level, rather than being at the level of nation states.

Turkey's entry to the process of globalization can be said to have formed from the 1980s. The general change in Turkey's cultural climate that occurred beginning in the 1980's has had an obvious impact upon the everyday life of individuals. After the liberal market economy of the 1980's and the years of Özal's prime ministry, there emerged a new generation with ways to 'get rich quick', which has espoused an ideological standpoint of individualism. This new generation, the 'new elites', felt the necessity for new places to live, new places to work, at the same time new places of entertainment as a component of their lifestyle. The entrepreneurs who realized this requirement of this new generation established a variety of housing settlements. Gated communities are built in order to address the lifestyle patterns of the new elites. This section deals with the overview of globalization process that is happening so that in order to understand the great production of gated communities and the conditions under

which the gaps between social classes have been increasing over the last decades in Turkey, in Istanbul particularly.

2.1. Globalization Theories: The Local and the Global in Everyday Life

In the context of late modernity, the concept of the 'local' is complicated by the process of globalisation. Indeed, it has been suggested by some theorists that key to the globalisation process is a 'flattening out' of local cultures, the latter becoming subsumed by a uniform global culture. This argument is typified in Ritzer's concept of *McDonaldization*.¹⁶ Drawing on Weber's theory of rationalisation, Ritzer makes the same analogy of the 'iron cage' to describe a progressively developing global culture in which local variations are gradually, but systematically, eroded away and replaced by a uniform, technologically 'McDonaldized' version of the world.¹⁷ According to Ritzer, '...McDonaldization not only affects the restaurant business, but also education, work, travel, leisure-time activities, dieting, politics, the family, and virtually every other sector of society. McDonaldization has shown every sign of being an inexorable process as it sweeps through seemingly impervious institutions and parts of the world.'¹⁸

The argument commonly expressed is that globalisation is a thinly veiled form of cultural imperialism, the latter acting as 'an *homogenising* cultural force'¹⁹ Tomlinson observes:

The perception here is that everywhere in the world is beginning to look and feel the same. Cities in any part of the world display uniform features determined, for example, by the demands of automobiles: architectural styles become similar; shops display a uniform range of goods; airports, the potential gateway to cultural diversity have an almost identical international style. Western popular music issues from radios and cassette players from New York to Delhi.²⁰

Such pessimistic interpretations of globalisation have been countered by an alternative series of arguments which maintain that the observed effects of globalisation

¹⁶ Ritzer, George. *The McDonaldization of the Society: An Investigation of Into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*. London: Pine Forge Press. 1993

¹⁷ Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*-3 volumes. Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press. 1968 (1921).

¹⁸ Ritzer, George. *The McDonaldization of the Society: An Investigation of Into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*. London: Pine Forge Press. 1993:1.

¹⁹ Tomlinson, John. *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. London: Pinter, 1991: 261.

²⁰ Tomlinson, John. *Ibid.* 1991: 261.

have been far less predictable, more gradual, and often have the opposite effect to that suggested by Ritzer and others. For example, Featherstone argues that ‘one paradoxical consequence of globalization, the awareness of the finitude of the boundedness of the planet and humanity, is not to produce homogeneity but to familiarize us with greater diversity, the extensive range of local cultures’²¹. This view is developed in a series of studies that have sought to rethink the local/global relationship in ways that allow for localised patterns of appropriation and creativity ‘within a stream of globally available media products and information’²². A key theorist in this debate is Robertson who argues that the interface between the global and local gives rise to a process that he calls *glocalization*. According to Robertson:

It is not a question of homogenization or heterogenization, but rather the ways in which both of these tendencies have become features of life across much of the late-twentieth century world. In this perspective the problem becomes that of spewing out the ways in which homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies are mutually implicative.²³

Robertson suggests that glocal cultures, are neither local or global but have undergone a process of cultural hybridity in which aspects of residual local culture become seamlessly interwoven with new global cultural forms²⁴. A similar argument is made by Nederveen Pieterse who defines ‘globalization as a process of hybridization.’ For Pieterse globalisation is not only experienced differently in different parts of the world but that the physical and aesthetic manifestations that the globalisation process assumes at a local level are also qualitatively different. He observes, ‘globalization is a multidimensional process which, like all significant social processes, unfolds in multiple realms of existence simultaneously’²⁵.

Globalisation relates not only to the global flow of capital, goods and information but is also characterised by the increasing global mobility of people. This aspect of globalisation is captured in Arjun Appadurai's concept of *ethnoscapes*, that is ‘landscape[s] of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists,

²¹ Featherstone, Mike. *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London: Sage, 1995: 169.

²² Bennett, Andy. *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place*. Basingtoke: Macmillan, 2000: 196.

²³ Robertson, Roland. ‘*Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity*’, In Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, Roland Robertson (eds). *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, 1995: 27.

²⁴ Robertson, Roland. *Ibid.* 1995: 27.

²⁵ Nederveen, Pieterse, Jan., *Global Futures : Shaping Globalization*, London ; New York : Zed Boks, St. Martin's Press, 2000.

immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons'²⁶. Again, this scenario has raised questions about the value of fragmented and diffuse cultural sensibilities.

As Hannerz's example illustrates, even as 'categories of people are emerging who lead more mobile lives'²⁷, individuals retain a strong sense of their local identity based around a series of shared sensibilities embedded in taken-for granted everyday objects and practices.

2.2. Consumption as a Means of Constructing Social Distinction

Production and consumption are the two important issues that shape human life in modern society. In this thesis, we are interested in consumption as a means of constructing social distinction in the production of high-end housing communities. In this part, the role of consumption practices in the process of social differentiation and the theories of consumption will be examined.

In advanced industrial societies, especially after the Second World War, economic productivity and the opportunities for ownership have increased, leading to an increasing stress on consumption. The significance of production and acquisition of basic material needs has decreased, as there has been a significant rise in standards of living. With emphasis shifting from production to consumption, cultural and social construction of classes, in addition to economic construction has been given significance and life styles have been regarded as determining the attitudes and behaviors of people²⁸. The reciprocal relationship between production and consumption had been talked by Marx.

Thus, production produces consumption 1) by creating the material for it; 2) by determining the manner of consumption; and 3) by creating the products, initially posited by it as objects, in the form of a need felt by the consumer. It thus produces the object of consumption, the manner of consumption, and the

²⁶ Appadurai, Arjun. 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in Mike Featherstone (ed.). *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity*. London: Sage, 1990: 297.

²⁷ Featherstone, Mike. *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London: Sage, 1995: 154.

²⁸ Crompton, R. *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates*, Cambridge & Massachusetts, Polity Press, 1993:166.

motive of consumption. Consumption likewise produces the producer's inclination by beckoning to him as an aim-determining need²⁹.

However, although he recognized the mutual relationship between them, he had been mainly interested not in the consumption but the production of commodities. According to Marx, in the capitalist system, commodities are produced not for direct use or immediate consumption, but rather for being sold in the market. Workers in industrial capitalism, contrary to previous modes of production, cannot own or use the products of their own labor. They produce commodities by machines none of which they own. In order to survive, they have to buy the commodities that the other workers or they, themselves produce by their wages, forced to be consumers³⁰. Consumption, then, should be placed within the production model of the industrial capitalism. However, for making a proper analysis of consumption, it is necessary to avoid being content with economic explanations and to give importance also to the roles that cultural values and symbols play.

From the beginnings of the modern period, consumption played an important role in the lives of people and gave them the opportunity to distinguish themselves from other status groups. Consumption also provided the means for those groups to acquire a sense of social identity. With the development of industrial capitalism in the US and Western Europe, such status groups started to develop. One of these groups was the new middle class in North America which made big fortunes through production and trade, a group which was studied by Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. The members of this group demonstrated their newly-acquired wealth through conspicuous consumption. These people not only consumed the necessities of life beyond the subsistence level, but also their consumption has been specialized in terms of the quality of the goods consumed³¹. While consuming freely the best quality of 'food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons', etc., not only the higher efficiency of the improved products is taken into consideration but also reputation is an important concern. 'Since the consumption of these more excellent goods is an evidence

²⁹ Marx, Karl. General Relation of Production to Distribution, Exchange, Consumption in ed. Tucker, R., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, W.W.Norton, New York, 1978:230.

³⁰ Bocoock, Robert. *Consumption*, Routledge, London.1993:44.

³¹ Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dover, New York,1994: 46

of wealth, it becomes honorific; and conversely, the failure to consume in due quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit.³²

According to Veblen, the importance attached to the qualitative excellence has an effect not only on the manner of life, but also on the training and intellectual activities of this 'leisure class'. The members of this class cultivate their tastes to be able to differentiate between noble and ignoble goods. To consume the right kind of goods, they should learn how to consume them in an appropriate manner³³ Conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is important for reputability. Also, giving valuable presents, expensive feasts and entertainments are demonstrations of accumulated wealth. In an industrial community, a good reputation mainly rests on pecuniary strength and the main ways of demonstrating pecuniary strength and having a good name are leisure and conspicuous consumption³⁴. However, as Veblen indicates, none of the classes in the society can be thought as being deprived of or free from conspicuous consumption.

...The last items of this category of consumption are not given up except under stress the direct necessity. Very much of squalor and discomfort will be endured before the last trinket or the last pretense of pecuniary decency is put away. There is no class and no country that has yielded so abjectly before the pressure of physical want as to deny themselves all gratification of this higher or spiritual need³⁵.

Veblen states that although both leisure and conspicuous consumption are used as ways of showing wealth, he argues that in the modern era consumption started to become the only way for it. In the modern organization of industry, people usually stay together with people whom they do not have any relationship and the only way to show one's pecuniary ability to these people is to show the ability to pay. In modern communities, people usually attend large gatherings in places such as theatres, hotels, parks, shops, etc. '...In order to impress these transient observers, and to retain one's self-complacency under their observation, the signature of one's pecuniary strength should be written in characters which he who runs may read.'³⁶ The use of consumption

³² The Theory of the Leisure Class, Dover, New York, 1994: 46.

³³ . '...His life of leisure must be conducted in due form. Hence arise good manners... High-bred manners and ways of living are items of conformity to the norm of conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption.' Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class, Dover, New York, 1994: 47.

³⁴ Veblen, Thorstein. Ibid. 1994: 52.

³⁵ Veblen, Thorstein. Ibid. 1994: 53.

³⁶ Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class, Dover, New York, 1994: 54.

as a way of reputation is the most in places where human contact is widest and mobility of the population is greatest. Thus, consumption is a more significant element of everyday life in the city compared to that in the country.

Veblen illustrates how consumption had an important part in the life style of a wealthy class. Especially in the second half of the twentieth century, however, in societies in which consumption started to play a major role also in less wealthy groups. The major dynamics of differentiation and acquiring reputability explained by Veblen are still very relevant for analyses of all classes and their consumption patterns.

In the current stage of capitalism, which is defined by consumption much more than production, it is essential to take into consideration not only the positions of groups within the production relations but also what and how they consume, and whether they have the mastery of the 'elements of the environment' as explained by Baudrillard. The consumption of housing as a commodity has become a reference point in differentiating oneself from others. Noone denies that consumption patterns play a significant role in the life of individuals, as with varying consumption patterns, individuals can be classified into different social groups. Yasuzama emphasizes in Baudet and Meulen's '*Consumer Behaviour and Economic Growth in the Modern Economy*' that the relationship between consumption habits and the lifestyle of individuals by stating that 'Lifestyle quite rightly mirrored in the consumption package'³⁷. To meet the demands of this consumer society, companies are consumer-oriented as they produce according to the preferences of consumers. However, companies' marketing efforts have different social impacts on the consumers, because rather than simply affecting individuals' consumption patterns, it is their lifestyles that are influenced and may be changed by marketing activities.

In his analysis of consumer society, Baudrillard revealed the origin of new social and economic relations:

The truth is, not that 'needs are the fruits of production', but that the system of needs is the product of the system of production.... By system of needs, we mean that needs are not produced one by one, in relation to the respective objects, but are produced as consumption power, as an overall propensity within the more general framework of the productive forces³⁸.

³⁷ Baudet, H. & Van der Meulen, H. *Consumer Behaviour and Economic Growth in the Modern Economy*, Sage Publications, London, 1982:18.

³⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, London Oacks, Califf.:Sage. 1998: 74-75.

...Consumption is a system which secures the ordering of signs and the integration of the group: it is therefore both a morality [...] and a communication system, a structure of exchange³⁹.

Following this argument, 'lifestyle' became the primary category of postmodern identity reengineering and conduct of life. Within the postmodern formation of societies the choice between styles is more open than ever. Aesthetic signs and images of everyday life became corner stones for the construction of lifestyles. Signs and symbols were not only used to represent specific images and lifestyles but also became structures of individual life. Baudrillard summarizes, that 'the truth of consumption is that it is not a function of enjoyment, but a function of production and, hence, like all material production, not an individual function, but an immediately and totally collective one.'⁴⁰.

Rather than production, people's identities are being increasingly expressed and manifest through consumption. In 1980s consumption became the key issue. The concepts of 'consumer culture' and 'consumer society' are main keywords of contemporary societies. Individuals are bounded to choose their identities in postmodern societies. Consumption then becomes more than just the acquisition of use-values or a claim to social prestige for it is also deeply associated with the sense of self and personality. Chaney defined consumption as all types of social activity that people do that might be used to characterise and identify them, other than (or in addition to) what they might do for living⁴¹.

Lifestyles are features of the modern world or what I shall also call modernity. Lifestyles are patterns of action that differentiate people. Lifestyles therefore help to make sense of (that is explain but not necessarily justify) what people do, and why they do it, and what doing it means to them and others⁴².

Many scholars believe that the main characteristic of this era is the emergence of lifestyle as a project⁴³. Consumption has become a process, that typifies late modern or postmodern capitalism. Bocoock states that many people's sense of identity is now bound up with their patterns of consumption rather than their work roles, it can be said that a

³⁹ Baudrillard, Jean. *Ibid.* 1998:78

⁴⁰ Baudrillard, Jean. *Ibid.* 1998:78

⁴¹ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996:15.

⁴² Chaney, 'Ibid.1996:4.

⁴³ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991:176.
Bocoock, Robert. *Consumption*. London: Routledge.1993: 109.

new phase of capitalism, which may usefully be called post-modern to distinguish it from earlier phases, has emerged. In a similar line, Featherstone states that:

The imagery of consumer culture presents a world of ease and comfort, once the privilege of an elite, now apparently within the reach of all. An ideology of personal consumption presents individuals as free to do their own thing, to construct their own little worlds in the private sphere. Individuals are also encouraged to enjoy freedom of association, not to be constrained by family obligations, religious ethics or civitas. The basic freedom within the culture is the freedom to consume; yet the hedonistic lifestyle and ever expanding needs ultimately depend upon permanent economic expansion⁴⁴.

In its historical context we can say that consumption studies generally complement the study of social stratification. Veblen's conspicuous consumption and Weber's analyses of status groups are dealt with processes of social classification and the presentation of prestige. Simmel explored fashion and taste as aspects of the anatomy of modernity. The Frankfurt School made the other main contribution through its concerns with the spread of mass culture and the impact of commodification on cultural standards, social relations⁴⁵.

The never-ending desire of being seen by the other leads the trickle-down effect. The process of emulation whereby lower classes seek to imitate the practices of their superiors, implying that there will be no cessation of demand for particular goods until the lower class has the same possessions as the higher. Once it is acknowledged that in such a system the higher class will constantly be seeking new items to mark its social status, and then perpetual demand for new products appears inevitable⁴⁶. Fresh desires replace previous ones, novel items replace established ones. This is not a cycle of replacing, but one of inevitable obsolescence, driven by a mechanism of invidious social comparison.

The post-war era witnessed the birth of the the emerging consumption society's critique advanced by The Frankfurt School by thinkers like Horkheimer (1936), Adorno (1972) and Marcuse (1964)⁴⁷.

Culture industry is at the heart the studies of Adorno and Marcuse⁴⁸. The illusory, false effects of the culture industry, where advertisements, media are the main mediators

⁴⁴ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991:176.

⁴⁵ Shove, Elizabeth, Alan Warde. *Inconspicuous consumption: the sociology of consumption and the environment*, published by the Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, Lancaster UK, at <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Shove-Warde-InconspicuousConsumption.pdf>, accessed in 2009

⁴⁶ Shove, E. & Warde, A. *Inconspicuous consumption: the sociology of consumption and the environment* (draft). Centre for Science and Department of Sociology. Lancaster University. 1998.

⁴⁷ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991:38.

and manipulators, are main obstacles in blurring revolutionary consciousness. Advertising plays a crucial role in this process and has become one of the central suppliers of the new consumer culture values. An effect of the extension of the commodity form to more and more aspects of social life has been the reification of social relationships and cultural artefacts, which leads to the primacy of a secondary exchange value which rests uneasily alongside, and even conceals the original use-value or meaning⁴⁹Theodor Adorno has put a step further this metaphor of exchange-value means that last vestiges of the original use-value of goods have been obliterated and forgotten. The exchange-value was being used to illuminate symbolic value. Hence goods are free to take on the mantle of a secondary, ersatz use-value, which now becomes perceived as their real use, which will vary with whatever illusions are saleable⁵⁰.

We can find similar arguments in the studies of Baudrillard, in his theory, taking the advantage of semiotics shows the continuous and active manipulation of signs and symbols by advertising the ‘floating signifier’ in consumption⁵¹. Today the whole system is swapped with indeterminacy and every reality is absorbed by the hyper reality of the code and simulation. Political, social, historical, economic etc., reality has already incorporated the hyperrealist dimension of simulation so that we are now living entirely within the ‘aesthetic’ hallucination of reality. We are moving from the capitalist economy that Marx analyzed through the labor theory of value, and we move into a world of dreams (or nightmares) driven by the sensuality of representation⁵². In his perspective consumption is something that is tightly linked not to the individual consumer but to the overall economic system as a whole. Consumption becomes part of a communication system, but not one tied to individuals⁵³.

Pierre Bourdieu examined distinctions between groups in French society. He aimed to analyse how various consumer goods, ways of presenting food and eating meals, home furnishings and interior decoration were used by specific groups, socio-economic classes in particular, to demarcate their distinctive way of living, to mark themselves off

⁴⁸ Tekeli, İlhan. Kentli Hakları, Kentsel Haklar, Der. Mete Tuncay, İstanbul: Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi (Wald) Yayını.1994.

⁴⁹ Featherstone, Mike. Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991: 38.

⁵⁰ Featherstone, Mike.İbid. 1991: 39

⁵¹ Corrigan, Peter. The Sociology of Consumption, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi, 1997:20.

⁵² Baudrillard,Jean. The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures, Sage Publications, California, 1998.

⁵³ Corrigan, Peter. The Sociology of Consumption, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi, 1997:19-21.

from others⁵⁴. He made a societal map based on consumption patterns. Bourdieu seeks for a middle way between the abstract logic of structural determinations and the atomising subjectivity of personal creativity. Habitus are system of durable, transposable dispositions; structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures. It is this mechanism that the objective requirements of cultural order are inscribed as predictable courses of action for individuals. The habitus makes possible the contingencies of local circumstance in an historical context. According to Bourdieu, lifestyles are thus the systematic products of habitus. Aesthetic discriminations and attitudes necessary for the cultural discourse of the privileged part of the habitus of those who possess symbolic mastery, and thus the disadvantaged are violently forced into the reproduction of their disadvantages⁵⁵. He is concerned with the social organisation of the acquisition and manipulation of cultural (or symbolic goods) because this organisation is held to be structured in ways that are homologous with the social structures of economic capital. There is a crucial distinction between those who acquire their cultural capital through inheritance and those who acquire it purely through educational qualifications⁵⁶.

In a recent article, Mike Featherstone identifies three different approaches to the study of consumer culture. First, consumption can be understood in terms of an expanding capitalist commodity production: consumption is functional to the demands of the economy. The second approach is mainly interested in the different ways in which people use goods in order to create social bonds or distinctions. The third perspective is concerned mostly with the emotional pleasures of consumption, with the dreams and desires associated with the world of goods.

Alan Warde divided the different approaches in the sociology of consumption into three classes according to the functions or meanings attached to consumption which, in their turn, are determined by the values guiding them.⁵⁷ Apart from Warde's first two alternatives, use-value and exchange-value, the third class of identity-value reminds us of the second perspective mentioned by Featherstone. The question of the identity-value or socio-symbolic value of goods is actualized whenever people engage in consumption with a view to expressing their social identity.

⁵⁴ Bocoek, Robert. *Consumption*. London: Routledge. 1993: 61.

⁵⁵ Bourdieu, *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984: 169-172.

⁵⁶ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996:62.

⁵⁷ Warde, Alan. Gentrification as consumption *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9, 1991:223-232.

2.2.1. Conspicuous Consumption

Veblen studied the acquisition patterns of the consumption habits of the individuals. He compared the purchasing habits of single individuals with the purchasing habits of the 'others'. He found out that, while purchasing goods or services, people tended to acquire those which their neighbours, friends, and the 'others' had purchased. In a way, we can say that they imitate the purchasing habits of the 'others' and aim at being more prestigious than their neighbours by acquiring the same type of goods with a better quality. Veblen believes that the motive underlying this type of behavior and of the consecutive ownership is 'emulation', i.e. wishing to copy others. He termed this situation as 'pecuniary emulation which can be explained as a 'consumption pattern' that serve as a 'wealth indicator'. In Veblen's words,

As fast as a person makes new acquisitions, becomes accustomed to the resulting new standard of wealth, the new standard forthwith ceases to afford appreciably greater satisfaction than the earlier standard did. The tendency in any case is constantly to make the present pecuniary standard the point of departure for a fresh increase of wealth; and this in turn gives rise to a new standard of sufficiency and a new pecuniary classification of one's self as compared with one's neighbours'.⁵⁸

Veblen focuses his attention on environmental influences and their effects on the consumption habits of the single individual and he exemplified the environmental influences as neighbourhood effects. If you have wealth, you can consume more and live a luxurious life. The wealthy people's consumption behaviour is defined as luxuries consumption meaning that they aim to preserve their already achieved social and economic status in the society. This is true for the consumption model of 'leisure class' in which the upper class members have luxurious and waste consumption⁵⁹. This consumption of luxurious and valuable goods is termed 'conspicuous consumption' by Veblen. He argues that, 'the conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentlemen of leisure'⁶⁰.

Veblen continues by saying that 'in order to be reputable, consumption must be wasteful'⁶¹. Veblen had emphasized that the prices which made products and services

⁵⁸ Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of Leisure Class*, New York: Dover, 1899, 1994:38.

⁵⁹ Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of Leisure Class*, New York: Dover, 1899, 1994: 63.

⁶⁰ Veblen, Thorstein. *Ibid.* 1899, 1994:64.

⁶¹ Veblen, Thorstein. *Ibid.* 1899, 1994:77.

unaffordable to others lay at the heart of **conspicuous consumption** and **consumption waste**. Confirming Veblen the special case theorem developed by Allingham and Morishima (1973) and Kalman (1968) accommodates the fact that high prices can be seen as a positive product attribute⁶². For this theory, the consumption of luxurious products such as consumption of cars, expensive clothing, expensive restaurants are all regarded as highpriced products and services providing social prestige and reputability to the individuals.

Mason agrees with Veblen, however he emphasizes the product functionality, arguing that its potential to bring prestige is what influences individuals in their buying decisions:

[...] the rise in disposable incomes, however, coupled with an ever increasing emphasis on the status of symbolism of products, meant a sign. Proportion of customer purchases were made for social rather than for purely utilitarian reasons'.⁶³

He emphasized the importance of signs gained with the product itself not with their utilities. Baudrillard has claimed that consumption is not only the satisfaction of the needs of individuals, but to meet their **desires**. In the following pages related with the advertisements this transformation of need into desire will be discussed further.

For Baudrillard, 'the consumption patterns of the peculiar individuals create an **'identity feeling'** for them. The clothing style, the style of dining and the brands of goods used are the primary features of class differentiation for the individuals in post-modern era' ⁶⁴.

For having an individual style of consumption, the individual has to choose a model for him/her to take a reference group in forming his/her consumption preferences.. On the other hand, Bourdieu defines the reference group as 'leading group'. He states that,

The dialectic of downclassing and upclassing which underlies a whole set of social processes presupposes and entails that all the groups concerned run in the same direction, toward the same objectives, the same properties, those which are designated by the leading group and which, by definition are unavailable to the groups following, since whatever these properties may be intrinsically they are modified and qualified by their distinctive rarity and

⁶² Mason, R., The Economics of Conspicuous Consumption, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 1998:125.

⁶³ Mason, R. The Economics of Conspicuous Consumption, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 1998:107.

⁶⁴ Baudrillard, Jean. Fragments: Cool Memories III: 1990-1995. New York: Verso. 1997: 83.

will no longer be what they are once they are multiplied are made available to groups lower down.⁶⁵

In the beginning of the 20th Century, **George Simmel**, in his analysis of fashion, has modeled '*the trickle down theory*' in which the subordinate groups are influenced by upper layer groups in consumption of fashionable goods. Simmel defines '*fashion*' as a social institution allowing individuals to follow others as well as marking oneself off from them as a member of a particular class or group. Simmel's analysis of fashion and the conspicuous consumption of the leisure class have many similarities with that of Veblen's.

In the 21st century, consumption can be seen as a mirror image of production. On the other hand, according to Yasuzama, life style quite rightly mirrored in the consumption package⁶⁶. Bourdieu works on consumer society formation and its impacts on the social life of individuals in society. He argues that social life can be conceived as a multidimensional status game in which people draw on three different types of resources: **economic** (financial), **cultural capital** (distinctive tastes, skills and knowledge), and **social capital** (relationships, organization affiliations and networks). **The notion of taste** is an important aspect of reproducing class differences. Consumers' tastes depend on cultural capital; family upbringing and formal education as well as economic resources. Higher strata in the hierarchy use their superior taste to create a 'distinction' from the peasants, and to distance themselves from those 'inferior tastes'. The feelings, thinking, and acting through a certain social psychological structure with respect to the individual cultural capital forms the 'habitus' (consumption, tastes and practices) of the individuals⁶⁷.

Bourdieu claims that these capitals of individuals can be divided into two groups, as inherited capital and acquired capital. Inherited capital is the social origin that the individuals have and which is passed from parents to children.

The social origin includes national, ethnic and religious identities that individuals can be firstly classified by when they were born into a society. Thus Bourdieu calls social origin as inherited capital. On the other hand, educational capital and cultural capital are acquired capitals, i.e. that people begin to gain them after their

⁶⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:163.

⁶⁶ Mason, R. *The Economics of Conspicuous Consumption*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 1998:18.

⁶⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984: 52.

birth. Cultural capital keeps the cultural features and sociological peculiarities of the society that the individual was born. This means that the acquisition of cultural capital begins with birth. On the other hand, educational capital as its name implies is gained when the individuals begin to have an education⁶⁸.

These roles are achieved in different environments and they change with respect to the individuals' changing social environment. These social identities and roles are formed according to the social origin, the ethnic peculiarities, national identities, and gender of the individual and even by the consumption habits of the individuals. In fact, society and social relations as the sources give these identities to the individuals. However, there are other identities received by the individuals' personal abilities and backgrounds. For instance, professional identities are achieved through the with educational and business backgrounds of the individuals. This individualism and the construction formed and practiced in the world of consumer society, put forward an 'identity' and 'social class identity typology'. The consumption habits of the individuals are among the critical determinants of a social group. These characteristics may create some subcultures with reference to differing consumption preferences, or may create social prestige, and may also be seen as a means to distinguish oneself from others. In some cases we can say that the consumption preferences of individuals may help create social mobility in the society. For instance, two people having the same income may not be in the same class since, they spend their money on different activities.⁶⁹.

2.3. Advertising Media as a Shaper of Taste and Consumption

In this century, the capitalist industry supplies an enormous variety of products to consumers. In such competitive conditions and product variety, companies have to focus on marketing as much as on production. The basic definition of marketing is a combination of strategies, which provides reaching of the product to consumers. Without any doubt, advertising is one of the most important marketing tools. At this point, advertising and its effectiveness as a marketing strategy gains importance.

The accumulation of capital and the expansion of capitalist production, especially after the boost received through scientific management and 'Fordism' around

⁶⁸ Bourdiue, Pierre. *Ibid.* 1984: 161.

⁶⁹ Bourdiue, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984.

the turn of the century, necessitated the construction of new markets and education of publics to make them prospect consumers by the help of advertising industry. This leads the capitalists to realize the importance of advertising industry, which becomes a primary tool for marketing commodities, by stylizing them to please the consumers' senses.⁷⁰

The major instrument to purchase these stylized products is to advertise and project them to the mass in an imaginary medium, as Walter Lippmann clarifies:

Inextricably linked to the development of consciously styled products, advertising projected images of these products, and of the happy consumers who purchased them, across the horizons of everyday life... Business was coming to embrace advertising as the ignition system of the economy, the dynamo of mass dissatisfaction and the creator of illusions in a most materialistic world.⁷¹

The consumer economy, to be able to become active all the time, not to collapse, should utilize style as a dynamic object, which must visibly change the everyday life. This economy should create the feeling of obsolescence for every stylistic entity and manipulate the desires of masses through new styles that have a purchase value.⁷² Stuart Ewen explains that, 'in the 1930s, with the consumer economy in serious straits, styling and 'style obsolescence' came to the forefront as methods designed to stimulate markets, and keep them stimulated.'⁷³ This style obsolescence dominates the consumer economy and becomes the invariable part of the commercial world. Confirming Ewen Mark Gottdiener states that:

There is an increasingly strong connection between the economic need to make a profit and the reliance on symbols in the marketing of commodities...During the period of early capitalist industrialism, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, economic competition meant competition through production that is, the need simultaneously to reduce costs and manufacture products in quantity. Today these production criteria remain important, but in addition, there is a second aspect; thematic competition or competition through variation in symbols among products that are virtually same.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1991: 14.

⁷¹ Lippmann, Walter 1914, 'Drift and Mastery', in Ewen Stuart ed. *All Consuming Images The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture*, New York: Basic Books, 1988: 52-53.

⁷² Barthes, Roland 1983, *The Fashion System*, in Ewen Stuart ed. *All Consuming Images The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture*, New York: Basic Books, 1988: 300.

⁷³ Stuart Ewen. *All Consuming Images, The Politics of Style In Contemporary Culture*, New York: Basic Books, 1988: 51.

⁷⁴ Mark Gottdiener. *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press, 2001: 41.

Therefore, the advertisement industry has a crucial role within the reorganization of capitalist development. Before 1950s the advertising industry extolled commodities' 'use value', which includes the intrinsic quality, durability and labor saving property as an appealing theme, but after that time, following the Fordist marketing transformations in the 1930s and then the Post-Fordist accumulation regime in 1970s, it rather focused on and targeted commodities' image or symbolic values; meaning their value could be defined as a sign of either fashion or progress. Briefly, rather than informing the consumer about the use-value of products, advertisement industry was now to manipulate the consumer by using symbolic or image-dependent appeals.⁷⁵

To sum up so far through creating image dependent products the advertisement industry associates them with the symbolic value in relation to social status; and the production of desire is now the dynamo of consumer culture. Individuals search for new kind of tastes, which represent their identity in the consumption object that is to satisfy their difference in status in consumer culture. Advertisement industry becomes diversified in itself to respond to these diversification and differentiation desires by creating collective identities.⁷⁶ Marketing procedure today cuts down the mass of consumers into individual market segments or clusters using highly accurate demographic techniques and surveys. Specific appeals are then aimed at these particular segments.⁷⁷ The association of symbolic values with artificially created status then gives a chance to the advertisement industry to create different modes of desire for the individual consumer. Gottdiener further states that,

presently, then, the price-consumption link that once dominated consumer choices is now joined by the symbolic value-consumption link, which involves considerations of a personal, sign oriented nature in the purchase of consumer goods.⁷⁸

Today advertisements play a significant role in pushing consumer culture forward in society. In the consumer society of today, Baudrillard by focusing on consumer-based economy mainly claims that "Not the production itself but the product, the brand, the sign and the image of the end product are the base stones in creating

⁷⁵ Mark Gottdiener. Ibid. 2001: 65.

⁷⁶ Stuart Ewen, 1976, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 25, quoted from *Into the Image: Culture and The Politics In The Field Of Vision*.

⁷⁷ Mark Gottdiener. *The Theming of America on American Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Cambridge: Westview Press, 2001: 69.

⁷⁸ Mark Gottdiener. Ibid. 2001: 42.

diversification among the firms”⁷⁹. With this claim of Baudrillard, it can be said that the marketing in the era of post-industrial society stands as the major means of competition. Today, every entrepreneur can produce similar products with similar qualities, but what makes one more competitive and advantageous in the market than others is its success in marketing activities.

Roland Barthes claimed that advertisements, fashion, popular culture, and mass media are interrelated and are the major dynamics of consumer society⁸⁰. The post-structuralists, semiological and deconstructive theoreticians focus their attention on language, representation and the importance of discourses, images, codes and culture in the sphere of everyday life. According to Kellner,

Baudrillard seems to suggest that individuals are so caught up in a world of commodity signs, media spectacles, representations and simulation that there is no longer any access to a ‘real’ which is itself presented as an effect of the code or system⁸¹.

Every consumer item has been carefully designed in order to represent certain features or values. The colors and shapes of goods symbolize a value as an attributed representative of some features of the product. For instance, the design of a perfume bottle may be used as a representative of the target consumer – being male or female or else being young adult or adult. This is mainly the terrain of the science of semiotics. The ‘signs’ attributed to the products affect the consumers, to the extent that they influence the consumers’ choice of purchase.

The importance of the meaning formed by signs create a social environment in which the product itself is valued according to the social meaning attributed to that product by the society rather than its utilitarian features. This tendency may influence the individuals to consume the products which are widely accepted by the majority. In other words, individuals have a tendency to choose the product that is popular or consumed by the mass population.

In the construction of the ‘Global Village’ the structure and the features of advertising are considered as crucial for the success of presentation of the product in the market.⁸² Advertising should represent the breadth of popular culture. Advertisement

⁷⁹ Baudrillard, Jean. Simulasyonlar, Keskin, F. Eds. Ankara: Dost Press, 1983: 68.

⁸⁰ Barthes, Roland. Göstergebilimsel Serüven, M. Rıfat eds. Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993: 130.

⁸¹ Kellner, David. Jean Baudrillard, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989: 83.

⁸² McLuhan, Marshall. The Gutenberg Galaxy, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1962.

should imitate the basic elements of everyday life as seen in the scenarios of some advertisements which are based on clearly routine activities. Primary notion in any advertising communication theory is the requirement of an audience. The *sender* and the *receiver* must use the same language, and at the same level. For instance, music is a common factor in advertising: setting the mood and tone, attracting the ear, and reinforcing the theme are the requirements of success. The traditional result of advertising has been ‘to purchase’ but post-modern advertising desires more: there should be a continuous relationship with the audience, as Jugenheimer states:

The sale is no longer the end result of an advertising campaign; instead, it is the beginning of a mutually beneficial relationship, wherein both the seller-advertiser and the buyer-audience benefit, at least potentially.⁸³

The major consumer center is ‘the city’ itself. Manuel Castells argues that ‘the city is to consumption what the factory is to production’⁸⁴. The city can be the land of media with its several TV channels and hundreds of radio stations, cinemas, and billboards and with squatters for promotion activities. For the utilization of the TV as a media vehicle for transferring the encoded message in the form of advertisements aiming to reach the targeted consumer, Viallon mentions the advantages of the TV and says, ‘Everyone is capable of understanding the message given on TV because it is simple’⁸⁵ He also adds that, ‘the television is the opium of the people’⁸⁶.

William Stanton, Michael Etzel and Bruce Walker claim that advertising is a form of communication, which is persuasiveness about a product or a service. The basic role of advertising is increasing the sales of the product and, more importantly, preparing the base for these sales. It is obvious that advertising is one of the most important marketing weapons but one does not purchase a product only due to advertising. They claim that advertising achieves to sell a product only if it is done harmoniously together with other marketing tools⁸⁷. In marketing literature, these other tools are product, price, place and promotion, which are called ‘4P’s’. Advertising is one of the

⁸³ Cross, M. Advertising and Culture, New York: Praeger Press, 1996: 45. (Jugenheimer nered?)

⁸⁴ Castells, Manuel. Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society. British Journal of Sociology, Vol No. 51 Issue no 1, London School of Economics, London. 2000: 7.

⁸⁵ Viallon, 1996.

⁸⁶ Viallon, 1996:5.

⁸⁷ Stanton, William, Etzel, Michael and Walker, Bruce. Fundamentals of Marketing. New York: McGraw-Hill Co. 1991: 17.

tools included in promotion, which is segmented into public relations, sales promotion and advertising. In this segmentation, advertising is the strongest promotion activity that supports sales⁸⁸. Raising sales of the product is possible through positioning and planning the whole tools of marketing mix effectively. Therefore, a product which has a successful advertising strategy but unsuccessful pricing or distribution strategy is either not purchased by consumers or the motivational effects of advertising cannot be long-term. More importantly, Assael adds that the advertised product must have sufficient quality to satisfy the consumer's needs because the main reason that consumers prefer a product is its quality⁸⁹.

Advertising is the strongest weapon of marketing and even if other marketing tools are not planned successfully, the consumer is persuaded to purchase a product by advertising. For instance, even if the product has low quality or its price is high, critics claim that advertising achieves to sell such a product to consumers in a manipulative way. On the other hand, according to Assael, advertising's level of success is a result of product quality. Therefore, he claims that advertising is not a marketing tool that persuades consumers to purchase a low-quality product in a manipulative way but informs them about the product's specialties to satisfy their needs. Assael also believes that the role of advertising is quite important in marketing because with the help of advertising, consumers can see the product and decide what to purchase. Therefore, advertising is the most effective promotion tool of marketing. In comparison to other promotion tools, the most important reason for preferring advertising is its capacity to reach masses. This is the reason which makes advertising premium among the other marketing tools⁹⁰.

Following these, architecture became a consumer object, a brand. Its marketing and branding process has now been the most noteworthy issues held nowadays.

2.3.1. The House as a Consumer Object: The Epoch of Marketing and Branding in Housing

Together with globalization, there emerges new tendencies in the city, there forms anew physical environment, pumped by means of new (!) lifestyles wearing

⁸⁸ Assael, Henry. *Marketing Action & Consumer Behavior*. Boston: Kent Publishing Company.1993:45.

⁸⁹ Assael, Henry. *Ibid.* 1993: 45-48.

⁹⁰ Assael, Henry. *Marketing Action & Consumer Behavior*. Boston: Kent Publishing Company.1993:448-49.

stereotyped images in perpetuum. This study particularly aims to question where the architect stands in relation to the house marketed as an object of consumption.

If we notice the increasing amount of big real estate firms and their big capital investments and the transformation of the sector, we can see how they extend their constitution of design and construction with their marketing units. To improve a good marketing strategy is very effective in presenting a distinct way of life and architecture expressed in the best and creative way. In order to develop a creative strategy, one must take into account the three factors determining the creativity of the message which is interest, originality and strong impact.



Figure 2.1. There is a remarkable increase in the marketing activity of development firms. Tempus, D4D and below Marka are the three examples of marketing firms. Taşyapı worked with Tempus in Mashattan project. Sinpaş GYO worked with D4d and Marka for Lagün.(Source: Tempus 2008, www.tempus.com.tr/ 4D4 2008, www.d4dcom.tr , Marka Advertising Agency, 2008,www.marka.com.tr)



Figure 2.2. Marka, one of Turkey's leading marketing agencies, worked with Sinpaş GYO for the Lagün Project. (Source: Marka Advertising Agency, www.marka.com.tr, 2008.)

Seen as the most important strategy for marketing, the brand and the brands for a product or a service became indispensable to the fields of housing and housing-oriented areas. In this context, we can interpret if housing and residential areas, even housing investors, are in the period of branding or not. From their logos, to their marketing strategies, campaigns; they all point out how the issue of branding is important for the firms. It is very noteworthy that, there is a incredible increase in the marketing activity within development firms as architectural firms themselves look for more publicity via several channels such as the internet, as the number of printed media related to architecture increased in number in comparison to the pre-1990 period. We can also note that the growing use of consulting organizations for architects and development firms on marketing policy and public relations. It is not an aberration to say that the marketing of architecture has almost equalled the marketing of other consumer products.

2.4. How Istanbul Globalized

In this study, Istanbul plays a significant role by serving both as a good example of globalization's effects upon the city and its architecture, in which I carried out my fieldwork. When Istanbul first began feeling the effects of globalization, many people gathered to present Istanbul as a global city to the world market. While explaining the impacts of the globalization process, Çağlar Keyder and Ayşe Öncü ⁹¹ claim that, in accordance with increased communication and transportation opportunities, global capital has taken on a more fluid form. While the role that states play in the national economy has been drastically reduced, metropolises have increased opportunities to benefit from world conjunctures by using their political advantages. They suggest that Istanbul, with its historical background and geopolitical location, is in a position to get its share from global capital as a global city.⁹² This integration process involves competition against other global cities in which powerful financial centers are located. In this competition, the city's cultural identity and image play a crucial role since emphasizing peculiarities of different places is key to putting a city on the global map.⁹³ In this regard, as the former capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Istanbul's

⁹¹ Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe 'Istanbul Yol Ayrımında', in Istanbul, N:7, 1993:28

⁹² Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe . İbid. 1993:28-35

⁹³ Aksoy, Asu and Robins, Kevin. 'istanbul'da Dinlenme Zamani' in Istanbul, N:7, 1993:56-61

historical inheritance provides it with special advantages.⁹⁴ Although it does share some properties with the other metropolises that have been influenced by the globalization process, it has its own peculiar social, economic, and political properties, due especially to developments of the 1980's.

Turkey underwent various social, political, and economical changes after the military coup d'etat of 1980. In 1983, the Motherland Party (ANAP-Anavatan Partisi), of which Turgut Özal was the general president, came into power. What was ruling during the 1980's period was the liberal market economy applied in Turkey on an increasing scale. In this period, the national economy changed dramatically. Among the reasons cited for this change were the increasing liberalization of the economy as well as development directed towards turning Turkey's economy into an export economy. On the one hand, ANAP was struggling against the damaged income distribution, while on the other hand trying to maintain the party's own inner balance and vote potential. Thus, ANAP worked in the heavily populated metropolis of Istanbul on a large scale, even seeing to it that Istanbul obtain a large amount of financial support directly from the state budget for the first time since the Republic period. The main aim of this endeavor, however, was not to integrate the city into the world economy, but rather to preserve ANAP's vote potential.⁹⁵ Instead of rural populism, which election governments supported until the 1950's, a populist strategy that aimed at gathering votes in the metropolis emerged. Presenting people with ways to 'get rich quick', these populist policies exalted individual initiatives and a liberal market economy that was moving away from state intervention.

In accordance with these economical and social changes, various kinds of goods began showing up in store displays. Defined as the 'new elites' or 'new Turkish people', the 80's generation had the kind of spirit and attitude that can be summarized as: 'We are governing Turkey' and 'we can acquire the intellectual capacity to analyze any matter'. These new elites were enthusiastic about their roles in enlightening and governing Turkish society.⁹⁶

Parallel to the social, economic, and cultural changes that Turkey underwent after 1980, Istanbul. Along with the changes in the cultural climate in the second half of

⁹⁴ Bartu, Ayfer. 'Eski Mahallelerin Sahibi Kim? Küresel Bir Çağda Tarihi Yeniden Yazmak' in 'İstanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında', Keyder, Ç(ed.), Metis, İstanbul,2000: 43

⁹⁵ Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe 'İstanbul Yol Ayrımında', in İstanbul, N:7, 1993: 28-35

⁹⁶ Bali, Rıfat. 'Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar', İletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 100.

the 1980's, Istanbul witnessed significant changes such as the increasing fragmentation of the city, consumption, and lifestyle patterns. The globalization process contributed to the change as it grew in scope and increased the variety of consumer objects available in Istanbul. Famous five-star hotels and world restaurants began to open branches in Istanbul. First McDonalds, then many other fast-food chains were established in Istanbul. International festivals began to be organized and for some time now famous artists have been including Istanbul in their world concert tour programs. Istanbul has begun to host many international congresses as well. Moreover, the city has become home of the best airports in Europe.⁹⁷

While the global dynamics of the 1980's provided new opportunities and possibilities for Istanbul as a global city candidate; it kept the national economy into a crisis. Yet, in so far as Istanbul has carried out its global functions, the gap between Istanbul and the rest of the country has become wider due to differences in accumulation potential. On one side of the coin are the professionals, who share the same high income and glamorous lifestyle with all members of their class in global cities all over the world, on the other the unlucky masses that make up the bulk of the labor force serving these professionals, always with the fear of losing their jobs. This dilemma is still present in Istanbul as any other large metropolis or megalopolis.⁹⁸

Especially after ANAP became the first party, district municipalities began including 'gecekondu's in their building plans and handing over deeds to the dwellers as part of their political strategy. Thus they have condoned the increasing 'gecekondulaşma' that has occurred parallel to the increasing migration into the city, hence the increase in the number of second generation migrants in the cities after 1980. As *Marcuse and Kempen* announces that, increased migration into urban areas leads to the inevitable establishment of boundaries by means of social or physical walls; Istanbul offers a fine example of just such a phenomenon. Although they tend to separate their living environments.

The 'new elites' began searching for new residences for themselves far away from these 'gecekondu's and far away from the city center. at the end of the 1980's and into the 1990's. What they looked for as they escape from the city are 'secure,' 'adequate,' and 'culturally clean' places. That is to say, they were in search of protective citadels far from the inner city or, should they decide to remain in the inner

⁹⁷ Keyder, Çağlar. *istanbul: Küresel ile yerel Arasında*, Metis, İstanbul, 2000:24.

⁹⁸ Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe 'İstanbul Yol Ayrımında', in *İstanbul*, N:7, 1993: 28-35

city, in which case they would generally be surrounded by a poorer population, residences shielded by fully developed technological instruments.⁹⁹

In Istanbul, new 'cities' continue to be established by large holding firms. Alkent İstanbul 2000 of Alarko and Kemer Country of the Kemer Building Group were first examples of such satellite settlements. These cities are established in order to satisfy the sense of belonging that the 'new elites' think they had lost inside the city of Istanbul.¹⁰⁰ These cities correspond to that component of Gidden's lifestyle sector which refers to a time-space 'slice' of an individual's overall activities, within which a reasonably consistent and ordered set of practices is adopted and enacted.¹⁰¹ When choosing to live in these artificial cities, these new elites are in fact choosing the lifestyle that will best express who they are.

In Istanbul, the borders between owner-occupier salaried people and those belonging to other status groups are sharply illustrated. This makes Istanbul different from the other big cities of the country. South and East of E5 and also on the east and west sides of Maslak Avenue are basic geographical boundaries that serve to reinforce this socially differentiated distribution. Migration also reproduces the distribution of the occupation areas according to wealth in Istanbul.¹⁰² İstanbul reminds us of Marcuse and Kempen's suggestion that each city is actually multiple cities, layered over and under each other, separated by both space and time, constituting the living and working environment of different classes and different groups, interacting with each other in a set of dominations and dependencies that reflect increasing distance and inequality¹⁰³. We can easily claim that the same layered structure exists in Istanbul. If one compares the building management plans, wealth, and social profiles of the dwellers, it can hardly be said that Sultanbeyli and Nişantaşı are at all similar parts of a single city¹⁰⁴.

Ozal's radical application of the free market economy, the urbanization process took up unprecedented speed. This was largely due to the rising incomes of the upper middle class. The businessmen and private sector managers had the most benefit from

⁹⁹ Güvenç, Murat. 'İstanbul'da İşyeri-Statü temelinde Segregasyon; 1990 Sayımı Üzerinden İlişkisel Çözümler' in Murat Güvenç & Halis Akder (coordinators), Yoksulluk ,Tesev Yayınları 21, İstanbul,2000: 109-110

¹⁰⁰ Aksoy, Asu and Robins, Kevin. 'İstanbul'da Dinlenme Zamani' in İstanbul, N:7, 1993: 56-61

¹⁰¹ Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Polity Press, Cambridge.,1991: 83.

¹⁰² Güvenç, Murat. 1990 Sayımından İstanbul Manzaraları, İstanbul, Temmuz, N:34,İstanbul,2000:36-38.

¹⁰³ Marcuse, Peter & Kempen, V.R. . *Globalizing Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford,2000: 265.

¹⁰⁴ For detailed information, see Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001), 'Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk', İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001.

the economical policy drawn by Ozal. Aware of the rise of this new class firms, that developed large scaled estate investment targeted this group.¹⁰⁵

The Law of Housing Development, announced on 1 March 1984 gave a way for creating the sites responding to this potential demand. The law of Housing Development triggered this very important change first in İstanbul, then in other big cities in Turkey. The critical demand for the firms, developing these types of settlements, were to find appropriate large lands for housing on the outskirts of the city in order to suit the expectations of the potential buyers and for the successful marketing of these projects.

The paradigmatic shift in the economic arena in Turkey during 1980s also led to transformations in the social and cultural life as the free market ideology valorized individualism, competition and conformity to the new order. Life styles, personal tastes and pleasures came to the fore. 1980s was a period in which freedoms were limited the most but at the same time consumer choices increased plentifully, making people the freest to consume.¹⁰⁶

There has been a shift of interest from public to private in this period. The private lives of individuals, which remained untouched by the media in the previous periods, became objects of analysis and representation during 1980s. A private life industry has emerged, while creating its peculiar professions such as private life journalists and private life magazines¹⁰⁷. Representation of others' lives and life styles in the media intensified the process of people's defining themselves by the goods they consume. Turkish society was on the way to being a consumer society and there was a young population which wished for going up in the hierarchy to become a member of the elite for having the same life style with them. People had become aware of the life styles of not only the upper classes in Turkey, but also the people in the US and Europe, and began thinking that the idea of being satisfied with less was not relevant any more. Young people and white-collar employees taking the lead, everyone targeted acquiring more and better things, spending and consuming more, using the most high-quality goods, and spending time in the best places¹⁰⁸.

After the military intervention, with the passage to the free market economy, Turkey's interactions with the external world intensified. Through the application of

¹⁰⁵ Bali, Rıfat. Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar, iletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 110.

¹⁰⁶ Gürbilek, Nurdan. Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992: 9-10

¹⁰⁷ Gürbilek, Nurdan. Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992: 55

¹⁰⁸ Bali, Rıfat. Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar, iletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 57-61.

free market rules, the income levels of business people and managers started to increase rapidly and their levels of consumption also increased¹⁰⁹. Turkey experienced a flood of consumer goods after 1980s by the effect of economic policies resulting in capital inflow from abroad and high inflation rates. According to Ayşe Öncü, in this era of consumerist boom, a lifestyle cleansed from poverty, immigrants, elbowing crowds, dirt and traffic became the focus of the middle classes' desires. The housing market was ready to market 'dreamlands' where there were ideal homes promising clean air, clean water, healthy lives, in a homogenous setting and where adults and children could experience a life that they saw in films and TV series, mostly imported from the U.S. Therefore, since the late 1980s, new villa-type residential areas, which were mostly designed for the new upper-middle class, mushroomed first on the hills of the Bosphorus, later in the outskirts of İstanbul. Designed with facilities such as; tennis courts, swimming pools, etc., these suburbs 'promised' a self-sufficient lifestyles rather than simply being a 'bedroom communities'¹¹⁰.

Effects of globalization in Turkey have enhanced the power of capital in urban areas reflected into investments such as shopping malls, five star hotels and business centres, and major Turkish cities have become the market of speculative profits¹¹¹. By the help of this transformation, class relations had to be redefined and this resulted in class polarisation. Furthermore, the strategies followed by governmental organs and local governments were oriented toward the exchange value of urban space rather than its use value as this understanding legalised and even promoted speculation¹¹². The perception of urban land and space as a commodity with a high exchange value, gave way to several market strategies implemented to appropriate the highest rate of profit. In this new era, housing was to be one of the most important commodities signifying status for the new middle class and the young urban professionals.

Young urban professionals emerged as the symbol of the period. They were the most educated and most successful members of a new generation. The banking, finance and international marketing were prospering fields in the country and these people had the opportunity to earn considerable amounts of money in these fields. Thus they demanded more of status, power, and consequently consumption. Being a yuppie meant

¹⁰⁹ Bali, Rıfat. İbid. 2002: 19.

¹¹⁰ Bartu, Ayfer. *Kentsel Ayır(ş)ım: İstanbul'daki Yeni Yerleşimler ve Kemer Country Örneği*, in 21. Yüzyıl Karşısında Kent ve İnsan. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2001: 146.

¹¹¹ Şengül, Tarık. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar*. Demokrasi Kitaplığı (WALD); İstanbul, 2001: 94

¹¹² Şengül, Tarık. İbid. 2001: 94.

having a certain life style and certain consumption habits, and their life style has been influential on the expectations, consumption styles and ideology of the other segments of the society. And although there were minor differences, Turkish yuppies had many characteristics in common with American yuppies¹¹³.

During 1980s, a new image of the businessmen and managers was constructed especially through the efforts of media. Especially the professional managers who could rise to that level without having capital were represented as ‘the real intellectuals of the period’ who were travelling, meeting new people, and acquiring knowledge. Being well-educated, at least bilingual people, they were portrayed as knowing the appropriate manners and ways not only interested in earning money but in cultural acquisitions. Integrated with the Western World and ‘speaking the same language’ they were world citizens¹¹⁴.

By the removal of limits on financial operations and of controls on foreign exchange transfers, credit cards and new banking services spread. Also, the advertising sector prospered significantly with the release of imports. The advertising sector mostly targeted the young, urban, well-educated managers who had high incomes¹¹⁵. High quality clothes were advertised especially for these people as clothes have made up an important part of their image. Also, expensive and luxurious restaurants and bars started to appear for serving the needs of these managers. Being able to distinguish good and delicious food, knowing different types of wine, eating in the best restaurants in Istanbul, Paris, London, and New York have also become the distinguishing characteristics of these managers¹¹⁶.

Istanbul has been the center of the new liberal and globalist orientation of the economy after 1980s while many firms that target the international markets have been established. Also, multinational firms which did not have connections to Turkey in the developmentalist period started to make investments and establish branches in Turkey with the liberalization of the Turkish economy.. The finance sector has been the first one to integrate with world economy. The branches of foreign banks, exchange offices, leasing and insurance firms started to function one after another. Together with the foreign banks and firms, luxurious hotels have been built in Istanbul. And later, the

¹¹³ Kozanoğlu, Hayri. *Yuppiler, Prensler ve Bizim Kuşak*, iletişim, 1993.

¹¹⁴ Bali, Rıfat. *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style’ a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, iletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 43.

¹¹⁵ Bali, Rıfat. *İbid.* 2002: 21.

¹¹⁶ Bali, Rıfat. *İbid.* 2002: 48-49.

shopping malls and stores appeared that targeted the people at high income levels. The new shopping malls were no different from those in the other major world cities. Also, a series of restaurants have been established in Istanbul offering cuisines of various countries. To the European restaurants were added the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Mexican ones. Entertainment sector has also prospered tremendously¹¹⁷. All these newly emerging sectors and places mainly aimed to serve the professional people at high income levels. With the spreading of the discourse that Istanbul's social and cultural life eroded due to the migration from rural areas, the city center was regarded inappropriate for living a civilized life leading to the construction of new residences outside the city center. 'Bahçekentler' (garden cities) were the groups of villas that were built for high income groups as early as 1980s. Their prices ranged between USD 250.000 and USD 1.000.000. They were usually located outside the city centers and within natural surroundings.¹¹⁸ Also, there emerged other types of residences, luxurious sites which were usually named as 'country' or 'city' (Kemer Country, Alkent, etc.). All these types of residences gave their inhabitants the opportunities of being away from the disorder of the city, living the environment of the so-called '*good old days*', offering spaces to spend their limited leisurely time in the most qualified way. In 'a world of privileges': residents enjoyed sports complexes, fitness centers, cinemas, restaurants, night clubs in these self-sufficient mini cities. Therefore the buyers of these residences not only bought houses but bought certain life styles¹¹⁹.

The old life of the neighborhood or the "mahalle" in Istanbul was idealized during this period and these new residences were marketed with the claim of offering that pure and quiet life. For being the symbol of the old periods, the residences were given such names as Lale Kasrı, Yalı Konaklar, Sarı Konaklar, Segah Konak, Nihavent Konak, "konak" meaning close to the English word "mansion." However, in real, the designed and lived life in these residences resembled more of the American middle class life style rather than the life of the mahalle in the past. As Rıfat Bali narrates, in the booklet about Kemer Country, there was a photograph of three American boys playing baseball¹²⁰. For the sale of these residences, meetings were held with the participation of reputable business people, artists, journalists, and bureaucrats, and these

¹¹⁷ Keyder, Çağlar. Istanbul : Between the Global and the Local, Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc. 1999:23-24.

¹¹⁸ Öncü, Ayşe, 'İdealinizdeki Ev Mitolojisi Kültürel Sınırları Aşarak İstanbul'a Ulaştı' in Birikim, Temmuz 1999, 26-34.

¹¹⁹ Bali, Rıfat, 'Çılgın Kalabalıktan Uzak...' in Birikim, İstanbul, Temmuz 1999: 35-46.

¹²⁰ Bali, Rıfat, 'Çılgın Kalabalıktan Uzak...' in Birikim, İstanbul, Temmuz 1999:42.

people were presented as their future neighbours reminding the Turkish proverb “Ev alma komşu al”¹²¹. Therefore, it was shown to the potential buyers that buying a house in those residences would mean much more than only owning a luxurious house. They were privileged people and would live with people similar to them, developing their relationships and contacts, which will not only mean a more qualified life but also establishment of new networks which will be beneficial in many areas of life, as well as work. Following Ahmet İnsel’s interpretation, it can be said that the homogenized residences are established for upper class people in which all kinds of social requirements are met and this is the indication of not only a haphazard, but rather a conscious effort of social discrimination based on class¹²².

Although urbanization slowed down after the 1990s, cities now have grown to be the focus of various dynamics of globalization process promoted by the free market reforms of the 1980s, and have been conceptualized as fragmented and differentiated areas with residential areas as the most important indicators of this fragmentation.

In İlhan Tekeli words¹²³, the urbanization practices during the periods before and after the 1980s can be distinguished as ‘speculative of small capital’ vs. ‘speculative of large capital’. He argues that before the 1980s, priority was given to industrial investments in urbanization practices, and sources were directed to development of industrial lands. In so doing, urban land was neglected as an area of investment. Cities could not expand due to the lack of infrastructure services and facilities outside the defined area. As a result vertical growth was inevitable leading to high-density compact urban forms in which public spaces and housing were intertwined.

During this period, İhsan Bilgin notes that, public spaces, , were composed of state offices and social service units.¹²⁴ Not surprisingly, private sector was unwilling to invest in public complexes. Private organizations and even some state offices occupied in apartment blocks that were converted from residential uses. Housing sector was considered as an unprofitable area of the private sector. As a result, housing sector was left to small-scale contractors, that is the Turkish *yapsatçı*.¹²⁵ ‘Yap-sat’ became one of the solutions

¹²¹ “Do not buy a house, buy your neighbour”

¹²² İnsel, Ahmet., ‘Yaşam Alanlarımıza Sahip Çıkmak’ in *Birikim*, Temmuz 1999: 25.

¹²³ Tekeli, İlhan. *İbid.* 1987/1991: 170-172.

¹²⁴ Bilgin, İhsan. *İbid.*, 1998: 267.

¹²⁵ Build-and-sell (*yapsatçılık*) mode of housing production pattern is a spatial operation of capital, and carried out by small-scale contractors (*müteahhit*) who are mostly from the Black Sea Region (Keyder 2000: 182). They build apartment houses with their own account and utilize their own financial resources, and then sell these units to generally middle and upper-middle class income groups. The land is either bought or supplied by mutual agreements with the landowner on the basis of certain number of flats. The

to the housing problem which emerged in the years following the Second World War in the absence of a deliberately acting central authority that helped create housing supply. In contrast to many European countries involved in postwar reconstruction the housing effort in Turkey was quite restricted until Emlak Bankası was formed by the state. The other type of housing supply pattern was the formation of housing cooperatives, usually led by corporatist formations.

In the years following the 1980 coup, a series of new urbanization practices emerged which threatened the homogeneous and densely settled structure of cities paving the way for a decentralized city form¹²⁶. Until the 1980s the urban developmental pattern was through gradual accumulation of houses due to the supply modes of buildings. After the 1980s, the growth pattern of cities changed, and large-scale developments, such as mass housing, campus like settlements of public offices and institutions, health uses, university campuses, headquarters of major companies emerged outside the city but were attached to it. The share of small-contractors in the housing sector gradually decreased.¹²⁷ In the same period, the field of real estate became profitable investment for large capital holders. The economic liberation policies of the time portrayed industry as the least desirable sector to invest both by the public and the private sectors.¹²⁸ Governments of the period created preferable conditions for large capital holders to invest in urban land, which was formerly regarded as fixed cost investment.¹²⁹

Essentially, new legal arrangements and initiatives made it possible for large capital to invest in urban land, such as Turizm Teşvik Yasası (Law of Encouragement of Tourism) enacted on 12 March 1982, number 2634 by which entrepreneurs would easily overcome restrictions associated with the planning process¹³⁰. In addition to housing, they were also interested in large-scale projects, such as international luxury hotels, recreation centers, entertainment parks, plazas, resort complexes, etc. Consequently

pattern is applied to building lots with old buildings as well and therefore also called as demolish-and-rebuild mode.

¹²⁶ Tekeli, İlhan. Türkiye’de Küçük Sermayenin Spekülatif Kentinden Büyük Sermayenin Spekülatif Kentine Bir Geçiş mi Yaşanıyor, in Kent Planlaması Konuşmalar. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 1987/1991: 170-172.

¹²⁷ Sey, Yıldız. ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Konut,’ in Yıldız Sey (ed.) 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayın, İstanbul, 1998: 273-300.

¹²⁸ Özgen-Ertubey, Neşe (1996) ‘Türkiye’de İşadamlar ve İşverenler,’ in Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ansiklopedisi. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, Vol: 13 pp. 736-744.

¹²⁹ Bilgin, İhsan. ‘Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyeti’in İmarı’ in Yıldız Sey (ed.) 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, İstanbul, 1998: 267.

¹³⁰ Işık,Oğuz. 1980 Sonrasında Türkiye’de Kent ve Kentleşme, in Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ansiklopedisi. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, Vol: 13, 1996: 799.

urban growth was affected by the addition of large urban uses into the existing macro-form. being shaped through the incentives, and operational scale of large capital holders.

As Ayşe Öncü¹³¹ notes, ‘individuals were consumers in the shopping mall of culture’ in which culture itself has become a commodity that could be bought and sold. Advertisements offered innumerable diversity of images, and put them into circulation¹³². The number and the diversity of magazines increased. Consequently, a new public opinion has come into being. This new agenda, Nurdan Gürbilek discusses, was built up more around private issues rather than around public issues; so that interests of masses have shifted from public to more private fields. Private lives have been widely discussed in front of the public through magazines, newspapers, televisions in the name of ‘freedom and individualization’¹³³, leading to the rise of a ‘private life industry’¹³⁴.

New life-style models have been projected as childless couples, working single women, marginals became largely seen in the media. Concomitantly, new magazines based on the classification of new reader segments - women, men, children, teenagers, housewives, businessmen, etc. were published. Individuals started to attribute uniqueness to their lives and their individualities. Murat Belge defines this as ‘a state of mind’ in which an individual puts herself at the center of life, feels it essential and indispensable; and acts accordingly.¹³⁵ Self-awareness became immediately commodified and was promoted through a global advertising language. Advertising, perhaps was the first sector that rapidly articulated the global world, and most of the local advertising firms established partnerships with the global advertising agencies such as Saatchi & Saatchi, Young and Rubicam, etc.¹³⁶. Not surprisingly, the Turkish advertisement format have grown to be similar to those in the global sphere.

¹³¹ Öncü, Ayşe. ‘Introduction: Struggles over Lebensraum and Social Identity in Globalizing Cities,’ in Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland (eds.) *Space, Power and Culture*. Zed Publications, 1997a: 1-20.

¹³² Gürbilek, Nurdan. *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980’lerin Kültürel İklimi*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992: 16.

¹³³ Gürbilek, Nurdan. *İbid.* 1992: 18.

¹³⁴ Gürbilek, Nurdan. *İbid.* 1992: 55.

¹³⁵ Belge, Murat. ‘Yeni İnsan, Yeni Kültür,’ in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, Vol: 13, 1996: 827.

¹³⁶ Öncü, Ayşe. ‘The Myth of the Ideal Home: Travels Across Cultural Borders to İstanbul,’ in Ayşe Öncü and Petra Weyland (eds.) *Space, Power and Culture*. Zed Publications, 1997: 71.

2.5. How the 'House' was Marketed in the Early Republic

In the early republican period of Turkey, the ideals of the regime were based on the tradition of the Enlightenment and the elites of the Republic aimed at constructing a nation-state with a break from the imperial Ottoman era. One of the basic elements of such a fundamental modernisation project was indeed urban development which was vital for the diffusion of the rural population in order to allocate the needed amount of labour power in developing the industry and realising the economic goals for the success of such a modernisation attempt¹³⁷. The republican 'mind' has realised from the beginning that the urbanisation process and the modernisation were closely interrelated.

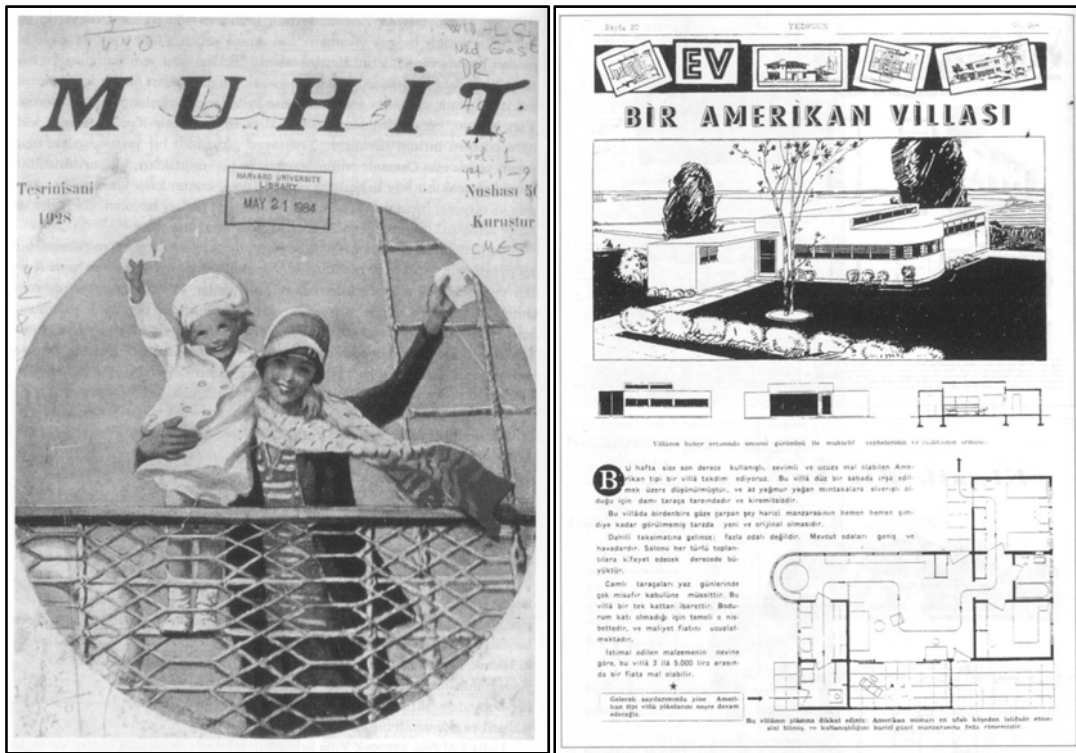


Figure 2.3. The first picture is The Cover of the first issue of the magazine 'Muhit' pub. in 1928. The second picture is from the Yedigün Magazine, no:308. 1939. 'Airy, flat, greenery area is the reminiscent of the American Suburb life' (Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

Early republican discourse about the modern house, has been the extension of a nationalist emphasis in which the Family has been induced and sublimated. The

¹³⁷ Tekeli, İlhan. 'Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması', 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, in Yıldız Set (ed.), Tarih Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, 1998: 1.

transformation of upper class housing culture and family life among European example dates back at least 50 years time to Kemalist republic's westernization reforms. Starting from the Tanzimat in İstanbul's elites' homes- elites dealing with trade and bureaucracy - only European (especially French) culture, bourgeois dressage, hobbies, furniture, as well as the European family, marriage and home life, have been adopted. Most importantly, the wife and husband's friendly relationship, children's health were emphasized while a growing form of 'democratization' was observed. By the time the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, instead of traditional big family, the nuclear family had already been adopted. The discrimination between man and women in terms of separate quarters in the house(Haremlik-selamlık) ended at that time.

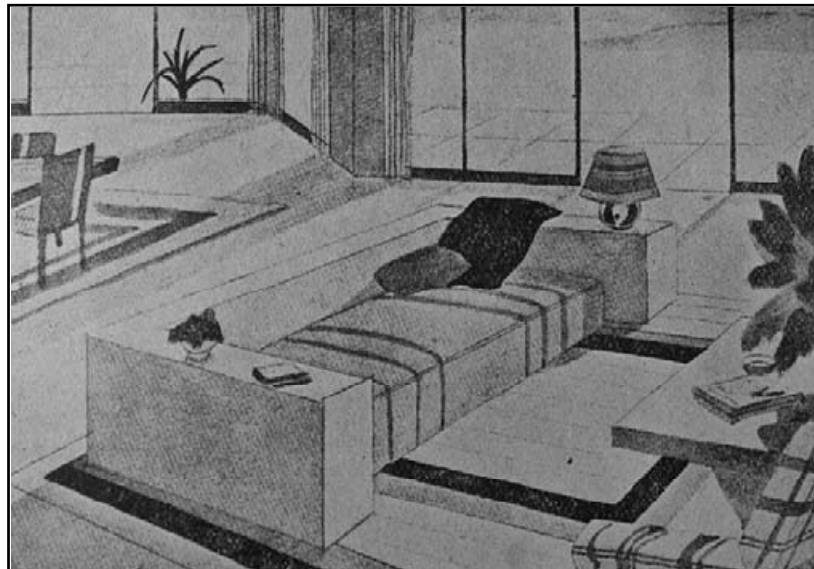


Figure 2.4. Smoking room.

(Source: İsmail Hakkı, *Demokrasi ve San'at*, İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931: 59)

What separated the early Republican era from the previous period, however, was the radical Kemalist project aiming a transition from a traditional Ottoman/Islamic society to westernized, modern, secular society. In the beginning of this century, the typical everyday life of Ottoman bureaucrats and private housing displayed an interesting mixture of both old customs and habits, and customs of the West. However, the Republican elite, at least theoretically, pursued a more drastic break from tradition.

During the 1930s 'modern' and 'Asri' (modern) were the words used synonymously with a new spatial layout in terms of a westernized plan and decoration to homes and apartments that offered a westernized life. The modern Wohnkultur was

continuously used with an image opposed to the traditional house. Modern house and interior decoration was accepted as a progressive instrument for the purpose of educating the nation. In an article published by popular monthly Modern Türkiye Mecmuası proudly brought these observations: ‘Home for Europeans is a private and personal thing. Now, our house is beginning to rise to a level of such a civil institution and organization. Turkish citizens, as well as many good things, are getting to know the house in the republican era. That’s why the majority of us do not how to make good homes and settle well since the idea of making and decorating homes is quite new’¹³⁸

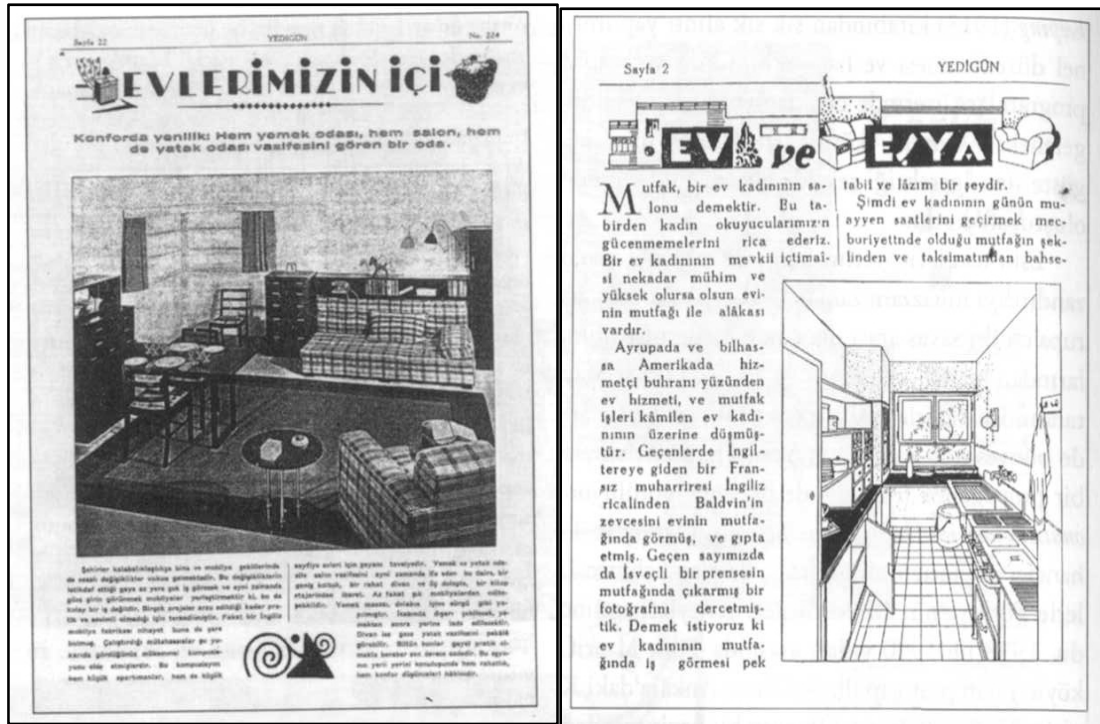


Figure 2.5. Modern living room and kitchen (Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

In *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Sibel Bozdoğan discusses the attempts of creating modern residential life

¹³⁸ ‘Avrupalı için ev sırf şahsın olan hususi birşeydir. Bizde ev, şimdi şimdi bu medeni seviyeye yükselen bir müessese ve teşkilat olmaya başlamaktadır... Türk vatandaşı, birçok iyi şeyi olduğu gibi, meskeni de cumhuriyet devrinde tanımış bulunuyor. Ve işte bunun için bizde ev yapmak, ev döşemek fikirlerinin pek yeni olması yüzünden, içimizde hemen hemen ekserimiz güzel ev yapmayı, güzel yerleşmeyi bilmiyoruz.’ (Modern Türkiye Mecmuası)

images in 1930s.¹³⁹ She stresses that the republican discourse for the modern house has been the extension of the emphasis on family, women, family house. The image of the house was idealized under the skills of a woman's 'nice, simple, comfortably decorated' modern house. In a family magazine, a text accompanying a 'summer house' design stated: 'Here is your nest of happiness... A cheap, nice, airy villa (köşk). Composed of a bathroom, a kitchen, a wide and airy bedroom with a dining room and living room. You can eat your dinner together with your graceful wife and beautiful child in front of the terrace, and later on chat pleasantly as you lie down on your chaise longues'.¹⁴⁰ For this study Muhit, Yedigün, Modern Turkey Yenigun Mecmuası and many of the picture magazines of this period were scanned, their house plans and exterior appearances as well as the arrangement of goods, as in 'European and American homes, (tea and coffee next to a small coffee table, large table with lampshades, upholstery, curtains compatible with floors) describing the arrangement to provide information for specific sections of the household samples. By the 1930s, although many of these pictures has been received directly from western sources such as Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion and Scherl's Magazine, but also Necip Emin Uzman's weekly contributions to the 'Home' sections of popular magazines of the Republican era like Yedigün, in addition to the designs of some Turkish architects were published in threads.

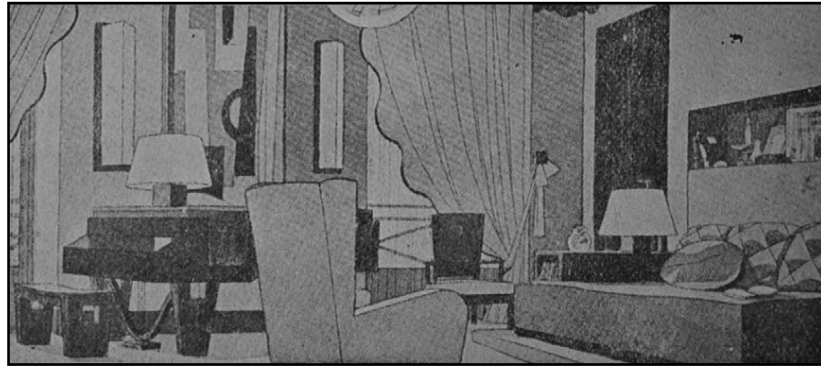


Figure 2.6. Room for a newlywed woman.
(Source: Ismail Hakkı, Demokrasi ve San'at [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931:58])

¹³⁹ For a comprehensive account, see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

¹⁴⁰ 'İşte size saadet yuvası...Ucuz, güzel havadar bir köşk. Bir banyo, bir mutfak, geniş ve havadar bir yatak odası ile biryemek odası ve salondan ibaret Akşam yemeklerinizi zarif zevceniz ve güzel çocuğunuzla beraber yemek odasının önündeki taraçada yiyebilir, sonra da şezlonglara uzanarak tatlı tattı konuşabilirsiniz.'

In early Republican Turkey, the image of the modern Turkish woman provided one of the most visible symbols, publicizing the image of the new nation-state as a radical break from its Islamic Ottoman past. Educated women in European outfits who appeared in professional life, at entertainment events, and sports activities foregrounded and displaced the image of the ignorant Muslim woman forbidden from the public sphere and concealed behind her veil.

Issues concerning sexuality and gender are rarely addressed in the discourse of modern Turkish architecture. According to Gülsüm Baydar, in the early years of the Turkish Republic, images of the modern house and modern, secular women were actively promoted by the architects and intellectuals of the new nation-state. Representations of women, which abound in popular journals but end up dispersed between the lines in contemporaneous architectural texts, often escape critical scrutiny. In general, only the imaginary figure of an asexual ‘ideal Turkish woman’ is allowed to have legitimate entry to the discourse on modern Turkish culture.¹⁴¹

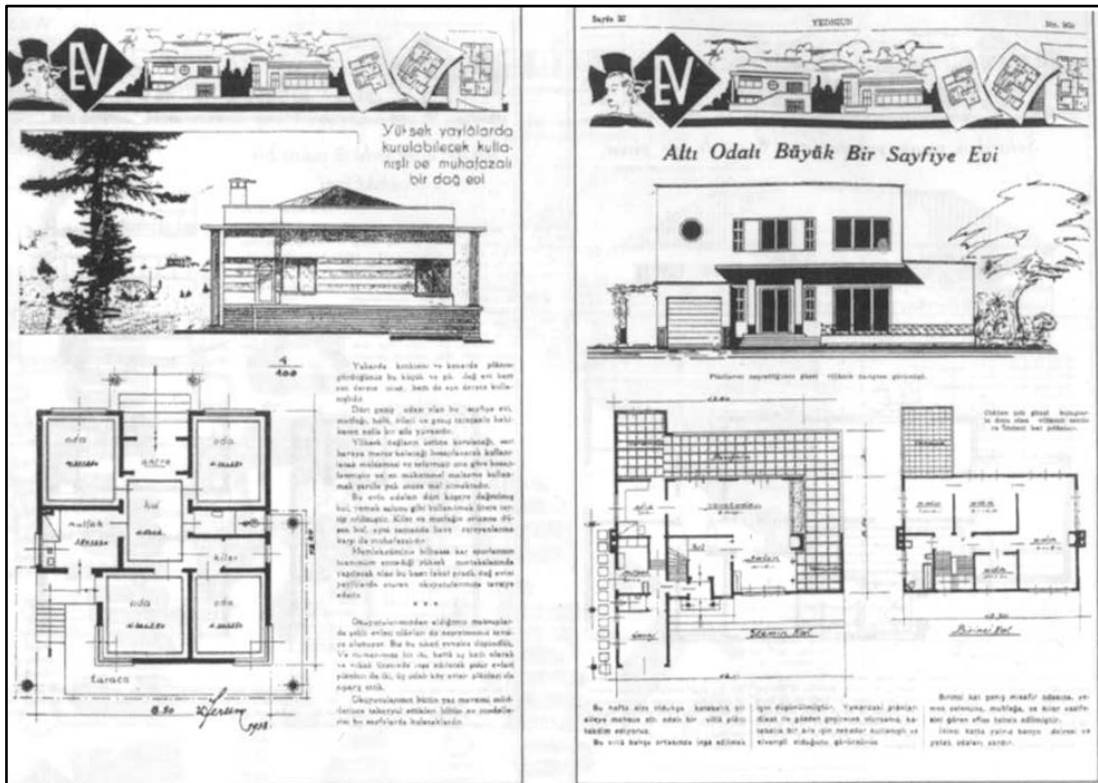


Figure 2.7. Pictures depicting a ‘modern mountain house’ and a ‘modern summer house’ (Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

¹⁴¹ Baydar, Gülsüm. ‘Room for a Newlywed Woman: Making Sense of Gender in the Architectural Discourse of Early Republican Turkey’, ACSA, 2007, Izmir Univ. of Economics.

Unlike the European and North American residential pattern, the classical Ottoman residential pattern was characterized by a differentiation mainly based on ethnic and religious criteria rather than class stratification. In the years that follow the Empire's opening up to the world economy, that begin from the middle of the nineteenth century, the construction of wooden mansions (konak) and luxurious apartment dwellings, and row houses within a short distance to the core represented affluent households, and indicated the emerging social stratification in the society. Mübeccel Kıray relates the construction of new apartment dwellings to the emergence of a new middle class involving non-Muslim professionals and merchants.¹⁴²



Figure 2.8. The first picture is 'Villa of Monsieur Jack' in *Muhit* magazine. The Second Picture depicts a cubist house suggested in the form of comfortable, cheap and healthy by a first floor plan and a photo of the house. (Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

¹⁴² Kıray, Mübeccel B. *Apartmanlaşma ve Modern Orta Tabakalar*, in *Toplubilim Yazıları*, Gazi Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksek Okulu, Ankara, 1979/ 1982: 386.

Eventually, the new European style of living along large boulevards in high-rise buildings was adopted by the Muslim population as they became rich asİstanbul experienced a spatial transformation brought about by this conversion.¹⁴³



Figure 2.9. Housing Advertisement of 1980s, 'Far from the eyes but close to work'(Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)



Figure 2.10. Housing Advertisement of 1980s, "We now have a mahalle"(Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

¹⁴³ Kıray, Mübeccel B. Apartmanlaşma ve Modern Orta Tabakalar, in Toplubilim Yazıları, Gazi Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksek Okulu, Ankara, 1979/ 1982: 386.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALISING THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN TURKEY

In this chapter, arguments about the new middle classes of Turkey, the purchasers of this new lifestyle, will be conceptualized. A gaze to these arguments will be very helpful in determining the class character of gated communities. But before analysing transformation of the middle classes in Turkey, different approaches to the issue of ‘class’ will be explained. Firstly Marxian conceptualization of class will be held. Secondly, Weber’s theory of status will be taken as a complement to Marxist understanding of class, with considering consumption and life styles as important markers of differentiation between groups. Then, it will be explained how consumption has been used as a way of establishing distinction from the beginning of modernity through Veblen’s *Theory of the Leisure Class*. It will be argued that the aim of establishing distinction which was mostly relevant for a privileged class in Veblen’s theory has been relevant also for the lower classes in the contemporary period, especially after 1950s, with increase in consumption for all classes. Jean Baudrillard’s theories will be explained to demonstrate how consumption is used as a means of communication: to communicate status. And lastly, Pierre Bourdieu’s theory will be considered in detail as a model for considering life styles which takes into consideration not only economic capital but also social, cultural and symbolic capitals.

Housing choices in Turkey today are deeply embedded in and related to a larger socio-cultural and spatial reconfiguration of Turkish society. The new urban middle class has developed specific ideas about their living environment and life-style. They aspire to have green space, better air quality, and spaciousness, among other physical characteristics, but also privacy and exclusivity in their new places of residence. Study shows that residential compounds have become the basis for identity and lifestyle formation, crucial in the process of social differentiation, which in turn underline and reinforce growing disparities in Turkish society. Over and above the outcome of economic restructuring and political decision making, residential differentiation in Turkey today is a social practice that marks urban professionals’ status and supports

their new modern, urban identities. In addition, this social practice also has an impact on İstanbul's suburbanization process.

Although it had been used even in Roman times to refer to division of Roman people on the basis of property ownership, the concept of class has acquired widespread usage after the industrial revolution, related to the new division of labor within the society. The industrial capitalism, beginning first in England and then in France, Germany and the United States, spreading to the other countries of Europe and becoming a global process in our century, shaped the class structure. This is why it has been one of the major interests of the sociologists of modernity to think of the classes and to analyze class relations within the context of the changing societies of modernity¹⁴⁴. Karl Marx is well-known to have developed one of the most important theories about class. In his explanations about industrial capitalism, Marx talked about the emergence of two major classes which are in direct conflict: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Bourgeoisie is the class that owns the means of production. Proletariats do not have the means of production and they have to sell their labor power in order to survive. Thus, these two classes are determined by their positions in the production relations. As stated, they are in constant conflict, because bourgeoisie needs to exploit the labor of proletariat in order to be able to make profit in competitive market conditions; there is an inverse relationship between the profits of bourgeoisie and the wages of proletariat. Talking about two major classes, Marx also considered the presence of many other classes and class divisions in his several studies. In addition to bourgeoisie and proletariat, he pointed out to petite bourgeoisie, peasants, and middle classes, which are also diversified in themselves. However, although class theory of Marx does not totally exclude the possibility of presence of many classes and class divisions, it supposes that these classes will disappear as a result of the development of big industry. The main conflict is between two major classes¹⁴⁵.

Weber's theory is usually called as the social stratification theory and includes categories such as status and ethnic stratification, contrary to Marx's. Weber introduced the term '**class status**'.

The term class status will be applied to the typical probability that a given state of (a) provision with goods, (b) external conditions of life, and (c) subjective

¹⁴⁴ Edgell, Stephen. *Smif (Class)*, Dost Kitapevi, Ankara, 1993.

¹⁴⁵ Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich, *Komünist Partisi Manifestosu*, Sosyal Yayınlar, 1998: 1st edition, 2003, 2nd.edition. Sosyal Yayınlar: İstanbul. 2003.

satisfaction or frustration will be possessed by an individual or a group. These probabilities define class status in so far as they are dependent on the kind and extent of control or lack of it which the individual has over goods or services and existing possibilities of their exploitation for the attainment of income or receipts within a given economic order¹⁴⁶.

Weber regarded class as referring to a group of people having the same class status and talked about the presence of many types of classes: property classes, acquisition classes and social classes. In a property class, the class status of the members is determined by differentiation of property holdings, and in acquisition class by their opportunities for the use of services in the market¹⁴⁷. According to Weber, social classes are the groupings of social conditions. He stated four such groups: the class of workers, petite bourgeoisie, intellectuals and specialists, and the classes that are privileged as a result of their properties and education. He made a distinction between class and status. Class is principally an economic concept; it is determined by the position of the individuals in the market. Having property is the main criteria for the class positions. However, for identifying different class positions, he took into consideration not only property ownership but also education, and made an analysis of status groups¹⁴⁸.

According to Marx, the real divisions within the society and social stratifications have economic bases. The reasons for social inequalities and hierarchies primarily rest on economic relations. However, for Weber, there are many dimensions of social stratification such as economics, power and cultural difference. Not only the economically determined classes but also the status groups are important elements of the social stratification system. Status is based on the honor or respect acquired through a particular life style, formal education and occupational positions within the society. What Weber refers to by the term status group is a collectivity of social actors which manages to acquire social honor within a wide social environment and which has certain social privileges. Status groups are the communal groups which can have access to the limited resources through having cultural, moral and symbolic qualifications¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁶ Weber, Max. *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, The Free Press, New York & London, 1964:424.

¹⁴⁷ Weber, Max. *Ibid.* 1964:424.

¹⁴⁸ Edgell, S., *Sınıf (Class)*, Dost Kitapevi, Ankara, 1993.

¹⁴⁹ Turner, Brian. *Statü, Ütopya Yayinevi*, Ankara, 2001:16.

It is generally accepted that the idea of status groups suggested by Weber has offered an alternative to the Marxist economic class analysis. However, some writers argue that it will be more appropriate to interpret Weberian approach as a contribution to Marxist analysis rather than an alternative to it¹⁵⁰. Weber's theory makes it possible to analyze the class structures within societies through a more sophisticated model, adding into picture the issues of status, life styles, and consumption, while still being aware of the essential role of economy in determining the class structure. Especially for the class analysis of advanced capitalist societies of contemporary era, Weberian more than the Marxist model has influenced the theoretical approaches, as the concept of status group implying eating, dressing, entertainment, or briefly consumption habits seem more appropriate for a decade in which consumption is a key factor in social differentiation.

In recent decades, according to some theorists 'new' middle classes emerged - while another part of this class has shrunk. According to Ayşe Öncü¹⁵¹, globalisation played an important role in this restructuring of middle classes by strengthening the upper segments of the middle strata at the expense of worsening conditions for the lower middle class who are faced with the prospect of downward mobility.

The expansion of a part of the middle class and the agreement of this group with the bourgeoisie in most cases had its own political consequences. Tom Bottomore¹⁵², argued that the 'service class', the growing part of the middle class, did not displace the capitalist class in the domination of the society, nor did it merge with the capitalist class to any considerable extent. It played an important part in the management and regulation of many vital economic and social agencies (public and private corporations, the administration of welfare), but primarily in a subaltern role as the executor of decisions made elsewhere. As the middle class has grown, the diversity of civil society increased and thus new forms of political activities have arisen. However, this led to the diminishing of class based politics mostly at the expense of working-class interests since a large part of the middle class tended to support the capitalist economic order and the interests of the 'governing elite'¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ Bocoock, Robert. *Tüketim*, çev. İrem Kutluk, Dost kitabevi:Ankara, 1997.

¹⁵¹ Öncü, Ayşe (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in Istanbul. *Space, Power and Culture*. Zed Books, London, 1997: 70.

¹⁵² Tom Bottomore. *Elites and Society* 1993: 45.

¹⁵³ Tom Bottomore. *Elites and Society* 1993: 45

These changes in economical, political and social spheres, also transformed the urbanisation patterns from the second half of the 20th century. Wealthy upper class citizens of capitalist societies, were offered new residential consumption and lifestyle patterns which would be considered as urban reflections of socio-economic differentiation. One of these patterns was gated communities.

We can quickly state that capitalist industrialised societies are still stratified, ‘class societies’. At the top there are the members of upper class owning and controlling the means of production and dominating the working class whose principal ‘capital’ is labour power. Shortly, capitalist societies can be defined by the exploitation relationship between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited working class. Erik Olin Wright, a Marxist scholar, criticised the Marxist commitment to conceptualise class relations in advanced capitalist societies as strictly polarised. According to him, the classical analysis based on the polarised class structure between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was not adequate in defining the concept of middle class in a situation where, ‘the concrete class structures of contemporary advanced capitalist societies looked anything but polarised’¹⁵⁴. At this point however, there are different approaches in defining and ‘classifying’ middle classes.

3.1. Class and Social Boundaries in Istanbul

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.¹⁵⁵

A vital factor in today’s transformations of the urban landscape is the consolidating new middle class which is growing day by day and supported by government policies. This disparate group of private entrepreneurs, upper level government employees, and professionals in private or public enterprises is in many ways still unformatted and hard to define. Nonetheless, it appears to increasingly shape its status around a new set of collective

¹⁵⁴Wright, Erik Olin (1989) ‘A general Framework for the Analysis of Class Structure’, in E. O. Wright (ed.) *The Debate on Classes*, Verso: London.1989:3.

¹⁵⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge & Massachusetts, 1984.

interests, especially their modes of consumption and privileged access to resources. Housing takes a key role in this class structuration process.

At the turn of the 1980s, Turkish economy that entered a period of integration into the world economy which has been faced with the rapid and unforeseeable transformation that brought fragmentation of identities and blurred the boundaries of social lives. Studies have been held by popular writers like Can Kozanoğlu (*Cilali İmaj Devri*) and Nurdan Gürbilek (*Vitrinde Yaşamak*) and media studies. 1980s liberalisation and privatisation politics accompanied by conscious and determined effects of creation of new forms of lifestyles and elites have been other sources of interest among the scholars.¹⁵⁶ Until recently, urban stratification or ‘middle-class’ issues surprisingly was unable to find a place in the field¹⁵⁷. This might have been given priority to other dichotomies such as rural/urban split which were seen more influential and effective. However, the effects of liberalization policies resulted in fragmentation and polarization within the ‘middle class’. Recent economic changes have an effect to lower some occupational groups’ class position as middle class and have an effect to equate them with the working class positions. While public sector functionaries were worsening-off, some employees of multinational firms were getting better off.¹⁵⁸ The newly emerged sites highly protected and affluent lifestyles were becoming ever more visible in the city space. Ayata’s works are good example of attempts for understanding the economic and cultural supportings of the new-form of middle class identity¹⁵⁹. Formation of wealthy enclaves can be defined as new trend affecting urban morphology as a whole.

A study on the everyday life of modern Turkey, in the *Fragments of Culture* has proclaimed that the Turkish society is now exercising a social differentiation based on new axes which are hard to explain by the conventional instruments as such rural/urban, traditional/modern. As Kandiyoti claims;

¹⁵⁶ Rıfat Bali’s book *Tarz-ı Hayat’tan Lifestyle’a: Yeni seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, by reading the newspapers and the editorials published in media, the newly emerged lifestyle in Turkey can be very well observed.

¹⁵⁷ Kandiyoti, Deniz & Sektenber, Ayşe. *Fragments of Culture*, I.B. Tauris & Co Publishers: London-New York.2002.

Kalaycıoğlu, S., Kardam, F., Tüzün, S. and Ulusoy, M. ‘Türkiye için bir sosyoekonomik statü ölçütü geliştirme yönünde yaklaşım ve denemeler’, *Toplum ve Hekim*, Vol.13, No.2., 1998: 126-137.

¹⁵⁸ Kandiyoti, Deniz & Sektenber, Ayşe. *Ibid.*.2002:5

¹⁵⁹ Ayata, Sencer. ‘The New Middle Class and Joys of Suburbia’, in Deniz Kandiyoti, & Ayşe Saktanber (eds) *Fragments of Culture*, I.B. Tauris & Co Publishers: London-New York.2002.

There is little doubt that class cultures in Turkey are increasingly being shaped and redefined through the medium of consumption. Although we may concur with Miller (1995) that movement of consumption to centre-stage is part of a global phenomenon, the specific meanings with which different consumption habits and styles are invested, and the way these define social identities, can only be captured through detailed ethnographies.¹⁶⁰

3.2. Transformation of Middle Class and the New Upper- Middle Class in the World

E. P. Thompson¹⁶¹ and Anthony Giddens pointed to the importance of community, family, and consumption as domains of class formation besides the sphere of production.¹⁶² Bourdieu¹⁶³, Douglas and Isherwood¹⁶⁴, and more recently Miller showed the interconnection of consumption, identity, lifestyle, and social stratification, processes.¹⁶⁵ Drawing on their scholarship, we have to examine practices of consumption in the context of class formation processes. Moreover, residential differentiation in Turkey has been explained by economic and political factors.

The emergence of new middle-class neighborhoods is characterised by capital, a high level of connectedness to global networks, and a strong sense of identity based on **aesthetics** and **taste**. Such neighbourhoods are typically associated with the inner areas of ‘metropolitan’ centres and, according to Bourdieu, are manifestations of ‘milieux’ in which residents increasingly use taste as a basis for the ascription and enjoyment of status by way of contrast to residents in neighbourhoods in ‘suburban’, ‘provincial’, and ‘small-town’ settings where status continues to derive primarily from occupation and/or the ownership of key consumer products.

In Bourdieu’s analysis, class is fundamental to his argument concerning objective conditions. His analysis of class, however, does not depend upon objective economic or indeed even political criteria alone for its foundation, but rather upon a broad-ranging account of class practices including tastes in food, clothing and body

¹⁶⁰ Kandiyoti, Deniz. *Fragments of Culture*, I.B. Tauris & Co Publishers: London-New York.2002:7.

¹⁶¹ E. P. Thompson full reference!!!!1964.

¹⁶² Giddens, Anthony. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London : Hutchinson. 1973

¹⁶³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge & Massachusetts, 1984.

¹⁶⁴ Douglas, Mary, and Baron Isherwood. *The World of Goods*. New York: Basic Books. 1979

¹⁶⁵ Miller, Daniel. *Capitalism. An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: Berg. 1997

Miller, Daniel. *A Theory of Shopping*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998.

dispositions, housing styles, and forms of social choice in everyday life, as well as the more familiar categories of economy and polity.¹⁶⁶

As Bourdieu argues, class exists if and when there exist agents who can say that they are the class. In other words, he claims that there is the possibility of being a class when the people who thereby recognize themselves as members of the class or nation or any other social reality that a realist construction of the world can be invented and imposed upon.¹⁶⁷ For Bourdieu, it is not really a class, not an actual class, in the sense of being a group, a group mobilized for struggle; at most one could say that it is a probable class, in so far as it is a **set of agents**¹⁶⁸. Bourdieu states that:

Classes are sets of agents who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions and subjected to similar conditionings, have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interest and therefore of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances. (However) This 'class on paper' has the theoretical existence which is that of theories... It is not really a class, an actual class, in the sense of a group mobilized for struggle; at most it might be called a probable class, inasmuch as it is a set of agents which will present fewer hindrances to efforts at mobilization than any other set of agents¹⁶⁹.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu shows how the logic of class struggle extends to the realm of taste and lifestyle, and that symbolic classification is key to the reproduction of class privileges: dominant groups define their own culture and ways of being as superior. Through the incorporation of '**habitus**' or cultural dispositions, cultural practices have inescapable and unconscious classificatory effects that shape social positions.¹⁷⁰

According to David Swartz, Bourdieu argues that in stressing the centrality of economic structures in social life, Marxism reproduces the classical subjectivism/objectivism dualism by restricting the notion of interest to the material aspects of social life. This same dualism undergirds the Marxist distinction between infrastructure and superstructure, which Bourdieu rejects by broadening the idea of

¹⁶⁶ Wilkes, Chris. 'Bourdieu's Class', in Harker et al. (eds.), *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu*, London: Macmillan. 1990: 109

¹⁶⁷ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990:139.

¹⁶⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Polity Press, Cambridge. 1991:232

¹⁶⁹ Wilkes, Chris. *Ibid.* 1990

¹⁷⁰ Lamont, Michele. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration* (Russell Sage Foundation Books at Harvard University Press, 2002).

economic interest to include symbolic or non-material pursuits as well as material ones.

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Consumption functions as a means to strengthen symbolic boundaries in today's world. The lifestyle packages that surround us today, however, do not offer much variety when it comes to the choices presented us. The available choices direct us to consume in order not to fall short of the level of the particular lifestyle to which we belong so that we do not get left behind. The particular package we choose directs us to the community to which we desire to belong. Thus we can establish a distinction between our own and other communities and lifestyles. As Jenkins points out, these boundaries mark both the inside and the outside of a community, which is also why social boundaries play such an important role in the creation of inequality and the exercise of power.¹⁷²

Place can be used as another means to mark social distinction and symbolic boundaries. According to Giddens and Jenkins, we have lost our social maps, and so we are looking for new maps to our social landscapes. In this inauspicious, unreliable environment, as Massey states, 'in the middle of all this flux, one desperately needs a bit of peace and quite and 'place' is posed as a source of stability and an unproblematic identity'.¹⁷³

Another aspect of the structural change is the shifting importance of consumption in terms of social restructuring which has also occurred since the late 1970s. In its turn, social restructuring has been related to the economic and eventually spatial restructuring. The first was the development of the differentiated markets through which diverse and wide-ranging goods and services have been available to those who could afford them. Producers have begun to explore the realms of differentiated tastes and aesthetics preferences upon the quest which were not so necessarily available under the Fordist accumulation through mass production¹⁷⁴.

The distinct forms in the consumption structure have had a feedback effect on the production and thereby work organization and the types of jobs being created. The middle and high-income groups have inclined towards the accumulation/consumption of luxury

¹⁷¹ Swartz, David. Culture and power. The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1997: 66

¹⁷² Lamont, *ibid.* 2002.

¹⁷³ Massey, Doreen. Space, Place and Gender Polity Press USA. 1994

¹⁷⁴ Harvey, David 'Flexible Accumulation Through Urbanization: Reflections on Post-Modernism in the American Cities,' in Ash Amin (ed.) Post-Fordism: A Reader. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1987/1994: 374.

goods in the name of status enhancement. In so doing, they have re-emphasized the production and consumption of, borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's phrase, '**symbolic capital**' which function as many codes and symbols of social distinction¹⁷⁵. This is not a new phenomenon, it is one of the characteristics of capitalism, and it has become more significant since the 1970s. Symbolic capital can be captured through the production or acquisition of built environment. The very effect of this process is the spatial and social segregation within cities of the affluent from 'others' who are unable to obtain symbolic capital. The other effect is the 'acquisition of greater power in urban politics' by the affluent because of 'their privileged position in an urban economy increasingly based on consumption priorities'¹⁷⁶.

Still the other aspect of structural change is the sharp increase of professional, managerial, administrative, technical, and service, especially in the producer service sector finance, insurance, real estate has been observed.¹⁷⁷, As a result, the newly grown multinational enterprises and financial institutions are being run by a new class of global executives and professionals. Global homogenization combined with individual and local group claims of difference have had a considerable impact on the social transformation¹⁷⁸.

The increase of higher income population has generated a demand for goods and services that are not mass-produced or sold, or common to everybody through mass outlets. The increasing capacity of disposable income have encouraged the new middle class with a large number of people to seek out diversity of leisure activities for the sake of newness. Customized production, specialties, exclusiveness, fine food have been produced by labour intensive methods and sold through small, special, full-service outlets which are different from those characterizing the large department stores and supermarkets¹⁷⁹. So, the diversity of affluence has been combined with the diversity of cultural differentiation. The new managerial-administrative-technocratic-political elite have created their own exclusive spaces to live, work, learn, shop, play, pray, and die, isolated

¹⁷⁵ Harvey, David. *Ibid.* 1987/1994: 375.

Chaney, David. *Lifestyles*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996: 56-70.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. (Translated by Richard Nice). London: Routledge, 1979/1989.

¹⁷⁶ Amin, Ash. 'Post-Fordism: Models, Fantasies, and Phantoms of Transition,' in Ash Amin (ed.) *Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994:32.

¹⁷⁷ King, Anthony D. *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internalization of London*. London and New York: Routledge, 1990: 26.

¹⁷⁸ Healey, Patsy, Simin Davoudi, Mo O'Toole, Solmaz Tavşanoğlu and David Usher. 'Rebuilding the City,' in Patsy Healey, Simin Davoudi, Mo O'Toole, Solmaz Tavşanoğlu and David Usher (eds.) *Rebuilding the City*. London: E and FN. Spon., 1996:3-6.

¹⁷⁹ Sassen, Saskia. *Cities in A World Economy*. California: Pine Forge Press., 1994:114-115.

and removed themselves from the city at large 'as the bourgeoisie quarters of the industrial society'¹⁸⁰. They have created their own life-style, which is defined simply by David Chaney¹⁸¹ as '...the patterns of action that differentiate people'.

The new middle class contains a large number of individuals who have not generally inherited wealth or own business, most have experienced higher education. They generally provide the administrative apparatus for their business or organization. They hold specialized knowledge and management know-how; they are highly paid, and enjoy the privileges of their job. They are employed by capital for the purposes of managing, controlling or administering the working class. The new middle class also includes those engaged in producer services, and who are highly-paid in law, banking, insurance, business services, accounting, engineering, advertising, etc. These groups, combined with relatively affluent households, have proposed a new concept of residence associated with similar life-style was based upon the idea of total security and isolation against the disorder, dust, noise, crowds of the city, implicitly upon the discourse of violence and fear of crime¹⁸². In many cities of the world, they prefer to live in exclusive, fortified, separated settlements where they can be with the people similar to themselves in terms of social status. In Teresa Caldeira's words "fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work".¹⁸³ In other words, social distance as well as economic distance between lives of haves and have-nots has tended to increase.¹⁸⁴ Then, underclasses have come to be regarded as a threat by residents of other urban areas. Thus, the spatial segregation of poor and rich residential areas was added to the social differentiation of the city in turn. 'The dual city' metaphor has become a popular means of describing this urban spatial change and the increasing discrepancy between rich and the poor, or more relevantly between affluent and socially excluded¹⁸⁵. In many American studies, the dual city has been interpreted primarily in terms of impoverished inner city, and the affluent middle class, located in suburban areas.

¹⁸⁰ Castells, Manuel *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996: 401.

¹⁸¹ Chaney, David. *Lifestyles*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996: 4.

¹⁸² Blakely, Edward J. and Mary Gail Snyder. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Virginia: Donnellay and Sons Co. 1997.

¹⁸³ Caldeira, Teresa. 'Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation', *Public Culture* 8 (8), 1996b: 303

¹⁸⁴ Scott, Allen J., John Agnew, Edward W. Soja and Michael Storper. 'Global City Regions', in Allen Scott (ed.) *Global City-Regions: Trends, Theory, Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001: 20.

¹⁸⁵ Castells, Manuel. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. III: End of Millennium. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000: 566.

3.3. Fashion, Taste and Lifestyle

*'Our pride is more offended by attacks on our tastes than on our opinions'.
La Rochefoucauld, Maxims.¹⁸⁶*

*LIFESTYLE EDITOR: City Life Manchester's fortnightly what's on magazine is looking
for...Applicants must have a sharp sense of style with catholic tastes in food, drink, music, books
,entertainment, and a demonstrable interest in fashion'.
Advertisement in Guardian, 25/09/1995¹⁸⁷*

Fashion, taste and lifestyle are the three dominant concepts used in debates on class. For Gronow, fashion offers a socially valid standard of taste, which is based solely upon the preferences of the individual and choices of the members of the 'community of tastes'.¹⁸⁸ We can evaluate the process of consumption within this context in so far as we maintain that while consuming goods, people both express their own aesthetic preferences and share a collective taste with others.¹⁸⁹ This collective taste is particularly important as a symbol of community connection and an element that also feeds the necessity felt by the individual for social distinction. In this way, it serves to sharpen symbolic boundaries.

Taste always refers to the preferences and choices of an individual and is totally private by its very nature. Everyone is supposed to choose what feels good. At the same time, the ideal of good taste is meant to be beyond the individual and socially binding. It offers a universal standard, potentially applicable to all members of a society. It is an ideal which everyone is supposed to follow. Furthermore, it is a standard which is socially communicable even though it can never be conceptually determined. As Simmel has shown, fashion is something which is in a state of perpetual change, but at the same time it offers an objective standard which cannot be neglected by consumers even if they so wish.¹⁹⁰

According to Jukka, Simmel does not explicitly discuss the relationship between style and fashion. Nevertheless, he obviously takes up the matters of style and fashion as he grapples with how to bridge the gap between something, which on the one hand is totally individual or private, and on the other universal and general.¹⁹¹ What makes

¹⁸⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:257.

¹⁸⁷ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996:3.

¹⁸⁸ Gronow, Jukka. *Taste and Fashion: The Social Function of Fashion and Style*. *Acta Sociologica*. 1993:90

¹⁸⁹ Gronow, Jukka. *Taste and Fashion: The Social Function of Fashion and Style*. *Acta Sociologica*. 1993:99.

¹⁹⁰ Gronow, Jukka. *What is Good Taste*. *Social Science Information*. 1993:32;;279.

¹⁹¹ Gronow, Jukka. *Ibid*. 1993:97.-98.

Simmel's discussion of style interesting is the fact that he draws a direct parallel between the style of objects of use and lifestyle. Indeed, Simmel's concept of style is directly related to objects of consumption. Simmel's suggestion that there exists in modern society a necessity of a 'stylized lifestyle' can equally be seen as a further development of the same idea concerning the role played by the various objects of consumption in the life of a modern person. The development of a stylized lifestyle can be seen as a concrete response to the modern person's problems caused by the increasing fragmentation of modern society.¹⁹² It may even be a way of searching for a form in a world, which has theretofore lacked form. Fashion and style correspond to the 'rhythm' dictated by modern material culture.

The term '**lifestyle**', brought by Weber becomes a key conceptual element in a multi-dimensional model of the social strata which challenges the economically determined model put forward by Marx.¹⁹³ As Reimer observes according to Weber: 'Society is not only stratified economically; it is also stratified according to status and the way that status is most clearly expressed is via different groups' lifestyles'¹⁹⁴. For Weber, the cultural sphere of society needs to be understood as both the product of economic factors and the processes engaged in by social actors as a means of marking themselves out as belonging to a particular status group. According to Weber, such processes involve the creative appropriation of particular services and goods made available through the burgeoning consumer industries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, in opposition to Marx, Weber suggests that notions of status and of belonging go beyond issues of class, encompassing issues of 'good taste' and the latter's visual articulation through, for example, fashion and leisure preferences. Thus, as Inglis and Hughson observe,

Weber denied what he took to be Marx's contention that membership of a class is the primary way an individual in a class-based society would think about themselves. There are other culturally mediated identities people may have such as the pride in being a member of a particular group such as a sports club. Sports club membership and the feelings it provokes will be related to class issues (e.g. most of the members will be middle class) but this is an

¹⁹² Bennett, Andy. *Culture and Everyday Life*. London: GBR: Sage Publications. 2005: 61.

¹⁹³ Weber, Max. 'The Distribution of Power within the Political Community: Class, Status, Party', in *Economy and Society : An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, (1978 [1919]).

¹⁹⁴ Reimer, Bo. 'The Media in Public and Private Spheres', in J. Fornas and G. Bolin (eds). *Youth Culture in Late Modernity*. London: Sage, 1995: 121.

indirect relationship and it is possibly of other identities being more crucial than class membership that Marx does not allow for.¹⁹⁵

Similarly, Simmel worked on contemporary lifestyle theory. Simmel was primarily concerned with 'the fragmentation and diversity of modern life' as this manifested itself in the urban spaces of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century city¹⁹⁶. For Simmel, it was the act of consumption which provided one of the key elements in the construction of such urban identities. His essay on metropolitan life is often read as providing another version of the loss of community thesis.¹⁹⁷ This aspect of Simmel's work is examined by Chaney who suggests that:

... (for Simmel) the metropolis is mediated through symbolism- it is a life-world in which symbols mutually refer in ever more complex layers of association and in which the play of meanings can only be understood reflexively and as a constant process of innovation. The increasingly differentiated world of goods of modernity is not a simple process of enrichment, but neither is it straightforward alienation. The cultural terrain of the metropolis simultaneously offers new potentials (or individuals to enhance their subjectivity)¹⁹⁸.

Following its initial application in the work of, respectively, Weber, Simmel and Veblen, **the concept of lifestyle** became unfashionable in sociology for a number of years during which time it was more readily associated with market research¹⁹⁹. During the early 1990s, however, lifestyle was reintroduced through the work of contemporary social and cultural theorists such as Bourdieu²⁰⁰, Featherstone²⁰¹, Shields²⁰², Reimer²⁰³ and Chaney²⁰⁴. Bourdieu's²⁰⁵ celebrated study *Distinction* develops the ideas of Weber,

¹⁹⁵ Inglis, David and Hughson, John. *Confronting Culture: Sociological Vistas*. Cambridge: Polity, 2003: 29.

¹⁹⁶ Urry, John. *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge, 1995: 9.

¹⁹⁷ Simmel, George. *On Individuality and Social Forms*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1971.

¹⁹⁸ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996:51.

¹⁹⁹ Reimer, Bo. 'The Media in Public and Private Spheres', in J. Fornas and G. Bolin (eds). *Youth Culture in Late Modernity*. London: Sage, 1995.

²⁰⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:

²⁰¹ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage, 1991.

²⁰² Shields, Rob. 'Spaces for the Subject of Consumption', in Rob Shields (ed.) *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption*, London: Routledge, 1992a.

Shields, Rob. 'The Individual, Consumption Cultures and the Fate of Community', in Rob Shields (ed.) *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption*, London: Routledge, 1992b.

²⁰³ Reimer, Bo. 'The Media in Public and Private Spheres', in J. Fornas and G. Bolin (eds). *Youth Culture in Late Modernity*. London: Sage, 1995a.

²⁰⁴ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996:51.

Simmel and Veblen through its conceptualisation of lifestyle as a reflection of social status. Bourdieu argues that the lifestyle practices done by individuals announce about their level of wealth, achievement and status in society. According to Bourdieu, even though lifestyles appear to be autonomously constructed and reflexively articulated forms of cultural practice, they remain inextricably bound up with the experience of class, a social process which Bourdieu refers to as 'habitus'. For Bourdieu, '**habitus**' is indelibly stamped on the identity of the individual to the extent that there is a direct link between a person's habitus and 'cultural capital', a primary resource through which lifestyles are constructed.

According to Bourdieu, in the context of late capitalist consumer-based society, the fact of class itself becomes a mediation, something that is learned and understood through particular forms of consumption practice in relation to a particular array of goods and services. It follows then, according to Bourdieu's interpretation, that such experiences of class remain with the individual, continuing to shape their identity even as they become more socially mobile.

Subsequent work has challenged Bourdieu's interpretation of lifestyle as the subconscious practice and articulation of rigidly established class-based sensibilities. According to Chaney, Bourdieu's insistence on the structuring role of class amounts to a crude negation of the reflexive and oppositional qualities that late modern consumerist practices have introduced into the cultural sphere of the everyday. Thus, argues Chaney:

To assume that objectifications are only displays of a lesser or greater mastery of cultural codes is to presume that there is a pre-existing and unchanging hierarchy of codes- or perhaps more accurately. it is to presume that culture is an inescapable environment which envelops social action in the way that social structures envelop individual experience.²⁰⁶

In Chaney's view, the significance of lifestyle lies precisely in its illustration of the weakening hold of class and attendant forms of structured experience on the individual within the context of late capitalist consumer-based society. Chaney regards lifestyles as demonstrative of the increasing reflexivity exhibited by individuals in both the practice and negotiation of everyday life. The possibilities offered by late modern consumerism for individuals to negotiate the constraints of class and associated forms

²⁰⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984.

²⁰⁶ Chaney, David. 'Lifestyles', Routledge: London and New York 1996: 66-67.

of structured inequality, notably gender and race are the main important issues. Key to Chaney's interpretation of lifestyle is his distinction between *lifestyles* and *ways of life*. Thus argues Chaney, lifestyles are 'creative projects' which rely on 'displays of consumer competence', while *ways of life* are 'typically associated with a more or less stable community and displayed in features such as shared norms, rituals, patterns of social order and probably a distinctive dialect'²⁰⁷.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu criticizes Kant's understanding of aesthetics as a pure category, in which cultural goods can be evaluated aesthetically without making any reference to other things outside of itself. Bourdieu discusses that aesthetics is learned and this learning happens mostly at school. Therefore, appreciation of art is not a characteristic that one carries from birth, but rather is produced through a process of learning within the educational system. However, it should be stressed that this learning cannot take place in every school and it is relevant for upper and some middle class families. The opinion that there is an innate taste before socialization or education leads to the belief that a qualified nature exists for some individuals. Thus, individuals who have cultural capital consider their 'distinction' as natural. '...The real 'masters of the judgement of taste' can appear to rise above the dictates of culture, although they operate within them all the time.'²⁰⁸ The individuals belonging to the privileged classes take the difference between lower classes and themselves not emerging as a result of educational system but as rooted in the difference between natures, 'one nature naturally cultivated, another nature naturally natural'.

Bourdieu introduces a model for cultural tastes that at the top, there is the **legitimate taste**, then **middle-brow taste** and at the bottom is the **popular taste**²⁰⁹. The levels in this model correspond to different educational levels and social classes. Popular taste mostly belongs to the working class and the sense of aesthetic here is a dominated one, identifying itself with reference to the dominant aesthetic. The working class cannot choose the goods that require an aesthetic judgement with precisely an aesthetic point of view: they should in many cases make the choices out of necessity. Contrary to it, choices of privileged classes are far from necessity and their relation to the world is a relation of confidence. They have a sense of distinction. The petite bourgeoisie stands between the two levels. They try to distance themselves from the

²⁰⁷ Chaney, David. *Ibid.* 1996:97,92.

²⁰⁸ Jenkins, R. Pierre Bourdieu, Routledge, London & New York, 1992:133.

²⁰⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge & Massachusetts, 1984: 169-170.

working class but they do not have the necessary education in order to be able to apply the legitimate taste. In addition to it ‘...and perhaps more important, they lack ‘ease or cultivated naturalness’, the familial habitus which enables the upper classes to disguise what they have learned as what they are born with.’²¹⁰.

As Bourdieu emphasizes in *Distinction*, ‘...**taste** is the basis of all that one has- people and things- and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others.’²¹¹. Hence, taste is a central element of social identity. Taste, as the sense of principle lying beneath the choices, displays itself through tastes, the selection made among practices and properties.

In order for there to be tastes, there have to be goods that are classified, as being in ‘good’ or ‘bad’ taste, ‘distinguished’ and ‘vulgar’ –classified and thereby classifying, hierarchized and hierarchizing- and people endowed with principles of classification, tastes, that enable them to identify, among those goods, those that suit them, that are ‘to their taste’²¹².

Hence, tastes are defined as characteristics and exercises of individuals or groups, and they emerge as a result of the encounter between goods and a taste. ‘...To discover something to one’s taste is to discover oneself, to discover what one wants..., what one had to say and didn’t know how to say and, consequently, didn’t know.’²¹³

Bourdieu looks at the concept of **life style** in relation to class:...”Lifestyle allows for the possibility of changing class formations and distinctive differences between class fractions.”²¹⁴ It is not an easy practice to find out the common properties that form a class life style as there are too many diverse practices. In order to understand the structure of class life styles, Bourdieu first looks at the objective classes, which refer to the people who have common or alike living conditions and, as a result of it, alike habituses. In constructing the objective classes, Bourdieu takes occupation as an indicator of social class. He, then, also looks at the economic capital (indicated by home and car ownership, income, etc.) and cultural capital (indicated by reading newspaper, going to theater, listening to classical music, etc.). Symbolic capital is also taken into consideration as a form of ‘credit’. ‘When one knows that symbolic capital is credit...a kind of advance, a credence, that only the group’s belief can grant those who give it the

²¹⁰ Jenkins, *Ibid.* 1992: 139

²¹¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Sociology in Question*, Sage Publications, London, 1993:56.

²¹² Bourdieu, Pierre. *Sociology in Question*, Sage Publications, London, 1993:108.

²¹³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Ibid.* 1993: 109

²¹⁴ Chaney, David. ‘Lifestyles’, Routledge: London and New York 1996: 67.

best symbolic and material guarantees, it can be seen that the exhibition of symbolic capital...is one of the mechanisms which...make capital go to capital.²¹⁵

3.3.1. The Aestheticisation of Commodities and Everyday Life

It was Marx who first drew attention to commodification as an ever-increasing internal dimension of capitalism and as ‘a process whereby more and more human activities come to have a monetary value and effectively become goods to be bought and sold in a market’²¹⁶. Contrary to his forecast, capitalism did not end and commodification is ever more pervasive as capitalism seems to be ever more able to ‘recreate’ or redefine reality in order to generate new areas where commodification can be deployed. According to Thrift ‘the process of commodification has reached into every nook and cranny of modern life,’ as ‘practically every human activity in Western countries either relies on or has certain commodities associated with it.’ Also ‘increasingly, the process of commodification has also taken hold in non-Western societies.’²¹⁷, Fundamental to the increasing expansion and pervasiveness of that process is the additional increase in the *aestheticization* of commodities. This process is generally intended to make commodities ever more attractive. Furthermore, it may be broadly depicted as the outcome of industry attempting to influence consumer ‘needs’ or ‘create desire’ for (new) commodities.²¹⁸

The theme of *aestheticization everyday life*, as Featherstone²¹⁹ termed it, are particularly appreciated by contemporary theories of postmodern culture, but also attract the attention of a wider and much more diversified audience. Postmodern culture theories have brought to the fore the general idea that the aestheticization of everyday life is a decisive feature of contemporary times and a sign of deep structural cultural change. This general assertion has generated differing reactions ranging from outright opposition to critical acceptance of certain aspects. Lash and Urry, are the two main

²¹⁵ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Logic of Practice*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990:120.

²¹⁶ Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. Penguin Books; England, 2000:61.

²¹⁷ Thrift, Nigel. Commodity. In: R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, & D. M. Smith (Eds.), *The dictionary of human geography*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1994: 78

²¹⁸ Thrift, Nigel. On the social and cultural determinants of international financial centres, in S. Corbridge, N. Thrift, and R. Martin (eds) *Money, Power and Space*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1994:79.

²¹⁹ Featherstone, Mike. ‘The Heroic life and everyday life’, *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 9, 1992:159-182.

proponents of the thesis identifying a contemporary increase in commodity aestheticization.²²⁰ According to these authors goods have an ‘increasing component of sign value or image’ or ‘aesthetic content’²²¹. They define how the ‘aestheticization of material objects can take place either in the production or in the circulation and consumption of such goods.’ In the case of production, they stress that ‘the design component comprises an increasing component of the value of goods’ and that comparatively ‘the specific labour process is becoming less important in its contribution to value-added.’ In the case of circulation, goods ‘take on the properties of sign-value through the process of ‘branding’, in which marketers and advertisers attach images to goods.’ In consumption, that process ‘occurs through the complicity’ of consumers.

While one should not take commodity aestheticization as an absolutely new process, but rather as a phenomenon that is (precisely) ‘increasing’, one should be cautious when examining the widely shared contemporary theoretical belief that it is proof of the increasing ‘culturalization of the economy’, as it tends to devalue and even dismiss the economic dimension of that process and its respective practices²²². That claim is usually also accompanied by the symmetrical assertion of an increasing ‘economization of culture’. Both pertain to the same theoretical position, exemplarily set out by Jameson²²³ and, precisely, by Lash and Urry in their thesis of a contemporary ‘collapse’, ‘eclipse of distinction’ or ‘blurring of boundaries’ between the cultural and the economic or between culture and economy.²²⁴

Another aspect that deserves particular attention, as it has important theoretical implications, is the way the concepts more frequently used to represent the very idea of aestheticization (of commodities) are usually theorized. That is the particular case of the concepts of ‘sign’, ‘sign-value’ and ‘simulation’, basically associated with the work of Jean Baudrillard²²⁵. Such concepts are widely accepted, especially within postmodern theory. Moreover, it is not always explicitly acknowledged that Baudrillard’s works and his theorising of those concepts have undergone an important change over time. That

²²⁰ Lash, Scott and Urry, John. *Economies of Signs and Space*, London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994.

²²¹ Lash, Scott and Urry, John. *Ibid.* 1994.

²²² Slater, Don. Capturing markets from the economists. In P. du Gay, & M. Pryke (Eds.), *Cultural economy*. Sage: London. 2002: 67–68

²²³ Jameson, Frederick. *Postmodernism or the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1991.

²²⁴ Lash, Scott and Urry, John. *Economies of Signs and Space*, London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994.(1972)

²²⁵ Baudrillard, Jean. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. St. Louis: Telos Press. 1981.

situation specifically happens in the case of Lash and Urry and their theorising of commodity aestheticization.²²⁶ Although these authors show some theoretical divergence from Baudrillard, they generally seem to adhere to his theorising of the mentioned concepts. Since the 1960s Baudrillard has developed a theory that focuses on the importance of signs to the interpretation of commodities and consumption before soon reaching the systematization of a full ‘critique of the political economy of the sign’²²⁷. In this part of his work, Baudrillard delineated a very powerful critique of the Marxian concept of use-value, and more generally of political economy’s naturalist mythology’ of ‘needs’.

In his critique, Baudrillard basically failed to account for any possible alternative theorizing of commodity ‘use’ other than that set down in Marxist theory and more generally in political economy. He totally dismissed object ‘use’, ‘functionality’ and ‘utility’, and thus use-value, as the ‘alibi’ or the ‘ideological caution of exchange-value and sign-value’²²⁸. He further clearly exaggerated the role of signs in theorising commodities and consumption in claiming that ‘the object-sign is the object of consumption’²²⁹. Following a semiotic inspiration and ‘methodology’, he took signs or objects-signs (and therefore sign-values) as organized into cultural codes of social difference and thus as self-referential and unmotivated or conventional- they strictly relate to each other under the same code structure and rules. He conceived these cultural codes as socially produced and envisaged their ‘monopoly’²³⁰ and manipulation by individuals as being decisive to social dominance. Through those concepts he introduced evidence of the ‘distinctive function of objects’ in consumption or ‘social discrimination,’ which he clearly connected to both the class structure and the system of production.

The first works of Baudrillard pertain to a long and important sociological tradition that is exemplarily represented by Veblen, Weber, Elias and Bourdieu. All made brilliant contributions to the theorizing of how the ‘differential practice of the objects’²³¹ is fundamental to the display of class or social appurtenance and more generally to playing the *social distinction* game. But, if in his first works Baudrillard did

²²⁶ Lash, Scott and Urry, John. *Economies of Signs and Space*, London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994.

²²⁷ Baudrillard, Jean. *Ibid.* 1981(1972)

²²⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. St. Louis: Telos Press. 1981:11,170.

²²⁹ Baudrillard, Jean. *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. St. Louis: Telos Press. 1981: 61.

²³⁰ Baudrillard, Jean. *Ibid.* 1981: 130.

²³¹ Baudrillard, Jean. *Ibid.* 1981: 25

in fact concern himself with relating commodities and consumption to social structure and production, he later came (in the late 1970s) to change his approach and adopt a radical social ‘disembedded and even ‘nihilistic’ version. He pushed the logic of his theorizing ‘to draw attention to the overload of information provided by the media’²³². As Ritzer and Goodman note, for Baudrillard contemporary society is ‘dominated no longer by production, but rather by the ‘media, cybernetic models and steering systems, computers, information processing, entertainment and knowledge industries, and so forth’²³³.’ In this way, Ritzer and Goodman²³⁴ conclude regarding Baudrillard’s view that ‘it could be said that we have moved from a society dominated by the mode of production to one controlled by the code of production,’ and that ‘the objective has shifted from exploitation and profit to domination by signs and the systems that produce them.’

Baudrillard came to assert that signs are no longer about representation, but about *simulacra* and *simulation* which means it is impossible for them to find their way into reality²³⁵. Thus, he may announce²³⁶ that ‘the era of hyperreality now begins’ and that ‘we are no longer a part of the drama of alienation: we live in the ecstasy of communication.’ Only his later works detail an odd form of culturalism and one where signs are floating imperial entities ‘which cannot be ultimately stabilized, or hierarchized into a system which correlates to fixed social divisions’²³⁷. The main theoretical consequence of accepting this vision is to credit ‘the irrelevance of social divisions and ultimately the end of the social as a significant referent point’²³⁸.

Following these critical considerations, it should be noted that commodity aestheticization is not a ‘simple’ case of ‘attaching’ signs to goods. That process is supported by a set of practices that are associated to the work of ‘cultural intermediary occupations’ (marketing, design, and advertising). Those practices are simultaneously about market research and the definition, shaping and presentation of products in ways they become attractive and commercially competitive. Design work basically takes

²³² Featherstone, Mike. Postmodernism and the aestheticization of everyday life. In: S. Lash & J. Friedman (Eds.), *Modernity and identity* (pp. 265–290). Oxford: Blackwell.1992: 271.

²³³ Ritzer, George &, Goodman, D. J. *Sociological Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 2003:607

²³⁴ Ritzer, George &, Goodman, D. J. *Ibid.* 2003:608.

²³⁵ Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacred et Simulation*; Galilee, 1981 - Simülakrlar ve Simülasyon, Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2003.

²³⁶ Baudrillard, Jean. The ecstasy of communication. In: C. Jencks (Ed.), *The post-modern reader*. Academy Editions: London. 1992: 152–154.

²³⁷ Featherstone, Mike. Lifestyle and consumer culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 1, 1987: 55–70.

²³⁸ Featherstone, Mike. *Ibid.* 1987: 55–56.

place in production and is dependent on prior market research and product definition, which are basically the task of marketers. According to Slater²³⁹ that definition implies other important definitions: ‘each possible choice of product definition is simultaneously a choice of consumption relations (different culturally defined product characteristics, uses and consumers) and a choice of competitors (goods which are perceived as similar or different).’ Advertising and the symbolical ‘engineering’ of product presentation, through the use of repertoires and clusters of meanings and aesthetic imagery, are integral parts of that definition work.

Commodity aestheticization is certainly more important at present than it was in the past. Differing reasons account for this. One is certainly that of changing markets and, ultimately, of changing society. In fact, the basic limits, along with the very opportunities to intervene in markets, are set by society itself as markets are socially constructed, institutionalized and embedded. Society is defined in its widest sense to include culture, social structure, economy, space, and politics, that in any specific socio-spatial-historical context constructs markets and sets the basic conditions on the operation, strategies and specific practices of agents. This perspective is particularly clear when looking at gated communities and at the way their aestheticization as commodities is related to the specific social context of their burgeoning.

Images, information and products provided by the media and cultural industries become resources for use by individuals in the negotiation of the everyday, a process that involves the construction and articulation of reflexive identities and the carving out of habitable spaces. As such, it becomes possible to perceive of the everyday as an aestheticised space, that is to say, a site upon which individually derived lifestyle projects are articulated, and become collective strategies²⁴⁰. Thus, as Chaney observes, lifestyles may be regarded as ‘aesthetic projects - in their practice particular ways of understanding actors, their possibilities and their inter-relationships are recommended’²⁴¹.

Lurry supports the contention of lifestyle theorists such as Chaney and Featherstone²⁴² that, in contemporary society, social boundaries can no longer be regarded as rigidly credited - along lines of class, gender or race; rather social

²³⁹Slater, Don. Capturing markets from the economists. In P. du Gay, & M. Pryke (Eds.), *Cultural economy*. Sage: London. 2002: 67–68

²⁴⁰ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage, 1991.

²⁴¹ Chaney, David. *Lifestyles*, Routledge: London and New York 1996:147.

²⁴² Featherstone, Mike. *Ibid.*1991.

Chaney, David. *Lifestyles*, Routledge: London and New York 1996:147.

boundaries are reflexively drawn by groups whose collective identities are derived through common values.

In his analysis of ‘consumer culture and postmodernism’, Mike Featherstone highlights a visible and tangible aesthetization of everyday life. Aestheticization seems to be the central development within the postmodern formation of contemporary societies.²⁴³ Closely linked with Baudrillard’s idea that reality is transformed into images²⁴⁴ and the postulate of a loss of sense of history and a fragmentation of time into a series of ongoing presents²⁴⁵. Featherstone defines the postmodern experience as an ‘intensification of image production in the media and consumer culture in general’²⁴⁶. Aesthetization of everyday life can be distinguished in two main forms: First, borders between art and everyday life are erased; Second life itself is turned into a work of art. This kind of art is mainly expressed through aesthetic consumerism: ‘This dual focus on a life of aesthetic consumption and the need Featherstone originally distinguishes a third form of expression: the prelate of visuality, that manifests in the ‘rapid flow of signs and images which saturate the fabric of every day life in contemporary society’²⁴⁷.

For Baudrillard, postmodernism is an aesthetic simulation that emerged from the dislimitation of reality and image. As he adds, ‘Today it is quotidian reality in its entirety -political, social, historical and economic -that from now on incorporates the simulating dimension of hyperrealism. We live everywhere already in an aesthetic hallucination of reality’²⁴⁸. This logic of consumer society originates in the restructuration of production and productive forces that do not only shape economic relations but social relations as a whole.

²⁴³ http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/4/6/1/5/pages246153/p2461532.php

²⁴⁴ Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulations*. New York: Semiotext(e). 1983.

²⁴⁵ Jameson, Frederick. Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. In: *New Left Review* 146. 1984:53-92.

²⁴⁶ Featherstone, Mike. *Ibid.* 1991:65.

²⁴⁷ Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage, 1991:67.

²⁴⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulations*. New York: Semiotext(e). 1983:148.

CHAPTER 4

GATED COMMUNITIES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN TURKEY

In this chapter, the gated community experience, a contemporary ‘trend’ of urbanisation, will be analysed within the historical context of Turkish urbanisation. A special emphasis will be made to the post-1980 period when the class polarisation in the country has increased considerably and major Turkish cities have undergone a serious spatial differentiation process. In this era, the early examples of ‘**prestige**’ and ‘**lifestyle**’²⁴⁹ gated communities have sprung in Istanbul, which has become the part of global markets.

Actually, the first instances of exclusive residential communities in Turkey appeared in the 1970s. Although *site* life is in the agenda of Turkish urbanisation since mid-70s, after 90s it has become a more widespread practice among the middle classes. Holiday villages-*Site*- for the Turkish elite were built in rapid succession along the Eagean and Mediterranean Coast. Turkey met with the phenomenon of gated communities after 1980s by the formation of a new mass housing legislation. The first gated communities have emerged in metropolises and then other big cities like Ankara, İzmir, Bursa. Having experienced a serious earthquake in 17th August of 1999 that exposed alarming to structural cracks in the cityscape and shattered some trust in high rise apartments, pollution, urban noise level; very high population density, never-ending traffic jams; some wealthy Istanbulians started to search for more permanent escapes from the city, and more fortified spaces within the city. Luxury residential communities

²⁴⁹ The first definition of gated community was given by Edward J. Blakely and Mary G. Snyder’s (1997) *Fortress America* which is a major empirical study of gated communities in United States. Blakely and Snyder classified three different types of gated communities. They called them as ‘life-style’ communities, ‘prestige’ communities, and ‘security zone’ communities. The first two types, ‘prestige’ and ‘lifestyle’ communities, are built as master-planned developments and governed by either developers or homeowners’ associations. Prestige communities cater exclusively to upper-income groups and convey status along with exclusivity. The emphasis is on image rather than on leisure time facilities. Their gates denote distinction and prestige, and further provides a barrier of status. They are more like a product of social differentiation Lifestyle communities cater to both upper- and middle-income groups and offer a lifestyle choice in a socioeconomically homogeneous community. They are more like a club realm of common interests.

For further information see, Blakely, Edward J. and Mary Gail Snyder. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Virginia: Donnelday and Sons Co.1997:38-45.

of different types were rapidly being planned and constructed in clusters around larger developments of İstanbul. From condominiums to luxury villas, they all placed in a wide greenery, different residential schemes offered exclusivity, material comforts and symbolic distance from the city's crowds, noises and pollution. Addressing luxurious material demands, elite quested for social distinction, sentiments of fear, obsessions with security, new communities promised safe and healthy homes, and same-minded neighbours. Some promised ease and comfort of living, quiet and safe family apartments at relatively affordable rates and a reasonable distance to the city, while others emphasized luxurious lifestyles, guaranteed privacy, strict rules to maintain residential peace and harmony, and advanced security technologies.

These prestige gated communities have been marketed to businessmen and private sector managers as well as to the top names of the media and entertainment sectors whose welfare has increased considerably since 1980s. Advertisements of these communities have been appearing in 'exclusive' magazines such as decoration, antiques and business, rather than the major newspapers. In the advertisement campaigns, it is usually emphasised that purchasers of these homes will have famous businessmen, artists, journalists and bureaucrats as their potential neighbours.²⁵⁰ Gated communities emerged in both inner and outer city; close to business districts, northbound (Göktürk-Kemerburgaz, Zekeriyaköy-Demirciköy), southwest (Bahçeşehir, Büyükçekmece) in the European bank and near the second Bosphorus Bridge (Beykoz) and northbound (Ömerli) in the Asian bank (Colliers Rescoe, 2003). Basically, these areas are located in northbound of İstanbul where large forests are located. Demand for new housing projects in these new residential development areas are usually walled developments with secured, featured with social amenities villa type houses. Due to lack of available land by size, price and construction permit, housing demand in the city center does not have a great increase, however, condominiums are examples of inner city gated developments.

²⁵⁰ In the advertisement campaigns, it is usually emphasised that purchasers of these homes will have famous businessmen, artists, journalists and bureaucrats as their potential neighbours. This goal is somehow realised since houses in these communities have been sold to the members of 'crem de la crem group' (the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie) with considerably low prices and even sometimes given for free 'With the appearance of a new social class in this period, gated communities became a marketing angle and another way to target specific submarkets for developers. Therefore, developers of large-scale real estate investments produced their projects by taking this reality, the needs of this new social class into consideration.' See further about 'the appearance of the new social class after 80s' in Rıfat Bali's *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style'a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, iletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 111-112.

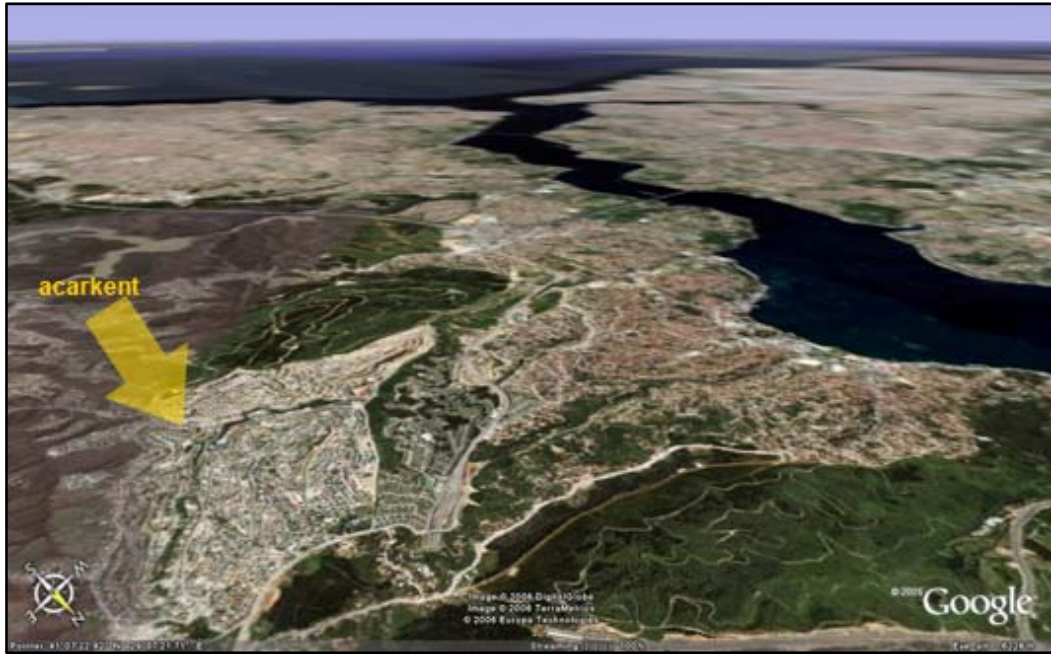


Figure 4.1. Aerial view of Acarkent-can easily be seen how located in the forests of Istanbul.
(Source: www.google.com, 2009)

In the fast scramble for land that followed in the 1990s, developers secured considerable stretches of prime real estate at relative proximity to İstanbul. To cash in on their investments, most developers opted for luxury housing and communities. İstanbul's forest surrounding emerged as a perfect location for luxury communities, situated at a spatial and social distance to the city. From the beginning, distance from the city was advertised as a guarantor for new communities' safe and exclusive nature.

In her article; 'The myth of ideal home', Ayşe Öncü²⁵¹ lists these different ways of contemporary 'departure' from the İstanbul city centre. The first group according to Öncü is 'The new suburban villages of İstanbul: The garden cities'. These single-home suburban villages described above, whose prices are between \$ 150.000-\$ 500.000, are usually purchased by corporate executives and top professionals in the upper ranges of the middle strata. The second group is 'The new high-rise suburbs of İstanbul: The site'. Different from the garden cities, these new high-rise suburbs are residential areas of the members of the broader segments of the middle class which range from managers and upper civil servants to employees from public bureaucracies and quasi-public organisations. The site developments are subsidised by the Mass Housing Fund (MHF) and the developer companies are paid back by the MHF after the completion of the

²⁵¹ Öncü, Ayşe. 'The Myth of the 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders to İstanbul', Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities, Londra, Zed Books. 1997: 64-67.

building. These high-rise, uniformly built suburbs are usually placed along the expressways and are away from the city centre. Öncü argues that recent surveys show that the residents of these *sites* share the dream of ‘an independent contemporary gated community formation in İstanbul also demonstrates or rather is based on ideological and socio-cultural polarisations. In contrast to the Kemer Country which is designed by an American architecture company with all the settlement names in the community in English, Beykoz Konakları, another gated community along the Bosphorus, is based on the Ottoman heritage. The houses which are built according to Ottoman architecture style have Ottoman names. According to Kurtuluş²⁵², these two different examples demonstrate the difference (or polarisation) within the upper class. On the one side there are some members of the upper class who identify themselves with the western culture, on the other hand there is another group who are usually from an Anatolian city - making fortune in İstanbul - and identifying themselves with the Ottoman heritage and representing a more conservative world view.

Cooperatives, Mass Housing Administration, Local Governments by the support of Mass Housing Administration, Private Developers, TC Emlak Bank²⁵³ can be listed as the five main developers for gated communities in Turkey. Generally, these private developers are both construction firms and real estate investment firms at the same time. There is no clear distinction between developer, investor or constructor and most of firms play all the roles.

The common characteristics of gated communities in İstanbul are listed by Hatice Kurtuluş²⁵⁴. For her, these ‘**welfare enclaves**’ are usually situated along an attractive geographical point such as forest, lake or the sea. They are away from lower classes and masses, however can easily be reached by the residents. They are guarded by security guards, walls, gates and electronic surveillance systems. They are designed by prestigious design offices or architects and built up from top quality and aesthetic construction material on a secure geographical spot. They have professionally designed and administrated recreational spaces. They have rich socio-cultural facilities such as sport facilities (some including tennis and golf), kindergartens, parks and sometimes even a primary school or high school. They are usually marketed in such a way that the members of lower classes are automatically eliminated.

²⁵² Kurtuluş, Hatice. Mekanda Billurlaşan Kentsel Kimlikler. *Doğu-Batı*, 23, 2003: 92.

²⁵³ Özüekren, Şule. 2000

²⁵⁴ Hatice Kurtuluş. Mekanda Billurlaşan Kentsel Kimlikler. *Doğu-Batı*, 23, 2003: 93.

According to Ayfer Bartu, although concepts such as ‘multiplicity’, ‘variety’, ‘difference’ are frequently employed in marketing the ‘lifestyle’ in Kemer Country, Bartu²⁵⁵, asserts that this enclave is indeed very exclusionary rather than promoting multiplicity. With house prices between \$300.000-\$2.000.000, this suburb is only available to the very affluent part of the society. Moreover, information brochures about Kemer Country, continuously emphasise the possible threat of ‘invasion’ of ‘outsiders’. In order to prevent any kind of intrusion, this community is guarded by advanced security systems and security guards. After evaluating the Kemer Country case, Bartu concludes that, this community is an exclusionary settlement, and concepts such as; ‘multiplicity’, ‘variety’, ‘difference’ and a ‘new civil society’, which are employed by marketers are only valid as slogans. Shortly, isolation, security and differentiation have become symbols of prestige and a tool for a respectable status.

The new upper-middle class and petty bourgeois İstanbulites have been offered a ‘public’ space in these new communities where they would interact with people whose cultural capital level is more or less the same with theirs. Although developers of gated communities have aspired ‘homogenous’ milieus and promised such public sphere to their clients, there has not been a close connection with İstanbulites’ economic and cultural capitals. Neighbours who have paid the same amount of money and live next to each other usually had different lifestyles and were from different class backgrounds²⁵⁶.

Despite the general description given above about ‘prestige’ gated communities which are marketed for the ‘crem de la crem’, most of the middle class members and the lower-middle class do not have the chance to buy homes in such communities. However, developers have been marketing different ‘community’ lives for different budgets. Therefore most of the middle and lower middle classes flee to ‘site’s where they can enjoy a community life and a ‘clean’ environment. The regions they prefer to live in Istanbul, ranges like the figure 4.2.

²⁵⁵ Bartu, Ayfer. *Kentsel Ayrı(ş)ım: İstanbul’daki Yeni Yerleşimler ve Kemer Country Örneği*, in 21. Yüzyıl Karşısında Kent ve İnsan. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2001: 148.

²⁵⁶ Bali, Rıfat. *Tarz-ı Hayattan Life Style’a: Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar*, iletişim, İstanbul, 2002: 119.

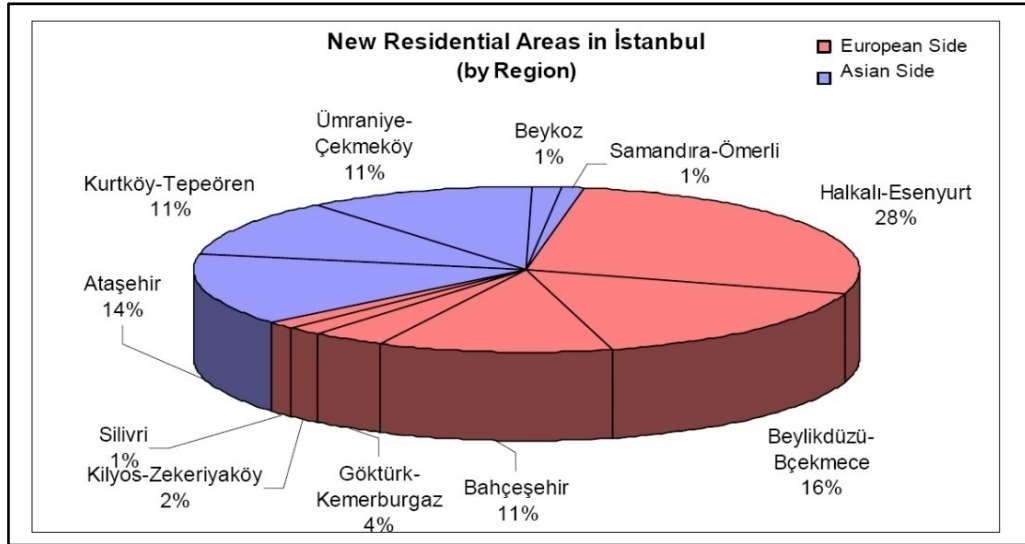


Figure 4.2. New Residential Areas in İstanbul (by Region)
 (Source :DTZ Pamir & Soyuer, Turkey Residential Market Overview 2006 summary)

Istanbul's new gated communities and their marketing integrate global and local issues. First, there is the issue of a growing elite sector of society that wants to spatially remove itself from an overwhelming metropolis, and simultaneously distinguish itself by means of material possessions. This duplicates current global patterns. Beyond issues of luxurious lifestyles, old aged elite fears of the masses and the streets linger in aspects of the new projects. Istanbul's gated communities promise an escape from the frustrations, pollution, density, political tension and noise of Istanbul. Privacy, security and exclusive life styles are defining features of these communities. While the proximity to Istanbul remains an important factor or necessity for residents' professional life, the community's advertisements might soon be the only one. Almost all other aspects of life can be enjoyed in the community in the esteemed company of one's peers, at a safe distance to the city. Conceived for the well-traveled and globalized İstanbulian elite, these projects are localized version of global models.

According to the study 'Spatial Segregation's Process' of J.F.Perouse²⁵⁷, approximately 400 gated communities established in Istanbul and approximately 60-70 thousand people live in these communities. J.F. Perouse²⁵⁸ mentioned that people who live in gated communities, are usually known people, they are from media, sport and finance sectors or from international firms²⁵⁹. Since 2000, total area of newly built

²⁵⁷ Perouse, Jean Françoise. Tempo Dergisi, 2003

²⁵⁸ Perouse, Jean Françoise. 1999, 2001

²⁵⁹ Tempo Dergisi, 2003

housing has reached to approximately 30 million square meters²⁶⁰. This new trend in housing developed in the last 10 years in the periphery of central business district of both continents Europe and Asia. The construction of the TEM led to general technical and social improvements in Bahçeşehir region. The consequent development of the metro system which now reaches its neighbouring region Halkalı, increased the development pressures on Bahçeşehir. Development began in Bahçeşehir in the 1990s, and at the time the development conceived there was a total of 16,000 residential units on 4,700,000 m² of land. In 1994, construction was completed for the initial development, which was a mix of townhouses, villas and higher-density apartment buildings, and which stimulated interest in further development. Demand is continuously increasing due to a high quality residential supply and very well developed infrastructure. New legislation facilitating access to mortgages has led to strong mortgage take-up, at up to €17 billion in 2007 and resulting in increased homesales.²⁶¹

4.1. Transformation of Istanbul's Residential Landscape

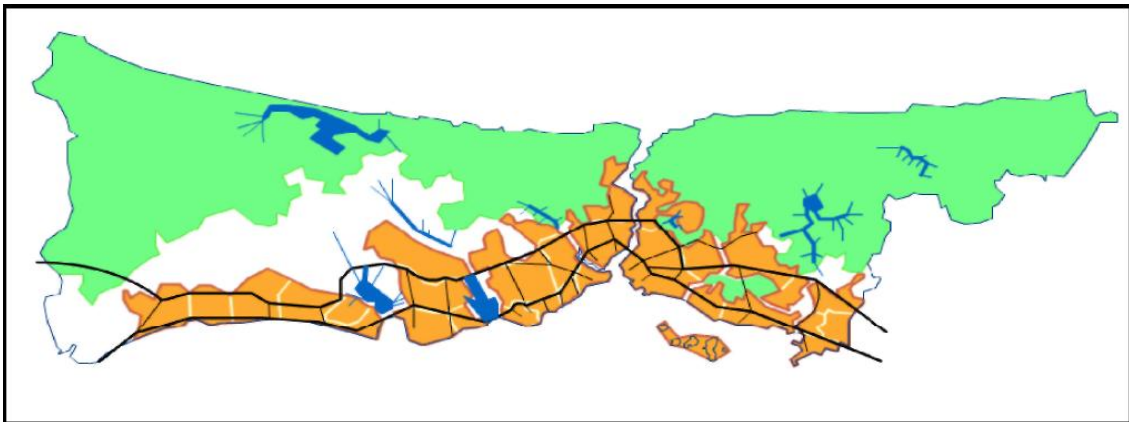


Figure 4.3. Proposed macro form of Istanbul for 2020
(Source: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality , IBB, 2006)

Istanbul experienced an unprecedented population increase since the 1950s, densified by a massive migration from the provinces, and grew to be the largest metropolis of Turkey with a population estimated to be over 10 million. Since 1999, Turkey's population has increased by 10 million to more than 73 million in 2007, and

²⁶⁰ Colliers Rescoe, 2003

²⁶¹ Ergin, Murat. International Residential: Turkey Residential Report, İstanbul: Kuzeybatı Consultancy & Savills Report, 2008.

the World Bank anticipates Turkey's population to grow to more than 96.6 million by 2050.²⁶²

Inward migration towards Turkey's principal cities has seen the proportion of urban populations expand from 60% to 70% of the total population between 1990 and 2007²⁶³. This migration was pulled by industrialisation and in return supported it making Istanbul the largest industrial centre in Turkey. The residential landscape was shaped by these two forces and expressed the economic and demographic structure of the city, similar to other metropolises in Turkey, the housing market in Istanbul lacked diversity, and apartments and gecekondu (squatter housing) were the two common housing options in the city. These housing types reflected a simple dualist structure.



Figure4.4. Residential Areas of İstanbul
(Source : Colliers International Turkey, 2007 Turkey Real Estate Review)

Firstly, Apartment neighbourhoods constituted the legally constructed areas located in the central parts of the city and were built by small-firm contractors who were weak in professional skills. Gecekondu, on the other hand, were typically located on the outskirts of the city and were built illegally by the urban poor and migrants on public land without any infrastructure. In addition to differences in legal tenure and mode of provision, apartments and gecekondu also reflected divisions of class and

²⁶²Ergin, Murat. International Residential: Turkey Residential Report, İstanbul: Kuzeybatı Consultancy & Savills Report, 2008:2.

²⁶³ Ergin, Murat. İbid. 2008:2.

culture, and symbolic hierarchies that go with them. Living in an apartment in the central parts of the city was emblematic of a middle-class status, a modern and urban lifestyle, whereas living in a *gecekondu* was deemed as the symbol of a peasant way of life, backwardness and a lower-class disposition²⁶⁴.

Despite this dualist structure of the city's residential landscape, compared with the cities of advanced economies, Istanbul was a 'softly segregated' city until the mid 1980s²⁶⁵. Both neighbourhoods of apartments and squatters displayed considerable heterogeneity in terms of their residents' social class and status. In Istanbul, proximity to the Bosphorous had been the determining criterion of status distinction between middle- and upper-class apartments. Upper-class apartments were distinguished in terms of location, view, quality and size; yet total spatial isolation from lower-income groups was unknown²⁶⁶.



Figure 4.5. Gecekondu and apartments in Istanbul

(Source: Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)

A similar pattern of heterogeneity also characterised *gecekondu* areas. The landscape that reflected a clear-cut separation between middle-class apartments and *gecekondu*s was disturbed as the city started to expand at its periphery. Due to urbanisation and the squatters' struggles, not only were the population composition of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, their legal status and housing types in constant flux, but

²⁶⁴ Ayata, Sencer. *Toplumsal Çevre Olarak Gecekondu ve Apartman*. *Toplum ve Bilim* 46/47, 1988: 101-127.

Öncü, Ayşe (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) *The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in Istanbul*. *Space, Power and Culture* Zed Books: London, 1997: 56-72.

²⁶⁵ Işık, Oğuz and Güvenç, Murat. *İstanbul'u Okumak: Statü-Konut Mülkiyeti Farklılaşmasına ilişkin Bir Çözümleme Denemesi*. *Toplum ve Bilim* 71, 1996: 6-60.

²⁶⁶ Öncü, Ayşe (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) *ibid.* 1997: 56-72.

also the line between middle-class-apartment and gecekondu neighbourhoods was transitional. Hence, soft transitions and intermediaries between upper-class, middle-class and working-class residences, apartments and gecekondus were the essential characteristics of Istanbul accompanied by an urban topography based on mix-use neighbourhoods and a dense and compact urban form²⁶⁷.

With these observations for Istanbul, since the late 1980s, both the housing market and the residential landscape of the city have undergone a dramatic transformation. On the one hand, there is a diversification of housing options particularly for the upper- and middle-income groups. On the other hand, a process of decentralisation has been initiated, not by the immigrants/urban poor and the practice of squatting, but by a coalition of the middle and upper classes, state actors and major developers²⁶⁸. While apartment housing has become the dominant form, outstripping the spread of gecekondu settlements, the secular trend among middle- and upper-income groups is towards master-planned projects of various scales rather than single housing developments.

This transition from old to new patterns has been restructuring by diverse social groups and forming to a more complex and fragmented city. In the city centre, middle-class and working class apartment neighbourhoods, in the historical inner city and gecekondu settlements, low-income neighbourhood, on the outskirts of the city, middle- and upper-income groups colonize. Gated projects for upper middle-income groups are spreading in suburbs and walling themselves from their surrounding neighbours. Although they have a relatively short history, their number has increased enormously.

The number of gated communities in the city was estimated to be around 650 at the end of 2005 and construction of more than 150 new gated developments started in the same year²⁶⁹. There is no reliable source on the size of the population residing in gated communities, but the demand is so high that the units are sold even before the construction has started. These residential areas display considerable variation in terms of location, size, design and the amenities they offer. Despite the differences, however,

²⁶⁷ Işık, Oğuz and Güvenç, Murat. Istanbul'u Okumak: Statü-Konut Mülkiyeti Farklılaşmasına ilişkin Bir Çözümleme Denemesi. *Toplum ve Bilim* 71, 1996:6-60.

²⁶⁸ Buğra, A. (1998) The immoral economy of housing in Turkey. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22:2, 1998: 303-317

Türel, A. 1989 1980 Sonrasında Konut Üretiminde Gelişmeler. *ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 9:2, 1989: 137-154.

²⁶⁹ Danış, Didem and Pérouse, Jean Françoise. Zenginliğin Mekanda Yeni Yansımaları: İstanbul'da Güvenlikli Siteler. *Toplum ve Bilim* 104 , 2005:92-123.

they are all compound units offering a favourable infrastructure and a variety of private services for a socially and economically homogeneous clientèle, mixing the characteristics of the prestige and lifestyle communities found in the US²⁷⁰. A typology of high-end gated communities in Istanbul can be presented as follows:

Table 4.1. Types of Gated Communities in İstanbul(Source: Baycan Levent, Tüzin & Aliye Ahu Gülümser. *Production and Marketing of Gated Communities in İstanbul*, 44th European Congress of the European Regional Science Association, Regions and Fiscal Federalism, Porto, Portugal: 2004.)

Typology of high-end gated communities in Istanbul	
Type	Features
High-rise condominium (vertical gated communities)	Located in the city centre, particularly in the prestige areas; high-technology security; private management, smart building, consumption and service facilities.
Exclusive villa	Located along the Marmara coastline, Bosphorus and forestry areas; small in size and highly exclusive in price; high-technology security coupled with small number of private security personnel; top-notch communication, sport and service facilities, limited social services; private management.
Gated town (Horizontal gated communities)	Located at the fringes of the city on rural land and near the lakes and forests; large in size and a variety of housing types; high-technology security and large private security personnel; infrastructure and sport facilities; large variety of social services; private government

The style of gated communities in Istanbul may be copied from those in the United States, but the function is different. In contrast to the United States, where Blakely and Snyder differentiate between lifestyle, prestige and security zone communities, most gated communities in Istanbul show a mixture of the three types. Resulting from the socio-economic and cultural background, security always seems to be the basis for such developments. However, with the growth of upper middle classes,

²⁷⁰ Blakely, Edward J. and Snyder, M. Gail *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.1997.

prestige and lifestyle become more and more important, and are also used for marketing.



Figure 4.6. Gated Communities of Istanbul in the post-1990s (by Region)
(Source : Maison Francaise Emlak + Yaşam özel sayısı, Kış 2008-2008, 2007/01:148,1)

Table 4.2. Gated community development projects and changes in land values
(Source: Inal Çekiç and Gezici, 2004 : 105)

Project	Year	Price before project (\$/square metre)	Price in 2002 (\$/square metre)
Zekeriya köy Evleri	1986	1	100
Kemer Country	1989	2	300
Alkent 2000	1991	1	100
Ömerli Casaba	1998	10	200

The table 4.3. summarizes the average sales prices of residential projects for Bahçeşehir region and its near surroundings;

Table 4.3. Average Sales Prices of Residential Projects in Bahçeşehir,
(Source: Colliers International Turkey,2007)

Average Sales Prices of Residential Projects in Bahçeşehir				
Project	Location	Unit Type	Number of Units	Rounded m ² Sales Price Range (in USD)
Eston Şehir	Bahçeşehir	Villa + Apartment	303	1,000 - 1,900
Koza Bahçeşehir Evleri	Ispartakule	Apartment	262	1,300 - 1,500
Regnum Elitkent	Esenyurt	Apartment	722	1,000 - 1,350
Uphill Court	Bahçeşehir	Villa + Apartment	682	1,400 - 2,300

Rising urbanisation has placed significant pressure on the city's physical infrastructure. The Housing Development Association has subsequently identified high demand for more social and affordable housing, and has therefore accelerated investment activity in this area. Densely developed urban areas are also contributing towards a preference for suburban living where there is strong demand for large detached units with gardens, appealing to the upper-income market.

A host of large capitalists emerged as the primary actors in the housing sector almost pushing the small and medium-sized constructors to the verge of extinction²⁷¹. Unlike small contractors that are weak in capital and local in scope, these companies not only have more capital at their disposal, but also the deregulation of finance and the globalisation of the real estate sector, they work closely with transnational economic as well as cultural actors. In addition to capital and expertise, transnational networks also bring local prestige and legitimacy to these projects and by building a new 'hegemony of vision'²⁷². All of the leading examples of gated communities in Istanbul have been endowed with internationally acclaimed titles/prizes such as the 'best practices' of urban planning in either Europe or the US (for example, Bahçeşehir, Kemer Country). Armed with these prestigious titles, both the developers and city officials promote these

²⁷¹ Sey, Yıldız. Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türkiye'de Mimarlık ve Yapı Üretimi. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 13, İletişim: İstanbul, 1998.

Tekeli (1991) has described this process as transition from the 'speculative city of small capital' to the 'speculative city of large capital'.

²⁷² Zukin, Sharon. (Merrifield, A. and Swyngedouw, E. eds.) (1997) Cultural strategies of development and the hegemony of vision. *The Urbanization of Injustice*, New York University Press, New York, 1997: 223-243.

projects as examples of ‘modern’ forms of urbanisation. Through these transnational networks and the institutional changes implemented on the ground, new ideologies and practices of urban planning and design, extensive commoditisation of urban land and privatisation of urban services marking the American urbanisation of the past three decades are globalised/localised²⁷³.

One cannot deny the transformative role of the developers in developing gated communities. Until very recently there was no concept of developer in Turkey. Laz contractor,-referring to an ethnic group from the Black Sea region- usually with no education were engaged in the construction business. The only large developments were the ones done by the state. The other institution involved in large projects was the military with the idea of security and they were always very ordinary. In sum, we did not have any developers in Turkey. We had contractors who would work as the financier, the developer and the designer at the very same time. The concept of marketing was absent.

Now we have the developers like the ones in the advanced countries in Turkey. Finally, the state is making some changes to help the real estate sector and we are working closely with international banks, mortgage institutions, architect firms to develop new ideas and projects.²⁷⁴

As a result, housing provision takes up a new scale and nature where the role of developers is not simply to build houses but total living spaces with privately provisioned services and governed communities. Aestheticisation accompanies this privatisation and provides the symbolic imagery that elaborates these places for upper-class consumption. Developers, planners and architects codify built environments with local symbols, while marketers fashion a discourse that interprets these symbols as prerequisites of modern urban lifestyles, high culture, elite values and identities which are contrasted to the images of a culturally and physically decaying city. Both in the construction and representation of these new gated communities, discourses of community, autonomy and livability are reorganized by market forces and packed as commodities for Istanbul’s elite consumption. These strategies are essential in

²⁷³ McKenzie, Edward. *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government* Yale University Press , New Haven, CT.1994.

Marcuse, Peter. The enclave, the citadel, and the ghetto. *Urban Affairs Review* 33:2 , 1997:. 228-264

²⁷⁴ Furthermore, utilising transnational expertise and capital has not been limited to large developers. Istanbul Metropolitan City Administration has been cooperating with globally well known architects such as Zaha Hadid and global capital in building major projects as well.

translating this global urban form into local tastes and the socio-cultural sensibilities of Istanbul's elites.

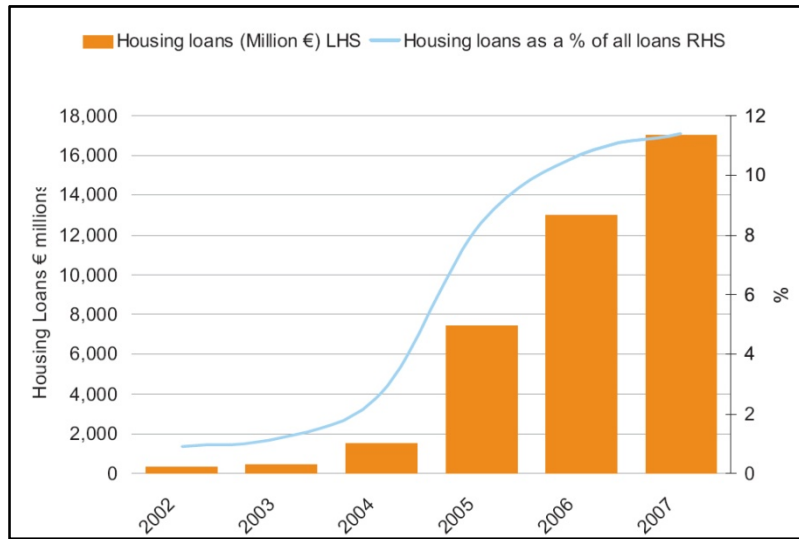


Figure 4.7. Housing Loans
(Source: BDDK and Savills Research,2008)

TÜİK 2006 Report announces the highest 2nd growth with %144 of the housing sector. The census of the year 2000 shows the number of building 19.6 million. In the last 20 years, number of the house increases with almost twice. In the last five years only, TOKİ produced 13 cities with the population size of 100 thousand, equals to 295 thousand. They generated 40 thousand 221 houses in the context of slum housing transformation Project.²⁷⁵

Average new apartment prices in Istanbul grew from €700/sqm in 2002, to €1,900/sqm in 2008, representing an average annual increase of 19% over this period. These values also remain competitive in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, and price rises have attracted significant overseas investment. Consequently a strong proportion of new housing supply is aimed at the increasingly affluent middle-income, and wealthy portions of the market. Figure 4.8. shows how the prices of İstanbul's new apartments have increased.

²⁷⁵ Sarıkaya, Muharrem, *Zenginliğin ölçütü*, Sabah Newspaper, 2008.

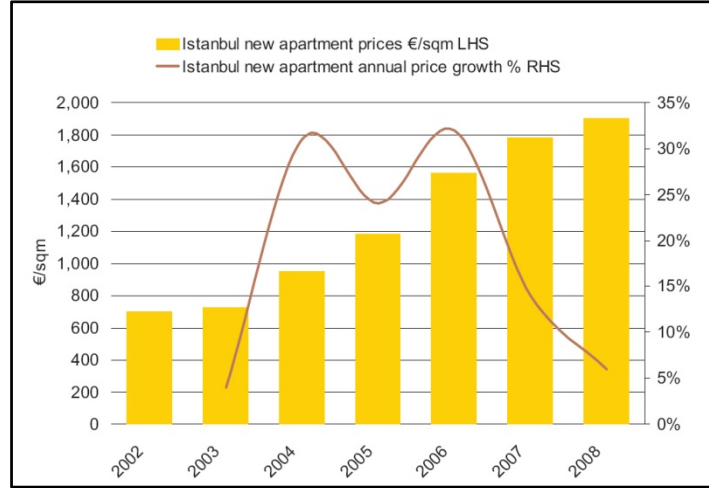


Figure 4.8. Prices of İstanbul's new apartments
(Source: Kuzeybatı Real Estate Services, Turkey Residential Report 2008)

The volatility of currency and interest rates, and the slight rise in inflation in second quarter of 2006 has momentarily reduced residential demand.

Table 4.4. The First Residences of Turkey (Source: Bülent Yoldaş , 'Rezidansa talep kriz dinlemedi, İstanbul köşe bucak proje doldu,' Referans Newspaper, 18 Mart 2008)

Türkiye'nin ilk rezidansları				
Proje	Lokasyon	Toplam İnş. Alanı (m ²)	Daire Sayısı	Rezidans Alanı (m ²)
Akmerkez Rezidans	Etiler	244	73	23
Metrocity Rezidans	Levent	204	196	46.7
Polat Rezidans	Fulya	72	400	41
BJK Plaza	Beşiktaş	20	88	6.16
Elit Plaza	Şişli	32.152	80	18
Selenium Rezidans	Fulya	22	71	15
Ritz Carlton	Taksim	110.285	112	19.974
Taksim Rezidans	Taksim	-	59	19
Kanyon	Levent	248.332	158	21.5

Table 4.5. Ongoing Residence Projects (Source: Bülent Yoldaş , 'Rezidansa talep kriz dinlemedi, İstanbul köşe bucak proje doldu' Referans Newspaper , 18 Mart 2008)

Devam eden rezidans projeleri		
Projenin Adı	Lokasyon	Fiyatı (m ² /dolar)
İstanbul Sapphire	Maslak	8.000-12.000
Selenium Twins	Fulya	4.900-7.700
Novus Residence	Ataköy	5.000- 6.500
Mashattan	Maslak	4.000-5.000
Terrace Fulya	Fulya	5.500 7.000
Anthill Residence	Bomonti	3.000-6.000
Skyport Residence	Beylikdüzü	2.000-3.000
Woorld Atlantis Residence	Kurtköy	2.500-3.000
Atlantis Premium	Kurtköy	3.000-3.500
Ekinoks Residence	Beylikdüzü	2.000-2.500

4.2. Housing Policies and Legislative Development in Turkey (1980-2009)

In order to examine the development of gated communities in İstanbul, some issues have to be addressed to find out the roles performed by the state and the impacts of those roles in the growth of built environment production in the selected period.

Strongly supported by the IMF, OECD, and the World Bank, Turkey adopted a comprehensive set of economic stabilization programs and structural adjustment policies in the beginning of 1980. The economic stabilization program and structural adjustment policies had three primary purposes: to abort inflation, to improve the balance of payments, and to create an export-oriented economy in the long run. Furthermore, the 1980s marked a striking transformation in the state's attitude towards urbanisation at large and housing markets in particular in Turkey²⁷⁶. Since 1980, the state's involvement in the urban land market has increased and its mode of intervention has changed. This change in the state's attitude was forced by a series of items that emerged in the housing market in the late 1970s - such as the impact of economic crisis on the small and medium-sized real estate capital and on the middle classes, the rising demand for housing, the acute shortages in affordable housing and the need for urban land for new housing developments²⁷⁷. The state's response to these problems, particularly within the context of İstanbul, however, was shaped by the project of making İstanbul into a global city and the pressure coming from new actors making claims on urban land and housing markets²⁷⁸. This caused a dynamic growth in construction activities in 1980s. Also international institutions such as the World Bank, conformed this neo-liberal policies that allow privatisation of housing production should go paralel with the privatisation of public sector enterprises and the state should pave the way to market forces in provision, marketing, and financing housing.

This transition to market required the active involvement of the state. A series of laws passed in the early 1980s. The first law numbered as 2983 concluded the foundation of a central public institution which is Mass Housing Administration (MHA:

²⁷⁶ Keleş, Ruşen. Kentleşme Politikası İmge Kitabevi , Ankara – (Urbanisation policy).1990.

Öncü, Ayşe. The politics of the land market in Turkey: 1950-1988. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 12:1 ,1988: 38-64.

Tekeli, İlhan. Kent Planlaması Konaşmaları (Lectures on urban planning) Mimarlar Odası, Ankara.1991.

²⁷⁷ Öncü, Ayşe. İbid. 1988: 38-64.

²⁷⁸ Ökten, Binnur. (Kurtuluş, Hatice ed.) (2005) Küresel Kent Söyleminin Kentsel Mekani Dönüştürmedeki Rolü. *İstanbul'da Kentsel Ayrışma* Bağlam Yayınları: İstanbul,2005. 25-76.

Toplu Konut İdaresi) and Mass Housing Fund (Toplu Konut Fonu) to provide finance to mass housing projects²⁷⁹ provided the main framework for the state's new approach to housing development. The new legislative framework that guided the establishment and functioning of the MHF under the MHA. The aim of Mass Housing Law and Fund was to equip the mentioned Administration with important powers and financial instruments²⁸⁰. By the foundation of MHA, the state contributed to construction sector as a producer²⁸¹. MHA developed and constructed housing projects for low income groups. As construction firms and cooperatives aimed at developing projects mainly for middle income groups MHA intended to fulfill the gap regarding low income groups within housing market by itself²⁸². MHA and the fund has become an important instrument to finance the housing sector in Turkey²⁸³.

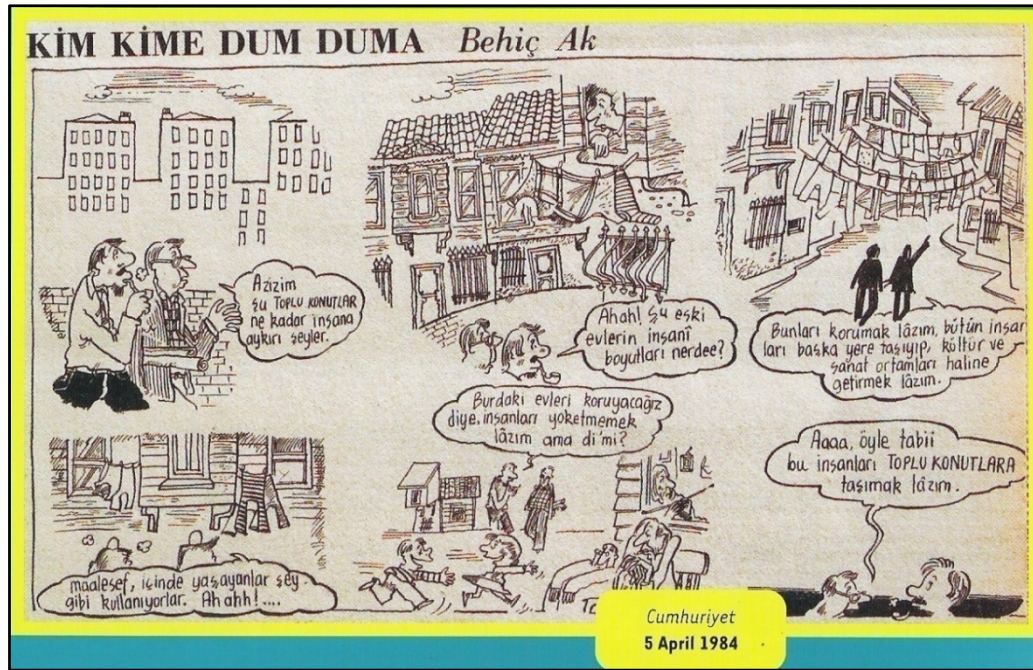


Figure 4.9. A cartoon criticizing Mass Housing Developments by Behiç Ak, (Source: Behiç Ak, Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 5 April 1984.)

²⁷⁹ Türel, A. 'Toplu Konut İdaresi', in *Yüzyıl Biterken, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 3. Cilt, İletişim, İstanbul, 1996: 796.

Buğra, A. 'The Immoral Economy of Housing In Turkey', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Affairs*, Vol. 22 No 2, 1998:308.

²⁸⁰ Işık 1991: 249.

²⁸¹ Türel, Ali. 'Toplu Konut İdaresi', in *Yüzyıl Biterken, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 3. Cilt, İletişim, İstanbul, 1996: 797.

²⁸² Buğra, Ayşe. 'The Immoral Economy of Housing In Turkey', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Affairs*, Vol. 22, issue: 2, 1998:309.

²⁸³ Buğra, Ayşe. *Ibid.* 1998:308.

Mass housing production has been one of the crucial sources behind the recent growth in the production of urban built environment. The significant and major instruments to realize this aim has been empowerment of MHA and extending the scope of its activities and functions to promote production of (mass) housing at national level especially by public sector or to increase public sector's housing investments.

Both the administration and the fund have made essential contributions to housing production during the 1980s. The financial support in terms of cheap credits not only enabled house buyers and increased the demand for housing but also encouraged construction firms and especially cooperatives to participate in the sector and hence increased the production. In addition to indirect involvement by providing finance the state directly involved in the process of housing production and developed housing projects by the hand of MHA. So it is obvious that the one important channel which fed the growth of Turkish Construction sector during 1980s has been the foundation of Housing Development Administration and Mass Housing Fund.

Housing Development Administration worked not only as a regulating and financing mechanism for housing sector but also as a producer within construction sector. Below table point out the number of housings done by MHA.

Table 4.6. Social Housing Produced by MHA (Housing Units)
(Source: TOKİ 2007: 25)

Housing for Low Income Groups and Poor Households	57.541
Housing within Squatter Improvement Projects	22.497
Housing for Disaster Survivors	7.280
Housing for Middle Income Groups	139.214
Housing within Agro-Village Implementations	646 (in 27 different villages)

Accompanying with MHA, Kiptaş, was also one of the determinant in shaping the residential area of İstanbul. Kiptaş was established in 1995 by the Municipality of İstanbul to bring a solution to unplanned urbanization and to aim for constructing quick and cheap settlements; creating modern and liveable areas without disturbing the natural

structure of the city, protecting the forest and great divides. KIPTAŞ, exercised for constructing traditional Turkish architecture trend; for example Altunizade Hilal Villas. But it did not find enough opportunity to be constructed. Their aim was ‘regarding the truths that we gained from past, is to produce places that are based on humanist living philosophy. Kiptaş has served ‘approximately 40.000 residences and roads, waste water and rain water canals, drinking water conveyance line, energy, telephone, natural gas lines, street lighting, landscape applications, forestation, kids playing areas, parking areas, health establishments, school, nursery and playfields from the beginning of its establishment’ .²⁸⁴



Figure 4.10. Kiptaş Housing Zones
(Source: From the website of Kiptaş, www.kiptas.com.tr,2009)

MHA and Kiptaş has always been criticized for inserting uniform apartment blocks to the city without any identity and completely foreign to the local architecture of Anatolia.

Together with MHA and Kiptaş, there is also another point that should be emphasized in the case of the growth of 1980s construction sector. Planning and urban

²⁸⁴ From the website of Kiptaş. <http://www.kiptas.com.tr/EN/KIPTAS/default.asp#>, accessed in 2009.

development system in Turkey underwent essential and structural changes in the mid-1980s. Selective decentralization of planning powers and development controls constituted the main strategies within this change. Restructuring of planning and urban development system in such a way to delegate planning powers to municipalities emerged as another essential factor behind the growth. With the decentralization of planning powers large construction firms and developers enjoyed the opportunity of fast and easy development of peripheral lands. Municipalities were delegated the powers of plan preparation and approval with the enactment of Urban Development Law (No. 3194). Türel²⁸⁵, asserts a connection between the restructuring of planning and urban development system and the housing construction boom of 1980s. According to him, decentralization of planning powers enabled and facilitated the rapid increase in housing supply. He justifies this claim on the idea that by decentralization, the process of developing urban lands have become easier and faster. Many big construction firms had the possibility of acquiring cheap peripheral lands and developing them in close collaboration with municipalities.

They argued that Turkish construction sector has always been dependent on the state as a source of finance and the state has largely been dependent on external sources to finance the construction activities within the country. American aids and NATO supplies of 1950s, foreign loans and credits taken from IMF and World Bank are given as notable examples of these external financial sources²⁸⁶.

Consequently, it could be stated that the growth of construction sector is mainly related with some roles performed by the state. This is certainly caused not only by MHA and its Fund but also amnesties provided to squatter settlements and the priority given to mass housing production directly increased the volume of construction activities. Squatter settlements has been the transformed into legal apartment blocks. The amnesty laws provided the opportunity of their transformation into apartment blocks.

The state enabled large capitalists' entry into the housing sector by establishing regulations for public finance to only large housing projects and by directly financing them through MHA or providing subsidised credits to local governments and cooperatives through the MHF. To ease and encourage the operation of large capitalists in the housing sector, new legislation regarding land use was also implemented. Large

²⁸⁵ Türel, Ali. 2004: 703.

²⁸⁶ Batmaz, E.Ş. Emiroğlu, K., Ünsal, S. İnşaatçıların Tarihi, Türkiye Mütcahitler Birliđi Yayını, Ankara:2006:94-135

areas of public land in the periphery as well as in the centre of the city were privatised and subsequently sold or transferred to large developers and banks. Metropolitan and local master plans regulating zoning and construction codes were relaxed or often bypassed by political connections to open the areas previously under conservation, such as the Bosphorus hills and water basins around lakes and forests, for profitable large luxury upper-income housing projects²⁸⁷. The public investments in urban infrastructure enabled large capitalists to colonise the periphery - formerly green areas, water basins, public and agricultural lands and places for squatter neighbourhoods - as well as the established low-income neighbourhoods in the city centre. Decentralization of planning powers and development controls has contributed to the growth by easing and expediting the development of especially peripheral lands. Through such mechanisms like newly built highways, motorways and bridges, the provision of telecommunication, water, sanitary and energy services to newly opened areas, the housing sector has been transformed into a profitable investment area for large capitalists. State as the main financier of the sector has satisfied not only the necessary conditions but also the legislative conditions supporting the growth of the sector. So the main dynamic or the factor behind the growth in construction activities in 1980s has been the state and its supportive policies.

Since the inflation has reduced significantly in the last decade which is the reason of the government's long term economic reform, confidence in this process is reflected in the growing overseas investment in Turkey. The contribution of foreign investments to the construction sector gave enormous growth to the area. After the crisis of 2001 the amount of global capital being invested in the production of built environment in Turkey increased very rapidly. Since 2002, both the real estate and construction sectors have been very active in attracting foreign investments. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Turkey rose from US\$1,752 million in 2003 to US\$20,120 million in 2006²⁸⁸. Economic growth and consequently, rising consumer affluence, are factors impacting the profile and level of housing demand. Further, factors including diminishing household sizes and population growth are leading to rising household numbers, resulting in the need for more homes.

²⁸⁷ Kurtuluş, Hatice (Kurtuluş, H. ed.) *Istanbul'da Kapalı Yerleşmeler: Beykoz Konakları Örneği. İstanbul'da Kentsel Ayrışma* İstanbul: Bağlam, 2005a:161-186.

²⁸⁸ Kurtuluş, Hatice (Kurtuluş, H. ed.) *Bir Ütopya Olarak Bahçeşehir. İstanbul'da Kentsel Ayrışma* ,İstanbul: Bağlam, 2005b: 77-126.

Following the growth of 1980s construction sector has entered into a decline period after 1994 till 2003. Turkish economy after the integration to global financial markets by financial liberalization policies implemented at 1989 has faced the problems of macro-economic instability and economic crises. 1994, 1998, 2000 and 2001 are being known as the years of outstanding economic crises. After all these crises the state attempted to recover the economy and balance the macro-economic conditions by implementing stabilization programs. The state opposite of the previous period started to reduce the amount of all kinds of expenditures and investments as well as the construction and infrastructure investments after 1994.²⁸⁹ High interest rates were also the outcomes of the macro-economic conditions. Turkish economy has entered into a new sub-period after 1989. A decision, which was adopted in 1989, provided full freedom to capital flows between Turkey and foreign financial markets²⁹⁰. In other words, after 1989 Turkey became a financial market for international capital for short-term investments. The major outcome of the financial liberalization in Turkey has been the rapid increase of interest rates. It is a well known fact that high interest rates have negative impacts on the construction sector. High rates of interest increase the cost of production and house prices as most of the contractors and developers are dependent on bank credits in order to finance their production. Moreover it is widely accepted that the increase of house prices and the increase of interest rates decrease the demand for housing in both developed and underdeveloped countries. Turkey is not free from this situation as well. There exists such a negative relationship between interest rates and housing demand in Turkey²⁹¹. Most of the potential house buyers prefer to invest their savings in deposit banks to gain from high profits in such cases²⁹².

Construction sector has entered into a new growth phase by 2002 and 2003. Although some adjustments and modifications were made after financial crises of 2001 structural reform program which was adopted by 2000 is still firmly determining the major macro-economic decisions, choices and policies in Turkey. Among these policies two of them are worth mentioning. Those are, to keep rate of real interests higher than

²⁸⁹ Ercan, H. and Saatçiođlu, Ő. 'İç ve DıŐ Pazarlarda Türk İnŐaat Sektörü: Büyüme ve İstihdam Dinamikleri', in İktisadi Sektörlerde GeliŐme Stratejileri Tebliđ Metinleri-II, 2004 Türkiye İktisat Kongresi, Cilt 5, Ankara, 2004: 235-256. Ankara:238.

²⁹⁰ Boratav, Korkut. Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2002, Ankara: İmge, 2003: 179.

²⁹¹ Türel, Ali. 1980 Sonrasında Konut Üretiminde GeliŐmeler, ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi, 9(2), 1989:138.

²⁹² Türel, A. İbid. 1989:137.

rates of foreign exchange and inflation and to achieve high rates economic growth which derive from imports and foreign trade and financed by international capital.

Internal politics has also the great effect on the development of the construction sector and structuring policies related with housing. After the national elections of November 2002, era of coalition has ended. A new era of single party began and elections held in July 2007 did not change this picture. AKP (Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) had the biggest support to govern for the next 5 years. These three reasons enable us to describe post-2002 as a distinct and significant period in case of production of built environment and capital dominates this production.

The growth in construction activities during post-2000 period in Turkey seemed supported by the legislative actions. Macro-economic conditions and policies, which provided considerable amount of national and global finance to construction and real estate activities, were also contributed to the boom. The availability and increasing usage of mortgages due to low rates of interest have contributed much to construction activities. The recent boom should be accepted as the result of all these factors and their combination.

The image shows a screenshot of the website evimgaranti.com. The page features a green and white color scheme. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the site name and the Garanti logo. Below this, a large banner image shows a family standing in front of a house, with the text "kira öder gibi ev alın!" (Buy a house like you rent!). The main content area is divided into several sections: a left sidebar with navigation links like "Ana Sayfa", "Özel Konut Projeleri", and "Konut Kredisi Ürünleri"; a central area with a "Ev alırken nelere dikkat etmeliyiz?" (What should we pay attention to when buying a house?) article; and a right sidebar with a "Kolayca hesaplayın" (Calculate easily) section containing a mortgage calculator and a "Mini Anket" (Mini Survey) section.

Figure 4.11. An example of a Mortgage attempt.
(Source: From the website of Garanti Bank, www.garanti.com.tr,2007)

Faiz düştü varlıklı kesim soluğu lüks konutta aldı

Canlanmanın en önemli göstergelerinden lüks konut satışı patladı. Hızla düşen faizlerden para kazanan ve getirileri artık begenmeyen varlıklı kesim metrekaresi 8-10 bin liralık evlere koşuyor

İBRAHİM ACAR İSTANBUL
Ekonomideki gelişmelere en hızlı tepkilerden birini veren lüks konut sektöründe varlıklı müşterilerin piyasaya dönüşünün getirdiği canlılık kullanıyor. Yatırım amaçlı alımlara sahne olan lüks konut segmentinde geçen ayki satışlar yüz güldürükten, birçok miteahhüt son dönemin en parlak satış rakamlarına ulaştığını açıklıyor. Faizlerin düşmesi ve borsanın istenen getiriye sağlamaması üzerine yatırımcının lüks konuta yöneldiğini belirten inşaat firmaları ise artan talebin etkisiyle satış için ölü sezon sayılan yaz aylarını yeni projeleri devreye sokarak değerlendiriyor. Bağlat Caddesi, Beşiktaş gibi semtlerdeki lüks konutlar yapılrken satılmaya başlandı.

KONUTTA CANLILIK ARTARAK SÖRECEK

Aşçoğlu İnşaat geçen ay 23 adet residence sattı. Miteahhütler, residence'ların en önemli müşterilerinin işadamları ve üst düzey yöneticiler olduğunu söyledi. Emlakçılar Odası Başkanı Sabri Ateş ise lüks konut satışındaki artışın gözle görünür oranda arttığını belirterek "Yatırımcılar da artık konut sektörüne girmeye başladı" diye konuştu.



SOSYETENİN KRİZİ BİTTİ 2
YARIN: Krizin psikolojik etkilerinden atmaya başlayan üst gelir grubu mayıs ayından bu yana eğlenceye ve yemeğe daha fazla harcamaya başladı. Lüks turizm yapan işletmelerinin aldığı talepler son bir ayda ykocölçe geçti.



Dilman Towers'ta satılık residence kalmadı

Bağlat Caddesi'nde ve civarında lüks konutlar yapan Teknik Yapı'nın CEO'su Teoman Metehan, krizin etkilerinin geçmesinin en önemli göstergesinin lüks konutlardaki satış hızı olduğunu söyledi. Metehan "Lüks konutların alıcı kitleleri ekonominin iyiyeye gittiğini gösteren önemli gruplar arasında yer alıyor. Biz metrekaresi 8 ile 10 bin lira arasında değişen 104 konutluk Dilman Towers'ın tamamını sattık. Ayrıca yine Bağlat Caddesi'nde yeni başladığımız 150 konutluk projeye de satışlarımız geçen ay önemli oranda arttı" dedi.



Hazırda 30 milyon dolara 25 residence birden sattım

Aşçoğlu İnşaat Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Yaşar Aşçoğlu da geçen ay konut satışında rekor kırdığını söyledi. "Sükürler olsun, işlerimiz gayet iyi" diyen Yaşar Aşçoğlu, krizin etkilerinin bilmeye başladığını gelen taleplerden görmeye başladıklarını söyledi. Geçen ay 225 adet konut sattıklarını belirten Aşçoğlu-

Satış arttı, yeni projeyi öne aldı

Dumankaya Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi Uğur Dumankaya geçen yıla göre satışlarında yüzde 30 artış olduğunu söyledi. Dumankaya "Geçen ay önemli oranda canlanma yaşandı. Alımlar arasında peşin para ile yapılanlar da ihmal edilemez düzeyde çıktı" dedi. Sosyal donatılar, havuzu, güvenliği olan site projelerine imza attıklarını söyleyen Dumankaya, satışların iyi girmesi nedeniyle Adress Botanik ismini verdikleri yeni projelerine hemen başlama karar aldıklarını söyledi. Dumankaya, canlanmanın ikinci el evde görülmeye başladığını belirterek "Gelişmeye ilk teşkiyi varlıklı kesim verir. Diğerleri onları izler" dedi.



Figure 4.12. A newspaper ad about the reflections of the economic revival to the high-end housing sector. Decrease in the inflation rates increases the sales in this type of housing. (Source: From the website of Aşçoğlu İnşaat, www.ascioglu.com,2009)

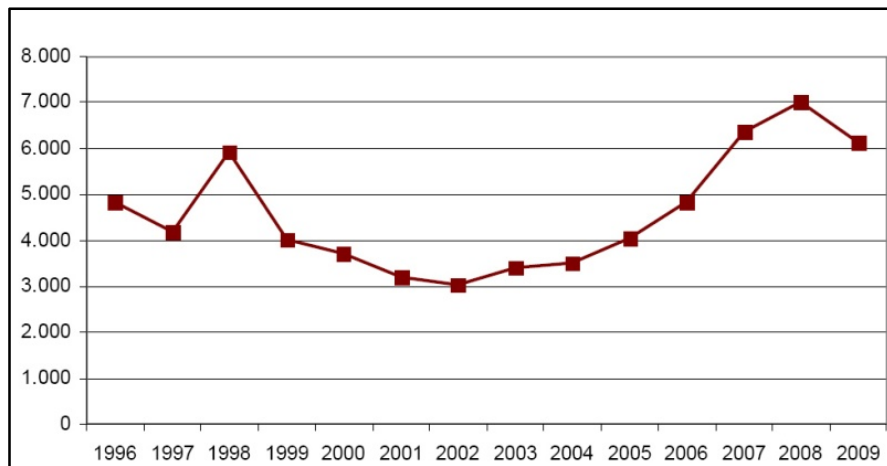


Figure 4.13. Residents' Average Sale Value (Source: Kuzeybatı Real Estate Services, Turkey Residential Report 2009/1)

4.3. Reshaping The Urban: Suburbanization and Gentrification

The underlying factors lying behind urban spatial segregation comes as the consequence of the suburbanization process. Mike Harvey²⁹³ and Stuart Hall²⁹⁴ marks 1970s, as the beginning era of the drastical structural changes produced as the consequence of developments resulting from the relocation of capital in the aftermath of 1970s economic restructuring process combined with radical reorganization of space relations. (Harvey, 1989)²⁹⁵. The rise of post-modern culture and society, and the imperatives of post-Fordist economy are marked by the restructuring of urban space in the development of capitalism. The link and contradictions of post-Fordism and post-modernism are evidently represented in the city, so in the contemporary urban life.

In literature, as Ash Amin²⁹⁶ notes, the term post-Fordism is related to ‘economic and institutional change’, as the term post-modernism is related to ‘a change in the arena of consumption, aesthetics, culture, and lifestyle’. Some has defined postmodernism as an epoch, and others as a socioeconomic condition, which elaborated a postmodern science or way of thinking and knowing²⁹⁷.

Suburbanization, gentrification²⁹⁸, and gated communities are the socio-spaces to redefine urban growth and development of this era. Gentrification in the inner part of the urban areas and gated developments in the form of suburbanization mostly on the peripheries have emerged as residential spaces of affluent households, which have encouraged by the rise of new middle class. They have been ‘closely connected with what came in the 1980s to be seen as globalization’²⁹⁹.

²⁹³ Harvey, David. ‘Flexible Accumulation Through Urbanization: Reflections on Post-Modernism in the American Cities,’ in Ash Amin (ed.) Post-Fordism: A Reader. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1987/1994: 362

²⁹⁴ Hall, Peter. Cities of Tomorrow. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.: 1990

²⁹⁵ Harvey, David. The Condition of Postmodernity. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers. 1989.

²⁹⁶ Amin, Ash. ‘Post-Fordism: Models, Fantasies, and Phantoms of Transition,’ in Ash Amin (ed.) Post-Fordism: A Reader. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994:30.

²⁹⁷ Gibson, Katherine and Sophie Watson 1995 ‘Postmodern Spaces, Cities and Politics: An Introduction,’ in Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (eds.) Postmodern Cities and Spaces. Oxford, UK, and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995:1

²⁹⁸ Beauregard, Robert A. ‘Voices of Decline,’ in Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell (eds.) Readings in Urban Theory. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996: 370.

²⁹⁹ Smith, Neil The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City. London and New York: Routledge, 1996: 75.

The notion of gentrification is related to the class dimension of the transformation³⁰⁰. According to Saskia Sassen³⁰¹, gentrification has become a hallmark of ‘global city’ and is treated as the result of a contemporary social restructuring. However, there is a strict differentiation between gentrification and redevelopment, where the former involves rehabilitation of existing stock whereas the latter involves a totally new construction.

Since the pressure on the reorganization of the ‘interior space of the city has been considerable under conditions of flexible accumulation’³⁰², the vitality of city core has been highlighted. Gentrification, consumption places, sophisticated entertainment facilities have become the other factions related to urban living which have been basically consistent with the regime of flexible accumulation. The total reorganization of spatial structure of the urban hierarchy, processes of inseparable. The economic and institutional changes inherently capture cultural changes. Aesthetics has already penetrated the production process through design, and styling. Suburbanization, deindustrialisation and restructuring, gentrification and urban renewal i.e. the very unevenness of spatial development patterns, according to David Harvey³⁰³, are ‘part and parcel’ of the continual restructuring of spatial relationships ‘to match the quest to accelerate turnover time’. High-income gentrification is a labour intensive process whereas middle-class suburban expansion is capital-intensive³⁰⁴. However, these two important developments in urban segregation; the rise of both gentrification and gated communities, do not correspond to the flexible accumulation regime of capital in the globalizing world of post-modern era. They are also ‘linked to wider forms of social inequalities especially those based on class, income, gender and ethnicity’³⁰⁵.

As a recent trend in İstanbul, in parallel with the accelerated suburbanisation, the segregation has been entered a period of differentiation. The more a person climbs up the social ladders, the more s/he wants to have a new and bigger home. The demand for bigger

³⁰⁰ Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996: 32.

³⁰¹ Sassen, Saskia. ‘Global City,’ in Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell (eds.) *Readings in Urban Theory*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996: 61-71

³⁰² Harvey, David ‘Flexible Accumulation Through Urbanization: Reflections on Post-Modernism in the American Cities,’ in Ash Amin (ed.) *Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1987/1994: 370

³⁰³ Harvey, David *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*. Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985:28.

³⁰⁴ Sassen, Saskia. *Cities in A World Economy*. California: Pine Forge Press., 1994:114.

³⁰⁵ Savage, Mike and Alan Warde. *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity*. London: Macmillan Press., 1993:75.

house is increasing especially for the middle class group, who cares more for their social standing. New suburban districts far from the city centre are the residents of newly emergent middle classes. In these districts the community ties and solidarity relationships have been weakening and the privacy of family has been gaining more importance³⁰⁶.

Among the middle class families the preferences of living with his/her own type is becoming noticeable. In their findings districts Bahçeşehir, Maslak are composed of the population with the shared world view expressed as defending secularism, civilized behaviors, using western culture's high culture elements, going to the opera, theatre, concerts, etc. And they constantly create and recreate the sense of 'us' and 'others'. After the rapid transition to the neo-liberal economy, the segregation in Turkish cities which was of the 'gecekondu' and 'apartment' dichotomy is replacing to the differentiation in between 'gecekondu'- 'apartment'- and 'suburbanites'. Among the high level professionals the trend to move out of the city centre is increasing, however the youngsters prefer to utilize the facilities and opportunities offered by the vibrant city centre. In the middle class districts the traditional communal control is weakening rapidly and the autonomy of the individuals is strengthening³⁰⁷.

This 'new spatial order'³⁰⁸, reflects increasing socioeconomic polarisation in the city. Since the beginning of the 1980s, neo-liberal policies of economic and spatial restructuring have targeted Istanbul with the aim of transforming it into Turkey's global city³⁰⁹. These new policies not only changed Istanbul's economic and urban structure but also led to growing socioeconomic inequalities and concentration of wealth among high-income groups³¹⁰. According to Sönmez³¹¹, in 2000, the wealthiest 20 percent of families received 64 per cent of the city's total income. This new wealth and increasing socioeconomic polarisation are among the main reasons used to account for the emergence of gated communities in Istanbul³¹². These sharp inequalities, however, do

³⁰⁶ Ayata, Sencer, & Ayata, Ayşe. Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Mekansal Ayrışma ve Kent Kültürü (Social Stratification, Spatial Segregation and Urban Culture), Atacan, F. et. al (eds) in Mübaccel Kıray için Yazılar, Armağan dizisi, Bağlam. 2000: 154.

³⁰⁷ Ayata, Sencer, & Ayata, Ayşe. Toplumsal Tabakalaşma, Mekansal Ayrışma ve Kent Kültürü (Social Stratification, Spatial Segregation and Urban Culture), Atacan, F. et. al (eds) in Mübaccel Kıray için Yazılar, Armağan dizisi, Bağlam. 2000: 154.

³⁰⁸ Marcuse, Peter, and Ronald van Kempen. The enclave, the citadel, and the ghetto: What has changed in the post-Fordist U.S. city? *Urban Affairs Review* 33, 2: 1997:228-264.

³⁰⁹ Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe. *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities* Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Istanbul, 1993.

³¹⁰ Aksoy, Asu. *Küreselleşme ve İstanbul'da İstihdam* Friedrich Ebert Foundation, İstanbul, 1996.

³¹¹ Sönmez, M. 2000'de Gelir Dağılımı Araştırması. *Ekonomik Forum* 7:10 ,2000: 20-24.

³¹² Aksoy, Asu and Robins, Kevin. Istanbul between civilization and discontent. *New Perspectives on Turkey* 10,1994: 57-74.

not automatically translate into a particular urban form or residential segregation. They have to be mediated through certain actors, institutions and processes, as well as discourses. Changes in the housing habits of social groups require not only a transformation in social status and cultural values, but state intervention and the presence of certain actors in the real estate sector as well³¹³.

Öncü, Ayşe. (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in Istanbul. *Space, Power and Culture* Zed Books: London, 1997:56-72.

³¹³ Harvey, David. *The Urbanization of Capital* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.1985.

Knox, P. L. (Knox, P. L. ed.) Capital, material culture and socio-spatial differentiation. *The Restless Urban Landscape*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.1993:1-34.

Zukin, Sharon. *Landscapes of Power* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.1991.

CHAPTER 5

PRODUCTION AND MARKETING PROCESS OF GATED COMMUNITIES IN ISTANBUL

This chapter provides an analysis on the marketing strategies and advertising rhetoric employed in the selling of gated communities in İstanbul. This analysis, asserts that the messages of these advertisements do not only reside in the texts and images and demand a socially and historically grounded interpretation. Such an approach does not only yield a context sensitive understanding of the changing housing aspirations and appeals of gated living in İstanbul but also sheds light on the broader dynamics of urban social and cultural transformation in Turkey.

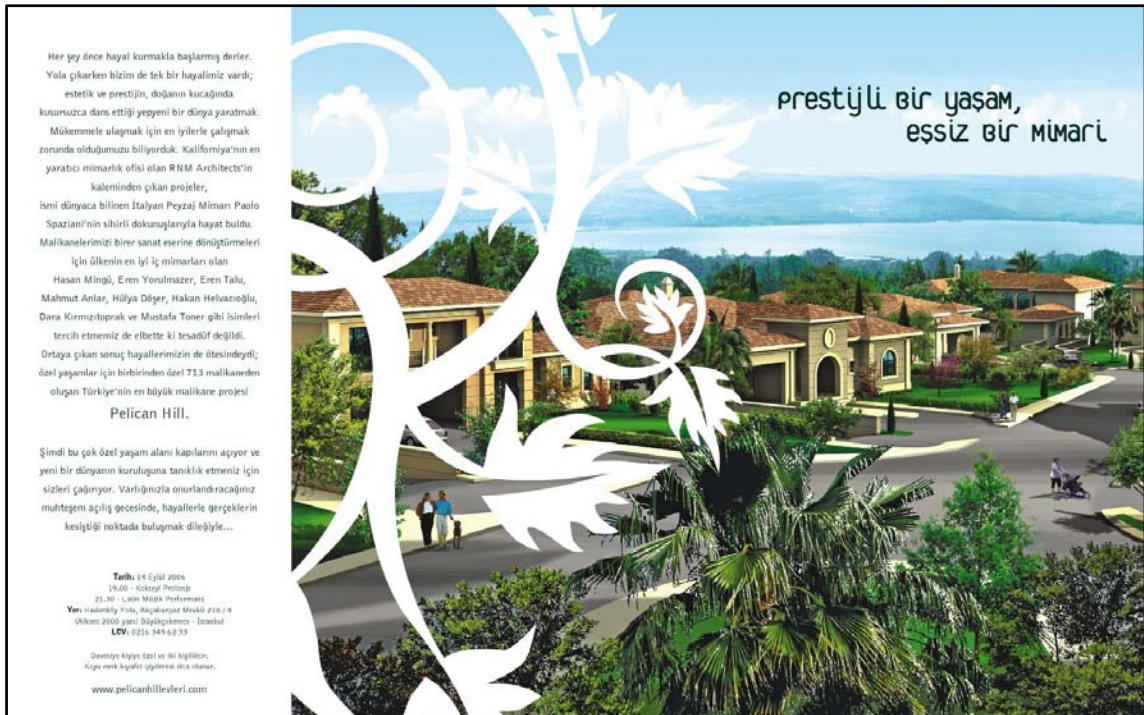


Figure 5.1. An Invitation of the Pelican Hill Houses publicity campaign designed by Can Yücel Metin. Mentioned as The Beverly Hills of Turkey; Pelican Hill consists of the most expensive manors in the country, with a total worth around \$ 2 million. (Source: Pelican Hill web site, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, April, 2008)

In İstanbul, the ideal home is packaged for private consumption in housing advertisements that offer homebuyers an ideal living environment where middle-class

housing desires and aspirations are fulfilled. The aim of this chapter is to critically examine how representations of the distinct life are packaged, sold and consumed by residents of gated communities who appropriate these signs as 'symbolic capital' that bestow upon their owners 'a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honour'³¹⁴. Such representations of the distinct life draw explicitly on a repertoire of ideas depicting an idealized residential landscape which reflect and reinforce the exclusivist middle-class housing aspirations and private visions of gated communities and their residents. What mainly characterizes such distinction is the separation from the rest of society. Via the media disseminated by the advertisement industry, this chapter also discusses the symbolic significance of the house and home in the construction of the self and family life in contemporary Turkish society. And demonstrates how housing developers create a sense of 'admiration' by associating their housing development projects the extravagant lifestyles of the elite by means of flashy renderings of the environments that they sell. The chapter also exposes the recurrent themes, rhetoric and symbols that are used to represent the distinct life in gated communities. As will be pointed out, often seen in these housing advertisements is the spatial 'imagineering' of foreign ('Western') suburban lifestyles, that centres on the consumption of 'Western-style garden mansion' and villas - the exclusive housing forms of Istanbul's gated communities and urban elites while sometimes the elites themselves are those advertised.(Figure 5.2)

It is important to acknowledge that print media is one of a number of media through which home-related popular taste is conveyed and reinforced. Since the late 1990s, for example, home and gardening television programmes have proliferated and have been an important source of ideas about house and garden design, services and products. In Istanbul, at least, magazines and other print media have played an important role for a very long time, and other media, television and the internet in the present, are supplements to the printed medium. It is apparent that the lifestyles portrayed in these media have arisen within a global framework and the products and ideas highlighted in Istanbul could be discussed with reference to many different places with comparative ease.

³¹⁴ Bourdiue, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:185.

RAHİM KOÇ
Yıldırım Boğaz kıyısında yapılmakta olan Rahim Koç konutlukları İstanbul'daki ilk ve en büyük hayalini yoğun trafikte, yer merkezdeki mütehem Boğaz manzarası rozdena dairesinde yapılarak, yapımını kolaylaştıracak. Ayrıca dışarıdan üye olmayan sosyal aktivitelere, alışveriş ve hafta hastanelere sadece bir asarabide ulaşabilecek olabilmek, Selenyum Twins'ten daha ama kararmada büyük etkisi oldu.

BERNA YILMAZ
Eski bir Neğar'tay sakını olduğum için yer merkezdeki kaliteli ve konforlu Selenyum projesinden bir daire aldım. Yurt dışındaki rozdena projelerinin aynı zamanda de geliştirdiği için Aşçıoğlu'nu kullandım.

ŞENİZ ERZİK
Beşta Yagar Aşçıoğlu'na güvenmişim için Selenyum'dan daire aldım. Naçir projelerden bir olduğunu için tercih ettim. Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın ülkemizdeki en büyük projelere muas asarabında inşaatçıyım.

ŞANŞAL BÜYÜKA
Selenyum'u İstanbul trafiğinin çekmez bir duruma geldiği günümüzde her yere çok kolayca ulaşabilecek bir konumda olduğunu için aldım. Yoğun iş hayatımın kolaylaşması içinde bana kolayca ulaşabileceğim, mütehem İstanbul manzarası ile beni dinlendirecek, hastaneler, süpermarket, alışveriş merkezi gibi günlük yaşam kolaylaştıracak her türlü önlem alınması tercih nedenim oldu. İnşaatın kalitesi ve çok hızlı teslimatı beni gerçekten heyecanlandırıyor.

TULAY ULUSOY
Türkiye'de bir iki geliştirdiğim eskı otulum Aşçıoğlu'na güvendim. Lokasyonu ve manzarası çok güzel. Bundan sonraki yaşamım için huzurlu, güvenli, güvenilir ve konforlu bir mekân olduğunu için daire satın etdim. Konsept harika, yer merkezde ve hayalimden geçecek. Geçen aşkım Fulya'dan geçen Twins'in her katının şıklanmışlığına görüncü kendimi Amerika'da hissettim.

SELİM TALVİ
Özellikle projenin Aşçıoğlu İnşaat gibi güvenilir ve sağlam bir firma tarafından yapılmış olması beni etkileyen en önemli faktörlerden biriydi. Sadece Selenyum'a değil olan birçok ayrıcalık ve eşsiz hizmetler, evimin rahatlığım ve güvenimi bir arada bile zor bulunan kaliteli bir projedir. Genek olarak planlaması, genek sosyal tesisleri, genek kapama bir spor tesisini aydınlatma getiren spor alanları ile Selenyum Residence, her türlü ihtiyaçları karşılar. Sonuç olarak Selenyum Twins'ten bir daire daha almak hem ödül bir yatırım yaptım, hem de kaliteli satın almanın mutluluğuna eriştim. Ne mutlu bana ki her yaşadığımda peneceremden görülebilen eşsiz İstanbul manzarası ile İstanbul'u omanın keyfine varabileceğim ve bu projenin yaratıcılarına her an teşekkür edebileceğim.

BEKİR OKAN
Selenyum'un lokasyonları çok mekân olduğu için daire satın aldım. Yagar Aşçıoğlu yanlı bir proje yapmaz dedim ve görünüm kapalı daire almak iyi bir yatırım yaptım. Naçir konsepti ve sosyal tesisleri dışarıdan üye alınması çok güzel bir ayrıcalık.

MUSTAFA TONER
Yeni ardu yapılarak sevdiğim bir yapıdır. Teşekkürler! Selenyum Twins'e yapımını karar verdiğim konusunu benim ve ben cevaplamak için çok özgünlük. Hiç bir misir olarak cevaplamak daha zor. Yeni teknoloji ile inşa edilmiş, Neğar'tay'ın kopmak istemedim ve güzel İstanbul manzarasına sahip olmak bizi bu karar vermeye yöneltti. 28. katın tüm İstanbul'u kuş bakışı seyretecek kim bilir ne kadar keyifli olacak. Yagar Aşçıoğlu'nun projelerinde duydığımız hayran ve sevgi bizi hissedince kararımı hemen verdim.

GENÇAY GÜRÜN
Lokasyonu ve manzarası mütehem. Her yere çok yakın. Aşçıoğlu firmasına çok inandım var. Güvenlik ve sosyal tesislerine dışarıdan üye alınması Türkiye'de bir iki Selenyum ailesine katıldığımız olayı çok mutluym. Yatırımın paranın karşılığına fazlasıyla ulaşacağına inanıyorum.

VEDAT BAŞARAN
Yapılabilecek konutlarda lokasyonu ve erişilebilir ulaşım alanlarına erişilebilir alanlar artık İstanbul'da yapılmamış olmuştur. Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın projeleri bu anlamda en iyi örneklerdir. İhtiyaçları karşılayan aynı zamanda konutların mimari yapılarındaki sosyal tesisler alanların geniş planlaması olması benim tercihlerim diğer bir önemli etken olmuştur. Kaliteli konutlukları olan Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın genek olarak planlaması projelerinden dolayı kullandım.

PROF. DR. HİLAL MOCAN
3 yıl önce Fulya Aşçıoğlu Plaza'daki yerimi aldım ve çok memnun kaldım. Zaman içinde Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'a güvenim giderek arttı. Selenyum Twins yapışırken bizi ve mazeret hastaneleri ve alışveriş alanları için daire daha aldım. Proje çıkarken Yagar Bey'in benden daha fazla istişareteğine eminim.

DİKİRAN GÜLMERZOL
İstanbul'da inşa edilmiş olan çok sayıda proje arasında Selenyum Twins'i seçmemdeki önemli nedenler güvenlik, kalite ve konum olarak yerim önemli mükemmelleme yakın olmuştur. İki katından itibaren dışarıdan İstanbul'un güzel panoraması görülebilen benzerdir ve benzerdir. Selenyum Twins'in güvenliğine ve benzerdir. Selenyum ailesine katılmamızdaki diğer önemli etkenler olmuştur.

YASEF BAREHA
Amerika'nın en iyi yapımcısı olarak sadece iyi referansları olarak, Yagar Bey'in tavsiyelerinden Selenyum'dan ik daire satın ettim. Genek inşaat kalitesi, genek binaların konforunun hiç Amerika'daki rozdena ile karşılaştırılmaz. Bundan cesaret alarak, Yagar Aşçıoğlu'na daha inşaat müessesesi almadan 9 tane daha daire aldım ve çok akıllı bir yatırım yaptım. Aşçıoğlu'nun lükse göre geliştirildiği her inşaatın güzü kapalı olarak daire alacağına gururla inanıyorum.

SERAP TIBUK
Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın Türkiye'nin en kaliteli, güvenilir, kaliteli inşaat şirketlerinden biri olması benim Selenyum Twins'i seçmemdeki en önemli etkenlerdir. Ayrıca akıllı konut konseptinde Selenyum Twins hastaneleri, alışveriş merkezi, eğitim merkezi, konutlukları gibi birçok hizmete ulaşabilen bir projedir. İstanbul'un en kaliteli mazeretleri ile dinlenmesi, İstanbul'un en kaliteli mazeretleri ile dinlenmesi, Selenyum Twins'i benim en favori rozdenam yapıyorum.

*Sizlerin güveniyle
gücümüze
güç kattık.
Teşekkürler...*

AŞÇIOĞLU
(0212) 291 53 13
www.selenium34.com

NÜKRET GÜNDEŞ
İki daire benim ailemin nedeni:
1-Güven: Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın sahibi Yagar Bey'e çok güveniyorum. Para alışverişinde güveniyorum. İnşaatın vakitinde teslim edileceği ve iyi mazeret kullanılabileceği konusunda da endişem yok.
2-Müklet memnuniyetine önem: Müklet memnuniyetine sadece kişiye değil, genek olarak. Gerçekten ve narakat memnun etmek için gücü gösteriyorlar. İşlerimizi dikkate alıyorlar, istediğimiz değişikliklerde yardımcı oluyorlar.
3-Lokasyon: Satın aldığımız dairenin lokasyonu yerim ve veya yapacak adına bize cazip gelen yerler oldu.
4-Estetik: Hep iş mimarlar ile çalışıyorum. "Her şeyi ben benim" yapıyorlar ve işleri işi bizlere gösteriyorlar. Selenyum City'nin diğer mimarları gerçeğin ve ayrıcalığı gösteriyor.
5-Şiş baparı: Yagar Bey'in işine tuttu denemesinde başladığım çok önemli bir baparı yapıyorum. Bu tuttu ve benzer günün sonunda bize teslim edilen işe yansıyor.

AHU AYŞAL
Selenyum projesinde yer almanın en önemli sebebi Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın kalitesi ve yapım alanlarının genek olarak planlamasıdır. Son yıllarda hotel gelişen bir semt olan Fulya, hem manzarası hem konumu bakımından İstanbul'un en iyi yerleri arasında. Bugünkü yaşam şartlarında yaşamın fazla vakit olmadığında Selenyum Twins sosyal tesisleri, hastaneler, alışveriş merkezi ve restoranlarıyla içinde yaşadığımız çok fazla imkan sunuyor.

ŞENOL GÜNEŞ
Türkiye'de ilk defa bu projeye girdiğim. Roof katındaki spor merkezi güzel İstanbul'u seyrederken spor yapabilmek ve diğer bölgenin roof katındaki diğer merkezi restoranlar, mazeretleri ayrılabilmek beni cezpt etti. Tüm sosyal tesislerle dışarıdan üye kaydı alınması nedeniyle alıcılara keyifli oturabileceğim andir bir proje olduğunu için satın aldım.

SEVGI SABANCI
Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın Selenyum Twins projesini çok beğendim ve oğlum İhsan adına yapmam bir daire aldım. Bekli lerde kendim de oturmayı düşünebilirim. Çok özel bir proje olduğunu için tercih ettim.

Figure 5.2. “With your trust we added more to our strength. Thank you...” A newspaper ad from Aşçıoğlu Construction featuring well known names of Istanbul’s elite society about their buyers.(Source: Aşçıoğlu website, www.ascioglu.com, June 2008)

The criteria for case identification was based on; the advertising frequency of the Project, the rate of high popularity of these gated communities, the value of the Project, the distinction that the Project offers. concurrent construction dates (years between 2000-2005)

The gated communities selected in the thesis are located on the most preferred locations for new housing in Istanbul such as; Bahçeşehir, Beylikdüzü-Büyükçekmece, Göktürk- Kemerburgaz, Halkalı-Esenyurt, Kilyos-Zekeriyaköy and Silivri on the European side while Ataşehir, Ümraniye-Çekmeköy, Samandıra-Ömerli, Kurtköy-Tepeören, Beykoz and Riva-Şile on the Asian Side. The case study developments according to urban location offers some advantages like; proximity to axes routes (access to TEM, E5, Atatürk Airport, railroads), the places are attractive for people working nearby large companies. Below indicates the unit prices of the selected projects, ranges between USD 0,730/sqm – USD 2,067/sqm.

Prestijin sembolü oldu 3 belediye paylaştı

TÜRKİYE'nin en büyük konut projelerinden birine ev sahipliği yaparak, adım dururken ve kişi başına 12 metrekare yeşil alanın dağıtıldığı Bahçeşehir bugün peşe uygulamaya konulan konut projeleri sayesinde İstanbul'un en prestijli bölgeleri arasında girmeyi başardı. 1996 yılında Birleşmiş Milletler Habitat II Konferansı çerçevesinde "Kurumsal Uygulamalar ve Projeler" ödülünü almasının ardından nüfusu ikiye katlanarak bir markaya dönüştüren Bahçeşehir, çevre belediyeler arasında da 'paylaşılabilir bölge' konumuna geldi.

İlk olarak 2005 yılında Eston Yapı'nın hayata geçirdiği Ardçlı Evler projesinin Esenyurt ve Bahçeşehir Belediyeleri arasında paylaşılmasıyla başlayan tartışmalar sonunda, 10 yıl belediye olarak hizmet veren Bahçeşehir'in Bahçeşehir'e bağlanmasıyla sonuçlandı. Bahçeşehir, Güneşbatısı'nda bulunan ve Esenyurt Belediyesi'nin bir bölümü olan Esenkent ve doğusunda bulunan Arçlar Belediyesi'ne bağlı İpartakule Bölgesi'yle huzla yayılıyor.

NÜFUS 100 BİNE ULAŞACAK
Emlak Bankası'nın Süzer Grubu'yla birlikte 1999'da yılların başında hayata geçirdiği bir uydukent projesi olan Bahçeşehir'deki konut sayısını, son yıllarda uygulamaya konulan 15 bin konutla birlikte iki kat artışı kaydedti. 1990 yılında 4 milyon metrekare

7 BİN 300 KONUT GELİYOR
İstanbul'a İnşaat, Avrupa Yakası'ndaki ilk prestijli Bahçeşehir'de gerçekleştirilmeyi planlıyor. Önümüzdeki bahar aylarında Bahçeşehir'de 300 konutluk yeni bir projeye başlanmayı planlayan Ali Duman'ın, "Bu proje, bölgedeki tüm projelerden çok farklı olacak" diyor. Bahçeşehir'de proje gerçekleştirilecek firmalardan bir diğeri de Soyak... Kuzey Bahçeşehir'de 3 bin 500 konutluk oluşacak projenin ruhsat çalışmaları sürüyor. 2011 yılında teslim edilecek projede konutların metrekare büyüklükleri, fonksiyonel yaşam alanı konseptine uygun olarak tasarlanıyor. F1 Yapsa da Bahçeşehir'de 3 bin konutluk F1 Yaka Bahçeşehir projesini hayata geçirmeyi planlıyor. Firmamın en büyük projesi olan F1 Yaka Bahçeşehir'de konutun yanı sıra 20 bin metrekare alışveriş merkezi de inşa edilecek.

ARDÇLI EVLER'İN İSYANI
Bölgesi alanını genişletmek isteyen Esenyurt Belediyesi'nin, TEM otayının güzeyinde konutlandırılan Eston Yapı'nın 2005 yılında inşaatını bitirdiği 1000 konutluk Ardçlı Evler projesi ve Bahçeşehir'e bağlı büyük sanayi bölgesinin belediye sınırları içerisinde alınmak istemesiyle başlayan tartışma bölgenin Esenyurt'a bağlanması ile sonuçlandı. Ardçlı Evler'de oturan site sakinleri imza kampanyasına başlatarak 'tekrar Bahçeşehir'e bağlanmak istediklerini' belirte de sonuç değişmedi.

METREKARESİ 2 BİN TL
Bahçeşehir bölgesinde, Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) ve İştiraki Emlak GYO'nun da haslatı paylaşım modeline geçtiği BİR



Oturanların sadece yüzde 32'si kiracı
BAHÇEŞEHİR'de ikamet edenler ağırlıklı olarak, iş adamları, sanayiciler, bürokratlar, gazeteciler, eski milletvekilleri, sanatçılar, orta üst düzey yöneticiler, hukukçular ve emeklilerden oluşmaktadır. Yüzde 68'i ev sahibi, yüzde 32'si kiracı, yüzde 42'si tam zamanlı bir işte çalışıyor, işsizlik oranı yüzde 11 geçmiyor.

Figure 5.3. A newspaper ad about the prestigious *Bahçeşehir*.
(Source: KKG Group website, www.kkg.com.tr April 2008)

- *Uphill Court, Eston Şehir* are some of the latest residential developments in **Bahçeşehir**. Approximately 7,800 residential units are being constructed in the region. Unit sale prices offering a wide range of housing types and social facilities range between USD 1,375 – USD 1,760/sqm.
- *Uphill Towers* is developed in **Ataşehir**. Unit sale prices range between USD 1,666 – USD 2,067/sqm.

- **KKG Group** preferred the location of **Beylikdüzü-Büyükçekmece** for *Pelican Hill* that became a favourable residential area with the construction of the *Alkent 2000*, which started in 1993. In this area total housing units are roughly 11,000 with a range of USD 932 – USD 1,177/sqm.
- One of the most recent remarkable developments on the market *Sinpaş Bosphorus City*, was located on one of the high density housing development areas, **Halkalı- Esenyurt** in which 18,500 housing units are currently under construction. Current unit sale prices range between USD 1,007 – USD 1,213/sqm.
- *Sinpaş Marengro*, *Sinpaş Sealbyria* are two prestigious developments located on **Kilyos-Zekeriyaköy** and **Silivri** regions. Unit sale prices of the current developments are USD 1,291 – USD 1,717/sqm and USD 961 – USD 1,358/sqm.
- *Sinpaş Avangarden* is located on **Ümraniye-Çekmeköy** region, one of the fastest developing areas in the Asian side. Unit sale prices range between USD 1,246 – USD 1,446/sqm.
- *Dumankaya Trend* is one of the current developments in **Kurtköy-Tepeören** region which has become more attractive with the construction of the Formula 1 Circuit. The unit sale price differs between USD 1,200 – USD 1,450/sqm in Tepeören for villa settlements and USD 730 – USD 850/sqm in Kurtköy for apartment settlements.
- *Selenium Residence*, *Selenium Panorama*, *Selenium Twins*, *Mashattan*, *Trump Towers* are examples of the major full-service metropolitan residence developments located on the European side, **Şişli-Fulya**, **Maslak and Mecidiyeköy-Etiler**.

As mentioned above, gated communities selected in the thesis as case studies are all located in the prestigious locations of İstanbul's lately fastest developing areas. Their unit sale prices have been organised by property firms' campaigns. From Zero interest rates to zero cash payments, long term payment to aggregated rebate, payment delays to fixed rates, firms have offered many different campaigns. During the preparation of this dissertation the worldwide global financial crisis left real estate agencies and construction firms with a housing stock of hundred thousand units. New financial marketing strategies applied to overcome the crisis by property owners have caused a revival in the sectoral market.

5.1. Methodology of the Case Research

The case study methodology employed in this dissertation combines an analysis of the discourse that prevails in marketing media and interviews with the developing firms' marketing branches. The interview consisted of both multiple choice and open-ended questions. A questionnaire was prepared in order to analyse the underlying motives/desires of the new urban way of life constructed by the marketing agencies that designed the media³¹⁵. The questionnaire was used in face-to-face interviews conducted with the eight construction firms marketing high-end community. The questionnaire addressed the type of marketing strategies, the types of media used in their marketing processes, the key issues that factor into the development of their advertising messages, the importance of marketing research, the cost of the marketing process, how they see the status of their company within the housing sector and the characteristics of the housing development. I also analysed printed media made available to me, such as publicity brochures, community bulletins, collections of advertisements published in various papers and magazines and, in some cases, various research reports prepared by the management.

After the data was collected a number of key themes emerged which determined the classification of the analytical study. These key themes which factor into the marketing of the ideal life style' are the 'Marketing of 'Fear', the 'Marketing of 'Nostalgia', the 'Marketing of 'Nature', the 'Marketing of 'Originality, Technology and Simplicity of Design', the 'Marketing of 'Belonging', and the 'Marketing of 'Gender'.

³¹⁵ See interview questionnaire in appendix page 271.

5.2. The Role of Advertisements in the Marketing of a New Life

OBAMA'NIN OTTOMANORS'LA NE İLGİSİ VAR?

İSTE YENİ BİR YAŞAMA İSTE 2. ETAP

BİR HATIRLAYIN; ÇOK DEĞİL, BUNDAN 5 YIL ÖNCE ABD'İN SİYAHİ BİR LİDERİ OLACAĞI SÖYLENSİYDİ. KİMSE İNANMAZDI. "GÖRMEYEN İNANMAM" DURUMU ANLAYSAYDINIZ...

BİZ DE, TÜPKÜ OBAMA GİBİ BÜYÜK BİR GELECEĞE İNANMAZDIYDUK VE ÇOK YAKIN BİR GELECEĞE, OTTOMANORS'U "YENİ BİR YAŞAMA" YAPACAĞIMIZI SÖYLÜYÜRDÜK. İSTER İNANIR, İSTER İNANMAYIZ...

BİZİZE İNANAN YÜZLERCE SEÇKİN BİR YAŞAMA İLE, "YENİ BİR YAŞAMA" DA YAŞAMAK İZİNİ SİZDEN İSTEDİK. HATTA 1. ETAPIMIZI GÖRDÜĞÜ BİR YERİN İSTEK ÜZERİNE 2. ETAPIMIZI DA SATIŞA SUNDUK.

SİZİ DE, GELECEĞİ GÖREN NİCE DOKTOR, İYİDOKTOR, YÖNETİCİ DOSTLARIMIZ GİBİ, "YENİ BİR YAŞAMA OTTOMANORS" A BEKLİYORUZ. "GÖRMEYEN İNANMAM" DİYERSENİZ; NE YAPALIM, SİZİNLE DE SENEME GÖRÜŞÜRÜZ.

Ottomanors'u özetleyen ayrıntılar:

- Çoklu yapılaşma alanı, modern, kaliteli yaşam alanı, maliyet avantajı
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite
- Yüksek kaliteli yapılar, kaliteli yaşam alanı, yüksek kalite

Ottomanors Devrimci Ödeme Planı

Ödeme Planı	Ödeme Tutarı	Ödeme Süresi	Ödeme Tutarı	Ödeme Süresi	Ödeme Tutarı
1. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
2. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
3. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
4. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
5. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
6. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
7. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
8. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
9. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000
10. Etap	1.000.000	12	1.000.000	12	1.000.000

SINPAŞ GYO Ottomanors

www.ottomanors.com • (0224) 257 13 63 • www.sinpasgyo.com.tr

Figure 5.4. 'What's Obama got to do with Ottomanors?': An ad that takes its provocative edge from the unprecedented election of a black American president from Sinpaş GYO, claiming that the housing development that they are providing is as unprecedented and hard to believe as this election.(Source:Sinpaş's website, www.sinpasgyo.com, May 2009)

According to Mark Gottdiener, while millions of people shifted to a high-consumption lifestyle, the advertising industry followed by shifting into high gear as the general purveyor of consumer fantasies and themes. The use of mass media by advertising, and the media's positioning as the principal means by which commodities such as cars and home furnishings were promoted, resulted in the growth of advertising into a major industry rather than a service sector.³¹⁶ Undoubtedly Turkey, on the way to becoming the world's 16th largest economy took its share from this development.

In order to cover some of the channels through which marketing concepts entered the profession of architecture in Turkey, we have to map out the role of advertisements in the post-1990 period. There is a visible increase in the marketing activity within development firms as architectural firms themselves look for more

³¹⁶ Gottdiener, Mark. The Theming of America, Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments, Westview Press, Colorado. 2001:62.

publicity via several channels such as the internet, as the number of printed media related to architecture increased in number in comparison to the pre-1990 period. We can also note that the growing use of consulting organizations for architects and development firms on marketing policy and public relations. It is not an aberration to say that the marketing of architecture has almost equalled the marketing of other consumer products. This strategy is used by Sinpaş and Ağaoğlu İnşaat.



Figure 5.5. Sinpaş Bosphorus City was launched by Julio Iglesias's concert, and the campaign was kept alive with the concerts of Ferhat Göçer & Michael Bolton, and Gloria Estefan that followed Iglesias. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş GYO, www.sinpasgyo.com, July 2009)



Figure 5.6. Above is the gala meeting of Aşçıoğlu İnşaat for the Project of Selenium Twins which the newspapers featured as 'The most colorful publicity campaign' from Aşçıoğlu'. Abba Gold Band took stage. (Source: Website of Ağaoğlu, www.agaoglu.com, September, 2009)

This strategy was repeated by Ağaoğlu İnşaat, in their launch of My Towerland in Ataşehir by Tarkan.

Marketing and advertising phenomena are at the very centre of discussions of postmodernity. The relationship between marketing and postmodernity is recently defined by conditions such as-hyper reality, fragmentation, the reversals of production and consumption, the decentring of the subject, paradoxical juxtapositions (of opposites), and a loss of commitment.³¹⁷

As production lost its privileged status in culture, and consumption became the means through which individuals define their self-images for; marketing, rose to become the primary institution that defined identity formation.

Figure 5.7. 'A new life by 750 million dollars' An ad about 'Marketing a New Life'. (Source: Website of Pelican Hill Manors, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, May 2008)

As Firat and Venkatesh have enunciated, the postmodern age is essentially a marketing age—as marketing has become an indispensable condition and the defining institution of postmodernity. They write:

Marketing is the conscious and planned practice of signification and representation, the paramount processes of life according to postmodern

³¹⁷ Firat, Ali Fuat & Shultz C.F. From Segmentation To Fragmentation Markets And Marketing Strategy In The Postmodern Era, European Journal Of Marketing, Cilt: 31, 1997: 3-4.

sensibility. With this consciousness, the production and reproduction of images, simulations, and meanings are no longer accidental or haphazard. They are deliberate and organized through the institutions of marketing. In order to participate in this process it is necessary to muster power to influence and control marketing institutions. Marketing and marketers will have, therefore, a heavy burden; one that is no less than determining the conditions and meanings of life for the future.³¹⁸

Firat and Venkatesh offer five conditions for postmodern culture: 1. hyperreality; 2. fragmentation; 3. reversal of consumption and production; 4. decentring of the subject; and 5. paradoxical juxtapositions (of opposites) and a general consequence of these conditions – loss of commitment.³¹⁹ Van Raaij adds to these conditions the consequence of openness, which he defines as pluralism, that is, pluralism as the dominant approach to all relationships, or as the acceptance of difference.³²⁰ Brown further expands the framework by articulating three tendencies of the postmodern consumer:

1. readiness for living a perpetual present,
2. emphasis on form/style³²¹,
3. and greater acceptance of or resignation to (a) state(s) of disorder and chaos³²².

Marketing today is thoroughly postmodern in practice. Marketing employs sophisticated psychological techniques aimed at promoting desire and at manipulating consumer needs; art and design aimed at the production of appealing environments and packaging; demographic analysis that identifies clusters of potential consumers; and advertising specialists, who have replaced door-to-door sales and catalog sales.³²³

³¹⁸ Firat, Ali Fuat & Shultz C.F. From Segmentation To Fragmentation Markets And Marketing Strategy In The Postmodern Era, *European Journal Of Marketing*, Cilt: 31, 1997: 3-4.

³¹⁹ Firat, Ali Fuat & Shultz C.F. *Ibid.* 1997: 4.

³²⁰ Van Raaij, W.F. Postmodern consumption, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, Vol. 14, 1993: 541-63.

³²¹ Brown, Stephen. Postmodern marketing?. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 27 No. 4, 1993: 19-34

³²² Brown, Stephen. *Ibid.* 1993: 91-100.

³²³ Gottdiener, Mark. *The Theming of America, Dreams, Media Fantasies and Themed Environments*, Westview Press, Colorado. 2001:69.

Zeytinsuyu'ndan ev alana 11 çeşit eşya hediye!

Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evleri'nde Saros İnşaat'ın Simtel ile yaptığı işbirliği sonucu, 5'inci etaptan ev alana traş makinesi'nden saç kurutma makinesine, şarjlı süpürgeден tost makinesine, doğrayıcıdan rende dilimleme makinesine kadar 11 parça küçük ev aleti hediye ediliyor. 5'inci etapdaki villaların fiyatları 360 bin YTL'ye indirildi.

2

Saros villayı yapacak Simtel eşyayı koyacak

Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evleri'nde yüzde 1.23 faiz ve 40 bin YTL'lik nakit indirim kampanyası 31 Temmuz 2008'e kadar uzatıldı. Saros İnşaat'ın Kumburgaz'daki projesinin 1. 2. 3 ve 4'üncü etaplarında yaşam başlarken, 5'inci etap ise 31 Temmuz 2008'de teslim edilecek. Hafif çelik yapı sistemi ile inşa edilen projede Simtel ile yapılan işbirliği sonucu traş makinesi'nden saç kurutma makinesine, şarjlı süpürgeден tost makinesine, doğrayıcıdan rende dilimleme makinesine kadar 11 parça küçük ev aleti hediye ediliyor. 5'inci etapdaki villaların fiyatları 360 bin YTL'ye indirildi. Tel: (0 212) 884 17 23

Figure 5.8. The campaign intrigued customers by 11 different household appliances. (Source: Website of Saros, www.saros.com, February 2008)



Figure 5.9. An interesting marketing campaign was introduced by Saros İnşaat. The campaign intrigued customers by offering a free jeep, and 11 different household appliances. The campaign made headlines on TV and newspapers bulletins achieving its publicity objectives. (Source: Website of Saros, February 2008, www.saros.com.tr)

According to Brown, postmodern marketing cleverly employs the mutual relationship between knowledge and power. The postmodern condition values image above the product. According to modernist meta-narratives value was a property of the product and that the image represented this value. Scholarship on the postmodern condition regarding the simulated and the symbolic claim that the relationship between the product and the image is reversed. Marketing practitioners have known for a long time that the product's image determines its rate of consumption. The consumers purchase a product to realize the value that they perceive in the image. Marketers need to think in terms of (re)producing images and of then designing the products that fit the images. That is, they must think of images before products, not products before images.³²⁴

Postmodern marketing practice will empower consumers for greater participation in such play and construction of experiences, images and meanings, in the postmodern conditions of Openness/tolerance (Acceptance of difference (different styles, ways of being and living) without prejudice or evaluations of superiority or inferiority), Hyperreality (Constitution of social reality through hype or simulation that is powerfully signified and represented) and Emphasis on form/style (Growing influence of form and style (as opposed to content) in determining meaning and life).³²⁵

Advertising is an important means of marketing communication in post-modernity. It facilitates the development of a new kind of marketing outlined by Cova which emphasises interactivity, connectivity and creativity.³²⁶ Advertising relies on the principle that people are more likely to desire what they see than what they do not see. In other words, if they are not informed about the existence of a new product they will not look for it. Thus, we can say that advertising creates artificial needs in consumers, and depending on their personality or on their environment people may be 'seduced' to satisfy this need by buying the advertised product. To achieve the 'seduction' of the consumer, advertisement uses a number of means to gain the attention of the targeted audience: images, signs and sound, and especially language play an important role. The image of a product necessary for its distinction can be created through words for

³²⁴ Brown, Stephen. Postmodern marketing: principles, practice and panaceas, *Irish Marketing Review*, No. 6, 1993: 91-100.

³²⁵ Firat, Ali Fuat & Shultz, C.F. From Segmentation To Fragmentation Markets And Marketing Strategy In The Postmodern Era, *European Journal Of Marketing*, Cilt: 31, 1997: 3-4.

³²⁶ Cova, Bernard. The postmodern explained to managers: implication for marketing, *Business Horizons*, November/December, 1996: 15-23.

instance, which are used to name the brand or in a short and meaningful publicity slogan.

In many advertisements, marketers appeal to the individuals' ego and self-actualization needs. According to Boeree, ego needs, which are also known as esteem needs can be divided into two levels. The lower level can be summed up as the need for the respect of others, including needs of status, recognition, attention or reputation. The higher level esteem needs involve needs for confidence, competence, achievement, independence and freedom, which can be summed up as giving a person self-respect. Self-actualization 'involve the continuous desire to fulfill potentials', like beauty, uniqueness, perfection, or self-sufficiency³²⁷. According to Maslow, only when individuals have satisfied the needs of a lower level they will try to satisfy those of the higher level. Marketers use their marketing activities to suggest to the consumers that they can satisfy these needs by purchasing their products ³²⁸.

The media in general, but TV and advertising in particular, also promote existing stereotypes through the portrayal of people and their relations with the others. This can cover for instance *group stereotypes* (e.g., the perfect family, the rebellious teenagers) or *gender stereotypes* (women raise children, are always concerned with their beauty; men are rational and strong). The characters shown on TV are part of already existing stereotypes in society, which are taken up by marketers when they decide on the targeted group and are turned into ideals in order to increase the probability of selling their products or of creating brand loyalty. This approach enables marketers to reach a wide consumer group. It may provoke two processes in the minds of the targeted audience. First, they can easily identify with the portrayed consumers, and second, since these consumers have been idealized, they want to follow their examples because it again appeals to their wish for emotional happiness.

5.3. The Home and Print Media

Print media still has a strong impact on consumerism in Turkey. Print media displays the normative notions of how homeowners should present their houses. Readers are shown images illustrating a vast array of designs and products that they are

³²⁷Boeree,G.C.AbrahamMaslow (On-line). Available: <http://www.ship.edu/~cgboeree/maslow.html>. 1998:4

³²⁸Assael, Henry, Consumer Behavior and Marketing Action,South-Western Publication,1992: 261.

encouraged to purchase, use and display in their homes which supposedly express good taste, appropriate style, high status and achievement of success. Homeowners comprise a fluid market and their desires to consume are aided by persuasive textual and illustrative print media directed at particular market segments. Some magazines, for example, are often associated with a particular aesthetic and are geared to the needs and desires of a specific market segment. Others are more eclectic in approach and may illustrate a variety of styles. For example several types of kitchen (high-tech minimalist, country cottage, French Provencal) might be displayed side by side, At any given time a range of publications will be available on the market displaying a great variety of products and designs, all of which will be represented as stylish, functional and tasteful. This process is underpinned by the existence in contemporary society of a set of conditions described by Baudrillard³²⁹ as ‘the need to need, the desire to desire’ which strongly defines the widespread culture of advertising. For Gottdiener ‘If anything advertising has heightened the extent to which commodities of all types are fetishised and made to symbolise attributes that are craved.’³³⁰ Products are fetishised because they are bought in the belief that they can enhance the purchasers’ abilities to desires for success, notoriety, uniqueness, identity or a sense of self, privileged social status, and personal power. In today’s society, people see themselves and others through the possession of commodities. Goods are the tools that signal to others who we want them to think we are and who we want to be.

³²⁹ Corrigan, Peter. *The Sociology of Consumption*, Sage, London.1997.

³³⁰ Gottdiener, Mark. *New forms of Consumption: Consumers, Culture, and Commodification*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000: 4.



Figure 5.10. Provocative examples of newspaper ads, two striking slogans from Sinpaş GYO that can be interpreted as 'Can you draw the picture of happiness, Abidin?' or "You do not need to go as far as Cannes to be happy, since those who did are now thoroughly unhappy" Newspaper ads took important place in Sinpaş marketing strategies. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş, www.sinpas.com.tr, March 2007)

Years of advertising have reinforced the fetishisation of commodities. The reach of material objects has been extended by commodification to encompass almost all aspects of human life in industrialised countries. 'There is no want or need that does not already have its correlate in some object manufactured for profit. Consumer society is fetishisation writ large'³³¹. Advertising is therefore closely related to conspicuous consumption in which commodities are sign values, convey social meaning and form the basis of status hierarchies based on social distinctions In these terms the home-related designs and products referred to in magazine articles and advertising are more than objects; they signify the means and enablers to a social end. Advertisers take a hegemonic role in the representational process of the home. Baudrillard suggests that we purchase objects because we are swayed by the sense that advertisers are taking an interest in us, that they exude some warmth and that this personalizes the objects for

³³¹ Gottdiener, Mark. *İbid.* 2000: 9.

us.³³² Readers of home-related lifestyle magazines are encouraged by advertisers, and the authors of articles, to see designs and products as essential to their lives and homes. Advertisers also encourage the sense of consumer choice and empowerment indicating that homeowners can develop their own ‘solutions’ to their decorative and housing needs. These solutions, based on particular designs and products, may involve using their own skills or those of professionals.

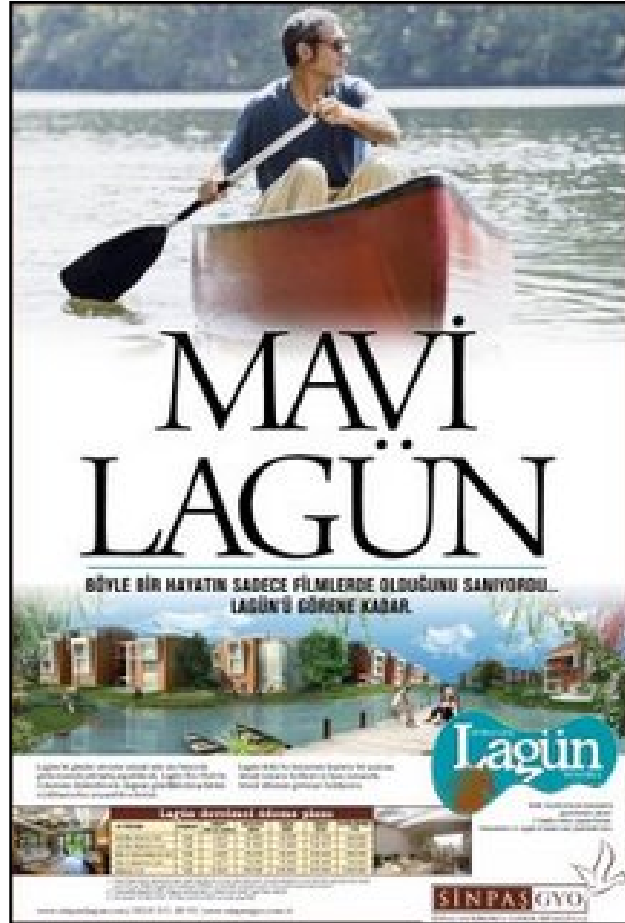


Figure 5.11.: “Blue Lagoon: He thought a life like this was only possible in the movies... Until he saw Lagoon” Marketing Via Hollywood ‘Blue Lagoon’ The print ads designed for Lagün, the prestigious manor project of Sinpaş GYO. It is featured as a film poster on daily newspapers’ cinema pages. Adverding by Can Yücel Metin. You get the feeling of a need of a life on Lagun by these advertisements. (Source: Website of Sinpaş GYO, www.sinpasgyo.com, June 2008)

Marketing firms keep on inventing new strategies in trying to create venues of spectacle in launching new developments. I want to give a brief overview of construction firms which have adapted strategies that I have outlined above before

³³² Baudrillard, Jean. The System of Objects, London: Verso. trans. 1996.1968: 170.

analysing these strategies in more detail. For instance Sinpaş, Ağaoğlu and Aşçıoğlu have adapted creating the sense of the spectacular in in launching their projects.



Figure 5.12.' The Fugitive' & 'Horse Whisperer' 'The print ads designed for Lagün, the prestigious manor project of Sinpaş GYO. By these advertisements, you get the feeling of a need of a life like this: Near the lake, horsing, and away from the city's noise and dirt! (Source: website of Sinpaş GYO, www.sinpasgyo.com, June 2008)

What dominates and unifies advertising on housing and its related campaigns however is the 'Marketing of an 'Ideal Life Style' under which a number of themes, as previously mentioned emerges. I will first discuss how marketing of housing revolves around this main theme.

5.4. Marketing Lifestyles

Lifestyle is probably the most dominant marketing theme. Symbols of lifestyles and a related variety of slogans are emphasized more than the built environment and its architectural quality in marketing campaigns. Therefore, the images that represent lifestyles are indispensable to the marketing of housing projects.



Figure 5.13. ‘The new field of attraction for elite lives’ Lifestyle images depicted in Selenium Twins marketing campaign.(Source:From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.selenium.com.tr,May 2008)

Everyday practices of the leisurely life of physically attractive people such as exercising on a treadmill, playing billiards, the comforting hands of a masseur pub conversations and family shopping is depicted in the Selenium Twins ad campaign. Representations of the life that is offered in the housing complex clearly invites the prospective owner to activities. in which daily entertainment never stops whereas the worries of business and the city’s social troubles are left behind. (Figure 5.13) A similar approach is observed in the ad of Sinpaş BursaModern. (Figure 5.14) What dominates the ad is again the depiction of happy families resting, exercising and enjoying their lives next to the rendered images of the housing complex.



Figure 5.14. Lifestyle images depicted in Sinpaş's BursaModern (Source: Website of Sinpaş, www.sinpasgyo.com, June 2008)

In the brochures and website of Aşçıoğlu Construction which addresses high-income groups, images stress the power and desire of owning diamonds and the

privileges of luxury and wealth while the space allocated to the houses themselves is limited to a few general perspectives of the settlement. (Figure 5.15)



Figure 5.15. Images from the depicted lifestyle in Selenium Twins by Aşçıoğlu. (Source: From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.selenium.com.tr, May 2008)

Fibagayrimenkul adopts the same strategy regarding privileged consumer by foregrounding the jewellery box or a luxury car's gearshift, in its ads. (Figure 5.16) The implied message under this imagery surely is that 'you deserve to live in a place with those who can afford and deserve the luxuries' that are portrayed in these pictures.



Figure 5.16. An ad from Fiba Gayrimenkul's postponed Project Fibaline, proposing a lifestyle through the images of a jewellery box or a luxury car's gearshift. (Source: www.fibaline.com, February, 2007)

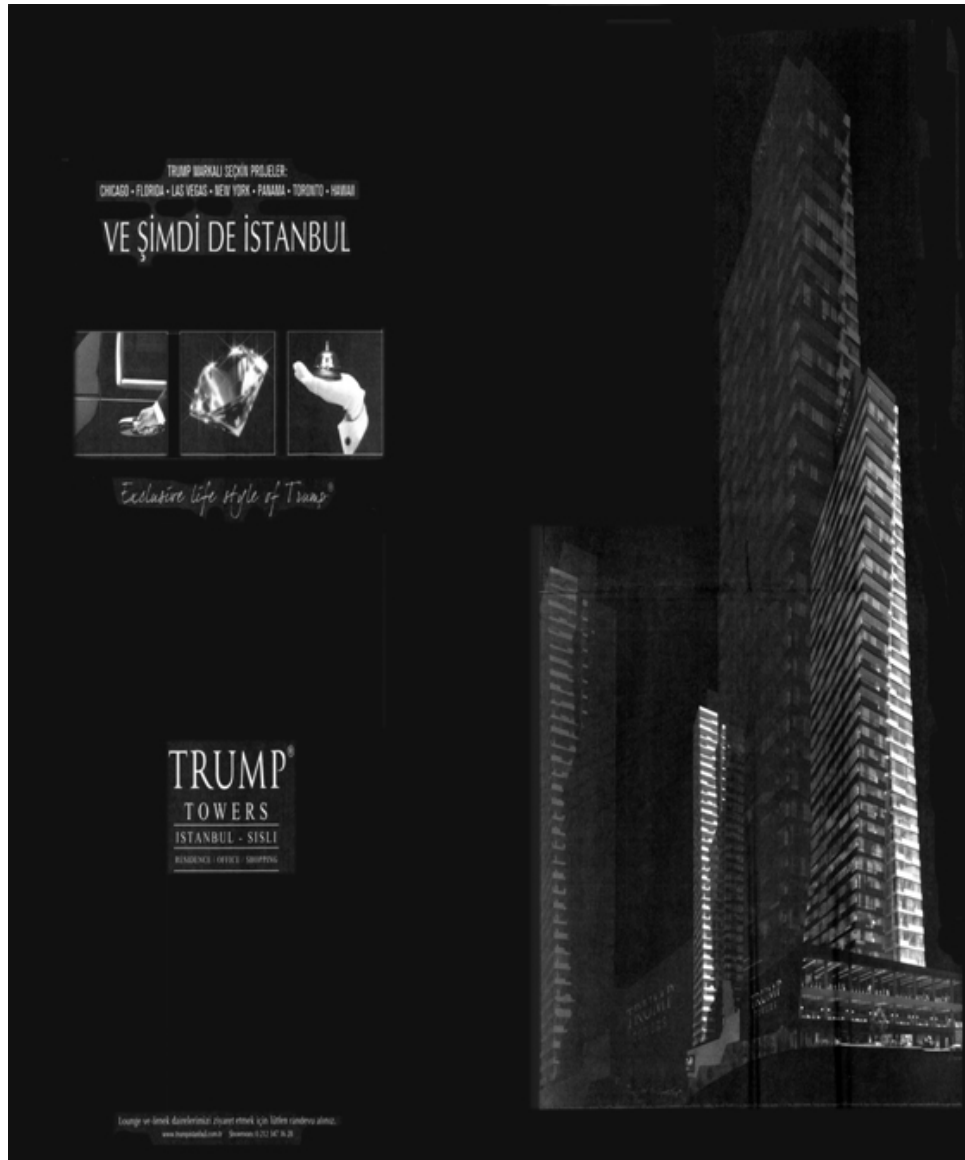


Figure 5.17: A newspaper ad from Trump Towers İstanbul indicating the ‘*Exclusive Lifetsyle of Trump*’. *Prestigious Projects branded by Trump; Chicago, Florida, Las Vegas, New York, Panama, Toronto, Hawaii, and now İstanbul*’. Trump Tower İstanbul connotes a globalized life in İstanbul’. (Source: Hurriyet Newspaper, 22. November 2009)

Ads of Trump Towers also supports the distinctness of the project by the slogan of ‘*Exclusive lifestyle of Trump*’ with the images of diamond, servant and drivers as the service offered in Trump Towers indicating how the privileged life is promoted to the prospective buyers. The slogan in the ad ‘And now, İstanbul’ reminds the prospective buyer that a distinct and hard to find commodity which was known, famous, but rare all around the world has now arrived in İstanbul.



Figure 5.18. Descriptive words of Trump Project ‘*Sophisticated, exclusive, stunning architecture, magnificent view , high-end technology, high standards of Office living, expect the unexpected, a unique shopping experience with glove concierge service, an authentic İstanbul experience.*’ (Source: From the website of Trump Towers İstanbul, www.trumpistanbul.com, October 2009)

Again the project’s website further emphasizes the uniqueness of the towers being the first European Trump towers adding ‘Sophisticated, exclusive, stunning architecture, magnificent view , high-end technology, high standards of Office living, expect the unexpected, a unique shopping experience with glove concierge service, an authentic İstanbul experience’ by adding Trump İstanbul an edge shrouded in the minimalism of black and white.

Herkes **en seçkinini** ister.



Bazıları sahip olur.

İnsanları seçkin kılan onların tercihleridir.
Seçkinlerin tercihi **Dragos Royal Towers**'ta yeni bir yaşam tarzı sizi bekliyor.



DAP
YAPI
İÇERİ ALANDA PROJELER

DRAGOS
ROYAL TOWERS

SATIŞ OFİSİ | 0 216
517 1 517
www.dragosroyaltowers.com
www.dapyapi.com.tr

Figure 5.19 'Everybody wants the most distinguished'. A few owns. 'What makes people elite is their own preferences. A **new lifestyle** is waiting for you at Dragos Royal Towers, the preference of elites. (Source: Hürriyet Newspaper, October , 2009)

The figure 5.19 is another example of 'Marketing a new lifestyle' by Dap Yapı for Dragos Royal Towers. Owning and preferring an elite lifestyle is strongly emphasized by an elderly well dressed and sophisticated looking woman- in a room decorated with antique furniture that connotes a certain richness and distinction. It is in

Dragos Royal Towers, pay attention to the name of the project, that the lifestyle of the aristocracy is promised.

Maybe the pleasures of the class that is promoted by Eston Yapı for Eston Şehir is not from such higher ranks of society but they are definitely those of the higher middle class. It is not the images of the architecture itself that brings the prospective buyer the associations of their new life but those of happy children watering flowers, or playing basketball under the slogan of ‘*Not only a new home, but a new life*’.



Figure 5.20. Lifestyle images from Eston. All of these images in the proposed environment of Eston Şehir; simulate the ideal – healthy and happy with nature-distinctive life in Eston Şehir. (Source: Author’s archive, June 2008)

In the computer animated videos of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, the image of a swimmer crossing all the way from one end of the Bosphorus to the other, asserts that the environment Sinpaş aims to create in Bosphorus city is a microcosm that replicates but at the same time rivals that of the Istanbul around Bosphorus. The swimmer gets out of the water on the coast of the simulated Bosphorus City arriving at the destination he longed for at the end of his exercise. The advertisement connotes this strong feeling as if you are in Bosphorus, swimming from Hisar to Kanlıca or Yeniköy to Paşabahçe with a jingle blending tunes of Turkish classical music with the nostalgia of an Ottoman Istanbul. (Figure 5.21)



Figure 5.21. TV Ads from Sinpaş Bosphorus City(Source:Advertorial film -from the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, May 2009)



Figure 5.22. Similar theme used in BursaModern as in Bosphorus City. 'Yalı Köşkleri', 'Asmalı Yalı', 'Park Konakları' are the *distinctive lifestyle preferences proposed* in BursaModern. The yalı and the konak are terminology that refer to the residences of the Ottoman elite. (Source:From the website of Sinpaş BursaModern Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, August, 2009)

The booklet of Sinpaş Bosphorus City opens with a striking slogan that reads ‘*The 2nd Bosphorus of Istanbul*’ with picturesque, high resolution computer renderings. The scene stresses a hygienic atmosphere, rendering a ‘new Bosphorus’ with its artificial canal, and its natural landscape dominated by hortensias in bloom. The housing units are also carefully mingled in this artificial environment in the background. The illustration strongly connotes a sense of community life as well as a sense of withdrawal from the cultural and as well as physical pollutants of the city. In the TV ads all of a sudden Bosphorus Bridge, and the Yalis disappear from their real locations only to appear as accessories of the replica in their new location, the 2nd Bosphorus in Halkalı, which used to be the waste accumulation center of Istanbul until recent times. As water drops from the swimsuit of Bosphorus city’s new resident, we notice the high-rise high density housing environment pushed back in perspective behind the new yalis recreated on the coast of the artificial channel.

In addition to the above mentioned marketing strategies one major weapon deployed in marketing warfare is **showroom design** is demonstrating and promoting the possibility of a ‘distinct lifestyle’. The showroom building of ‘Bosphorus City’ in Halkalı is designed like a ship and is surrounded by water. In reaching the entrance to the building, one passes through bridges of teak, a very expensive and imported material. The interior is decorated with pictures of the Bosphorus both from the Asian and the European banks reinforcing the feeling that you are indeed in the Bosphorus.



Figure 5.23. Showroom of Sinpaş Bosphorus City.
(Source: Author’s archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.24: Showroom of Dumankaya designed by Atilla Kuzu.
(Source: From the website of Dumankaya, www.dumankaya.com, September 2009)

Similar emphasis can be seen on the design of the showroom designed by Atilla Kuzu on the Showroom of Dumankaya, which connotes a much more futuristic, modern lifestyle. Showroom design of Dumankaya is promoting the possibility of a 'distinct lifestyle' with the special designed furnitures and lightning elements inside. The place connotes a newly, future reminding design attitude that goes parallel with the construction firm's way of understanding. The interior is lightened with blue-red led weared columns, hidden light sources and stick like lightning elements which you get the feeling of you are in a highly pure futuristic place.



Figure 5.25. Showroom of Trump Towers Istanbul of Taşyapı.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)

Showroom of Trump Towers Istanbul of Taşyapı, shows a similar design attitude, minimalist with black and white frame in their ads of print media which is part of Trump Towers global marketing strategy. The building facade is totally coated with the logo of Trump Towers indicating the project's distinctness with the worldwide known name, Trump. The interior is again designed under this distinct features of Trump, with white and black. Black strip- with the logo and the building- frames along the whole space, and focused on the white pavements, ceiling and walls.

Another example of showroom design is from Pelican Hill by the architect Eren Talu. The showroom building of 'Pelican Hill in Kemerburgaz is *Bonita* which is one of the 8 manors designed by different architects and interior designers in Pelican Hill. Stylish wallpapers seen almost everywhere lately, white minimalism, the red imitation flowers all point out the issue of 'marketing of gender'.



Figure 5.26: Pictures from the Showroom and Sales office of Pelican Hill. Interior designer of Bonita is Eren Talu.(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)

In addition to the above mentioned marketing strategies, one is **showroom design**, the other is **interior design of sample houses/flats** that are promoting the

possibility of a ‘distinct lifestyle’. The construction firms compete with their interior designs either in computer renderings or real surroundings. The prospective buyers want to see every detail, every special items of the house promotes. The realistic renderings are one way of marketing these high-end housing groups. Below is an example from Sinpaş, idealizing a wealthy lifestyle with the items; piano, huge chandeliers, bronze appliques, firestoves, ottoman ornaments, marble designs, orientalist sofas.(Figure 5.28)



Figure 5.27: Computer renderings of Sinpaş
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş GYO, December 2009)

Figure 5.28 is an example of interior design of sample flat; depicting an ‘ideal life’ for ‘ideal people’ in Taşyapı’s latest Project *Four Winds*. High and admirable standards of living promoted in these residences. The furnitures, lightnings, curtains, every detail connotes a modern, stylish life promoted by Taşyapı. The young woman, depicts an ideal, modern and wealthy people living here. In the second picture, *Fendi Cushions* indicate the quality and wealthiness.



Figure 5.28. The Young, Beautiful, and Wealthy.
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, September 2009)

The ‘distinct lifestyle’ is promoted at the interiors of Pelican Hill manors which is designed by 8 different architects & interior designers; ‘*Lucca*’ by Mahmut Anlar, ‘*Fontana*’ by Dara Kırmızıtoprak , ‘*Venezia*’ by Mustafa Toner, ‘*Bonita*’ by Eren Talu, ‘*Bologna*’ by Eren Yorulmazer, ‘*Vincenza*’ by Hülya Döşer, ‘*Fiora*’ by Hakan Helvacıoğlu, and ‘*Toscana*’ by Hasan Mingü.

Figure 5.29 are the interiors of *Lucca* by Mahmut Anlar in Pelican Hill Manors. Inoxed built-in kitchen equipments, Flos lightning elements, Breuer chair pointing out

the quality and modernity of the house. Gym room, Billard room and some details-Book of Luxury of Space on the table-from Lucca in Pelican Hill Manors points out that the design is about the distinct lifestyle. (Figure 5.30)

Figure 5.31 shows the interior designs from *Fontana* in Pelican Hill; addressing the marketing trends of a healthier lifestyles, technology as opportunity –home-entertainment technologies- and gender issues. Figure 5.32 shows some pictures from *Venezia* in Pelican Hill, designed by Mustafa Toner. The interior design of *Venezia* with its textures, special lightnings, functionality of the dressing rooms gives clues about the privileged life proposed here.



Figure 5.29. Interiors of *Lucca* by Mahmut Anlar in Pelican Hill Manors.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.30: *Lucca* in Pelican Hill
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.31: Interior pictures from *Fontana* by Dara Kırmızıtoprak in Pelican Hill.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.32: Pictures from *Venezia* in Pelican Hill, interior designed by Mustafa Toner.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)

After this introduction into the marketing of lifestyles I will discuss how different themes emerge under the basic theme of 'lifestyle', and factor into the power of marketing in the field of housing. Marketing of 'fear' is one of them.

5.4.1. 'Are You Safe?': The Marketing of 'Fear'

Fear is sine qua non to the marketing process. In overt textual references and pictures, advertisements employ specific subtexts that address fears, anxieties, concerns and demands specific to security and safety of living in Istanbul.

In Istanbul, newly constructed property responds not only to changing demand for increased square meterage and tastes in housing, but also, to the earthquake threat in the city's region. Due to the construction regulations that were legislated after the terrible earthquake that wrecked an important part of Istanbul new homes are considered to be safer. Some construction firms, however, seem to see the earthquake-proneness of the region as an opportunity to focus their marketing strategies on earthquake safety.

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Çelik çatı, depremde en güvenli çözümdür. Çelik çatılı binalar, depremde diğer yapılar gibi çöker. Çelik çatılı binalar, depremde diğer yapılar gibi çöker. Çelik çatılı binalar, depremde diğer yapılar gibi çöker.

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İster 1, ister 1000 konut... İster 1, ister 100 kat...

Biz güven inşa ediyoruz!

ArtCANADIAN çelik yapı markası; ITC Holding bünyesinde faaliyet gösteren AKS tarafından üretilen, uluslararası patente sahip bir yapı sistemidir. ArtCANADIAN Konut Sistemi ile, yapı kalite açısından yüksek olan betonarme yapıya oranla çok daha hızlı ve dayanımlıdır. 50 yıl garanti ile birlikte ArtCANADIAN Çelik Konut Sistemini ve ArtCANADIAN Panel Ürünlerini kullanarak, hızlı ve ekonomik sonuçları ile fark yaratan en güvenilir yapı sistemidir.

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betonarme maliyetine fabrikasyon çelik Türkiye'de bir ilke imza atan AKS, fabrikasında ürettiği Dünya markası ArtCANADIAN Çelik Konut Sistemini sayesinde, maliyetleri betonarme yapıya göre düşürüyor. özel ve ortak projeler

Anahtar teslimi konut kompleksinde deneyimli AKS, yapının her aşamasında yer alır:

- Betonarme binalar, yapı konut tasarımı ve yapımı
- Kooperatif ve yapımcılara birlik, ortak konut tasarımı ve yapımı
- İş maddelerini en uygun şekilde tasarımı ve yapımı
- Kışlama dışı, villa ve çelik çatılı evler için yapı tasarımı ve yapımı
- Çelik anadolulara, paylaşımlı evler için villa ve çelik çatılı evler için yapı tasarımı ve yapımı

AKS, "sizin içiniz içiniz veriyor, dediğiniz tarihte teslim!" ilkesiyle süratle hayata geçiriyor. 50 yıl garanti, anahtar teslimi yapılarıyla fark yaratıyor.

en hızlı anahtar teslimi

ArtCANADIAN Konut Sistemi ile, konutların çok kısa sürede yerleşime hazır hale gelmesi, konut kredisi alımını kolaylaştırarak ve içinde yaşadığınız "kira öder gibi ev sahibi olma" ayrıcalığını sunmaktadır.

konut kredisi kolaylığı

her adımda biz varız...

Bizi arayın, hayalini kurduğunuz konutlara birlikte hayat verelim!

in aks www.artcanadian.com.tr

Marka
Çelik Konut Sistemi No: 107 (Etiler) İstanbul TÜRKİYE
T: +90 212 243 91 60 pbx. F: +90 212 243 91 69 - 70
Fabrika
Beyoğlu Sanayi Sitesi, Devedağı Sokak No: 9 Anadolular İstanbul TÜRKİYE

SOYL
LACERT
BİT
ITC

Figure 5.33. 'Earthquake Fear ends!' An ad from steel construction firm. Art Canadian: We build safety! The iron will in buildings.(Source: Hürriyet Real Estate Newspaper, 2007 & From the website of ArtCanadian, www.artcanadian.com, 2007)



Figure 5.34. 'To Be Safe!' An ad from Uphill Court Project of Varyap Teknik Yapı, emphasizing the ground analysis of Universities of İTÜ and Bosphorus. (Source: From the website of Uphill Court, www.uphillcourt.com, 2007)

Located in Kumburgaz, Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Homes of Saros Construction, are built in highly earthquake resistant steel frames and has an interesting marketing story. 'End of the earthquake fear' and 'This house is % 100 secure against earthquake' are marketing slogans employed by the firm. In comparison to the big players in the housing market Saros Construction did not allocate much of its budget for the marketing of the project but in the advertisements of Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Homes security measures are the most dominant features. One of the partners of the firm explains this as: 'We planned the settlement regarding the earthquake. The reason of their attendance to housing sector is the earthquake of 1999. The marketing slogan was in parallel with this idea: 'Safe life!'.³³³ (Interview with Saros: 260) Another interesting feature of the campaign was that the firm offered a free jeep to every buyer, a 1-year free babysitter service and electricity bill payment. (Figure: 5.36 & 5.37)

³³³ See Appendix A, Interview with Saros Cons. 26.06.2008.

Zeytinsuyu'ndan yaşamınızı kolaylaştıracak bir kampanya daha!

Ev alan herkese 7 yıl boyunca çocuk bakıcısı veya hizmetli bizden..!

% 100 DEPREM GÜVENLİĞİ

Amerikan Çelik Evleri'ne çok ucuz JAPON KREDİSİ

Aylık taksitler artık her keseye uygun..!




Ayağınızı yerden kesecek kampanya..!

!!! KAMPANYA SONA ERMİŞTİR !!!

ZEYTİNSUYU'NDAN EV ALAN HERKESE SON MODEL SUZUKİ JİMNİ JEEP HEDİYE..!

31 Ekim 2007 tarihine kadar villa alan herkese çekilişsiz kurasız Bika Otomotiv işbirliği ile 4x4 Suzuki Jimny Jeep hediye ediyor.

Ev alana Jeep !

31 Ekim 2007 tarihine kadar ev alan herkese çekilişsiz kurasız Bika Otomotiv işbirliği ile Suzuki Jimny Jeep hediye..!



Figure 5.35. Ads by Saros Cons.
(Source: From the website of Saros, www.saros.com.tr, 2007)

Not only earthquake fear but also security is an important issue in marketing housing settlements. The growth of gated communities has largely been attributed to a growing search for security associated with increasing fear of urban crime and violence. Increasing possibilities of surveillance are added to the package of electronic systems such as remote lighting control, intelligent kitchens and AC systems, remote controlled doorlocks, that are offered to the prospective owner of homes as part of an environment that is supposedly under the owner's total command. (Figure 5.38) Whether the exacerbation of the feeling of safety actually leads to the exacerbation of paranoia and fear is another issue that needs to be discussed. If you are offered an environment where you will be living with people of your status and behind the safety of gates why would you need extra safety?



**Cocuğunuz Parkta mı? Teniste mi?
"Bir Tuşla Görebiliyorsunuz."**

Renkli ve yüksek kalitesiyle görüntülü diafon sistemimiz, sadece misafirlerinizi kontrollü kabul konforunu sunmakla kalmayacak;

- Komşularınızla dahili telefon görüşmesi yapabilecek,
- Site girişi, apartman girişi, çocuk parkı, tenis kortu ve gölet çevresini de izleyebileceksiniz.

**Romantik Mod mu? Misafir Modu mu?
"Bir Tuşla Evinizin Aydınlatmalarını Kumanda Edebilirsiniz"**

Evinizdeki akıllı aydınlatma panosu sayesinde, önceden belirlediğiniz senaryolara göre aydınlatmalarınızı tek bir tuşla kumanda edebileceksiniz. Diyetim ki, işten eve geldiniz; akşam modu! Ya da özel bir kutlamanız mı var; parti modu! Hızlı yaşam temponuza sınırsız senaryo sigdırabilirsiniz.

SİNPAŞ YAPILANDIRMA VE TİC. A.Ş.
Sınpaş Plaza, Meliha Arslan Sokak (Ortaklar) Cd. No: 40 34394 Mecidiyeköy -İstanbul -TÜRKİYE
Tel: (+90 212) 288 66 66 (Pbx) Faks: (+90 212) 273 04 69 E-Mail: info@sinpas.com.tr

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internet

Figure 5.36. 'Your child at the parc or tennis? You can see by one click!
(Source: From the website of Sınpaş Avangarden Project, 2007)



Figure 5.37. Steel Framed Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Houses
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.39. Gaggenau Fridges from the residences of Pelican Hill and Uphill Court.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)



Figure 5.40. Inox built-in oven, dish washer, microwave, fridge in Pelican Hill's kitchens.
(Source: Author's archive, June 2008)

Teknoloji ve estetik Novus Residence’ta buluşuyor.

Taşyapı'nın devam eden projeleri arasında yer alan Ataköy Novus Residence yeni bir residence anlayışını sakinleri ile tanıştırmak için tasarlanmıştır. Temizlik, yiyecek, içecek, eğlence, ulaşım... Akılınıza ne geliyorsa artık elinizin altında olacak. Hatta canınız sinemaya mı gitmek istiyorsa? Novus Residence sizin yerinizi ayırtacak ve biletinizi evinize kadar ulaştıracak.

Taşyapı İnşaat ve Emlak Kurumü GYO şirketlerinin ortak projesi olan Novus Residence Taşyapı, Mirayak, Telsipaz, Yarımcam ve Gülsün Altın) tarafından geliştirilerek, konut ve teknoloji konusunda en ilmi ayarınları olan bir konut olacaktır.

Yeni bir konut anlayışını temsil eden 4 katlı 16 katta yayılımı toplam 6 bakkat bahçe ve dışarı manzaralı, 1+1 den 5+1' e kadar farklı alternatifleri ile Novus Residence her türlü beklenti ve ihtiyaçlara cevap verecek rekabetsiz bir konut olacaktır. Proje estetik görünüşünün yanı sıra modern, sağlam ve akıllı bir mühendislik çözümlerini de içeren bir konut olacaktır.



Novus Residence sakinleri arası ve dışarı kullananlar, teknolojiyi, çevreciye, çocuk bakımı, evcil hayvan bakımı, catering, house-keeping gibi benzersiz hizmetlerden yararlanacak gerçek residence konforunu 24 saat boyunca yaşayabilmektedir. Bunun dışında mini market, güzellik ve spa merkezi, kasaör, kuru temizleme, döşeme, taze su, temizlik hizmetleri de Residence sakinlerinin günlük ihtiyaçlarına hizmet verecektir. Forma girmek, spor yapmak veya konforunu artırmak için en ilmi ayarınları için tasarlanan fitness center özel toplam 2 adet yüzme havuzunu, yazın açılabilir cam duvarları ve kışın özel zeminleri ile birleştirilmiş bir konut olacaktır. Ayrıca sosyal tesislerde bulunan sauna, banyo banyosu ve cifta günün her saati ziyaretçilerine ayrıcalıklı bir hizmet sunacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra teknolojiyi yaşamı kolaylaştırmak için günlük hayata taşıyan Novus Residence'ta, eş zamanında istinah ve soğutma

alanında her daireye 1' den 3' e varan sayıda park alanı tahsis edilmiştir ve ayrıca dışarıya özel depo alanları sunulmaktadır.

Residence sakinlerinin her türlü güvenlik ve konforunu düşündüğü projede en son teknolojiyi yansıtmış uygun gerçekleştirilen 3.600 m² bina alanında 17 m. boyunda 70 cm. çapında 1.113 forasız kasaöz zemin güdümlenmiş ayrıca depolama alanına ve otomasyon sistemi kullanılmıştır.

Novus Residence, Atatürk Havalimanı, Akademya Marina ve büyük alışveriş merkezlerine yakınlığı, benzersiz konumu ile sizi hayata geçirecek! Ağustos 2008 tarihinden itibaren yeni ve lüks bir yaşama davet almaktadır.

Yapılan 4 burun forasız sistemleri, dışarıdan arası görünümü içi hat görünümü ve dışı telefon hatları, kasaöz forasız anahtar mekanizması (jeleli, aydın ve kapalı) yapıyı tamamlayıcı olarak, su basını dedektörü, 24 saat kapalı devre kamera istinah sistemleri ile konfor ve güven için en ayarınları kadar düşünülmüştür.

Tüm konutun altında bulunan 24 saat kapalı devre kamera istinah ile idare edilen 2 katlı kapalı otopark

Novus Residence Showroom Tel: (0212) 661 06 66 Plus www.tasyapi.com

Figure 5.41. A Magazine ad from Taşyapı.
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, March,2008)

The ad prepared by Taşyapı states that technology and aesthetics was brought together for the prospective owners of Novus Residence with white modernist highrise buildings and a happy resident with headphones.



**TRUMP
TOWERS**
İSTANBUL - SISLİ

RESIDENCE | OFFICE | SHOPPING

- CONCEPT
- RESIDENCE TOWER
- EXECUTIVE OFFICE TOWER
- SHOPPING CENTER
- WELL-BEING CENTER
- IMAGE GALLERY
- TRUMP
- CONTACT

TURKISH

SIGN UP FOR
AN APPOINTMENT





The Ultimate Luxury

With its magnificent history, Istanbul has always symbolized growth, energy and innovation. As a thriving center of culture and commerce, Istanbul inspires bold new standards of living. Trump Towers Istanbul complements the city's world renowned beauty, culture and sophistication, as it combines the highest levels of luxury with the most prestigious location, spectacular views, and stunning architecture. The property, the first to bear the Trump name in Europe, will be unlike anything built before it. I am very proud to present you with a new Istanbul landmark: Trump Towers Istanbul.

Donald J. Trump

TRUMP
TOWERS

Figure 5.42. 'Ultimate Luxury', Images from Taşyapı-Trump Towers
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, August,2009)

In the respectively minimalist ads of the Trump Towers Istanbul, both the images and the discursive descriptions promise and connote an *original, simple, modern lifestyle* with **black and white** which is part of Trump Towers global marketing strategy.

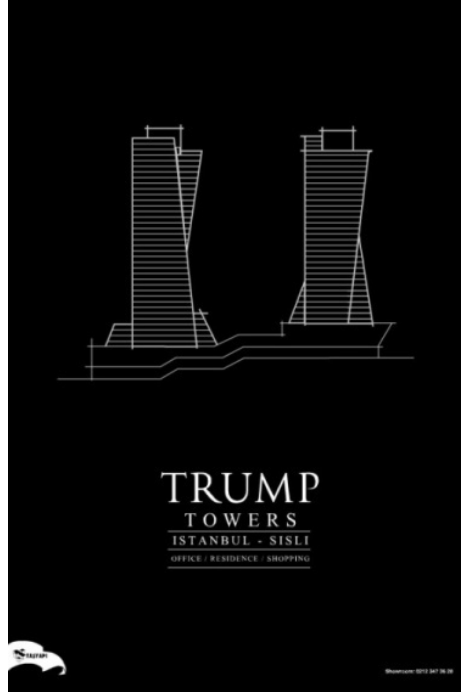


Figure 5.43. An ad from Taşyapı-Trump Towers
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, April,2008)



Figure 5.44. 'New homes are going to be built by 3G technology'. An ad about Dumankaya İnşaat's 3G technology applications indicating their marketing strategy of selling homes that are equipped with advanced technology. (Source: From the website of Dumankaya, www.dumankaya.com, September,2009)



Figure 5.45. **Maslak + Manhattan= Mashattan**
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, June,2007)

What is marketed via the claim for the possession of advanced technology is the feeling of distinction acquired via being one step ahead of the crowd. ‘Mashattan’ with its 33 storeyed 10 tower buildings, Mashattan-a housing development by Taşyapı located in Maslak business center- is one of the most remarkable projects spreading over 140000 squaremeters of land. The name itself creates an array of connotations which in turn reinforces the marketing campaign’s strength. Manhattan is the finance center of the world. The Manhattan-like image of the development to be constructed in Maslak creates the powerful illusion that in this newy center of finance workers, people living in Istanbul will breath the air of Manhattan. The clever marketing strategy calls customers to relocate at the heart of the global business world by having a piece of their own Manhattan in Maslak. The campaign is a perfect instance of Baudrillard’s *aesthetic hallucination of reality*; that is, reality that has already incorporated the hyperrealist dimension of simulation moves us into a world of dreams driven by the sensuality of representation. Furthermore, Taşyapı has chosen specifically English brandnames for each community in such as Novus Residence, Almondhill and

Mashattan suggesting its customers that they inhabit a world in which a truly global language is the medium of communication.



Figure 5.46. Mashattan of Istanbul
(Source: From the website of Taşyapı, www.tasyapi.com, June, 2007)



Figure 5.47. Manhattan of New York
(Source: From the Web, www.google.com, June, 2009)

Sinpaş Boğaz'ı klonlayacak...

Lüks konut projeleriyle adından söz ettiren Sinpaş, şimdi de İstanbul Boğazı'nın Ortaköy'den Anadoluhisarı'na kadar olan görünümünü 'klonlamaya' hazırlanıyor!

Sizin konutlarımız neden bu kadar ilgi görüyor?
Seba Gacemer: Biz projelerimizde bir yaşam tarzı üretiyoruz. Mesela Sealybria konutlarında suyun üzerinde yükselen evlerle farklı bir stil getirdik. Silivri'deki 222 villayı çok kısa sürede sattık. Yapsak bir o kadar daha satarız, ama istemedik, butik kalsın istedik. Biz ev işine moda gibi bakıyoruz.
Gucci'nin alıcısı giydiği gömleği 1000 kişinin üzerinde görmekten hoşlanmaz. Biz de her projede başka bir konsept, aidiyet deniyoruz. Yine mesela Kilyos bölgesinde yer alan Marengro da tamamladığında şehir efsanesi olarak konut sektöründeki yerini alacak.

30 yıldır konut inşaatları yapıyorsunuz, kamu yatırım ihalelerine neden girmiyorsunuz?
Avni Çelik: Konut yapıyoruz, sıradan inşaat yapıyoruz. Ali Müfit Gürtuna döneminde bize bir ISKI projesi verilmiş istendi, baktık, "Bizim uzmanlık alanımız değil" dedik.

Açubadem için alışveriş merkezi projesi ne aşamada?
Avni Çelik: Bu projede Ülker ve Akmerkez'in sahibi Akkök grubuyla ortakız. Arazi çok değerli bir bölgede ve 182 dönüm. Alışveriş merkezi, konut, birçok şey aynı anda yapılabilir. Nihai kararı vermedik. Dünyanın önde gelen mimarlarıyla görüşüyoruz. Bu proje hayalleri zorlayacak açığı.

Neden bir gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı kurup yatırımlarınızı halkla paylaşmıyorsunuz?
Avni Çelik: İstanbul'un çok kıymetli arazilerinde içerisinde çok büyük gayrimenkul komplekslerinin, alışveriş merkezlerinden rezidanslara varan çeşitlilikte gayrimenkullerin yer alacağı bir gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı kurmak üzereyiz. Grubumuzun hemen gerçekleştireceği projeleri arasında büyük portföylü bu projeleri gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı çatısı altında halka açarak borsa yatırımcılarının projelerimize ortak etmek de var.

'Yatırımcıyı da ortak edeceğiz'
Avni Çelik: İstanbul'un çok kıymetli arazilerinde içerisinde çok büyük gayrimenkul komplekslerinin, alışveriş merkezlerinden rezidanslara varan çeşitlilikte gayrimenkullerin yer alacağı bir gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı kurmak üzereyiz. Grubumuzun hemen gerçekleştireceği projeleri arasında büyük portföylü bu projeleri gayrimenkul yatırım ortaklığı çatısı altında halka açarak borsa yatırımcılarının projelerimize ortak etmek de var.

'Sektör emektarlarına kalacak'
Türkiye'nin büyükleri artık gayrimenkulle ilgili. Bu sizin işlerinizi zorlaştırıyor mu?
Avni Çelik: Gayrimenkulün çok karlı bir sektör olduğu inancında değilim. Şimdi dört büyükler giriyor ama bunun geçici olacağını düşünüyorum. Bu yazın kışı da olacaktır. Sonra sektör yine sektöre emek verenlere kalacak. Onlar yine aslı işlerine dönecek diye bakıyorum. Bizim yalnız Çekmeköy tarafında 4 bin konutluk işimiz yürüyor. Bu dalgalı gelir geçer, biz yolumuza devam ederiz. Bir proje biterken diğeri için hazırlanıyoruz. Önümüzdeki 5 yıl için konut üretecek arsa stokumuz var.

Figure 5.48. A newspaper ad from Sinpaş Bosphorus City Project: 'Sinpaş will clone the Bosphorus...' CEO of Sinpaş, Avni Çelik depicted the featuring projects to Milliyet newspaper.(From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, July ,2009)

With the mediation of computer technology, simulations that establish the relation between the customer and an imaginary world of housing are delivered into the consumer market under the aegis of themed environments. So far, Sinpas GYO's 'Bosphorus City has become the most significant example for this situation. The Bosphorus recreated in Halkalı for TV commercials stress that in this project people will actually live in a theme park.



Bosphorus City Iglesias'la açıldı

SİNPAŞ GYO'nun 'Yaşayan Boğaziçi' konsepti esas alınarak Halkalı'da yaklaşık 446 bin metrekare alan üzerine inşa edilecek ve 2 bin 793 konuttan oluşacak projenin tanıtımı, İspanyol sanatçı Julio Iglesias'ın katıldığı toplantıyla yapıldı

Sinpaş Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı (GYO) tarafından "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konsepti esas alınarak Halkalı'da yapılacak bir bin metrekare alan üzerine inşa edilecek ve 2 bin 793 konuttan oluşacak "Bosphorus City" projesinin tanıtımı, dünya ünlü İspanyol sanatçısı Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla yapıldı. Sinpaş GYO'nun Kurulduğu Başkan Faruk Çelik, İspanyol sanatçısı Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla düzenlenen toplantıda, Sinpaş GYO'nun "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konseptiyle inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtımını yaptı. Çelik, her bir bin metrekare alanın üzerine yaklaşık 100 konut inşa edileceğini belirtti. "Her konutu, Çelik, kendi yaşadığı gibi yaşamak istediğini söyledi.

1 MİLYAR 250 MİLYON DOLAR CİRO
 Türkiye'nin en büyük inşaat şirketi Sinpaş GYO'nun Halkalı'da inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtım toplantısında, Sinpaş GYO'nun Kurulduğu Başkan Faruk Çelik, İspanyol sanatçısı Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla düzenlenen toplantıda, Sinpaş GYO'nun "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konseptiyle inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtımını yaptı. Çelik, her bir bin metrekare alanın üzerine yaklaşık 100 konut inşa edileceğini belirtti. "Her konutu, Çelik, kendi yaşadığı gibi yaşamak istediğini söyledi.

İGLESİAS PROJİYİ İNCELEDİ
 Toplantı sonrasında Julio Iglesias, proje hakkında Sinpaş GYO'nun Kurulduğu Başkan Faruk Çelik'ten bilgi aldı. Çelik, İstanbul'un en büyük inşaat şirketi Sinpaş GYO'nun "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konseptiyle inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtım toplantısında, Sinpaş GYO'nun Kurulduğu Başkan Faruk Çelik, İspanyol sanatçısı Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla düzenlenen toplantıda, Sinpaş GYO'nun "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konseptiyle inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtımını yaptı. Çelik, her bir bin metrekare alanın üzerine yaklaşık 100 konut inşa edileceğini belirtti. "Her konutu, Çelik, kendi yaşadığı gibi yaşamak istediğini söyledi.

Iglesias: Her sevgilime 'Boğaz'dan ev alacağım

Sinpaş GYO'nun Halkalı'da inşa edeceği Bosphorus City'nin tanıtım toplantısına katılan ünlü İspanyol müzisyen Iglesias, "Her sevgilime Bosphorus City'den ev alacağım" dedi

EKONOMİ SERVİSİ
 Sinpaş Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı'nın (GYO), Halkalı'da inşa edeceği Bosphorus City'nin tanıtım toplantısında düzenlenen basın toplantısında, Sinpaş GYO'nun Kurulduğu Başkan Faruk Çelik, İspanyol müzisyeni Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla düzenlenen toplantıda, Sinpaş GYO'nun "Yaşayan Boğaziçi" konseptiyle inşa edilecek olan Bosphorus City projesinin tanıtımını yaptı. Çelik, her bir bin metrekare alanın üzerine yaklaşık 100 konut inşa edileceğini belirtti. "Her konutu, Çelik, kendi yaşadığı gibi yaşamak istediğini söyledi.

2 milyon dolarlık yapılar 2 günde satıldı
 Sinpaş GYO'nun Sinpaş Yatırım Ortaklığı'nın Ortaklığı, Bosphorus City'nin ilk etapında yer alan 4 mışıklık evin tanıtımını ve 160 dairenin ilk satışında satışları açıkladı. Sitenin hiç peşinat ödemeden tahale ev alınabileceğini belirten Ortaklık yönetimi, "Her peşinatınız 60 ay vade yapıyoruz. Evler için 4 ay sonra yüzde 10'luk bir ara ödeme, 12 ay sonra yüzde 10'luk bir peşinat ödemeli, 25 ay sonra ev tesliminde ise yüzde 20'lik bir ara ödeme daha yapmak gerekiyor. İnceleyin ve evinizi 35'lik ara ödemeli kredilerle satın alın."

Boğaz'ı Halkalı'ya taşıyacak
 Sinpaş GYO, 26 bin metrekarelik bir arsa üzerine inşa edeceği olan Bosphorus City ile İstanbul Boğazı'nı Halkalı'ya taşımayı hedefliyor. Sitenin içinde 750 metrekare bir boğaz oluşturulacak. Çiğdem Köprüsü yapılacak olan sitede Ortaköy, Yeniköy, Emirgan, Bebek, Etiler, Kanlıca, Paşabağçe, Kandilli, Çengelköy ve Beşiktaş gibi semtler, yalıları, meydanları ve karakteristik özellikleriyle temsil edilecek. Sitede kafeler, restoranlar, alışveriş alanları, açık-kapalı yüzme havuzları, spor kompleksleri, masa oyunları, sağlık kulübü gibi birçok tesis yer alacak. Toplam 2 bin 793 konuttan yer aldığı sitede 160 farklı ev tipi bulunuyor. Ağustos ayında yapımına başlanacak olan yapıya taşınacak olan sitenin ilk etapında yer alan 670 konut 24 ayda teslim edilecek. 700 konutluk ikinci etap ise 6 ay sonra satışa sunulacak.

Fiyatlar 153 bin YTL'den başlıyor

Konutun adı	Tipi	Büyüklüğü (m ²)	Fiyat aralığı
Yeditepe Kulübü	1+1, 2+1 daire	68 - 108	151 bin - 462 bin YTL
Sarıbahçe Evi	3+1, 4+1, 5+1 daire	140 - 294	334 bin - 788 bin YTL
Vakıf Apartmanı	400 daire	371 - 289	368 bin - 710 bin YTL
Yeniköy Yalı ve Boğaziçi Vila	Müşahid ev	673 - 815	2 milyon dolar

Sinpaş'tan Iglesias'lı tanıtım

Sinpaş Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı'nın Bosphorus City projesinin lansmanı; dünyanın en popüler sanatçılarından biri olmanın yanı sıra 1.5 milyar doları aşan gayrimenkul yatırımları ile de dikkat çeken Julio Iglesias'ın katılımıyla yapılacak. İstanbul Küçükçekmece / Halkalı'da yapılacak olan projeyi inceleyecek ve lansmanına katılacak olan Iglesias, 2008 dünya turnesi sırasında sadece bu toplantıda basın karşısına çıkacak.

Figure 5.49. Julio Iglesias at the launch of Sinpaş Bosphorus City.

(From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, July ,2009)

The project was officially launched at a party in which Julio Iglesias was invited to sing. Having invited an international celebrity for publicizing the project Sinpaş GYO sold the first phase of the Project in a very short time despite the global economic crisis. Bosphorus City will supposedly incorporate the characteristic features of Bebek Parkı, İstinye Koyu, Yeniköy, Paşabağçe, Emirgan Çınaraltı, Kanlıca, Anadolu and Rumeli Hisarı, Kandilli and Çengelköy squares which are the favorite and historically significant spots of the Bosphorus. In addition to this simulacrum, prospective owners are invited with the slogan 'Do not be the guest, be the lord of Bosphorus...'. Those who have desired but not attained the lifestyles of Istanbul's elite that inhabit the precious banks of the Bosphorus in their select mansions, now have the virtual opportunity to have their piece of the Bosphorus. (Figures 5.501 & 5.51)



Figure 5.50. 'A Center that Foster Your Soul. Hisar is the place to meet, talk, and have a good time; a center fosters your soul with its miniature amphitheater, exhibition area, and corners surrounded with greenery for reading and resting.' Ad from Sinpaş Bosphorus City.(From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, January,2010)



Figure 5.51. An ad from Sinpaş's website. 'In the Shade of Almond Trees..On a Sunday, spending time with your kids in the park...Afterwards eating delicious ice cream...Top it off with a cup of Turkish coffee on your way back to your house from Bebek, where almond trees accompnay you...Life in Bebek is beter than you can imagine...'(From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, January,2010)

Olay New York'ta geçiyor.

Ünlü mimarlardan ödüllü bir mimari. Aşırı titiz bir inşaat kalitesi. Taşınmaya hazırlananlar iş hayatının yükselenleri. Ve tepedekileri. Yatırım diye alanlar bile hep ünlü birileri. Burası "New York'taki gibi çalışıyoruz, New York'taki yaşam kalitesini hak etmedik mi?" diyenlerin yeri. Şehirden kaçmak için daha çok genciz diyen özgür ruhların, çekirdek ailelerin, görkemli bohemlerin tercihi. Zaten alınacak çok loft da kalmadı gibi. Kalanların ise inşaatı bu yıl bitiyor. Binanın ünlü sahipleri fiyatları yükseltmeden almanın, Aralıkta yeni bir hayata başlamanın tam zamanı. Sanki.

www.leventloft.com 0212 270 81 18 Tam karşısında Yapı Kredi Plaza ve İş Kuleleri.

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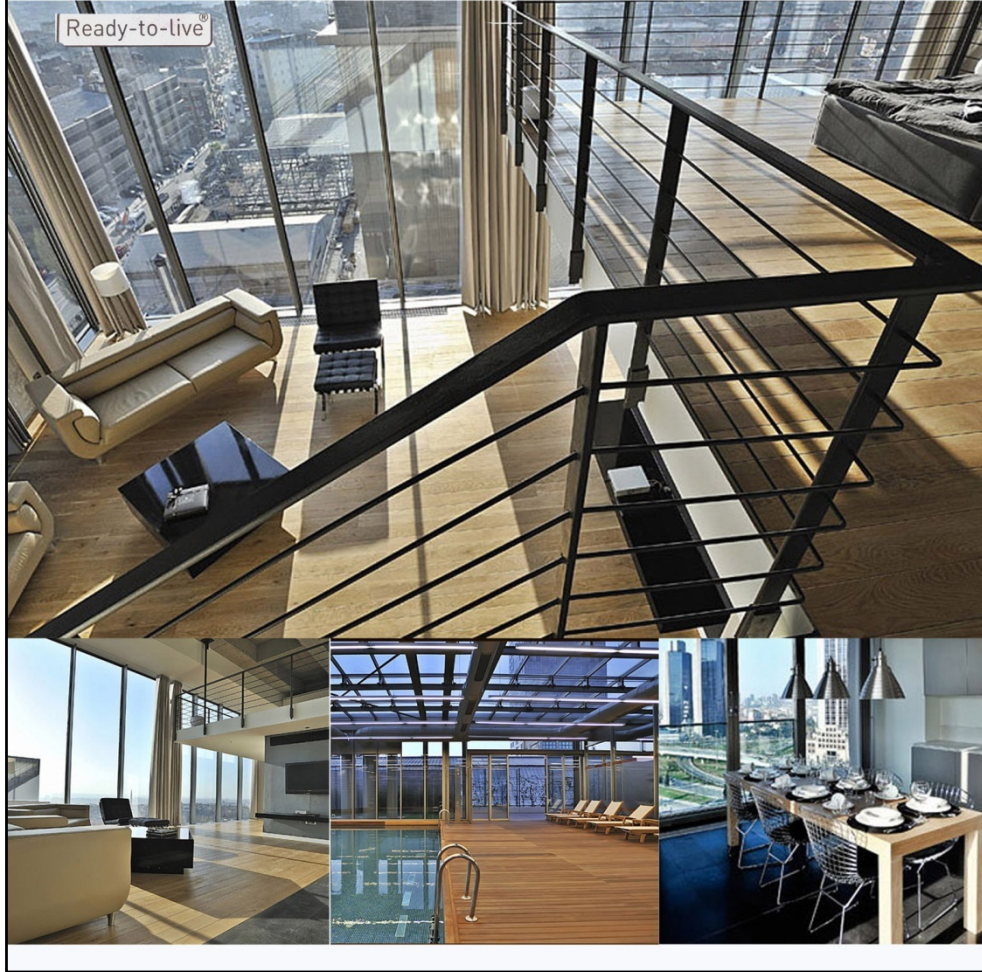


Figure 5.52. A newspaper ad from Levent Loft Project. The selected pictures are connoting an image of a lifestyle created in a world metropolis., *'The plot takes place in New York'*. Here, strategy in marketing this project basically lies in marketing of technology and originality in design. The Project also differs from other projects that architects of the project is mentioned in the ads. (Source: Hurriyet Newspaper, 22.November. 2009)

'Awarded architecture from famous architects. Enormous quality in construction. The dwellers ready to move are the top managers or high professionals. The buyers, only for investment, are also famous. This place is for the people saying 'we

work same in New York, didn't we deserve the quality of life same in New York?' The text in Levent Loft's ad, points out very well about what the distinctiveness means. Here not only the originality but the status is also marketed.

In light of the above, 'Originality, Technology and simplicity of design' is very common marketing strategy creating the desire in achieving the possibility of a better life based on the assumption that new technologies make life simpler.

5.4.3. 'So Close Yet So Far: The Marketing of 'The Alternative: Isolation from the City and Closer to Nature'

'Sealybria at İstanbul, nature is very close to you'(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Sealybria, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2007)

' Easy transport: TEM-1km., E5-5km 20 min. distance to Atatürk International Airport'

'Ardıçlı Lake Houses is the project that fits those who need to be free of the suffocating city ambience and to enjoy a daily life in peace with the joyful feeling of holiday by the side of the Lake Ardıçlı, which is close enough to everything and every place yet allows one to feel he/she is far. Ardıçlı Lake Houses offers a brand new living style with open swimming pools...basketball and mini soccer fields, tennis courts,....'(From the website of Eston Yapı,www.eston.com,April,2008)

A frequently reiterated issue that is expressed almost in an identical phrase is '**So close yet so far,**' meaning that these settlements can in fact provide all that a city can for comfort and yet they are also far away from its turmoil. This signifies an alternative city life which proposes an exclusive environment keeping the wicked conditions of the city center at bay/arm's length. Natural beauty and quality are always embedded into this narrative via the representation of the natural surroundings in which these settlements are placed. The housing units in their natural environments exude a quiet, sterile and airy atmosphere. The nature in question here is that of a thoroughly controlled and designed nature. The gardens, recreational areas are usually formed by artificial lakes, botanical gardens, tennis courts, sports areas, and running tracks. The idea of living in controlled nature is part of a yearning for the 'garden city' clearly illustrated in the marketing of these settlements.

As confirmed by Ayşe Öncü there emerges two common features about these settlements highlighted by the advertisements: 'They are all outside the city but very

close, and can be reached within minutes by car on the expressway’³³⁴. Sealybria, Avangarden, Dumankaya Trend have all been marketed via similar statements.

Dumankaya Trend claims to provide an ‘ideal home’ ‘in an ideal environment’ supported by the motives around the notion of isolation, life-style, comfort, safe environment in its ads:

‘Maximized green and blue spaces, pergolas scattered around ponds, colourful flower gardens and the whole beauty of the nature will be a part of your daily life. Its unique location will render you close to everywhere and you will get rid of the stress with recreational facilities. You will almost miss the stress.’ (Source: From the website of Dumankaya Trend , www.dumankaya.com, May 2007)

In creating the image of Dumankaya Trend the texts which accompany its ads apply to the metaphors of ‘nature’, a ‘new way of life’, and an ‘admirable ambiance.’



Figure 5.53. Images from Dumankaya Trend reflecting the idea of relation with nature in the form of greenery terraces or gardens.(Source: From the website of Dumankaya, www.dumankaya.com, May 2007)

³³⁴ Öncü, Ayşe (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in Istanbul. *Space, Power and Culture* Zed Books: London, 1997:62

The canopied greenery terraces equipped with teak outdoor garden furniture, big flower pots, patches of ivy on the walls, the grass decorated with artificial rocks create a; the landscape that is quite attractive for prospective buyers. The actual surroundings of the project is not available in any of the ads. People are young, dressed in modern outfits and healthy-looking. As a primary constituent of the settlement ‘panoramic views’ of the environment that displays fragments of the natural are strong strategic marketing tools in marketing “nature” to prospective buyers.



Figure 5.54. A computer rendering from the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

The above computer rendering from Sinpaş Bosphorus City depicts an admirable living environment for children and families in which the residential blocks are placed in park-like atmosphere.. In this proposed image however, the actual surroundings of the development in, Halkalı is deliberately erased since the area is a slum - neighbourhood that is under transformation by such initiatives. The clean blue water of the artificial lake and the flowers in bloom landscape supports this image of perfection while stray dogs are nowhere to be found.

In almost all cases, the relation with nature are externalized with two choices in terms of forming the natural context: The settlements are either located right next to a particular natural context, like in Beykoz Konakları and Acarkent, which are built nearby

forests, or the settlements create their own “nature” presenting heavily landscaped environment as if they were original like in Bosphorus City, Sinpaş Lagün and Marenegro.(Figure 5.55,5.56)

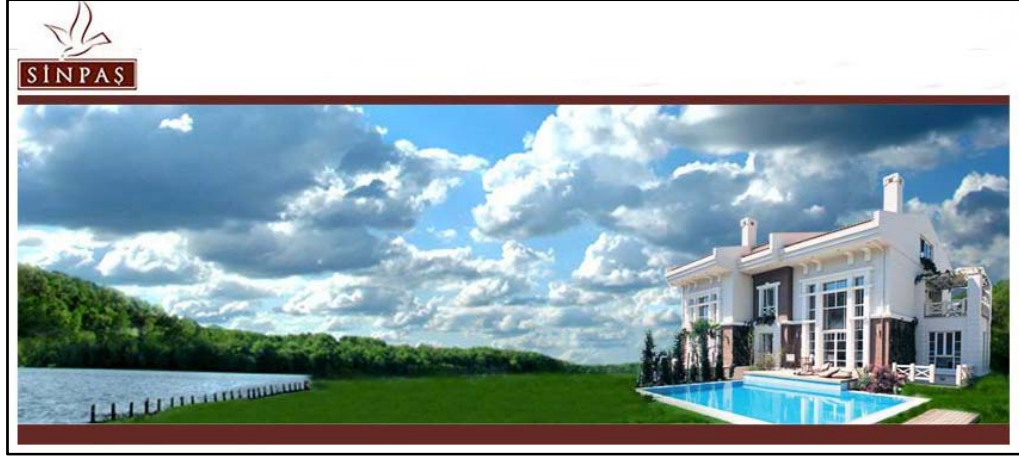


Figure 5.55. The picturesque surroundings of Sinpaş Marenegro Houses depicted in a photomontage that shows the houses with a commanding the view of the - forest and the lake (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Marenegro, www.sinpasgyo.com, April,2008)

In Sinpaş AquaCity 2010 the artificial lake, swimming pools, and tennis courts are the main features that the marketing focuses on. Especially the artificial lake and its surrounding landscape marketed in order to create a sense of admiration for prospective buyers. A father and a son boating in the lake, a mother and a daughter playing tennis, the perfect family- with two children - swimming in the blue water of the all connote the desire of a life without worries.



Figure 5.56. ‘Enjoy yourself and the lake with the boat’ Artificial environment created by Sinpaş in Aqua City. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş AquaCity 2010 , www.sinpasgyo.com, April, 2009)



Figure 5.57. Representations of the proposed settlement: the emulated life style images from website of Dumankaya’s Minimal. (Source: From the website of Dumankaya Minimal. www.dumankaya.com, 2008)

Dumankaya Construction’s website states that they do not sell a house, but a whole new life-style. The images in the website of Dumankaya Minimal, connotes images of a globalized way of life, in a sociable environment: children have the freedom of playing on the greens; people enjoy jogging as their neighbours enjoy the swimming pool ; houses with a minimalist architecture situated in a lush green landscape.



Figure 5.58. Images from Dumankaya Minimal
(Source: From the website of Dumankaya Minimal. www.dumankaya.com, 2008)



Figure 5.59. Images showing the settlement order of villa types throughout the site and their relation with their immediate surroundings from Sinpaş Lagün (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Lagun, www.sinpas.com.tr, 2008)

Another project that is based on creating a natural looking environment is Sinpaş, *Lagün* as the lagoons that the villas face are the most striking feature of the project that gives its name. The ads tell us that *‘The lagoon surrounding each house offers a scenery with a unique beauty and a total of 35 thousand square meters have been allocated for the lagoons’*. Interestingly the people that live in Lagün swim in their own pools instead of the lagoon itself.

Its advertisement adds, *‘Lagün, which is only 15 minutes from Bosphorus Bridge consists of free standing villas, twin villas, garden and terrace houses... and is available in 5 distinct architectures...Lagün also offers 24 hour security, closed circuit broadcast that enables residents to watch the lagoons on their sets, closed circuit phone lines that allows neighbours to communicate, and internet access throughout the complex. The 29 lakes designed with different concepts climax at the Zen Club. The residents can also enjoy horseback riding in open and indoor maneges under the supervision of special trainers. Lagün residents can also take advantage of baby sitting services, house keeping services and the Wellness & SPA center available at Lagün Club Hotel.’*



Figure 5.60. A Computer rendering describing the relation with nature in Sinpaş Lagün Project (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Lagün, www.sinpas.com.tr, 2008)

The primary item in forming this exclusive environment discursively verbalizes itself with an idea that gives priority to the importance of an alternative city life, featuring an environment that binds the very nature and urban civilization all together and that inevitably promotes some spatial features that are carefully and yet artificially fused into each other. The help of some supplementary amenities such as horseback riding, swimming pools, wellness & spa center, running and walking tracks, etc has also stressed ‘relation with nature’.

A similar discursive reiteration defines the ‘prestige villas’ of Sinpaş Avangarden. By the help of a computer image, an architectural collage depicts a general view framing the villa’s relation to the immediate environment from its terrace’. The collage carefully articulates the image of a happy family who enjoy their pool accessed from the villa’s terrace that opens to a spacious living room. The image does not give any hints as to the limits of the garden represented; it is depicted as if it is a huge lawn with generous planting.



Figure 5.61. From the website of Sinpaş Avangarden-**Paris Residences**, emphasizing comfort, modern and distinctive lifestyle with a galleried, firestoned space decorated with the modern paintings and sofas. People are young and modern. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Avangarden, www.sinpas.com.tr, 2007)

Sinpaş Avangarden; consists of 135 units of villas and tenements available in three distinct architectural styles: Amsterdam waterfront villas, Paris Residence and London Tower. The settlement facilities comprise sport centers and a recreational complex with indoor and outdoor swimming pools, an artificial lake, a tower restaurant, bars; playgrounds, sport fields with basketball and tennis courts. The ad says: *‘A new living concept was established in Avangarden, **the most Europeanized project in Istanbul.** The **landscaping and the artificial river** created befitting the natural contours of the valley presents a unique environment where the blue and the green embrace. On either side of the valley, the **Amsterdam villas** with their pools and gardens are located adjacent to the river. In addition to their gardens, the waterfront villas include extralarge roof terraces with private swimming pools, a separate staff quarters, and an unexpected basement floor, where a variety of functions such as a home theater, garage, storage room, and laundry are found.’* Paris Residence and the Londra Towers are designed in order to take advantage of all the comforts and privileges of living in a residence. What distinguishes the project and makes it unique however is the extraordinary valley view of the houses, that generates the architectural design concept. This is a garden far ahead of its peers, it is an avant-garde garden, an Avangarden. The

social life at Avangarden was also designed to satisfy the high level expectations of its modern and elite residents.



Figure 5.62. Picture of Almondhill Houses depicting the relation with nature by artificial pools. (Source: From the website of Taşyapı's Almondhill Project, www.tasyapi.com, 2007)

In the brochures of Almond Hill, the environment promises 'aesthetics', 'luxury', 'quality' and 'safety'. What is actually depicted is nothing but a duplication of -ordinary –apartment blocks. The plan, the programme, qualities of massing and and the settlement's relation to the immediate environment etc. are not any different from an ordinary but banal architecture that repeats itself in many Turkish cities. What differentiates Almond Hill is merely its landscape and the people that are supposed to buy its flats. (Figure 5.57 & 5.58)



Figure 5.63. The issue of nature is emphasized in the illustrations with artificial lakes and splendid landscape architecture which is sine qua non of the projects. (Source: From the website of Taşyapı's Almondhill Project, www.tasyapi.com, 2007)



Figure 5.64. The picture from Mashattan depicts a mother and a child sitting peacefully in a natural landscape as the settlements towers soar in the background. (Source: From the website of Taşyapı's Mashattan Project in Maslak, www.tasyapi.com, 2007)

The life in *Natural Life Park houses of Saros*, revolves healthy lives; in a natural and an polluted environment cleansed of urban clutter, where happiness is possible via security, isolation, homogeneity, sports facilities, and living with animals. In the advertisements, the image of Natural Life Park is promoted via the existence of a wooden windmill and animals like, ducks, geese, hunting dogs, horses, ponies, cows and pigeons. (Figure:5.65)

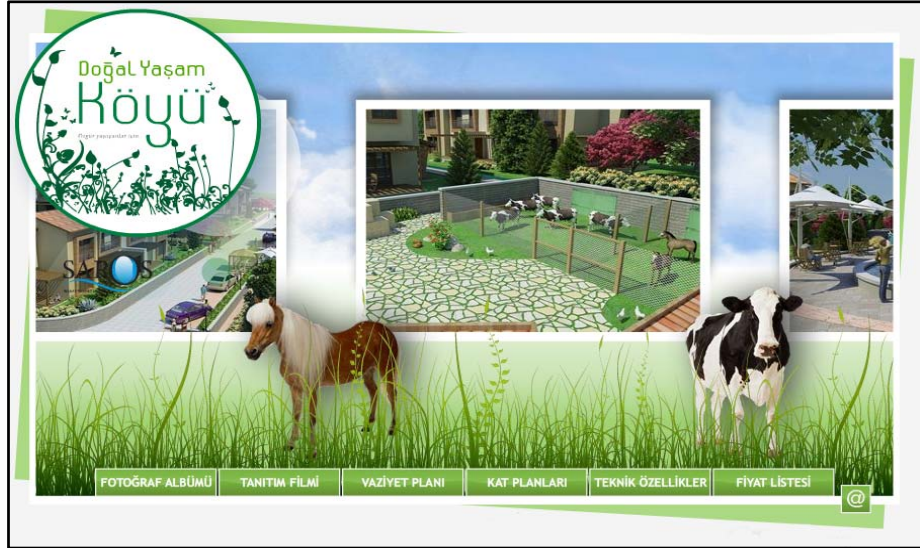


Figure 5.65. Natural Life Park depicted by Saros Cons.
 (Source: From the website of Saros's Natural Life Park Project , www.saros.com,2009)

Saros Natural Life Village is also advertised as a village that provides a recreational complex with artificial lakes, an animal farm, 2 markets, hobby gardens, cafes, playgrounds and sport fields.

In light of the above, what dominates the marketing of the aforementioned housing developments is creating the desire of establishing an access to nature or to the natural no matter the housing is developed in the form of villas, row houses or apartment blocks.



Figure 5.66. Natural Life Park depicted by Saros Cons.
 (Source: From the website of Saros's Natural Life Park Project , www.saros.com,2009)

5.4.4. 'The Good Old Days: Marketing of 'Nostalgia'



Figure 5.67. Yalis of Sinpaş BursaModern
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bursa Modern, www.sinpas.com.tr, 2009)

Another dominant marketing strategy or the means of constructing the myth of 'ideal home' as an ultimate and legitimate form of 'a distinct life style' is the use of so-called "traditiona"l or "authentic" elements of architectural culture. Marketing preys on the idea that nostalgia for a given period or periods is quite attractive for the new buyers. For instance the ad for Bosphorus City makes clever use of this nostalgia:

*'Bosphorus city has modern and classic architectural that Saraybahçe Houses, Yeditepe Towers ,Waterfront villa provide different life alternative up to 5+2 from 1+1 at between 68 m² - 615 m² on second bosphorus of istanbul city...' or 'Reflecting a European architecture, the complex consists of Park Mansions with lake and park views situated around the 26,000 m² Ottomanors Lake, Kemer Residences, and Gök Towers reaching to touch the sky with their 24 story height and circular designs, Asmalı Water Front Villas which are a **modern synthesis of the Turkish Home and the neo classic Ottoman Villas** built towards the end of the 19th century. A new era is beginning in your life.³³⁵ These settlements promoted an architecture, of 'pastiche'.*

³³⁵http://www.sinpasgyo.com/en-US/prj_bosphoruscity.html, 12.12.2009
http://www.sinpasgyo.com/en-US/prj_ottomanors.html, 12.12.2009



Figure 5.68. Pseudo Bosphorus of Istanbul from Sinpaş.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

The most prominent examples for the above argument are the ‘Yalı’s marketed by Sinpaş both in *Bosphorus City* and *Sinpaş BursaModern*. The project’s website describes , ‘*Sinpaş Bosphorus City* as ‘*On one side it is modern, on the other it is traditional! In Yalı apartments with west Anatolian Turkish home plan solutions and Istanbul’s architecture rhythms have been envisioned.....the hall of old Turkish homes..Traditional Ottoman arch.*³³⁶ The Yalıs combine characteristic features of Ottoman architecture such as wooden buttresses and traditional bay windows, *Yalı* claims its legitimacy by the help of an architectural language that is raised to the level of nostalgia via the discourse of marketing.

³³⁶ http://www.sinpasgyo.com/en-US/prj_bosphoruscity.html, 05.10.2009



Figure 5.69. Perspective from Sinpaş's Yalı's'.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

Sinpaş's 'Bosphorus City' serves as a perfect example for Baudrillard's hyper reality. Hyperreality relates in essence to the confusion of the boundaries between reality and simulation. Furthermore, it recognises the willingness of contemporary Western society 'to realise, construct, and live the simulation'³³⁷, to such an extent that the simulation becomes more real than reality itself.³³⁸ For Baudrillard this is largely due to the rising disillusionment with the modernist project that leads to the erosion the commitment to modernity seems to have eroded. One result of the erosion of commitment to modernity is an increasing tendency and willingness on the part of the members of society to seek the 'simulated reality' rather than an extant reality, imposing and immutable³³⁹. There are many indications of this tendency that have an impact on

³³⁷ Firat Ali Fuat and Venkatesh. "Liberatory postmodernism and the reenchantment of consumption", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, , 1995: 252.

³³⁸ Patterson, Maurice. Direct marketing in postmodernity: neo-tribes and direct communications, *Journal of Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, vol:16, Issue:1, 1998:68-74.

³³⁹ Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulations*. New York: Semiotext(e).1993.

Eco,Umberto. *Travels in hyperreality* (William Weaver, Trans.). New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.1986.

Postman,Neil. *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*. Penguin USA, 1985

marketing. One is the transformation of our urban centres into theme parks³⁴⁰. For Gottdiener the city, itself is a simulation completely constructed by the human imagination³⁴¹. Thematization is well integrated into work areas, park areas, wharf areas, etc. In this sense, markets are increasingly reconstructed by thematizing marketers in conjunction with the increasing existence of consumers who seek the simulated experiences that enhance and reenchant their present encounters within life.

‘Opposing and disconnected juxtapositions are found increasingly in contemporary culture’³⁴² This behaviour, which might once have been labelled schizophrenic, is now considered acceptable, as opposing ideas, styles and conditions are brought together and blended to create something new and fresh’.³⁴³ This creation is very well observed in the image below of Sinpaş Bosphorus City Project.



Figure 5.70. The computer rendering from Sinpaş Bosphorus City in Halkalı indicating opposing ideas, styles and conditions brought together.(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

³⁴⁰ Sorkin, Michael. *Variations on a Theme Park*, The Noonday Press, New York, NY.1993.

³⁴¹ Gottdiener, Mark and Lagopoulos, A. Ph.ed.s. *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY. 1986.

³⁴² Firat Ali Fuat and Venkatesh. “Liberatory postmodernism and the reenchantment of consumption”, *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, , 1995: 255.

³⁴³ Brown, Stephen. 1993a: 57



Figure 5.71. Sinpaş Bursa Ottomanors also represent a nostalgia.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bursa Modern, www.sinpas.com.tr, 2009)

According to Firat and Venkatesh; ‘For postmodernists, these environments represent nostalgia on the part of contemporary urban populations for experiencing in the imagination, what, once was or could have been. This is a partly disinterested nostalgia, however, not a wish to be indeed transported totally into such a time or existence, but only voyeuristically to experience it for the moment that it excites the senses. Furthermore, this interest is not solely for what could have been in the past but also in the future. It is the representation of an imagined past or future in the present, and the present is the period on to which postmodernism turns its gaze.’³⁴⁴

Below are the computer renderings from Sinpaş’s Bosphorus City.(Figure: 5.73) It indicates how postmodern society exhibits a distinct desire to experience the moment, to live life to the fullest in the present. According to Baudrillard³⁴⁵, ‘accompanying this desire is a kind of disconnected, voyeuristic nostalgia. This is made all the more possible by the existence of hyperreal simulations. The postmodern consumer wants to experience the diversity of many themes, past and future, not get fixed in any single

³⁴⁴ Firat Ali Fuat and Venkatesh. “Liberatory postmodernism and the reenchantment of consumption”, *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, 1995: 255.

³⁴⁵ Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulations*, Semiotext(e), New York, NY. 1993.

one. The focus in postmodernism is: right here, right now. But this immediacy does not have to stabilize’ As Gitlin³⁴⁶ points out; The touristic consumer samples the many sights, sounds, themes and tastes of yesterday and tomorrow – which are all now and here, in the present – immersing themselves into the experiences and moving among them to experience each for a moment, as long as it keeps its appeal.



Figure 5.72. Computer renderings from Sinpaş’s Bosphorus City.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Bosphorus City, www.sinpasgyo.com, May,2008)

Eston Ardıçlı Houses constitute another significant example through which the term ‘nostalgia’ comes to be exploited in the embodiment of an alternative way of life. It is designed as a synthesis of Ottoman and French architectural styles. Since Nostalgia is an idealized image of the past, references to the past as well as to the creation of new traditions are included in the ads of Eston Yapı. The ad says; *‘Eston .. just like the old times, all of them are built with a lovely garden and what’s more, ...’*



Figure 5.73. Plan Layout and Facade of Eston Ardıçlı Houses.
(Source: From the website of Eston , www.eston.com.tr, July,2007)

³⁴⁶ Gitlin, ‘Postmodernism: roots and politics’, in Angus, I. and Jhally, S. (Eds), *Cultural Politics in Contemporary America*, Routledge, New York, NY, 1989:347-60.



Figure 5.74. Plan Layout and Facade of Sinpaş Marengro.
 (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Marengro, www.sinpasgyo.com, February,2007)



Figure 5.75. Pelican Hill combines Mediterranean and Californian architectural vocabularies.
 (Source: Pelican Hill Manors, Author's archive, June 2008)

Perhaps the most important image created is the idealization of past, which is the case with almost all the gated communities. This idealization can be created in the names or in just exterior facades. Pelican Hill does not take its name from Anatolian ancient civilizations but only from America. Hence the name comes from a real

Californian Pelican Hills. Here as seen (figure 5.76), the images of the houses is created with reference to Californian Houses and they say, designed according to Turkish standards. To sum up, we can say, that they form an eclectic mixture of style arbitrary and borrow their references from outside of Turkey.

Pelican Hill combines Californian architecture with a Mediterranean texture. A life of prestige and comfort is waiting for you in Büyükçekmece, İstanbul; in an area of 500 acres where the sea meets the lake. This is a unique life in an area of magnificent houses, wide boulevards, parks decorated with trees and plants which are brought from different parts of the world...you will now have a house where the most beautiful sunrises and sunsets of İstanbul can be observed.³⁴⁷

Pelican Hill is advertised as possessing facilities comprised of shopping, living, and sports center with indoor and outdoor swimming pools, SPA center, squash, yoga studios, tennis courts, massage rooms, Turkish bath which are described in Ayşe Öncü's words, as 'the necessary accoutrements of modern way of life'³⁴⁸. The advertisements assert that this life-style with various physical facilities can only be lived in Pelican Hill and offers a living environment, which is described as 'a new way of living shared with your friends'. The ad says:

The heart of Pelican Hill will beat at Pelican Life. Here, new friendships will blossom and old ones will get even stronger. Pelican Life is full of different areas with different concepts for relaxation and entertainment for the unforgettable moments you will spend at Pelican Hill...Pelican Life will host you and your friends in a manner of perfect hospitality with its restaurants of with delicious tastes from the world cuisines and with its terrace overlooking the lake which will be a spot for colorful parties.³⁴⁹

In order to sell houses, the marketing and sales department of Pelican Hill Manors and Residences, prepared several catalogues- emphasizing the designs of 8 different interior designs in glossy brochures, advertisements both in Turkish and English, illustrating architectural plans of the housing types and information about facilities, together with pleasing visual sketches, photographs, usually accompanied by short texts, and always with houses set in greenery. The marketing and sales department of Pelican Hill, prefer media marketing styles like, TV series (Binbir Gece, Sila..),

³⁴⁷ From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, July 2009

³⁴⁸ Öncü, Ayşe (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in İstanbul. *Space, Power and Culture* Zed Books: London, 1997:62.

³⁴⁹ From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, July 2009

airport billboards and SkyLife magazine, and sponsorships or VIP parties in Cinemas, Night Clubs, well known shopping centers, Beaches in Bodrum. “ *Rather than architectural concepts with determined boundaries, 8 unique manors which are designed with very different perspectives for very different lifestyles where each individual who possesses great expectations from life can find oneself...*’

I analyzed the direct marketing media as well as indirect marketing media that promoted these high-end housing developments. Indirect marketing media does not prefer an overt marketing style, but rather sponsors TV series of very high ratings shown on national TV channels. Pelican Hill Manors were used in several TV projects, like; *Elif, Sıla, Selena, Binbir Gece, Sevgili Dünyüm, UFO Ads* while Beykoz Konakları was used in *Acemi Cadı. Sıla and Binbir Gece* were carefully selected since these series topped rating charts.



Figure 5.76. Lucca Pelican Hill in ‘Binbir Gece’ one of the popular TV series of the year 2008 and Lucca’ in Pelican Hill. (Source: Author’s archive, July 2008)



Figure 5.77. Sinpaş Lagün in ‘Aşk-ı Memnu’ one of the most popular TV series of Channel D at the time this dissertation in written. (Source: Right Picture is from the website of Sinpaş GYO, www.sinpasgyo.com, Left picture is author’s archive, December, 2009)



Figure 5.78. Sinpaş Lagün in 'Aşk-ı Memnu' one of the most popular TV series of Channel D at the time this dissertation in written. (Source: Hurriyet Emlak, 19 Kasım 2009)



Figure 5.79. Sinpaş Lagün in 'Aşk-ı Memnu'. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş GYO, www.sinpasgyo.com, December,2009)



Figure 5.80. Hasan Mingü decoration in Pelican Hill in 'Elif', TV series in ATV of summer 2008.(Source: From the website of ATV, www.atv.com.tr, 2008)



Figure 5.81. 'Toscana' in Pelican Hill and Pelican Hill in 'Elif'.(Source: From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com,2009 and below picture is from the website of ATV,/www.atv.com.tr,2008)

 A website page for Pelican Hill. On the left, there is a navigation menu with links: 'plan of site', 'eolagna movie', and 'photo gallery'. The main image shows a villa and pool. Below the image, there is a text block:

You will feel like a star in this house...

With its fascinating and splendid architecture Bologna possesses the themes of yesterday-today-tomorrow. There are references to the glittering life of the celebrities in the every detail in the manor. Colorful textures, woodwork, golden and silver mosaics, the dance of the colors of vanilla and powdery within the black...

Figure 5.82. 'You feel like a star in this house...'
(Source: From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, 2009)

*‘With its fascinating and splendid architecture Bologna possesses **the themes of yesterday-today-tomorrow**. There are references to the glittering life of the celebrities in the every detail in the manor. Colorful textures, woodwork, golden and silver mosaics, the dance of the colors of vanilla and powdery within the black...’ ‘The decoration belongs to architect Eren Yorulmazer with the main theme ‘Celebrity’ with the intention that the inhabitants of the house feel themselves like stars.*³⁵⁰

Eren Yorulmazer’s Bologna in Pelican Hill reminds us Baudrillard’s simulated hyperrealities³⁵¹, in which the postmodern consumer desire is bounded up with voyeuristic disconnected nostalgia that experiencing many themes, past and future, then and now; like all possessed in Bologna by the words **‘the themes of yesterday-today-tomorrow’**. Dining Room, Play of the marble and travertine textures, exaggerated bath tub in the middle, stylish lightning elements with neo-classic curtains (Figure: 5.84), classy gold leaf patterned wallpapers and same pattern in the curtains and upholstery fabric, gold leaf painting frames, again patterned parketts (Figure: 5.83), they all actually allude not simply the nostalgia but what as Gitlin³⁵² mentions; with the touristic consumer gaze with the themes and tastes of yesterday and tomorrow blending each other. This example also reminds Firat and Venkatesh’s postmodern marketing behaviours such as Opposing and disconnected juxtapositions which are found increasingly in contemporary culture to form opposing-maybe schizophrenic- ideas, styles and conditions are brought together and blended to create something new and fresh³⁵³



Figure 5.83. Blending style of Eren Yorulmazer in Bologna Pelican Hill.
(Source: From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhilllevleri.com, 2009)

³⁵⁰ Marketing text of Eren Yorulmazer’s Bologna in the website of Pelican Hill Manors. (<http://www.pelicanhilllevleri.com>)

³⁵¹ Baudrillard, Jean. Simulations, Semiotext(e), New York, NY. 1993.

³⁵² Gitlin, ‘Postmodernism: roots and politics’, in Angus, I. and Jhally, S. (Eds), Cultural Politics in Contemporary America, Routledge, New York, NY, 1989:347-60.

³⁵³ Firat Ali Fuat and Venkatesh. “Liberatory postmodernism and the reenchantment of consumption”, Journal of Consumer Research, Vol. 22, , 1995: 255.

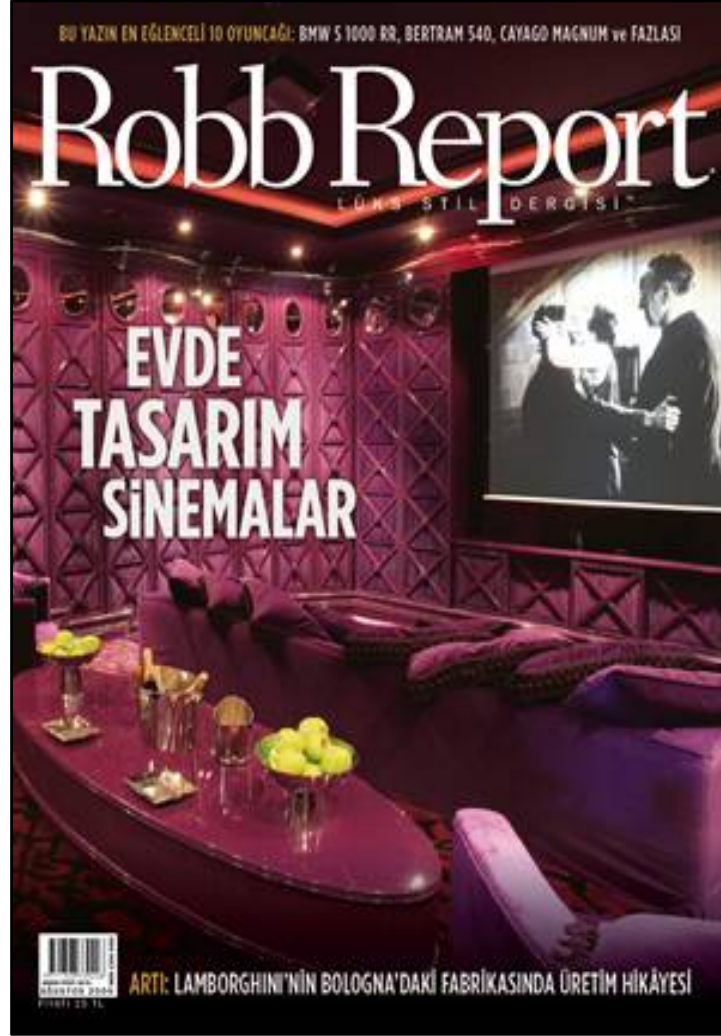


Figure 5.84. Above pictures are the Dining Room and Cleopatra (!) Bathroom in Pelican Hill's *Bologna* by Eren Yorulmazer. Below picture is from an elite magazine, Robb Report, cover of a Home-cinema room designed by Eren Yorulmazer in Pelican Hill. (Source: From the website of Pelican Hill, www.pelicanhillevleri.com, 2008 and www.robbreport.com.tr, 2009)

5.4.5. 'Where are you from? I'm from Kemer Country: The Marketing of 'Belonging'³⁵⁴



Figure 5.85. Neighbourhood Day from Dumankaya.
(Source: From the website of Dumankaya, www.dumankaya.com,2009)

One of the remarkable marketing strategies in housing targets the creation of a desire for or an illusion of belonging. One type of advertising, is the organization of special days of neighbourliness by the construction firm and their announcement within the project ads. Figure 5.85 features an example from Dumankaya. The organization of such activities, give people the opportunity to experience Dumankaya Minimal/Trend Ekstra or Konsept as places of recreation on weekends and consider their housing options. These programs have also been good instruments to achieve participation and neighbourliness among inhabitants.

³⁵⁴ This title come up from a humourous real story of 36 year old housewife based on the interviews featured on the research of Ayfer Bartu Candan and Biray Kolluoğlu- Department of Sociology, University of Bosphorus- under the title of "Güvenlikçiye Güvenmeyenler - Kapalı Siteler ve Sosyal Tabakalaşma" which was released on the 3rd of December 2008 in İstanbul. (<http://www.arkitera.com>, 4. Aralık.2008)

"(...) mesela çok komik, bir arkadaşımın kızı 5 yaşında (...yurtdışına) gidiyorlar, ondan sonra işte okula veriyorlar. Tabii hepsi İngiliz, işte soruyorlar tek tek çocuklara 'where are you from?' Sonra (arkadaşımın kızına) soruyorlar: 'I am from Kemer Country.'" (36 yaşında, kadın, ev kadını)

Selenium Twins'te komşu oldular

DYP'nin eski Genel Başkanı Tansu Çiller, siyaset yaptığı yıllarda çok sık polemik yaşadığı ANAP'ın eski Genel Başkanı Mesut Yılmaz'la Fulya'daki Selenium Twins'te komşu oluyor. Çiller dev tesisin içinde 4 daire bulunan 23'üncü katını, Mesut Yılmaz da 20'nci kattan 2 daire satın aldı. Global Menkul Değerler'in sahibi Mehmet Kutman, gökdelenin 28-29 ve 30'uncu katlarının sahibi oldu. Gökdelende Boyner Ailesi'nden anne Ayten Boyner, Muzaffer Göçek ve Bekir Okan 2'şer daire, eski Milli Takım Teknik Direktörü Şenol Güneş, Prof. Dr. Tansu Salman, Prof. Dr. Hilal Mocan ve Atilla Donat 1'er daire satın aldı. Sabancı Ailesi'nden de 1 kişinin daire almak için girişimde bulunduğu belirtildi.

Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü'nün Fulya'daki eski tesislerinin yerine yaptırıldığı Selenium Twins, 160 bin metrekare alan üzerine 13-15 katlı ve 2 adet 30 katlı 4 blokta oluşacak. 18 bin metrekare alanda, alışveriş merkezi ve sosyal tesisler yer alacak. 13 katlı blok, Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü tarafından Acıbadem Hastahanesi'ne kiralandı. Sosyal tesisler ise İzmir'deki alışveriş merkezi KIPA'yı alan TEZCO tarafından işletilecek.

Yasal süreleri 24 ay olmasına rağmen çalışmalarını 18 ay içinde bitirme sözü verdiklerini belirten projenin müteahhiti Aşçıoğlu İnşaat Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Yaşar Aşçıoğlu, "Aslında gizli hedefimiz bu tarihin de altına inebilmek. 24 saat 3 vardiya halinde çalışıyoruz. Şimdiden hafriyatın yüzde 70'ini bitirdik" dedi.

BELEDİYE ONAY VERDİ Fulya Projesi Beşiktaş Kulüp Başkanı Yıldırım Demirören ile Beşiktaş Belediye Başkanı İsmail Ünal'ı karşı karşıya getirmişti. Avam projesi önceki gün imzalayıp kulübe gönderen Ünal, imza için detaylı projeyi bekliyor. Siyah beyaz kulübünün yatırımlar sorumlusu İlhan Durusoy, belediyenin projeyi, bir takım değişiklikler sonrası onayladığını, ancak kulübün istediği şekilde olmadığını söyledi.

■ Süleyman ARAT / İSTANBUL



Ünlüler Beşiktaşlı oldu!

İstanbul Fulya'da Aşçıoğlu İnşaat'ın inşaatına başlatılan 224 dairelik Süleyman Sabancı Projesi, Tansu Çiller, Mesut Yılmaz, Mehmet Kutman gibi ünlü isimlerin komşu olacak.

HERKESE DAİRE YOK

BEŞİKTAŞ Spor Kulübü'nün Fulya'daki eski tesislerinin yerine yaptırıldığı Selenium Twins, 160 bin metrekare alan üzerine 13-15 katlı ve 2 adet 30 katlı 4 blokta oluşacak. 18 bin metrekare alanda, alışveriş merkezi ve sosyal tesisler yer alacak. 13 katlı blok, Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü tarafından Acıbadem Hastahanesi'ne kiralandı. Sosyal tesisler ise İzmir'deki alışveriş merkezi KIPA'yı alan TEZCO tarafından işletilecek.

Hissedeki artış satış fiyatını yarattı

Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü'nün Fulya'daki eski tesislerinin yerine yaptırıldığı Selenium Twins, 160 bin metrekare alan üzerine 13-15 katlı ve 2 adet 30 katlı 4 blokta oluşacak. 18 bin metrekare alanda, alışveriş merkezi ve sosyal tesisler yer alacak. 13 katlı blok, Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü tarafından Acıbadem Hastahanesi'ne kiralandı. Sosyal tesisler ise İzmir'deki alışveriş merkezi KIPA'yı alan TEZCO tarafından işletilecek.

NEWS

BEŞİKTAŞ Sport Club (BJK), Aşçıoğlu İnşaat awaits the response of Bill Clinton, ex-president of USA, to the offer for the free-of-charge apartment in Selenium Twins - the residence towers included in the project. Stating their intention to hold an assembly in commemoration of Turkish Kızılay, Yaşar Aşçıoğlu, and Chairman, Board of Directors of Aşçıoğlu İnşaat, said: "We have invited Bill Clinton to deliver a speech during the assembly. If he accepts, we will give him an apartment in Selenium Twins, instead of making him a payment thereof." If Bill Clinton accepts the offer, he will be the neighbor to distinctive profiles, including, ex-prime ministers of Turkey; Tansu Çiller and Mesut Yılmaz in this US\$90 000 000 project.

14.03.2007



EKONOMİ

Milyonlar

Fulya'ya Selenium Twins yaptı, en pahalı evi Rahmi Koç'a sattı

BEŞİKTAŞ Spor Kulübü'nün Fulya'daki eski tesislerinin yerine yaptırıldığı Selenium Twins, 160 bin metrekare alan üzerine 13-15 katlı ve 2 adet 30 katlı 4 blokta oluşacak. 18 bin metrekare alanda, alışveriş merkezi ve sosyal tesisler yer alacak. 13 katlı blok, Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü tarafından Acıbadem Hastahanesi'ne kiralandı. Sosyal tesisler ise İzmir'deki alışveriş merkezi KIPA'yı alan TEZCO tarafından işletilecek.

En pahalısını Rahmi Koç aldı

Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü'nün Fulya'daki eski tesislerinin yerine yaptırıldığı Selenium Twins, 160 bin metrekare alan üzerine 13-15 katlı ve 2 adet 30 katlı 4 blokta oluşacak. 18 bin metrekare alanda, alışveriş merkezi ve sosyal tesisler yer alacak. 13 katlı blok, Beşiktaş Spor Kulübü tarafından Acıbadem Hastahanesi'ne kiralandı. Sosyal tesisler ise İzmir'deki alışveriş merkezi KIPA'yı alan TEZCO tarafından işletilecek.

Figure 5.86. An ad emphasizing marketing theme of 'belonging to' indicating elite neighbours that live in Selenium Twins like ex-prime ministers of Tansu Çiller, Mesut Yılmaz, tycoon Rahmi Koç, and the presentation of ex-president Bill Clinton a flat free of charge as part of the firms' marketing strategy. (Source: From the website of Aşçıoğlu, www.ascioglu.com.tr, 2009)

Almost, in all these selected examples the housing units and their built environments are represented with a powerful statement that describes 'an alternative/distinct life style'. The theme that calls for 'a distinct life' is constructed or indicated with popular, and self-referential images, projections that are labeled as the most crucial elements of the advertised housing complex. In this way, the notion of 'ideal home' is possible to be inscribed into the cultural contours of an average, stylish life, instead of its architectural or spatial qualities. The marketing also delineates *an ideal community* and a kind of identity, both celebrated with the settlement itself. By doing so, it is believed that the consumer can now be easily convinced to receive a

privileged position and have a social status, as she or he becomes a part of this very special environment. Among many examples as listed above, the representations of Sinpaş Lagun, Sinpaş Bosphorus City, Sinpaş Sealybria, Uphill Court Bahçeşehir housing complexes and manors of Pelican Hill, Yalıs of Bosphorus City constitute significant illustrations through which the issues of *privileged individual, idealization of home*, etc. are represented.



Figure 5.87. Images of 'happy, ideal family with single child' from Eston.
(Source: From the website of Eston Deniz, www.eston.com.tr, 2007)



Figure 5.88. : Images of ' happy, ideal family' from Sinpaş.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Aquacity 2010 Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2009)

Ideal community is formed by happy, selective, young and beautiful families (Figure 5.88) from the ads of *Sinpaş Aqua City Project*, depicts an ideal family of a handsome husband with a beautiful wife playing with their cute child. By slogans like ‘*A very Special Location in a Modern Neighborhood*’, ‘Prestigious lifestyle experts Aşçıoğlu, Selenium Twins offer a very selective environment in the heart of Istanbul, Fulya’; define a community life of a *planned neighbourhood* with the antiseptic social and cultural space.



Figure 5.89. An Image of ‘Happy Nuclear Family’ is emphasized in the ad. (Source: From the website of Uphill Court Project, www.uphillcourt.com 2008)

The image used in the promotion brochures of UpHill Court Bahçeşehir, is that of the happy, young family: father, mother, and two children, (usually a boy and a girl), which has strong connotations with the modern way of life. In the picture, all the members of the family embrace each other and smile.

Ideal community life is also externalized via the aid of privatized public spaces, artificial lakes, botanical gardens, tennis courts, sports areas, and running tracks. The ideal community is idealized in the form of smiley, healthy families that take cares by doing sports such as playing tennis, swimming and jogging in their spare times.



Figure 5.90. Picture depicting Ideal Family. (Source: From the website of Sinpaş Aquacity 2010 Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2009)



Figure 5.91. Idealization of people- young, nice, healthy and smiley.
(Source: From the website of Aşçıoğlu's Selenium Project, www.selenium34.com, 2008)

The salient images used in the websites of Fibaline is that of the young nuclear family, father, mother, and two children, (a boy, and a girl), which has strong connotations with the modern way of life and westernization. In the picture, all the members of the family embrace each other and smile, and feature in the garden of Fibaline as a place of happiness, and this advertisement invites people to take part in this picture of happiness.



Figure 5.92. 'Sharing is in your style'... The first picture is an ad of the postponed Project- Fibaline- by Fiba Gayrimenkul, In the second picture, usage of a happy family can also be seen in Fibaline ads.(Source: From the website of FibaYapı, www.fibaline.com, 2007)

5.4.6. Marketing of ‘Gender’

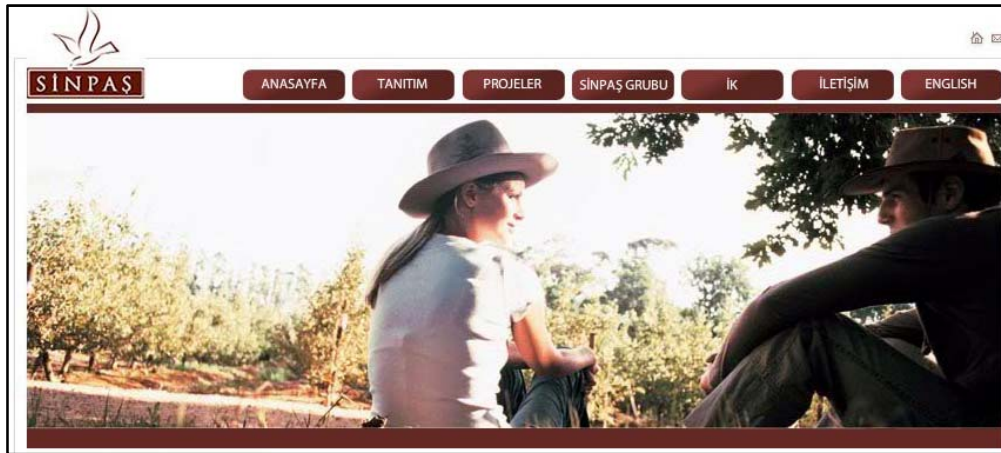


Figure 5.93. Picture depicts the natural life convenient for both genders.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Marenegro Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2007)

The meaning of home is generally perceived as gender specific and as such constructed differently for women and men, one very significant feature of much of the media reviews is the gendered nature of both the articles and images contained in them. Today men and women are pictured in the kitchen and other ‘domestic’ settings but there is still a strong tendency to characterize some parts of the homes as feminine and others as masculine.



Figure 5.94. Sinpaş Avangarden ads depict a feminine view of life to Avangarden Project.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Avangarden Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2007)

Due to the increasing complexity in gender roles in daily life and the loss of relevance attributed to male- female oppositions, the typical ideal house wife which represents the ideal consumer, has to be redefined both at the level of strategic thinking and the level of communication. Traditionally, modern culture defines woman as a good consumer and the house as the place of consumption. Below are the computer renderings from the Sinpaş Aquacity 2010. Lately, since our lives have been shaped around TV units, presentations of them got unique attention for both genders. Images show different designs of TV units dominating spaces.



Figure 5.95. Computer renderings from the Sinpaş Aquacity 2010.
(Source: From the website of Sinpaş Aquacity 2010 Project, www.sinpasgyo.com, 2009)

This chapter tried to provide an analysis on the marketing strategies and advertising rhetoric employed in the selling of gated communities in İstanbul. In the lights of above mentioned issues, we can talk about the changing of marketing trends. Changing demographic characteristics (increasing proportion of working woman, changing family composition, changing lifestyle trends, change in male-female roles, healthier lifestyles, conservative lifestyle, home entertainment technologies as Henry Assael mentions, these items are all used by marketers as the basis to promote a distinct way of life.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Siteni söyle, statünü söyleyeyim!'³⁵⁵



Figure 6.1. Picture showing a real-estate development boom, the TOKI tower blocks in Ataşehir are transforming the derelict lands near the endless traffic of the TEM Highway.(Source: Cemal Emden, www.arkitera.com, 2009)

The increasing concentration of gated communities inside or in the peripheries of urban centers is not a new phenomenon. Scholars in the fields of sociology, urban planning, and architecture as well as developers themselves have discussed the spatial characteristics, architectural similarities, sociological effects, and the social divisions - the list can be longer-they create in growing industrial cities. However, the relationship of marketing to these housing development have remained largely untouched.

Particularly aiming to fill this void, this study analyzed the relations between marketing media and housing production; especially focusing on how high-end housing has been marketed based on 8 case studies constructed or to be constructed after the year 2000 in Istanbul. Analyzing the case studies, the study showed that the marketing activities of construction firms have built-in social categorization which in turn might lead to significant effects on the formation of 'social, individual and cultural identity' that might reflect on individuals' consumption habits. In this regard, Bourdieu and

³⁵⁵ : 'Tell me the name of your "site", let me tell you your social status!

Baudrillard; remind us that even the ‘images and signs’ of the products may play a crucial role in the social judgement of individuals.³⁵⁶ In consumer society, individuals are led to believe that they may gain social prestige and status with respect to their consumption preferences and housing in this regard is an indispensable part of individuals’ daily lives.

Today the discussion of consumer society cannot be separated from the discussion of globalization. This perspective led me to begin my study with a theoretical analysis of the literature on globalization and consumer society from the Early Republic until Turkey’s integration to the process of globalization that includes Istanbul’s globalization. I continued with a brief recapitalization of how the ‘House’ was marketed in the Early Republic in order to illustrate how marketing today differs from its earlier history and a short introduction into consumption as a means of constructing social distinction in the first chapter of this dissertation.

We know that in Turkey, migration from rural to urban areas has been the main driving force behind the rapid urban population growth, in major metropolitan cities. One of the fundamental results of this transformation as it has taken place elsewhere, has been social segregation, which has become more and more complicated in the way it is reflected on the urban space. The 1980s is a crucial turning point in the urbanization practices and process of the country. Urbanization of the periods before and after the 1980s has been based on different priorities regarding investments and daily life. Most of the Turkish cities underwent an urban transformation from a relatively homogeneous structure to a relatively heterogeneous structure³⁵⁷. As a significant variable in this transformation land development processes have changed in correlation with new legal arrangements. Istanbul’s last 50 years has experienced a rapid urbanization especially on the east-west axis, that is between its natural borders of the northern forests and Marmara Sea. Industrialisation, immigration, and population growth, and the designation of new transportation routes parallel to this axis have created what we experience at present.

³⁵⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction- A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1984:114.

Baudrillard, Jean. *The ecstasy of communication*. In: C. Jencks (Ed.), *The post-modern reader*. Academy Editions: London. 1992: 152–154.

³⁵⁷ Bilgin, İhsan. ‘Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyeti’in imanı’ in Yıldız Sey (ed.) *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, İstanbul, 1998: 255-272.

These new policies not only changed Istanbul's economic and urban structure but also led to growing socioeconomic inequalities and concentration of wealth among high-income groups³⁵⁸. This new wealth and increasing socioeconomic polarisation are among the main reasons that account for the emergence of gated communities in Istanbul³⁵⁹. These sharp inequalities, however, do not automatically translate into a particular urban form or residential segregation. They have to be mediated through certain actors, institutions and processes, as well as discourses. Changes in the housing habits of social groups require not only a transformation in social status and cultural values, but state intervention and the presence of certain actors in the real estate sector as well³⁶⁰.

In a city where more than half the buildings are constructed illegally and where population growth is accommodated through informal production of housing, the commodification of land displays a complex phenomenon. As public sector infrastructure projects and motorway construction increased, the residential and business development around TEM has followed suit. The central government's Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) participated in this development by creating high-rise residential units for low-income groups in the peripheries of the city.

Urban residential communities have been affected by two ongoing and interwoven trends: first, a more self-conscious, clearly defined segmenting of spatial communities in the form of gentrified and gated communities; and second, a greater use of life-style and what might be called consumer identity as the basis for the formation of a community. In both cases, capital plays the major role. Households are defined by what they buy in order to create their lifestyles; specialized spaces have then been constructed to serve these new consumer groupings.

On one side, there is a remarkable increase in the development of gated communities in the form of villas in parks, marketed with the theme of 'safety, being in nature, far from city's crowds and noise in regions like Kemerburgaz, Bahçeşehir, Kilyos, Ümraniye, and on the other, –as I discussed via the Mashattan case—located

³⁵⁸ Aksoy, Asu. *Küreselleşme ve İstanbul'da İstihdam* Friedrich Ebert Foundation, İstanbul, 1996.

³⁵⁹ Aksoy, Asu and Robins, Kevin. Istanbul between civilization and discontent. *New Perspectives on Turkey* 10,1994: 57-74.

Öncü, Ayşe. (Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra eds.) The myth of 'ideal home' travels across cultural borders in Istanbul. *Space, Power and Culture* Zed Books: London, 1997.:56-72.

³⁶⁰ Harvey, David. *The Urbanization of Capital* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.1985.

Knox, P. L. (Knox, P. L. ed.) Capital, material culture and socio-spatial differentiation. *The Restless Urban Landscape*. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.1993:1-34.

Zukin, Sharon. *Landscapes of Power* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.1991.

highrise complexes in the city centre or very near, designed as multi- storeyed, that are marketed via the theme of ‘so close yet so far’, ease, comfort, unification with and detachment from the center in relation with nature at the same time.

Housing choices in Turkey today are deeply embedded in and related to a larger socio-cultural and spatial reconfiguration of Turkish society. The new urban middle class has developed specific ideas about their living environment and life-style. They aspire to have green space, better air quality, and spaciousness, among other physical characteristics, but also privacy and exclusivity in their new places of residence. Studies show that residential compounds have become the basis for identity and lifestyle formation, crucial in the process of social differentiation, which in turn underline and reinforce growing disparities in Turkish society. Over and above the outcome of economic restructuring and political decision making, residential differentiation in Turkey today is a social practice that marks urbanite social status and supports their new identities. Istanbul’s new gated communities and their marketing articulate global and local stimuli. First, the growing elite layer of society wants to spatially remove itself from an overwhelming metropolis, and simultaneously distinguish itself by means of material possessions. This replicates current global patterns. Beyond issues of luxurious lifestyles, old fears of the masses and the city streets factor into the design aspects of the new projects. Istanbul’s gated communities promise an escape from such frustrations, in addition to the pollution, density, political tension and noise of Istanbul. Privacy, security and exclusive life styles define these communities.

As a result, housing provision takes up a new scale and nature where the role of developers is not simply to build houses as empty shells to be filled, but spaces already filled with lifestyles equipped with privately provisioned services and governed communities. Aestheticisation accompanies this privatisation and provides the symbolic imagery that elaborates these places for upper-class consumption. Şerife Geniş argues that ‘developers, planners and architects codify built environments with local symbols, while marketers fashion a discourse that interprets these symbols as prerequisites of modern urban lifestyles, high culture, elite values and identities which are contrasted to the images of a culturally and physically decaying city’³⁶¹. Both in the construction and representation of these new gated communities, discourses of community, autonomy and livability are reorganized by market forces and packed as commodities for

³⁶¹ Geniş, Şerife. *Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul*, Urban Studies, Vol. 44, No. 4, Routledge, April 2007: 771–798. (<http://usj.sagepub.com>)

Istanbul's elite consumption. These strategies are essential in translating this global urban form into local tastes and the socio-cultural sensibilities of Istanbul's elites.

Marketing has become a major player in the construction of consumer society. The marketing activities of the construction firms to of these proposed environments mobilize a repertoire of symbols, values and rhetoric of the good life. Besides, marketing styles have forestalled both the 'house's architectural features and its position in the city. Most of the time, if not found valuable enough to be incorporated into the marketing process, architects of these housing projects are not even mentioned in this process. What is more emphasized is the building complex which supports the carefully chosen marketing slogan in addition to being socially homogenous and serving an elite reserve of customers that grants a certain social status consciously isolated from its surroundings. Hygiene, comfort and technology stand in the forefront with services that range from recreational areas to supermarket, fitness halls, swimming pools, coiffeur, dry cleaning, hi-speed, internet, café etc. Only when the developer thinks that mentioning the architects is of marketing value or whether the architect has attained celebrity status (and therefore is of marketing value), the architect becomes part of the marketing process.



Figure 6.2. : An ad from Dumankaya focusing the architects of the Project that 'The architects of Dumankaya Ikon tell about their Project!' (Source:From the website of Dumankaya, www.dumankaya.com, December,2009)

This dissertation also set out to critically examine the cultural politics of place-making by focusing on how the cultural reproduction of privileged landscapes manifested in Istanbul's gated communities is implicated in the territorial politics of exclusion and urban segregation. As the preceding chapters have argued, the territorial production and consumption of gated communities are often bound up in the politics of place-making; more specifically, the cultural reproduction of middle-class landscapes of privilege that are entrenched in politics of 'the distinctive life, ideal life'- defined in terms of a highly segregated landscape maintained through the territorial defense of privileged lifestyle, private property, privacy.

What this study has also contributed to the burgeoning literature on gated communities by examining the territorial effects and cultural politics of exclusion in contemporary Istanbul is the implicit role of marketing in this process. The study argued that the territoriality of gated communities is not only maintained through the construction of physical barriers and fortifications but also operates at a more subtle and ideological level through the mobilization of a repertoire of symbols, values and rhetoric of the good life. Social segregation and its territorial consequences is embedded into the marketing process from the very start of housing development. Under the nebulous category of prospective clientele marketing classifies and declassifies the consumer body strategically targeting certain social groups.

Central to the study are themes relating to the concepts of distinctiveness, identity, and status. In particular, the dissertation has demonstrated how privileged groups in the city draw upon a repertoire of cultural resources. As the study has demonstrated, the residential landscape, in this case Istanbul's gated communities, serves as an important repository of group symbols, social practices and the vehicle through which identity and cultural practices are performed.

Another significant issue highlighted in this study is, there are some actors shaping and strengthening the residential demand across the country; such as Turkey's recent economic growth and rising consumer affluence. Also increase in the population and rate of urbanization, high demand in the housing sector, development of the construction sector, Mass Housing Administration (MHA: TOKİ)'s announcements of the new real estate projects, mortgage system and Foreign Direct Investments directly affects the residential demand. The role of TOKİ in this process is quite controversial in this process. As a major player in the housing market in encouraging the development of high-end housing projects TOKİ, inadvertently or not, reinforces social barriers by

diverting surplus value created by high-end housing to low income housing disregarding mixed-income options altogether.

Major conclusions that I have made according to the interviews, some issues in the marketing process of the selected gated communities can be listed as;

- In the planning process of gated communities in Istanbul, generally samples of gated communities from the United States receive attention for both their architectural contents and administrative styles. These high-end housing settlements that we meet almost every day in the media, do not promise ‘a nook from heaven’ like in the past, instead promise ‘a nook from America’. These high-end housing settlements are given with semi-Turkish or semi- English names, and propose ‘a distinctive lifestyle, safety, the information age’s invisible comforts, intelligent house technologies. 8 of the 8 firms preferred to base their designs on American precedents and 6 of them preferred names like, ‘Mashattan, Pelican Hill, Uphill Court, Trend, Plus, Minimal, Trump Towers, Novus Residence, Bosphorus City, Lagun, Marenegro, Avangarden, Selenium Twins, etc. except the 2 firms Eston and Saros Constructions. These semi/full English names are one of the pronounced factor in marketing these communities.
- While the architectural language of gated communities in Istanbul may be copied from those in the United States, their functions remain different. In contrast to the United States, where Blakely and Snyder differentiate between lifestyle, prestige and security zone communities, most gated communities in İstanbul show a mixture of the three types. Resulting from the socio-economic and cultural background, security always seems to be the basis for such developments. However, with the growth of upper middle classes in Turkey, prestige and lifestyle become the dominant issues. 8 of the 8 firms have released prestige and lifestyle as their primary concern in the marketing of their development projects.
- The outcomes of the case study, clearly illustrate the fact that social and cultural factors have been influential in the suburbanization process of upper-middle and middle classes. The appeal of both a more socially and economically homogeneous community and of a safe and sterile environment in suburbs as compared to the chaos of the inner city are if the main social and cultural factors behind this movement that directly reflect on to the marketing campaigns.
- The study has highlighted that in the marketing of these housing provisions home appliance brand selections play a major role. For instance, Selenium Twins are

sold with white goods imported home delivery and Italian Villeroy Boch ceramics. Siemens white goods and Artema bathroom fixtures are integral to the marketing of Novus Residences. In Uphill Residence Towers, products of Italian kitchen brand Errebi and German Gaggenau are used. In Ağaoğlu My World, built-in Miele appliances, Grespania ceramics, Lube kitchens are used. Saros Const. seems to prefer a lower grade customer profile since they have preferred Simtel, a national brand in contrast to the above mentioned imports. Such preferences also reinforce stereotypes such as the unreliability of national products and the elite's preference for higher quality eliminated by means of a global selection.

- Big scale construction firms prefer to work with professional public relations and marketing agencies in collaboration with their own departments. This preference is largely conditioned by the amount of investment involved and the expected returns of the firm, hence the size of the firm. Smaller firms prefer to deal with the marketing process by their own departments.
- 8 of the 8 firms have expanding client databases- which they activate in order to inform prospective buyers about their future campaigns. This database also includes a number of celebrities which are invited or paid to be actively involved in these campaigns.
- Instead of using phone marketing via cellular or home phones, especially big scaled firms prefer magazines of specific circulation, daily newspapers and real estate inserts in their marketing process. 8 of the 8 firms mentioned the **same newspaper** in their preferences of marketing.
- In developing their marketing slogan, the owner of the construction firm occupies the top of the hierarchy. The idea usually takes its shape by the active involvement of the owner. The result is formed as a result of a synthesis created by the owner and the marketing agency. The marketing theme generally revolves around the generation of a distinguished 'lifestyle'.
- Almost in all of these developments production relations are either abstracted or totally erased, even in the case of animals. In the proposed images, disconnection of the resident from his/her 'real' daily surroundings come to fore. In the images, a '**real virtual community**,' is projected to the prospective buyer. It is always young couples with one or two children that are while even aging and its related problems are almost totally absent.

- Most of the firms prefer to market their projects in English, which means that a global clientele having globally available tastes are targeted in marketing these high-end housing provisions. Having a good command of English distinguishes the customer from the very moment that he/she is introduced these ads. The feeling of distinction is promised via access to language.
- Almost all the marketing campaigns are directed to create a sense of illusion to create easy reach cultural and social capital. In trying to enhance their social status middle and high-income groups incline towards the accumulation and consumption of luxury goods. In so doing, they strive to collect, borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's phrase, 'symbolic capital' which functions via the codes and symbols of social distinction³⁶². The presence of the desired symbolic capital in the marketing media guarantees its availability via the production of the built environment.
- Marketing has enormous impact on people whose worlds are more and more dominated by visual and textual media that is circulated by means of information gadgetry such as the cellular phone, digitized billboards, interactive TV, computer resources etc.. Not only does it address a need, it creates the the feeling of a need without which would not exist. The association of symbolic values with artificially created status then gives a chance to the advertisement industry to create different modes of desire in the individual consumer. The production of desire is now the dynamo of consumer culture. Individuals search for new kind of tastes, which represent their identity in the consumption object that is to satisfy their difference in status in consumer culture. Advertisement industry becomes diversified in itself in order to respond to these diversification and differentiation desires through creating collective identity samples. Marketing companies use largely western or globalized models, discourses, and images to promote new projects.
- What about architecture? The fundamental conclusion which came out of this study is that according to the interviews conducted with the marketing agencies/ departments of the selected firms, reveal that the cost of marketing surpasses that architecture due to the enormous difference in terms of budget, that is marketing stands far above in the hierarchy in comparison to architecture.

³⁶² Harvey, David. *Ibid.* 1987/1994: 375.

Chaney, David. *Lifestyles*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996: 56-70.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. (Translated by Richard Nice). London: Routledge, 1979/1989.

Table 6.1. A comparative analysis of the selected firms about their marketing costs and architectural budgets.(Source: Author)

	Marketing Cost	Architectural Budget
<i>Varyap- Teknik Yapı</i>	20 million TL.	2.5 million TL. (For UpHill Court)
<i>Eston Yapı</i>	% 3.5 of the overall investment value of the project. 3.5 million TL.	600.000 TL. for a 3 hundred villa typed housing project.
<i>Taşyapı</i>	(For 2008)10 million TL.. (For 2007) 25-30 million TL:	zero cost that the firm has a contact with architectural firm, M & M Project.(For Mashattan case
<i>Aşçıoğlu Construction</i>	3 million \$.	1 million TL which includes the architects and all the consultancy services
<i>KKG Group</i>	<i>Undisclosed</i>	<i>Undisclosed</i>
<i>Sinpaş GYO</i>	(For 2009) 22 million TL.	<i>Undisclosed</i>
<i>Dumankaya</i>	<i>Undisclosed</i>	<i>Undisclosed</i>
<i>Saros Construction</i>	No Budget	They have their own department.

- In terms of their consumption patterns, as David Chaney mentions, the selected projects in this dissertation are the perfect physical forms for the citizens of mass consumerism.³⁶³ Living in villas, investing into decoration and luxury cars, high level of spending in recreational and leisure activities are accepted to be major upper middle class preferences for a life-style of distinction which also display their economic, cultural and social capital in accordance with the theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Therefore marketing is the first level that this display starts, it is display without possession, or the illusion that the desired display will be possible after marketing achieves its objectives.
- Marketing does not only create the pretense of a full representation of the architecture (housing units, landscaping, comfort etc.), but also a concrete reflection of the

³⁶³ Chaney, David. Lifestyles. London and New York: Routledge,1996: 56-70.

serious classification process that lurks behind. Marketing directly reflects or is built upon the classification of the possible body of clients and such classification is integral to the formulation of the built environment and hence affects the architectural design of the high-end housing settlements at hand. Therefore this study argues that social segregation is built-in to marketing which is an indirect component and result of the economics of this process. In other words social segregation does not only emerge from the walls, gates or fences of these gated communities, and is not something that is post-facto and physical. The walls are already built in the beginning of the marketing process.

- This study might offer a few speculations on how marketing strategies effect the product, that is product in terms of space that is socially and architecturally constructed.

Suburbanization, gentrification and the emergence of gated communities are processes that have come to redefine urban growth and development in the post 1990s. The residential suburbanization process in Türkiye tied to the flourishing and strengthening of the middle class, as a spatial representation of social segregation, is one of the significant aspects of urban spatial transformation.

In contrast to the relatively mixed character of the post 1970s and post 1980 cooperative-based settlements and the social urban spatializations developed as a result, this new form spatialization, where the juxtaposition of shantytowns and upper-middle class suburban settlements on the urban peripheral areas are maintained by razorwire fences, walls, and monitoring technologies, leads to the loss of any kind of public interaction between the new suburbanites and the rest of the urban society as it also adds to the tension that exists between these classes.

This study can open a niche for future studies about the relationship between architectural offices and marketing firms. In order to understand the relationship that exists between the two important actors of this researchers can explore how this relationship affects the architectural design process and find out whether architectural production is directly affected by this relationship or not. There is no doubt that Istanbul is a rapidly globalizing metropolis, which duplicates trends and transformations manifested in similar world cities. The analysis of marketing media in this context provides an interesting glimpse at the process by which similar architectural imagery are localized. Despite the claim for originality imagery that circulate in other markets might easily make a stop in our neighbourhood in the name of high-flying lifestyles, sometimes shamelessly copied and remarketed. What is of value here, for the marketer

is the memorial power of the image and its quick translation into currency as “originality” is a simple catalyst in marketing terminology. In this dazzling speed of global image circulation, originality expires the fastest, while the upper middle classes consume one “distinct” life style after another.



Figure 6.3. The picture on the left is-The Jewels from Dubai Marina, RMJM Group. The picture on the right is Royal Towers by Dumankaya depicting a life in Dragos, Istanbul.(Source:From the website of Arkitera Forum, www.arkitera.com, 2009)

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APPENDIX A

DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER 5

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitelerinin) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum.
Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı:*

- *Adresi:*

- *Telefonu:*

- *Web Adresi:*

- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü: (Holding, A.Ş. Ltd.vs.)*

- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli)*

- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler:*

- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı:*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut siteleri anlayışı nedir? Firmanız tarif edilen 'lüks konutlar'dan ne anlamaktadır?*

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- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedeni nedir?*

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- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenli lüks konut site projelerinin özellikleri nelerdir?*

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- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

.....

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.....

- *Firmanız yaşam kalitesi kriterleri hakkında neler söyleyebilir?*

- *Güvenlik.....*
- *Konfor.....*
- *Sosyal yaşam.....*
- *Sportif faaliyetler.....*
- *Araba park alanları.....*
- *Yeşil alan.....*
- *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*
- *Bu tür lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapmanızın ana nedeni nedir?*

.....

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.....

.....

- *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri hangileridir?*

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- *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik.....*
- *Ulaşım.....*
- *Doğal çevre.....*
- *Moda.....*
- *Prestij.....*
- *Sunduğu imkanlar.....*

▪ Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....

• Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

.....
.....
.....

• Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden? Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir....

• İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?

.....
.....
.....

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

• Proje Adı:

• Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi:

• Proje Yeri:

• Projenin Mimarı:

• Yüklenici Firma:

• Yatırımcı Firma:

• Toplam Alan:

• Toplam inşaat alanı:

• Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.)

• Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?

▪ Talep.....

▪ Firmanın güvenilirliği.....

▪ Yeni bir trend oluşu.....

▪ Karlı bir yatırım oluşu.....

▪ Çevrenin görselliği.....

▪ Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

• Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri ,(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz).....

-
-
- *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...

- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*
-
-
-

- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır?*

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal-özel

- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı

- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.

- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*
-
-
-

- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*
-
-
-

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında... |

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi:*
 - *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*
-
-
-

- *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?*

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.....
• Bir Pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

.....
.....
• PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

.....
.....
• Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

.....
.....
• Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

.....
.....
• Satışlar;
öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

• Fiyatlar;.....\$ ile.....\$ aralığındadır.

• Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?

✓ gazete ilanı.....

✓ gazete broşürü.....

✓ TV.....

✓ İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden).....

✓ Radyo.....

✓ Billboard.....

✓ e-mail.....

✓ telefon.....

✓ cep mesajı.....

• Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme.....

- *Bu projenin pazarlama maliyeti ne kadardır? Projenin toplam bütününe olan oranı nedir?*

.....
.....

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Siteleri) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: ESTON YAPI

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum. Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı Eston Yapı A.Ş. / Zeytinoğlu Holding*
- *Adresi: İstiklal Cad. No:142 Odakule İş Merkezi Kat:17 Beyoğlu-İstanbul*
- *Telefonu: 0.212.850 20 20*
- *Eston Deniz Satış Ofisi: Reşitpaşa Mevkii, Yakuplu*
- *Telefonu: 0.212.850 20 20*
- *Web Adresi: www.estonyapi.com*
- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü: (Holding, A.Ş. Ltd. vs.): Holding*
- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli. (aile şirketi)*
- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Eskişehir kökenli firma, ilk beton direk fabrikası. (Konut sektörü)*
- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 35 senelik*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi...

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yaklaşımı nedir? Firmanız 'lüks konut' dendiğinde hangi tür konutları tarif etmekte, ya da müşterilerine tarif etmektedir? Eston Deniz A+, Eston Şehir B+ segmentine hitap eden projeler. Her projede hedef kitle farklı olabiliyor. Lüks tanımını kendileri için uygun bulmuyorlar. Daha çok kullanışlılık, güvenli yaşam, lokasyon kavramları üzerinde duruyorlar.*
- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre sıralayınız. Şehrin yoğun stres ve kargaşasından uzak, kullanışlı, yüksek malzemelerle üretilmiş, depreme dayanıklı, bol yeşil alanlı yerleşimlere olan talep.*
- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin olmazsa olmaz özellikleri nelerdir? Kullanışlılık önemli. Kullanışlılığın devamı olarak artık standartlaşan; yüksek malzeme kalitesi, güvenlik ve yeşil alan imkanı.*
- *Projenin büyüklüğü nedir? (satış cirosu olarak söyleyebilirsiniz)*

Belirtilmedi.

- Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)

Proje lansmanına çok girmediklerini belirttiler. Hedef kitleyi daha önce üretilmiş olan projelerden gelen kitle oluşturuyor. Firmanın gelenekselleşmiş ismi, tavsiye üzerine satışlar gerçekleşmiş.

- Firmanızca yaşam kalitesi kriterleri olarak görülen konut çevresi özellikleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasını belirtiniz.

- Güvenlik.....3.....
- Konfor.....2.....
- Sosyal yaşam.....5.....
- Sportif faaliyetler.....6.....
- Otopark alanları.....7.....
- Yeşil alan.....4.....
- Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz...Kullanışlılık.....1.....

- Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri var mıdır, varsa lütfen belirtiniz.?

Eston Ardıçlı Evler, Ardıçlı Evler ,Eston Deniz

- Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;
- Güvenlik.....2.....
- Ulaşım.....4.....
- Doğal çevre...5.....
- Moda.....7.....
- Prestij.....1.....
- Sunduğu imkanlar...6.....
- Fiyat.....3.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

Şirket ismi ve güvenilirliği önemli.....

- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

Mimar her süreçte etkin bir role sahiptir. İlk önce proje aşamasında hayalgücüyle projede farklılıklar yaratarak, önemli bir etkinliğe sahiptir. Konut üretiminde denetim, uygulama görevi vardır. Konut tesliminden sonra da mimarın rolü artık olası sorunlara ve sorulara karşı çözüm üretmesi olarak gelişir.

- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir.....,SAT-YAP şeklinde proje satışları gerçekleştiği için (projeler önce satılıp sonra üretildiği için alım gücünün düşmesi, bu üretimlerde ciddi düşüşlerin yaşanacağını gösteriyor.Belli başlı büyük firmaların ayakta kalacağı düşünülüyor.

- İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?

KC Grup.....

Sinpaş Lagün.....

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- *Proje Adı: Eston Şehir*

- *Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2005 Ekim-2015 (satış hızına bağlı)*

- *Proje Yeri: Bahçeşehir*

- *Projenin Mimarı: MAR Mimarlık*

- *Yüklenici Firma: Eston Yapı*

- *Yatırımcı Firma: Eston Yapı*

- *Toplam Alan: 2000 dönüm arsa, 2000 konut*

- *Toplam inşaat alanı: 600,000 m²*

- *Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) İnşaat halinde. 140 hane oturumda.*

- *Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?*
 - *Talep..... □.....*
 - *Firmanın güvenilirliği... □.....*
 - *Yeni bir trend oluşu..... □.....*
 - *Karlı bir yatırım oluşu.....*
 - *Çevrenin görselliği.....*
 - *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*
- *Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?*

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)....

- *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...

Analiz yapılmamış.

- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*

Kredi alınmadı,öz sermayesi ile.ama sonradan alındı.....

- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır? (biliyorsanız lütfen yüzde olarak belirtiniz)*

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal ve özel

- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı

- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre

Genelde gelen müşteri portföyü aile ve yüksek gelir durumuna göre.

- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki ortalama gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*

Bölgenin Bahçeşehir olması projenin gelişmesinde ve tanınmasında önemli bir pay sahibi olmuştur.

- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*

Yoktur.

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2005 Ekim- satışlar devam etmektedir.*

- *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*

'Yeni Nesil, Yeni Şehir, Eston Şehir' Pazarlama bölümü bu sloganı seçmiştir.

- *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir? Pazarlamada şirketin güvenilirliği, yüksek kalitede malzemenin ve bahçeli konutun apartman dairesi fiyatına satılması vurgulanıyor.*

- *Şirketinize ait bir pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*

Pazarlama birimi var.

- *PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*

PR var ve OPS Tanıtım ile çalışıldı.

- *Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.*

Genel satış vaadi sözleşmesi imzalanmaktadır. (teknik şartname niteliğinde)

- *Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Değiştiyse, Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?*

Belirlenen hedef kitlede az olsa değişme olmuştur.

- *Satışlar; devam ediyor.*

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlanacak gibi.

• *Fiyatlar; ...121 bin.....YTL /\$/Euro ile.....850 bin.....YTL/\$/Euro aralığındadır.*

Metrekare birim fiyatı :

• *Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?*

✓ *Dizi mekanları*

✓ *gazete ilanı*

✓ *gazete broşürü* *Nadiren*

✓ *TV*

✓ *İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden)*

✓ *Radyo-*

✓ *Billboard*

✓ *e-maİL*

✓ *telefon* *Özellikle cep mesajı ve telefon tercih ediliyor.*

✓ *cep mesajı* *Özellikle cep mesajı ve telefon tercih ediliyor.*

✓ *Sponsorluk*

✓ *Ayrıca site sakinlerine posta gönderilerek ilk davetli olarak avantajlar sunarak proje pazarlanıyor.*

• *Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?*

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme mevcut.

Şirket bünyesinde Eston Kredi Sistemi ile borçlandırılıyor.

Min. %30 peşin, 6 ay % 0 faiz.

Min. %30 peşin, 12 ay % 0.20 faiz

Min. %30 peşin, 24 ay % 0.70 faiz

Banka olarak TEB ile anlaşmalı, düşük faizle max. 180 aya kadar kredi kullanılabiliriyor.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

*İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Siteleri) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: **KKG İNŞAAT***

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum. Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Gül & Keleşoğlu & Kameroğlu İnşaat Ortak Girişimi*
 - *Adresi: Akçaburgaz Mevkii Alman Yolu Üzeri 218/4 Büyükçekmece*
 - *Telefonu: 0.212.663 25 75*
 - *Keleşoğlu İnşaat Satış Ofisi: Göl Mevkii, Alman Lisesi Yolu Üzeri, 218/4, Büyükçekmece.*
 - *Telefonu: 0.212.886 54 95*
 - *Web Adresi: www.pelicanhilleverleri.com*
 - *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü: (Holding, A.Ş. Ltd. vs.): Adi Ortaklık*
 - *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli.*
 - *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: İnşaat Sektörü (Alışveriş merkezi, Residence).*
- Kameroğlu: (Ekol Markası), Kuyumculuk Sektörü*

- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: Gül & Keleşoğlu: 30 yıl*

Kameroğlu: 15 yıl

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi...

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yaklaşımı nedir? Firmanız 'lüks konut' dediğinde hangi tür konutları tarif etmekte, ya da müşterilerine tarif etmektedir?*
Gül & Keleşoğlu İnşaat firmalarının geçmişlerine bakıldığında Florya, Yeşilköy çevrelerinde lüks konut – apartman – üretimi yapan firmalar olduklarını görüyoruz. Lüksü hissettiren cephelerin vurgulandığı bu apartmanlardan sonra daha komplike, daha farklı proje anlayışı geliştirmek istediler ve yükselen trende de uyarak, özellikle depremden sonra değişen, her geçen gün yükselen yaşam beklentilerine cevap verecek, güvenlikli lüks konut sektörüne girdiler.
- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre sıralayınız.*
Hedef kitle burada önem taşımaktadır. A+, A, B+ segmenti müşteri portföyünde olan segmenttir. Hedef kitle segmenti düşünüldüğünde, beklentilerine cevap verecek fonksiyonlukta, güvenlikte ve konforda olması gerekmektedir. Sonuçta talep bu yöndedir.

- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenli lüks konut site projelerinin olmazsa olmaz özellikleri nelerdir?*

Kalite...Kullanılan malzemenin son teknolojinin ürünü olması oldukça önemli.

- *Projenin büyüklüğü nedir? (satış cirosu olarak söyleyebilirsiniz)*

750 Milyon \$ lık yatırım sermayesi ile 1.2 milyar dolarlık toplam satış hedefi.

- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

Yıllık 3 milyon \$. (ancak reklam harcamalarında son zamanlarda geriye dönüşlerde ciddi azalma sözkonusu olmuş. Rakiplerin çoğalması ve reklam konusunda, büyüklü küçük tüm firmaların hassas davranması, her firmanın neredeyse reklam yapması da bu geri dönüşlerin azalmasında bir paya sahip)

- *Firmanızca yaşam kalitesi kriterleri olarak görülen konut çevresi özellikleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasını belirtiniz.*

- *Güvenlik.....6.....*
- *Konfor.....3.....*
- *Sosyal yaşam.....2.....*
- *Sportif faaliyetler.....1.....Sağlık merkezi projenin ana konseptini oluşturuyor.....*
- *Otopark alanları.....5.....*
- *Yeşil alan.....4.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....*

- *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri var mıdır, varsa lütfen belirtiniz.?*

Kameroğlu, Keleşoğlu ve Gül İnşaat şirketlerinin ortak girişimi olan KKG inşaat, bugüne kadar, özellikle alışveriş merkezi ve residence projelerine imza atmış. Grubun önemli projeleri arasında, Bakırköy Fly Inn Alışveriş Merkezi, Fly Inn Residence I, Fly Inn Residence II, Bakırköy Alışveriş ve Yaşam Merkezi, Bahçelievler Metro Alışveriş Merkezi ve Haznedar Maxi Shopping Center,Rose Marine bulunuyor.

- *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik.....3.....*
- *Ulaşım.....5.....*
- *Doğal çevre...4.....*
- *Moda.....6.....*
- *Prestij.....1.....*
- *Sunduğu imkanlar...2.....*

- Fiyat.....7.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

Mimar genel konseptin yaratılmasında önemli role sahiptir.

Bu projede Türkiye'de daha önce hiç denenmemiş bu yöntemle her bir mimar farklı tip bir villanın tüm iç dekorasyonunu kendi tarzına göre yaptı.

Eren Talu, Mustafa Toner, Hasan Mingü, Eren Yorulmazer, Mahmut Anlar, Dara Kırmızıtoprak, Hakan Helvacıoğlu ve Hülya Döşer'in bulunduğu projede, her bir mimar evin dış cephesi hariç tüm iç dekorasyonunu; perdesinden, yer döşemelerine kadar istediği gibi tasarladı. Bu sekiz villa aynı tipteki diğer villara göre daha farklı bir fiyattan satışa çıktı.

- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir,

- İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?

Alkent 2000.....

Rose Marine(KKG).....

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- Proje Adı: Pelikan Hill Malikaneleri ve Residence
- Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2005, 2008 sonu. 2007-2009 Eylül
- Proje Yeri: Büyükçekmece
- Projenin Mimarı: Konsept RNM Architect, Peyzaj: Paolo Spaziani

İç mimarlar: Hakan Helvacıoğlu, Eren Talu, Hasan Mingü, Dara Kırmızıtoprak, Y.mimar Dilek Kubilay

- Yüklenici Firma: KKG
- Yatırımcı Firma: KKG
- Toplam Alan: Malikane: 2000 dönüm alan, Residence: 100.000 m2.
- Toplam inşaat alanı: 2/3 'ü yeşil alan. 1/3'ü inşaat alanı.
- Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) İnşaat halinde.

- Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?

- Talep.....
- Firmanın güvenilirliği...
- Yeni bir trend oluşu.....
- Karlı bir yatırım oluşu....

- Çevrenin görselliği..... □
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

• Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)....

Öykü Reklam Ajansı

• Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...

Analiz yapılmamış ama bunun zorluklarını çekmişler.

• Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?

Kredi alınmadı,öz sermayesi ile.....

• Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır? (biliyorsanız lütfen yüzde olarak belirtiniz)

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal ve özel

• Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı (1/3)

arsa sahiplerine pay verilerek. (1/3 oranında)

• Projenin hedef kitesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre

Gelir durumu çok önemli ,homojen bir çevre yaratmaya çalışıldı.

• Komşu konut sitelerindeki ortalama gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?

Alkent 2000 Projesi bölgenin bir Villa kent olarak gelişmesinde ve tanınmasında önemli bir pay sahibi olmuştur.

• Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?

Yurtdışından örnek alınan uygulanmış uygulamalar: Amerikan Evleri

Yurtiçinden örnek alınan uygulanmış uygulamalar: İç Avlulu Anadolu- Amerikan mimarisi

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

• Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2005 sonunda, satışlar devam etmektedir. 2006'da residenceler-2009 Eylül

• Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?

'Yaşamınıza yatırım yapın'. 'Başka Bir Dünya' ile yola çıkıldı ancak bu slogandan varzgeçildi. Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebep, konfor & keyif & hayata dair bir slogan. Kendinize yatırım yapın mesajı da içeriyor. Sayfıye yeri gibi de olduğu için. Sloganı seçen şirket patronudur.

- Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?
İç mekan tasarımı vurgusu (8 ayrı iç mimari örneği), sosyal tesislerin ve sağlık merkezinin büyüklüğü ve konsepti, evlerin büyük oluşu, Amerikan & Anadolu & İtalyan mimarisinin kaynaşmış özellikleri. Pelican Hill'in çevre düzenlemesinin, İtalyan peyzaj mimarı Paolo Spaziani tarafından yapılması.

Özellikle konseptin Amerikan mimarisinden alındığı vurgulanıyor. Bunun için 1 aylık bir Amerika seyahati ile oradaki lüks konut siteleri incelenmiş ve konsept projesi ortaya çıkmıştır. Projenin ismi bile Amerika'daki bir lüks konut sitesinden esinlenilmiştir.

Bu projede Türkiye'de daha önce hiç denenmemiş bu yöntemle her bir mimar farklı tip bir villanın tüm iç dekorasyonunu kendi tarzına göre yaptı.

Eren Talu, Mustafa Toner, Hasan Mingü, Eren Yorulmazer, Mahmut Anlar, Dara Kırmızıtoprak, Hakan Helvacıoğlu ve Hülya Döşer'in bulunduğu projede, her bir mimar evin dış cephesi hariç tüm iç dekorasyonunu; perdesinden, yer döşemelerine kadar istediği gibi tasarladı. Bu sekiz villa aynı tipteki diğer villara göre daha farklı bir fiyattan satışa çıktı.

İsteyen müşteriler satın aldıkları evleri, tasarımını beğendikleri farklı mimarlara da dekore ettirebilecekler.

- Şirketinize ait bir pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Pazarlama birimi var. Ayrıca Reklam ajansı olarak, Orkun Erten Creative Works ile de çalışıldı.

- PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

3C PR.

- Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

Genel satış sözleşmesi imzalanmaktadır. (teknik şartname niteliğinde)

- Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Değiştiyse, Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

Belirlenen hedef kitle değişmemiştir. A+, A Segmenti.

- Satışlar; devam ediyor.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlanacak gibi.

Mailkanenin satış süreci en az 1-2 ay.

- *Fiyatlar;...1.5 milyon + dekorasyon bedeli.....YTL /\$/Euro ile.....3 milyon + dekorasyon bedeli.....YTL/\$/Euro aralığındadır. (Kaba fiyatlar)*

Metrekare birim fiyatı :

Residence ,: 150 bin \$ ile 500 bin \$ arasındadır.(Anahtar teslim)

- *Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?*
- ✓ *Dizi mekanları □ Binbir Gece, Elif, Selena, Sıla...*
- ✓ *gazete ilanları □ Hürriyet Emlak : en çok kullandıkları mecra ve gazete.*
- ✓ *gazete broşürü □*
- ✓ *TV □*
- ✓ *İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden) Çok tercih edilmedi.*
- ✓ *Radyo-*
- ✓ *Billboard □ özellikle havalimanlarında ve havalimanı dergilerinde kullanıldı.(Skylife dergisi, diğer havayollarının dergileri, digiboard)*
- ✓ *e-maİL özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.*
- ✓ *telefon özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.*
- ✓ *cep mesajı özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.*
- ✓ *Sponsorluk Ağırlıklı olarak sponsorluk ve VIP partileri şeklinde reklam biçimi tercih edildi.*

Alem dergisinin VIP etkinliği- Sponsor

Binbir Gece dizisi Canlı Finali –Sponsor

Bodrum 'daki beachler Ship A Hoy vs. - görseller

Gece Kulüpleri: Sortie, Reina, Long Table Restaurant

Sinemalar: İstinye Park, Kanyon, Capacity

Alışveriş Merkezlerinin kullanımı

- *Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?*

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme mevcut.

Nakit ödemede % 7 indirim. Banka kredisiyle ödemede %30 peşin, bankadan kredi kullanılıyor.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Siteleri) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: AŞÇIOĞLU İNŞAAT

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum. Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Aşçıoğlu İnşaat*
- *Adresi: Hakkı Yeten Cad. Aşçıoğlu Plaza No: 10 D:22 Fulya Teşvikiye –İstanbul*
- *Telefonu: 0.212.291 53 13*
- *Web Adresi: www.ascioglu.com, www.selenium34.com*
- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü:(Holding, A.Ş. Ltd. vs.): A.Ş.*
- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli.*
- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Araba Galericaliği ve Konut üretimi*
- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 40 senelik firma (60'ların sonunda apartman inşaatlarıyla başlayan projeler daha sonra iş merkezleri, çarşı, fabrika inşaatlarıyla devam etmiştir. Residence ağırlıklı devam etmekte.*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi...

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yaklaşımı nedir? Firmanız 'lüks konut' dediğinde hangi tür konutları tarif etmekte, ya da müşterilerine tarif etmektedir?*

Hizmet burada anahtar kavram olarak karşımıza çıkmakta. Lüks konut dediğimizde zaten hedef kitleleri belli, A+. Tamamen özel istekleri olan müşteri grubu. Ve projelere bakıldığında, diğer piyasadaki projelerle karşılaştırıldığında konut fiyatlarının daha yüksek olduğunu görürüz. Bunun nedenlerinden biri de hiç kuşkusuz arazinin lokasyon olarak merkezde yer alması ve şehrin içerisinde çok az sayıda arazinin kalmasından dolayı arazinin pahalı olması ve yüksek kalitedeki işçilik ve malzeme.

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre sıralayınız.*

Şirketin geçmişine baktığımızda hali hazırda konut üretimi sektöründe olduğunu görüyoruz. Talep zamanla gelişmiş, lüks apartman üretiminin yerini lüks konut site ve residence üretimi almıştır.

- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin olmazsa olmaz özellikleri nelerdir?*

Kalite , yüksek müşteri profili ve yaşam tarzı...

Amaç: kaybolmakta olan komşuluk değerini gündeme getirmek ve kullanıcıların özel olduklarını hissettirmek. Bunun için de, örneğin Selenium Twins kullanıcıları, dışarıdan üyelik kabul etmeden sadece kendi bünyesinde üyelik sistemine dahil olarak, her türlü hizmetten faydalanabiliyorlar.

- *Projenin büyüklüğü nedir? (satış cirosu olarak söyleyebilirsiniz)*

70 milyon dolarlık proje.

- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

Pazarlama süreci çok fazla reklam vermeden, basında haber niteliği taşıyan bilgileri içermektedir. Projenin bulunduğu mevkiiden ve kullanıcılarının da tanınmış önemli kişilerden oluştuğu gözönüne alınırsa, yüksek satış grafiği çizdiği görülmektedir. Haftasonları seyrek de olsa Hürriyet gazetesine verilen reklamlar ve daha da önemlisi Rahmi Koç'un bu projeden 6-7 ay önce konut almış olması, bir nevi hem haber hem de reklam yaratarak, geri dönüşleri – satışları arttırmıştır.

- *Firmanızca yaşam kalitesi kriterleri olarak görülen konut çevresi özellikleri nelerdir?*

Lütfen öncelik sırasını belirtiniz.

- *Güvenlik.....4.....*
- *Konfor.....1.....*
- *Sosyal yaşam.....2.....*
- *Sportif faaliyetler.....3.....*
- *Otopark alanları.....5.....*
- *Yeşil alan.....6.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....güvenlik zaten olmazsa olmaz bir kriter. Ancak Yeşil alana residence olma özelliğinden ve şehir içindeki arazi sıkışıklığından dolayı çok fazla yer ayıramadıklarını söylediler.....*

- *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri var mıdır, varsa lütfen belirtiniz.?*

Selenium Panorama, Selenium City, Selenium Twins.

- *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik.....5.....*
- *Ulaşım.....4.....*
- *Doğal çevre...7.....*
- *Moda.....3.....*

- Prestij.....1.....(insanlar kendilerini farklı hissetmek istiyorlar).....
- Sunduğu imkanlar...2...(her türlü hizmet; Acıbadem Hastanesi, iş merkezi, foodcourt, spor merkezi, konut, vs.....)
- Fiyat.....6.....
- Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....1.Güvenlik zaten olmazsa olmaz

2.Manzara

- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?
Öncelikle Türk mimarlarla çalıştıklarını vurguluyorlar. Dünya ile yarışan, dünya ülkelerinin konforunu reddetmeyip, bunu daha da üst seviyeye taşıyan, şehrin silüetine de estetik kaygılarla yaklaşan Türk mimarlarıyla çalışıyorlar. Türk halkının yaşam stili burada önem arz ediyor.
- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?
Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir.....,
- İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?
Sapphire.....
Selenium Twins.....

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- Proje Adı: Selenium Twins

- Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2006, 2008

- Proje Yeri: Fulya

- Projenin Mimarı: Serdar Sipahioğlu (Aşçıoğlu İnşaat Projeler koordinatörü)

- Yüklenici Firma: Aşçıoğlu İnşaat

- Yatırımcı Firma: Aşçıoğlu İnşaat

- Toplam Alan: 246 dönüm

- Toplam inşaat alanı: 30 dönüm arazide 175 bin m2 inşaat

- Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) Teslim edildi. Eylül 2008.

- Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?

 - Talep....2.....
 - Firmanın güvenilirliği...1.....
 - Yeni bir trend oluşu.....3.....
 - Karlı bir yatırım oluşu.....

- Çevrenin görselliği.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....
- Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?
Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)....Kendi pazarlama danışmanlarının fikri alındı.
- Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?
Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...
- Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?
Bilinmiyor.....
- Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır? (biliyorsanız lütfen yüzde olarak belirtiniz)
Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal ve özel
BJK- Beşiktaş Spor Klubü arazisi.
- Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı
- Projenin hedef kitesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?
Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.
A+ segment hedef kitle grubu.
- Komşu konut sitelerindeki ortalama gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?
Önemli bir etken olmamıştır.
- Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?
Trump örnek alınmıştır.

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

- Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2006, satışlar devam etmektedir.
- Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?
'Yaşamınıza daha fazla ayrıcalık getirecek seçkin bir yaşam biçimi: Selenium Twins'
'Yeni bir hayat sizi bekliyor'
'Yaşamınızın her dakikası değerli ise, Selenium'dan size değerli bir proje: Panorama'
- Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?
Rahmi Koç, Tansu Çiller, Mesut Yılmaz, Sabancı Ailesi, Boyner Ailesi, Ulusoy Ailesi, vs. gibi ünlüleri Selenium Twins'den konut alanlar olarak tanıtılarak, pazarlamada vurguluyorlar.

Ayrıca bir farklılıkları da daire alanlara anahtar teslimini dekorasyonu yapılmış olarak vermeleri.

- Şirketinize ait bir pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Pazarlama birimi var.

- PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Halka İlişkiler birimi var.

- Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

Genel satış vadesi sözleşmesi imzalanmaktadır.

- Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Değiştiyse, Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

Belirlenen hedef kitle değişmemiştir.

- Satışlar; devam ediyor.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlanacak gibi. (hedef)

- Fiyatlar; /\$/Euro ile.....
/\$/Euro aralığındadır.

Metrekare birim fiyatı : 3000 \$

- Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?

✓ gazete ilanı Hürriyet Emlak: en çok kullandıkları mecra ve gazete. /Sadece haftasonları

✓ gazete broşürü

✓ TV

✓ İnternet (proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden)

✓ Radyo-

✓ Billboard

✓ e-maİL Ağırlıklı olarak kullanıldı.

✓ telefon özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.

✓ cep mesajı özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.

- Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme mevcut.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Siteleri) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: VARYAP & TEKNİK YAPI

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum. Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Varyap Varlıbaşlar & Teknik Yapı*

- *Adresi: Isparta Mevkii Kuleleri, Fırat Cad. Uphill Court Bahçeşehir Şantiyesi, Bahçeşehir*

- *Telefonu: 0.212.669 94 94*

- *Web Adresi: www.uphillcourt.com*

- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü:(Holding, A.Ş. Ltd. vs.): A.Ş.*

- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli*

- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Varyap: Okul, Hastane, Adliye Sarayı,vs. devlet ihaleleri*

Teknik Yapı: Konut Sektörü

- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 35 yıl*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi...

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yaklaşımı nedir? Firmanız 'lüks konut' dendiğinde hangi tür konutları tarif etmekte, ya da müşterilerine tarif etmektedir? Güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine bakıldığında gelir seviyesinin yüksek olmasının yanında kültürün de üst düzeyde olduğunu görmekteyiz. Kullanılan üst kalite malzemenin yine kaliteli işçilikle müşterilere sunulması sözkonusudur.*

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre sıralayınız.*

Her iki firma da 35 yıllık deneyime sahip. Varyap'dan ziyade Teknik Yapı'nın lüks konut site üretiminde oldukça deneyimli bir geçmişe sahip olması dolayısıyla, portföyünü genişletmek istemesi.

- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin olmazsa olmaz özellikleri nelerdir?*

Depreme dayanıklı olması (California(ABD),Avrupa, 1998 Türkiye Deprem Yönetmeliğine uygun), Yeşil alanların büyüklüğü ve inşaat alanına olan oranı (% 75-80).....

Sosyal tesis, yüzme havuzu.....

İşçilik kalitesi, kullanılan malzemeler.....

- Projenin büyüklüğü nedir? (satış cirosu olarak söyleyebilirsiniz)

Satışlar tam olarak bitmediği için bir şey söylenemedi.

- Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)

Satışların devam etmesi nedeniyle pazarlama maliyeti konusunda bilgi verilemedi. %2-3 arası olduğunu tahmin ediyorlar.

- Firmanızca yaşam kalitesi kriterleri olarak görülen konut çevresi özellikleri nelerdir?

Lütfen öncelik sırasını belirtiniz.

- Güvenlik.....2.....
- Konfor.....1.....
- Sosyal yaşam...3.....
- Sportif faaliyetler...6.....
- Otopark alanları...4.....
- Yeşil alan...5.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

- Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri var mıdır, varsa lütfen belirtiniz.?

Ataşehir Uphill Court.....

- Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;

- Güvenlik.....7.....
- Ulaşım.....6.....
- Doğal çevre.....4.....
- Moda.....5.....
- Prestij.....1.....
- Sunduğu imkanlar...3.....
- Fiyat.....2.....
- Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....

- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

Mimar genel konseptin yaratılmasında, beklentilere cevap verecek, kullanışlı daire planlarıyla mevcut diğer projelerden farklılığını ortaya çıkarmasında çok büyük role sahiptir. Kullanışlılık ve farklılık, yeşil alanlara verilen önem burada yetkili tarafından sıkça vurgulanmıştır.

- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir

Ekonomiyle ilişkili bir durum olduğu için talepte ve üretimde bir yükselme olmayacağı düşülünüyor.

- *İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?*

Ataşehir Uphill Court

Sinpaş Aqua City

Metrocity

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- *Proje Adı: Bahçeşehir Uphill Court*

- *Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: Haziran 2006, erken teslim Ekim 2007 (Mart 2008)*

- *Proje Yeri: Bahçeşehir, İstanbul*

- *Projenin Mimarı:*

- *Yüklenici Firma: Varyap Valibaşlar & Teknik Yapı & Toki*

- *Yatırımcı Firma: Varyap Valibaşlar & Teknik Yapı*

- *Toplam Alan: 65.000 m2*

- *Toplam inşaat alanı:*

- *Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) İnşaat bitti. Ekim 2007'de oturma başladı.*

- *Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?*
 - *Talep...1*
 - *Firmanın güvenilirliği...2*
 - *Yeni bir trend oluşu.....*
 - *Karlı bir yatırım oluşu...3.....*
 - *Çevrenin görselliği.....*
 - *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*
- *Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?*

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)...Bilinmiyor.....

- *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...Bilinmiyor.

- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*

Kredi alınmadı.....

- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır? (biliyorsanız lütfen yüzde olarak belirtiniz)*

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal ve özel

TOKİ arazisi.....

- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı

%53 ile arsa alınmış.

- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.

Gelir durumu önplanda, Eğitim seviyesi ve hedef aile tipi daha sonra geliyor.

- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki ortalama gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*

Bahçeşehir yüksek gelir grubuna hitap ettiği için seçilmiştir. Bahçeşehir’de hem gelir seviyesi, hem de eğitim seviyesi oldukça yüksektir.

- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*

Uphill Court Ataşehir örnek alınmıştır. Pazarlama taktiği bu projeye benzerlikler göstermektedir.

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: Mayıs 2006, satışlar devam etmektedir.*

- *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*

‘Yükseklerde yerinizi alın’, ‘Bahçeşehir’in yükselen değeri’

- *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?*

Ataşehir Uphill Court Projesinde kullanılan slogan burada da aynen uygulanmıştır. Şirket sahipleriyle reklam şirketinin ortak olarak belirlediği bir slogandır.

Pazarlamada vurgulanan, projenin Bahçeşehir’in en güzel mevkiinde olduğu ve B. Çekmece Gölü ile Bahçeşehir manzarasına sahip olmasıdır. %85’in yeşil alanlara ayrıldığı projede, banyodan mutfığa yüksek kalitede malzemelerin kullanılması ve projenin farklılığı vurgulanmaktadır.

- *Şirketinize ait bir pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*

Pazarlama birimi var.

- *PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*

Halkla ilişkiler şirketiyle çalışıldı. (Message PR)

- *Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.*

Genel satış sözleşmesi imzalanmaktadır. (Kullanılacak malzemeler, bitiş tarihleri..)

- *Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Değiştiyse, Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?*

Belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişmemiştir. A+ tipi hedef kitledir.

- *Satışlar; devam ediyor.*

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlanacak gibi.

- *Fiyatlar; 146.900 YTL/\$/Euro ile 569.800 YTL/\$/Euro aralığındadır.*

Metrekare birim fiyatı : 2300- 2600 YTL

- *Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?*

✓ *gazete ilanı*

✓ *gazete broşürü*

✓ *TV*

✓ *İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden)*

✓ *Radyo-*

✓ *Billboard*

✓ *e-maİL*

✓ *telefon*

✓ *cep mesajı*

Ağırlıklı olarak gazete ilanı (insert), broşür ve internet kullanıldı.

- *Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?*

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme mevcut.

Liste fiyatlarında ,

%20 Peşin, 36 ay vade, %0 faiz olanaklı.

%40 Peşin, 48 ay vade, %0 faiz olanaklı.

%50 Peşin, 60 ay vade, %0 faiz olanaklı.

Peşin ödemelerde indirimler sözkonusu.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Siteleri) Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: SİNPAŞ GYO.

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum. Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Sinpaş GYO*

- *Adresi: Sinpaş Plaza, Meliha Avni Sözen (Ortaklar Cad. no:40 34394 Mecidiyeköy*

- *Telefonu: 0.212.288 68 68*

- *Web Adresi: www.sinpas.com.tr*

- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü:(Holding, A.Ş. Ltd. vs.): A.Ş.*

- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): %49 borsada, yabancı yatırımcılar da mevcut.*

- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Sinpaş GYO'nun yok. Sinpaş Grup olarak, Yapı Sektörü, İnşaat Yan Kuruluşları ,Maden, Site Yöneticiliği, Alışveriş Merkezi, 2.El Sektörü, Asansör İmalatı, Dekorasyon, Mutfak /Decors)*

- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 1974*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi...

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yaklaşımı nedir? Firmanız 'lüks konut' dendiğinde hangi tür konutları tarif etmekte, ya da müşterilerine tarif etmektedir? Güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine bakıldığında konseptin ön plana çıktığını görüyoruz. Uzun uğraşlar sonucu ortaya çıkan konsept projeler üzerine çalışıyorlar. Sinpaş Bosphorus projesinde örneğin boğaz konsepti ve buna göre sandallarla gezilen, vs . uygun sosyal hayat ve yaşam tarzı sunuluyor. Lagün Projesinde ise konsept Phuket adasından esinlenerek ortaya çıkmış. Tamamen doğayla baş başa olma ve birbirine bağlı irili ufaklı göllerle konseptin ana şemasını oluşturuyor. Lüks konutta konsept mutlaka olmalıdır. Bu farklılığı sağlayan bir unsurdur.*
- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen öncelik sırasına göre sıralayınız. Hedef kitle burada önem taşımaktadır. Hedef kitleyi belirlemek önemli. Bosphorus'ta A+, A, B+ segmenti hedeflenmiştir. Hedef kitle segmenti düşünüldüğünde, özgün olmak kaçınılmazdır.*

- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenli lüks konut site projelerinin olmazsa olmaz özellikleri nelerdir?*

Konsept, Kalite ve yaşam tarzı...

Bütünlüğü olan ama birbirinden farklı binalar yapmak

Amaç: İnsanların zamanın çok değerli olduğu günümüzde, eve geldiklerinde yüksek bir hayat tarzı sürsünler...

- *Projenin büyüklüğü nedir? (satış cirosu olarak söyleyebilirsiniz)*

Satışlar henüz yeni başladığı bitmediği için net bir şey söylenemedi. (200 milyon \$ gibi)

Lagün Projesi 150 milyon \$.

- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

Pazarlama ve reklam bütçelerinin her projeye başlamadan önce ayrıldığı ve bu bütçenin proje büyüklüklerine göre belirlendiği söylendi. Cironun %2'sini teşkil ediyor.

- *Firmanızca yaşam kalitesi kriterleri olarak görülen konut çevresi özellikleri nelerdir?*

Lütfen öncelik sırasını belirtiniz.

- *Güvenlik.....6.....*
- *Konfor.....2.....*
- *Sosyal yaşam.....1.....*
- *Sportif faaliyetler.....4.....*
- *Otopark alanları.....5.....*
- *Yeşil alan.....3.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....*

- *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri var mıdır, varsa lütfen belirtiniz.?*

Lagün, Avangarden, Aqua Minors, Sealybria, Marenegro, Central Life....

- *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik.....9.....*
- *Ulaşım..... 7.....*
- *Doğal çevre.....*
- *Moda..... 8.....*
- *Prestij..... 6.....*
- *Sunduğu imkanlar...5.....*
- *Fiyat.....4.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....1.Pazarlama/Reklam*

2.Konsept

3.Konum

- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

Mimar genel konseptin yaratılmasında önemli role sahiptir. Yaratıcı olmalıdır.

- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir

- İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?

Lagün.....

Maya Vera Projesi.....

Marenegro.....

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- Proje Adı: Bosphorus City

- Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2006, 2008

- Proje Yeri: Halkalı

- Projenin Mimarı: Mehpere & Alp Evrenol

- Yüklenici Firma: Belli Değil

- Yatırımcı Firma: Sinpaş GYO

- Toplam Alan: 246 dönüm

- Toplam inşaat alanı:

- Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) İhale sürecinde ,satışta.

- Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?

▪ Talep.....

▪ Firmanın güvenilirliği...1.....

▪ Yeni bir trend oluşu.....2.....

▪ Karlı bir yatırım oluşu.....

▪ Çevrenin görselliği.....

▪ Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....

- Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)....Kendi pazarlama danışmanlarının fikri alındı.

Colliers Danışmanlık analizleri.

- Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...

- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*

Kredi alınmadı.....

- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır? (biliyorsanız lütfen yüzde olarak belirtiniz)*

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal ve özel

Parçalı arazi. Bosphorus için tek tek birleştirildi.

- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı

%53 ile arsa alınmış.

- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.

B+ segment hedef kitle grubu.

- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki ortalama gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*

Önemli bir etken olmamıştır. Çevreden herhangi bir beklentileri yoktur. Önemli olan konsepttir.

- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*

Yok.' Genelde örnek alınırız' diyerek de bu işte kendilerine ne kadar güvendiklerini belli ediyorlar.

- *Lagün : Adnan Kazmaoğlu*

- *Avangarden: Mimarlar Ltd. (Mehpare & Alp Evrenol + Kendi mimarları)*

- *Sealybria: Mimarlar Ltd. (Mehpare & Alp Evrenol + Kendi mimarları)*

- *Sürpriz Proje: Emre Arolat (ecovillage projesi ancak iptal edilmiş)*

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: Mayıs 2008, satışlar devam etmektedir.*

- *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*

'İstanbul'un 2. Boğazı'

- *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?*

Boğaz Konsepti.

- *Şirketinize ait bir pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*

Pazarlama birimi var. Ayrıca M.A.R.K.A reklam ajansı ile de çalışıldı.

- PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Halka İlişkiler birimi var.

- Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

Genel satış vadesi sözleşmesi imzalanmaktadır. (Kullanılacak malzemeler, bitiş tarihleri..)

- Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Değiştiyse, Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

Belirlenen hedef kitle değişmemiştir. Aksine daha da üst segmente çıkmıştır.

- Satışlar; devam ediyor.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlanacak gibi. (hedef)

- Fiyatlar;/\$/Euro ile..... /\$/Euro aralığındadır.

Metrekare birim fiyatı : 1900 \$

- Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?

✓ gazete ilanı Hürriyet Emlak : en çok kullandıkları mecra ve gazete.

✓ gazete broşürü

✓ TV

✓ İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden)

✓ Radyo-

✓ Billboard

✓ e-maile

✓ telefon: özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.

✓ cep mesaj: özellikle kullanmaktan kaçınıyorlar. Baskıcı ve rahatsız edici buluyorlar.

Ağırlıklı olarak gazete ilanı (insert), broşür kullanıldı.

- Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme mevcut.

Kendi bünyesinde senetle borçlandırıyor. 60 ay vade. Yıllık Tüfe oranı ile ilgili olarak %11 faiz.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitelerinin)

Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: **DUMANKAYA**

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum.
Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- **Firmanın adı: Dumankaya**
- **Adresi: Dumankaya Plaza, Ankara Yolu Pendik Kavşağı, Kat:4, Pendik.**
- **Telefonu: 0.216.379 86 00**
- **Web Adresi: www.dumankaya.com**
- **Hukuki Ortaklık Türü: (Holding, A.Ş. Ltd.vs.)**
- **Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli**
- **Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: inşaat, otomotiv, yapı malzemeleri sektörü, sigortacılık**
- **Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 1963**

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi

- **Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut siteleri anlayışı nedir? Firmanız tarif edilen 'lüks konutlar'dan ne anlamaktadır?**
Kente kimlik kazandıran yaşam alanları kazandırmak firmanın misyonu. Üretilen konutlar da güvenli, modern yaşamın getirdiği olanakları sunan, doğayla iç içe yaşamı tarifler.
- **Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedeni nedir?**
Firma zaten inşaat kökenli bir firma, dolayısıyla da mevcut müşteri portföyü var. Lüks konut üretimine olan talep de yatırım yapma nedenlerimizden.
- **Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin özellikleri nelerdir?**
Üretilen konut projelerinde modası hiç geçmeyen tasarım kriterleri göz önünde bulunduruluyor. Modern ama doğayla uyumlu bir yapılaşma tercih ediliyor. Her proje kendi içinde zengin sosyal donatılara sahip.
- **Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)**
Belirtilmedi.
- **Firmanızın yaşam kalitesi kriterleri hakkında neler söyleyebilir?**
 - **Güvenlik...3**.....
 - **Konfor...1**.....
 - **Sosyal yaşam...1**.....
 - **Sportif faaliyetler...4**.....

- *Araba park alanları...4.....*
- *Yeşil alan...2.....*
- *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*
- *Özellikle bahçe ile maksimum düzeyde ilişki kurulmaya çalışılıyor. Yüksek katlılarda bitkilendirme terasları, çatı bahçeleri oluşturuluyor.*

• *Bu tür lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapmanızın ana nedeni nedir?*

Firmanın konut alanında bir güvenilirliğinin olması ve talep.....

• *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri hangileridir?*

Gizli Bahçe Konakları, Manzara Konakları, Çekmeköy Evleri, Gümüş Vadi Villaları, Dragos Drive, Dragos Drive 34, Kelebek Vadisi Evleri, Trend ve Gizli Bahçe Akdeniz Evleri, Konsept İstanbul ve Trend Ekstra Dumankaya, Dumankaya Vizyon.

• *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik...3.....(zaten olmazsa olmaz bir faktör).....*
- *Ulaşım...4...(Minimal Projesi ile Sabiha Gökçen havalimanı).....*
- *Doğal çevre...2.....*
- *Moda.....*
- *Prestij...1.....*
- *Sunduğu imkanlar...5.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....*

• *Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?*

Mimar, estetikle işlevselliği birleştirir, projenin konsepti yaratılırken önemli bir göreve sahiptir.

• *Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?*

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir.....

• *İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?*

Dumankaya Trend, Kemer Country, Sinpaş Lagün.

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- *Proje Adı: Dumankaya Minimal*

- *Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2008*

- *Proje Yeri: Kurtköy- Pendik*

- *Projenin Mimarı: Y. Mim. Bünyamin Derman*

- *Yüklenici Firma: Dumankaya İnşaat*

- *Yatırımcı Firma: Dumankaya İnşaat*

- *Toplam Alan:19 bin metrekare*

- *Toplam inşaat alanı:175 daire*

- *Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.) . İnşaat halinde.*

- *Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?*
 - *Talep.....1.....*
 - *Firmanın güvenilirliği...2.....*
 - *Yeni bir trend oluşu.....3.....*
 - *Karlı bir yatırım oluşu...4.....*
 - *Çevrenin görselliği.....5.....*
 - *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*

- *Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?*
*Pazarlama danışmanı/ **mimarlar**/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri ,(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz).....*
Yük. Mimar Bünyamin Derman ile çalışıldı.
- *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*
Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...
- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*
Kredi alınmadı.
- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır?*
*Kamusal/ **özel**/ kamusal-özel*
- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*
*Ucuz/ **Normal**/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı*
- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*
*Eğitim seviyesine / **gelir durumuna** / **hedef aile tipine göre.***
- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*
Anadolu yakasındaki projeler etkili oldu. Anadolu yakasının Pendik bölgesinde korunaklı lüks sitelere ihtiyaç mevcuttu.
- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*
Dumankaya Trend, Gizli Bahçe Evleri...

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 2008-devam ediyor.*
- *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*
Devir Minimal Devri, Dumankaya'dan mimariye minimal bir yaklaşım. Projenin isim konseptine uygun bir slogan seçildi.
- *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?*
Dumankaya Minimal projesinin doğaya ve insana saygılı kimliği ve özgün mimarisiyle Kurtköy-Pendik bölgesinde fark yaratacak, özgün bir proje olarak vurgulanıyor.
- *Bir Pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*
Pazarlama departmanları mevcut.
- *PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?*
Halka ilişkiler birimi mevcut.
- *Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.*
Teknik Şartname.....
- *Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Hedef kitesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?*
Belirlenen hedef kitleye ulaşıldı.
- *Satışlar;*
*öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ **öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.***
- *Fiyatlar;1.200\$/sqm..... ile1.450\$/sqm.....\$ aralığındadır.*
- *Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?*
- ✓ *gazete ilanı...1.....*
- ✓ *gazete broşürü...2.....*
- ✓ *TV.....5.....*
- ✓ *İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden)...3.....*
- ✓ *Radyo.....*
- ✓ *Billboard.....*
- ✓ *e-mail...4.....*
- ✓ *telefon.....*
- ✓ *cep mesajı.....*
- *Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?*

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme.

Sıfır Peşinat, %0,93 ile 60 Ay Vadeli Kredi İmkanı

- *Bu projenin pazarlama maliyeti ne kadardır? Projenin toplam bütününe olan oranı nedir?*

Belirtilmedi.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

*İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitelerinin)
Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: SAROS İNŞAAT*

*Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum.
Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.*

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Saros İnşaat*
- *Adresi: : Okul Yolu, Saros Cad. 2.Etap, no:8 Kumburgaz*
- *Telefonu: 0.212. 884 17 23*
- *Web Adresi: www.sarosinsaat.com*
- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü:(Holding, A.Ş. Ltd.vs.): LTD. Ştİ.*
- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli*
- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Farklı sektörden piyasa koşulları nedeniyle Çelik konst. Konut üretimine geçiş.*
- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 14 sene.(1994)*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut siteleri anlayışı nedir? Firmanız tarif edilen 'lüks konutlar'dan ne anlamaktadır?*

Aslında firmanın ürettiği konutlara lüks konut diyemeyiz. B+ segmenti hedef kitleyi oluşturuyor. Güvenli, rahat yaşama dair unsurlar önplanda.
- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedeni nedir?*
 - *Güvenlik, yaşam kalitesi açısından artırıcı unsurlar önplanda.*
- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin özellikleri nelerdir?*

Piyasada oldukça fazla konut üretimi var. Pazardan pay alabilmek için de farklılıklar sunmak gerekiyor. Firma olarak farklı konstrüksiyonlara ağırlık veriyoruz. Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evlerinde çelik konstrüksiyon kullanıldı. Bundan sonraki projede kütük ev konsepti olacak.
- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

Reklam için herhangi bir bütçe ayırmıyoruz. 2006-2007 senesi içerisinde haber olarak çıkan firmalar arasında 9. Sıradalar. Dolayısıyla da sıfır maliyet denebilir.
- *Firmanız yaşam kalitesi kriterleri hakkında neler söyleyebilir?*
 - *Güvenlik...1.....*
 - *Konfor.....4.....*
 - *Sosyal yaşam...3.....*

- *Sportif faaliyetler ...5.....*
- *Araba park alanları.....6.....*
- *Yeşil alan...2.....*
- *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz...Komşuluk ilişkileri, Sosyal aktiviteler, doğal çevre ve ucuz maliyet.....*

• *Bu tür lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapmanızın ana nedeni nedir?*

Depremden sonra güvenli konutlara olan ihtiyacın artması, doğa ile içiçe yaşama yönelik talep olması.

• *Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri hangileridir?*

Güzelbayır, KoruköyTayf Evleri, Emka- Kent, Saros Körfezi Ozanlar, Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evleri
5. Etap.

• *Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;*

- *Güvenlik.....1.....*
- *Ulaşım.....*
- *Doğal çevre.....*
- *Moda.....*
- *Prestij.....*
- *Sunduğu imkanlar...2 sosyal içerikli unsurlar.....*
- *Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz...Fiyat Ortak Giderlerin minimum olduğu.....*

• *Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?*

Mimarları Şebnem Yılmaz ile projenin başından sonuna kadar çalışılmış. Projeyi Amerika'dan ithal etmişler.Buraya uygun hale getiriyorlar.

• *Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden?*

Düşer/ Değişmez/ Yükselir....Bilmiyor.Ekonomik değerler belirleyici unsur.

• *İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?*

Pelican Hill (KKG Grup), Alkent 2000, Beyazlar, Demir İnşaat.

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

• *Proje Adı: Zeytinsuyu Tepesi Evleri*

• *Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi:*

• *Proje Yeri: Kumburgaz*

• *Projenin Mimarı: Şebnem Yılmaz*

• *Yüklenici Firma: Saros İnşaat*

• *Yatırımcı Firma: Saros İnşaat*

- *Toplam Alan: 11 bin dönüm*

• *Toplam inşaat alanı:%15 imar, 1650 m2 inşaat alanı, 9350 m2 yeşil alan.*

- *Şu anki durumu: (İnşaat halinde, vs.)*

İnşaat halinde.

- *Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?*
 - *Talep.....*
 - *Firmanın güvenirliliği.....*
 - *Yeni bir trend oluşu.....*
 - *Karlı bir yatırım oluşu.....*
 - *Çevrenin görselliği.....*
 - *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....**Deprem** etkili oldu. Çelik konstrüksiyona ağırlık verildi.....*
- *Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?*

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri ,(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)

- *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*

*Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ **Pazar analizi**...*

- *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*

Teşvik alınmadı.

- *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır?*

*Kamusal/ **özel**/ kamusal-özel*

- *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

*Ucuz/ **Normal**/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı*

- *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

***Eğitim seviyesine** / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.*

- *Komşu konut sitelerindeki gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*

Etkili olmadı.

- *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*

Türkiye'den yoktur. Amerika'daki örnekleri dikkate alıyoruz.

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

- *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: Proje 5 etaptan oluşuyor.Değişik etaplar için farklı tarihler mevcut. 5.etap için; 2007- 2008 tarihinde satışlar devam ediyordu.*

- *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*

Ana slogan , güvenli yaşam sloganıdır.

- Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?

Depreme dayanıklı, güvenli konutlar.

- Bir Pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Pazarlama birimi var.

- PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

Zamanında bir ajansla ile çalışılmış ama şu anda yok.

- Güvenli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

Protokol mevcut.

- Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Hedef kitesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

Biraz değişti. Planlanan hedefler gerçekleşmedi.

- Satışlar;

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

Değişebilir.

- Fiyatlar; 320 bin...TL ile360 binTL. aralığındadır.

- Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?

✓ gazete ilanı.....

✓ gazete broşürü.....

✓ TV...ATV ana haber bülteninde 9 dakikalık haber.....

✓ İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden).....

✓ Radyo.....

✓ Billboard.....

✓ e-mail.....

✓ telefon...5000 telefon görüşmesi yapıldı. Bankacı, doktor, eczacı, pilot, Koç Allianz sigorta şirketi çalışanlarından oluşan bir data bank kullanıldı.

✓ cep mesajı görüntülü mesaj kullanıldı.....

- Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme.....

100 milyara 24 ay %0 faizli kampanyaları var.

- Bu projenin pazarlama maliyeti ne kadardır? Projenin toplam bütününe olan oranı nedir?

Pazarlama maliyeti yoktur.

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

İstanbul'daki Kapalı Yerleşkelerin (Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitelerinin)

Üretim ve Pazarlama Sürecine Ait Görüşme Metni: TAŞYAPI

Öncelikli olarak burada vereceğiniz cevapları kaydetmek için sizden izin istiyorum.
Çalışmamızda hiçbir şekilde isminizi kullanmayacağımızı da belirtmek isterim.

Teşekkürler...

Yüklenici Firma Hakkında...

- *Firmanın adı: Taşyapi İnşaat Taahhüt Sanayii ve Ticaret A.Ş.*
- *Adresi: Kısıklı Caddesi No:106 34662 Altunizade - Üsküdar*
- *Telefonu: 0.216 339 65 70*
- *Web Adresi: www.tasyapi.com*
- *Hukuki Ortaklık Türü: (Holding, A.Ş. Ltd.vs.): Anonim Şirket*
- *Sermaye Ortaklık Türü: (Yabancı ortaklı / yerli): Yerli*
- *Hizmet verdiği diğer sektörler: Turizm, enerji.*
- *Firmanın Konut sektörüne giriş yılı: 15 yıl*

Firmanın Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Değerlendirmesi

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut siteleri anlayışı nedir? Firmanız tarif edilen 'lüks konutlar'dan ne anlamaktadır?*

Genelde lüks konut projelerinin olması ve şehir merkezine yakın arazilerde yapılmış olmaları

- *Firmanızın güvenlikli lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapma nedeni nedir?*
- *Firmanızın ürettiği güvenlikli lüks konut site projelerinin özellikleri nelerdir?*

Genelde lüks konut projelerinin olması ve şehir merkezine yakın arazilerde yapılmış olmaları

- *Pazarlama sürecinizin maliyeti ne kadardır? (Bunu diğer projelerinizle karşılaştırdığınızda projenin genelinde nasıl bir oranda bulunmaktadır?)*

Belirtilmedi.

- *Firmanız yaşam kalitesi kriterleri hakkında neler söyleyebilir?*
- *Güvenlik...1.....*
- *Konfor.....2.....*
- *Sosyal yaşam...3.....*
- *Sportif faaliyetler...6.....*
- *Araba park alanları...4.....*

- Yeşil alan...5.....
- Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....
- Bu tür lüks konut sitelerine yatırım yapmanızın ana nedeni nedir?

Şehrin cazibe merkezlerine yakın olmaları ve kolay ulaşılabilir olmaları

- Firmanızın bugüne kadar yapmış olduğu başka güvenli lüks konut siteleri hangileridir?

AlmondHill, Mashattan, Novus Residence

- Bir konut sitesinin satış başarısına etki eden faktörleri önem sırasına göre sıralayınız;
- Güvenlik...3.....
- Ulaşım...1.....
- Doğal çevre...5.....
- Moda...5.....
- Prestij...2.....
- Sunduğu imkanlar...4.....
- Diğer Varsa Belirtiniz.....
- Bu tür konut sitelerinin üretiminde sizce mimarın rolü nedir?

Projenin ilk oluşturulma aşamasında önemli bir rol oynar.

- Gelecekte bu tür lüks konut yerleşimlerine olan talep sizce nasıl değişecektir? Neden? Düşer/ Değişmez/ **Yükselir**....

- İstanbul'da hemen aklınıza gelen ilk 3 güvenli lüks konut yerleşkesi hangileridir?

AlmondHill, Novus Residence ve Mashattan.

Güvenlikli Lüks Konut Sitesi Projesi Hakkında...

- Proje Adı: Mashattan

 - Proje Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: 30.08.2005- 2009.

 - Proje Yeri: Maslak

 - Projenin Mimarı: MM Proje

 - Yüklenici Firma: Taşyapı İnşaat Taahhüt San. Ve Tic. A.Ş

 - Yatırımcı Firma: Taşyapı İnşaat Taahhüt San. Ve Tic. A.Ş

 - Toplam Alan: 140.000 m2

 - Toplam inşaat alanı: 160.000 m2

 - Şu anki durumu: (**İnşaat halinde**, vs.)
- İnşaat halinde*
- Bu pazara girmenizde ne etkili oldu?
 - Talep.....

- *Firmanın güvenilirliği.....*
- *Yeni bir trend oluşu...2.....*
- *Karlı bir yatırım oluşu...1.....*
- *Çevrenin görselliği.....*
- *Varsa Diğer Belirtiniz.....*

• *Proje oluşturulurken, kimlerin fikirleri dikkate alındı?*

Pazarlama danışmanı/ mimarlar/ şehir plancıları/Pazar analistleri ,(Varsa diğerlerini ekleyiniz)

• *Proje başlangıcında hangi analizleri uyguladınız?*

Fizibilite/ arz talep analizi/ Pazar analizi...

• *Bu proje alanında konut yatırımı için herhangi bir teşvik veriliyor muydu? Kredi alındı mı?*

Bilinmiyor.

• *Projenin arazisinin mülkiyeti yapısı nasıldır?*

Kamusal/ özel/ kamusal-özel (Proje öncesinde arazi mülkiyeti S.S. Taksim Yedek Parçacılar Kooperatifine aitti.)

• *Seçilen arazinin maliyetini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?*

Ucuz/ Normal/ Pahalı/ Çok Pahalı. Pahalı maliyeti olan bir arsa. Buna göre de bina kalitesiyle doğru orantılı olarak proje fiyatlandırıldı.

• *Projenin hedef kitlesini kimler olarak öngörüyorsunuz?*

Eğitim seviyesine / gelir durumuna / hedef aile tipine göre.

• *Komşu konut sitelerindeki gelir seviyesi proje seçiminde ne derece etkili olmuştur? Neden?*

Komşu projeler mutlaka fiyat çalışmalarında kıstas oluşturur.

• *Örnek alınan uygulanmış korumalı lüks konut yerleşme örnekleri var mı? Varsa hangileridir?*

Amerika'daki çeşitli örnekler, Türkiye'de yaptıkları uygulamalar.

Satış ve Pazarlama Hakkında...

• *Satışların Başlangıç ve Bitiş Tarihi: Haziran 2005- devam ediyor.*

• *Projenin Pazarlama sloganı nedir? Bu sloganı seçmeye iten sebepler nelerdir? Focus grubu çalışması yapılmış mıdır?*

İnsan yaşamına yapılan en değerli yatırım.

• *Projenin pazarlamada vurgulanan bir ayrıcalığı ya da özelliği var mı? Varsa nedir?*

Geliri olan bir proje olması ve bunun sonucu olarak da daire aidatlarının metrekare başına 1-1.5 dolara düşürülmesi.

• Bir Pazarlama biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir pazarlama şirketi ile çalıştınız mı? Pazarlama birimi yoktur. Pazarlama üretim sürecine, projenin başlamasıyla dahil olmuştur.

• PR (Halka İlişkiler) biriminiz varsa belirtiniz. Yoksa, bir halka ilişkiler şirketi ile çalıştınız mı?

PR şirketi ile çalışıldı.

• Güvenlikli lüks konut sitesinde oturabilmek için site sakinlerinin imzaladığı herhangi bir sözleşme var mı? Varsa belirtiniz.

Teknik Şartname mevcuttur.

• Başlangıçta belirlenen hedef kitle, satış süreci sırasında değişti mi? Hedef kitlesinin değişmesi hangi sürece tekabül etmiştir?

Çok değişmedi.

• Satışlar;

öngörülen tarihten önce/ öngörülen tarihte/ öngörülen tarihten sonra tamamlandı.

• Fiyatlar;.....\$ ile.....\$ aralığındadır.

• Tercih ettiğiniz reklam pazarlama biçiminiz hangileridir?

✓ gazete ilanı...3.....

✓ gazete broşürü...2.....

✓ TV.....1 (özellikle vurguluyorlar).....

✓ İnternet(proje web sitesi ya da başka web siteleri üzerinden) ...4.....

✓ Radyo.....

✓ Billboard.....

✓ e-mail.....

✓ telefon.....

✓ cep mesajı.....

• Ödeme koşullarınız nelerdir? Ödeme koşullarını kolaylaştıran seçenekleriniz mevcut mudur?

Banka kredisiyle ödeme/ aylık ödeme.....

% 30 Peşin,% 70'i 18 ay vade(Vade farkı alınmaksızın Amerikan Doları üzerinden)

• Bu projenin pazarlama maliyeti ne kadardır? Projenin toplam bütününe olan oranı nedir?

Yaklaşık 250.000.000.-USD – 300.000.000.-USD arası

Vakit ayırıp, sorularımızı içtenlikle cevaplandığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

APPENDIX B

GATED COMMUNITIES IN ISTANBUL

Başkaşehir Evl.	Triad Park	Nilüfer Konakları
Royal Park > Res.	Reşit Paşa Evleri	Eston Şehir
Ayazma Evleri	Beyaz Residence	Beyazkent Evleri
Bis Evleri	Çamder Prestij	Crystalpark Evleri
Çeşmeler Vadisi	Evidea Evleri	Flora Residence
Gül İstanbul	İstanblue Evleri	İstanbul-İstanbul
İstHanbul Evleri	Ka Green	Kemer Corner
Kempinski Res.	Lale Şehir	Meritlife
Milleniumpark	Mira Tower	Miyansera Evleri
Optimum Evleri	Ömerli Park	Palmiye Evleri
Pera Konakları	Rapsodi Evleri	Rumeli Konakları
Rüya Evleri	Rüyakent Evleri	Sapphire İstanbul
Serrapark Evleri	Skyport Res.	Sunflower Evleri
Sunrise Res.	Şile Koru Evleri	Tarabya Evleri
Topkapı Evleri	Toskana Vadisi	Yakut Evler
Myworld	Kent Plus	Misstanbul
Selin Evleri	Alkent	AtaköyKonakları

İkebana Evleri	Banu Evleri	Uphill Court
PetekKonutları	BilgenKonutları	Narcity
KemerCountry	Kemer Evleri	My Country
Bahar Evleri	Akkent	AvanGarden
Güneş Park	Armina Evleri	Ardıçlı Göl Evleri
Aktel Res.	Almond Hill	Hasbahçe Evleri
YakacıkCountry	Tepekent	Olimpiakent
AvrupaKonutları	Artell Forum	Recep Ağa
Akdeniz Evleri	Metrocity	Beyaz Vadi
Arte Verde	Alibey Evleri	Alice Village
Atakent	Yeşil Vadi	Sealybria
Çamlıca Evleri	Greenium	Gizli Bahçe
Leoland	Ihlamur Evleri	Fibalife
Eston Şehir	Polat Şişli	Bautek Kuğu
Eltes Güneşi	Işıl Konutları	Mimarsinan
Yankı Evleri	Green Hill	Boğaz Evleri
Bizimevler Court	Levent Loft	Pelican Hill
Park Orman	Chantua Evleri	Lidya Flats
Main Towers	Atlantis Evleri	Sarıyer Evleri
Kozal Evleri	Antrium Res.	Taksim Res.
Teras Evler	Şelale Space	Sardunya Evleri

Mashattan Kon.	Ekinoks Res.	Otağ Evler
Zeytinsuyu Evleri.	Yeshill Evleri	Yasemen Evleri
Mutluhome	Vil La Vie	Atasel Konutları
Eltes Gold	My City	My Dream
My Home	My Town	My Village
Sarı Köy	Flyinn Residence	Basıncöy Konut.
Tulip Princess	Tulip Queen	Teta Villaları
Manolya Evleri	Kemer Park	Soyak Evreka
Sinpaş Lagün	Modernist Evleri	Novus Residence
Spradon Evleri	Fi-yaka Evleri	Mor Ada Evleri
Rapsodi Evleri	Portia Evleri	Esttanbul
Life İstanbul	Galatown Evleri	Greenpark Villaları
Parkcity	Hobi Evleri	Beylerbeyi Konak.
Cumbba Home	Kilia Şile	Mia Park Evleri
Sample City	Story Residence	Trend Extra
Twins Res.	Elite Life	Elit Yaşam Konak.
Validesuyu Kon.	Blox Haliç Evleri	Starland Evleri
Merter Park	Meva Evleri	Bizim Evler
Selvice Evler	Yasemin Evler	Akik Evleri
Yonca Evleri	Beyaz Evler	Sarı Evler
Spor City	Maksimum Evler	İdealistanbul

Erguvan Evleri	Terrace Hill	Orkide Evleri
Aqua Manors	Ardenia Park	Bahçeşehir Evleri
Cap. Courtyard	Güzelşehir	Esenbahçe Kon.
Hillpark İstinye	İnci Park	Mahalle İstanbul
Meritlife Bulvar	Meritlife Park	Saban Çengelköy
Saban Res.	Shile Garden	Simge Evleri
White Life	Elit Park Evleri	F2 Evleri
İspanyol Evleri	Modern Birkent	Reşadiye Villaları
Little Life Evleri	Studio Life Evl.	Suadiye Konak.
Terrace Fulya	Selenium Pan.	Elysium Cool
Middleist Evleri	Selenium City	Narin Park
Günbatımı Konut.	Saraçoğlu Evleri	Sarıyer Park
Centrofutura	Emirgan Evleri	Steelife Park

(Source: From the website of Hürriyet Emlak, www.hurriyetemlak.com, June 2008)

VITA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name, Surname,: Gözde Kan Ülkü

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

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Marital Status: Married with one child.

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EDUCATION

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Year of Graduation</u>
MSci	<i>IYTE Department of Architecture</i>	1999
BS	<i>ITU Department of Architecture</i>	1996
High School	<i>Denizli Anatolian High School</i>	1992

WORK EXPERIENCE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
2010-...	<i>PAU Faculty of Architecture, Dept.of Architecture</i>	Instructor
2001-2010	<i>PAU Faculty of Engineering, Dept.of Civil Eng.</i>	Research Assistant
1996-2001	<i>IYTE Department of Architecture</i>	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Basic German and French.

PUBLICATIONS

Kan Ülkü, Gözde & Erdem Erten. *‘İkonların, Farklı Yaşam Tarzlarının Pazarlanması: 1990 sonrası Yükselen Bir Kapalı Yerleşke Olarak Mashattan’ IAPS Kent Kültür Konut Sempozyum Bildirisi, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, İstanbul:Aralık 2007.’*

MEMBER

Chamber of Architects